Migration and Torture in Today's World
edited by Fabio Perocco

Replay of Torture Across 'Other' Places and 'Europe'
The Case of Migration at the Bosnian-Croatian Border

Karolína Augustová
Aston University, Birmingham, UK

Abstract This chapter explores whether and how refugees' past experiences of torture at home interconnect with extreme violence at borders and impact migration journeys. To do so, it draws upon eight months of ethnographic fieldwork at the Bosnian-Croatian border, which includes sixty-eight interviews. The chapter suggests that racialisation and 'othering' of people makes torture a fluid practice that migrates across globalised borders, despite their institutional format remaining unchanged. By shedding light on complex relational patterns of torture in migration, the text contributes to the literature on torture, racial studies and critical migration and border studies.

Keywords Torture. Migration. Borders. Othering. European Union. War conflicts.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Imagining Torture (in Migration). From 'Other' Places to 'EUrope'. – 2.1 Home of Torture in 'Other' Places. The Balkans and the Middle East. – 2.2 EUrope and Liberal Torture against the Other. – 3 Methodological Remarks. – 4 Torture at the Bosnian-Croatian Border. – 4.1 Pushbacks from EUrope. – 4.2 Memories from Home and Indirect Torture. – 5 Drawing Relational Patterns of Torture from the Bosnian-Croatian Border.

Edizioni Ca'Foscari

Società e trasformazioni sociali 10
e-ISSN 2610-9689 | ISSN 2610-9085
ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-635-0 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-636-7

Peer review | Open access
Submitted 2022-04-25 | Accepted 2022-05-10 | Published 2023-01-11

© 2023 Augustová | CC BY 4.0
DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-635-0/006

1 Introduction

While working around makeshift refugee camps along the Bosnian-Croatian border, I saw visible marks of severe beatings and torture for the first time in my life. This visibility of violence was omnipresent around Velika Kladuša, Bosnia and Herzegovina, an entry point for thousands of refugees to the eastern frontier (i.e., Croatia) of the European Union (EU), the union of European countries that represents itself as ‘liberal and democratic’ (Isakjee et al. 2020). Every day, I was meeting people with broken limbs, open wounds, burns from electrical devices, and foot-long bruises from police baton strikes and listened to their narratives of the ‘pushbacks’. For many of them, these imprints of violence were coupled with old scars from their home countries as it was not the first time that they had been attacked, tortured, and humiliated. As Bank, Fröhlich and Schneiker (2017) suggest, migration is often triggered by violence *from* which people move *into* violence when crossing borders. Although these violent events take place across distant geopolitical contexts – ‘non-European autocracies’ and ‘EUropean democracies’ – I noticed that violence at the EU border was often intertwined with abuses in one’s home country and relied on similar methods of torture.

The existing literature (Barnes 2022; Isakjee et al. 2020; McMahon, Sigona 2020; Stierl 2020; Weber, Pickering 2011) suggests that migrants are exposed to extreme violence in places of origin and transit. However, scholars commonly analyse these violent events as two separate phenomena and sideline any correlation between the two. To address this scholarly neglect, this chapter discusses whether and how refugees’ past experiences of violence in their home States interconnect with border violence and impact their cross-border journeys. By doing so, I wish to shed light on complex relational patterns of extreme violence and its strategies in transit and at home for migrants as narrated by refugees at the Bosnian-Croatian border.

This chapter examines extreme, direct violence and its strategies. I do not want to downplay structural violence, which is equally present around borders, but this topic has been extensively examined elsewhere (Davies, Isakjee, Dhesi 2017; Igonin 2016; Martínez et al. 2014; Schneider, Shraiky, Wofford 2017) in contrast to physical torture. I follow Lazreg’s (2008) understanding of torture that systematically and routinely inflicts both bodily and psychological pain and uses dehumanising symbolic techniques in people’s culture. Moving the analysis further, McMahon and Sigona (2020) suggest that refugees experience violence both directly and indirectly through daily communication with their families about the atrocities in their home States and past memories of harm. Indeed, torture is not only one traumatic act; it is the accumulation of complex trauma across different times and dynamics (Kira 2017) and distinctly considered (auto-

cratic/democratic) fields (Austin 2016). Departing from this point of analysis to study ethnographic encounters from the Bosnian-Croatian border, this chapter will show that both direct experiences of attacks at the EU's border together with indirect encounters of violence from refugees' home States constitute forms of torture in migration. By doing so, this chapter contributes to the literature on torture in migration and border studies.

Scrutinising extreme violence in migration at the Bosnian-Croatian border offers a particularly insightful analysis as this border has been constructed within policy narratives as a symbolic line between Europe and the Other (Balkans and beyond), Christianity and Islam, peace and violence (Razsa, Lindstrom 2004). By showing the relationship between torture across the EU and non-EU places such as migrants' path of transit and home, this chapter also empirically adds to the literature discussing how assumptions about extreme violence belonging exclusively to 'other' places and cultures in fact justify torture of 'them' – migrants – along the EU's borders (Isakjee et al. 2020).

In what follows, I provide further context to the process of 'othering' and discuss how it plays into migration and torture across migrants' places of travel and home. The next section outlines methodological remarks on my ethnographic fieldwork in makeshift camps at the Bosnian-Croatian border. I then move to the main discussion on torture along the EU's borders coupled with migrants' indirect encounters of violence at home, which often leads migrants to search for relational patterns between the two. On this empirical basis, I analyse how torture across distinct migration places – at home and in transit – come together at the border and discuss how 'othering' of torture to certain places and cultures underpins the logic of using this extreme violence along the EU's borders.

2 Imagining Torture (in Migration). From 'Other' Places to 'EUrope'

With world borders becoming increasingly violent (Jones 2016; Vaughan-Williams 2015), the process of migration adds to migrants' already violent experiences prior to departing their country of origin (Guarch-Rubio, Byrne, Manzanero 2020). However, when evidence of violence along borders is laid out in front of State authorities and the public, they tend to turn a blind eye to these rights violations, which are framed as taking place in 'other' places or against 'other' people that allegedly pose a threat to them (Conrad, Hill, Moore 2018). Border deterrents and the construction of the 'other' are thus inherently intertwined. Fear of the 'other', such as Arabs and Muslims and their 'inherently violent' cultures, is often used in calls for exclusion-

ary responses at borders (Butler 2008). In what follows, I will elaborate further on what the process of 'othering' is and how it allows us to use and displace torture to 'other' non-EUropean places and cultures – the Balkans and the Middle East – where migrants travel from and through where they transit.

