

EXAMINING HUNGARY AND POLAND'S LEADERS' NARRATIVES REGARDING MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN MIGRANTS AND UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS

Yusuf AVAR*
Research Article

Abstract

This study aims to determine whether migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Ukraine have received comparable treatment in Hungary and Poland by analyzing the speeches delivered by Polish President Andrzej Duda and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. Using critical discourse analysis, it reveals the meaning behind Duda's and Orbán's statements about these two immigrant groups. The study indicates that Duda and Orbán securitized MENA immigration groups and represented them as others. Duda and Orbán, on the other hand, place a strong emphasis on solidarity and providing humanitarian aid to the Ukrainian migrants. The critical social constructivist theory, which stresses the concept of identity and meaning in response to difference, has been employed in the study to analyze how migrants from the MENA region are perceived as "other", whilst migrants from Ukraine are seen as a part of "us".

Keywords: Orbán, Duda, Migrants from the Middle East and North Africa, and Ukrainian Migrants.

* Assist. Prof., Kilis 7 Aralık University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, e-mail: yusufavar@kilis.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-8507-9579.
Submission Date: 24 August 2024, Acceptance Date: 6 January 2025



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

**Macaristan ve Polonya Liderlerinin Ortadoğulu ve Afrikalı Göçmenler ile
Ukraynalı Göçmenlere İlişkin Söylemlerinin İncelenmesi**

Öz

Bu çalışma, Polonya Cumhurbaşkanı Andrzej Duda ve Macaristan Başbakanı Viktor Orbán tarafından yapılan konuşmaları analiz ederek Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika (MENA) ve Ukrayna'dan gelen göçmenlerin Macaristan ve Polonya'da benzer muamele görüp görmediklerini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, eleştirel söylem analizini kullanarak Duda ve Orbán'ın bu iki göçmen grubu hakkındaki ifadelerinin arkasındaki anlamı ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Araştırma, Duda ve Orbán'ın MENA'dan gelen göçmen gruplarını güvenlikleştirdiğini ve onları öteki olarak temsil ettiklerini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Öte yandan Orbán ve Duda Ukraynalı göçmenlere karşı dayanışmaya ve insani yardım sağlamaya güçlü bir vurgu yapmaktadır. Farklılık karşısında kimlik ve anlam kavramını vurgulayan eleştirel sosyal inşacı teori, çalışmada MENA bölgesinden gelen göçmenlerin nasıl "öteki" olarak algılandığını, Ukrayna'dan gelen göçmenlerin ise "biz" in bir parçası olarak görüldüğünü analiz etmek için kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orbán, Duda, Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika'dan Gelen Göçmenler ve Ukraynalı Göçmenler.

Introduction

Since the Arab Spring, particularly due to the Syrian civil war, millions of people from the MENA region have migrated to various countries. Although Hungary and Poland are neither geographically close to the MENA region nor primary destinations for these migrants, political leaders in both countries -such as Viktor Orbán and Andrzej Duda- have leveraged the migration issue to consolidate their political power. Orbán and Duda have securitized MENA migrants, portraying them as threats to their countries' religious and national identities, as well as to their traditional ways of life. Being primarily Muslim, these migrant groups are depicted by both politicians as contributors to an "invasion" of Muslim influence, which, in their view, should be kept out of Europe. Furthermore, Orbán and Duda regularly emphasize their roles in defending their national and the EU's borders despite their countries not being the primary destinations for these migrants. They regard migrants from the MENA region largely as economic migrants and

have openly opposed the EU's mandatory migrant quota policy, insisting that migration policy should remain within the jurisdiction of sovereign states.

Conversely, Russian aggression in Ukraine has forced many Ukrainians to flee to European countries, with Hungary and Poland among the main destinations. Unlike their stance on MENA migrants, both countries' leaders have welcomed Ukrainian migrants, seeing them as part of an "in-group" due to shared characteristics as Christian, white Europeans. Orbán and Duda emphasize solidarity and humanitarian aid toward these migrants, with Duda frequently highlighting the Polish people's willingness to open their homes and hearts to Ukrainians, aiming to integrate them fully into both Polish society and the EU. Meanwhile, Orbán underscores the importance of safeguarding the rights of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, advocating that Hungary's national interests should take precedence even as the country accommodates Ukrainian migrants.

This study seeks to explain how political discourse in Hungary and Poland constructs MENA migrants as "others" while framing Ukrainian migrants as part of an inclusive, national "us." Employing the argumentation technique of the (historical) critical discourse analysis, the study uncovers the hidden meanings and objectives behind political narratives. Critical social constructivism theory has been employed to explore how MENA migrants are framed as "others" or "out-group" members. In contrast, Ukrainian migrants are considered part of a shared "we" or "in-group" identity.

I. Method of the Study: Argumentation Technique

Historical discourse analysis is a specific form of critical discourse analysis (CDA) that emphasizes identity construction, where the formation of 'us' and 'them' is seen as the core basis of discourses on identity and difference.¹ In line with the methodological focus of the migration issue, historical discourse analysis is employed as a method particularly well-suited

¹ Senem Aydın-Düzgit, "Critical Discourse Analysis in Analysing European Union Foreign Policy: Prospects and Challenges," *Cooperation and Conflict* 49, no. 3 (2014): 358.

for studying political discourse in general and political argumentation in particular.

Argumentative strategies, known as *topoi*, one of the analytical categories proposed by the discourse-historical approach, have been utilized as particularly relevant to this study. Argumentation aims to justify and question claims of truth and normative rightness, utilizing tools like *topoi* and fallacies.²³ The employment of *topos*, defined as ‘parts of argumentation that serve as obligatory premises, either explicit or inferable, in the form of content-related warrants connecting the arguments to the conclusion,’ is the most frequently used argumentation strategy.⁴ Argumentation generally entails attempting to convince or persuade others through reasoned discourse.⁵ In other words, as a speech act⁶, argumentation serves as a tool for persuading audiences and reinforcing the intended message.

Given the wide range of discourse genres concerning migrants, this study will be restricted to example⁷ from the genre of political speeches. Political speeches are one of the regarded genres that embody ‘a particular use of language which constitutes social practice.’⁸ The corpus of this study consists of prominent speeches, declarations, and remarks by Hungarian and Polish

² Martin Reisigl and Wodak Ruth, “The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA),” in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. (London: Sage, 2009), 95.

³ Senem Aydın-Düzgit, *Constructions of European Identity: Debates and Discourses on Turkey and the EU* (Palgrave Macmillan Basingstoke–New York, 2012), 24.

⁴ Senem Aydın-Düzgit and Bahar Rumelili, “Discourse Analysis: Strengths and Shortcomings,” *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace* 8, no. 2 (2019): 292; Aydın-Düzgit, “Critical Discourse Analysis in Analysing European Union Foreign Policy,” 359.

⁵ Frans H. van Eemeren, “Bingo! Promising Developments in Argumentation Theory,” in *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse*, by Frans H. Van Eemeren, vol. 27 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 56.

⁶ Frans H. Van Eemeren, Sally Jackson, and Scott Jacobs, “Argumentation,” in *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse*, by Frans H. Van Eemeren, vol. 27, Argumentation Library (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 53, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-20955-5_1.

⁷ Teun A. Van Dijk, “Discourse and Migration,” in *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* (Springer International Publishing, 2018), 231.

