A Borderline Crisis in Language:

The Calais Jungle, the 'Refugee Crisis' and the Changing Landscape of Humanitarian Aid

by

Harriet Anne Reed

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English Literature

School of English, Drama and American & Canadian Studies

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

September 2020

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with creative responses to the 2015-16 Calais Jungle and the 'refugee crisis' in Europe. Departing from studies that approach the Jungle as a 'state of exception', it draws instead upon the overdetermined notions of 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling' to consider how 'humanity' has been negotiated, granted and revoked in Calais. I argue that creative representations of the Jungle signal a new chapter in refugee humanitarianism: one in which the 'human' of human rights, and the 'human' of humanitarianism, have become discursively entangled.

I chart an emergent language of grassroots refugee solidarity through texts, plays, documentaries, films, installations, exhibitions, and visual artworks produced about the Jungle between 2015 and 2020. I demonstrate the ideological role that refugees and asylum seekers have played in shoring up the spatiotemporal boundaries of the European nation during the 'refugee crisis', via a rhetorical process termed here 'the affective economy of hopes and dreams'. Finally, the thesis argues that the Calais Jungle was not the edge, limit or 'other' of Europe. Rather, for British and European citizens, the camp has played a pivotal role in rethinking Europe as a geopolitical construct, and 'Europeanness' as a cultural concept, in the post-Brexit age.

This thesis is dedicated to B.K.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor Lyndsey Stonebridge, for guiding me through this PhD process. In 2014, Lyndsey's undergraduate teaching inspired me to pursue a postgraduate degree, and it is through her discernment and direction that I have achieved my goal. I also received invaluable supervision from Professor Nando Sigona at the University of Birmingham and Dr Denise deCaires Narain at the University of Sussex. Dr Becky Taylor at the University of East Anglia and Professor Sue Clayton at Goldsmiths, University of London have taught me a huge amount about art, academia and activism. I completed this PhD across two universities, and am very grateful for the funding I received from both the University of East Anglia through the AHRC CHASE Doctoral Training Partnership, which facilitated additional supervision from the University of Sussex, and from the University of Birmingham. I also benefitted greatly from the support of colleagues at UEA, Birmingham and within the CHASE consortium.

I have had the honour of meeting and working with many dedicated and talented artists and campaigners over the past five years. I particularly wish to thank Lujza Richter, Marthe Chabrol, Mary Jones, Sophie NL Besse, Rebecca Hayes Laughton and the members of PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company for sharing their time so generously.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my parents, Amanda and Robert Reed, for always taking me seriously, and my brothers – Robert, Stewart, Cameron, Marcus, Frazer and Mackenzie – for never taking me too seriously. My family has given up a huge amount of time, space and energy to support me through this process. I am grateful to Lesley and Steve Green for their help in 2017, and to Priya McQuaid, Cariad Sealey, Chloe Cran, Holly Whitaker, Kristan Emery-Hines, Nazeela Shirazi, Kimi Citron, Elsa Gomis and Adam Windmill for their friendship and patience. Thank you to friends in Calais, Lille, Dunkirk, Ypres, Eindhoven, London and Manchester who opened their homes to me over the past five years.

This thesis would not have been completed without the advice, strength and unwavering support of my partner Majd Munawar, who has taken this entire journey with me, often a few steps ahead.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: The 2015-16 Calais Jungle in Context

1. A Brief History of Camps in Calais 1
2. Methodology 14
3. Defining Terms 19
4. Organisation of Chapters 25

PART ONE

VOICE, HUMANITY AND STORYTELLING IN THE CALAIS JUNGLE

Chapter One: The 'Refugee Crisis': Humanitarian Crisis or Crisis of Humanitarianism?

