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The Right of Free Movement and the Borderlands in Europe

Perceptions, Practices and Perspectives in the Context of the Refugee Crisis and the Terrorist Attacks in Paris

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"Place and space are constituted by movement,

but the experience of movement can be very different".

- Orvar Löfgren, 1999. *Crossing borders: The nationalization of anxiety.*

Abstract

The Right of Free Movement and the Borderlands in Europe: Perceptions, Practices and Perspectives in the Context of the Refugee Crisis and the Terrorist Attacks in Paris

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This thesis examines how the right of free movement and the borders are perceived and practiced by Europeans, and how they affect the everyday lives of Europeans in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks. It claims that EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area constitute a cultural construction within Europe based on inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship. The freedom of movement and the Schengen Agreement form mobility capital enabling to move freely within the territories of the nations where they function, although currently the Schengen Agreement does not function fully as it used to before the refugee crisis and Paris attacks, determining the changing role of passport. The thesis enables to understand how the public policy influences on the lives of the Europeans and helps to reveal whether the public policy on the freedom of movement and the boundaries correspond to the needs of the Europeans in terms of opportunities and challenges. The methodology of the research is mainly based on the qualitative interviewing of Europeans and analysis of documents, although observations, autoethnography and visual data were also used as supplementary research tools. According to the research, the Europeans are very mobile due to mobility capital they have regardless of social status. However, the right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement enable not only a lifestyle migration, but they may also lead to security issues, as well as leak of human capital resulting in brain drain from some European regions to brain gain to economically more attractive European nations. In the context of the current developments in Europe the Europeans prioritize security embodied in border controls, although the passport-free circulation within the Schengen area is preferred. Finally, the right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement are closely interrelated in the cross-border regions. Although the Europeans have a right to work in other countries within the frames of freedom of movement, the current border controls determined by the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks make their everyday commuting lives more time consuming, complicated and stressful in the cross-border regions.

Keywords: freedom of movement; migration; mobility; border; border control; the Schengen Agreement; passport; refugee crisis; terrorism; security.

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Elen Kerobyan

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1 Introduction

I collected my luggage at Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris and moved to the direction of the exit, when one of the security officers suddenly stopped me, a young woman from Armenia with black hair and light skin. He asked me in French whether I spoke French and I answered back in French that I spoke just a little French. Then he asked whether I spoke English and I nodded. In reply he started asking questions with a strict voice: "What country are you coming from? What is the purpose of your visit? How long are you going to stay in Paris? Do you have relatives or friends here? Do you have more that 10.000 Euro with you?" I did not anticipate such kind of "inspection" and got confused since it was the first time in my life I was stopped and asked such questions. Scared a little bit of the stern voice of the young tall security officer and not that welcoming posture, I answered the questions realizing why he was asking them… However, it was strange that he did not ask for a passport or any other document confirming my identity, eligibility to arrive in Paris and just let me go. I was curious whether I was the only person stopped, but the voices of the security officer and a female traveler behind indicated that it was not an uncommon procedure. Nevertheless, the negative feelings caused by this interrogation made me think that it would make more sense for me if the airport authorities would have just conducted the passport control, in compliance with the announcement of the stewardess earlier on the plane about reestablishment of the border control in the Schengen area by France, rather than had conducted such kind of unwelcoming and unfriendly "unofficial" check.

Strict security checks and the military with weapons in some public places in Paris were reminding about the horror the country experienced in November 2015 and that France was still in the state of emergency. In Strasbourg-Kehl area of the frontier between France and Germany, where a border control was established on the bridge of Europe, *le Pont de l'Europe,* immediately after the terrorist attacks in November 2015, the police was conducting a selective, rather than a compulsory border control stopping and checking documents of passengers of buses passing the bridge-border, as well as random cars at the entry to France. Nevertheless, as I noticed and experienced myself while crossing the border to get to Kehl and on the way back to Strasbourg on foot, pedestrians were not being checked at all.

On the way back to Sweden I knew that on the platform at the train station of Kastrup International Airport in Copenhagen Danish security officers conducted border control starting from the 4th of January 2016, since it was not only widely announced and discussed

in the European and International media, but I had experienced it earlier, in the middle of January. I prepared my documents before approaching security officers wearing yellow vests marked "Security". A middle-aged female security officer asked me for documents and I handed them quickly. She seemed to be indifferent and it took her about a minute to look at my passport, then the Swedish residence permit card, take a photo of the card and let me to step to the platform smoothly. The first thing caught my attention on the platform, as in January, were the fences in the middle of the tracks built recently because of the refugee crisis symbolizing the recreation of the border between Denmark and Sweden, and in general the border crisis in Europe.

I was also aware that the Swedish border police conducted border checks in the first station in Sweden since last November, just before the terror attacks in Paris. When the Öresundståg reached Hyllie station in Malmö it was announced on the train that the Swedish border police would enter the train to check documents, and passengers were recommended to have their passports ready, something which I had already experienced at Hyllie earlier. It took for a while until a female police officer entered the almost empty coach from another one. She approached every passenger and asked for documents politely. When I showed her my residence permit card, she also asked for a passport. After a quick look at my passport I heard the Swedish "Tack!"

Thus, I traveled from Sweden to France via Denmark and the Netherlands, then from France to Germany and back, followed by a travel from France to Sweden via Denmark and I had completely different perceptions, experiences, feelings and emotions while entering and leaving the above mentioned countries. There was no need for visas to enter all these countries with the Swedish residence permit, because of the existence of freedom of movement within the European Union [EU], European Economic Area [EEA] member countries and Switzerland [CH]. Simultaneously, although in the beginning of my long journey I was not checked at all while traveling from Lund via Copenhagen and Amsterdam to Paris, where I came across with an "unofficial" border control embodied in the security officer questioning me, and later during my pedestrian crossings of the French-German border, I was checked twice on the way back to Sweden both by the Danish and the Swedish authorities within less than half an hour. And all these different experiences happened within the passport-free Schengen area symbolizing the borderless Europe, since all of the above mentioned countries are Schengen area nations.

In fact, the reestablished border controls in several Schengen area nations were

determined by the influx of refugees and illegal migrants, which reached the peak in the autumn 2015 (Kirk, 2016, January, 5; "Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25). The refugee crisis assessed as the worst in Europe since WWII was a result of the war in Syria started in 2010, which is still ongoing, as well as the Arab Spring, started in December 2010 in Tunisia and spread in the Arab world in 2011 bringing down regimes ("Europe is facing", 2015, August 28; "Arab Spring", 2013, December 13; "Arab uprising", 2013, December 16). The tragic events in Paris where more than 100 people got victims of terror attacks on the 13th of November 2015 made the perception of the refugee crisis even worse, since, according to French authorities, some of the committers of the attacks entered Europe as refugees in October 2015 ("Paris attacks", 2015, November 20; "Paris attack victims**,** 2015, November 18; "Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25). So, the refugee crisis and Paris attacks turned to be breaking points dividing time into "past" and "present", "before" and "after", since there were no border controls within the Schengen area before them.

Hence, the refugee crisis and Paris attacks followed by the Brussels blasts on the 22nd of March 2016 ("Brussels attacks", 2016, March 22; "Brussels explosions", 2016, April 09), and the reestablishment of border controls in several European countries of the Schengen area determined by the above mentioned factors reflect the way the European citizens and permanent residents perceive and experience both the freedom of movement and the borders in their daily lives.

1.1 Background and definition of the problem area

Historically, the idea of the right of free movement or the freedom of movement in Europe originated from the Nordic Passport Union which was initially established in 1952 when the Nordic nations reached an agreement to abolish passports for travelers between Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland (Bauböck 2009, p. 10; Betts, 2011, p. 115; "Nordic Passport Union", n.d.). In 1954 the agreement was expanded allowing citizens of these countries to reside and work in any Nordic country without a residence and work permit. The third step was the removal of passport controls at internal Nordic borders by a treaty signed in 1957 which came into the force in 1958 ("Nordic Passport Union", n.d.).

Simultaneously, the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which founded the European Economic Community [EEC] and created a common market between six signatory nations – Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany [West Germany], Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, established the right of free movement of workers moving between member

states, along with free movement of capital, goods and services, accomplished with a recently added fifth freedom –free movement of knowledge (as cited in Andersen, Klatt, & Sandberg, 2012, p. 8-9; Castles 2004, p. 217; Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 197; Newland, 2005, p. 5; "Treaty of Rome", n.d.). It was applied fully by 1968 and countries that joined later had to pass through a transition period to get the same privilege. Starting from 1993 the right for free movement applied to not only workers, but also all citizens (Newland, 2005, p. 5).

Currently, the freedom movement of persons is a founding principle and a fundamental right in the EU (Andersen et al., 2012, p. 8-9), as well as in the EEA ("The EEA Agreement", n.d.). Particularly, it brings together the EU member countries and the three EEA EFTA [The European Free Trade Association] nations - Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway ("The European free trade association", n.d.; "Free Movement of Persons", n.d.). And CH as EFTA member state has an agreement with EU on free movement ("Free Movement of Persons Switzerland – EU/EFTA", n.d.).
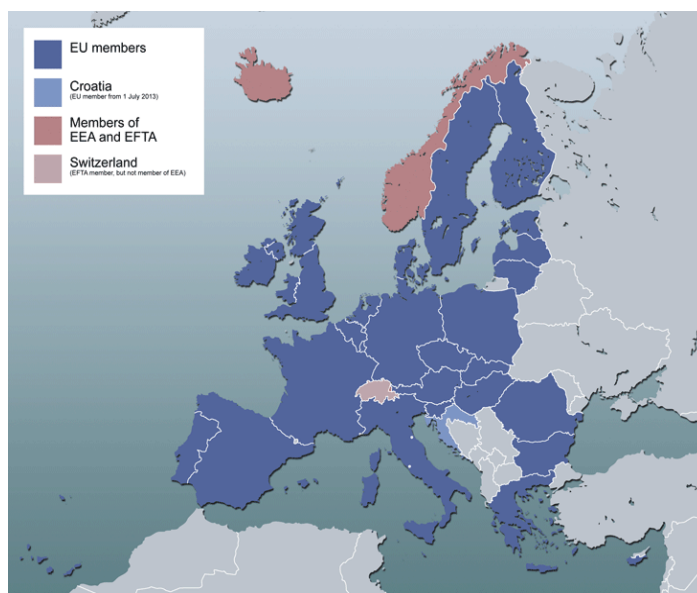
The map of the EU, EEA and CH

("The EEA Agreement and Norway's", n.d.)

The increasing support for the generation of a more authentic common market made France, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands to sign the Schengen Agreement in a small village in Luxembourg called Schengen in 1985 to create a passport-free Europe in which the EU citizens could be entitled to circulate freely internally without the traditional passport control within strictly coordinated external border controls (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 1, 38; Betts, 2011, p 82; Castles 2004, p. 217; Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 197; Loftus, p. 121; Newland, 2005, p. 5; Rossi dal Pozzo, 2013, p. 61; "Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25; "Schengen visa countries list", n.d.). However, the

Agreement established that in the cases of threats to public policy or public security, member countries could reinstate controls at their borders temporarily (Bauböck 2009, p. 11; Rossi dal Pozzo, 2013, p. 61). Nevertheless, in the beginning the Schengen Agreement was not part of EEC framework and involved only France, Germany and the Benelux countries, and it was not implemented until 1995 (Castles, 2004, p. 217). Simultaneously, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 started a new era in the integration processes between the Western and the Eastern Europe (Le Gloannec, 2009, November 9).

The Schengen Agreement came into the force in 1995 for Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Portugal, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, which had established the necessary procedures meaning complete removal of border controls for people moving between these states. Austria and Italy joined the Schengen Agreement in 1997, Greece in 2000, and Nordic countries followed the same route in 2001. The EU enlargement of 2004 led to the expansion of the number of countries which joined the Schengen Agreement in 2007. CH joined the Schengen area in 2008 and Liechtenstein in 2011 (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 198; "Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25; Newland, 2005, p. 5; "Schengen visa info", n.d.).

Which countries have removed internal borders?
("Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25)

However, not all EU countries are part of the Schengen area, which indicates the existence of mental maps, that is, representations of spatial-social contexts (Löfgren, 2008, p. 197; Schenk, 2013, July 8) dividing Europe into the "Schengen area" and "non-Schengen area", excluding some EU nations, while including some non-EU countries (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 46).

It is also worth mentioning that the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam (Articles 61, 62 and 63) which determined the policy objectives with regard to migration, asylum, free movement of persons, visas, rules governing the crossing of the external borders of the EU, as well as the rights of nationals of third countries, came into the force in 1999 (Betts, 2011, p. 83; Castles, 2004, p. 217).

In general, the right of free movement has enabled the European citizens and residents to travel, settle, work and study freely across the intra-European borders without visas contributing this way to more integration within the European continent (Andersen et al., 2012, pp. 8-9). And the Schengen Agreement has made possible a creation of an area of passport-free movement within rigorously controlled external borders (Castles, 2004, p. 217) simultaneously being called to act as a filtering tool letting in those ones who bring wealth and keeping out those who bring burden (Andersen et al., 2012, p. 2).

Both the right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement are results of economic, political, social and cultural integration and cooperation of certain territories in Europe, the main aim of which was opening of the borders and having a common integrated space. At the same time, EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area are territories with a certain meaning having a material implication. As spaces they constitute a cultural construction within Europe based on inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship. Particularly, the freedom of movement and the Schengen area determine what it means to be a European. Simultaneously, the right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement constitute mobility capital, although the Schengen Agreement functions differently in various member states in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks determining the changing role of passport. As to the citizens of non-Schengen area countries, they may travel within the Schengen area through the Schengen visa ("Schengen visa information", n.d.).

Thus, EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area are in the focus of this research, because the right of free movement is the same in EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area. And throughout the whole text I refer to EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area nations shortly as European countries (Europe), their citizens and permanent residents as Europeans correspondingly.

1.2 Aim of the thesis and research questions

The aim of the thesis is to study how the right of free movement and the borders are perceived and practiced by citizens and permanent residents of European countries, and how

they affect the everyday lives of Europeans in the context of the current refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015.

In order to address this aim I will answer the following research questions: How does the right of free movement influence on the mobility and daily lives of Europeans? How does the right of free movement affect the migration processes within Europe? What are the cultural meanings of the freedom of movement and the Schengen Agreement in the everyday life of Europeans? How are the right of free movement and the borders perceived and experienced by the Europeans? Are they interrelated? What are the perceptions and experiences of the boundaries within the frames of the Schengen Agreement in the Strasbourg-Kehl and Öresund cross-border areas currently? How do the refugee crisis and Paris attacks influence on the everyday lives of Europeans?

Thereby, within the frames of this work I am going to study the right of free movement and the borderlands within EU, EEA, CH and the Schengen area in the context of the refugee crisis and Paris attacks, because I am interested in finding out how the right of free movement and the borders of these territories are perceived and practiced, how the everyday lives of Europeans are affected. This will enable us to understand how the public policy, that is, the established laws and government actions influence on people's lives and it will give an opportunity to clarify whether the public policy on the right of free movement and border functioning correspond to the needs of citizens and permanent residents of EU, EEA and CH in terms of opportunities and challenges. As a result, the above mentioned research questions will contribute to the understanding of how the daily movements of Europeans are affected by the refugee crisis and Paris attacks, and how these factors have resulted in the reestablished border controls in Europe.

1.3 Methodology, fieldwork and ethics

The theoretical perspective of the thesis is based on cultural analysis, anthropology and sociology. To study the perceptions, the experiences and the perspectives of Europeans on the right of free movement and the borders, qualitative methods, such as *qualitative interviews* and *analysis of documents* were used as the main methods of research. *Observations and autoethnography* were applied as supplementary methods, and some photos were also taken during the fieldwork (Mason, 1998; Kvale, 2007; Silverman, 2010a; Silverman, 2010b; Ehn, 2011).

I applied the method of the in-depth interviews to get perspectives of Europeans on the right of free movement and the borders. The main advantage of the qualitative interview is that "the interview is a powerful method of producing knowledge of the human situation" (Kvale, 2007, p. 9), as it gives an opportunity to get perceptions and experiences of the interviewees regarding specific issues in detail, and thereby gives in-depth insights regarding the research topic.

