ASYLUM SEEKERS CRISIS IN EUROPE 2015: DEBATING SPACES OF FEAR AND SECURITY IN LATVIA

Aija Lulle and Elza Ungure
Centre for Diaspora and Migration Research
University of Latvia

_____

ABSTRACT In this paper we analyse emerging discourses of fear on the one hand and safety and security on the other. In the context of rupture – sudden, unprecedented asylum flows as well as the historical context of the fear and experience of losing the state's freedom, we pose the following research question: Where do insecurities and fear come from and how are spaces of security and safety carved out through public discourses? We argue that, instead of singling out political discourses in Eastern European as filled with hatred towards other ethnicities and races or an inability to show solidarity with human suffering, we have to open up a far more deep reaching debate on the interplay of fear and the willingness to create safer, more secure futures. We illustrate this with examples from media debates in Latvia, in late 2015.

Introduction and the research challenge

Despite a wealth of case studies and empirical material, and the overwhelming depth of consequences in human lives, forced migration and refugee studies is still rather little theorised. In the 1980s it emerged as a distinct field of study (Kunz 1981; Richmond 1988) and refugee and forced migration studies are currently best described as in transition, emerging from a rather

small field in policy analysis it has reached a global interest (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al 2014: 3). Natural disasters, military conflicts, centres of power and political economy at global, national and regional scales are at the core of push factors for refugee flows. Some asylum seekers hit the road in hope for temporary displacement; some engage in onward migration, are settling down and engage in multidimensional integration in new places, become full citizens and form a diaspora in another country. However, possible return is also a specific characteristic of asylum flows and an attendant idea throughout the integration process. It is a theoretical challenge to elaborate theoretical approaches that take into account global processes, local consequences and can work towards durable solutions for refugees. A challenge for a small country, Latvia, with very limited experience of welcoming refugees is our main focus here.

To begin with, we briefly want to state the definitions used in this text. Asylum seekers are persons who have lodged a claim (asylum applications) and whose claim is under consideration. Asylum is a form of international protection given by a state within its territory, usually for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (Eurostat, Asylum statistics 2015). Persons can be recognised and protected in the status of refugees under the Geneva Convention (1951), granted subsidiary protection, which is specific to national legislation and may entail a shorter period of support and a regular review of the status. Also, asylum can be granted for humanitarian reasons or, in fewer cases, as temporary protection.

The EU is striving towards a common asylum system and the most recent European Commission's policy plan on asylum includes three pillars that underpin the development of a common

European asylum system (CEAS)[1]: bringing more harmonisation to standards of protection by further aligning the EU Member States' asylum legislation; effective practical cooperation and increased solidarity and responsibility among EU member states, and between the EU and non-member countries (COM 2008, 360 final). Strengthening the common asylum policy and developing innovative policies on legal immigration is a priority of the European Commission launched European Agenda on Migration (COM 2015).

The quantity of asylum seekers in 2015, originating from Syria but also from elsewhere in Middle East, Balkans and Africa, exceeds the scale of asylum flows during the Second World War, with an estimate of 450 000 to 350 000 respectively (OECD 2015:2).

The number of asylum seekers in the EU is highly unbalanced in terms of distribution in the member states. According to Eurostat, in 2014, by far the highest number of asylum seekers from outside of the EU-28 was reported by Germany, which was two and a half times as many as the number of applicants in Sweden. Both countries are also on the top in terms of the highest number of positive asylum decisions. In 2014 the most positive decisions were recorded in Germany (48 000), followed by Sweden (33 000), France and Italy (both 21 000), the United Kingdom (14 000) and the Netherlands (13 000).

Nearly four in every five (79 %) asylum seekers in the EU-28 in 2014 were aged under 35. Those aged 18–34 accounted for slightly more than a half (54 %) of the total number of applicants, while minors aged under 18 accounted for one quarter (26 %). This age

---

[1] The four main legal instruments on asylum are the Qualification Directive 2011/95/EU, the Procedures Directive 2013/32/EU, the Conditions Directive 2013/33/EU, he Dublin Regulation (EU) 604/2013 (EUROSTAT, Asylum statistics, 2015). All these documents are recast in 2015.

distribution of asylum applicants was common in the vast majority of the EU Member States with only one exception to this pattern, as Poland reported a higher proportion of applications received from minors under the age of 18 (Eurostat, May 2015). We can therefore clearly state that asylum flows rejuvenate migration flows in the ageing Europe.

The distribution of asylum applicants by gender shows that men were more likely than women to seek asylum. Across the EU-28 the greatest degree of gender inequality was for asylum applicants aged 14–17 or 18–34, where around three quarters of applicants were male.

Historical context in Latvia

During the Second World War, all three Baltic countries were annexed by the Soviet Union and only regained their independence in 1991. Ethnic proportions in Latvia changed significantly due to inward migration from Slavic Soviet republics. During 1951-1990 more than two million people arrived in Latvia (average 54 300 per annum), while about 1.8 million left (45 000 per annum), resulting in a net in-flow of 524,141 persons in the given period of time (Eglite and Krisjane 2009: 142). About half of the inward migration flow due to socialist-type industrialisation and workforce demand as well as the presence of military personnel originated from the current Russian Federation. The proportion of ethnic Latvians from 77% in 1935 shrunk to 52% in 1989 with non-ethnic Latvians outnumbering Latvians in all bigger urban centres (Eglite and Krisjane 2009: 123). During the so called 'Awakening' process in late 1980s a discourse against 'mechanical population growth', e.g., more in-migration was gaining particular strength and regulations to prevent inward migration were enacted, creating long-term consequences, most notably, a negative population growth trend ever since (Regulations 1989).

Many Latvians have personal and family experience of becoming refugees during World War II, and learning to live and integrate in societies of other countries. Their experience as a positive example and a source for historical compassion was constantly contrasted to opinions about current asylum seekers, which were more reserved and negative.

For instance, a Latvian refugee child Dita Veinberga has stated that *'I often hear that Latvianness is in the genes or blood. Living here we see – if we rely on Latvianness being in biological foundations, Latvianness disappears very fast. Latvian language skills do not arise from inherited blood or DNA. [It] can be maintained by one's choice, standing, worldview, which can be developed. (...) [The] EU has formed from the consequences of World War II. Have we moved far enough away from World War II to be willing to allow for that union to collapse? It is a task of the EU to take care of other people... It means that it is a task of the whole union. If a person is received with kindness, introduced to the Latvian world and showed what we hold close to our hearts, I'm certain they will accept it as a value for them as well'* (LSM 2015d).