⁸ Aydın-Düzgit, *Constructions of European Identity*, 18.

political leaders. Specifically, 49 speeches, statements, and comments by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán from May 8, 2014, to February 26, 2024, and 35 speeches, statements, and comments by Polish President Andrzej Duda from August 28, 2015, to February 23, 2024, concerning migration from the MENA and Ukraine, have been collected. Of Orbán’s speeches, 32 address migration from the MENA region, while the remaining 17 focus on Ukrainian migrants. These speeches were sourced from the Hungarian government’s website, the Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, and the “About Hungary” portal. Similarly, Duda’s remarks include 17 focused on MENA migration, 2 addressing general migration issues and the remaining 17 on Ukrainian migration. Duda’s speeches were accessed through the official website of the President of the Republic of Poland.

II. Theoretical Framework: Critical Social Constructivism

The study adopts critical social constructivism theory as its theoretical framework to analyze the speeches and remarks, shedding light on how Orbán and Duda portray refugees. At the core of critical constructivism in international relations is the concept of identity and meaning being constructed in response to perceived differences⁹. Rooted in poststructuralist thought, critical constructivism highlights the discursive conditions that link identity to the notion of “difference.”¹⁰ This perspective seeks to understand how identities are formed through spoken and written communication, viewing them as products of social interactions.¹¹

Furthermore, critical constructivists contend that dominant groups gain advantages through specific processes in the construction of social structures. Unlike other constructivist perspectives, critical constructivism views ideas as less autonomous, emphasizing their close ties to material power relations. The

⁹ Bahar Rumelili, “İnşacılık/Konstrüktivizm,” in *Küresel Siyasete Giriş: Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler* (İstanbul, 2014), 151–73.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Sarina They, “Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory,” *E-International Relations*, 2018.

role of the critical scholar, therefore, is to expose these ideational systems of dominance while also fostering the possibility of alternative realities.¹²

III. Duda and Orbán's Narratives Towards the MENA Migrants

The ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia -particularly the Syrian Civil War- have contributed to one of the most significant refugee crises Europe has faced since World War II, and in 2015 alone, approximately one million people crossed into the EU.¹³ This increased migration has often been associated with terms such as “invasion,” “others,” “border security,” and “terrorist,” which reflect perspectives that are far removed from a human-centered approach.¹⁴

Within the EU, Hungary and Poland have both implemented anti-immigrant policies. Hungary experienced a surge in migration in 2015, with 177,135 asylum seekers entering the country irregularly -a significant increase from 42,777 in 2014 and 18,900 in 2013.¹⁵ Hungary's geographic position at the crossroads of eastern and southeastern migration routes contributed to this influx.¹⁶ In contrast, Poland was not directly impacted by large-scale asylum-seeking arrivals during the crisis, it faced an unexpected influx of migrants from Belarus in 2021, primarily from the MENA region, aiming to transit through Poland to reach Germany. According to the Polish Border Guard, attempts to cross the border irregularly from Belarus by third-country nationals surged to 39,697 incidents in 2021, a figure over 300 times higher than in 2020.¹⁷

¹² Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4, no. 1 (2001): 398.

¹³ İsmail Yazıcı, “Security and Immigration: Contested Perspectives on the Migration Crisis in Hungary,” *Presentation Type*, 2021, 36.

¹⁴ Tolga Çıkrıkçı and Mehmet Akif Okur, “İnsan Güvenliği Merceğinde Sığınmacı Krizi ve Avrupa,” *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi* 20, no. 1 (2021): 99.

¹⁵ Kinga Kolumban, “Defending Our Borders: Metaphor Scenarios in Hungarian and Romanian Political Discourse on Migration,” *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov, Series IV: Philology & Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2023): 36.

¹⁶ Anna Czyż, “Hungary and Poland Facing the Migration Crisis,” *Problemy Polityki Społecznej. Social Policy Issues* 59, no. 4 (2022): 293.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 296–97.

A. Topoi of Securitization: MENA Migrants

Migrants from the MENA region entering Europe have been securitized by both Orbán¹⁸ and Duda¹⁹, who link these migrants with crime, terrorism,

¹⁸ Viktor Orbán, "Orbán Viktor's Speech at the Europe Forum Conference," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 8, 2014, <https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/the-prime-ministers-speeches/orban-viktor-s-speech-at-the-europe-forum-conference>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 21, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-address-to-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, November 16, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-address-in-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu," Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (December 1, 2015), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-14th-plenary-session-of-the-hungarian-standing-conference/>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Preliminary Address to Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu," Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (February 15, 2016), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-preliminary-address-to-parliament/>; Viktor Orbán, "Viktor Orbán's Press Conference after an Extraordinary Meeting of the European Council – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, September 16, 2016, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-press-conference-after-an-extraordinary-meeting-of-the-european-council/>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's State of the Nation Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu," Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (February 10, 2017), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address-2/>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech at the International Consultation on Christian Persecution – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, October 12, 2017, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-international-consultation-on-christian-persecution/>; Viktor Orbán, "Viktor Orbán's 'State of the Nation' Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, February 10, 2018, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address/>; Viktor Orbán, "Speech by Viktor Orbán at the Launch Event for the Fidesz – KDNP European Parliament Election Programme – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, April 5, 2019, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-viktor-orban-at-the-launch-event-for-the-fidesz-kdnp-european-parliament-election-programme/>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Statement in Parliament, Responding to Reactions to His Address before the Start of Daily Business," *About Hungary*, February 27, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-statement-in-parliament-responding-to-reactions-to-his-address-before-the-start-of-daily-business>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the Start of Daily Business," *About Hungary*, February 26, 2024, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-address-to-the-hungarian-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business-65ddaea573f93>.

¹⁹ Andrzej Duda, "President for 'Financial Times': Poland Is Still pro-European," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, January 18, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-for-financial-times-poland-is-still-pro-european,36062>; Andrzej Duda, "President's Address at the Council of Europe in

and danger, perceiving them as existential threats. Orbán contends that the migrant situation -encompassing the refugee crisis and the significant influx of newcomers into Europe- raises essential questions about the identity and survival of European nations.²⁰ Furthermore, Orbán employs vivid metaphors such as “political earthquakes²¹,” “storms of migration²²,” “floods of people/refugees²³,” “slow and steady currents eroding the shore²⁴,” “nightmares²⁵,” and “invasion²⁶” to describe these mass movements. Additionally, Orbán has associated MENA migrants with George Soros²⁷, framing him as a facilitator of migration. The Hungarian government has labeled Soros and his affiliated organizations, such as the Central European University and Open Society Foundation, as adversaries and enemies of the state.²⁸

Similarly, Duda has explicitly stated that there is a clear connection between migration and the rising wave of terrorism²⁹. Duda asserts that “the

Strasbourg,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, November 16, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/presidents-address-at-the-council-of-europe-in-strasbourg,36270>; Andrzej Duda, “President: Terror Wave Undoubtedly Connected with Migration,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 15, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-terror-wave-undoubtedly-connected-with-migration,36523>.

²⁰ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu.”

²¹ Orbán, “Orbán Viktor’s Speech at the Europe Forum Conference.” Orbán, “Orbán Viktor’s Speech at the Europe Forum Conference.”

²² Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Reply in Parliament,” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 23, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-reply-in-parliament>.

²³ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu.”

²⁴ Viktor Orbán, “Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on 15 March – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (March 15, 2016), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-15-march/>.

²⁵ Orbán, “Viktor Orbán’s ‘State of the Nation’ Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu.”