1. The Calais Jungle and the Crisis of Humanitarianism 29
2. Human Rights and 'Humanitarian Reason' in Calais 38
3. Theoretical Approaches to Voice and Humanity 47
4. Silence, Speech and Sentimentality in Humanitarian Representations 56
5. Empathy, Imagination and Substitution 69
6. The Cosmopolitan 'Migrant Voice' 74

Chapter Two: Human Rights, Voice and Humanity in the Calais Jungle

7. The Asylum Story and the 'Refugee Voice' 81
8. Hospitality, Authenticity and the Human Rights Life Narrative 88
9. Humanity *as* the 'Refugee Voice' 98
10. The Temporality of Humanity in Calais 103

PART TWO

VOLUNTEER IDENTITY, CULTURE AND COMMUNITY IN THE JUNGLE

Chapter Three: Adjusting the Lens: Volunteers in Calais

1. Rewiring the Circuits of Affective Attachment 112
2. Interrupting the 'Asylum Story' 122
3. The 'Refugee Crisis' and the Volunteer Phenomenon 131
4. The 'Hyper-Self-Reflective' Volunteer Narrative 135
5. Representing Volunteer Identity, Culture and Community 143

Chapter Four: Ownership, Hospitality and Responsibility

6. The Jungle: European Story, European Space 154
7. Reverse Hospitality 164
8. Volunteer Tourism 173
9. The Politics of Palatability 182

Chapter Five: Representational Anxiety and Post-Humanitarian Irony

10. Limitations of the Eurocentric Lens 193
11. Existential and Representational Anxiety 200
12. The Ironic Volunteer 206
13. The Recuperation of Irony 213

PART THREE

HOPES, DREAMS, SPACE AND TIME IN REFUGEE REPRESENTATIONS

Chapter Six: 'Refugee Hope', Space and Storytelling

1. 'Refugee Hope' in Representations of the Calais Jungle 222

2. The Affective Economy of Hope and Hospitality 231
3. Hope and Ethics: Stealing Stories 238
4. The Urban Jungle 247
5. ‘Radical Hope’ and Spatial Configurations of Affect 257
6. ‘Assimilationist Hope’ and Paranoid Nationalism 264

Chapter Seven: ‘Refugee Dreams’ and the Time Politics of Hospitality

7. Hopes and Dream Boats 271
8. Distant Dreams and Proximate Paranoia 278
9. When Dream Meets Reality 288
10. The Temporality of Hospitality 293
11. The Kindertransport and the Dubs Amendment 301

Chapter Eight: Dreaming, Disruption and Desire

12. The Time of the Nation 310
13. Welcome to the UK 317
14. Dreaming as Disruption 327
15. In Defence of Desire 332

Conclusion: The Jungle as Film Set 340

Bibliography

1. Bibliography 350
2. Critical Bibliography 402

Appendices

1. Aid Organisations Active in the Calais Jungle 2015-16 409
2. Timeline January 2015 – May 2020 410

ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

Figure 1:	A map showing the distribution of 450 CAOs across France, shared by the Twitter account of the Ministère de l'Intérieur (@Interieur_Gouv) on 24th October 2016.	8
Figure 2:	Daily Mail, *'This image shows that most of the grass on the site has regrown'*, 21st October 2017, © AFP / Getty Images	11

Chapter One

Figure 3:	Still image from Google Street View of the entrance to the Jungle: *I Too Am Human,* © 2017 Google	49
Figure 4:	India Today, *Artist Ai Weiwei poses as Aylan Kurdi for India Today Magazine,* 1st February 2016, © Rohit Chawla	61
Figure 5:	Eduardo Salles, *La Memoria Colectiva Siempre es de Corto Plazo* (*Collective Memory is Always Short Term)*	63
Figure 6:	Ai Weiwei, *Safe Passage,* Konzerthaus Berlin, 15th February 2016, © Markus Winninghoff	65
Figure 7:	Still from M.I.A.'s music video *Borders,* November 2015, © Maya Arulpragasam / Interscope Records	66
Figure 8:	*Thirty Shoes, Trainers, and Sandals, Collected 21st May, 15th September, 27th October, and 28th October 2016,* Dzhangal Exhibition, 2017, © Gideon Mendel	68
Figure 9:	Poster for *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*, BBC Two and KEO Films, 13th July 2016	71

Chapter Two

Figure 10:	Still from Tomo Brody, *Humans After All: Voices from Calais***,** 2016	101

Chapter Three

Figure 11:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.36 (detail)	118
Figure 12:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.156	119
Figure 13:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.11 (detail)	121
Figure 14:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.111 (detail)	127
Figure 15:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.141	128
Figure 16:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.32 (detail) and p.27 (detail)	130
Figure 17:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.80 (detail)	145
Figure 18:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.55 (detail)	147
Figure 19:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.73 (detail)	149