However, the opposite opinions in the emerging discourses against forthcoming refugees expressed by some people were characterised as public hostility and hatred. We want to bracket such fast-minded conclusions and argue that the debate rather reveals fear of the unknown, the historical experience of immigration in Latvia during the Soviet times, and potential for more positive attitudes by carving out spaces of safety and security in the current world. In order to justify our arguments, we use a methodological approach of discourses to unpack such spaces of fear, insecurities on the one hand, and safety and security on the other.

In the past decades, Latvia has gained a rather fragmentary experience on welcoming asylum seekers and granting statuses of

protection. From 1998 to 2014, all together 1 440 asylum applicants were received. In 2014 the number was historically the highest – 364. In 2014 only 3 persons were granted a refugee status and 21 – a status of an alternative protection (OCMA 2015).

Theoretically methodological approach to emerging discourses of fear and secure spaces

Securitisation of migration is a social phenomenon with deep reaching consequences in the lives of states and in individual lives. There is a wealth of literature on spaces of fear or safety and security. For instance, prominent authors have theorised on geographies of fear, violence, danger, insecurities (Lupton 1999; Banks 2005 Gregory and Pred 2007; Ingram and Dodds 2009), terrorism (Medina and Hepner 2013), recently re-theorised as 'fearscapes' that addresses the mediated nature of fear and imagined danger (Tulumello 2015), and divisions due to ethnic fear (Shirlow 2001). However, it is important to see the other side of the coin and research how people create places of safety (see e.g. Räthzel (2008) on young people's experiences in migrant neighbourhoods in cities).

We see space as a highly abstract concept and follow with explanations by Edward Soja and Henri Lefebrve, where space is seen as a process, as a representation and practice, not a static unit. According to this understanding, media themselves also form a conceptual space where reality is discoursively constructed. Besides, media are among the most powerful nation-state tools through which a national community can be imagined (Anderson 1991).

According to Lefebvre, media spaces are 'representations of space… shot-through with a knowledge – i.e. a mixture of understanding and ideology – which is always relative and in the

process of change' (Lefebvre 1991: 41). In this article we see ideology also as idealisation towards the future and this process engages both fear and ideals of safety, and can also be directed against the immediate reality.

A nation state and migration are intrinsically intertwined and inseparable from imagining a nation's or region's geopolitical positioning. Media as an open arena for discursive representations of various actors also forms a 'third space,' where 'everything comes together… subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential (...) everyday life and unending history' (Soja 1996: 56-57). Thus local, national, regional and global reflections, interpretations and imaginations, different voices meet and various genres are played out in media (Jones and Fowler 2007). Media not only and not necessarily mimics reality, but rather shapes and creates it through discourses as practices of signification. Discourses both represent and create different spaces (Barnes and Duncan 1992: 5-6). Taking into account the above-mentioned, we further investigate how spaces of security and safety are carved out through the public discourses.

In the situation when discourses are yet emerging, we reviewed printed and internet-based media: Diena, Neatkariga Rita Avize, Ir, websites Tvnet, Delfi, paper and website in Russian vesti.lv as well as the paper and website in English baltictimes.com (written form news in the public broadcasting website) from August to early November 2015, reading and taking notes of media debates on a daily basis and searching on two keywords 'asylum' and 'refugee' in archived materials. We focused mainly on the ways how discourse was built, what public actors were involved and what themes emerged. We did not focus on political documents in research for this paper. The following themes emerged most prominently: (1) security versus fear on global-national-local scales, (2) political and

economic desirability of asylum seekers, (3) fear, suspicions of terrorism and radicalisation of the 'other' versus possibilities for development and thus, increased safety in future for a more tolerant community.

In the remainder of the paper we will analyse these themes more closely.

Fear and safety: global, national and local scales

A request of the EU to accommodate more than 700 refugees in Latvia provoked a debate on solidarity both on the global and EU scale. For instance, Prime Minister Laimdota Straujuma emphasised that *'we have to realise that we cannot sit at one table choosing the most delicious food, asking that our farmers have milk money, that there are air patrols, but that Italian tax payers pay for that,'* at the same time refusing to take in refugees and saying *"let that also be covered by your tax payers"'* (LSM 2015a). Thus, the asylum debate actually became a catalyst for a broader national issue on Latvia's geopolitical position in the EU and NATO and the responsibilities that come with this position.

Let us consider several further discursive arguments. Dace Akule, director of the think-tank 'Providus', has pointed out that the geopolitical situation in neighbouring countries of Latvia should be taken into account when discussing how Latvia should approach the refugee crisis. Akule explained that historically there has been an increase in number of asylum seekers in Latvia at times of geopolitical tensions in neighbouring countries. Therefore, for instance, if the geopolitical situation in Russia, Georgia, Belorussia or Ukraine were to change, *'we will be the first door because there are family relations, cultural similarities. And then we will be asking for help from other countries'* (LETA 2015a). In the meantime a parliamentarian Atis Lejiņš explained that the government had agreed to take in

refugees from Italy and Greece without consulting the public because the aim was to prevent Latvia from becoming internationally isolated in case a decision could not be made or would be negative. *'A golden rule for us Latvians, citizens of Latvia and everyone who lives here, the golden rule is that never, never again must Latvia become isolated, completely isolated, powerless, as it happened in 1939 and 1940. And that must be understood to understand why our ministers acted as they did'* (LSM, Fridrihsone 2015).

Europarlamentarian Sandra Kalniete has confirmed that in her opinion *'those politicians who place Latvia in state of exclusion do not realize that we are a border state and within the EU many things are interrelated. (...) It is not a different Germany that is sending its planes to patrol above the Baltics because both NATO and the EU are one and the same Germany. (...) When we needed the money we accepted it as common-sense expression of solidarity from other EU countries, but now that we have to express solidarity regarding an issue that is endangering the stability of their societies, we shut ourselves off in our Latvian farmsteads* (viensētas – in Latvian)' (BNS 2015a).