²⁶ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.”

²⁷ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business”; Viktor Orbán, “Viktor Orbán’s Reply in the European Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (April 26, 2017), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-reply-in-the-european-parliament/>; Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 27th Congress of Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, November 12, 2017, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-27th-congress-of-fidesz-hungarian-civic-union/>; Orbán, “Viktor Orbán’s ‘State of the Nation’ Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; *ibid.*

²⁸ Péter Reményi, Viktor Glied, and Norbert Pap, “Good and Bad Migrants in Hungary. The Populist Story and the Reality in Hungarian Migration Policy,” *Social Policy Issues* 59, no. 4 (2023): 338.

²⁹ Duda, “President,” September 15, 2017.

growing terror wave is connected with migration.”³⁰ The frequent use of securitization as an argumentation strategy in texts can be leveraged to argue that the normative foundations of the EU are being breached.³¹

B. Topoi of Identity: Describing MENA Migrants as “Others”

Narratives of past migrations have a significant impact on how migrants are included or excluded in countries of settlement, especially when they are referenced in public discourse and policymaking processes.³² In the discursive strategies of right-wing populist parties, individuals can be portrayed as a dangerous ‘other’ whenever it serves specific strategic or manipulative objectives.³³

While Orbán frequently frames MENA migrants as “others³⁴” by invoking concepts such as “civilization” and “Christianity,” Duda has avoided using these terms as extensively. However, due to perceived terrorist threats, Poland’s Law and Justice (PiS) party has adopted securitizing language that

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Aydın-Düzgüt, “Critical Discourse Analysis in Analysing European Union Foreign Policy,” 362.

³² Eleni Karamanidou, “Historical Experiences of Migration in Political Discourse in Greece: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Explore Policy Legitimation,” *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 163.

³³ Ruth Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean* (Sage, 2015), 4.

³⁴ Viktor Orbán, “Lecture of Viktor Orbán – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, July 8, 2010, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/lecture-of-viktor-orban/>; Viktor Orbán, “Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress,” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, October 22, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/speech-of-viktor-orban-at-the-epp-congress20151024>; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the International Conference ‘Helmut Kohl – the Chancellor of Unification,’” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, June 2, 2016, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-international-conference-helmut-kohl-the-chancellor-of-unification>; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s State of the Nation Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the International Consultation on Christian Persecution – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Orbán, “Viktor Orbán’s ‘State of the Nation’ Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Orbán, “Speech by Viktor Orbán at the Launch Event for the Fidesz – KDNP European Parliament Election Programme – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech on the Night of the European Parliament Election – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, May 26, 2019, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-on-the-night-of-the-european-parliament-election/>; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.”

portrays Muslim immigration as a threat not only to Polish identity and culture but also to national security³⁵. It should be noted that a cultural interpretation of the dangers of migration separates life-worlds into the culturally similar, who are viewed as trustworthy, and the culturally dissimilar, who are perceived as threatening to the cultural identity that establishes trust among those considered culturally similar.³⁶

According to Orbán, large-scale resettlement of people from different continents and cultures poses a threat to the culture, way of life, customs, and traditions of the host society.³⁷ Orbán goes further, suggesting that religion is a core element of the EU's identity, drawing a clear line between native Europeans and Muslim immigrants³⁸. The negative traits often attributed to Muslims can be brought to light by studying the national, geographical, or 'cultural' spaces thought to most accurately represent 'them.'³⁹

Additionally, both Orbán⁴⁰ and Duda⁴¹ characterize migrants from the MENA region as economic migrants rather than individuals forced to flee their

³⁵ Monika Kabata and An Jacobs, "The 'Migrant Other' as a Security Threat: The 'Migration Crisis' and the Securitising Move of the Polish Ruling Party in Response to the EU Relocation Scheme," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 31, no. 4 (2023): 1228.

³⁶ Andreja Vezovnik, "Securitizing Migration in Slovenia: A Discourse Analysis of the Slovenian Refugee Situation," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1–2 (2018): 46, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15562948.2017.1282576>.

³⁷ Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business."

³⁸ Nina Miholjčić, "The Securitization of Migration Issue: Hungarian Case," *Jurnalul Practicilor Comunitare Pozitive* 17, no. 3 (2017): 62.

³⁹ Zdeněk Lokaj, *(Mis)Representing Islam. The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers* (Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004), 71.

⁴⁰ Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Response to Questions from Members of the European Parliament," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 19, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-response-to-questions-from-members-of-the-european-parliament>; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Reply in Parliament"; Orbán, "Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress."

⁴¹ Andrzej Duda, "EU Community Should Be Based on European Solidarity," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 22, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-community-should-be-based-on-european-solidarity,36002>; Andrzej Duda, "Polish President Calls for Changes in European

countries. These examples illustrate how Hungary and Poland, through a critical social constructivist lens, exclude MENA migrants from their national identity, framing them as “others” by securitizing the issue and depicting them primarily as economic migrants.

C. Topoi of Competences: Quarreling with the EU's Migration Policies

Orbán⁴² and Duda⁴³ assert that by securing their national borders, they have protected both their own countries and the EU's external borders. In Hungary, Orbán led the initiative to build a border fence separating Hungary from Serbia. As a temporary measure to address the migration crisis, the government ordered the construction of a 175-kilometer-long, 4-meter-high steel and barbed wire barrier along the Serbian border.⁴⁴ Similarly, Poland reinforced its border controls, extended detention times at crossings, and revised counterterrorism legislation, though it did not reinstate restrictions at the EU's internal borders.⁴⁵

Union,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/polish-president-calls-for-changes-in-european-union,36231>.

⁴² Orbán, “Viktor Orbán's ‘State of the Nation’ Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu”; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Response to Questions from Members of the European Parliament”; Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business”; Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 12, 2016, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-address-in-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business/>.

⁴³ Andrzej Duda, “We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, January 13, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/we-want-a-union-of-free-nations-and-equal-states,36061>; Andrzej Duda, “President for ‘Bild Am Sonntag’: We Want to Repair the Union,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, October 28, 2018, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-for-bild-am-sonntag-we-want-to-repair-the-union,36843>; Andrzej Duda, “Migration Crisis Is a Problem of Entire EU,” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, October 9, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/migration-crisis-is-a-problem-of-entire-eu,36016>.

⁴⁴ Kolumban, “Defending Our Borders,” 41.

⁴⁵ Kabata and Jacobs, “The ‘Migrant Other’ as a Security Threat,” 1225.

Additionally, Orbán⁴⁶ and Duda⁴⁷ oppose the EU's mandatory migrant quotas, arguing that national authorities should independently manage MENA

⁴⁶ Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister's Speech after Taking the Oath of Office," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 10, 2014, <https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/the-prime-ministers-speeches/prime-minister-s-speech-after-taking-the-oath-of-office>; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech in the European Parliament," *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 19, 2015, <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-in-the-european-parliament>; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Response to Questions from Members of the European Parliament"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Reply in Parliament"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Preliminary Address to Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's State of the Nation Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Orbán, "Viktor Orbán's Reply in the European Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Press Statement Following His Meeting with Prime Minister of Poland Beata Szydło – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, September 22, 2017, <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-press-statement-following-his-meeting-with-prime-minister-of-poland-beata-szydlo/>; Viktor Orbán, "Address by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán in the Debate on the So-Called 'Sargentini Report' – Miniszterelnok.Hu," *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, (September 11, 2018), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/address-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-in-the-debate-on-the-so-called-sargentini-report/>; Orbán, "Speech by Viktor Orbán at the Launch Event for the Fidesz – KDNP European Parliament Election Programme – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech on the Night of the European Parliament Election – Miniszterelnok.Hu"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Statement in Parliament, Responding to Reactions to His Address before the Start of Daily Business"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the Start of Daily Business."

