"Keep off the grass "- talking to *Friends* about the physical presence of *Others.* Forced Migration in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract

The Balkan Corridor is undergoing changes that reflect the direct impact of macro-political structures and policies. The main purpose of the conducted analysis of social network public posts is to examine the dominant narratives at the local and EU-levels, as well as the narratives that challenge official exclusionary measures in migration policies. This analysis focuses on how these narratives recognize and present place-based inclusion and exclusion practices through „talking to friends". Particular attention is given to narratives about safety, security, cleanliness, community. The study, therefore, explored the intersection between spatial and discursive practices. Two simultaneous processes can be observed: openings for new frameworks and new forms of inclusive solidarity; and on the other hand, processes of redefining borders and dividing lines, often accompanied by militarization supported by international funds, help and support programs. These two narratives remain parallel and separate.

Key words: neo-colonialism, migration, nationalism, militarization, human rights

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Introduction

The Balkan Corridor (El-Shaarawi and Razsa, 2019) is undergoing changes that reflect the direct impact of macro-political structures and policies. Stojic, Mitrovic and Vilenica (2019) emphasized that the so-called Balkan route, primarily used as a transit zone by migrants, is becoming an externalized EU border through current changes and EU border policies, which are resulting in immobility and circulatory movements in the region. Changes in the understanding and representation of countries associated with the Balkan Corridor, in the context of the „migration crisis", are visible through EU funding being shifted from assistance for transit to encampment, as well as through seemingly banal objects like official and activist-produced signs (see Obradovic-Wochnik, 2018; Obradovic-Wochnik and Bird 2020).

The questions that follow and arise from the experience of changes and impositions are those of borders and restriction of mobility, both local and cross-border. Banal signs such as "Keep off the grass" in the context of the migration "crisis" serve a certain political agenda and become political object themselves, as they "re-assert their dominance over the space" and allow authorities "an additional pretext for removing people from public spaces" (Obradovic-Wochnik and Bird 2020, 56). This mainly occurs through encampment policies and segregation of migrants from local populations and public places.

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) can be characterized as both a transit country and a new hotspot that is being created as an area of crisis, international interventions, the presence of security services, closures and restrictions on free movement (Tazzioli 2018). Recent changes have further affected struggles over public spaces and public zones through regulation and control of specific sites. In this research the main focus is on the struggle presented narratively, in a seemingly safe space, such as social networks, where we address and talk to "friends" while creating the illusion of telling a story in a seemingly non-politicized and informal manner. Social networks are places of sociability that are becoming increasingly public as the boundary between sociability and the public is gradually being eroded with the revolutionary rise of the Internet as a new medium (Cardon 2010). Facebook is one of the most influential entities creating and representing different topics: "greater than that of any American or European television news network, any newspaper or magazine in the Western world and any online news outlet" (Iosifidis and Nicoli, 2020: 65). If we consider social media as talking to friends under the attention and scrutiny of the public, it is important to analyze the topics being discussed and the arguments being used. This includes presenting our activities, preoccupations, cooperation, funds and means available for action in the context of the "migration crisis".

The virtual and the real in border management

Virtual "space" is a public place that mirrors the interactions with the physical urban space (Klamt, 2012). As Obradovic-Wochnik and Bird (2020) examine the representation of places through official signs addressed to migrants, they argue that "maps and visual signs become a crucial way of capturing micropolitics of border management, since they represent places only in terms of what authorities want refugees to see" (Obradovic-Wochnik and Bird: 2020, 52). Public posts addressed to the general public, through a specific way of addressing and „talking to" on social networks, involve interacting with virtual friends and it can shed light on the micropolitics of border management by analyzing the representation of places in terms of what authorities want citizens to see.

The massive migration of people towards Western Europe was predominantly depicted as a crisis threatening the integrity of nation-states. Vandevoordt (2020) Van Isacker (2019) both recognized in their studies that political surveillance in public spaces, marginalization, and exclusion in the European cities take place under the pretext of public safety, security, and cleanliness. This analysis delves into the dominant narratives at both the local and EU-levels, as well as the narratives that challenge official exclusionary measures in migration policies, and examines how the practices of dividing and policing physical spaces are justified and contested through "talking to friends". To examine this, we begin by unpacking the conceptual and theoretical framework relating to mobility and borders and the crisis of democracy.