What we see in these arguments is an effort to create and carve out a space of understanding that a nation state cannot achieve any goals and more secure future by applying an isolationist stance. In an interconnected world and Latvia's geopolitical position at the Russian border, the fear of the past should be reworked into more pragmatic arguments and practice which could balance out securitisation needs for a state and human needs for those who flee from armed conflicts. However, in many cases Latvia was discoursively represented as an unappealing place on the EU scale due to its relative lack of wealth if compared to most of the other EU countries, whereas missing on a global scale is the representation of Latvia as a safe, democratic and relatively wealthy place.

On the morality line, political scientist Kārlis Daukšts argued that rhetoric of not accepting refugees following the EU request can place Latvia *'amongst the ungrateful Eastern European countries'* as this is not an issue of domestic policy of Latvia but has emerged into the question of European identity. Therefore, in Daukšts's opinion, there is no other option than for Latvia to choose whether to *'be out of Europe or be in it'* (LETA 2015b).

In sum, the nation is placed on global, supranational (like the EU and NATO) as well as the national scale (Jones and Fowler 2007). However, the nation is imagined differently on each scale: if on the global scale the nation is rather imagined as a victim of an inevitable flow of asylum seekers, on the EU scale the morality of solidarity is questioned more. Quota distribution is seen as unjust and involuntary. Yet, the richest debating ground is the national scale which we will analyse in the next section.

Future refugees from a perspective of a national public good

Results of a survey by the Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry show that 28.2% of its members would be willing to employ refugees, and 23.1% suspect that refugees might have a positive impact on the national economy and labour market. The Chairman of the Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry board explained that in the context of the refugee discourse, entrepreneurs are looking realistically at the current situation. If lack of workforce is an obstacle preventing the economy from developing, refugees are a possible solution for this issue, counterbalancing emigration and death-rate. 15.7% of members suggested, though, that in general refugees would not even be able to affect the situation in any way (LSM 2015b).

Here we can see the positive future orientation with respect to the employability of refugees, and this premise is based on the

idealisation that a refugee will be granted a status quickly and is a potential citizen in the future, not a person who may stay just temporarily or engage in onward migration. Yet, the reality in the EU brings some caution: recognition rates in different EU member states, also for the same groups of asylum seekers, indicate the inequality and unsustainability of the so-far existing common asylum policy as well as flows of cooperation and trust between the member states. This is a far-reaching challenge for the European integration process policies that should be addressed in future research (Toshkov and de Haan 2013: 680).

In Latvia's media discourses, the emphasis is on the need for refugees to start working as soon as possible so that the national budget would not be spent on social benefits. Most commonly the simplest jobs are mentioned, therefore creating a 'discoursive figure' of an uneducated, inexperienced potential asylum seeker. Only a few voices cautioned against this. Health Minister Guntis Belēvičs emphasised that when trying to 'sort' people and to 'choose' what kind of people and how qualified people we want to welcome in Latvia should be, we should not accept immigrants who would *do what we ourselves don't want to do'* as it will not further national productivity in the long run (LSM 2015c). However, what else is missing from the debates is a need to provide a decent and liveable wage for the future arrivals.

Minister of Culture Dace Melbārde warned that *'Latvia is not the richest country (...), tension can be created also by ensuring much better conditions for refugees than to people who are already living in Latvia'* (LSM 2015i; LETA 2015h). For instance, discussions already emerged regarding whether or not the amount of social benefits for refugees should be reduced. In the end, the coalition agreed upon reducing them from 256 Euros to 139 Euros per month (Leitāns, Roķis 2015).

Judging from studies elsewhere in the EU, employment transitions are arguably the most important transitions. Empirical evidence show that among high skilled refugees (and alternatively protected adults) initially are those highly motivated to work as this is often by far the most important pathway to start building belonging to the host society. Qualified refugees also often strongly identify with their profession and suffer considerable loss of self-esteem if they are unable to secure employment that matches their skills. However, transition to skills-related employment often includes retraining, language learning, and alternative employment. Lack of support and skills how to search for jobs often causes non-linear and lengthy transitions, and de-skilling (Willott and Stevenson 2013).

Further on the 'selectionist' discourses, it was widely positively perceived that families with children and people who know at least one of the EU languages will be preferred as children become integrated more easily and people who are educated and know regionally used languages can enter the labour market more easily, creating a desired 'discoursive figure' of families with children who 'deserve' support and compassion. Yet, more importantly, family people and children were seen as safe and increasing security while, usually, young men evoke fear, being perceived as potential aggressors.

In terms of education, while schools are worried about the language issue and quality of communication in the context of the possible need to enrol refugee children in Latvian schools, many schools are prepared to take part in refugee children reception. Especially enthusiastic were small schools, saying they appreciate every child who moves them further away from being closed due to an insufficient number of pupils. However, the reality of the integration experience reveals rather grim examples that were widely publically discussed. For instance, an interpreter of a

Chinese family living in Latvia noted that resources should be devoted to teacher training, as the child of the family he worked for had no choice but to change the municipal school to a private school as *'[the municipal school] made it clear that he was a hindrance. It can be grasped how he was hindering them and they let it be known suggesting he change schools multiple times'* (LSM, LTV program "Aizliegtais paņēmiens" 2015). On a positive line, teachers increasingly contributed to a discourse that divisions between 'our', namely Latvian children, and 'others' deplete possibilities for future development in Latvia as in the following quote by a director of a regional school: *'When we begin to divide all ethnicities and nationalities, I think, it leads us nowhere,'* (Latgales reģionālā televīzija 2015a).

Now we will turn the focus on the similarly ubiquitous theme in the reviewed media outlets, namely securitisation of borders as significant attributes of a space of an independent state.

Securitisation of the EU, the Baltic and the Latvian border

From the security perspective in the EU the common asylum system can be viewed by member states as the *'one that provides multiple collective goods that are partly public and partly private in character'* (Thielemann and Armstrong 2013: 161). However, more theoretically well-grounded public policy research and evidence based recommendations are needed in the EU to understand and enhance support to solidarity as one of the fundamental cornerstones of the EU.