⁴⁷ Andrzej Duda, "EU Should Be a Union of Sovereign Countries," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 8, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-should-be-a-union-of-sovereign-countries,35995>; Andrzej Duda, "Migration Crisis Is a Problem of Entire EU," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 10, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/migration-crisis-is-a-problem-of-entire-eu,36016>; Andrzej Duda, "Polish President Favours Bigger NATO Presence in CEE \ News \ Oficjalna Strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, November 31, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/polish-president-favours-bigger-nato-presence-in-cee,36028>; Andrzej Duda, "We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States,"

migration issues. Orbán argues that the EU's sovereign member states must take responsibility for addressing the migration issue, as highlighted by his following statements.

*"I am therefore convinced that it would be more appropriate if the regulation of immigration were delegated to national competencies. My view is – and I am glad that finally a debate has started on this issue – that, instead of quotas, we must allow individual Member States themselves to decide on this issue."*⁴⁸

Furthermore, Orbán launched a campaign against Brussels' relocation quota plan, setting a precedent for other Central European nations.⁴⁹ According to Orbán, EU policies on migration have failed, leaving Europe "weak and defenseless."⁵⁰ To strengthen his position against the EU, Orbán even organized a national referendum.

Similarly, Duda has asserted that a country's capacity should determine its admittance policies and has consistently rejected the concept of mandatory quotas. He feels that Europe focuses heavily on managing the migrant crisis without adequately addressing its root causes, such as terrorism, conflict, and economic instability.⁵¹ As it is seen, discourses have an impact on Poland's and Hungary's migration policies, and discourse is essential for shaping,

The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland, January 13, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/we-want-a-union-of-free-nations-and-equal-states,36061>; Andrzej Duda, "President: EU Must Be Associated with Efficiency," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 15, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-must-be-associated-with-efficiency,36225>; Duda, "President's Address at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg"; Andrzej Duda, "President Condemns Punishment for Polish 'No' to Refugees," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, June 13, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-condemns-punishment-for-polish-no-to-refugees,36433>; Duda, "President," September 15, 2017; Duda, "President for „Bild Am Sonntag”."

⁴⁸ Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech in the European Parliament."

⁴⁹ Livia Benková, "Hungary-Orbán's Project towards 'Illiberal Democracy,'" *AIES Fokus* 2 (2019): 2.

⁵⁰ Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Preliminary Address to Parliament – Miniszterelnök.Hu."

⁵¹ Duda, "EU Should Be a Union of Sovereign Countries."

redefining, and recreating attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge, as well as for distributing them.⁵²

IV. Duda and Orbán's Narratives Towards the Ukrainian Migrants

Since February 24, 2022, Russia's ongoing attacks⁵³ on Ukraine have triggered Europe's largest migrant crisis since World War II.⁵⁴ In response, European governments and citizens have shown a strong sense of solidarity, generally welcoming Ukrainian refugees.⁵⁵ This contrasts with the 2015 refugee wave, which primarily included non-European, non-Christian migrants.⁵⁶ Key differences between the two crises include the nature of the conflict prompting migration, its proximity to Europe, the motivations for migration, and the legal status of the refugees entering Central and Western Europe between 2015 and 2022.⁵⁷

Although Hungary is not typically a destination for refugees, it has become the second-largest recipient of Ukrainian refugees after Poland, despite its relative distance⁵⁸. Ukraine's humanitarian and economic suffering during the conflict has driven many Ukrainians to Poland, too, a neighboring country with relatively flexible employment laws and a high demand for labor in certain sectors.⁵⁹ Comparing the social, economic, and political conditions

⁵² Majid KhosraviNik, "The Reception and Integration of Refugees from Ukraine in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary—The New Immigration Destinations of Central Europe," *Journal of Language and Politics* 9, no. 1 (2010): 3.

⁵³ Anna Kyriazi, "Ukrainian Refugees in Hungary: Government Measures and Discourse in the First Year of the War," *Available at SSRN 4313945*, 2022, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4313945.

⁵⁴ Karin Vaagland and Oskar Chmiel, "Parochialism and Non-co-operation: The Case of Poland's Opposition to EU Migration Policy," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, September 5, 2023, 1, doi:10.1111/jcms.13544.

⁵⁵ Kyriazi, "Ukrainian Refugees in Hungary," 2.

⁵⁶ Thomas B. Pepinsky, Ádám Reiff, and Krisztina Szabo, "The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis and the Politics of Public Opinion: Evidence from Hungary," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2022, 3.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kyriazi, "Ukrainian Refugees in Hungary," 3.

⁵⁹ Agata Górný and Roos Van Der Zwan, "Mobility and Labor Market Trajectories of Ukrainian Migrants to Poland in the Context of the 2014 Russian Invasion of Ukraine," *European Societies* 26, no. 2 (2024): 444.

between Ukraine and Poland highlights factors motivating Ukrainian migration, which may become even more relevant as the conflict persists and Ukraine faces long-term recovery and reconstruction needs.⁶⁰

A. Topoi of Solidarity: Welcoming Ukrainian Migrants

Hungary and Poland have both assisted Ukrainian refugees, albeit to differing extents, largely because Ukrainians are viewed as part of their communities.⁶¹ The 2022 Ukrainian-Russian War significantly shifted the Hungarian government's anti-migration narrative.⁶² Hungary's central narrative has aligned with the pan-European consensus on welcoming Ukrainian refugees, embracing a message of solidarity that contrasts sharply with its xenophobic rhetoric during the 2015 migration crisis.⁶³ Orbán states that

*"Russia has attacked Ukraine, so we must let Ukrainian refugees into our country, and we have done well in supporting them with the largest humanitarian aid operation in our country's history. This is the imperative of basic humanity, and we are complying with it."*⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Anita Brzozowska, "'All Is Not yet Lost Here.' The Role of Aspirations and Capabilities in Migration Projects of Ukrainian Migrants in Poland," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 9 (2023): 2381, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2157804>.

⁶¹ Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme 'Good Morning Hungary,'" *About Hungary*, May 5, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-64590cf5cd659>.

⁶² Reményi, Glied, and Pap, "Good and Bad Migrants in Hungary. The Populist Story and the Reality in Hungarian Migration Policy," 325.

⁶³ Ildikó Zakariás et al., "Solidarity with Displaced People from Ukraine in Hungary: Attitudes and Practices," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 2023, 325.

⁶⁴ Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's 'State of the Nation' Address," *About Hungary*, February 18, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address-63f319616e193>.