Particularly, both male and female citizens of various ages (25-55) and social statuses (students, employed and unemployed persons) from different European countries took part in both online and face-to-face interviews. Since the focus of the research was on the perceptions and experiences of the European citizens and permanent residents, the perspectives of the temporary residents of European countries and non-citizens/non-residents were not involved in the study. For the research interests I was interested in interviewees from different European regions to get diverse perspectives. In total, I conducted 10 interviews (2 men and 8 women) with citizens of Denmark, Sweden, Romania, Latvia, Slovakia, Greece, Lithuania and Italy, as well as one permanent resident of France. The interviews were conducted in 3 languages: English (8), Armenian (1) and Russian (1). It is also important to mention about some limitations of the research determined by difficulties of getting interviewees, as a result of which gender, age, status and nationality variables were not equally represented among interviewees. Since I was interested in the opinions of the Europeans, I was looking for potential interviewees within my social network, which is mainly represented by people of my age. So, in that sense it was difficult to get access to middle aged and elderly interviewees. At the same time, the factor of being busy or unforeseen situations in the lives of potential interviewees in some cases prevented their participation in the research, resulting in unequal representation of interviewees based on nationality, gender, age and social status.

The method of the analysis of documentary sources, which assumes ordinarily investigation of text-based documents, although it may also involve analysis of non-text based documents, such as photographs, graphics and etc. (Mason, 1998, p. 71), was also implemented to study the European and international mass-media online publications, as well as reports on the issues under study. Particularly, electronic publications by *The Local,* the largest English-language news network available in 9 European countries*, articles by *Radio Sweden – News in English, BBC, The Independent, The Guardian, The Telegraph, The New York Times* and etc., as well as other online publications [around 200 in total] were reviewed

starting from June 2015 until April 2016 and 49 out of them were used in the research. The online publications were chosen according to their relevance to the research topic, and each of them was saved in a separate Word document where along with the content, the date and the link of the publication was indicated. Before incorporating them into the research in the form of facts on phenomena and processes, the publications were grouped according to their content.

I used also the method of the observation, which supposes immersion into the research field and observing dimensions of the research setting, relationships, actions, events and etc. (Mason, 1998, p. 60) both in the Öresund region and Strasbourg-Kehl area to scrutinize cross-border practices between both Sweden-Denmark and France-Germany, as well as the border control procedures on these borders in the context of the current refugee crisis in Europe and the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015. The border ethnography also involved capturing the atmosphere and feelings (Löfgren, n.d.) at these cross-border regions. During the fieldwork I decided not to reveal myself as a researcher because of the anxious and emergency atmosphere on the above mentioned cross-border regions caused by both the refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

At the same time, the autoethnography also contributed to the collection of data as an additional research tool. As a method of cultural analysis where the researcher uses own experiences as starting points for the ethnographic research, and thereby becomes simultaneously the subject and the object of the observation (Ehn, 2011, p. 53-54), it helped to grasp the cultural meaning of the right of free movement and the borders through my own perceptions, feelings and experiences. Particularly, interviewing enabled to get direct information, but autoethnography and observations provided an additional insight to conduct cultural analysis with a range of differing outcomes complementing each other, as the qualitative methods applied in cultural analysis can portray "both a level of observation – what you actually see – and, by analysis, a level of meaning of connections and concepts" (Sylow, 2008, p. 15). The reflexivity is also essential to take into account during the ethnographic research (Davies, 1998, p. 3-4; Ehn, 2011, p. 54; Mason, 1998, p. 41, 164-165, 167). As Ch. Davies (1998) has claimed, reflexivity matters during the ethnographic research which "means a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference" (p. 4). So, during the whole process of the fieldwork and writing the analysis of the research findings I considered it to overcome methodological and ethical issues deriving throughout the research. Particularly, after each interview I reflected upon how the interview went, what was good

about it and what could be improved, whether issues arose during it and if yes how they could be avoided in the future interviews. As an example, after the first interview I reconsidered the interview guide, presented in the appendix, to make them clearer to avoid from possible misunderstandings of questions. I was also reflexive during the process of writing the analytical part in the sense of assessing which data to incorporate into the research to avoid from ethical issues, as for instance, in the case of photos from the fieldwork and etc.

In general, in the frames of the fieldwork I conducted 3 observations. One of the observations I conducted in the end of November 2015 on the Öresundståg train from Lund to Copenhagen central station and at Hyllie station in Malmö. The second observation, again in the Öresund region, I conducted in the middle of December 2015 on the Öresundståg train and Hyllie station in Malmö. I experienced also this cross-border area three times as a traveler to fly from and to Copenhagen airport from December 2015 until April 2016 both within the Schengen area and outside of it. Simultaneously, I conducted an observation in the French-German region of Strasbourg-Kehl cross-border area in the beginning of February 2016, while crossing the border as a pedestrian from the French Strasbourg to the German Kehl and back.

In addition, I took some photos in the cross-border areas of Sweden-Denmark and France-Germany and included them in the fourth, analytical part of the thesis, since they illustrate the environment of the cross-border regions and provide a visual context for the analysis. However, it is important to mention that I avoided from taking photos of people, security and police officers in a close distance because of ethical concerns, since I did not ask for permissions (Mason, 1998, p. 74-78). This decision, as I have already mentioned above, was determined by the nervous atmosphere in these cross-border regions because of the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris. So, the photos were directed to catch the environment and the whole space of the cross-border areas, rather than such details as border guards or travelers crossing the borders.

It is known that ethical issues are very important to take into consideration while conducting a research to provide integrity of the study ("ASA ethical guidelines 2011", 2011, p. 1-11; Mason, 1998, p. 164-172). One of the issues the researcher needs to keep in mind and reflect upon constantly is the problem of subjectivity ("ASA ethical guidelines 2011", 2011, p. 10). Although unbiased attitude during the research could not be excluded totally, I have tried to minimize it through combining different methods of data collection.

It is also important to keep in mind that the observation as a method could not be perceived to be completely objective, as it depends on the researcher's focus. As to the online newspaper articles, although it is known that media is subjective, I mostly focused on the facts outlined in the media on the research topics using data from different online media sources. Finally, the in-depth interviews contained perceptions and personal experiences of 10 Europeans. So, these interviews revealed some general trends of European moods regarding the freedom of movement and the borders in Europe at the moment. Overall, in order to provide a coherent presentation of the gathered empirical materials I analyzed them in a combined way.

Another important aspect in any research is keeping confidentiality on the identity of the interviewees ("ASA ethical guidelines 2011", 2011, p. 2-8; Mason, 1998, p. 166; Silverman, 2010a, p. 319-320). Although the genre of the thesis writing requires indication of names of the interview participants, it contradicts obviously the principle of confidentiality and anonymity. Although an alternative to overcome this ethical issue might be changing the names of the interviewees, it seemed to be unnecessary. Instead of indicating the real names or generating pseudonyms, only the possession of citizenship was indicated to avoid from possible identification of the interview participants.

1.4 Overview of the thesis structure

In the frames of the next chapter dedicated to the review of the previous research I present the ideas of R. Baurböck, S. Castles, A. Betts, H. Donnan, T. Wilson, F. Rossi dal Pozzo, O. Löfgren, M. Idvall, T. O'Dell, D. Jagodic, B. Loftus and others on a number of notions, including the right of free movement, border, inclusion, exclusion, belonging, citizenship and passport which are going to be discussed throughout the whole thesis.

The third chapter is dedicated to the discussion of sociological and anthropological approaches to frame the main theoretical scopes of the research. Particularly, the ideas developed by V. Kaufmann, M. Bergman, D. Joye, A. Appadurai and B. Latour enable to look at the right of free movement, as well as the borderlands from the perspectives of mobility capital, cultural dimensions of globalization and actor-network perspective.

The fourth chapter illustrates the analysis of the fieldwork materials and particularly, the qualitative interviews and the analysis of the European and international newspaper articles and other publications relating to the right of free movement and the borders in Europe. In addition, it involves also a presentation of the observations and autoethnography as supplementary research tools, along with visual images from the fieldwork.

Finally, the fifth chapter, conclusion highlights the main findings, presents ideas concerning policy making on the right of free movement and borders in Europe, as well as indicates further research needs.

2 Review of previous research on the right of free movement, borders and related notions

In this theoretical chapter I am going to discuss the previous research in the academic literature. Particularly, a number of key notions, such as freedom of movement, borders, inclusion and exclusion, belonging, citizenship, passport, visa and their interrelations will be presented from the multidisciplinary perspectives of anthropology, sociology, international relations, political science, law and geography. The presentation of the above mentioned notions will help to set up a conceptual framework for further cultural analysis on the right of free movement and the borderlands in Europe in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

2.1 The right of free movement

Migration and mobile persons started to be problematized conceptually only during the formation of a modern international system of nation states after the 1648 treaty of Westphalia, which political scientists James Hollifield and Tom Wong have claimed to be foundational for the idea of sovereignty, and thereby border controls over mobility. Particularly, the terms "immigrant" and "emigrant" first emerged with nation efforts to document movement of people within and across international borders (as cited in Gabaccia, 2015, p. 40).

According to geographer Martin Schuler and his colleagues (1997), currently in the social sciences the concept of mobility of people is used in four meanings - residential mobility [including residential cycles], migration [interregional and international], travel [business and tourism] and day-to-day dislocation [daily trips such as commuting] (as cited in Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p. 749).

The right of free movement, that is, the freedom of movement, is one of the key notions widely discussed in the last decades in the academic literature by political scientists, lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists, as well as other researchers from different interdisciplinary fields (Andersen et al., 2012; Baurböck, 2009; Castles, 2004; Castles & Miller, 2009; Rossi dal Pozzo, 2013). Such kind of scientific interest has been determined mostly by the adoption of the principle of free movement of persons, goods, services, capital and knowledge within Europe in the second half of the twentieth century.

In the article *Global Justice, Freedom of Movement and Democratic Citizenship* sociologist Rainer Bauböck (2009) has defined freedom of movement "as an integral aspect

of individual autonomy", which "combines a right of exit, a right of entry, and a right to stay (Bauböck 1997)" (p. 1, 9). Philosopher Michael Blake (2005) has pointed out that the freedom of movement is analogous to the citizenship rights of political participation and representation (as cited in Bauböck, 2009, p. 15).

The basic argument for the right of free movement is its powerful connection with the individual autonomy. Although people should be as free as it is possible concerning their preferences of occupation, lifestyle and etc., in reality the possibilities to behave in accordance with individual choices are not equally allocated throughout geographical spaces. However, enabling people to move and settle down in other places is crucial in the sense of giving opportunities to make decisions regarding individual lives. Thereby, the freedom of movement is not just a tool for other types of freedom, but along with other basic freedoms, as freedom of speech, thought and association, also a key aspect of being free (Bauböck, 2009, p. 5-7).

Political scientist David Miller (2005; 2007) has stated that:

liberal societies in general offer their members sufficient freedom of movement to protect the interests that the human right to free movement is intended to protect. (as cited in Bauböck, 2009, p. 6).

Furthermore, as Bauböck (2009) has indicated, the right of free movement may exist whenever there are friendly and peaceable relations between nations fostering solidification of such relationships, which actually means that countries can have mutual responsibilities to open their frontiers for migration when they have no causes to suppose that such policies would threaten social justice, security, political order, economic development or other lawful public policy aims in the states. Thereby, the intension of promoting the right of cross-border free movement can be reached successfully through regional unions conferring mutual admission rights on each other's citizens (p. 9).

In general, as geographer Russell King (2012) has put, access to mobility is one of the key aspects of class division both on the global level [between nations whose inhabitants can freely migrate and those where it is almost impossible for most of the people], and within states according to wealth, status and "connections". In the opinion of the researcher, access to the mobility, that is, to possibilities to migrate, travel, circulate and go back will get a more fundamental differentiating factor within societies in the future, so it is necessary to be more

informed of the social structures of mobility and migration (p. 26). In this context, sociologists Vincent Kaufmann, Manfred Max Bergman and Dominique Joye have suggested the theory of "motility" or "mobility capital" illustrating the capacity of persons to be mobile in social and geographic space (Kaufmann et al., 2004, p. 745-756; as cited in King, 2012, p. 26; as cited in Sheller, 2014, p. 797), which I will turn to in the next chapter.

2.2 Borders, maps and regions

In the article titled *Crossing Borders: The Nationalization of Anxiety* ethnologist Orvar Löfgren (1999) has discussed the role of borders, border practices, as well as border controls in Europe starting from the pre-industrial times. According to him, in the pre-industrial Europe the system of walls and gates both controlled the material flow of people and goods, as well as it also marked the differences in privileges, status and the differences in the symbolic worlds of the two territories through territorializing cultural differences. During the stage of industrialization national borders of countries started playing a central role and the immense success of the national project during the last two centuries was determined by the skillful deployment of, which Löfgren has called, the pedagogy of space and the ritualization of borders. As the researcher has stated, goods, people and ideas moved more freely across boundaries, but simultaneously a closing or sharpening of national borders was observed stating where precisely the nation started and ended. National frontiers became the archetypal border of the twentieth century, the model for materializing borderlands with warning signs, officials in uniforms and etc. (p. 6).

In the opinion of Löfgren (1999), when during the First World War passports were introduced, crossings started being associated with new forms of anxiety - the suspicious inspection of passports and visas, and people crossed frontiers like criminals under oversight. Such production of anxiety became a tool for emphasizing national differences, and the states through their procedures of border crossings started giving anxiety cultural form and focus (p. 10-11, 26). Overall, the first half of the twentieth century faced a general strengthening of immigration laws and an increased categorization of desirable and undesirable immigrants. The issues connected to smuggling in 1950s and illegal traffic of drugs in 1970s led to new forms of border policing and movement monitoring. While crossing the borders any traveler walking through the "nothing to declare" passage was a potential suspect, but some seemed to look more suspicious than others (p. 11).

When it comes to the definition of borders, in the opinion of Bauböck (2009), the main role of a political border is to separate the jurisdiction of a political authority, and its

secondary function is to undertake control over the flows of people or goods (p. 10). Similarly, according to specialist in criminology and criminal justice Bethan Loftus (2015), although borderlands define geographic frontiers of political entities and legal jurisdictions, they are also means of dividing the world and people. Moreover, borders have a communicative function, signifying nation control over territory and mobility (p. 115). Borders are also interpreted as places and symbols of power, as well as markers of identity (Donnan & Wilson, 1999, p. 1, 5).

Authors also emphasize the cultural aspect of borders. Löfgren (1999) has highlighted that borderlands constitute a cultural signal system (p. 5). Particularly, according to the researcher (Löfgren 1993), the history of border crossings shows the making of the nationalizing gaze, which raises with the growing emphasis on states representing not only territories but also national cultures and mentalities (as cited in Löfgren, 1999, p. 11). People start interpreting cultural differences on both sides of the frontier as national, rather than local, regional or class (Löfgren, 1999, p. 11). And in the opinion of anthropologists Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson (1999), borders are sites of peculiar cultural relations based on specific temporal and spatial processes, which are important to their attached and associated nations (p. 16).

Borders are often analyzed and categorized through metaphors. As anthropologist Marta Byrska-Szklarczyk (2012) has pointed out:

> Metaphor is more than a means of shaping local discourse of the border. It is a way of thinking, acting, understanding and experiencing reality. (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 101).

In general, the borders are interpreted as hot and cold depending on whether they were disputed or not (Löfgren, 1999, p. 6; Löfgren, 2008, p. 197), perceived as a prison, a front, a bazaar, a movement, a standstill, a factory, made for walking, a circle, a space of communication, the end of the world and etc. (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 101-115). At the same time, to describe the situation at the Europe's external borders such metaphors, as "Fortress Europe", "gated community", "a Euro-curtain" and computer "firewall" are being used by different authors (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 2).

From the anthropological perspective borders are believed to be simultaneously processes and structures, things and relationships, histories and events. They are zones of

cultural production, sites of meaning-making and meaning-breaking (Donnan & Wilson, 1999, p. 62, 64).