Mobility and borders

The uncritical identification of society with the nation-state contributes to defining all events related to migration as a social problem and, therefore, as a crisis and danger (Reinprecht, Weiss 2011). The concept of citizenship is associated with political, civil, and social rights that are still predominantly secured within the nation state. Therefore, the very concept of citizenship is always territorially anchored and determined within a closed system. The main arguments of the national model of citizenship are only viable in considerations where there is a clearly drawn line between those inside and outside because it operates within a closed, container model. While it has its own symbolically marked and appropriated territory within which it operates, the national model itself is not questioned.

However, when such a model is faced with practices that challenge the right to enter the territory, it faces the problem of inequality and the denial of universal human rights. Appropriation of space (Bourdieu 1991) leads to the inevitable hierarchization of public spaces. Within the national model and logic of action, the main argument is that nation-building is an inherent aspect of a democratic welfare system because it contributes to the creation of solidarity and trust. Such solidarity "from above" necessarily means hierarchies, and without a clear and strict hierarchical system, this model is unsustainable. Consequentially, there is a lack of articulation about what constitutes contemporary democratic practice (Hoskyns 2014), but also an ignorant attitude towards specific events that creates social conflicts.

European states continuously tighten migration and border policies as a reaction to migration movements, which have increased social conflicts on migration-related issues (Ataç, Schwiertz et al. 2023). De Genova, Garelli, and Tazzioli (2018) underline that the so-called migration crisis is rather a crisis of Schengen and European refugee politics. The established hierarchical system a priori places national dignity above human dignity, which is reflected in the physical space itself, the ways of its use, and legal regulation.

Public spaces, characterized by public and collective participation, are beginning to transform into spaces of trade, consumption, and political surveillance (Dassé 2019), as illustrated by numerous examples of the removal of non-citizens who are considered illegal from "shared" places. Political surveillance in public spaces, marginalization, and exclusion is a common practice in EU countries, whereby under the pretext of public safety, security, cleanliness, e.g. people are removed from parks in the cities of France and Belgium (Vandevoordt 2020; Van Isacker 2019).

Places where citizens and *Others* meet are public places within urban areas, where migrants stay and use available resources to continue their journey, and these are most often areas around train and bus stations and public parks. Encounters with citizens in such places have the potential to initiate and provoke spontaneous actions and gradually create a support infrastructure, and are therefore considered as places where acts of solidarity outside the logic of ethno-national citizenship potentially take place. Encounters within public spaces and reactions that confirm and reproduce the ethno-national framework and attitude towards "others", in the form of the spread of anti-migrant rhetoric and self-organized informal actions of "cleansing" of "illegal" migrants, if they take place on shared, common spaces, remain visible and open to different public reactions, and as such, enable exchange and correlation.

When the legal use of the national space is limited, public spaces have the potential to develop as a meeting place for engagement in inclusive acts of solidarity (Schwiertz-Schwenken 2020) and criticism of the dominant system. Informal interactions between citizens and Others, who according to the logic of nation states are considered illegal, undocumented, "mixed", along the so-called "Balkan route", have the potential to create help and support structures through more inclusive and horizontal relations, as opposed to hierarchical institutionally organized help. Such spontaneous support is often transformed into political actions against the "politics of exhaustion" (De Vries, Guild 2019) practiced towards the migrant population.

In BiH, cases of forced return of migrants by the border police, humiliation, theft, sexual harassment, and robbery of migrants have caused various initiatives and reactions from activists who have had the opportunity to learn about these and other experiences at public meeting points. These initiatives and (in)formal aid activities continue to develop in the form of organized support networks. The creation of physical and digital alternative places of support, such as groups on social networks Help for Refugees in BiH, Transbalkan Solidarity, No Man is Illegal - Support for Migrants, open up the spaces for the testimonies of migrants and activists about living conditions in the camps, police violence within the country and violence at the borders, and thus also for discussion, criticism, and alternative forms of support. BiH is not an isolated case where alternative initiatives and support networks are born precisely at the public and shared meeting points. For instance, Belgian civic platforms have started work and engagement in informal settlements of migrants in public parks (e.g. in Vandevoordt 2020; Van Isacker 2019). To foster inclusive practices and participation, it is very important to open up urban spaces as those where different social and economic classes and groups meet. Marginalized groups are visible and present in public spaces, thus entering the process of dialogue with the "privileged".