Similarly, Duda continually emphasizes Poland's commitment to welcoming Ukrainians⁶⁵ into its homes and hearts⁶⁶, protecting them from war,

⁶⁵ Andrzej Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, March 24, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/message-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland,51064>; Andrzej Duda, "Andrzej Duda's Interview with BBC Africa," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/andrzej-duda-interview-bbc-africa,58945>; Andrzej Duda, "Speech by the President of Poland at the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/speech-by-the-president-of-poland-at-the-77th-session-of-the-un-general-assembly,58871>; Andrzej Duda, "President's Interview with News Hour PBS," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 21, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/presidents-interview-with-news-hour-pbs,59115>; Andrzej Duda, "There Is No Freedom without Solidarity Says President," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 21, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/there-is-no-freedom-without-solidarity-says-president,65022>; Andrzej Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 24, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/message-from-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland,65161>; Andrzej Duda, "Summit for Democracy 2023," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, March 29, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/summit-for-democracy-2023,66346>; Andrzej Duda, "Address by the President at the Royal Castle in Warsaw [EN/UA]," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, April 5, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-the-royal-castle-in-warsaw-enua,66712>; Andrzej Duda, "Speech by the President at the General Debate of the 4th Summit of the Council of Europe," *Oficjalna Strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, May 17, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/speech-by-the-president-at-the-general-debate-of-the-4th-summit-of-the-council-of-europe-,68542>; Andrzej Duda, "Statement by President at the Sustainable Development Goals Summit," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 18, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/statement-by-president-at-the-sustainable-development-goals-summit,74880>; Andrzej Duda, "Address by the President at the 78th Session of the UN General Assembly," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 19, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-the-78th-session-of-the-un-general-assembly,74956>.

⁶⁶ Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland," March 24, 2022; Andrzej Duda, "President: If We Want a Safe Europe, We Have to Act," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 23, 2024, <https://www.president.pl/news/president--if-we-want-a-safe-europe-we-have-to-act,81740>.

occupation, and death.⁶⁷ Duda states that “as a state and as a society, we are passing with flying colours the test of genuine solidarity. The challenge that we are confronted with has no precedent.”⁶⁸

B. Topoi of Identity: Describing Ukrainian Migrants as “We”

Just like any socially constructed reality, migration can be framed in different ways and, consequently, can also be deconstructed as a threat.⁶⁹ For example, the Polish government portrays Ukrainian refugees as part of the in-group, deserving of sympathy and support.⁷⁰ As Kabata and Jacobs state

“In contrast to the aggressive, violent, difficult to control ‘Muslim other’, PiS presented a ‘desirable’ other. This represented immigrants that were welcome in Poland as they ‘fit’ Polish society and - with a similar culture - could more easily be integrated. Therefore, not posing a threat to Polish identity, they were labelled as ‘our’ other. In this group included refugees that were Christian, female, children, and elderly people, as well as immigrants from Eastern Europe.”⁷¹

The Hungarian government depicts Ukrainian refugees as part of their community, deserving compassion and support as well. Orbán claims that

“There are Hungarians living there. Part of Ukraine is ancient Hungarian land, which now belongs to Ukraine. The Hungarians live there as an indigenous community: they didn’t immigrate, they weren’t blown there by the wind, they’ve always lived there, it’s their homeland and their land. And they’re also dying in the war. The suffering of Ukraine is also the suffering of the Hungarians living there.”⁷²

Orbán’s remarks imply that if Ukraine suffers, the Hungarian minorities within the country will also endure hardships. Both Orbán and Duda

⁶⁷ Duda, “Andrzej Duda’s Interview with BBC Africa.”

⁶⁸ Duda, “Message by the President of the Republic of Poland,” March 24, 2022.

⁶⁹ Valeria Bello, “Introduction—The Spiralling of the Securitisation of Migration in the EU: From the Management of a ‘Crisis’ to a Governance of Human Mobility?,” in *The Spiralling of the Securitisation of Migration in the European Union* (Routledge, 2023), 1328.

⁷⁰ Vaagland and Chmiel, “Parochialism and Non-co-operation,” 13.

⁷¹ Kabata and Jacobs, “The ‘Migrant Other’ as a Security Threat,” 1231.

⁷² Viktor Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme ‘Good Morning Hungary,’” *About Hungary*, December 1, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-656da327e3510>.

demonstrated that Ukrainian migrants are considered part of their community by avoiding the securitization of these migrants and offering them continuous support. From the critical social constructionist theory, Ukrainian migrants are seen as belonging to “us,” whereas migrants from MENA are viewed as “others.” However, dividing immigrants based on religion and categorizing them as “us” or “other” raises ethical concerns, as it disregards the universal nature of immigrants. Migrants seek safety in these countries due to circumstances beyond their control, aspiring to a humane existence and stability. Rather than distinguishing migrants as either Christian or Muslim, Hungary and Poland would benefit from a unified, inclusive migration policy that applies equally to all.

C. Topoi of Responsibility: Efforts to Help Ukrainian Migrants Integrate into Hungary and Poland

Hungary has provided Ukraine with its largest humanitarian aid initiative to date. Orbán claims that “We are assisting Ukraine in caring for the wounded and war-disabled. We have been supporting millions of displaced people and refugees with the largest humanitarian aid program in Hungarian history.”⁷³ Orbán further states that “we respect the Ukrainians, we help the Ukrainians, and we give them everything we can”⁷⁴

In order to guarantee the welfare and effective integration of Ukrainian migrants into Hungary, the Hungarian government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local communities, and foreign organizations have worked together to develop a number of initiatives. In collaboration with IOM and UNHCR, the Municipality of Budapest launched the Budapest Helps! Since its inception, the Center has given refugees a secure environment while providing trustworthy information and encouraging a feeling of belonging. It has helped hundreds of Third Country Nationals and Ukrainians adjust to life in Hungary.⁷⁵ In addition, to improve Ukrainians’ employability and help them adjust to daily life, free Hungarian language lessons were provided.

⁷³ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.”

⁷⁴ Orbán, “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Statement in Parliament, Responding to Reactions to His Address before the Start of Daily Business.”

⁷⁵ The International Organization for Migration (IOM), “‘Budapest Helps!’ Info and Community Centre for Refugees from Ukraine Marks Two-Year Anniversary,” accessed November 15, 2024, <https://hungary.iom.int/news/budapest-helps-info-and-community-centre-refugees-ukraine-marks-two-year-anniversary>.

Hungary holds a unique position within the EU in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, given its geographic proximity and the presence of a Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine.⁷⁶ With Russia supplying 65% of Hungary's oil and 85% of its gas, Hungary has often sought to maintain stable trade and energy relations with Russia to protect its economic interests.⁷⁷ In this context, Orbán has expressed some concerns regarding Ukrainian migrants. In line with the above discussion, Orbán emphasized the importance of protecting the rights of the Hungarian minority living in Ukraine.⁷⁸ He argues that the approximately 200,000-strong Hungarian community in Ukraine makes this issue a priority, calling for dual citizenship, full community rights, and the opportunity for self-governance for this population.⁷⁹ Orbán goes on to state that the interests of Ukrainian migrants will not take precedence over Hungary's national interests.⁸⁰ He insists that decisions about EU assistance to Ukraine should rest with national governments rather than centralized EU institutions.⁸¹ Moreover, Orbán argues that the EU is not intended to function as a debt community.⁸² His

⁷⁶ Melek Aylin Özoflu and Krisztina Arató, "Perceptions of Hungarian Political Elites of the EU's Foreign and Security Policy during the War in Ukraine," in *Reconfiguring EU Peripheries*, 2024, 38.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Orbán, "Prime Minister's Speech after Taking the Oath of Office"; Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme 'Good Morning Hungary,'" May 5, 2023.

⁷⁹ Orbán, "Prime Minister's Speech after Taking the Oath of Office."

⁸⁰ Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Statement in Parliament, Responding to Reactions to His Address before the Start of Daily Business"; Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme 'Good Morning Hungary,'" *About Hungary*, September 29, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-651a69b83e69e>; Viktor Orbán, "End-of-Year International Press Conference given by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán," *About Hungary*, December 21, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/end-of-year-international-press-conference-given-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban>.