Crossing borders assumes movement from one political, economical and social space to another. As boundaries can be both bridges and barriers between spaces, border crossing can be both enabling and disabling, creating opportunities and vice versa. Thereby, border crossings assume inclusion and incorporation, as well as exclusion and dispossession (Donnan & Wilson, 1999, p. 107).

According to Löfgren (1999), crossing national borders represents a multifaceted pedagogy, which alters from setting to setting and from time to time. People may experience a number of polarities and tensions, including a transgression of personal borders, when their bodies are searched and they are asked personal questions by annoyed officials. Such specific and temporary event raises issues of identity, belonging and non-belonging in the context of the notions of "homeyness" and "abroadness" (p. 6).

In relation to borders other important concepts worth mentioning are maps and regions. A map could be interpreted as a symbolic embodiment of territories under nation control. Particularly, ethnologist Markus Idvall (2000) has emphasized the role of maps in the region formation process, indicating that "the map is a visual aesthetic which, by framing places and bodies, establishes the region" (p. 299). According to the researcher, regions are called to suffice a need for open space, whose grounds are the identification and practices that enable people to enjoy autonomy and overcome boundaries (p. 302). Geographer Anssi Paasi (2001) has mentioned that "regions are made and unmade by social practices" (as cited in Löfgren, 2008, p. 196). And for historian Martin Klatt (2012), regions are spaces constructed socially (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 67).

Regions consist of "regionauts" who have been defined by ethnologist Thomas O'Dell (2003) as people engaged in cross-border regional activities that move in both physical and mental spaces of a region and explore differences in anything from the legal system to market situations (as cited in Löfgren, 2008, p. 196). For Idvall (2000), people living with and in the permanent movement embody the "creation of the region, which always takes place *from home* – both away from home and one's own fixed point in existence" (p. 303). At the same time, such processes may also lead to what Devan Jagodic (2012) has called "cross-border residential mobility", which refers to the migration movements produced by "borderlanders", who buy a property and move to the other side of the border keeping strong functional and emotional ties with their previous nation (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 201).

2.3 Citizenship, passport and visa

Citizenship is a formal legal status often referred to as nationality denominating membership of a nation-state (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 268). It supposes a legal, an economic and a cultural event, meaning official recognition of a special relationship between a person and a state (Benhabib & Resnik, 2009, p. 2). More specifically, citizenship establishes rights and duties (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 42) referring to both the status of being subject to a state's laws, its taxes, and military conscription, and enjoyment of the right of protection by the country even outside of that state (Betts, 2011, p. 111).

According to Grawert (1973) and Hammar (1990), during the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of the countries got a 'nationality' when nations identified the people who belonged to it and those ones who did not (as cited in Betts, 2011, p. 111). Historically, laws on citizenship or nationality originate from the principles of *jus sanguinis* (literally: law of the blood), which is based on ascent from a national of the country concerned, and *jus soli* (law of the soil), which is based on birth in the territory of the state. Correspondingly, *jus sanguinis* is often connected to an ethnic model of the nation state, while *jus soli* is linked to a nation-state formation through incorporation of different groups on a certain territory or through immigration, although in reality, all contemporary nations have citizenship laws based on both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* (Benhabib & Resnik, 2009, p. 2-3; Betts, 2011, p. 111; Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 269). Along with that, entitlement to citizenship may derive from long-term residence in the country, the *ius domicili* (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 271). At the same time, Bauböck (2009) has emphasized that under current international law citizenship is not considered to be just an empty status but causes a number of mobility rights. It is the only legal status that puts all countries under an almost unconditional obligation to grant a right of immigration (p. 22-23).

Anthropologists discuss citizenship not just as a political or legal status or as a bunch of rights and obligations, but as a dynamic and contingent socio-cultural process. This approach originates from the distinction suggested by anthropologist Pnina Werbner and sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis (1999) between political science formulations of citizenship that derive from the relationship between the person and the state and those that consider citizenship as a more entire relationship, affected by identity, cultural assumptions, social positioning, institutional practices, as well as a sense of belonging (as cited in Brettell, 2015, p. 168-169).

Anthropologist Michel Laguerre (1998), for example, has suggested a concept of diasporic citizenship to explain a situation of an individual who lives outside the frontiers of the state to which one had formerly held primary loyalty and who experiences through transnational migration the subjective reality of belonging to two or more nation-states (as cited in Brettell, 2015, p. 168). Another anthropologist Aihwa Ong (1999) has written instead about "flexible citizenship", which the researcher defines as the strategies and consequences of mobile professionals looking for both circumvent and benefit from various state regimes by choosing different places for investments, job and family shift (as cited in Brettell, 2015, p. 168).

At the same time, some countries enable holding dual or multiple citizenship. In the opinion of sociologist Thomas Faist (2007), dual citizenship can be perceived as a form of "internal globalization" through which the regulations of a country indirectly or obviously react to ties of citizens across nations (as cited in Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 272). It portrays a gross change, since the idea of singular national loyalties has been historically principal to national sovereignty (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 272). Thus, multiple citizenship forms individual spaces of free movement with symmetric exit and entry rights in several independent countries (Bauböck 2009, p. 24).

Finally, refugees, from the point of view of Bauböck (2009), are those ones who have lost the protection which citizenship is assumed to provide and cannot go back to the countries of their origin. In a broad meaning they have de facto become stateless and demand asylum as a substitute for citizenship (p. 26). In contrast to national belonging, citizenship has a universalistic foundation as "the right to have rights" (Arendt 1967) and democratic countries have a general duty to support those whose governments fail to protect them and who are outside the territorial jurisdiction of those government (as cited in Bauböck 2009, p. 26).

According to Alexander Betts (2011), specialized in international relations, the contemporary institution of nationality has been administratively assisted by state initiation of official travel documents such as passports (p. 111). In the remote past, heralds and officials travelling from the realm of one king to the other were provided with "leave". The holding of a letter from one governor made easier the granting of such leave to pass from other regents. In the middle of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries these letters got routinized in the paper known as the *laissez-passer* that was issued to diplomats, traders and etc. It was only in

the end of the nineteenth century that the successor of the *laissez-passer*, the modern passport, appeared (p. 112-113).

During WWI nations restored boundary controls and issued passports in order to identify newcomers from their own nationals and only after WWI, the countries commonly demanded that travelers present passports upon entry. In reply to the WWI restoration of border controls, the League of Nations gathered a number of conferences on international travel rules hoping to facilitate movements across boundaries (Betts, 2011, p. 112-113).

At the 1920 Paris Conference on Passports and Customs Formalities and Through Tickets, League of Nations signatory countries standardized passport and visa formats and adopted the multi-page book format passport with uniform rules for layout, content validity, and issuing fees (Lloyd, 2003; Salter, 2003) (as cited in Betts, 2011, p. 113).

The Second International Passport Conference took place in 1926 in Geneva and added specifications to the standard international passport format but the disintegration of the League of Nations ceased the standardization works. Only after WWII the efforts to improve and standardize passports were initiated with the formation of International Civil Aviation Organization as a United Nations specialized agency in 1946 (Betts, 2011, p. 113).

The issuance of passports by nations has assisted the perpetuation of the demographic boundary maintenance regime, because the passport started being used as a 'proof of citizenship' by international travelers presenting themselves to the officials of countries authorized to enforce the nations rules of entry and exit at official boundary crossing sites (Betts, 2011, p. 112).

In the opinion of cultural and literary historian Paul Fussell (1980), the new passport routines required standardized ways of defining identity and individual characteristics (as cited in Löfgren, 1999, p. 10). According to Löfgren (1999), the passport generated new forms of modern self-reflection and identity formation. People gained a passport identity, which was reproduced later in other forms, such as *cartes d'identité,* driving licences and so on. Travelers had to correspond to the passport identity to be able to *prove* their identity (p. 10).

As to the visa, it is an authorization given by a country to the citizens of another nation to travel and present themselves to boundary control authorities for inspection at sites of entry. Ordinarily, consular officers in a foreign country issue visas by stamping them in the passport of the prospective traveler. Travelers may need a visa to access a state but the visa

itself does not authorize admission. Only the destination country's border control officials are authorized to confer admission.

It is also worth mentioning that historically, the visa developed together with the growing use of the passport at the end of the nineteenth century. In particular, state use of visas rose with WWI as, for instance, the United States began to require visas of foreigners who wanted to enter the state. After WWI, the League of Nations attempted to facilitate international travel by decreasing state recourse to visa issuance when possible and proclaimed rules for their use at the 1920 Paris Conference on Passports and Customs Formalities and Through Tickets (p. 114).

Countries have cooperated with each other on citizenship, passports and visas for almost a century (Betts, 2011, p. 115). In the beginning, the visa was developed as a tool of immigration law enforcement and later it also got a tool of diplomacy. As nations adopted the practice of issuing visas and evolved policies to govern issuance, a principle of reciprocity communicated the norms of visa policy among countries. Nations started using the issuance or denial of visas to persons, certain groups, or all citizens of specific countries in efforts to affect policies of other states (Betts, 2011, p. 114).

So, in the frames of this chapter on the previous research such notions, as the right of free movement, border, passport, visa, citizenship and other terms important in the context of this work have been defined and discussed. And in the next chapter I will turn to the presentation of the theoretical approaches I am going to apply to study the right of free movement and the borderlands in Europe in the context of the current refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris.

3 Theoretical toolbox

Although the right of free movement and the borders can be analyzed through a number of anthropological and sociological theories, such as, for instance, phenomenological perspective to discuss the relation between bodies, movement and space, or Foucaultian ideas on governmentality to understand the role of power relations, this chapter is going to discuss the theoretical perspectives on mobility capital, the cultural dimensions of globalization and Actor-Network-Theory, since these approaches the best correspond to the aim and the tasks of this research. Particularly, the theory on motility or mobility capital enables to look at the right of free movement, as well as the passport-free movement within the Schengen area as capital the Europeans possess regardless of social status. The general theory of global cultural processes gives an opportunity to analyze the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris in relation to five disjunctive landscapes – ethnoscapes, financescapes, techno-scapes, mediascapes and ideocapes affecting each other and constituting the cultural dimensions of globalization. And Actor-Network-Theory makes it possible to analyze the agency of passport, the crucial role it may get in the frames of the networks, that is, the borderlands, it circulates in.

3.1 Motility: mobility as capital

The theoretical approach on motility or mobility capital gives an opportunity to look at the right of free movement, as well as the passport-free circulation within the Schengen area as mobility capital the Europeans possess regardless of their social statuses. In the article *Motility: Mobility as Capital* Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye (2004) have claimed that social structures and dynamics are interdependent in terms of actual or potential capacity to dislocate entities - people, goods and information, thereby emphasizing the link between spatial and social mobility (p.745). The authors have suggested a theoretical concept of "mobility capital" or "motility" which understands the spatial and social mobility as indicants of a more universal form of mobility not limited to actual or past dislocations (p. 749-750).

Initially the term motility has been used in biology and medicine to refer to the capacity of an organism to move. In sociology it has only been used by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2000) in *Liquid Modernity* to describe the capacity to be mobile (as cited in Kaufmann et al., 2004, p. 750). For Kaufmann and his colleagues, it can be described as the capacity of entities – individuals, goods or information – to be mobile in social and geographic space, or as the way in which entities access and appropriate the ability for socio-

spatial mobility according to their situations. Motility combines structural and cultural dimensions of movement and action in that the actual or potential ability for spatio-social mobility may be fulfilled in different ways or have dissimilar results across varying socio-cultural contexts. In general, motility involves interdependent elements relating to *access* to various types and degrees of mobility, *competence* to identify and profit from access, and *appropriation* of a specific choice, including the alternative of non-action (Kaufmann et al, 2004, p. 749-750).

Particularly, according to the authors, access concerns to the range of possible mobilities according to place, time and other contextual coercions, and may be affected by networks and dynamics within territories. Access is forced by *options* and *conditions*. The options relate to the entire range of means of transportation and communication available, and the entire range of services and equipment easy of access at a given time. The conditions relate to the availability of the options in the sense of location-specific expense, logistics and other enforcements. Evidently, access is dependent on the spatial allocation of the inhabitants and infrastructure, since, for instance, cities and towns provide different sets of choices of goods and services, as well as sedimentation of spatial policies in the sense of transportation and accessibility, and socio-economic position, like provision of power, position in a hierarchy or social network (Kaufmann et al., 2004, p. 750).

So, in the frames of the discussion around the freedom of movement and the borders in Europe, the Europeans have access to intra-European mobility through the right of free movement enabling a right of entry, exit and settlement without visas in other European countries. And the Schengen Agreement empowers fast passport-free circulation in the closely allocated territories of the member nations. In addition, a wide range of available options for access in the sense of highly developed infrastructures and different kinds of transportation means, like planes, ferries, trains, cars, bicycles, as well as possibilities of pedestrian crossings in most of the cross-border regions of the continental Europe, contribute to the access to mobility in Europe.

As to c*ompetence,* it involves skills and capabilities which can directly or indirectly relate to access and appropriation. There are three aspects crucial in the competence component of motility: *physical ability*, such as the ability to transfer an entity from one territory to another within particular constraints; *acquired skills* relating to regulations and rules of movement, such as licenses or specific knowledge of the area; and *organizational skills*, like planning and synchronizing actions including the acquisition of information,

capabilities and skills. Overall, competence is interdependent with access and appropriation (Kaufmann et al., 2004, p. 750).

Thus, concerning the competence of the Europeans to be mobile constituted by the physical ability to move, knowledge on laws and regulations, as well as organizational skills of planning movements, the Europeans, including people with physical disabilities, have opportunities to transfer from one European country to another via different transportation means. And various programs, for example, ruled by the European Commission, including *Erasmus+: EU Program for Education, Training, Youth and Sport,* which promotes mobility of young people and workers ("Erasmus +: EU program", n.d.) and *Eures: The European Job Mobility Portal,* which facilitates the free movement of workers and provides consultations concerning job opportunities in other European countries ("Eures: The European Job", n.d.) provide knowledge on laws and regulations, as well as give organizational skills important for formation of competence for mobility.

Finally, *appropriation* is related to how subjects, including individuals, groups, networks or institutions construe and act upon perceived or real access and skills. It is formed by needs, plans, intensions and comprehensions of actors, and it relates to strategies, incentives, values and habits. Appropriation depicts how actors consider appropriate and select particular options. It is also the ways by which skills and decisions are assessed.

Hence, the appropriation depends of the individual characteristics of the Europeans, their motives and values concerning mobility, the realization of their rights for free movement and circulation in the passport-free Schengen area.

Overall, all three elements of motility are inherently connected to social, cultural, economic and political processes and structures within which mobility is built-in and enacted ((Kaufmann et al., 2004, p. 750). As a result, access, competence and appropriation crucial for mobility within Europe are interdependent factors related to the political, economic, social and cultural processes and structures in Europe combining structural and cultural dimensions of movement and action.

In general, inspired by the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu on the forms of capital, Kaufmann and his colleagues (2004) have considered motility as a form of capital, which could be exchanged for other forms of capital. This means that the primary advantage of a systemic approach to mobility is the acknowledgement that movement may take many forms. These various forms of movement may be replaceable and the potentiality of movement can be expressed as a form of "movement capital" (p.752). In the opinion of the researchers, motility

exceeds a simplistic detachment between social mobility and geographic space by combining these on the level of networks, actors, culture, institutions and society, as well as permitting new forms of inquiries relating to the connections between communication networks and spaces in a context of a multitude of existing and emerging communication systems (p. 754).

Thus, actual and potential socio-spatial mobility, that is, motility, can be considered as a value. Depending on the context, individuals, groups and institutions differ in access, competence and appropriation, and thereby have various motility options. As economic capital is linked to knowledge, cultural wealth and social position, motility represents a form of capital which can form connections with, and be exchanged for, other forms of capital. In contrast to economic, social and cultural capital dealing with hierarchical position, motility is connected to both vertical and horizontal dimensions of social position. It represents a new form of social inequality. Motility is connected to, but not subsumed by, social or spatial mobility. As it relates to goods, information and people, motility is differentiated in the sense of access, competence and appropriation, where the local and geopolitical context is highlighted as a fundamental consideration (Kaufmann et al, 2004, p. 754).