2.1 Home of Torture in 'Other' Places. The Balkans and the Middle East

Growing up in the Czech Republic in the 1990s, I learned about South-Eastern Europe in line with contemporary generalisations of the Balkan region: a holiday place for families from the Soviet Union as well as the site for stories of displacement and extreme violence. The Balkans – a term invented by Western travellers in the late eighteenth century – had been used by Western powers to label South-Eastern Europe as economically backward, tribal, and primitive homogenous region, already before the wars (Todorova 2009). However, since the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s, people in Europe imagine the 'Balkans' as interconnected with the intense brutality, rape, and torture committed across the region. International media narrated and justified the wars specifically as the 'Balkan Wars', a conflict triggered by ancient ethnic hatred in the region (Baker 2015; Huliaras 2011; Razsa, Lindstrom 2004). This violence was commonly seen by the EUropean public as something inherently 'Balkan' due to the region and its peoples' barbaric way of life, othered from civilised Europe, which made derogatory connotations of the Balkans stronger than ever (Hatzopoulos 2003). North American and West European expert texts contributed to the connotation of Balkans with violence as they have been written particularly during moments of 'crisis', such as the dissolution of Yugoslavia. As Fleming (2000) points out, Western expert texts re-produced imaginations of the Balkans as a region with no history than a continual source of danger to the peace of the world.

Cleaning the past marks of extreme violence, in addition to adopting EU governance practices, has been an essential aspect of the former Yugoslav States' paths to EU membership. In the aftermath of the Yugoslav Wars, the UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Republic of Yugoslavia to investigate war crimes and torture in the region (Bassiouni 1994). Full cooperation with the tribunal became the cornerstone of Western Balkan States starting membership talks and signing a Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) with the EU (Jović 2009). Within the stabilisation talks, States were expected to adopt humanitarian values (Jakešević 2017) and migration policies complementary to those existing in the EU, such as the Geneva Convention asylum system and collaborate on combating illegal migration (Stojić-Mitrović, Vilenica 2019).

Joining the EU strongly resonates with the symbolic process of de-Balkanisation and Europeanisation, start of the 'new civilised' history within the region. As Razsa and Lindstrom (2004) suggest, EU membership has been crucial for States to escape the Balkan stereotypes of being the uncivilised and intolerant 'other', which are often perpetuated by Western political leaders, media and academics, and to enter the community that views itself as the progressive, tolerant, and democratic Europe. While Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Croatia are now EU member States (Huliaras 2011; Dahlman 2016), Bosnia and Herzegovina was the last country in the Western Balkans to sign the SAP with the EU in 2008 (Memisevic 2009) and is still far away from joining the EU. Consequently, countries in the 'Western Balkans', like Bosnia and Herzegovina, remain shady places in Europe, stranded in the narratives of having fragile economies, questionable rule of law, and diminishing political rights and civil liberties (Stojić-Mitrović, Vilenica 2019).

Derogatory narratives of the 'Balkans' as interconnected with threats and mass migration re-emerged in 2015 when the public started hearing about the 'Balkan Route' used by migrants on their way to the EU. For instance, Frontex – the EU border agency – has been portraying migration across the 'Western Balkans' predominantly through the lens of its 'risk analysis': designated as an area with imagined crime and chaos for which it proposes subtle yet violent tools to 'fix' it (van Houtum, Bueno Lacy 2020; von der Brelie, Salfiti 2018). The deployment of the military and militarised technology along the Hungarian and Croatian borders has contributed to the racialisation of migrants according to their religion, portraying the population living in and migrating via Bosnia and Herzegovina as Muslims against whom the EU's borders should be protected (Razsa, Lindstrom 2004; Rexhepi 2018). As, for instance, Hungarian President Viktor Orbán has said, Hungary belongs to Christian Western civilisation and Europe, and thus, Hungary has a moral obligation to protect its borders, which in turn also protects Europe (Thorleifsson 2017). The 'Balkan (Route)' thus remains stranded amid the West-East dichotomy in Europe (El-Shaarawi, Razsa 2019) and Europe's Orient (Mishkova 2008).

The image of the 'other' – the opposite as constructed by Europe and Western Civilisation (Isakjee at al. 2020) – echoes the broader racialised process of 'othering' of Arab and Muslim societies in the Middle East as 'Eastern' and 'Oriental'. In fact, South-Eastern reaches of Europe provided a template for how Western Europe would ultimately perceive the entire non-Western world (Fleming 2000, 1230). With the same mode of thoughts, European intellectual (science), political (colonial and imperial establishment), and cultural (tastes, texts, values) representations of the Orient as a social and political fact have deeply engrained the idea that the Arab and Muslim worlds are Europe's 'Other' (Said 1978). Countries in the Middle East, from where many

migrants travel to the EU, are homogenised within EUropean political narratives as countries that not only have failed to develop economic and social programmes but also deploy State torture (Cohen, Corrado 2005). This violent image of the Middle East as the 'other' is especially strengthened by Islam, which is seen by definition as violent, backward, a cultural threat, and requiring subordination and thus justifying exclusion from European culture (Butler 2008; Razack 2004).

The process of othering, however, goes beyond cultural and ideological dimensions as it is also embedded in economic value affiliated with people across the globe. As Rajaram (2017) and Sharma (2020a) suggest, there is a relationship of histories of othering and capitalism as the logics of capital accumulation has been shaped by racialised structures built upon colonial era and slavery. Capitalism and its value structures assert desirable traits to be associated with Western European culture whilst restrict the possibility of racialised groups (i.e., migrants) to become valuable, rendering them surplus populations in the world labour market (Rajaram 2017). The process of othering is thus also about separation of 'our EUropean' working class from the 'other' working people, which allow racialised people to be framed as posing not only 'cultural and security threats' but also 'economic danger' (Sharma 2020a). This means that 'othering' propel the structures of capitalism, which devaluates workforce of racialised groups of populations and contribute to their exclusion from what is constructed as 'rich and civilised Europe'.