Data analysis

The Bosnian and Herzegovinian space can be characterized as bureaucratically insufficiently organized and partially "colonialized" space, particularly, in the context of "forced migration" as a transit area with a significant presence of international interventions and decisions according to the national interests of the countries involved in the interventions. Therefore, it is of great importance as a case study because it connects the narratives of otherness and insecurity. However, the analysis is limited to Bosnia-Herzegovina as one of the endpoints before entering the EU, and therefore, the results obtained cannot be generalized.

From the perspective of critical discourse studies, in the comparison of social worlds through initial codes that are constructed theoretically, the goal is to detect the use of social power, the effects of dominance and inequality, and how they are reproduced in public posts, but also how they are opposed in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2001: 352). In carrying out this analysis, special attention is given to the cultural model of the nation-state, with a focus on understanding concepts such as territory and citizenship.

Methods

Thematic analysis (Strauss 1991), a systematic coding and categorization approach for exploring and interpreting textual data is being used to achieve in order to develop an insight into group-specific perspectives and experiences. The study focuses on three relevant actors in the creation of knowledge and policies related to migration: 1) international organizations; 2) non-governmental sectors; and 3) governmental institutions. These three actors are being analyzed to gain a better understanding of the group-specific perspectives and experiences. The first step of the coding process involves choosing initial codes for the analysis in a concept-driven manner based on the research interests. The primary purpose of this study is to examine and comprehend the adaptation and appropriation of public posts on Facebook that deal with the physical presence of migrants on the territory. The study aims to explore the intersection between spatial and discursive practices. As the complex notion of nationalism involves separate dimensions, such as territorial boundary, cultural homogeneity, and political integration (Jin 2021), the initial codes for the analysis are: security and vulnerability, purity and cleanliness (both materially and symbolically); community and cooperation; and the physical presence of migrants. In the analysis, a system of categories is developed for each individual case, thereafter the developed categories and thematic areas were compared with each other. The thematic structure produced from thematic coding is used here to compare cases and groups, i.e. to elaborate and identify similarities and differences between groups (Strauss 1991), based on the assumption that different views and perspectives can be found in different social "worlds" i.e. social groups (Flick 2012, 402).

Data collection

The data for this study was collected between April and July 2022. Organizations and institutions, that is, their official Facebook pages for analysis, were selected for analysis based on the following criteria: relevance of their jurisdiction and authority

to the issue of international migration, and the level of exposure to events related to "forced" migration in BiH.

The international organization responsible for the process of "managing" migration is the IOM, which in BiH functions as the main coordinator for the implementation of decisions and international policies related to "managing" migration and international funds intended for these purposes. Public posts of international actors were analyzed on their official Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH/. The discourses within the public space of the non-governmental sector are analyzed on the Facebook group "Pomoć izbjeglicama u BiH/Help for refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (https://www.facebook.com/groups/144469886266984. This public Facebook group was initiated by female activists and journalists primarily to create a network of support and assistance for migrants and to provide a platform for opening up spaces for discourse and exchange of ideas.

BiH is a country with a complex government structure; the government sector is divided into several levels of decision-making and jurisdiction, while issues of jurisdiction are often unclear. Considering the circumstances, selection of a representative webpage within the government sector was made according to the criterion of the level of exposure to events related to international (forced) migration through BiH and the focus on lower levels of government. In the last decade, there has been a "local turn" in border regime analysis (Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018; Hinger, Pott, and Schäfer 2016), highlighting the importance of local politics in the field of migration in Europe. As the city of Bihać has the largest influx of migrants and the largest number of reception centers under the control of the IOM, the official Facebook page of the City of Bihać (at https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH) was chosen for analysis.