In line with these arguments, the right of free movement and the passport-free circulation within the Schengen area as mobility capital or motility are connected not only to both vertical and horizontal dimensions of social position of the Europeans, but also they generate a new form of social inequality between people who possess it, the Europeans and those ones who do not, non-Europeans.

Overall, the application of the theoretical perspective of mobility capital is useful in the frames of this research, since it gives an opportunity to look at the freedom of movement and the Schengen Agreement as a capital possessed by the Europeans regardless of the social status, and not only in the sense of actual or past displacements, but also the potential of movement based on the access, competence and appropriation.

3.2   Cultural dimensions of globalization

The general theory of global cultural processes enables to analyze the refugee crisis and Paris attacks in relation to five disjunctive landscapes – ethnoscapes, financescapes, techno-scapes, mediascapes and ideocapes constituting the cultural dimensions of globalization. The author of this theoretical approach – anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996) has discussed the issues of modernity and globalization in the work *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* arguing that no single theory can explain the

complexity of modernity, because societies are more complicated than theoretical approaches about them. The author has emphasized the cultural dimensions of globalization, rather than the economic ones (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32-33). For the author the complexity of the contemporary global economy is connected with certain fundamental disjunctures between politics, economy and culture which are theorized in the frames of the general theory of global cultural processes (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33, 45).

The author has suggested a new framework for understanding the complexity and complicated nature of the new global cultural economy. It consists of five dimensions of global cultural flows - *ethnoscapes, mediascapes, techno-scapes, financescapes* and *ideocapes*. According to him, the suffix *–scape* indicates the fluid, irregular forms of these landscapes, forms which characterize international capital deeply. These notions with the common suffix *-scape* also illustrate that they are not objectively given relations which are the same from every angle of vision. Instead, they are perspectival constructs inflected by the historical, linguistic and political disposition of various actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, subnational groupings, movements and even intimate groups, such as families, neighborhoods and villages. Furthermore, the individual actor is the last location of this perspectival set of landscapes, for these landscapes are ultimately navigated by agents who both practise and make up larger formations, in part from their own sense of what these landscapes suggest. These landscapes are the building blocks of what the researcher has called *imagined worlds,* that is, the multiple worlds that are made of the historically situated imaginations of individuals and groups spread all over the world. A significant fact of the contemporary world is that many people on the earth live in such imagined worlds, not just in imagined communities, and thereby are able to argue and at times even overthrow the imagined worlds of the official mind and of the entrepreneurial mentality surrounding them (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33).

Under *ethnoscape* the author has meant the landscape of individuals who constitute the changing world. Tourists, guest workers, immigrants, refugees and other moving groups and persons constitute an inherent feature of the world and so far influence on the politics of countries to an unprecedented degree. It does not mean that there are no relatively firm communities and networks of kinship, work, leisure and friendship. However, the human motion increases, as more individuals and groups deal with the realities of necessity to move or the dreams to move. As international capital changes its needs, production and technology

produce different needs, states alter their policies on refugees, imaginations of these moving groups will not rest too long, even if they would like to (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33-34).

Thus, this theoretical approach explains the realities of the current refugee crisis in Europe caused by wars and instable political situations in a number of countries in the Middle East and other hot spots around the world, which make people to move to Europe seeking asylum. It shows also how different disjunctive landscapes influence on each other, how under the pressure of the refugee crisis and affected by Paris attacks governments of many European countries change their policies, in some cases strengthen migration policies, as well as border policies through reestablishment of border controls in the Schengen area.

Under *technoscape,* the author has considered the fluid global configuration of technology and the fact that it moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impenetrable borderlands. At the same time, the occasional allocation of technologies, and thus the features of these technoscapes are driven by increasingly complex links among money flows, political possibilities and the availability of both low skilled and high skilled labor (Appadurai, 1996, p. 34).

The author also has differentiated *financescapes,* because the placement of global capital nowadays is a more mysterious, fast and difficult landscape to comply with than in the past, since currency markets, national stock exchanges, as well as speculations of objects of utility move megamonies through national turnstiles at high speed. But the essential point is that the global relationship among ethnoscapes, technoscapes, and financescapes is deeply disjunctive and deeply unpredictable since each of these landscapes is subject to its own political, informational and technoenvironmental constrains and motives, at the same time as each works as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the others. Thereby, global political economy has to take into consideration the profoundly disjunctive links between human movement, technological flow and financial transfers (Appadurai, 1996, p. 34-35).

Thereby, the fast development and spreading of technologies, and simultaneously, their disproportional distribution in various parts of the world lead to more inequality between different regions, which make people to migrate for better life conditions. Similarly, the changes in the financial markets and flows both affected and affecting the political situations in different countries also influence on the people and their motives to migrate.

At last, *mediascapes* and *ideoscapes* are closely related landscapes of images. Particularly, mediascapes refer to the allocation of the electronic capabilities to generate and scatter information via newspapers, magazines, television channels, which are available to a

growing number of private and public interests around the world, and to the images of the world created by these media (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35). As to the ideoscapes, they are also concatenations of images, but they are mostly political and are related to the ideologies of nations and the counterideologies of movements evidently oriented to capturing state power or a part of it. These ideoscapes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of such ideas, and images, as freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation and democracy (Appadurai, 1996, p. 36).

As a result, the media as powerful means affecting the people, their perceptions of the world, as well as incentives to move, also influence on the images of the world through illustrating these movements, like during the current refugee crisis and after Paris attacks when both the European and the international media illustrate the developments around these situations and create public opinions and moods. At the same time, the ideoscapes are constituted by the ideas in the European countries on freedom, human rights and democracy on the one hand, and the refugee crisis, the terrorist attacks in Paris, the migration policy issues causing security concerns for the European nations on the other hand.

So, the theory on cultural dimensions of globalization shows that different imagined worlds exist, which are socially made, and people produce these landscapes with their everyday practices, whether deliberately or unintentionally. It also illustrates that migration is not limited to moving or migrating people and includes the process of transporting ideas, values, finances, technologies, life styles and everyday lives from the home of origin. It states that in order to understand contemporary cultural, economic and political globalized world, it is necessary to understand it in those time-space contexts and knowledge-power relations that have shaped both its homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural, economic and political realities. Overall, it helps to understand how the five disjunctive landscapes affect each other in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

3.3 Actor-Network-Theory

Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) is a relevant perspective which could contribute to the ethnographic research on the issues connected with the mobility processes within Europe in the context of the right of free movement and the borders, as it enables to identify and understand the actor-network relationships in the movement processes within Europe, and particularly to analyze the agency of passport or its absence in different European regions.

ANT is believed to be a conceptual framework to scrutinize collective socio-technical processes, as it is based on science and technologic activity. It stresses a relational

materiality, the material extension of semiotics, according to which all entities gain significance in relation to others. It claims that both *human* and *non-human actors* are to be understood within a *network* where their identity is defined through their interaction with other actors, that is, the actor is formed through its *associations* and *work* within the network. Thereby, the actors are not perceived to have steady and inherent features which pre-exist their relations, instead they get characteristics and abilities through their relations with others. In fact, it means that the objects or non-humans are perceived as parts of social networks able to act or participate in networks, and thereby ANT considers human and non-human elements equally as actors within a network (Latour, 2005).

As one of the developers of ANT, philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist of science Bruno Latour (2005) has argued, *agencies* are permanently presented in an account as doing something, making a difference to a situation, "transforming some As into Bs through trials with Cs" (p. 52-53). The actors and realities are enacted into being in relational networks, and they are transformed, getting new features and agencies, while losing others. Social action is not only taken over by aliens, it is also moved or delegated to various actors able to transport the action further through other modes of action and other types of forces (p. 70). At the same time, according to the author, ANT does not claim emptily that objects act "instead" of human actors. It just states that no science of the social can even start if the question of who and what takes part in the action is not completely scrutinized, even though it could mean letting in elements which have been named non-humans (Latour, 2005, p. 72).

So, ANT, which is not a theory, but a method explaining how human and non-human actors act in the network, helps to understand how passport as a non-human actor gets agency, that is, becomes crucial during the refugee crisis, as well as after Paris attacks, when several countries of the passport-free Schengen area have reestablished border controls. At the same time, the Schengen Agreement still works in some cross-border areas partly or completely, which means that in certain territories in Europe the passport has no agency at all, because it is not needed. So the role of the passport is not constant, it changes in every new network, borderland within Europe.

In addition, ANT has argued that in order to be more realistic about social ties it is necessary to accept that the continuity of any course of action will sparsely consist of human-to-human connections for which basic social skills will be enough in any case or of object-object links. Instead, the theory has emphasized actions will likely zigzag from one to the other (Latour, 2005, p. 75). Simultaneously, in the opinion of the researcher, the actors do not

need to be in immediate proximity to influence on each other, because actions can be fulfilled at a distance (Latour, 2005, p. 166).

So, in the frames of the current discourse on the right of free movement and the borders in Europe in the context of the refugee crisis and Paris attacks, when several countries reestablished border controls, ANT shows that the networks are not only constituted by the human actors – border guards and travelers, but they also consist of non-human actors or objects – passports or any other identity documents which might have an equivalent agency. Indeed, if the non-human actor passport is needed in the network where it is absent, its holder is unable to prove own identity to take the plane or to pass the border control. In this case the passport has agency and affects its holder in a distance. On the contrary, if the passport is there, but not needed in that certain network, it will not have agency, and thereby it will not influence on its holder.

In conclusion, the theory on motility helps to analyze the right of free movement and the passport-free circulation in the Schengen area as mobility capital based on citizenship and possessed by the Europeans regardless of social status. The theoretical approach on cultural dimensions of globalization enables to grasp the disjunctive landscapes affecting each other in the context of the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks. Finally, ANT is a useful method to understand the agency of the passport in changing networks of the European borderlands in the context of the refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

In the frames of the next chapter I will analyze the ideas on the right of free movement, the borders and other related concepts discussed in the chapter on previous research in the context of the theoretical approaches presented here based on the fieldwork materials.

4 Perceptions, practices and perspectives of the right of free movement and the borders in the context of the refugee crisis and Paris attacks

This chapter is dedicated to the cultural analysis of the fieldwork materials on the right of free movement, the borders and related concepts discussed in the frames of the chapter on the previous research from the theoretical lenses of motility, cultural dimensions of globalization and ANT presented in the previous chapter. Particularly, it analyses the features of the right of free movement of the Europeans, its effects on the lives of the Europeans and the migratory processes within Europe. It also turns to the discussion of the perceptions of the borders, the features of the border practices and the border controls particularly in the Schengen area nowadays. In addition, it presents the analysis of the border practices and the border controls in the cross-border regions of Strasbourg-Kehl and Öresund areas in the context of the refugee crisis and Paris attacks. Finally, it presents the analysis of the passport and its current changing role in Europe.

4.1 The right of free movement: mobility capital enabling lifestyle migration or brain drain and brain gain?

Nowadays, the movements take various forms, because people migrate as low skilled workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, refugees or as family members of former migrants. In general, the class is among key factors playing an important role in the sense that destination states compete to attract the highly skilled professionals through privileged rules on entry and residence, while low skilled workers and refugees frequently experience exclusion and discrimination. New forms of mobility emerge, such as retirement migration, mobility in search of better or just different lifestyles, that is, lifestyle migration, repeated or circular migration (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 4).

When the migratory processes evolve and spread in the long time perspective, they may have negative effects for the migrant sending countries expressed in the brain drain, which assumes emigration of highly trained and qualified workers from their home countries. However, such kinds of migratory flows are believed to become brain gain, that is, beneficial for economies of the migrant receiving states, which attract highly trained or qualified workers (de Haas 2005, p. 1272; "Brain drain", n.d.; "Brain gain", n.d.).

A world where the right of free movement is usually respected, consequently, is not supposed to be a world without boundaries. There is no even a necessity in a world with a

strong federal government. Assurances for the freedom of movement across borderlands can be fulfilled either through joint government and administration of the whole area or through reciprocal agreements between autonomous governments. For instance, the Nordic Passport Union did not require powerful institutions of joint government, like those which exist in the EU. The only necessary thing that would be needed for a creation of much expanded zones of free movement in the contemporary world is an extension of agreements about visa free travel to involve a right to stay, that is, reside (Bauböck, 2009, p. 10).

In the places where the right of free movement is established to be a universal right for citizens and residents inhabiting within the jurisdictions involved, it turns to become a liberty which jurist Wesley Hohfeld (1919) has referred to as a privilege (as cited in Bauböck, 2009, p. 11). According to Bauböck (2009), this actually means a "no right", that is, the absence of a right for a state to control entry or exit, although in the areas where the right of free movement is implemented at a border which is simultaneously used to control immigration, experiencing the liberty does not involve the complete absence of control, instead a right to be exempted (p. 11). Thereby, people who are entitled to move freely across international borders may still encounter some controls at the places of entry (p. 12).

EU, EEA and CH have opened their boundaries extensively for each other's citizens (Andersen et al., 2012; Bauböck, 2009; "The EEA Agreement", n.d.; "Free Movement of Persons", n.d.; "Free Movement of Persons Switzerland – EU/EFTA", n.d.). Particularly, speaking on the EU, Bauböck (2009) has argued that it is a historically unique case and reproducible model of regional union with a joint citizenship, where the basis of the EU citizenship is the freedom of movement, and although the internal right of free movement in the EU place considerable compulsion on the autonomy of the member nations, it is what differentiates a supranational federal polity from an international organization or independent confederation of countries (p. 24).

Although the right of free movement does not suppose the lack of boundaries, it is basically a negative liberty which puts governments under a duty not to interfere with people fulfilling their right for free movement. It evokes an image of a border guard who waives through certain people holding the right type of passport. And this actually takes place when regimes of free movement and immigration control collide with each other at a certain frontier, as they do nowadays at the airports in Europe (Bauböck, 2009, p. 10-11).

As I found out through the qualitative interviews, the Europeans are very mobile because of the freedom of movement as mobility capital based on access, competence and

appropriation within Europe enabling them to exit, enter and stay without visas in the countries where the right of free movement exists regardless of their social position. Freedom of movement gives a wide range of opportunities, makes movement and settling in other European countries easy and fast. It is perceived to be a privilege and a great advantage which enables the Europeans to be more spontaneous in their lives in the sense of making decisions to go abroad or return home. In general, the frequent movements turn to become a lifestyle migration as a mobility form (Betts, 2011, p. 134) regardless of the age and the social class.

> It means that I can travel freely within Europe. It makes it easier. For example, I lived in the UK for four months and now I'm going to live in Malta for four months. So it just makes me… it just enables me to travel where I want to live in Europe how I feel, because that's also for me something that I want to do. It just enables me to, kind of, have a life and maybe a lifestyle that enables me to go where I want. I can go to Denmark whenever I want, I can go to the UK whenever I want. It's very easy (Interview #2, 2016, January 27).

> Well, I go mostly for work ... for conferences and seminars. Last time I was in Prague in September, and in March I will go to Lithuania. (Interview #5, February 15).

It is worth mentioning again that there are special official programs ruled by the European Commission called to contribute to the freedom of movement within Europe, like *Erasmus+: EU Program for Education, Training, Youth and Sport,* which promotes mobility of young people and workers ("Erasmus +: EU program", n.d.), as well as *Eures: The European Job Mobility Portal,* which assumes a cooperation network to facilitate the free movement of workers within EU, EEA and CH ("Eures: The European Job", n.d.).

However, the right of free movement is characterized by some drawbacks. For instance, some interviewees have expressed anxiety regarding it as they perceive it to be uncontrollable in the sense "who is moving where" both in the context of the contemporary threats of terrorism and because of criminality, as people who committed crimes could move to other European countries without having their personal data checked while entering these states.

At the same time, some interview participants have indicated that because of inequality between different European regions and countries in the sense of economic development, as well as economic issues in some European countries, many Europeans from the Southern and the Eastern European nations move to Western and Northern Europe being attracted by high wages and social security warranties. So, in the long term perspective the freedom movement as mobility capital empowering significant migration flows for the Europeans within Europe, regardless of their social positions, can potentially lead to the leak of human capital. Moreover, in the long time perspective it may result in brain drain from the countries of the Southern and the Eastern European nations and brain gain to the Western and the Northern European countries.