⁸¹ Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme 'Good Morning Hungary,'" September 29, 2023; Orbán, "End-of-Year International Press Conference given by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán."

⁸² Viktor Orbán, "Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the 20th Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference (MÁÉRT) – Miniszterelnok.Hu," Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (November 18, 2022), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-at-the-20th-session-of-the-hungarian-standing-conference-maert/>; Viktor Orbán, "Facebook Post By Prime Minister Viktor Orbán," *Facebook Post By Prime Minister Viktor*

emphasis on nation-states making independent decisions about migration aligns with his broader stance that national governments, rather than EU institutions, should control policies regarding migrants, including those from the MENA region. Similar to the metaphors he uses to describe immigration from the MENA region, Orbán employs phrases like “knocking on our window”⁸³ and “flood of millions of refugees from Ukraine”⁸⁴ when referring to Ukrainian migrants.

In stark contrast to the Polish government’s hostility toward refugees and migrants arriving via Belarus since July 2021, there has been a rapid relief effort at the border, extraordinary generosity from civil society, and a strong willingness by Polish authorities to accept those fleeing from Ukraine.⁸⁵ Poland’s legal response to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine demonstrates its commitment to international humanitarian standards.⁸⁶ Migrants from Eastern Europe -particularly Ukrainians- are not only welcomed but supported by legal measures designed to facilitate their entry and address labor shortages and demographic challenges.⁸⁷

Polish authorities have previously shown flexibility by quickly processing asylum requests and granting humanitarian visas and temporary protection statuses.⁸⁸ To support this effort, the Polish government committed to providing 300 PLN to each Ukrainian migrant, including children, who

Orbán, February 9, 2023, <https://abouthungary.hu//speeches-and-remarks/facebook-post-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban>.

⁸³ Orbán, “Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the 20th Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference (MÁÉRT) – Miniszterelnok.Hu.”

⁸⁴ Viktor Orbán, “Press Statement by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the Government End-of-Year International Press Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu,” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, (December 21, 2022), <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/press-statement-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-at-the-government-end-of-year-international-press-conference/>.

⁸⁵ Amnesty International, “Poland: Cruelty Not Compassion, at Europe’s Other Borders,” *Amnesty International*, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur37/5460/2022/en/>.

⁸⁶ Kateryna Demchuk and Oksana Krayevska, “The Transformation of Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Context of Migration Policy Implementation,” *Studies in European Affairs/Studia Europejskie* 27, no. 4 (2023): 147.

⁸⁷ Kabata and Jacobs, “The ‘Migrant Other’ as a Security Threat,” 1232.

⁸⁸ Demchuk and Krayevska, “The Transformation of Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Context of Migration Policy Implementation,” 147.

arrived after February 24, 2022.⁸⁹ Duda⁹⁰ takes pride in Poland's approach, highlighting that no fences or camps have been built for these migrants⁹¹ and frequently expressing pride in Poland's solidarity with Ukraine.

In addition to voting and holding public office, Ukrainians granted asylum or temporary protection in Poland enjoy the same rights as Polish citizens.⁹² The Polish government introduced a national identification number (PESEL) to facilitate Ukrainian integration, granting them access to social benefits, healthcare, education, and even the ability to start businesses.⁹³ Duda asserts that every effort has been made to integrate Ukrainians into Poland and the EU⁹⁴, stating, "we also support the integration of Ukraine in the European Union."⁹⁵ He further emphasizes that Ukrainian and Polish children attend the same schools, underscoring Poland's commitment to fostering unity⁹⁶. As mentioned above, several factors contribute to the extensive support provided by Hungary and Poland to Ukrainian migrants. However, the critical social constructivist perspective on identity is essential to understanding this support, as Ukrainian migrants are seen as part of a shared Polish and Hungarian (and broader European) identity.

Conclusion

This study applies the theory of critical social constructivism and the technique of argumentation of (historical) critical discourse analysis to investigate the perspectives of Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán and Polish

⁸⁹ Ibid., 139.

⁹⁰ Duda, "Speech by the President of Poland at the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly"; Duda, "Address by the President at the Royal Castle in Warsaw [EN/UA]"; Duda, "President," February 23, 2024.

⁹¹ Duda, "Speech by the President of Poland at the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly"; Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland," March 24, 2022; Duda, "Address by the President at the 78th Session of the UN General Assembly."

⁹² Demchuk and Krayevska, "The Transformation of Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Context of Migration Policy Implementation.," 138.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Duda, "Statement by President at the Sustainable Development Goals Summit."

⁹⁵ Andrzej Duda, "Declaration of the Heads of State Bucharest 9 Meeting," *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, June 10, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/declaration-of-the-heads-of-state-bucharest-9-meeting-,55290>.

⁹⁶ Duda, "Speech by the President of Poland at the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly."

President Duda on migrants from the MENA region and Ukraine. It illustrates how MENA migrants are viewed as “others” in Hungary and Poland, while Ukrainian migrants are perceived as part of the “we” and welcomed into these countries.

The study’s findings reveal that Orbán and Duda make similar arguments against MENA migration, often associating these migrants with terrorism, criminality, and threats to Christian identity and cultural values. By portraying MENA migrants as outsiders and securitizing them, Orbán and Duda position them as a threat to national survival. Both leaders view MENA migrants as economic migrants, suggesting they be redirected to third-world countries. This framing of MENA migrants as the “out-group” highlights the role of “the other” in constructing identity within critical social constructivist discourse. Additionally, Orbán and Duda challenge the EU’s immigration policies, arguing for national control over migration. Both leaders claim that by fortifying their borders, they are defending not only Hungary and Poland but Europe as a whole.

The study also reveals a marked contrast in Hungary and Poland’s treatment of Ukrainian migrants. Migrants from Ukraine are welcomed in both countries as they are viewed as part of the community -Christian, white Europeans who belong to the “in-group.” Orbán and Duda have frequently supported one another’s humanitarian initiatives. Orbán claims that Hungary has provided Ukraine with the largest humanitarian aid in the country’s history, while Duda underscores Poland’s commitment to sheltering Ukrainians from violence, stating that Polish citizens have opened their homes and hearts. Additionally, Duda highlights efforts to integrate Ukrainians into Polish society, with Ukrainian and Polish children attending the same schools. However, Orbán emphasizes the rights of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, insisting that Ukraine must protect these rights and asserting that Hungary’s national interests will not be secondary to those of Ukrainian migrants.

This study is significant as it uses (historical) critical social constructivism as a theoretical framework and argumentation technique of critical discourse analysis as a methodological approach to scrutinize political discourses, thereby highlighting the extent of bias in migration policies in Hungary and Poland. By examining the issue through direct engagement with policymakers’ language, this study provides insights into the diverse national perspectives. However, analyzing a country’s immigration policy solely through discourse analysis has its limitations. To fill gaps in academic literature, further studies using diverse theoretical frameworks and methodologies are necessary.