At the time of data collection, the most recent post on the page https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH/ was published on July 23, 2022. A total of 100 posts were analyzed since the last post. The most recent post on the page "Help for refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (https://www.facebook.com/groups/144469886266984) was published on July 21, 2022, and a total of 100 posts were analyzed since the last post. Since there are very few posts about migration on the official webpage of the City of Bihać, 15 public posts that mention migration and their associated comments were selected for analysis. In total, one hundred units were analyzed. The most recent post on the official Facebook page of the City of Bihać at the time of analysis was from July 22, 2022.

International presence and selection of topics

Based on the analysis the majority of of IOM BiH's[2] posts are either directly or indirectly related to the areas of migrant camps, whereby community and cooperation are mostly connected to the physical presence of migrants in migrant camps.

Community and cooperation are stereotypically often linked to local culture and tradition through rhetoric and initiatives aimed at "strengthening social cohesion". IOM posts mention local cultural and artistic associations that are present in migrant camps as part of project activities with the purpose of "learning about the traditions and culture of the community in which migrants stay" [3]. The involvement of women's associations in activities inside the camps is supported through culinary activities[4], holiday visits, large feasts, and other forms of care and support[5]. There is also an anti-trafficking and vulnerability narrative, within which women's associations are also involved in IOM BiH projects, and which can be indirectly connected to the migrant population's stay in peripheral, isolated areas, through related narratives of criminalization, vulnerabilities and anti-smuggling protection.

The phenomenon of No Nation Fashion (NNF) is recognized as a unique theme when discussing community and cooperation: "IOM Bosnia and Herzegovina now invites Expression of Interest from eligible NGOs, INGOs and companies for the following services: Development and coordination of fashion activities. Join us on our #NoNationFashion no_nation_fashion journey." [6] The creation of the brand and the fashion show is presented as an innovation for promoting gender equality, diversity and social inclusion. However, it is unclear which criteria the initiative uses to improve gender equality and the aforementioned areas. The paradoxical situation arises when the possibility of dialogue and negotiation is completely "devoured" through practices of escape and denial of identity. This is further perpetuated by the branding, commodification, consumption, and trendsetting of dialogue and cooperation through IOM Fashion Brand. Bauman's anthropophagic strategy of relations with others, referring to Lévi-Strauss, involves the so-called "desalination of alien substances so that they become identical with the body that alienates them"

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[2] The last post on the page https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH/ at the time of the analysis was published on July 23, 2022, and a total of 100 posts were analyzed since the last post.

[3] Posted on July 15, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

[4] "Women from the association spread the smell of traditional Bosnian cuisine throughout the temporary Reception Center"; Posted on June 26, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

[5] E.g. posted on June 30, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

[6] Posted on July 10, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

(Bauman 2011: 102), is used here to code, understand and explain the phenomenon of No Nation Fashion, which is often advertised in IOM public posts on Facebook. This example highlights the problem of the abuse of human rights rhetoric, which can easily become a tool of manipulation, depending on who wields it. As a result, its role in promoting fundamental human rights can be rendered meaningless.

On the IOM BiH page, there are two types of posts that connect migrants with public spaces. In some cases, the presence of migrants in public spaces is linked to organized visits or meetings of the population located in the camps at various events organized as part of project activities. Additionally, within the public spaces, migrants are also mentioned in the context of museum exhibitions, presentations, screenings of documentaries or plays about migration experience within projects implemented or financed by that organization. It is striking to note that public presentations and openings always occur through gala events and are presented by high representatives and coordinators of the organizations[7].

Some of the posts on the IOM BiH page can be indirectly linked to the migrant population's stay in peripheral and isolated areas where the so-called squats are formed, or along "wild" routes along the borders and other inaccessible areas. These posts may provide information on donating vehicles, supporting the work of police forces and services through equipment, training, "capacity building" as well as developing new applications intended for identification and control purposes.