Chapter Four

Figure 20:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.55 (detail) and p.54 (detail)	176
Figure 21:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.49	180
Figure 22:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.25 (detail) and p.26 (detail)	186

Chapter Five

Figure 23:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.106 (detail)	195
Figure 24:	Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.120 (detail)	198
Figure 25:	Crew For Calais, *Borderland // Calais*, Theatre Programme, 8th – 12th February 2017, author's photograph	212

Figure 26: Still from Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs*, 2018. Camera crews in the Jungle document the *démantlement*. 214

Figure 27: Still from Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs*, 2018. A television playing a political speech is superimposed onto footage of life in Calais. 215

Figure 28: Still from Orban Wallace, *Another News Story*, 2019 216

Chapter Six

Figure 29: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.74 (detail) 244

Figure 30: A restaurant in the Jungle. Illustration © Loup Blaster 250

Figure 31: Réinventer Calais, *Typologie des Abris par Organisations*, PEROU, 2017 252

Figure 32: Actes & Cités, *Typologie/Construction – La Leçon de Calais*, ENSAPB, 2016 253

Figure 33: Artefacts displayed as part of *Lande: The Calais 'Jungle' and Beyond*. Pitt Rivers Museum, 2019, author's photographs. 255

Figure 34: Mapfugees, interactive map of the Jungle created on OpenStreetMap, 2016 256

Figure 35: Poster for Good Chance Theatre's *Hope Show* in Paris, November 2018 258

Chapter Seven

Figure 36: UNHCR (@refugees) Instagram Video. Caption and a selection of comments, 9th March 2019 273

Figure 37: Banksy, the *Dream Boats* sideshow attraction is powered by a pay-per-go steering wheel, August-September 2015, © Lee Moran 275

Figure 38: Banksy, the *Dream Boats* at 'Dismaland' float around on the water when not being controlled, August-September 2015, © PA 276

Figure 39: *London My Dream*, 2016, © Refugee Info Bus/Beatrice Lily Lorigan 280

Figure 40: *The Pianist of Yarmouk*, 2014, © Niraz Saied 284

Figure 41: A section of the illustration *Three Syrians in Calais*, 2016, © Olivier Kugler 289

Figure 42: Stills from Tristan Daws and Stephan Bookas, *Refugee Blues*, documentary poem, 2016. 302

Chapter Eight:

Figure 43: An asylum claimant rides a Ferris wheel in *Welcome to the UK*, PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, January–February 2019, © José Farinha 319

Figure 44: An asylum claimant sits on a ladder in *Welcome to the UK*, PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, January–February 2019, © José Farinha 322

Figure 45: Refugee Rights Europe, *Twelve Months On: Filling Information Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France*, 2017, p.31 333

ABBREVIATIONS

ACTED – *Agence d'aide à la coopération technique et au développement*

BBC – *British Broadcasting Corporation*

CADA – *Centres d'Accueil pour Demander d'Asile*

CAO – *Centres d'Accueil et d'Orientation*

CAOMIE – *Centre d'Accueil et d'Orientation pour Mineurs Isolés Etrangers*

CAP – *Centre d'Accueil Provisoire*

CMS – *Calais Migrant Solidarity*

CRS – *Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité*

ECHR – *European Court of Human Rights*

ENSAPB – *École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville*

EURODAC – *European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database*

FNARS – *Fédération nationale des associations d'accueil et de réinsertion sociale*

FTDA – *France Terre d'Asile*

HRW – *Human Rights Watch*

ICRC – *International Committee of the Red Cross*

MSF – *Médecins Sans Frontières*

(I)NGO – *(International) Non-Governmental Organisation*

OFFI – *Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration*

PEROU –*Pôle d'Exploration des Ressources Urbaines*

RRE – *Refugee Rights Europe*

SALAM – *Soutenons, aidons, luttons, agissons pour les migrants et les pays en difficulté*