References

- Amnesty International. "Poland: Cruelty Not Compassion, at Europe's Other Borders." *Amnesty International*, 2022. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur37/5460/2022/en/>.
- Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. *Constructions of European Identity: Debates and Discourses on Turkey and the EU*. Palgrave Macmillan Basingstoke–New York, 2012.
- Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. "Critical Discourse Analysis in Analysing European Union Foreign Policy: Prospects and Challenges." *Cooperation and Conflict* 49, no. 3 (2014): 354–67.
- Aydın-Düzgit, Senem, and Bahar Rumelili. "Discourse Analysis: Strengths and Shortcomings." *All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace* 8, no. 2 (2019): 285–305.
- Bello, Valeria. "Introduction—The Spiralling of the Securitisation of Migration in the EU: From the Management of a 'Crisis' to a Governance of Human Mobility?" In *The Spiralling of the Securitisation of Migration in the European Union*, 1–18. Routledge, 2023.
- Benková, Livia. "Hungary-Orbán's Project towards 'Illiberal Democracy.'" *AIES Fokus* 2 (2019): 1–4.
- "Bingo! Promising Developments in Argumentation Theory." In *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse*, 27:55–77. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015.
- Brzozowska, Anita. "'All Is Not yet Lost Here.' The Role of Aspirations and Capabilities in Migration Projects of Ukrainian Migrants in Poland." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 9 (2023): 2373–90. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2157804>.
- Çıkrıkçı, Tolga, and Mehmet Akif Okur. "İnsan Güvenliği Merceğinde Sığınmacı Krizi ve Avrupa." *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi* 20, no. 1 (2021): 97–127.
- Czyż, Anna. "Hungary and Poland Facing the Migration Crisis." *Problemy Polityki Społecznej. Social Policy Issues* 59, no. 4 (2022): 289–303.
- Demchuk, Kateryna, and Oksana Krayevska. "The Transformation of Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Context of Migration Policy Implementation." *Studies in European Affairs/Studia Europejskie* 27, no. 4 (2023).
- Duda, Andrzej. "Address by the President at the 78th Session of the UN General Assembly." *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 19, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-the-78th-session-of-the-un-general-assembly,74956>.

-
- . “Address by the President at the Royal Castle in Warsaw [EN/UA].” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, April 5, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-the-royal-castle-in-warsaw-enua,66712>.
- . “Andrzej Duda’s Interview with BBC Africa.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2022. <https://www.president.pl/news/andrzej-duda-interview-bbc-africa,58945>.
- . “Declaration of the Heads of State Bucharest 9 Meeting.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, June 10, 2022. <https://www.president.pl/news/declaration-of-the-heads-of-state-bucharest-9-meeting-,55290>.
- . “EU Community Should Be Based on European Solidarity.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 22, 2015. <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-community-should-be-based-on-european-solidarity,36002>.
- . “EU Should Be a Union of Sovereign Countries.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 8, 2015. <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-should-be-a-union-of-sovereign-countries,35995>.
- . “Message by the President of the Republic of Poland.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, March 24, 2022. <https://www.president.pl/news/message-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland,51064>.
- . “Message by the President of the Republic of Poland.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 24, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/message-from-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland,65161>.
- . “Migration Crisis Is a Problem of Entire EU.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 10, 2015. <https://www.president.pl/news/migration-crisis-is-a-problem-of-entire-eu,36016>.
- . “Migration Crisis Is a Problem of Entire EU.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, October 9, 2015. <https://www.president.pl/news/migration-crisis-is-a-problem-of-entire-eu,36016>.
- . “Polish President Calls for Changes in European Union.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/polish-president-calls-for-changes-in-european-union,36231>.

-
- . “Polish President Favours Bigger NATO Presence in CEE \ News \ Oficjalna Strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, November 31, 2015. <https://www.president.pl/news/polish-president-favours-bigger-nato-presence-in-cee,36028>.
- . “President Condemns Punishment for Polish ‘No’ to Refugees.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, June 13, 2017. <https://www.president.pl/news/president-condemns-punishment-for-polish-no-to-refugees,36433>.
- . “President: EU Must Be Associated with Efficiency.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 15, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/eu-must-be-associated-with-efficiency,36225>.
- . “President for „Bild Am Sonntag”: We Want to Repair the Union.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, October 28, 2018. <https://www.president.pl/news/president-for-bild-am-sonntag-we-want-to-repair-the-union,36843>.
- . “President for ‘Financial Times’: Poland Is Still pro-European.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, January 18, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/president-for-financial-times-poland-is-still-pro-european,36062>.
- . “President: If We Want a Safe Europe, We Have to Act.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 23, 2024. <https://www.president.pl/news/president--if-we-want-a-safe-europe-we-have-to-act,81740>.
- . “President: Terror Wave Undoubtedly Connected with Migration.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 15, 2017. <https://www.president.pl/news/president-terror-wave-undoubtedly-connected-with-migration,36523>.
- . “President’s Address at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, November 16, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/presidents-address-at-the-council-of-europe-in-strasbourg,36270>.
- . “President’s Interview with News Hour PBS.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 21, 2022. <https://www.president.pl/news/presidents-interview-with-news-hour-pbs,59115>.
- . “Speech by the President at the General Debate of the 4th Summit of the Council of Europe.” *Oficjalna Strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*,

- May 17, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/speech-by-the-president-at-the-general-debate-of-the-4th-summit-of-the-council-of-europe-68542>.
- . “Speech by the President of Poland at the 77th Session of the UN General Assembly.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 20, 2022. <https://www.president.pl/news/speech-by-the-president-of-poland-at-the-77th-session-of-the-un-general-assembly-58871>.
- . “Statement by President at the Sustainable Development Goals Summit.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, September 18, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/statement-by-president-at-the-sustainable-development-goals-summit-74880>.
- . “Summit for Democracy 2023.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, March 29, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/summit-for-democracy-2023-66346>.
- . “There Is No Freedom without Solidarity Says President.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, February 21, 2023. <https://www.president.pl/news/there-is-no-freedom-without-solidarity-says-president-65022>.
- . “We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, January 13, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/we-want-a-union-of-free-nations-and-equal-states-36061>.
- . “We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States.” *The Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland*, January 13, 2016. <https://www.president.pl/news/we-want-a-union-of-free-nations-and-equal-states-36061>.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. “TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4, no. 1 (2001): 391–416.
- Górny, Agata, and Roos Van Der Zwan. “Mobility and Labor Market Trajectories of Ukrainian Migrants to Poland in the Context of the 2014 Russian Invasion of Ukraine.” *European Societies* 26, no. 2 (2024): 438–68.
- Kabata, Monika, and An Jacobs. “The ‘Migrant Other’ as a Security Threat: The ‘Migration Crisis’ and the Securitising Move of the Polish Ruling Party in Response to the EU Relocation Scheme.” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 31, no. 4 (2023): 1223–39.
- Karamanidou, Eleni. “Historical Experiences of Migration in Political Discourse in Greece: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Explore Policy Legitimation.” *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 161–81.