The IOM BiH Facebook page repeatedly promotes a new strategy (IOM BiH strategy for the period 2022-2025), which links violence and vulnerability to smuggling and exploitation. In this one-sided view, smuggling supposedly succeeds due to insufficient control, which inevitably means exploitation and vulnerability. Key to building secure and rights-based migration management systems, according to the strategy, are bilateral and regional cooperation in border management, assisted voluntary return, frameworks for readmission, and combating human trafficking. IOM's third priority according to their strategy [8] is helping the progress of "migrants and society through the establishment of safe, orderly and regular routes of people's

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[7] E.g. "That is why the museum exhibits are especially precious and touching… donated to the Museum by migrant children from #Ukraine, #Afghanistan, #Iraq, #Palestine, #Syria, #Croatia, #Kosovo, and #Eritrea,. Every item has its own story, and often these personal little things are the only thing children possess on their uncertain journey to a better tomorrow. … At the ceremonial opening, the executive director of the Museum of War Childhood, the head of the IOM Mission and the Regional Coordinator for the Western Balkans, addressed those present. The museum is just one of the activities carried out with the support of IOM Bosnia and Herzegovina through the project "Strengthening social cohesion in communities where people on the move live" Posted on July 6, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

[8] Posted on July 5, 2022 at https://www.facebook.com/IOMBIH

mobility... by supporting cooperation in the region and with countries of origin for the purposes of return, readmission and reintegration" (IOM BiH strategy for the period 2022-2025: 20). This emphasizes the member states' individual national interests in determining the meaning of "safe, orderly and regular mobility routes", thus closely associating security and orderliness with deportations. The concept of safe migration is closely linked to the country's labor needs, which follows the values and logic of the neoliberal system[9].

The posts analyzed from IOM BiH consistently link rhetoric of rights to border management while using the rhetoric of vulnerability to justify policies of control and militarization. At the same time, they ignore other issues related to the lack of safe migration routes and punitive migration policies that contribute to increasing the vulnerability of migrants.

"Help for Refugees in BiH"- correction or a parallel universe?

The analyzed posts referring to migrant camps here can be divided into four groups. The first group include posts that highlight the poor conditions in the camps, both in BiH and in the region, where photos and anonymous testimonials from camp residents are published. The bad conditions suggest inadequate hygiene and nutrition, as well as problems with camp officials and restrictions on freedom of movement and safety within the camps.

The second group of posts is thematically distinct, questioning whether migrant camps are used for the accommodating asylum seekers or if they are detention camps. Accordingly, public posts have pointed to forced arrests by the police and mandatory deportations to camps, where personal property is confiscated during raids on informal residences and arrests by the police, and migrants are subjected to violent treatment. Such practices are narratively linked to post-colonial practices found in other European countries.

The third group of posts comments on projects and activities carried out in camps for migrant accommodation, emphasizing the problem of hypocrisy and abuse of position and situation to promote a good image and "advertisement" in the public by those who lead migrant camps. Warnings about malfeasance and abuse in the work

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[9] "In addition to improving access to and use of currently available regular migration flows, such as temporary residence on a humanitarian basis and family reunification, IOM will strive to open new channels for expanding and adjusting opportunities and flows for legal migration in a way that meets the country's labor needs, optimally uses educational opportunities, respects the right to family life and responds to the needs of migrants in situations of vulnerability. (IOM strategy of BiH for the period 2022–2025: 11).

and organization of camps for the accommodation of migrants are classified in the fourth group of posts. These posts share and comment on research and newspaper reports that reveal malfeasance and financial irregularities.

Posts that can be directly or indirectly related to the stay and presence of migrants in public places can also be classified into four groups. The first group consists of photos shared by activists who meet migrants, and such photos often show wet and destroyed shoes and/or injured body. The second group includes appeals and calls for an adequate response to attacks on migrants staying in parks or around bus or train stations. This group also features testimonies from migrants about discriminatory behavior towards them in public spaces, such as cafes and restaurants, where permanent residents refuse to serve them, humiliate them, and do not allow them to stay.

In the third group, there are posts that highlight the importance and positive effects of providing a virtual space for support where legal and medical advice is sought and given for the various needs of migrants who meet in public places. The fourth group includes posts featuring testimonies about the criminalization of help offered to migrants in public places by individuals and/or groups.

Within the analyzed corpus of material[10], the most posts here are related to the stay of migrants in "invisible", peripheral places, hidden from the public eye. Posts where migrants are associated with locations and routes along borders, "wild" shelters in forests, or in abandoned buildings are associated with the problem of rights deprivation and endangerment due to pushbacks and mistreatment most often by officials and public authorities.