The above-outlined racialised assumptions create symbolic resonance between (post-)conflict States with large Muslim populations, from where migrants come and through where they travel. These countries are therefore singularly categorised as 'other' – Muslim, Arab, Eastern, Oriental, and economically inferiorised non-European – places (Trakilović 2020), despite their tremendous differences. This imagined context allows disorder and torture to be imagined as culturally permissible, expected, and justified by region-specific predicaments in the context of 'other' territories (Galtung 1990; Hatzopoulos 2003). As Taussig (2004) argues, visible violence, terror, and mass displacement are always imagined in 'An-Other' places, in troubling worlds where the rule of law is deeply suspicious and a wild order historically exists.

These stereotypical notions of the 'other' are significant not only because they displace and conceal diverse forms of violence outside of EUropean lands (Isakjee et al. 2020) but also because they justify material practices to survey, control, and discipline the 'other' in the 'modern', 'civilised' world (Razack 2004). The process of 'othering' thus allows for the creation of violent policies and intervention strategies by the West and EUrope in 'other' regions and against 'other' people with the pursue of their immobilisation which the following section elaborates on.

2.2 EUrope and Liberal Torture against the Other

Josep Borrell (2021), High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, stated that Europe has been building a unique peace project under the banner of the European Union. Indeed, what is considered as Europe and the European Union (EUrope) project a liberal image, where human dignity, human rights, and the rule of law condemning State violence and practices of torture are the fundamental tenets of 'European values' (Isakjee et al. 2020). The EU legally prohibits torture in its declarations, conventions, international and domestic laws, most prominently *The United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, which States that under *no* circumstances is torture either legal or legitimate (Schlag 2019). In short, European ideas of governance (of migration) promote openness and tolerance and distinguish torture as an un-European way of governance. Within this context, State use of torture is not only extremely risky and costly but also unimaginable (Galtung 1990).

However, responses to migration along the EU's borders often pursue xenophobic, violent, and thus 'un-European' migration policies (Stierl 2020). The connection between torture and migration is evident from the extensive evidence of pushbacks along the EU's borders, during which EU State authorities commonly use (extreme) violence or expose migrants to violent situations and death. This pattern of violence has been examined from the Mediterranean Sea where thousands drowned (Stierl 2020; Weber, Pickering 2011) to the coast of Italy from where people are pushed to Libya, and then, detained and tortured (Human Rights Watch 2019). Torture of migrants is also common along the EU's land borders marking the end of the 'Balkan Route' and Greece (Augustová 2020a; Barnes 2022; BVMN 2021a; Guarch-Rubio, Byrne, Manzanero 2020). Migration across the EU's borders thus places ideas about European ways to govern migration in conflict with what is commonly assumed as non-European, intolerant, and violent.

Extreme violence used by States that construct their core values as liberal, humanitarian, and modern is not a new phenomenon. Many scholars (Danewid 2017; Isakjee et al. 2020; Mayblin 2017; Mountz, Loyd 2013) argue that violence against migrants is founded in slavery and colonialism, when European States used violence to discipline non-Western populations despite the freedoms under which European nations espoused. For De Genova (2017), colonial and racial violence are further intertwined with the 'war on terror' and military interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Mali, or Somalia, during which the 'West' deployed extreme violence to modernise the 'other' nations. The post-9/11 US rendition, detention, and torture programme became visible especially in Guantánamo Bay and

Abu Ghraib (Schlag 2019). Simultaneously, the 9/11 events, portraying an exceptional and global threat to Western States, highlighted the terrorism-migration connection within Western States (see Avdan 2014; Bhui 2018), which often justify militarised borders. Finally, devaluated economic value of 'othered' people within today's capitalist hierarchies, as rooted in the histories of colonialism and slavery, contribute to reworking of migrants into 'illegals' as they cross borders to Europe, and create a fertile terrain for human right abuses and violence (Green 2011).

Histories of colonialism, recent anti-terror measures and the international division of capital show that the use of violence and torture of 'others' – e.g., imagined terrorists, criminals, Arabs, Muslims, migrants, illegals – is not exceptional. As Danewid (2017) suggests, it is not possible to divorce Europe's long history of colonialism, imperialism, and racial violence in migrants' home States from understanding today's violent EU borders.

What I aimed to show so far is that torture remains common across autocracies and democracies (Conrad, Hill, Moore 2018). Butler (2008) suggests that when some people come to represent a threat to the cultural conditions of humanisation, of citizenship, and of wealth, the rationale for their torture is secured. The idea of Europe as modern and liberal and the effort to protect it from the threat allow liberal-democratic and advanced capitalist societies to engage in repressive policies and extreme violence (Cohen, Corrado 2005; Danewid 2017; Isakjee et al. 2020). Within this context, State authorities are allowed to 'get their hands dirty' as violence is necessary for State security (Conrad, Hill, Moore 2018). While these scholarly findings show that torture is transnational, we know little about how torture in migrants' homes and in transit are interconnected and eventually shape migrants' cross-border journeys, which will be explored next in this chapter after outlining the methodology used in this research.

3 Methodological Remarks

The data presented in this chapter draws upon eight months of ethnographic research (May 2018-January 2019) in makeshift refugee camps at the Bosnian-Croatian border. The overarching aim of the project was to explore diverse forms of border violence against migrants and their impact on everyday practices at the border. I volunteered in makeshift camps in order to participate, observe, and contribute to the positive transformation of living and travelling border spaces. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the displaced people about violent pushbacks as a part of a 'border violence monitoring' project supported by collaboration with activists, a medical organisation, and independent lawyers. The interviews proved

useful to map evidence of violence at the border and capture information about direct and often extreme violence against migrants by EU border guards that would be otherwise difficult to examine due to their dangerous and clandestine nature. In total, sixty-eight interviews were conducted either in English or in the language that participants felt comfortable communicating and were translated into English by their friends or other camp inhabitants as there was no possibility to cooperate with professional translators.

The people living in the camps detailed their escapes from numerous forms of violence, from wars and totalitarian regimes to long histories of interventions and exploitation (i.e., colonialism) leaving economic and political insecurities. While all were exposed to the same direct attacks along the Bosnian-Croatian borders, this chapter focuses mainly on the interviewees who had been moving *from* and *into* direct violence in order to map relational patterns of torture across migrants' home and transit. Since border violence is not only racialised but also gendered (see Augustová 2020a), most people interviewed were adult men. These participants were recruited via circumstance and snowball sampling techniques during aid provision in camps, when they often told me or other volunteers about being pushed back. Firstly, our group ensured medical care for them and then, if appropriate, asked if they would like to be interviewed for the purposes of legal and public advocacy and academic purposes. People in the camp spread the news of the option to record their violent incidents to others, who later approached me or other volunteers on their own will. I obtained oral consent from all participants,[1] and all names and identifiable information have been changed to respect their anonymity.