Prime Minister Straujuma has also expressed the necessity to think in longer terms and not only on a national, domestic level but also on the level of the EU. She spoke about concern regarding the idea to close the EU's outer south-eastern border. *'There is certain disquiet not so much about the ability to protect our border, but about that by closing in Europe's southeast, Europe's outer border in Croatia and other*

countries, a new route will be sought or created for the refugee flow that might even reach Latvia' (LETA 2015c). Securitisation goes hand in hand with an emphasis on punishing smugglers who transport migrants and therefore commit crimes against the state. In this line, a safer space is imagined in closer cooperation between the Baltic States in terms of securing borders and implementing an effective mechanism for the return of migrants to their countries of origin. Pētersone-Godmane has suggested that due to that, it would be necessary for the EU member states or even the Baltic States alone to agree upon a unified return mechanism for those who do not apply or qualify for refugee or alternative status in order to minimize costs (LETA 2015d).

Such initiatives confirm that a position taken in refugee discourse largely defines belonging to a particular community: the EU which is associated with Western lifestyle, and the Baltic States which are imagined to have a similar cultural heritage, shared collective memory and history. Also, common within the discourse on refugees and asylum seekers is the idea that integration is the key securitisation of the state border by integrating 'others' in 'our' order of doing things in 'our' country. Yet, again, the realities of onward migration (i.e., re-migration or migration where the primary destination is not the final destination) and outward migration (i.e., movement out of a politically/geographically/administratively defined area within the same country) were mostly overlooked in these imaginations of securitisation of the border.

Asylum flows are changing rapidly: there are various reasons for that, including information flows and *ad hoc* changes of routes of those who organise human smuggling. All these reasons should be studied in depth and in complex ways to yield better knowledge on changing geographies of asylum. Also, for many refugees and for some nationalities especially, high levels of onward intra-EU

mobility can be observed. It is commonly assumed that the presence of ethnic or national communities in the desired destination, economic and educational opportunities as well as differences in integration policies cause onward mobility. However, refugees may (initially) not be in a position to move where they want to move (van Liempt 2013). Redistribution and relocation of refugees should also be considered as interruption along the way with various, including psychosocial, effects on refugees, minors amongst them (Fazel 2015).

Priorities of refugees (or alternatively protected people) themselves are important in order to understand return decisions and improve repatriation policies. Safety and perspectives of reintegration in home countries are crucial and, notably, so are hopes and prospects for better lives (Zimmermann 2012). These, as well as recognition of human agency and capabilities were not yet emerging clearly in debates in Latvia in late 2015. Dominant discourses rather portrayed asylum seekers and refugees who 'deserve' protection as powerless or (ab)users of generous benefits, paid by local tax payers in nation states (Gateley 2015; Ludwig 2013).

Fear of the 'other'

The quintessence of fear spaces saturated on 22 September 2015. Around 500 people participated in a demonstration against refugees carrying posters with various statements, for example, *'Latvia is not a wastepaper basket for the waste of Africa!'* Protesters stated that refugees do not deserve social benefits and are simply gold diggers who endanger our safety and might possibly mean an *'ethnic catastrophe'*. A woman explained she had come because she did not want *'Latvia and Latvians to be annihilated'* because Muslims coming here were *'reproducing like rabbits'* and would push Baltic people out of their historic territories (Bērtule, Klūga 2015).

Another man explained he had decided to become politically active and join the 'National Bloc' as he has been to Europe and seeing what is going on there, did not want to have such experiences himself: *'I will try to fight for the nation state. The nation state perhaps doesn't mean exclusively the Latvian state, also minorities – Russians and Ukrainians.'* He was intimidated by the large number of males about his age in the lines of refugees who, he believed, would not work and earn their own living but would most likely 'vegetate' receiving social benefits: '*One must wonder why young men have run here. Why doesn't he arrive legally?* [original use of grammar preserved as it vividly demonstrate how discourses shift and switch from a personal to social and from one person experience to talk about masses of men]' (Kinca 2015).

This image of a refugee from the Middle East as someone who does not want to work and wants to live off the social benefits of Europe is common both in public speech as well as in political rhetoric. Nils Ušakovs, Mayor of Riga, has stated he expects that, even if placed elsewhere in Latvia at first, refugees will eventually arrive to Riga and become its *'headache'*. Therefore he plans to strengthen the municipal police and seek for employment options for refugees. For instance, he holds a view that refugees could help tend parks and cemeteries and do other simple jobs. Ušakovs has noted that issues regarding homeless shelters are also being considered. For instance, it is hoped to ensure that refugees who will need shelter services will be divided among them equally to avoid formations of refugee concentrations (LETA 2015e; LSM 2015e; LETA 2015f). Accordingly, radicalised fear creates more fear: from ethnic and racial to social and economic, imagining the future refugees as poor, ones who can do menial jobs and even as potential homeless people who could end up in spaces of fear rather than care (Johnsen et al 2005).

The Parliamentary European Affairs Committee has also supported a suggestion made by Rihards Kols, parliamentarian from the 'National Bloc', to state in the national position regarding the refugee issue that Latvia keeps the right to create its own list of 'safe countries' so that on a national level there would be a right to refuse refugees from countries perceived as 'safe' (LSM 2015f). This indicates the presence of prejudice based on ethnic, national or racial stereotypes since people who are refugees come, by definition, from places that are not safe. Which begs a question of what qualifies other countries as 'safe' for Latvia to receive its refugees? One image shaping this perception is probably the previously mentioned 'Middle East (likely Muslim) 'refugee" trope, another one is that of the 'sloppy and unhygienic refugee'.

Within the discourse on the refugee crisis there is a fear that refugees will bring long forgotten diseases back into Europe. The head doctor of the Latvian Centre of Infectious Diseases suspected that if the refugee flow will not subside then in future Europe might have to make some changes in its vaccination calendar. To counter this biological radicalisation of fear the Centre for Disease Prevention and Control stated, however, that so far uncommon infection diseases are mostly brought to Europe by its inhabitants returning from tourist trips not by refugees (Biržiņš 2015).

Further, counterbalancing openly negative, fear driven discourses, an ex-parliamentarian who spent her childhood as a refugee, Vaira Paegle, stated that *'every refugee should be given a chance to seek asylum and prove themselves that he or she can become a trustworthy citizen of the asylum country.'* Paegle has stated that the society of Latvia should not focus so much on the experience during the Soviet occupation when masses of foreign immigrants came to Latvia *'who had no obligation to be patriots of the Latvian country and no duty to learn the language.'* Paegle explained that currently there is a different

situation and it will be a task of the inhabitants of Latvia to define how successfully the refugees will integrate and be motivated to learn the national language – Latvian. It will depend on how willing the society will be to accept people of a different race, skin colour and place of origin (LSM 2015g).