In contrast to the previously analyzed posts of the IOM BiH, where such places are primarily associated with smuggling and the demand for greater control, this section distinguishes six groups of posts. Within the first group there is a sharp criticism of previously recognized practices of narratively connecting the topics of free movement of migrants with the topic of smuggling, imprudence and thus criminalization. The second group comprises posts of various reports on violent pushbacks, scientific articles, universities activities, information on initiated court procedures, and field information by various organizations. The third group of posts provides various information and comments about the borders around the EU,

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[10] The last post at the time of analysis on the page "Help for refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (https://www.facebook.com/groups/144469886266984) was published on July 21, 2022, and a total of 100 posts were analyzed since the last one published.

which are often labelled as Fortress Europe[11]. In the fourth group of posts, reports on inhumane treatment of migrants and calls for an adequate response from competent authorities in BiH and the region are classified. The fifth group contains confessions and photographs of living conditions in the so-called squats depicting poor and difficult living conditions.

Furthermore, the sixth group is comprised of frequent announcements and calls for help in locating missing persons, who were last seen alive attempting to cross borders through wild routes. Closely related to this is the post that highlights the issue of ignoring the connection between endangerment and many deaths with official migration policies, as well as the problem of discursive practices by competent authorities and international organizations that aim to trivialize and diminish the issue.

Local authority signs - communicating through neglect and clean-up

On the official Facebook page of the City of Bihac[12], there are very few posts related to migrants and migration, even though the area of Bihac and its surroundings has the largest influx of migrants. This fact, at the very beginning of the analysis, suggests the use of exclusion and marginalization strategies as a policy for coping with emerging challenges. In this context, it is necessary to note that activities in the city of Bihac, such as exhibitions, screenings of plays and documentaries, visits organized as part of the IOM BiH project activities, are not reported on the official Facebook page of the City of Bihac, rendering them invisible.

Considering this issue and the lack of posts about migrants and migration on the official webpage of the City of Bihac, 15 posts and associated comments were selected, so that there are a total of one hundred analyzed units[13].

One post only coincides with the posts on the official website of the IOM BiH, which refers to the notification about renovation of the building where the Borići Reception Center is located. It highlights that the renovated building "after the departure of

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[11] E.g. the post sharing the photo of Javier Bernardo, where hundreds of migrants are tearing down the high, sharp wire fence that separates the Spanish enclave of Melilla from Morocco, the problem of discrimination is linked to neoliberal interests and highlights the problem of neocolonial hierarchies that create difference in assumptions and possibilities to demand basic human rights, which is pointed out to be significantly determined by economic interests and neo-colonial racist practices.
[12] (https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH). (Accessed 23/ 7/ 2022.)
[13] The last post at the time of analysis on the official Facebook page of the City of Bihać was from July 22, 2022.

the current users, remains at the disposal of the City of Bihać"[14]. The comments on this post express the fear that citizens are being deprived of their property and space accompanied by a sense of powerlessness and harsh criticism of the authorities.

The post containing a video recording of the Mayor of Bihac, Fazlic, regarding the closure of the Migrant Camp "Miral" in Velika Kladusa[15], was the most commented on among the analyzed posts. The Mayor emphasized that "there must be no migrants on the streets of Bihac" and pointed out that migrants not staying in the camps increases the pressure on the city of Bihac, its streets, and wild locations. He insists on increased control, militarization, relocation, and confinement of migrants to restricted areas far from the city. Comments on this post supported calls for more aggressive police control and the displacement of migrants from the city area. Additionally, the comments expressed fear of the destruction of public property in the camps located in buildings within the city that are state-owned.

Among posts that directly or indirectly relate to migrants in public spaces, one includes a statement by the Mayor of Bihac, Suhret Fazlic, on the Federal Television regarding the state of security in the city of Bihac[16]. The statement, along with the associated comments, follows the same themes as the previously analyzed statement by the Mayor, emphasizing the need for greater control and displacement of migrants from the city, while also highlighting issues of unclear jurisdiction and insufficient support and appreciation at higher decision-making levels. The comments by citizens correspondingly support statements that demand the relocation of migrants from the city.