While scholar-activism offers a more sensitive approach to examine border violence than short field visits and pure interview-based research (Jordan, Moser 2020), volunteering is not a panacea to violent fields or unequal dynamics between predominantly Western, white, and economically secure aid providers and observers and people migrating across borders. Still, extensive daily cooperation with people in the camps put me in close proximity with extreme violence and its strategies across imagined lines of 'civilised European' and 'uncivilised non-European' territories, as I discuss in the following sections.

1 I avoided written consent as this was not appropriate in the context of the borders. Migrants said that they were commonly forced by State authorities to sign forms that undermined their rights and mobility when being forcibly moved from makeshift camps to detention centres, apprehended in border zones, or arrested in police stations during the games.

4 Torture at the Bosnian-Croatian Border

4.1 Pushbacks from EUrope

> They [Croatian police] stole 1,000 euro from all of us, broke our power banks. After, they took us on the road and beat us. They were beating us with batons on our shoulders, back, and head and private parts. We don't even know where all they hit. In the dark night, they can hit hard and not only one person. Now, everything is broken… One person was torturing us by shining the light into our eyes, and the other five were beating us one by one. (Ejaz, Pakistan)

The above interview excerpt is from Ejaz, who was describing playing the 'games', as people commonly refer to an attempt to cross the border when walking for weeks across mountains, forests, rivers, and uncleared minefields from the Yugoslav Wars. This land border marks the end of the 'Balkan Route' and an entry point to the EU: a symbolic line between racialised categories such as 'non-European, uncivilised, and backward' places and the 'European, civilised, modern' world (Razsa, Lindstrom 2004). Indeed, the Croatian border has been increasingly modernised by military technology, such as helicopters, drones, thermal imaging cameras, vehicle scanners (BVMN 2021b), besides the deployment of border patrols in order to stop unwanted migration, often using violence. Game returnees, like Ejaz, most commonly described being denied any legal assistance by the EU authorities who then stole or destroyed their possessions (i.e., phones) to hinder their future movement and prevent documentation of such incidents and inflicted various degrees of pain upon them during the pushbacks.

Like for Ejaz, entering a police van started what many described as 'torture', 'beatings', and 'humiliation'. Police vans often serve as a means of intercepted people's transportation to secluded places along the Croatian border, from where they are pushed back to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the late hours of the night. Across eight months of interviews and observations, it became apparent that police officers used vans to evoke breathing problems, nausea, and malaise in people while detaining them in large numbers as they closed ventilation systems and turned the heater up to extremely high temperatures for hours. Vans, however, were not the only place of detention. Those interviewed also said that they were driven to abandoned buildings in the forest before being transported to the border, where they were detained without food and water for long hours or days. Verbal and physical attacks were common while being detained in these abandoned buildings, with one person reporting being choked

by a police officer using a rope. However, for most people, extreme violence was waiting at the point of their pushback.

When arriving at the Croatian-Bosnian border, people commonly described being taken one by one from the van. While sitting in the dark of the van and waiting for their turn, people described hearing noises of "batons against bones". EU State authorities reportedly used a number of methods and devices, psychological as well as physical, which are all crucial for understanding extreme violence and torture (Lazreg 2008). Several testimonies point to the use of extreme sensory stimulation, when police officers first point a powerful light into their eyes, causing them sensory overload, or use pepper spray to blind them before ordering them to get out the van to be attacked, as Ejaz's testimony above also shows.

The weapons and strategies of physical violence used by police officers varied, from hits by plastic or metal batons and gun butts to kicks and slaps. The police also used electronic weapons (e.g., tasers) against game players on their necks and chests, placing them in stressful or pain-inducing positions. For instance, Azzam (Afghanistan, 47) said that "a police officer told him to lean on his knees and put his head on the ground. Then, another police officer sat on Azzam's head and was pushing his head with his whole weight into the ground until he was bleeding from his head". Most of those interviewed reported being exposed to this extreme violence upon aggressive accusation of entry to the EU without authorisation. The minority of those interviewed said that they were subjected to enhanced interrogation by State authorities who were trying to find out information and get confessions on record about human smuggling activities, which are in line with the common objectives of State torture (Austin 2016).

Extreme violence at the border was not only direct but also coupled with psychological torture – for instance, pointing a gun to one's head and threatening to kill him/her – and using dehumanising symbolic techniques and sexual torture. Interviewees commonly referred to being ordered by police officers to remove their clothes to be frisked after their apprehension. People who had been forced into nudity perceived this strategy as intertwined with shame and sexual violence, especially when police were kicking or hitting them in the genitals. As Lazreg (2008) suggests, torture is sexual in nature as it toys with people's sexual identity and violates their most private domain. Especially women consider forced nudity as sexual humiliation directed against their religion and persona. For instance, Marva (Afghanistan, 42) said that

> she told the Slovenian police that she was a Muslim and refused to take off her clothes and a scarf. Officers forced her to strip naked and aggressively removed her scarf while calling her *picka ti materina* (motherfucker in Slovenian) and saying that here is Europe and not Afghanistan and Islam.

Other women reported being inappropriately frisked and touched on their breasts and genitals by male police officers, while the latest reports (BVMN 2021a) also point to one case of rape.

Others reported being forced to enter freezing rivers or walk back to Bosnia in the winter naked. In these cases, forced nudity was combined with violence being re-delegated by police officers onto 'natural' and environmental factors, which according to Schindel (2019) are often included in strategies of border controls (i.e., the Mediterranean Sea) to make harm look like it was caused by 'nature'. In a few cases, I was also told that officers were using cameras to take photos and videos of the attacks. The eye of the camera speaks to Laustsen's (2008) understanding of torture as a strategy that possibly causes public exposure and shame forever while showing police officers no shame for their actions.