> People from Southern countries or from Eastern Europe tend to go to the North or West (…). I know from Greece… I am myself… I have moved from Greece to be in Sweden and I know many people from that region that have come here. They would have a Europe of really advanced countries and a Europe of the countries that had potential, but their people preferred to use their potential in other countries (…). This free movement is good up to point, but because many professionals leave the country, I might need to restrict that... (Interview #7, 2016, February 19).

I have also found out through the interviews that the right of free movement, that is, the policy of open borders, enables Europeans to maneuver under certain public policies in their home countries. Particularly, strengthening of immigration policies in some countries, like Denmark which has, for instance, very strict requirements for family reunification make many Danes to move to Sweden with their non-European citizen partners where the immigration policies are more liberal comparing with Denmark. Moreover, people also look for economically more beneficial life conditions especially in the cross-border regions, for instance, adopting "cross-border residential mobility" moving from expensive Denmark to cheaper Sweden, while working with high salaries in Denmark, or moving from Germany to France for cheaper housing and commuting to Germany (Löfgren, 2008, p. 202-205: Andersen et al., 2012, p. 201-204).

The current refugee crisis associated with a raise of terrorism and criminality is perceived by the interview participants as a potential threat which could put in danger the existence of the right of free movement in Europe. And potential cancellation of the right of

free movement within Europe would be perceived by the Europeans as a significant step back, since it has been functioning for more than a half century. Simultaneously, 11,410 European citizens from all parts of the EU took part in a quantitative research in December 2015 conducted by the *Eupinions*, the results of which are presented in the report titled *Border Protection and Freedom of Movement: What people Expect of European Asylum and Migration Policies*. According to the report, Europeans "want to retain freedom of movement" (de Vries & Hoffmann, 2016, p. 3, 5). Particularly, the survey has revealed that 79% of respondents consider it to have an exceptional significance which needs to be protected (de Vries & Hoffmann, 2016, p. 7).

Time is also an important aspect in the current discourse on freedom of movement. First of all, the factor of time is problematized by the interviewed Europeans in the sense that they save much time, because the freedom of movement enables them to avoid from official circumlocution to get visas to travel within Europe and thereby makes possible frequent journeys. Moreover, it exempts them from obstacles on the way to move and settle in other European countries.

Overall, the freedom of movement illustrates the integration and globalization processes within Europe. Particularly, as mobility capital based on access, competence and appropriation and independent on the social statuses of the Europeans, because it is a fundamental right based on the European citizenship, it enables the movement of the Europeans within certain spaces in Europe, which are characterized by political, economic, social and cultural integration constituting a cultural construction. Simultaneously, the mobility capital of the Europeans, contributing to their mobility, leads to lifestyle migration. However, it could also have some negative effects causing, for example, security issues because of uncontrolled movement of people, as well as lead to the leak of human capital from certain regions causing brain drain and brain gain in different European regions in the long time perspective.

4.2 The European borderlands

4.2.1 Border perceptions

I found out during the interviews that the borders mean for the Europeans both cultural and authority differences between states defining "us and them". Borders define different countries within Europe dissimilar in the sense of ethnicity, language, culture, transport, architecture, food, dances and etc. Borders are also associated with identity,

belonging, marginalization, passports, maps and lines, flags, lifting gates, cabins, border guards, security, customs officers, laws and rules, guest status and even diverse sense of humor. At the same time, people understand them to be results of wars, as well as separating minorities from their home countries. One of the interviewees has indicated that the borders are real if stated on the map, which emphasizes the power of the maps (Idvall, 2000, p. 295). Borders are also perceived to be established naturally through mountains, seas, rivers separating not only countries, but also continents, as, for instance, Europe is divided from Africa.

In the opinion of some interviewees, there are borders within Europe, but they are not that visible to Europeans, as to the people from outside. Since in the contemporary globalized world ethonscapes consist of different categories of people, as Appadurai (1996) has mentioned, people differ in the sense of belonging, either being citizens and residents or migrants and refugees, and the perceptions of borders, border practices and border controls in the sense of feelings and experiences they cause are not the same. Boundaries are rigorous and bureaucratic, although they are perceived to be "softer" for the Europeans or "higher" or "taller" to climb for people outside of Europe.

According to the Europeans, their perceptions of borders would be different if they needed visas to travel, since it would take more time to apply for a visa, extra money would be needed and it would be exhausting, tense and hard. In general, it would be more complicated to travel, and particularly to travel often, and thereby the borders within Europe would be perceived more as barriers and restrictions. So, the right of free movement as mobility capital possessed by the Europeans affects positively their perceptions of borders.

(…) Now I feel that if I want, I just go. But if I need a visa then I would feel like that I have to plan more before I go to somewhere and that yeah… and I would feel like…I don't know, claustrophobic maybe… (Interview #10, 2016, February 21).

Although generally belonging constitutes borders, sometimes it may be not that clear. Especially this may happen in the cross-border areas, when, for instance, the mobile phone is being switched on a German roaming automatically in the kitchen at home in Strasbourg and the person needs to go to other room to speak on the phone in order not to pay for roaming (N., personal communication, 2016, February 7), or the Swedish radio in the border area in Malmö turns to a Danish one automatically, revealing the existence of loose identification of

"high-tech" borders (M., personal communication, 2016, February 15). Such kind of situations point out at the fluid global configuration of technology and the fact that it moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impenetrable borders indicating the existence of techno-scapes mentioned by Appadurai (1996) as one of the landscapes constituting the contemporary complicated globalized world.

4.2.2 Border practices and border controls

Boundaries both enable and limit movement. They are places where people are identified through passports or visas, and inspected, surveilled, and occasionally "entrapped" (Núñez & Heyman, 2007) through different means of more or less sophisticated technology. Anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller and Noel Salazar (2013) call these international regulatory and surveillance managements "regimes of mobility" which control personal movement (as cited in Brettell, 2015, p. 170). Even a completely open border, in the sense of being uncontrolled, still distinctly identifies the territory within which the laws of a specific government apply (Bauböck, 2009, p. 10).

The border experiences are affected by the position of the person in the hierarchy of states or ethnicities. Especially, for migrants and refugees boundary situations may turn to be a very strong organizing life experience, since their position and future in the country they aim to access is defined and their personalities judged as either wanted or unwanted, seen as in need, reliable applicant or a fraud. Persons are reduced to passport holders, as they either belong to somewhere or do not belong, being defined as unwanted arrivals (Löfgren, 1999, p. 25) revealing this way the agency (Latour, 2005) of passport.

When it comes to the feelings and emotions the interviewed Europeans have mentioned that they experience curiosity, fun, excitement, anxiety, pleasure, joy, sadness, optimism, being at home or a guest when they cross borders within Europe. Feelings of curiosity and excitement the Europeans connect to travelling with trains and cars, rather than, for example, aircrafts, since they mention that people do not realize that much when they cross borders while flying. Thus, planes deal with other kinds of borders, a boundary between air and earth. Correspondingly, airports assume different border crossing procedures and practices where the movement of people is restrained and controlled in a way which would be hardly tolerated in other types of transport (Löfgren, 1999, p. 20).

However, the European borders in the frames of the passport-free Schengen area are felt by the interviewees to be open, free, convenient and working very well. As a result,

travelling without being checked on the borders is experienced to be fast and easy, which constitute mobility capital, along with the right of free movement. At the same time, the interview participants have also indicated that the Schengen system has also a considerable drawback, because the passport-free circulation enables to enter a certain European country from another one freely, and it may cause security issues, especially in the context of the contemporary refugee crisis and the terrorist threats. So, different ideas existing in the ideoscapes claimed by Appadurai (1996), and particularly the idea of the freedom collides with the security concerns in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

It turns out that on the one side, the interviewed Europeans are very happy with the existence of the Schengen Agreement because of its obvious advantages and they want to continue having the passport-free circulation. On the other hand, the recent challenges caused by the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks have brought a new priority – security. The Europeans do not want to have the passport-free Schengen circulation at the expense of the security. And if people are to be checked on the borders to provide the security, a principle of equality needs to be applied towards everyone without any exemption. However, some of the interviewed persons have emphasized that the border checks are acceptable, if they are temporary until a solution is found to overcome current issues. Moreover, the quantitative research conducted by the *Eupinions* illustrates that 87% of Europeans believe that European external borders, that is the Schengen area, should be protected by the EU (de Vries & Hoffmann, 2016, p. 5).

The border controls within the Schengen area in the context of the current refugee crisis and terrorist attacks are experienced as time-consuming, make the Europeans feel tension, sadness, interference, intrusion and irritation, although the interviewees realize that they are being done for security reasons to prevent terrorism and criminality. At the same time, interviewees have mentioned that mostly the border controls are conducted in a professional formal way, even warmly, without bullying and harassing as it might be in the past (Löfgren, 1999, p. 12). Some interviewees have claimed that the established border controls are bad, because they are called to lower the number of asylum seekers. The Europeans feel upset, when they see how people, including kids without documents are forced to get off the trains. One of the interviewees has mentioned that the borders are being created again, they are real and tangible embodied in fences and police officers. Moreover, police officers are identified with fences preventing border crossing unless a valid document confirming identity is shown.

I really feel that the borders are coming to be seen again, you know, and there are actual walls being created again. They are building the… fence, just fences, but still some sort of walls. I wouldn't refer it as the Wall in Berlin or something, but it's really becoming like that. There is even fencing just in the train station in Copenhagen airport (…). As I said, the borders are being created again and I saw that they are tangible, real borders… fences, and even if it's a fence full of policemen standing next to each other you can't get through until you show your ID… (Interview #6, 2016, February 17).

So, the reestablished border controls have an aim to filter different categories of people forming ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1996), that is, the citizens and refugees, and identity documents, like passports or other identity documents gain agency (Latour, 2005) becoming a crucial factor for border crossings.

Simultaneously, the mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996), the international and European media, which both illustrate the developments around the situation with the refugees and the terrorist attacks, and create certain images and moods, contribute to the formation of the feelings of anxiety, fear, insecurity, distrust and hate in the countries where refugees aim to go.

The interviewees have considered the trends of establishing border controls within the Schengen area dangerous, because they may have "a domino effect" in the sense that other member countries may follow the same route and there will not be Schengen Agreement anymore. Moreover, the whole idea of the European integrity will be at stake. In general, the recent border controls in several European countries caused by the refugee crisis are felt to be inappropriate, although the security is prioritized over the Schengen Agreement. Nevertheless, if there are border controls Europeans prefer everybody is checked to avoid from discrimination based on appearance.

In addition, according to some interviewees, the abolishment of the passport-free Schengen Agreement would be considered as a step back, like in the case of the freedom of movement. However, the European authorities are very interested in keeping the Schengen area, because its cancellation affected by such political reasons, as the refugee crisis and the terrorist threats, will be very costly for all member countries ("EU's Schengen members

urged", 2016, March 2), since it constitutes a united economic area within the financescapes (Appadurai, 1996).

4.2.3 Analysis of the Öresund and Strasbourg-Kehl cross-border regions

In the context of the analysis of the cross-border regions of the Öresund and Strasbourg-Kehl areas of the Swedish-Danish and the French-German borders it is important to mention that these different European regions have some crucial similarities.

First of all, the regions were disputing areas between Sweden-Denmark and France-Germany correspondingly. Particularly, the province of Skåne was conquered from Denmark by the Swedes in 1658 (Löfgren, 1999, p. 7). As to France and Germany, the bone of contention, the region Alsace was first transferred to Germany in the first Versailles treaty of 1871. After being under interchangeable control of France and Germany due to several wars, it finally became French in 1945 (Galtung, 2004, p. 113; "Frontiers of the EU", 2014, February 10). Currently, the capital and the largest city of Alsace - Strasbourg is declared as the capital of Europe, the official seat of several European institutions, such as European Parliament, Council of Europe and etc. ("Frontiers of the EU", 2014, February 10; "Strasbourg, France", n.d.).

A tram in the center of Strasbourg, France. (2016, February 6).

It is also worth mentioning once again that France and Germany were among nations initiated the Treaty of Rome of 1957 on freedom of movement within Europe, and thereby, symbolize European cooperation and unity between former enemies, the main aim of which was to avoid from future wars between neighbors ("Frontiers of the EU", 2014, February 10). Turning to Sweden and Denmark, cooperation between two Nordic nations, as it was already mentioned, started in the frames of the Nordic Passport Union in 1950s (Bauböck 2009, p. 10; Betts, 2011, p. 115; "Nordic Passport Union", n.d.). Moreover, the above mentioned four countries are not only EU members, citizens and residents of which enjoy the right of free movement, but also part of the Schengen Agreement ("Schengen visa countries list", n.d.).

Finally, both of these cross-border regions are connected via bridges. However, here also appears the main difference between these two cross-border areas: the French Strasbourg and the German Kehl have been connected through several small bridges over the river Rhine for a long time ("Frontiers of the EU", 2014, February 10), while Sweden and Denmark are connected via the massive Öresund bridge through the Öresund strait since 2000 (Andersen et al., 2012, p. 205; Löfgren, 1999, p. 20-23; Löfgren, 2008, p. 196, 198-199).

The Öresund Bridge in Malmö, Sweden. (2015, May 19).

Particularly, there are several bridges – one for cars, pedestrians and cyclists, another for trains, one more for pedestrians and cyclists, as well as there is going to be a new one, currently under construction, for trams to connect Strasbourg and Kehl ("Frontiers of the EU", 2014, February 10). As to the Öresund Bridge, it is a bridge-tunnel both for trains and vehicles connecting Swedish third biggest city Malmö with the Danish capital Copenhagen. However, it is not intended for pedestrians and is being operated by the traffic centre which provides a safe exploitation of the bridge and controls traffic on it. In addition, in contrast to the bridges in Strasbourg-Kehl area, users pay taxes for passing the Öresund Bridge ("Øresundsbron", n.d.).

Consequently, the Strasbourg-Kehl cross-border area seems to be more tangible and real, because it is possible to cross it on foot or a bicycle through bridges, while the Öresund region is more abstract and mysterious. Thus, these two cross-border regions enable different movement and border crossing practices in the sense that the German-French border area bridges are not only costless for all travelers, but are passport-free and easy to pass for pedestrians and cyclists. Overall, it is easier to control the traffic in Strasbourg-Kehl border region, since the border area is small and simple, unlike the huge and complicated Öresund cross-border area. It is also important to mention that neither Copenhagen airport nor Hyllie station in Malmö are the real borderlines of the Öresund region. They only play a role of checkpoints, while the real border between Sweden and Denmark passes through waters of

the Öresund strait, and the bridge-tunnel over it only serves as a transfer zone between two countries.

As the analysis of the online media publications shows, Sweden initiated temporary border controls on its southern border, at the Öresund Bridge and the ferry terminals in Skåne starting on the 12th of November 2015. It was directed to the establishment of order on its borders in reception of refugees arriving mainly from Germany and Denmark, since the recent refugee crisis in Europe started Sweden received more asylum seekers per capita, than any other European country ("Sweden to introduce", 2015, November 11; "Sweden to impose", 2015, November 11; "Is Sweden closing", 2015, November 12; "Police to travelers", 2015, November 12; "Police stop trains", 2015, November 12; "Migration agency", 2015, November 12).

Border police conduct passport checks inside the train and on the platform,

near the escalators at Hyllie, Malmö, Sweden. (2015, November 27).

The passport checks on the southern border of Sweden at Hyllie station were announced by the border police to be random, rather than compulsory since the 12th of November 2015 ("Police to travelers"', 2015, November 12). However, no border controls were established from Sweden to Denmark and the movement on that direction was smooth and fast (Observation #1, 2015, November 27; Observation #2, 2015, December 11).

Although the number of asylum seekers in Sweden dropped drastically after both the reestablishment of the border control at Hyllie station and the strengthening of the migration policies, as the local media illustrate, Sweden insisted that Denmark, which is not among countries refugees ordinarily aim to go due to its strict immigration policies ("Why do refugees prefer", 2016, January 4), to conduct border controls at Copenhagen airport too. Although the government of Denmark did not seem to be enthusiastic about this idea, as it would get more asylum seekers, and this decision, in the opinion of the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, would also ruin all efforts to market the Öresund region as a single metropolitan area and negate billions spent on the building of the infrastructure

("Danish PM slams", 2015, December 15), since the 4th of January 2016 border checks were initiated by the Danish rail operator DSB at Kastrup Airport in Copenhagen.