Opponents of the idea about solidarity on the refugee issue who are against accepting refugees on the grounds of the EU treaty have said: *We already have 700 000 inside! Then Europe, those who concluded a treaty after the war, must take those 700 000, then it will be zeroed.'* During the demonstration a spokesperson of the 'Antiglobalists' Kaspars Savickis held a poster saying *'Do not allow the occupation of Latvia'* and said: *'We have enough various outlanders. If more will be officially let inside now, it will be very tough for Latvian culture'* (Rozenberga 2015; LETA 2015g). Opponents of refugees and organisers of demonstrations against them assured that *'just like our ancestors we are ready to protect our land from invaders whatever they call themselves'* (BNS 2015b).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has reacted to such rhetoric where it is argued that more so-called third-country nationals reside in Latvia than in any other EU country to plea for a special status for Latvia within the refugee discourse. The ministry has stressed that in such rhetoric, Latvian non-citizens are most likely put in the category of third country nationals which conflicts with the position that Latvia has taken so far regarding the special status of non-citizens in Latvia which is by no means equated to asylum seekers from third countries, and in national laws and in eyes of international human right norms are considered as belonging to the Latvian nation (LSM 2015h).

This prominent focus on creating the 'other' and resisting the radicalising fear of the other clearly indicates Latvia's lack of experience in welcoming refugees and interaction in a more diverse society. The Soviet trauma of loss of independence also underpins

the fear of the inability to fully control in migration in a sovereign territory. Importantly, both Latvian and Russian speaking communities express such fear thus, to some extent, creating a common national and cross-ethnic fear of a new and unknown 'other' (Shirlow 2001).

Radicalisation of 'us' facing the 'other'

Chief of the Latvian Security Police Normunds Mežviets has admitted that in context of the arrival of refugees, right-wing extremism might grow in force in the local public (BNS 2015c). Prosecutor General Ēriks Kalnmeiers has already stated that there are grounds for opening a penal procedure regarding threats to murder refugees expressed by a radio listener who delivered the threats via a phone call during the open mic, asking for guns to be used against refugees and for them to be crushed with tanks (LETA 2015i). Kalnmeiers did not eliminate a possibility that with increased numbers of asylum seekers in Latvia, national or racial hate crimes might increase as hate speech in comments on the internet and elsewhere might turn into actions.

The previously mentioned discussions on whether or not to reduce social benefits for refugees revealed that whether or not asylum seekers and refugees would pose a threat to the Latvian public was at least partly dependent on the attitude and actions of the public. The parliament voted for lower social benefits. Yet, the lack of income to meet even the most vital daily needs was linked to fear of possible crime. The Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments agreed that social benefits for refugees should not place them below the minimal income level which would put them in a position where difficult choices would have to be made, either deciding to hope for and rely on the help of the municipalities or possibly even turning to illegal activities (LETA 2015j). Prime Minister Straujuma also agreed that benefits should not be so small

as to turn people to crime but at the same it should be small enough to encourage them to seek employment options – it should be fair to the state and the society where refugees arrive to (LSM 2015j). Though, for instance, Jānis Dombrava, board member of the party 'National Bloc' has been critical regarding the social benefit issue. *'Not all refugees automatically are people without any savings. We know that a bulk of these people have been capable of paying several thousands to human traffickers who have taken them to Europe. Also in 'Mucenieki' some refugees have better tablets than a parliamentarian or minister'* (LETA 2015k).

'Mucenieki,' the asylum seekers reception centre encapsulated a possible fear place in local contexts addressed in media (Banks 2005). A discursive asylum seeker was seen as ambiguous, context-dependent when it comes to his or her savings before arrival to Latvia. On the one hand there is an 'infantilisation' desire to help only the poorest, women and children but on the other hand there is desire to have strong achievers who prove that they are worthy to live in Latvia. Some actors have drawn an even more fatalistic and grim image of the future of Latvia after accepting refugees.

The asylum seekers reception centre 'Mucenieki' is located in Ropaži municipality near the capital city of Riga. Normunds Vagalis, the head of the association 'Development Centre 'Mucenieki'', has expressed unease regarding the unknown – what the refugees from war zones would be like. He explained that asylum centre 'Mucenieki' is a free-regime and currently has only one person on duty working there. Vagalis explained that there have been cases when inhabitants of the centre have been wandering around the Mucenieki village provoking fights with the locals. *'When 30 young people, whose desires are hard to comprehend, are wandering around, then it's not safe'* (LETA 2015l).

Here we detect how the fear and the radicalisation of the 'other' penetrates deeply into social categories of age, gender and local

lives (Pain 1997; 2001). Yet, above all, this indicates not hatred but fear that is driven by lack of knowledge and personal experience in encountering strangers. Further quotes illustrate this more in detail. Zigurds Blaus, Mayor of Ropaži, stated that at the moment people of Mucenieki village are not negatively minded towards asylum seekers, but they do worry about their safety. They worry as they see how asylum seekers are behaving in other countries, which sometimes does not look pleasing. They are concerned about the safety of themselves and their children. *'Some inhabitants are already considering changing place of residence and leaving Mucenieki. Hence in perspective there can emerge a situation where Mucenieki becomes an asylum seeker village with no local residents.'* One local resident said the relationship with asylum seekers varied: *'Once there were a lot of young men, I think, from Georgia. They consumed a lot of alcoholic drinks and paid a lot of attention to women – it was very unpleasant... That was when there was an incident when local youth had a conflict with them. (...) But now, together with current refugees local children are playing football in the stadium'* (LSM 2015k; Kinca, Rozenberga 2015).

People living in Latgale region, the poorest and depopulating region, where the level of unemployment is the highest in Latvia and from where many people have migrated abroad, seem especially critical. *'They show on TV how a young boy will cut your throat. What kind of a refugee is that? They are bandits not refugees! All kinds of diseases will spread. No, I'm against that!' 'Browsing the internet – they are so sloppy! Our city does not need ones like that!' 'They won't work.' 'If we will offer them empty houses we have in the countryside and land then they will unlikely plough fields, sow gardens and milk cows. I doubt that!'* (Latgales reģionālā televīzija 2015b).