While whistle-blower testimonies of Croatian police officers affirm that police officers are clearly ordered to forcefully return everyone without papers to Bosnia (BVMN 2021a, 14), State authorities have denied all allegations of violence. For example, the Croatian Minister of Interior claimed that the signs of beatings on migrants' bodies were the result of inter-communal fights in Bosnian camps (ECRE 2021). This comment resonates with the symbolic exclusion and concealment of torture in the EU's 'liberal and humanitarian' States and outsourcing to the Balkans, the 'problematic and non-European' region (Isakjee et al. 2020). Indeed, the use of democratic-autocratic and European and non-European binaries can hide violent symmetries along borders (Austin 2016). In this case, migrants themselves are also blamed for their injuries (Doty 2011), which is culturally imaginable based on their racialisation as "the deepest and most recurring image of the Other" (Said 1978, 1). Signs of the 'other' (places and people) thus prove useful for EU State authorities to subordinate displaced people along the imagined line between West and East (e.g., the Balkans, Orient) to fix their imagined 'criminality' via torture and, consequently, exclude them from the EU (Butler 2008).

Throughout the empirical observations and interviews outlined so far it is apparent that torture takes place along EU borders despite the displaced people coming to the border wish to escape violence in their home States and find peace and equality in line with the EUropean self-image (Borrell 2021; Isakjee et al. 2020). These strategies of extreme violence at the EU border are not isolated in the 'modern West' as they echo the torture carried out throughout the West's colonial history and war on terror in 'other' places, which are used by the 'civilised West' to discipline and subordinate the 'uncivilised East' (Danewid 2017; De Genova 2017). It is important to note that these are often the same groups of populations that migrate to the EU borders. This connection is visible in the forced unveiling of Afghani women by US soldiers in Afghanistan (Butler 2008) and French

soldiers in Algeria (Lazreg 2008) and the forced nudity and beating of prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo while taking photos of them (Laustsen 2008) as well as the cross-border spread of tasers as tools of enforcement-cum-torture (Austin 2016). These tactics all mirror the displaced people's narratives at the Bosnian-Croatian border.

These relational patterns reveal that torture is transnational (Austin 2016); it migrates with people from their home through transit. As Mayblin (2017, 175) aptly points out, "migrants make connections between their present situation and histories of colonial domination and its attendant racial violence", as also visible on torture across people's home and transit. This interconnection of torture across diverse, yet overlapping contexts is further trackable through migrants' indirect experiences of violence (McMahon, Sigona 2020). In the following section, I explore how symbols and sounds of militarised borders stimulate flashbacks of wars and contact with people's families enables them to keep witnessing torture in their home States.

4.2 Memories from Home and Indirect Torture

"When the police were beating me, I was very scared. I thought that *Daesh* [ISIS] was trying to kill me here in Europe. I came to Europe to be safe and to get help and I found this", said Azzam (Afghanistan, 45), who was placed into a stress position by two Croatian police officers during his pushback until he bled from his head (Afghanistan, 45). The major identifying feature that the displaced people pointed to when describing perpetrators of extreme violence were dark uniforms and black balaclava masks. For this reason, Azzam and a few other people from Iraq and Syria said that the look of the border guards and their strategies of torture reminded them of combatants from their countries. Thus, violence from home and at the border became intertwined in the makeshift camps where people returned after their pushbacks. When I saw Jamal (Syria, 19) covering his ears every time he heard a helicopter flying over the camp, I asked him if he was fine. He responded, "A bomb in Aleppo damaged my hearing. Anytime I hear strong sounds that remind me of the war, like a helicopter, that moment comes back, and my ears hurt".

Azzam, Jamal, and many others were not physically present in officially recognised war zones and terrorist-controlled areas at the EU border. However, the violence from home migrated with them to the border as EU border guards' strategies of torture inflicted pain in very similar ways and created a similar atmosphere of fear that belongs to militarised spaces. Material objects, such as military technologies and perpetrators' uniforms, or sounds around the border could thus rebuild violence from home and transport torture from site to site (Austin 2016).

People were also reminded daily about the violence in their home States through being in contact with their families. For instance, while sitting in the Trnovi camp thousands of kilometres away from Syria, numerous people from Syria told me about finding out about the dead bodies that were newly pulled from the ruins in their hometowns after airstrikes by Russian and Syrian warplanes. I never knew how to appropriately react when sitting in a tent at the so-called 'Syrian centre' of the camp and was shown videos of dead bodies after gas attacks or groups of people loudly mourning over dozens of coffins. "This is Syria today", said Yezen (Syria, 20), when showing me these images and videos of despair and brutality.

At first sight, these events may seem secondary or less important in the analysis of violence (in migration) due to their lack of physical, direct, and momentary violence. However, being informed about harm to and the death of family members and friends and daily communicating about such occurrences, although in faraway places, also construe people's indirect experiences of violence when being stranded at the border (McMahon, Sigona 2020). Moreover, Kira (2017) suggests that witnessing or hearing about torture, rape, dead bodies, and killing of family members is considered psychological torture, which more likely leads to psychological disorders (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder) than physical torture. In line with this, these forms of indirect violence should not be sidelined in the analysis of torture in migration around borders. Moreover, I observed that torture at home had a significant impact on people's lives at the border. While some people said that past exposure to harm increased their capacity to cope with present violence, for others, past traumas developed into psychological issues that had negative effects on their day-to-day survival at the border. This became obvious to me when meeting Hamed, a skinny man in his forties, who used to be a teacher in Syria. Despite Hamed's intelligence, he was often at the centre of jokes in the camp by others, who commonly called him the 'crazy Syrian teacher'. Hamed would be overwhelmingly kind one day, while the next day he would be persuaded that me or the other volunteers were working for the Syrian regime and spying on him. He would then get aggressive, threatening others with a knife, spitting on them, shouting out loud, and then crying and running away. He would not remember these events the following day.

Once, Hamed told me that he was tortured in the governmental prison in Syria, recounting an incident in which he was hung from his wrists for hours, subjected to severe beatings and electrical shocks, and threatened with guns. He said that these memories still haunted him at the border and along with the new instances of beatings during pushbacks. Moreover, every day Hamed was seeing people around the border who carried similar imprints of violence as in the prison, e.g., burns by electric devices, bruises, open wounds, broken ribs, and broken teeth.