Other posts that were analyzed can be indirectly related to public spaces in the context of migration. These include posts reporting on official visits by ambassadors, European officials, and representatives of European cities discussing the "migrant crisis"[17], its consequences, and exchanging experiences. In the same group are the posts about workshops on media reporting in the context of migration. Comments on these posts express concern and feelings of endangerment due to the narrow focus of official visits and organized workshops solely on the situation with migrants. This creates fear that the general bad condition of the country and low living standards of citizens are being ignored and pushed to a secondary importance.

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[14] https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH , from the post on July 21

[15] https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH/videos/1030243014558456 (Accessed: 23/7/2022)

[16] https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH/videos/494848079026199 (Accessed 23/7/2022)

[17] as an expression that is dominantly used in posts on the Facebook page of the city of Bihać

The third group of posts connected to public spaces is the one classified as "we as migrants in public spaces". These posts celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the B&H Diaspora Association, presenting public performances of folklore in squares and/or in public institutions in Bihac and Sarajevo. The related comments express support, positive reactions and emphasize the importance of organizing such events in the community.

In contrast to Facebook posts within the "Help to Refugees in BiH", none of the posts directly address the physical presence of migrants in "invisible", peripheral areas here. The only indirect mention of such areas is in the context of camps that are intended to "cleanse" public and wild spaces of migrants.

Two additional posts were selected that are closely related to the set theoretical framework and discourses being examined. One post concerns the signing of the *Protocol for the prevention of exploitation of children in the city of Bihac* [18], created as part of the project "Strengthening state and local capacities in the fight against human trafficking in BiH". Interestingly, the Facebook post by the city of Bihać does not mention minor migrants in any way in the context of the problem of human trafficking. This contrasts with posts by the IOM BIH, which emphasize and establish a connection between the rhetoric of vulnerability and uncontrolled migration, ultimately linking the rhetoric of rights with surveillance and management.

There are also numerous posts about an exhibition that takes place as part of the Week of Architecture in Bihać. The exhibition showcases a selection of awarded architectural works that were created between 2017 and 2021, as part of the exhibition of the Sarajevo Collegium Artisticum. Significant for the analysis is a call to citizens for an informal conversation on the topic of "Symbiosis of People and the City through Public Space". However, neither in the posts nor in the associated comments are migrants mentioned.

Discussion

To better understand concrete events, the processes behind them, and how they reflect on physical space and spatial practices, we will use Bauman's illustration (2011: 101-105), which recognizes three strategies of relations with others, foreigners, as constitutive characteristic of urban life. Referring to Claude Lévi-Strauss in *Tristes Tropiques*, who distinguishes anthropoemic and anthropophagic

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[18] https://www.facebook.com/GRADBIHACBiH, post from May 19

strategies of relationship with others, Bauman also adds a third one that he recognizes in the form of non-place, a term he borrows from Augé.

What connects the problem of migrants staying in populated and public spaces and staying in improvised accommodations in peripheral, isolated areas, i.e. so-called squats, are organized actions of cleansing, capturing and incarcerating, all under the rhetoric of "effective management of migration processes". Such so-called wild camps are most often formed near the borders and serve as starting points for migrants in their attempts to enter the territory of the European Union. Therefore, the control and "cleansing" of such areas are important topics that affect the decisions on directing the funds of international organizations, using the rhetoric of vulnerability and protection. Paradoxically, in practice, it is ensured and implemented through militarization, incarceration and deportation.

Within the territory, the problem of migrants is often pushed outside urban areas or into marginal and peripheral isolated parts, where most camps in BiH are located. At the interstate level, efforts are made to keep the problem outside the EU borders[19], as different migrant film footage and testimonies have confirmed violence and brutality at EU borders (e.g. experiences at the Hungarian and Croatian borders: Isakjee, Davies, Obradovic-Wochnik, Augustová 2020). Neo-colonial practices of exclusion are evident within the territory of *civilized* countries, but less visible in the territory outside, which is kept as a focal point and created as a gray zone of human rights.