To counteract this fear, the press secretary of the Arabic Culture Centre in Latvia Roberts Klimovičs has said however, that the image of Islamist radicals is perpetrated by media, and he has not met a person like that in Muslim countries. Hence, the public

should not trust the media as much (Kvaste 2015). This emphasis underlines the crucial role of knowledge (Lefebvre 1991) in deflating fear and expanding the space of safety and security through public discourses battled in media.

Conclusions

Latvia, similarly to other Baltic countries, has the Soviet experience that inevitably underpins discourses of fear and safety and, most importantly, gives the priority role to securitisation of the state borders. Inevitably, the context of asylum seekers' flows, entwined with historical trauma also evoked a heightened sense of external threat. Yet, the space of safer future was based more on a humble positioning of Latvia as an unimportant, low key country, not being targeted by terrorists. However, there is an intangible, yet important discursive boundary between Western and Eastern Europe. While the West may perceive emerging discourses in the Eastern Europe and the Baltics as lacking compassion and suspect even the hatred towards the other, we proposed to start unpacking these challenging discourses through manifestations of fear and active investment into discourses that create spaces for more safe and secure futures. However, the understanding of *the* multiple collective goods that are both public and partly private in terms of increasing sense of safety and security (Thielemann and Armstrong 2013) was still rare in Latvian media in late 2015.

We demonstrated that emerging discourses in the context of rupture – a sudden steep increase in refugee flows – reveal different positioning of Latvia on the global, EU and national scale. The latter one reveals the thickest 'battle ground' where safety and security can be imagined in practical terms such as the employability and education of future refugees. Also, these discourses revealed that safety and security is imagined through certain 'discoursive figures' of a desired refugee: family, children,

real political refugee (not an economic migrant), who will work hard to prove his or her worth. Furthermore, ambiguous understanding of temporary, onward and permanent migration of potential asylum seekers identifies the need to saturate public discourse with understanding of the state's positioning in an inevitably interconnected world where continuous dealing with complexity is an imperative to carve out more spaces of safety and security.

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedikt. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, London.

Banks, Mark. 2005. Spaces of (in)security: Media and fear of crime in a local context, *Crime Media Culture*, No. 1(2), pp. 169-187.

Barnes, Trevor J. and Duncan, James. S, eds.1992. *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*. Routledge, New York.

Basaran, Tugba. 2008. Security, Law, Borders: Spaces of Exclusion, *International Political Sociology,* No. 2(4), pp. 339–354.

Bērtule, Anete and Klūga, Māris. 2015. 'Pret bēgļiem vērstā akcijā pulcējas ap 500 cilvēku,' 22 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/pret-begliem-versta-akcija-pulcejas-ap-500-cilveku.a146845/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Birziņš, Uldis. 2015. 'Latvijas Infektoloģijas centrs: Līdz ar bēgļiem Latvijā var nonākt sen aizmirstas slimības,' 24 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/vide-un-zinatne/dzive/latvijas-infektologijas-centrs-lidz-ar-begliem-latvija-var-nonakt-sen-aizmirstas-slimibas.a147097/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

BNS. 2015a. 'Kalniete: kad ir jāizrāda solidaritāte bēgļu jautājumā, noslēdzamies Latvijas viensētā,' 20 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/576630-kalniete_kad_ir_jaizrada_solidaritate_beglu_jautajuma_nosledzamies_latvijas_vienseta, accessed on 17.11.2015.

BNS. 2015b. 'Rīgā notiks gājiens «Pret imigrāciju!», kas noslēgsies ar koncertu pie Brīvības pieminekļa,' 22 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/576845-riga_notiks_gajiens_pret_imigraciju_kas_noslegsies_ar_koncertu_pie_brivibas_pieminekla, accessed on 17.11.2015.

BNS. 2015c. 'DP: daļa patvēruma meklētāju var radikalizēties,' 26 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/581450-dp_dala_patveruma_mekletaju_var_radikalizeties, accessed on 17.11.2015.

COM. 2008, 360 final. *European Commission's policy plan on asylum*.

COM. 2010, 213 final. *Action plan for unaccompanied minors*.

COM. 2011, 835 final. *Enhanced intra-EU solidarity in the field of asylum*.

EASO. 2015. *The Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union 2014*, EASO at https://easo.europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/EASO-Annual-Report-2014.pdf, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Eglite, Parsla and Krisjane, Zaiga. 2009. 'Dimensions and effects of labour migration to EU countries: the case of Latvia' in Galgoczi, Bela, Leschke, Janine and Watt, Andrew, eds., *EU labour migration since enlargement: Trends, impacts and policies*. London: Ashgate.

EMN. 2010. *Comparative EU Study on Unaccompanied Minors, Synthesis report of 22 countries* at http://emn.sarenet.es/Downloads/prepareShowFiles.do;?directoryID=115, accessed on 25.11.2015.

EMN. 2010. *Unaccompanied Minors – an EU comparative study* at http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/policies-on-reception-return-and-integration-for-and-numbers-of-unaccompanied-minors-pbDR3110599/;pgid=Iq1Ekni0.1lSR0OOK4MycO9B0000CrLEftyY;sid=YeyDTwPCEduD6FYGlXwd6GHnwy_H06hf54=?CatalogCategoryID=xLcKABstgm4AAAEjaZEY4e5L, accessed on 25.11.2015.

EMN. 2015. *Policies, practices and data on unaccompanied minors in the EU Member States and Norway: Synthesis Report: May 2015* at http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/emn_study_policies_practices_and_data_on_unaccompanied_minors_in_the_eu_member_states_and_norway_synthesis_report_final_eu_2015.pdf, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Eurostat. 2015. *Asylum statistics*. At http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Fazel, Mina. 2015. A moment of change: Facilitating refugee children's mental health in UK schools, *International Journal of Educational Development,* No. 41, pp. 255–261.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Eelena, Loescher, Gil, Long, Kathy and Sigona, Nango. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gateley, D.E. 2015. A policy of vulnerability or agency? Refugee young people's opportunities in accessing further and higher education in the UK, *A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* No. 45(1), pp. 26-46.

Geneva Convention (1951), *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (as amended by the 1967 New York Protocol), UNCHR at http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Gregory, Derek and Pred, Allan. 2007. *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence.* London, New York: Routledge.

Ingram, Alan and Dodds, Klaus, eds. 2009. *Spaces of Security and Insecurity: Geographies of the War on Terror.* London: Ashgate.