So, starting from the 4th of January 2016 when the border control was also established at Copenhagen airport, the border controls both in Denmark and Sweden became compulsory for all travelers. However, after the reestablishment of the border control at Copenhagen airport there was no official explanation why the border control at Hyllie station in Malmö should be continued.

A flyer on the Öresundståg for passengers travelling from Denmark to Sweden.

In contrast to the border control at the Swedish side conducted by the border police checking passports and ID cards, at Copenhagen airport it was done by security guards of a Danish private security company hired by the Danish transport company to check and take photos of identification documents (Bilefsky, 2016, January 4; "Denmark's first day'", 2016, January 5; "ID-checks in place", 2016, January 4). The public transport operators of the Öresund region which were imposed by the Swedish government to fulfill ID checks of all passengers announced that starting from the 4th of January 2016 all routs from Denmark would begin and end at Kastrup airport because of heavy fines established by the government in the case of not being able to provide ID checks of all passengers travelling from Denmark to Sweden ("Swedish operators cut", 2015, December, 22; "Öresund train operators", 2015, December, 25).

The border checks called to reduce the flow of refugees ended 60 years of the passport-free travel between the Nordic states in the frames of the Nordic Passport Union, as

well as the functioning of the Schengen Agreement (Kirk, 2016, January, 5; Levring & Billner, 2016, January, 4; "Border checks begin", 2016, January 4; "New border checks", 2016, January 4; 2016, January 5; "Border ID checks", 2016, January 21; "Schengen: Controversial EU", 2016, January 25). As a consequence, the number of asylum applications increased in Denmark ("Danish border checks increase", 2016, January, 8), while declined in Sweden ("Sweden sees sharp drop", 2016, January, 5), which led to a "domino effect" resulting in Denmark to establish temporary border controls on the border with Germany ("Denmark's first day", 2016, January 5; "Denmark extends", 2016, January 13; Kirk, 2016, January, 5; Levring & Billner, 2016, January, 4).

In order to prevent unauthorized border crossing attempts through the tracks at the train station of Kastrup airport fences were built by the end of December (Kirk, 2016, January, 5; "Sweden-Denmark border rail fence", 2015, December 30). The spokesman for the local Kystbanen commuters' association Michael Randropp in the interview to *The Local* has compared the fences at Kastrup airport with the Berlin Wall ("Sweden begins checks", 2016, January 4).

Since the Öresund region is a cross border area with a lot of commuters, regionauts (Löfgren, 2008), travelling each day to and from work turned out to take up to 1 hour longer. According to the local newspaper articles, a lot of commuters have been frustrated and annoyed not only with this fact, but also worried that the border guards of the Danish private security company fulfilling the checks have been taking photos of each ID-cards to prove that they have checked photo ID cards of people. Another common concern has been regarding how the border control would affect the economy of the region, since just the checks cost 1 million Danish kronor extra per day. Moreover, according to the independent Öresundsinstitutet, more than 15,000 people commuted via Öresund between Denmark and Sweden each day, including not only Swedes, but also Danes moved to Malmö after opening of the Öresund Bridge and commuting to Copenhagen, and were affected by the border controls ("Border ID checks", 2016, January 21; "ID-checks in place", 2016, January 4; Löfgren, 2008, p. 202-203; as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 205).

Particularly, in the article *New Border Checks: Traveller Experiences* published by the online newspaper *The Local*, Europeans of different ages, gender and social statuses shared their perceptions and experiences regarding the border controls initiated on the Danish-Swedish border.

I got denied because the guards argued that my press ID was not good enough as an ID card. I don't think we should need ID documents to be able to travel between European countries.

Three out of four trains have been cancelled as a result of the checks (...) The commuting system is the blood system of a metropolitan economy. It will stop the blood flowing.

The whole idea of it is ridiculous nonsense. It's a sticking plaster on a problem that is much, much bigger. ("New border checks", 2016, January 4; 2016, January 5).

The above cited quotes touch different issues of the refugee crisis and the border crisis determined by it. The first one problematizes the issue of the passport-free movement right in the frames of the Schengen area, as well as the issue of the interpretation of validity of identification documents by the border guards. The second one highlights the problem of smooth functioning of the transnational region and integration processes of the Öresund area, the issues the regionauts face in the times of the border controls determined by the refugee crisis, and its influences on the whole economic situation of the transnational area of the Öresund region. Finally, the last opinion indicates the global character of the problem with the refugees and highlights that these kinds of steps would not make change and solve the problem.

More specifically, these issues emphasize the mutual influence of five disjunctive landscapes, such as ethnoscapes, mediascapes, techno-scapes, financescapes, and ideocapes differentiated by Appadurai (1996). Since the ideas of freedom, human rights and democracy, the European nations are based on, get at stake affected by the refuge crisis, the terrorist attacks and threats, the European nations change their policies for security reasons, which lead to the reestablishment of border controls within the passport-free Schengen Agreement. And these shifting border policies influence on both the moving groups of the Europeans – regionauts, tourists, etc., who possess mobility capital to move within Europe, and the economic situations in the transnational regions in Europe. And the media create images about the world, as well as illustrate all these developments generating moods around these phenomena and processes. At the same time, the media, as well as technologies, particularly, the disproportional development of technologies also affects the lives of different groups of

people and their motivations to move. In addition, the reestablished border controls within the passport-free Schengen circulation change the role of the passport, which gets agency (Latour, 2005) in the networks where different moving groups, as for instance, the Europeans and the refugees, circulate.

Although most of the regionauts and the travelers have mentioned that controls had gone smoothly, around 100 people including Swedish citizens and residents, students and tourists were refused entry to Sweden from Denmark, because their ID cards were not assessed to be good enough the first day of the border control. However, as a newspaper article claimed, when the head of the national border police of Sweden commented that the Danes were "overinterpreting" the rules, the decision not to accept the European ID cards was cancelled ("Travellers stopped at border", 2016, January 5). So, the passport as a non-human actor got agency (Latour, 2005) the first day of the compulsory border checks, since its absence affected the human actors – travelers preventing them to enter Sweden from Denmark, because human actors – security guards did not accept other identity documents. However, later the passport lost its crucial role, when the Swedish authorities cancelled the decision to accept only passports. Nevertheless, I remember that after showing my Swedish residence permit card on the Öresundståg I was asked to show my passport as well, which speaks about the agency of the passport in that particular network.

Simultaneously, five people had attempted to cross the Öresund Bridge on foot trying to avoid Sweden's new ID checks. They were seen walking on the motorway towards the Öresund tunnel and bridge and it was found out that all five, an adult and four minors, had previously sought asylum in Denmark. So, people started trying to find new ways to overcome obstacles embodied in the border controls at Kastrup airport either by boat or by attempting to cross the Öresund Bridge on foot because of not having a document which would have agency enabling them to cross the border ("Five held", 2016, January 11).

As to the French-German border control in Strasbourg-Kehl area, the border checks for random transport means were initiated immediately after Paris attacks on the bridge of Europe, *le Pont de l'Europe,* connecting the French Strasbourg and the German Kehl both on the German and French sides of the border where the traffic was reduced to a single lane (Calder, 2016, January 26; de Chalendar, 2015, November 14; Holehouse, 2015, November 20). In the beginning of February the border control was conducted only on the French side where the traffic was still reduced to a single lane, and it included only vehicles and was not

compulsory. Pedestrians and cyclists could also cross the border through another bridge again without checks (Observation #3, 2016 February 8).

An interesting accident caught my attention while I was moving towards the bridge-border in the direction of Kehl. A young man who had just crossed the border on foot to enter Strasbourg smiled, when he saw that a small black car stopped, which had just crossed the border, in order to pick him up (Observation #3, 2016, February 8). So, a possible absence of passport or another identity document did not affect his movement as a pedestrian in that cross-border area, indicating the absence of agency for passport or any other identity document in that network. While I was thinking about what I had just seen, the person accompanying me, a resident of Strasbourg, commented on this situation mentioning that probably he did not have documents and did not want to be checked, that is why he crossed the bridge-border on foot and then got into the car again (N., personal communication, 2016, February 8). So, the regionaut was well informed about the features of the movements in that cross-border area, which might also be determined by the raise of watchfulness and anxiousness after the terrorist attacks in Paris.

The new bridge for trams under construction on the left, pedestrians and
cars crossing *le Pont de l'Europe,* the French-German border,
Strasbourg, France. (2016, February 8).

In general, the atmosphere on the French-German border was created by the heavy traffic on the border caused by the slow movement of cars and trucks near the police checkpoint, and it was bringing tension and anxiety (Löfgren, 1999) to that area. The presence of the police symbolized that France was still in the state of emergency and the anxiety and horror caused by the terror attacks in November felt in the air (Observation #3, 2016, February 8). Although pedestrians were not affected by the border checks and the heavy traffic, and there was not even a feeling of crossing a border, I felt a tension, while crossing the border because of the police presence and the heavy traffic.

Overall, the atmosphere was more relaxed on the German side because of absence of border control in Kehl (Observation #3, 2016, February 8). Since the prices in Germany are much lower, the cross-border shopping (Löfgren, 2008, p. 203) seemed to be very popular among French people in Kehl (Observation #3, 2016, February 8). The cross-border residential mobility (as cited in Andersen et al, 2012, p. 201, 204) turned to be another inseparable aspect of the cross-border integration in that area, since many Germans moved to France and commuted to Germany on a daily basis because of very expensive housing in Germany (S., personal communication, 2016, February 7).

A tank standing near the border area in Strasbourg since 1945 and symbolizing the final return of the region Alsace to France by the end of the WWII when Strasbourg was liberated, and the bridge construction works for the trams to connect Strasbourg and Kehl in front of the tank were looking like wartime scenes adding anxiousness and disorder to the rainy and windy space of the cross-border area (Observation #3, 2016, February 8). The metaphor "front" used by M. Byrska-Szklarczyk regarding boundaries could be used to describe this area (as cited in Andersen et al., 2012, p. 113).

Thus, by the moment the fieldwork was conducted these two cross-border areas were characterized by different levels of control in the context of the current border crisis in Europe determining the role of the passport. The fences built along the Danish-Swedish border at Kastrup airport prevented unauthorized crossings of the Öresund Bridge, while on the French-German side the police conducted selective checks of vehicles without checking pedestrians and cyclists.

The same border regions in Europe were both easy and difficult to pass depending on whether there was a border control or not, as for instance in the case of Denmark-Sweden, where people were checked twice to enter Sweden both in Denmark and Sweden, while from Sweden to Denmark there was no border control. The same is valid in the case of France and Germany, where travelers were checked in Strasbourg to enter France from the German town Kehl, while there was no border control in Kehl. So, the same European borders seemed to be both open and closed and their crossings either slow and time consuming or fast.

So, the Schengen Agreement either did not function at all for some actors in both cross-border areas or it functioned partially, for all pedestrians and cyclists entering Strasbourg. Simultaneously, there was no border control from Sweden to Denmark and from Germany to France in the above mentioned areas, which meant that the Schengen Agreement functioned smoothly on these directions of the borders. This meant also that there were

different practices of border crossings and border controls in the same areas within the Schengen Agreement, affecting not only the atmosphere and feelings on these boundaries, but also the agency of the passport. The atmosphere on the Danish-Swedish border was mostly created by the refugee crisis, while on the border between France and Germany by the terrorist attacks and threats, although the feeling of anxiousness was common in both transnational areas.

Simultaneously, both the Europeans who participated in the in-depth interviews and those ones interviewed by the local media have highlighted the issue of the time in the context of functioning of the Schengen Agreement, as they compare how the Schengen Agreement used to work before the refugee crisis and what is going on around it now. Particularly, the movement within the Schengen area was smooth and fast and even taken for granted in the past, unlike nowadays. So, the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris are breaking points dividing time into "past" and "present" in the sense that the passport was not needed and did not have agency then.

> I can compare since I have lived there last year when there was no crisis yet. I never felt any border between Denmark and Sweden (…). And it really felt like you're traveling within one country, until I had to change the train twice last time when I was there in January. (Interview #6, 2016, February 17).

As to my personal experiences, when I heard the announcement on the train Öresundståg from Sweden to Denmark in the end of January that Kastrup airport was the final stop, I remembered that I was taking the same train to go to classes at the University of Copenhagen for almost one year, and I thought how things changed harshly just within several months, because of the refugee crisis, and the efforts of the Swedish government to establish order on its southern boundary, which ended up in current border controls on the Danish-Swedish border.

In general, the media illustrations of the reestablished border controls and the interviews, observations and the autoethnography in the above mentioned cross-border areas gave different perspectives on the current border crisis in Europe. The analyzed media publications mostly stressed the official rhetoric regarding the refugee crisis, the terrorist attacks in Paris, and their influence on the European countries and the functioning of the

Schengen Agreement, while the interviews, observations and the autoethnography gave ideas on the features of border perceptions, practices and controls not covered by the media.

Finally, I have revealed through the research that the freedom of movement and the Schengen Agreement are closely interrelated and interdependent in the cross-border regions. In the conditions of the current border controls the regionauts in transnational European regions, as in the Öresund region and Strasbourg-Kehl area are the most affected. Although the Europeans have a right to work freely in the neighboring countries in the frames of the freedom movement, the current passport checks create hassles for them making their everyday commuting lives more time consuming, complicated and stressful. So, the mobility capital in the form of the right of free movement and the passport-free Schengen circulation, as well as the Europeans in the cross-border regions, that is, the regionauts, as a moving group are affected by the passport because of the border controls determined by the refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

4.3 Passport: a document or an object possessing agency?

The analysis of the international media has shown that passport is among widely discussed topics („Germany even wins", 2016, March 2; "Launch of the Henley & Partners", 2016, February 24; "Swedes cheer", 2016, March 1; Quito, 2016, February 28; "Sweden tops", 2013, October 5). Mainly such articles are dedicated to the coverage of world rankings of passports, according to their power in the sense of access to other countries.

The most recent ranking has represented the online *Visa Restrictions Index 2016* released by a British consulting firm *Henley & Partners*, where Germany is crowned as a country with the greatest "travel freedom" given to its citizens by other states. According to it, the citizens of Germany can simply drop in free of care and paperwork in 177 out of the 281 states involved in the survey. The second best in the world in terms of offering travel freedom has been ranked the Swedish passport, since it entitles to visit 176 nations without a visa. The third place have shared the UK, Finland, France, Italy and Spain with a score of 175 („Germany even wins", 2016 March 2; "Launch of the Henley & Partners", 2016, February 24; "Swedes cheer", 2016, March 1; Quito, 2016, February 28). On the contrary, according to the ranking, people with passports from Afghanistan can get entry to just 25 nations. Holders of passports from Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia and Syria have also shared alike restrictions ("Swedes cheer**",** 2016, March 1). Moreover, Somalia, Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan which hold the bottom four positions on the Index have been labeled the worst passports in the

world ("Launch of the Henley & Partners", 2016, February 24; Quito, 2016, February 28). So, as sociologist Stephen Castles (2004) has mentioned, not all citizens are equal and some passports are better than others (p. 223).

However, such categorization and in some cases even stigmatization of passports in terms of best vs. worst influences directly on people's lives, which is being illustrated on real cases. In the recently published article titled *No Schengen Visa for Me: A Pakistani Scientist's Dilemma* on the web-page *Schengen Visa Info* a researcher from Pakistan has shared his own negative experience on being rejected to be provided a Schengen Visa to present a research paper at a conference in Rome, since he had also an intention to visit Austria within the frames of the same trip, where he had got his PhD some years ago. In his words, he was told by a visa officer that after Paris attacks the immigration rules were strengthened and he had to assure that he would only visit one country, which he did, though unwillingly. However, later he had got a rejection (Khan, 2016, February 27).