"This guy will never get out of here. No one wants to go with him in the game. So, he goes alone and gets pushed back all the time. He has no strategy because he is crazy", said Chaled (Syria, 19), who had known Hamed for several months in Velika Kladuša. Indeed, Hamed's paranoia and accusations of others spying on him caused many problems in establishing the social bonds in the camp that were necessary for developing strategies for the games (Augustová 2020b), and this negatively affected his ability to navigate the complex and violent border architecture. Due to the lack of medical and absence of psychological care, Hamed did not receive any special attention in his condition, and I could see his behaviour getting more paranoid over time. Two years after leaving the field, I was told by other volunteers that Hamed was still living at the border.

Hamed's story adds to the argument here that violence is not only about how one's journey begins and, in some cases ends, in death. Instead, violence is key to shaping the evolution of migratory journeys over time (McMahon, Sigona 2020) when moving across diverse geopolitical territories. As Womersley (2020) also suggests, painful moments in migrants' country of origin and memories of families left behind fold together with the numerous instances of harm while in transit. For Hamed and others, the way in which these two diverse geopolitical contexts merged together through memories of torture effected how people navigate life at borders, games, and pushbacks.

What these empirical encounters show is that although torture at home and in transit are triggered by diverse contexts that are often placed in racialised opposites – EUrope versus the 'other' East – there is a significant relationship between them. Strategies of torture, weapons, the look of perpetrators, and the indirect presence of torture through sounds and objects around militarised spaces and contact with families mapped in this chapter speak to Austin's (2016) symmetrical understanding of torture that draws together 'Europe' and 'other' places into the same time and space of pain, despite their institutional format remaining unchanged. Indeed, torture at the border is often multi-layered due to the perpetual exposure to the same violent strategies and atmosphere of fear at home and in transit, in European and non-European places, and in the past and present. What essentially matters is that extreme violence has the same power to harm and eventually destroy people's world as they know and value it (Nieminen 2019), which is a global phenomenon (Lazreg 2008), although the drivers, perpetrators, and political projects underpinning torture vary.

5 Drawing Relational Patterns of Torture from the Bosnian-Croatian Border

The purpose of this chapter was to underscore the repetition of similar patterns of torture across home and transit States and question how this impacts people's cross-border journeys along the Bosnian-Croatian border. While scholars in this book and elsewhere (Barnes 2022; Jubany, Pasqualetto, Rué 2019) point to extreme violence in migration, this chapter shifts attention to the raw strategies and weapons of torture that travel across borders from the East to the West, autocracies to democracies, and non-EU to EU territories despite the diverse contexts underpinning them. First, I shed light on the torture of the displaced people by EU State authorities (mainly in Croatia), which systematically and routinely inflicts both bodily and psychological pain (e.g., severe beatings, extreme sensory stimulation, use of electronic weapons, placing people in stress positions) and uses dehumanising symbolic techniques in people's culture (e.g., unveiling of Muslim women, forced nudity, rape, torture photography). Second, I focused on indirect violence at the border (McMahon, Sigona 2020), where black balaclava masks reminded people of their past traumas as they tried to escape being beaten with batons during the pushbacks, the sounds of military technology and visible injuries in the camps, and witnessing torture in their home States via contact with their families.

The primary argument of this chapter is that thinking through torture across the displaced people's journeys from home through transit, which often fold together along borders, is key to understanding how torture is fluid and multi-layered in migration processes. Many people are pushed to migrate due to extreme violence (e.g., Syria, Afghanistan) but are later exposed to very similar strategies of violence when moving across geopolitically distinct fields. The relational patterns between torture across home and transit mapped in this chapter show that torture not only takes place in topographically dislocated places or war zones, totalitarian regimes, and racialised nations (i.e., Arab, Muslim States, former colonies). Instead, the relation patterns of torture in migration reveal how polities of entirely distinct institutional form and situated in completely different geographical sites, yet linked by histories of colonialism and racial violence (Mayblin 2017), employ torture in the same way across time and space (Austin 2016). I argue that although there is a difference in the geographical scope and institutions of torture at migrants' home and transit, there is only little difference in its implementation, strategies, and experiences, which migrate across globalised borders. The empirical evidence here thus adds to the literature (Conrad, Hill, Moore 2018; Danewid 2017; Galtung 1990; Isakjee et al. 2020; Taussig 2004) challenging the dominant assumption that (extreme) violence takes

place exclusively in An-Other places. As Lazreg (2008) argues, torture functions in all places that are willing to justify the lesser evil of torture against the greater evil of imagined threats to EUropean culture, security and wealth; which is a colonial logics continuing today when the displaced people move from the 'non-modern' to the 'modern' world (Mayblin 2017).

This leads to the second major point of this chapter, revealing that racialisation and othering of people as imagined threats make torture a fluid practice that migrates across borders, from faraway places to the centre of European practices of migration management. This is imminent at the Bosnian-Croatian border, where a symbolic line between Europe and the Balkans and beyond, Christianity and Islam, peace and violence, poverty and wealth is also sustained (Razsa, Lindstrom 2004) in migration management to rationalise 'othering' of people and justify their torture. This conceptualisation of the region can reify and obscure torture through regional distinctions that assume territorial stabilities of the Balkans and the East to be known, mapped, and policed by the EU (Mountz, Loyd 2013). Although the process of joining the EU represents de-Balkanisation and correction of past torture in the region during the Yugoslav Wars (Jović 2009; Razsa, Lindstrom 2004), it simultaneously underpins the logics of deploying torture against migrants for the sake of EU border protection when safeguarding its liberal and humanitarian values (i.e., Croatia) (Isakjee et al. 2020). The torture of the displaced people thus became a precondition for passing the test on EU border management and further reinforcing the anxiety-ridden division from the Other – the Balkans, the East, and the Orient.

Imaginations about where torture belongs allow the torture of migrants to be used by EU member States that place themselves in racialised opposition from the 'other'. Othering of people is a historically rooted recipe for torture when invading and remapping of Other places (i.e., colonialism, modern war interventions) (Butler 2008; Said 1978) and preventing their movement but for labour exploitation (Green 2011; Sharma 2020b). When escaping this historical context of violence coupled with the contemporary authoritarian regimes (e.g., Syria), terrorism (e.g., Afghanistan) and the modern capitalist hierarchies generating 'surplus' populations (Rajaram 2017), people continue to replay experiences of torture along borders that in turn sustain their exclusion from the EU, in Other places, as this chapter shows. Torture is thus not locally contained, but as Austin (2016) suggests, torture can re-emerge and re-converge. This calls for further mapping of the transnational relations of torture in migration, in which people's forced journeys are triggered and then shaped over time.