Johnsen, Sarah, Cloke, Paul and May, Jon. 2005. Day centres for homeless people: spaces of care or fear? *Social & Cultural Geography*, No. 6(6), pp. 787-811.

Jones, Rhys and Fowler, Carwyn. 2007. Placing and scaling the nation, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, No. 25(2), pp. 332–354.

Kinca, Aija and Rozenberga, Māra. 2015. 'Mucenieku ciema iedzīvotāji bēgļu dēļ varētu pamest savas mājas,' 19 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/mucenieku-ciema-iedzivotaji-beglu-del-varetu-pamest-savas-majas.a150868/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Kinca, Aija. 2015. 'Divu jauniešu stāsti: Valters stājas partijā, lai cīnītos pret iebraucējiem, bet Čilla brīvprātīgi palīdz bēgļiem,' 16 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/cilvekstasti/dzive/divu-jauniesu-stasti-valters-stajas-partija-lai-cinitos-pret-iebraucejiem-bet-cilla-brivpratigi-palidz-begliem.a150608/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Kunz, Egon. 1981. Exile and Resettlement: Refugee Theory, *International Migration Review*, No. 15(1-2), pp. 42-51.

Kvaste, Santa. 2015. 'Islāmticīgais: bēgļu asinis ir arī uz Latvijas rokām,' 6 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/578042-islamticigais_beglu_asinis_ir_ari_uz_latvijas_rokam, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Latgales reģionālā televīzija. 2015a. 'Skolotāji Daugavpilī gatavi izglītot arī bēgļu bērnus,' 19 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/skolotaji-daugavpili-gatavi-izglitot-ari-beglu-bernus.a150925/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Latgales reģionālā televīzija. 2015b. 'Latgalieši nevēlas dzīvot kopā ar bēgļiem,' 23 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/latgaliesi-nevelas-dzivot-kopa-ar-begliem.a147002/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Leitāns, Ivo and Roķis, Kārlis. 2015. 'Bēgļu pabalsts Latvijā būs 139 eiro,' 26 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/beglu-pabalsts-latvija-bus-139-eiro.a151995/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015a. '«Providus»: Latvija nekad nav bijusi tik liela bēgļu izaicinājuma priekšā,' 26 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/581438-providus_latvija_nekad_nav_bijusi_tik_liela_beglu_izaicinajuma_prieksa, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015b. 'Eksperts: Retorika par bēgļu neuzņemšanu Latviju var ierindot nepateicīgo Austrumeiropas valstu vidū,' 9 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/575151-eksperts_retorika_par_beglu_neuznemsanu_latviju_var_ierindot_nepateicigo_austrumeiropas_valstu_vidu, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015c. 'Bažījas, ka tiek veidots jauns bēgļu plūsmas ceļš līdz pat Latvijai,' 20 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/580690-bazijas_ka_tiek_veidots_jauns_beglu_plusmas_cels_lidz_pat_latvijai, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015d. 'Pētersone-Godmane: Neviens bēglis ar varu uz Latviju netiks vests,' 30 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/578055-petersonegodmane_neviens_beglis_ar_varu_uz_latviju_netiks_vests, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015e. 'Bēgļu koordinācijas centru Rīgā iecerēts izveidot no janvāra; tajā varētu strādāt divi darbinieki,' 13 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/579795-beglu_koordinacijas_centru_riga_iecerets_izveidot_no_janvara_taja_varetu_stradat_divi_darbinieki, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015f. 'Saistībā ar bēgļiem Rīgā varētu liegt nakšņošanu ielās,' 8 October 2016 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/579163-saistiba_ar_begliem_riga_varetu_liegt_naksnosanu_ielas, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015g. 'Rīgā pie «Laimas» pulksteņa norisināsies pikets bēgļu atbalstam Latvijā un Eiropā,' 10 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/575279-riga_pie_laimas_pulkstena_norisinasies_pikets_beglu_atbalstam_latvija_un_eiropa, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015h. 'Melbārde: Nav pieņemams saukt par nodevējiem cilvēkus, kuri izvēlas palīdzēt bēgļiem,' 23 September 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/577016-melbarde_nav_pienemams_saukt_par_nodevejiem_cilvekus_kuri_izvelas_palidzet_begliem, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015i. 'Radio klausītāja draudi nogalināt bēgļus piesaista tiesībsargājošo iestāžu uzmanību,' 23 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/kriminalzinas/581219-radio_klausitaja_draudi_nogalinat_beglus_piesaista_tiesibsargajoso_iestazu_uzmanibu, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015j. 'LPS: Bēgļu pabalsta samazināšana negatīvi ietekmēs pašvaldību budžetu,' 20 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/580750-lps_beglu_pabalsta_samazinasana_negativi_ietekmes_pasvaldibu_budzetu, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015k. 'Bēgļa pabalsts pēc samazināšanas varētu būt 130-150 eiro robežās,' 6 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/latvija/578767-begla_pabalsts_pec_samazinasanas_varetu_but_130150_eiro_robezas, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LETA. 2015l. 'Ropažu novada mērs: Daļa iedzīvotāju apsver iespēju pamest Muceniekus,' 19 October 2015 at http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/580551-ropazu_novada_mers_dala_iedzivotaju_apsver_iespeju_pamest_muceniekus, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM, Fridrihsone, Madara. 2015. 'Saeimā tomēr skatīs «nacionāļu» ieceri bēgļu jautājumu uzticēt parlamentam,' 25 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/saeima-tomer-skatis-nacionalu-ieceri-beglu-jautajumu-uzticet-parlamentam.a147123/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM, LTV program "Aizliegtais paņēmiens." 2015. '«Aizliegtais paņēmiens»: Latvijas skolas gatavas uzņemt bēgļu bērnus,' 7 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/aizliegtais-panemiens-latvijas-skolas-gatavas-uznemt-beglu-bernus.a144461/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015a. 'Straujuma: Nevaram palikt vienīgā valsts, kas negrib uzņemt bēgļus,' 16 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/straujuma-nevaram-palikt-vieniga-valsts-kas-negrib-uznemt-beglus.a145829/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015b. 'LTRK: Gandrīz trešdaļa uzņēmēju gatavi dot darbu bēgļiem,' 23 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/ekonomika/zinas/ltrk-gandriz-tresdala-uznemeju-gatavi-dot-darbu-begliem.a151565/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015c. 'Šlāpins: Bēgļu uzņemšanā jāizvairās no birokrātijas,' 2 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/slapins-beglu-uznemsana-jaizvairas-no-birokratijas.a144979/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015d. 'Ārzemju latvietes: Bēgļi sagandēs mūsu zemi vai ar mūsu palīdzību spēs iejusties,' 18 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/arzemju-latvietes-begli-sagandes-musu-zemi-vai-ar-musu-palidzibu-spes-iejusties.a146314/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015e. 'Rīgā bēgļi varētu sakopt kapus, parkus un, iespējams, piedalīties tehniskos darbos,' 8 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/riga-begli-varetu-sakopt-kapus-parkus-un-iespejams-piedalities-tehniskos-darbos.a149211/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015f. 'Saeimas komisija tomēr dod zaļo gaismu uzņemt vēl 526 bēgļus,' 18 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/saeimas-komisija-tomer-dod-zalo-gaismu-uznemt-vel-526-beglus.a146308/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015g. 'Ārzemju latvietes: Bēgļi sagandēs mūsu zemi vai ar mūsu palīdzību spēs iejusties,' 18 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/arzemju-latvietes-begli-sagandes-musu-zemi-vai-ar-musu-palidzibu-spes-iejusties.a146314/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015h. 'ĀM: Atteikšanās no bēgļiem Latvijai radīs nopietnas politiskas un finanšu sekas,' 14 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/am-atteiksanas-no-begliem-latvijai-radis-nopietnas-politiskas-un-finansu-sekas.a145574/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015i. 'Melbārde: Bēgļu jautājumā esam zaudējuši racionālo kodolu un krītam galējībās,' 23 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/melbarde-beglu-jautajuma-esam-zaud   ejusi-racionalo-kodolu-un-kritam-galejibas.a146915/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015j. 'Straujuma: Bēgļa pabalstam jābūt mazliet virs trūcīgas personas ienākumu sliekšņa,' 6 October 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/straujuma-begla-pabalstam-jabut-mazliet-virs-trucigas-personas-ienakumu-slieksna.a148824/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