- KhosraviNik, Majid. "The Reception and Integration of Refugees from Ukraine in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary—The New Immigration Destinations of Central Europe." *Journal of Language and Politics* 9, no. 1 (2010): 1–28.
- Kolumban, Kinga. "Defending Our Borders: Metaphor Scenarios in Hungarian and Romanian Political Discourse on Migration." *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov, Series IV: Philology & Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2023): 39–68.
- Kyriazi, Anna. "Ukrainian Refugees in Hungary: Government Measures and Discourse in the First Year of the War." *Available at SSRN 4313945*, 2022. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4313945.
- Lokaj, Zdeněk. *(Mis)Representing Islam. The Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.
- Miholjcic, Nina. "The Securitization of Migration Issue: Hungarian Case." *Jurnalul Practicilor Comunitare Pozitive* 17, no. 3 (2017): 58–66.
- Orbán, Viktor. "Address by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán in the Debate on the So-Called 'Sargentini Report' – Miniszterelnok.Hu." Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, September 11, 2018. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/address-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-in-the-debate-on-the-so-called-sargentini-report/>.
- . "End-of-Year International Press Conference given by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán." *About Hungary*, December 21, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/end-of-year-international-press-conference-given-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban>.
- . "Facebook Post By Prime Minister Viktor Orbán." *Facebook Post By Prime Minister Viktor Orbán*, February 9, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/facebook-post-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban>.
- . "Lecture of Viktor Orbán – Miniszterelnok.Hu." *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, July 8, 2010. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/lecture-of-viktor-orban/>.
- . "Orbán Viktor's Speech at the Europe Forum Conference." *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 8, 2014. <https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/the-prime-ministers-speeches/orban-viktor-s-speech-at-the-europe-forum-conference>.
- . "Press Statement by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the Government End-of-Year International Press Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu." Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, December 21, 2022. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/press-statement-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-at-the-government-end-of-year-international-press-conference/>.

-
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme ‘Good Morning Hungary.’” *About Hungary*, May 5, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu//speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-64590cf5cd659>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme ‘Good Morning Hungary.’” *About Hungary*, September 29, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu//speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-651a69b83e69e>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Radio Programme ‘Good Morning Hungary.’” *About Hungary*, December 1, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu//speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-the-kossuth-radio-programme-good-morning-hungary-656da327e3510>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, November 16, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-address-in-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address in Parliament before the Start of Daily Business – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 12, 2016. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-address-in-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address to Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 21, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-address-to-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the Start of Daily Business.” *About Hungary*, February 26, 2024. <https://abouthungary.hu//speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-address-to-the-hungarian-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business-65ddaea573f93>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Preliminary Address to Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, February 15, 2016. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-preliminary-address-to-parliament/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Press Statement Following His Meeting with Prime Minister of Poland Beata Szydło – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, September 22, 2017. <https://2015->

2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-press-statement-following-his-meeting-with-prime-minister-of-poland-beata-szydlo/.

- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Reply in Parliament.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 23, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-reply-in-parliament>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Response to Questions from Members of the European Parliament.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 19, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-response-to-questions-from-members-of-the-european-parliament>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 14th Plenary Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, December 1, 2015. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-14th-plenary-session-of-the-hungarian-standing-conference/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 27th Congress of Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, November 12, 2017. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-27th-congress-of-fidesz-hungarian-civic-union/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the International Conference ‘Helmut Kohl – the Chancellor of Unification.’” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, June 2, 2016. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-international-conference-helmut-kohl-the-chancellor-of-unification>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the International Consultation on Christian Persecution – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, October 12, 2017. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-international-consultation-on-christian-persecution/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech in the European Parliament.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 19, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-in-the-european-parliament>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech on the Night of the European Parliament Election – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, May 26, 2019. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-on-the-night-of-the-european-parliament-election/>.

- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s ‘State of the Nation’ Address.” *About Hungary*, February 18, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address-63f319616e193>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s State of the Nation Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, February 10, 2017. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address-2/>.
- . “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Statement in Parliament, Responding to Reactions to His Address before the Start of Daily Business.” *About Hungary*, February 27, 2023. <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-statement-in-parliament-responding-to-reactions-to-his-address-before-the-start-of-daily-business>.
- . “Prime Minister’s Speech after Taking the Oath of Office.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, May 10, 2014. <https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/the-prime-ministers-speeches/prime-minister-s-speech-after-taking-the-oath-of-office>.
- . “Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the 20th Session of the Hungarian Standing Conference (MÁÉRT) – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, November 18, 2022. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-at-the-20th-session-of-the-hungarian-standing-conference-maert/>.
- . “Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on 15 March – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, March 15, 2016. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-15-march/>.
- . “Speech by Viktor Orbán at the Launch Event for the Fidesz – KDNP European Parliament Election Programme – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, April 5, 2019. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/speech-by-viktor-orban-at-the-launch-event-for-the-fidesz-kdnp-european-parliament-election-programme/>.
- . “Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress.” *Website of the Hungarian Government*, October 22, 2015. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/speech-of-viktor-orban-at-the-epp-congress20151024>.
- . “Viktor Orbán’s Press Conference after an Extraordinary Meeting of the European Council – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, September 16, 2016. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-press-conference-after-an-extraordinary-meeting-of-the-european-council/>.

- . “Viktor Orbán’s Reply in the European Parliament – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister, April 26, 2017. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-reply-in-the-european-parliament/>.
- . “Viktor Orbán’s ‘State of the Nation’ Address – Miniszterelnok.Hu.” *Cabinet Office of the Prime Minister*, February 10, 2018. <https://2015-2022.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-orbans-state-of-the-nation-address/>.
- Özoflu, Melek Aylin, and Krisztina Arató. “Perceptions of Hungarian Political Elites of the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy during the War in Ukraine.” In *Reconfiguring EU Peripheries*, 33–54, 2024.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., Ádám Reiff, and Krisztina Szabo. “The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis and the Politics of Public Opinion: Evidence from Hungary.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 2022, 1–26.
- Reisigl, Martin, and Wodak Ruth. “The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA).” In *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis.*, 87–121. London: Sage, 2009.
- Reményi, Péter, Viktor Glied, and Norbert Pap. “Good and Bad Migrants in Hungary. The Populist Story and the Reality in Hungarian Migration Policy.” *Social Policy Issues* 59, no. 4 (2023): 323–44.
- Rumelili, Bahar. “İnşacılık/Konstruktivizm.” In *Küresel Siyasete Giriş: Uluslararası İlişkilerde Kavramlar, Teoriler, Süreçler*, 151–73. İstanbul, 2014.
- The International Organization for Migration (IOM). “‘Budapest Helps!’ Info and Community Centre for Refugees from Ukraine Marks Two-Year Anniversary.” Accessed November 15, 2024. <https://hungary.iom.int/news/budapest-helps-info-and-community-centre-refugees-ukraine-marks-two-year-anniversary>.
- They, Sarina. “Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory.” *E-International Relations*, 2018.
- Vaagland, Karin, and Oskar Chmiel. “Parochialism and Non-co-operation: The Case of Poland’s Opposition to EU Migration Policy.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, September 5, 2023, jcms.13544. doi:10.1111/jcms.13544.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. “Discourse and Migration.” In *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*, 227–45. Springer International Publishing, 2018.
- Van Eemeren, Frans H., Sally Jackson, and Scott Jacobs. “Argumentation.” In *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse*, by Frans H. Van Eemeren, 3–25. Argumentation Library. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-20955-5_1.
- Vezovnik, Andreja. “Securitizing Migration in Slovenia: A Discourse Analysis of the Slovenian Refugee Situation.” *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16, no.

1–2 (2018): 39–56.
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15562948.2017.1282576>.

Wodak, Ruth. *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. Sage, 2015.

Yazıcı, İsmail. “Security and Immigration: Contested Perspectives on the Migration Crisis in Hungary.” *Presentation Type*, 2021, 194.

Zakariás, Ildikó, Margit Feischmidt, Márton Gerő, András Morauszki, Violetta Zentai, and Csilla Zsigmond. “Solidarity with Displaced People from Ukraine in Hungary: Attitudes and Practices.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 2023.