Practices of incarceration, deportation, or more extreme forms of removal when they occur in hidden, isolated places remain invisible and thus easily ignored, except for individual cases that attracted public attention through the media, such as the case of the little girl Madina and the verdict of the European Court of Human Rights, which only came about under pressure and with the help of non-governmental organizations. When we consider international actors in the co-creation of an anthropoemic strategy towards others, we can observe that questions of membership, belonging, loyalty and moral and political values are manipulated and selectively approached in their policies of action and public appearances.

The only tolerated place of residence for undocumented migrants is complete separation and closure, which means migrant camps. These camps represent a new way of exerting complete control (Stankovic, Ecke, Wirtz 2021: 7), as they encourage dependence and control while offering basic services (Sorenson 1992). Such places

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[19] thus the Frontex activities are increasingly focused on cooperation with "Third World" countries - more details on this in the previous chapters

embody both an anthropophagic strategy and non-place as a strategy of denying identity and relationships. Migrant camps can be identified as non-places based on their organization, set management methods and rules (Augé, 2005). Bauman recognizes such places as a strategy of relations towards others specific to the late modern period, and Augé highlights that such places accept the inevitability of the long-term stay of foreigners in such a way as to make their presence "merely physical" with clearly indicated signs and patterns of behavior.

As numerous studies have shown, the actions of migrants, state and civil actors constantly limit and reshape each other (Vandevoordt 2019; Zamponi 2018; Fleischmann 2018). However, this interaction is difficult to observe behind the closed doors of migrant camps. International organizations finance and run migrant camps in BiH as a form of assistance, which maintains a patronizing relationship and strict hierarchies.

Conclusion

The protection of the nation's identity and the sanctity of "national security" have built a thinking model, practice, institutions, and a legal framework, both at the national and international level where the "other", different, and unknown are kept at a distance. Neocolonial practices of exclusion have always been present, only in different forms, and on them rests a closed system of exclusion and denial of others. Within the recognized strategies of relation to others, two narratives stand out: 1) normalization and naturalization of such strategies, and 2) creating support networks and space for different voices, settings, and experiences outside the imposed framework.

The narrative that characterizes the normalization of strategies in confrontation with the "otherness of others" mainly focuses on discourses that connect security and vulnerability with criminalization, identification, control, and deportations. This reflects the inherited model of a militaristic approach to security issues, where the primary goal is to take strict control thus closing off the possibility of co-relation and dialogue. This approach is justified by the imposed logic of the operation of a closed system.

International organizations use the rhetoric of human rights and national security, stability, and sovereignty. They often refer to specific issues of gender relations, "vulnerable groups", and smuggling, which are stereotyped and/or vague, allowing for manipulation by emphasizing vulnerability, with the goal of more aggressive

control. They focus on help as a patronizing act of mercy, while neglecting to place civil rights protection under their jurisdiction. According to the analysis carried out, government actors similarly emphasize the necessity of peripheralization and removal from the public eye of all foreign bodies, through militarization, which in practice is supported by international funds.

The second narrative can be labeled as the creation of a support network and space for different voices and experiences outside the imposed framework. It emphasizes the problem of recognized paradoxes and illogicalities created by the set framework stemming from the logic of the closed system of nation-states. Although socioeconomic rights in the form of financing reception centers and fenced controlled areas are serviced and financed, the rights that include the basis of the protection of human dignity do not have priority and imperative, which contributes to further victimization and control. The right to have the right to human dignity is still achieved dominantly through belonging to political community, which Arendt recognizes as the aporia of human rights (Arendt 1998: 297). Such neglect of the right to dignity is carried out through three recognized strategies of relations with Others in the concrete physical-material space.

Within the values that propagate the realization of the "right to rights" within the democratic system of developed countries, the obtaining of the right to a reciprocal relationship, which as such only provides the means for seeking rights and forming a political community, is limited through practices of incarceration, preventing freedom of movement, removal from public spaces, and peripheralization. Such practices often entail violence, torture, and endangerment of life, which paradoxically within the national model and logic of reflection, do not enter the public sphere as an imperative and a duty to react, especially if it is kept outside our set boundaries and symbolically appropriated space.

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