Bibliography

Augustová, K. (2020a). *Games, Push-Backs and the Everyday Violence at the Bosnian-Croatian Border* [PhD Dissertation]. Birmingham: Aston University.

Augustová, K. (2020b). “Photovoice as a Research Tool of the ‘Game’ along the ‘Balkan Route’”. Nikielska-Sekula, K.; Desille, A. (eds), *Visual Methods in Migration Studies. New Possibilities, Theoretical Implications, and Ethical Questions*. Cham: Springer Nature, 197-216. IMISCOE Research Series. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67608-7_11.

Austin, J.L. (2016). “Torture and the Material-Semiotic Networks of Violence across Borders”. *International Political Sociology*, 10, 3-21. https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olv001.

Avdan, N. (2014). “Do Asylum Recognition Rates in Europe Respond to Transnational Terrorism? The Migration-Security Nexus Revisited”. *European Union Politics*, 15(4), 445-71. https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116514534908.

Baker, C. (2015). *The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bank, A.; Fröhlich, C.; Schneiker, A. (2017). “The Political Dynamics of Human Mobility. Migration out of, as and into Violence”. *Global Policy*, 8, 12-18. https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12384.

Barnes, J. (2022). “Torturous Journeys. Cruelty, International Law, and Pushbacks and Pullbacks over the Mediterranean Sea”. *Review of International Studies*, 48(3), 441-60. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210522000110.

Bassiouni, M.C. (1994). “The United Nations Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992)”. *The American Journal of International Law*, 88(4), 784-805. https://doi.org/10.2307/2204144.

Bhui, H.S. (2018). “Understanding Muslim Prisoners through a Global Lens”. *Race, Criminal Justice, and Migration Control. Enforcing the Boundaries of Belonging*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 197-213. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198814887.001.0001.

Borrell, J. (2021). “EU-Turkey Relations. The Need to Build Bridges”. *European Union External Action Service*, 30 March. https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/95930/eu-turkey-relations-need-build-bridges_en.

BVMN, Border Violence Monitoring Network (2021a). *Annual Torture Report 2020*. https://www.borderviolence.eu/wp-content/uploads/Annual-Torture-Report-2020-BVMN.pdf.

BVMN (2021b). *The Role of Technology in Illegal Push-Backs from Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia*. https://www.borderviolence.eu/ohchr-submission-the-role-of-technology-in-illegal-push-backs-from-croatia-to-bosnia-herzegovina-and-serbia.

Butler, J. (2008). “Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time”. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(1), 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00176.x.

Cohen, I.M.; Corrado, R.R. (2005). “State Torture in the Contemporary World”. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 46(1-2), 103-31. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715205054472.

Conrad, C.R.; Hill, D.W.; Moore, W.H. (2018). “Torture and the Limits of Democratic Institutions”. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(1), 3-17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317711240.

Dahlman, T.C. (2016). “Unity amid Barbed Wire. Asylum Restrictions, European Integration and the Migration Crisis”. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 11(3), 8-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2016.1222594.

Danewid, I. (2017). “White Innocence in the Black Mediterranean. Hospitality and the Erasure of History”. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(7), 1674-89. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1331123.

Davies, T.; Isakjee, A.; Dhesi, S. (2017). “Violent Inaction. The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe”. *Antipode*, 49(5), 1263-84. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12325.

De Genova, N. (2017). *The Borders of “Europe”. Autonomy of Migration, Tactics of Bordering*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Doty, R.L. (2011). “Bare Life. Border-Crossing Deaths and Spaces of Moral Alibi”. *Environment and Planning D. Society and Space*, 29(4), 599-612. https://doi.org/10.1068/d3110.

ECRE, European Council for Refugees and Exile (2021). “Balkan Route. Croatia Blocks MEPs from Visiting Border where Abuse and Pushbacks also Target Children”. *European Council for Refugees and Exile*, 5 February. https://www.ecre.org/balkan-route-croatia-blocks-meps-from-visiting-border-where-abuse-and-pushbacks-also-target-children.

El-Shaarawi, N.; Razsa, M. (2019). “Movements upon Movements. Refugee and Activist Struggles to Open the Balkan Route to Europe”. *History and Anthropology*, 30(1), 91-112. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2018.1530668.

Fleming, K.E. (2000). “Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography”. *The American Historical Review*, 105(4), 1218-33. https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/105.4.1218.

Galtung, J. (1990). “Cultural Violence”. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291-305. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022343390027003005.

Green, L. (2011). “The Nobodies. Neoliberalism, Violence, and Migration”. *Medical Antrhopology*, 30(4), 366-85. https://doi.org/10.1080/01459740.2011.576726.

Guarch-Rubio, M.; Byrne, S.; Manzanero, A.L. (2020). “Violence and Torture against Migrants and Refugees Attempting to Reach the European Union through the Western Balkans”. *Torture. Quarterly Journal on Rehabilitation of Torture Victims and Prevention of Torture*, 30(3), 67-83. https://doi.org/10.7146/torture.v30i3.120232.

Hatzopoulos, P. (2003). “‘All That Is, Is Nationalist’. Western Imaginings of the Balkans since the Yugoslav Wars”. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 5(1), 25-38. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461319032000062633.

Huliaras, A. (2011). “Failed States in the Balkans. Seven Myths”. *European View*, 10(2), 181-5. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-011-0189-8.

Human Rights Watch (2019). “No Escape from Hell. EU Policies Contribute to Abuse of Migrants in Libya”. *Human Rights Watch*, 10 January. https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/01/21/no-escape-hell/eu-policies-contribute-abuse-migrants-libya.

Igonin, D.I. (2016). “Migration Crisis in European Politics. The Ethnic Discourse”. *Journal of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict*, 20(2), special issue, 106-13.

Isakjee, A. et al. (2020). “Liberal Violence and the Racial Borders of the European Union”. *Antipode*, 52(6), 1751-73. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12670.

Jakešević, R. (2017). "Migration and Security Policy of the Republic of Croatia". Bobić, M.; Janković, S. (eds), *Towards Understanding of Contemporary Migration. Causes, Consequences, Policies, Reflections*. Belgrade: University of Belgrade; Faculty of Philosophy; Institute for Sociological Research, 177-99. https://isi.f.bg.ac.rs/en/towards-understanding-of-contemporary-migration-causes-consequences-policies-reflections-2017-2.