LSM. 2015k. 'Pašvaldības vadītājs: Mucenieku iedzīvotāji bēgļu dēļ baidās par savu un bērnu drošību,' 29 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/pasvaldibas-vaditajs-mucenieku-iedzivotaji-beglu-del-baidas-par-savu-un-bernu-drosibu.a147909/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Lupton, Deborah. 1999. Dangerous Places and the Unpredictable Stranger: Constructions of Fear of Crime. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology,* No.32(1), pp. 1-15.

Medina, Richard M. and Hepner, George F. 2013. *The Geography of International Terrorism: An Introduction to Spaces and Places of*

Violent Non-State groups. London and New York: CRC Group.

OECD. 2015. Migration Polic Debates, No 7, September.

OCMA. 2015. *The Office of Citizenship and Migration affairs website* at www.pmlp.gov.lv, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Pain, Rachel H. 1997. 'Old age' and Ageism in Urban Research: The Case of Fear of Crime, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, No. 21(1), pp. 117–128.

Pain, Rachel H. 2001. Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City, *Urban Studies,* No. 38(5-6), pp. 899-913.

Räthzel, Nora. 2008. 'Creating Spaces of Fear and Spaces of Safety. Young Natives and Migrants in Metropolitan Neighbourhoods' in Räthzel, Nora, Cohen, Phil , Back, Les and Keith, Michael, eds., *Finding the way home: Young people's stories of gender, ethnicity, class and places in Hamburg and London*, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, pp. 1-25.

Regulations. 1989. *Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Soviet Republic of Latvia.* (Title in Latvian: "Par pasākumiem iedzīvotāju skaita nepamatota mehāniska pieauguma pārtraukšanai un migrācijas procesu regulēšanai Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskajā Republikā") 14 February 1989.

Reid-Henry, Simon. 2011. Spaces of security and development. An alternative mapping of security-development nexus, *Security Dialogue,* No. 42(1), pp. 97-104.

Richmond, Anthony H. 1988. Sociological Theories of International Migration: The Case of Refugees, *Current Sociology,* No. 36(2), pp. 7-25.

Rozenberga, Māra. 2015. 'Reportāža: piketā pauž atbalstu bēgļu uzņemšanai Latvijā,' 12 September 2015 at http://www.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/latvija/zinas/reportaza-piketa-

pauz-atbalstu-beglu-uznemsanai-latvija.a145352/, accessed on 17.11.2015.

Schuster, Liza. 2011. Turning refugees into 'illegal migrants': Afghan asylum seekers in Europe, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 34(8), pp. 1392-1407.

Shirlow, Pete. 2001. Fear and Ethnic Division. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, No. 13(1), pp. 67-74.

Soja, Edward. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Thielemann, Eiko R. and Armstrong, Carolyn. 2013. Understanding European asylum cooperation under the Schengen/Dublin system: a public goods framework, *European Security,* No. 22(2), pp. 148-164.

Toshkov, Dimiter and de Haan, Laura. 2013. The Europeanization of asylum policy: an assessment of the EU impact on asylum applications and recognitions rates, *Journal of European Public Policy,* No. 20(5), pp. 661-683.

Tulumello, Simone. 2015. From "Spaces of Fear" to "Fearscapes" Mapping for Reframing Theories About the Spatialization of Fear in Urban Space, *Space and Culture*, No. 18(3), pp. 257-272.

UN Resolution 1244. 1999. *On the situation relating Kosovo*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting, on 10 June 1999 at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement, accessed on 25.11.2015.

Van Houtum, Henk and Pijpers, Roos. 2007. The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU. *Antipode*, No. 39(2), pp. 291-309.

Van Liempt, Ilse. 2011. 'And then one day they all moved to Leicester': the relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK explained, *Population, Space and Place*, No. 17(3), pp. 254–266.

Willott, John and Stevenson, Jacqueline. 2013. Attitudes to Employment of Professionally Qualified Refugees in the United Kingdom, *International Migration,* No. 51(5), pp. 120-132.

Zimmermann, Susan. 2012. Understanding repatriation: refugee perspectives on the importance of safety, reintegration, and hope, *Population, Space and Place,* No. 18(1), pp. 45–57.