There are also rankings on the best countries highlighting the image and status of the nations in the international arena. Particularly, Germany has been ranked the overall best nation in the world according to the *2016 Best Countries* ranking released by *US News & World Report* for its assistance to entrepreneurs, growing role as a global leader and high quality of life, among other factors. Germany has been followed in the rankings by Canada, the UK, the US and Sweden (Drew, 2016, January 20; "Overall best countries", 2016, January 20; "World names Germany", 2016, January 20; "What makes Sweden", 2016, January 20). Algeria has been ranked as the worst country out of 60 in the list, with Iran and Ukraine rated just above ("Overall best countries", 2016, January 20; "World names Germany", 2016, January 20). According to the citizenship sub-ranking based on such criteria, as country's care about human rights, the environment, gender equality, progressive, religious freedom, respect of property rights, trustworthy and well-distributed political power Canada, Denmark, Netherlands and Australia follow Sweden, which is believed to be most advanced. And Egypt, Pakistan, Algeria and Iran are perceived to be the least succeeded in this Social Progress Index ("The Best Countries: Citizenship", 2016, January 20).

It is necessary to mention that citizenship in any of the EU member countries provides European citizenship. Particularly, the 1994 Maastricht Treaty brought in EU citizenship, which assumed rights to freedom of movement and residence in the territory of member countries, to vote and stand as candidates in the local elections and European Parliament elections in the country of residence, to diplomatic protection by diplomats of any EU

country in the third country, as well as to petition the European Parliament and to appeal to an ombudsman (Benhabib & Resnik, 2009, p. 28; Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 46; Rossi dal Pozzo, 2013, p. 19-20).

So, as Betts (2011) has mentioned, citizens of EU member countries do not need visas to travel to other EU states (p. 115). In fact, visas function as the country's lengthening of extra-territorial "remote controls" (Zolberg, 1999) over frontiers by demanding that travelers subject themselves to a visa application process which may include submission of identity documents, bank statements, return tickets, immunization records, as well as an interview with consular officials (as cited in Betts, 2011, p. 114).

Turning to the qualitative interviews, some of the interviewees have mentioned that the nation a passport of which a person possesses is important, because it makes access to other countries either easier or harder depending on the country issued it. And here diplomatic relations, history and even perception of a country can be crucial, as emphasized by the participants. In this sense, a passport is perceived to be strong, powerful, weak or even wrong.

I would say the Swedish passport is quite strong. I think it's easier to come... to enter certain countries with a Swedish passport, than with others, I guess. (Interview #8, 2016, February 20).

However, the passport is perceived ambiguously by the European citizens and residents. Some interview participants have claimed that the passport has no importance within Europe, and instead it becomes significant while travelling outside of Europe, while others have mentioned changes concerning it.

That's interesting, because it's actually recently changed, when I use my passport. I used to only use my ID card… my Slovak ID card, because it was also allowed to show it when travelling, it had the same role as passport within European Union, of course. But recently since there is a refugee crisis (…) I remember after my first experience when I only showed my ID… now with the refugees that it was okay, but they are kind of… showing me that it's not completely okay or they are kind of not sure, if it's real, if I didn't change something (…). Then I start showing…keeping the passport with me all the time and I show the passport. And when I show the passport

and they see it and it feels real really and it takes two seconds and I am free to go. So now I really feel that passport is very-very important for me, even if I travel within Europe. (Interview #6, 2016, February 17).

So, the passport as a non-human actor gained agency, that is, became crucial during the refugee crisis, since several countries of the passport-free Schengen circulation reestablished border controls. At the same time, the interviewed Europeans have used different metaphors to describe the meaning of the passport. Overall, it is perceived as a ticket, a gate opener, a key, a privilege, an advantage, opportunities, strength and etc.

European passport is a ticket, way to have access in many countries simultaneously (…). It's an important document because of some kind of power behind it. (Interview #7, 2016, February 19).

So, the interviewed Europeans perceive it simultaneously as essential using various metaphors in the sense of the value it has, although they believe that it has no importance within Europe because of the passport-free circulation within the Schengen area. This way it becomes crucial mostly while traveling outside of Europe, because within Europe, as they claim, it is allowed to travel with national ID cards. Thereby, the agency of the passport is not constant and it changes each time in a new network. However, once the current refugee crisis started and some European countries reestablished border controls, the passports became more vital, since the ID cards do not seem to be that trustworthy for those fulfilling border controls, and it is better for travelers to carry passports.

Thus, the presence of the European passport seems to be both necessary and unnecessary depending on the network it circulates in. In some cases it turns to be paradoxical: the European passport is needed in order not to need it within Europe. In this case it is possible to speak about a latent agency of the passport in a distance.

The interviewees have expressed positive feelings regarding their European passport not only because of its advantages, but also since it is associated with belonging and inclusion in the European community.

If I go outside of Europe with my European resident status document I feel proud. (Interview #4, 2016, February 7).

I'm happy that my country, Greece, is part of the European Union. (Interview #7, 2016, February 19).

As the interviews show, the Europeans are afraid of losing it, because of potential troubles they may encounter in that case. Some prefer keeping it close to the body to feel it on them, like in the pocket of the jacket or trousers. Others keep it in the wallet, purse or bag. Similarly, people put in a special and safe place at home, like in a folder with other important documents, in a shelf, a drawer or a closet, a place where it will be found easily once needed. However, there seems to be no common pattern on either preferring to have it all the time with oneself or not, it differs from person to person. One of the interviewees even has mentioned that about three months ago one was not allowed to board a plane from Belgium to Germany because she had forgotten the passport and was not able to prove her identity, which actually reveals the agency of the non-human actor passport and its influence on the human-actor traveler in a distance (Latour, 2005).

Well, last time it was during the New Years Eve I wanted to travel to Germany and I forgot my passport at home the first time and I couldn't take my flight because I couldn't prove my identity. (Interview #9, 2016, February 20).

The interviews have illustrated that the passport makes divisions among countries, first of all, between European and not European ones, revealing issues of opportunities or restrictions based on inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship.

Of course, I feel a little bit privileged comparing to other people when I compare with other people from third world because they have stricter (…) inspection, whenever they have to pass the borders… (Interview #1, 2016, January 26).

The idea of "privilege" emphasized by several interviewees shows not only the advantages and the opportunities the Europeans possess, but also the inequality among people belonging to different nations just because of the fact of being born in certain states or other factors affected the belonging and the citizenship. Thereby, the mobility capital enabled by

the European citizenship and passport generates a new form of social inequality between people who possess it, the Europeans and those ones who do not, non-Europeans.

The differentiation between countries and passports, first of all, is visible at the European airports at the passport control points through "EU/EEA/CH citizens" and "All passports" signs. Most of the interviewees have mentioned that this differentiation is good for better management and it is mostly bureaucratic because visa has to be checked. So, mostly people perceive it to have a functional meaning in the sense of efficiency. However, this differentiation between countries and passports points out at the inclusion and exclusion based on belonging and citizenship, which exists even in a spatial sense, since, for example, the entrances and exits for Schengen and non-Schengen area travelers are separated in the European airports.

Kastrup airport, Copenhagen, Denmark. (2015, December 17).

A division exists even within Europe, since the European countries are divided into areas in the sense whether they are either EU or EEA member nations or Schengen area countries. There are also some countries which are geographically in Europe, but they are part of neither EU nor EEA nor the Schengen Agreement, like, for example, some Balkan countries. This leads to a formation of some common labels, like, "inside EU" and "outside EU", "inside Schengen" and "outside Schengen" creating mental maps within Europe in the sense of different border areas.

However, even within the EU and the EEA member nations and the Schengen area countries, there are differentiations between countries in the sense of political and economic power they possess, as well as image and status they have among other member countries.

Greece was suffering from economic crisis, the perception of people has changed around Europe that Greece is a country that might not deserve to be called European country. So, all this perception has been in the media for quite a long time and people outside Europe, they hear about Greece, and the first thing they think, besides the

sunny beaches and having fun, is the economic crisis. And right now Greece's status is carried by… every Greek citizen that they are kind of, I don't know, lazy or they are going to take advantage of Europe somehow (…). (Interview #7, 2016, February 19).

The unequal economic development of Southern and Eastern Europe, in comparison with Western and Northern Europe, as well as the images of nations and stereotypes existing about them, which are also being exploited or formed by the media, affect the way citizens, holders of passports of certain countries, may perceive how they are treated while travelling. Sometimes it could be accompanied with negative feelings the Europeans might experience just because of being a citizen of certain country regarding which specific stereotypes exist.

As Löfgren (1999) has mentioned, such feelings experience people originating from "low-ranking nations", when a person is assessed in terms whether one is just a visitor or tries to enter the country on false motive (p. 25). Journalist Slavenka Draculić (Draculić, 1996) has described this feeling of constant humiliation from an Eastern European perspective mentioning that it is impossible to forget suspicious glances, they are easily identified from a long distance (as cited in Löfgren, 1999, p. 25-26). In the 1990s this selective treatment to people has raised, and travelers from "less desired nations" could find themselves questioned in very personal ways (Löfgren, 1999, p. 12).

In the UK I was stopped just recently, let's say one year ago and asked "Hey, what are you doing here? Where are you going? Why are you visiting? Have you been here before?" only because of being Romanian, only because Romanian is being associated with some people doing… going there and like stealing or like begging (…). I felt a little bit ashamed (…). Then another story was that my passport was not enough when I traveled (…). They were checking passports once more to go on the flight and the guy there asked me so I showed him passport and then asked me "Do you have another… like credit card or another ID with you?" (…). And I showed him my card, my debit card and then – "I am telling you, I'm asking you because many Romanians… we had Romanians that falsify their passport and their IDs", and I was like, "Oh my God!", and then I felt extremely ashamed (…). (Interview #3, 2016, January 29).

The practice of state authorities investigating the travel papers issued by other nations to determine the identity and nationality of a traveler and asking questions to determine admissibility has become essential in the border control practices of all countries. This generally accepted practice is anticipated by international travelers and is considered mostly as a normal and quintessential part of international travel. The passport can efficiently serve a border control function, if the person using it, is the person to whom the passport was initially issued (Betts, 2011, p. 113).

As Löfgren (1999) has mentioned, new international differentiation of states with or without visa requirements made exits and entries more complicated in the 1980s and 1990s. Drugs and illegal immigrants turned to be the main targets in the policing of borders, along with the threats of international terrorism, since the security became at stake. In the early 1990s border controls considerably rose, since immigration laws were strengthened in the European states. For instance, since there was a passport-free movement for Scandinavians inside Scandinavia since 1950s, Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians were differentiated, and border police scanned travelers for "non-Scandinavians traits". So, it was better for border crossers to attempt to look blue-eyed and white, otherwise they were asked to move aside. Those Scandinavians, who did not correspond to this "Scandinavian profile" or as the author has called "Scandinavian habitus", had to carry their Scandinavian passports each time they travelled across the border (p. 12).

Thus, the Europeans may encounter such situations even possessing a "powerful" passport, just because they do not look like the way the passport control authorities would "anticipate", as in the case of one of the interviewees who was born in Denmark and possesses a Danish citizenship and passport, but does not have a "Scandinavian habitus" because of having Pakistani roots:

> I traveled to Canada, Toronto. And I was held at the airport for six hours. Although I have a Danish passport, they didn't believe that I was Dane and they had to call even an interpreter in order to speak to me Danish and verify that my passport was original. So I have encountered problems outside of Europe, but still in the West. (Interview #1, 2016, January 26).

All these differentiations touch issues concerning inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship, discrimination and stigmatization, validity of the passport, etc. The image of

the country, including the factor of the number of the countries the passport of the particular country gives access to without a visa, affects its perception and interpretation. This way, as it was already mentioned, the passport appears to be not just a document to prove the identity of its holder, but an object, which may possess agency in Latourian understanding.

Hence, in certain situations the passport becomes essential for its holder and could get even more important as an "actor", than the person whose identity it is called to prove. In some cases the person may even need to prove that one is the rightful owner of the passport. Moreover, in the case it is not there, if it is, for example, forgotten, the person is unable to prove who one is. So, it still affects the other actors in the network within which it acts, though in a distance. However, in some situations it may have no agency at all, because of being unnecessary. Otherwise, it could either bring opportunities or obstacles, depending on its value and how it and its holder are assessed by those who interpret them. Time and space are also crucial factors providing a context within which the assessment and the interpretation of the passports and their holders happen. So, the way the passport acts changes each time, since the context, the network changes. In addition, depending on its agency, other supplementary documents, like visas, residence permit documents, ID cards, credit cards, etc. may be needed or not or may substitute the passport or not. Overall, the European passport is needed in order not to need it to fulfill the right of free movement and circulate freely within the passport-free Schengen area, although depending on the context the Europeans may need it. Thus, it may get agency in particular situations, like during the current refugee crisis and after Paris attacks.

To sum up, the right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement, as mobility capital based on access, competence and appropriation possessed by the Europeans regardless of social class, have not only advantages, but also disadvantages. Along with wide opportunities enabling a lifestyle migration, they may lead to security issues, as well as to leak of human capital, brain drain from some European regions to brain gain in others, which are more attractive in the sense of high wages and better social security warranties. And the border controls reestablished in some countries of the Schengen area in reply to the refugee crisis and Paris attacks indicate not only the mutual influence of different landscapes on each other, but also different levels of border controls in different parts of Europe, where the role of the passport is different, either having agency or not.

Finally, the conclusion will turn to the main findings, applicability of the thesis, as well as further research needs.

5 Conclusion

This concluding chapter highlights the main research findings presented in the previous analytical chapter, outlines ideas which might be useful for policy makers for consideration in the process of policy making, as well as emphasizes the further research needs regarding the right of free movement and the borders in Europe, especially in the context of the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris.

5.1 Main findings

Turning to the main findings of the research, first of all, it is worth mentioning that the Europeans regardless of social status are very mobile within Europe because of the freedom of movement as mobility capital enabling them to exit, enter and stay without visas in the European countries where the right of free movement exists. Freedom of movement gives a wide range of opportunities, makes movement and settling in other European countries easy and fast. It is perceived to be a privilege and a great advantage which enables the Europeans to be more spontaneous in their lives in the sense of movements, which turn to become a lifestyle migration as a mobility form, regardless of the age and the social status.

However, the right of free movement is characterized by some drawbacks. First, it is uncontrollable in the sense "who is moving where" not only in the context of the contemporary threats of terrorism, but also because of criminality, as people committed crimes could move to other European countries without having their personal data checked while entering these states. At the same time, because of inequality between different European regions and countries in the sense of economic development, as well as economic issues in some European countries, many Europeans from the Southern and the Eastern European nations move to the Western and the Northern Europe being attracted by high wages and better social warranties. So, the freedom movement as motility empowering significant migration flows for the Europeans within Europe can potentially lead to the leak of human capital. Moreover, in the long time perspective it may result in brain drain from the countries of the Southern and the Eastern European nations and brain gain to the Western and the Northern European countries.

At the same time, the freedom of movement enables Europeans to maneuver under certain public policies in their home countries making them more flexible in the sense of reacting to political, economic and immigration policies in different European countries. Particularly, regionauts residing in cross-border areas often move to the other side of the

border because of cheaper housing and continue working in the home country with high wages, as in the cases of French-German and Danish-Swedish cross-border regions. Indeed, in reply to strengthened immigration policies on family reunification in some European countries, many people move with their non-European citizen partners to the neighboring countries, where the immigration policies are more liberal, like in the case of Danes moving to Sweden.

The current refugee crisis associated with a raise of terrorism and criminality is perceived by the Europeans as a potential threat which could put in danger the existence of the right of free movement in Europe. And potential cancellation of the right of free movement within Europe would be perceived by the Europeans as a significant step back, since it has been functioning for more than a half century.

Overall, the right of free movement illustrates the integration and globalization processes within Europe. Particularly, as mobility capital independent on the social class and status, because it is a fundamental right based on the European citizenship, it enables the movement of the Europeans within certain spaces in Europe, which are characterized by political, economic, social and cultural integration constituting a cultural construction.

The Europeans understand the borders as both cultural and authority differences between states defining "us and them". In particular, language, national, ethnic and cultural differences define borders. Borders are also associated with belonging, identity, passports, maps and lines, border guards, security, customs officers, laws and rules, etc. Although overall belonging constitutes borders, sometimes it may be not that clear, especially in the cross-border areas revealing the fluid global configuration of technology and the fact that it moves at high speeds across different kinds of previously impassable borderlands composing techno-scapes.