Jones, R. (2016). *Violent Borders*. London: Verso.

Jordan, J.; Moser, S. (2020). "Researching Migrants in Informal Transit Camps along the Balkan Route. Reflections on Volunteer Activism, Access, and Reciprocity". *Area*, 52(3), 566-74. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12614.

Jović, D. (2009). "Croatia after Tudjman. The ICTY and Issues of Transnational Justice". Obradović, Batt 2009, 13-28.

Jubany, O.; Pasqualetto, M.; Rué, A. (2019). "Vulnerable to the System. Migration and Torture in Spain". Perocco, F. (ed.), *Torture and Migration*. Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 117-35. https://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-358-8/005.

Kira, I.A. (2017). "A Critical Outlook at Torture Definition, Structure, Dynamics, and Interventions". *Peace and Conflict*, 23(3), 328-33. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000243.

Laustsen, C.B. (2008). "The Camera as a Weapon. On Abu Ghraib and Related Matters". *Journal for Cultural Research*, 12(2), 123-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/14797580802390848.

Lazreg, M. (2008). *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: From Algiers to Baghdad*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Martínez, D.E. et al. (2014). "Structural Violence and Migrant Deaths in Southern Arizona. Data from the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner, 1990-2013". *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 2(4), 257-86. https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v2i4.35.

Mayblin, L. (2017). *Asylum after Empire. Colonial Legacies in the Politics of Asylum Seeking*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International.

McMahon, S.; Sigona, N. (2020). "Death and Migration. Migrant Journeys and the Governance of Migration during Europe's 'Migration Crisis'". *International Migration Review*, 55(2), 605-28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918320958615.

Memisevic, T. (2009). "EU Conditionality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Police Reform and the Legacy of War Crimes". Obradović, Batt 2009, 49-66.

Mishkova, D. (2008). "Symbolic Geographies and Visions of Identity. A Balkan Perspective". *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11(2), 237-56. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431007087476.

Mountz, A.; Loyd, J.M. (2013). "Constructing the Mediterranean Region. Obscuring Violence in the Bordering of Europe's Migration 'Crises'". *ACME. An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 13(2), 173-94. https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/1003.

Nieminen, K. (2019). "The Detainee, the Prisoner, and the Refugee. The Dynamics of Violent Subject Production". *Law, Culture and the Humanities*, 15(2), 516-39. https://doi.org/10.1177/1743872116650868.

Obradović, J.; Batt, J. (eds) (2009). *War Crimes, Conditionality and EU Integration in the Western Balkans*. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

Rajaram, P.K. (2017). "Refugees as Surplus Population. Race, Migration and Capitalist Value Regimes". *New Political Economy*, 23(18), 627-39. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2017.1417372.

Razack, S.H. (2004). "Imperilled Muslim Women, Dangerous Muslim Men and Civilised Europeans. Legal and Social Responses to Forced Marriages". *Feminist Legal Studies*, 12(2), 129-74. https://doi.org/10.1023/b:fest.0000043305.66172.92.

Razsa, M.; Lindstrom, N. (2004). "Balkan Is Beautiful. Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tudman's Croatia". *East European Politics and Societies*, 18(4), 628-50. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0888325404266939.

Rexhepi, P. (2018). "Arab Others at European Borders. Racializing Religion and Refugees along the Balkan Route". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(12), 2215-34. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1415455.

Said, E.W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Random House.

Schindel, E. (2019). "Death by 'Nature'. The European Border Regime and the Spatial Production of Slow Violence". *Environment and Planning C. Politics and Space*, 40(2), 428-46. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419884948.

Schneider, T.; Shraiky, J.; Wofford, D. (2017). "Cultural and Structural Violence in the Lives of Syrian Refugees". *Journal of Health and Human Experience*, 3(2), 65-86.

Sharma, N. (2020a). "Against National Sovereignty. The Postcolonial New World Order and the Containment of Decolonization". *Studies in Social Justice*, 14(2), 391-409. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v14i2.2286.

Sharma, N. (2020b). "States and Human Immobilization. Bridging the Conceptual Separation of Slavery, Immigration Controls, and Mass Incarceration". *Citizenship Studies*, 25(2), 166-87. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2020.1859188.

Schlag, G. (2019). "Representing Torture in *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012). Popular Culture as a Site of Norm Contestation". *Media, War & Conflict*, 14(2), 174-90. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635219864023.

Stierl, M. (2020). "Reimagining EUrope through the Governance of Migration". *International Political Sociology*, 14(3), 252-69. https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olaa007.

Stojić-Mitrović, M.S.; Vilenica, A. (2019). "Enforcing and Disrupting Circular Movement in an EU Borderscape. Housingscaping in Serbia". *Citizenship Studies*, 23(6), 540-58. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2019.1634368.

Taussig, M. (2004). "Terror as Usual. Walter Benjamin's Theory of History of State of Siege". Scheper-Hughes, N.; Bourgois, P. (eds), *Violence in War and Peace. An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 269-71.

Thorleifsson, C. (2017). "Disposable Strangers. Far-Right Securitisation of Forced Migration in Hungary". *Social Anthropology*, 25(3), 318-34. https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12420.

Todorova, M.N. (2009). *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trakilovic, M. (2020). ""On This Path to Europe" – *The Symbolic Role of the 'Balkan Corridor' in the European Migration Debate*". Buikema, R.; Buyse, A.; Robben, A. (eds), *Cultures, Citizenship and Human Rights*. London: Routledge, 49-63.

van Houtum, H.; Bueno Lacy, R. (2020). "The Migration Map Trap. On the Invasion Arrows in the Cartography of Migration". *Mobilities*, 15(2), 196-219. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2019.1676031.

Vaughan-Williams, N. (2015). *Europe's Border Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

von der Brelie, H.; Salfiti, J. (2018). "'Western Balkan Route' for Migrants, Refugees Stuck at Borders". *Euronews*, 30 November. https://www.euronews.com/2018/11/30/western-balkan-route-for-migrants-refugees-stuck-at-borders.

Weber, L.; Pickering, S. (2011). *Globalization and Borders Death at the Global Frontier*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Womersley, G. (2020). “(Un)Imagination and (Im)Mobility. Exploring the Past and Constructing Possible Futures among Refugee Victims of Torture in Greece”. *Culture & Psychology*, 26(4), 713-31. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067x19899066.