In general, the Europeans realize that there are borders within Europe, but they are not that visible to them, as to the people from outside. Since in the contemporary globalized world ethonscapes consist of different categories of people, they differ in the sense of belonging, either being citizens and residents or migrants and refugees, and the perceptions of borders, border practices and border controls in the sense of feelings and experiences they bring, are not the same. The borders are strict and bureaucratic, although they are perceived to be "softer" for the Europeans or "higher" or "taller" for climbing for people not belonging to Europe. The right of free movement as mobility capital possessed by the Europeans affects positively the perceptions of borderlands, since if they needed visas to travel, the borders within Europe would be perceived as barriers and restrictions.

The European borders in the frames of the passport-free Schengen area are felt to be open, convenient and functioning very well. As a result, travelling without being checked on the borders is experienced to be fast and easy, which along with the right of free movement, form mobility capital. However, the Schengen system has also a considerable drawback, because the passport-free circulation enables to enter a European country from another one freely, and it may cause security issues, especially in the context of the contemporary refugee crisis and the terrorist threats. So, different ideas existing in the ideoscapes, and particularly the idea of the freedom collides with the security concerns in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

The current border controls within the Schengen area in the context of the refugee crisis and the terrorist attacks in Paris are considered to be time-consuming, make the Europeans feel interference, anxiety, intrusion and irritation, although there is a realization that they are being conducted for security reasons to prevent terrorism and criminality. There is a feeling that borders are recreated in the forms of fences and police officers. So, the reestablished border controls have an aim to filter different categories of moving people forming ethnoscapes, that is, the citizens and refugees, and the passport gains agency becoming a crucial factor for border crossings.

At the same time, mediascapes, the international and European media, illustrating the developments around the situation with the refugees and the terrorist attacks, create also certain images and moods, contributing to the formation of the feelings of anxiety, fear, insecurity and distrust hate in the states where the refugees go.

The trends of establishment of border controls within the Schengen area are evaluated by the Europeans as dangerous, because they may have "a domino effect" in the sense that other member nations may follow the same route and there will not be Schengen Agreement anymore, and the whole idea of the European integrity will be at stake. Likewise, the abolishment of the passport-free Schengen Agreement would be considered as a step back, like in the case of the freedom of movement, although the European authorities are very interested in the keeping of the Schengen area, because its cancellation affected by such political reasons, as the refugee crisis and the terrorist threats, will be very costly for all member countries, since it constitutes a united economic area within financescapes.

In the context of the current refugee crisis and the threats of terrorism, especially after Paris attacks in November 2015, the Europeans prioritize security embodied in the border control, although generally they appreciate the passport-free movement within the Schengen area, because it is fast and easy way to travel. Thereby, the security is prioritized over the

passport-free movement within the Schengen area by the Europeans, although some consider border controls as inappropriate. However, if there the border controls are needed, the Europeans prefer everyone to be checked to avoid from patterns of discrimination based on appearance.

In general, the same border may be both open and difficult to pass, depending on whether there is a border control or not. Thereby, the same European borders in the context of the current refugee crisis and under the threats of terrorism are simultaneously open and closed, and their crossings are either fast or slow. Overall, they are specific, either open or closed.

The Danish-Swedish and the French-German cross-border areas are characterized by different levels of control in the context of the current border crisis in Europe. The Schengen Agreement either does not function at all for some actors in both cross-border areas or it functions partially, for all pedestrians and cyclists entering France through Strasbourg. Simultaneously, there is no border control from Sweden to Denmark and from Germany to France in the above mentioned areas, which means that the Schengen Agreement functions smoothly on these directions of the borders. This means that there are different practices of border crossings and border controls in the same areas within the Schengen area, affecting not only the atmosphere and feelings on these boundaries, but also the agency of the passport. Nevertheless, the atmosphere on the Danish-Swedish border is mostly created by the refugee crisis, while on the border between France and Germany by the terrorist attacks and threats, although the feeling of anxiousness is common in both cross-border regions.

The right of free movement and the Schengen Agreement, as mobility capital based on access, competence and appropriation possessed by the Europeans regardless of social status, are closely interrelated and interdependent in the cross-border regions. In the conditions of the current border controls the regionauts in transnational European regions, as in the Öresund region and Strasbourg-Kehl area, are the most affected. Although the Europeans have a right to work freely in the neighboring countries within the frames of the freedom movement, the current border controls create obstacles for them making their everyday commuting lives more time consuming, complicated and stressful. So, the mobility capital in the form of the right of free movement and the passport-free Schengen circulation, as well as the Europeans in the cross-border regions, that is, the regionauts, as a moving group in the ethnoscapes, are affected by the non-human actor passport because of the border controls determined by the refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

The passport is perceived by the Europeans to be powerful, strong, weak or even wrong. To describe its meaning the Europeans use different metaphors, such as a ticket, a gate opener, a key, a privilege, an advantage, opportunities, strength and etc. So, the Europeans perceive it simultaneously as essential using various metaphors in the sense of the value it has and, at the same time, they believe that it has no importance within Europe, because of the passport-free circulation within the Schengen area. This way it becomes crucial mostly while traveling outside of Europe, because within Europe, as they claim, it is allowed to travel with national ID cards. Thereby, the agency of the passport is not constant and it changes each time in a new network. However, the passport as a non-human actor gained agency, that is, became crucial during the refugee crisis, since several countries of the passport-free Schengen circulation reestablished border controls.

Simultaneously, the European passport is both valued and assessed positively by the Europeans not only because of its advantages, but also since it means belonging and inclusion in the European community. As a result, the passport makes divisions among countries, first of all, between European and not European ones revealing issues of opportunities or restrictions based on inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship. The idea of "privilege" emphasized by the Europeans shows not only the advantages and the opportunities the Europeans possess, but also the inequality among people belonging to different nations just because of the fact of being born in certain nations or other factors affected the belonging and the citizenship. Thereby, the mobility capital enabled by the European citizenship and passport produces a new form of social inequality between the Europeans and non-Europeans.

A division exists even within Europe, since the European countries are divided among areas in the sense whether they are either EU or EEA member nations or Schengen area countries. There are also some countries which are geographically in Europe, but they are part of neither EU nor EEA nor the Schengen Agreement, like, for example, some Balkan states. This differentiation between nations and passports points out at the inclusion and exclusion based on belonging and citizenship, which exists even in a spatial sense, since, for instance, the entrances and exits for Schengen and non-Schengen area travelers are divided in the European airports.

So, there are mental maps in Europe differentiating people. Moreover, within the same space of EU, EEA and CH where the right of free movement is the same for all member countries' citizens and residences, as well as in the Schengen area, which assumes passport-free circulation, the freedom of movement and the borderlands are perceived and experienced

differently by the representatives of different countries because of not declared, unofficial inequality between nations in the sense of image, status and economic development of the countries which affect the way the holders of passports of certain states might perceive they are treated.

All these differentiations touch issues concerning inclusion and exclusion, belonging and citizenship, stigmatization, discrimination and etc. The image of the country, including the factor of the number of the countries the passport of the particular country gives access to without a visa, affect its perception and interpretation. This way, as it was already mentioned, the passport appears to be not just a document to prove the identity of its holder, but an object, which may possess agency in Latourian understanding.

It turns out that the European passport is both needful and needless depending on the network it circulates in. In some cases the European passport is needed in order to be unnecessary, as ordinarily within the Schengen area. In this case it is possible to speak about a latent agency of the passport in a distance. And if the passport is necessary and it is not there, as during the current refugee crisis and after Paris attacks, it has still agency and affects the network in a distance, for example, impeding its holder from crossing a border because of inability to prove own identity. So, in some cases the passport gets significance for its holder and could become even more important as non-human actor, than the human actor, the person whose identity it is supposed to prove. Moreover, in certain situations the person may even need to prove that one is its lawful owner. On the contrary, in some situations it may have no agency at all, because of being unnecessary, like in those cross-border areas or sides of the cross-border regions in Europe where no border control is conducted.

So, it could either bring opportunities or obstacles, depending on its value and how it and its holder are interpreted and assessed by other actors in the network. Time and place are also essential factors providing a context within which the interpretation of the passports and their holders take place within the network. Thus, the way the passport acts modifies each time, as the network changes. Similarly, depending on its agency, other documents, such as visas, residence permit documents, ID cards, credit cards, driving licenses and etc. may be necessary or not or they may either substitute the passport or not. In general, the European passport is needful in order not to need it to use the mobility capital – the right of free movement and circulation within the passport-free Schengen area. But depending on the context it may get agency and the Europeans may start needing it, like during the current refugee crisis and after Paris attacks.

Time and context are important aspects in the discourse of the right for free movement and the borderlands in Europe. The factor of time is problematized by the Europeans in the sense that they save much time, because the freedom of movement enables them to avoid from official circumlocution to get visas to travel within Europe and makes possible frequent journeys. Simultaneously, time is discussed in the context of the Schengen Agreement, as the Europeans compare how the Schengen Agreement used to function "in the past" that is before the refugee crisis and what is going around it "in the present" in the context of the refugee crisis, Paris attacks and the border crisis they caused. Particularly, time illustrates that the movement within the Schengen area was smooth, easy and fast in the past, in contrast to current situation. Thereby, the refugee crisis and Paris attacks are breaking points dividing time into "past" and "present", "before" and "after", in the sense that the passport was not necessary and did not have agency in the Schengen area then.

5.2 Concluding reflections and indications for further research

Turning to the applicability of the thesis in cultural analytical sense it can be mentioned that the policy makers could benefit from the analysis on the way of taking steps to improve public policy concerning the further implementation of the right of free movement and the passport-free circulation in the Schengen area.

First of all, since there is an inequality in the sense of economic development between different European countries and regions particularly within the frames EU, public policy measures to assist the countries of the Southern and Eastern Europe to overcome these gaps in economic terms, and thereby become attractive not only for own citizens and residents, but also for the citizens and residents of other member nations, could be considered as appropriate. As a result, negative migratory processes deriving from the right free movement, such as leak of human capital, and particularly brain drain from the Southern and Eastern European nations would be avoided. In general, it may also contribute to the transformation of the images and the statuses of some European countries objected to stereotypes and discriminations.

Secondly, since the current border controls within the Schengen area are determined by security concerns caused by the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks in Paris, it would be relevant to consider an idea to set a common database within Europe in order to check personal records of Europeans when they use their right of free movement and/or travel within the Schengen area. Such common database might help to reveal persons with criminal

records in order to prevent their entrance to other European countries. In general, such database will help to monitor "who is moving where".

Finally, in the context of the reestablished border controls in the Schengen area by several European countries determined by the refugee crisis and Paris attacks, a more coherent European public policy concerning immigration policies in general, as well as the Schengen Agreement, which along with the right of free movement constitute Europe as a cultural construct, would contribute to the smoother functioning of both the freedom of movement and the Schengen Agreement.

Turning to the further research on the freedom of movement and the borders in Europe, it would be worth finding out what kind of migratory flows causes the right of free movement and how they affect politically, economically, socially, demographically and culturally both the sending and the receiving European nations.

At last, another aspect which might be interesting to research is how the Europeans in different cross-border regions perceive and experience the right of free movement and the borderlands in the context of the reestablished border controls in the Schengen area determined by the refugee crisis and Paris attacks.

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Interviews

01- Interview with a citizen of Denmark via Skype. (2016, January 26). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

02- Interview with a citizen of Sweden. (2016, January 27). Lund, Sweden. *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

03- Interview with a citizen of Romania. (2016, January 29). Lund, Sweden. *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

04- Interview with a permanent resident of France. (2016, February 07). Strasbourg, France. *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

05- Interview with a citizen of Latvia via Facebook Video Call. (2016, February 15). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

06- Interview with a citizen of Slovakia via Skype. (2016, February 17). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

07- Interview with a citizen of Greece. (2016, February 19). Lund, Sweden. *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

08- Interview with a citizen of Sweden via Facebook Video Call. (2016, February 20). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

09- Interview with a citizen of Lithuania via Skype. (2016, February 20). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

10- Interview with a citizen of Italy via Skype. (2016, February 21). *Performed, transcribed and archived by Elen Kerobyan.*

Observations

01 - Observation on the train (Öresundståg Lund-Copenhagen-Lund), in Copenhagen central station and Hyllie station in Malmö. (2015, November 27).

02 - Observation on the train (Öresundståg Lund-Malmö-Lund) and Hyllie station in Malmö. (2015, December 11).

03 - Observation on the train (TGV Paris-Strasbourg-Paris), Strasbourg-Kehl cross-border area. (2016, February 6 – February 8).

Appendix

Interview guide

Citizenship/Passport

(EU/EEA/CH)

1. A citizenship of which country do you have?

2. Does it matter a passport (permanent residence permit) of which country you hold?

3. What does European passport (permanent residence permit) mean for you and what does it symbolize? Is it useful?

4. When do you usually need your passport (permanent residence permit document)?

5. Where do you usually keep your passport (permanent residence permit document) document when you need to have it with you?

6. Where do you usually keep your passport (permanent residence permit document) when you do not need it to have it with you?

7. Have you ever lost your passport (permanent residence permit document)? Did you get back your passport (permanent residence permit document) or did you get new documents and how?

8. Have you ever tried to travel without your passport (permanent residence permit document)?

9. What is the meaning of the passport (permanent residence permit document) in the contemporary Europe?

10. Have you ever noticed at the European airports differentiation between "EU/EEA/CH citizens" vs. "All passports" whenever you need to pass border control? What do you think and feel about it?

The right of free movement/Freedom of movement

11. How often do you travel within Europe and for what purposes? Do you need any documents for it?

12. Do you need visas or residence and work permits to live, work or study in other European countries?

13. What does it mean for you to be entitled to travel, work, study or reside in other European countries without visas, residence or work permits?

14. Are there any advantages and/or disadvantages of travelling, working, studying or residing in other European countries without visas, residence and work permits?

15. Do you benefit from the possibility to travel, work, study or reside in other European countries without visas, residence and work permits? What are the main benefits of it for you?

16. What do you think and feel about the European public policy that citizens and permanent residents of European countries are eligible to travel, choose the place of their inhabitance, work or study in other European countries without visas, while non European citizens and residents need entry, residence, work or study permits?

17. How would you feel if there is a visa requirement to travel, work, study or reside within Europe one day? Would it affect your life?

18. Are there any issues which could put in danger the no visa regime of travelling, working, studying or residing in other European countries?

19. Is there anything you would like to be changed in the public policy regarding the right to travel, work, study or reside in other European countries without visas, work, study or residence permits?

20. Have you ever experienced any difficulties while travelling to another country within Europe?

21. Have you ever experienced any difficulties while travelling to another country outside of Europe?

Border perceptions and practices/The Schengen area

22. How would you define international borders?

23. How do you define borders in Europe?

24. What kind of words would you use to describe borders in Europe?

25. Are you being checked on the borders while travelling within Europe? If yes, by whom and where? If no, what does it mean for you to be entitled to travel within Europe without being checked?

26. What do you feel when you cross borders within Europe? Are your perceptions of borders different depending on whether you are checked on borders or not?

27. Are there any advantages and/or disadvantages of travelling without being checked on the borders within Europe?

28. When was the last time when you crossed borders in Europe? What happened? What did you feel? What did you think about?

29. Would your perceptions of borders be different if you needed visas to travel/work/study/reside in other European countries?

30. When was the last time when you crossed borders within Europe? What happened?

31. Have you ever travelled outside of Europe? If yes, what did you feel when you crossed borders outside of Europe? Are there any differences for you?

32. Are there any issues which could put in danger the possibility of travelling without border controls within Europe?

33. What do you think about recent border controls in several European countries, like Sweden, Denmark, France, etc. which have started recently checking people on borders in the context of the current refugee crisis and Paris attacks?

34. How would you feel if there is no possibility at all to travel without being checked on the borders within Europe one day? Would it affect your life?

35. Is there anything you would like to be changed in the public policy regarding the borders and their functioning within Europe?