UKIP – *UK Independence Party*

UNHCR – *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*

INTRODUCTION

THE 2015-16 CALAIS JUNGLE IN CONTEXT

1. A Brief History of Camps in Calais

For three decades the French port town of Calais has cast a shadow over the British political landscape. Since the first squats and 'jungles' emerged in the border town in the mid-1990s, the task of keeping the inhabitants of these makeshift camps from reaching the UK has transformed Calais into a labyrinth of walls and fences. The razor wire that decorates the town like jagged bunting tells us, in an ideographic language, that Calais is not only a physical border at the Western frontier of the Schengen area. 'Calais' is also a symbolic border, a mechanism for separating the inside of Europe from the outside, and a space in which the idea of Europeanness is consistently performed, tested and contested. Managing the town's displaced population is but one branch of this international exercise in political identity-formation.

The story of the Calais Jungle began in 1999, when the Red Cross opened a reception centre in Sangatte, at the request of the French state, to meet the basic needs of a growing number of refugees arriving in Calais from the Balkans. The Sangatte centre consisted of a 25,000 square metre warehouse designed to provide accommodation, hygiene and healthcare to 200-300 people.[1] Even though its capacity later increased to 1200, it was insufficient for the 2500 individuals who resided there at its peak.[2] When its residents made headlines for 'storming' the Eurotunnel in 2001, the Sangatte centre came under scrutiny from the British press. The centre stopped accepting new arrivals in November 2002, and closed shortly afterwards, at which time

[1] Didier Fassin, "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France," *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (2005): 363, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651596.
[2] Michel Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019), 49.

the UK accepted responsibility for around 1,200 of its residents.[3] Romain Liagre and Frédéric Dumont record that, over its three-year lifespan, approximately 65,000 people from a hundred countries passed through Sangatte's *Centre d'Hébergement et d'Accueil d'Urgence Humanitair*e.[4]

Britain and France signed the Treaty of Le Touquet in February 2003. This agreement, based on the 1993 Sangatte Protocol, established juxtaposed border controls at the ferry ports in Calais and Dover, effectively externalising the UK border. British immigration checks began to take place on French soil, preventing those without permission to enter the UK from claiming asylum at the border. This contributed to a huge reduction in the number of asylum applications made in the UK from 2002 onwards: 84,130 applications for asylum were lodged in 2002, compared to 30,603 – less than half the number – during the 'refugee crisis' in 2016.[5]

Between 2003 and 2014, the irregular population of Calais remained relatively static, at between 1000 to 1500 people.[6] Any encampments that emerged during these years were dismantled or evicted without attracting widespread media attention. As a result, Yasmin Ibrahim and Anita Howarth summarise that 'asylum seekers and migrants in Calais assumed a relatively low profile' between 2003 and 2014.[7] An exception to this was the demolition of the so-called 'first Jungle' in 2009. This was a settlement of between 800 and 1500 people, the

[3] Jessica Reinisch, "'Forever Temporary': Migrants in Calais, Then and Now," *The Political Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (2015): 516, doi: 10.1111/1467-923X.12196.
[4] Romain Liagre and Frédéric Dumont, "Sangatte: The Life and Death of a 'Refugee' Center," *Annales de Géographie* 641, no. 1 (2005): 93.
[5] Tina Heath and Richard Jeffries, "Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2004," The National Archives, 2005, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218141739/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hosb1305.pdf.
"National Statistics: Asylum," Home Office GOV.UK, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum.
[6] Thom Davies, Arshad Isakjee, and Surindar Dhesi, "Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe," *Antipode* 49, no. 5 (2017): 1265, doi: 10.1111/anti.12325.
[7] Yasmin Ibrahim and Anita Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 1.

destruction of which 'became a major news event for British media.'[8] A number of creative representations were produced in France at this time, including Philippe Lioret's 2009 film *Welcome* and Sylvain George's 2010 experimental documentary *Qu'ils Reposent en Révolte (Des figures de guerres I).*[9] It was in 2015, however, that creative and media accounts of refugee settlements in Calais really gained traction.

In January 2015, the French organisation *La Vie Active* began to distribute food outside a former recreational facility in Calais, close to the ferry port and three miles from the town centre. Construction work then began on the facility, to turn it into an accommodation centre for 100 displaced women and children (its capacity later increased to 400).[10] The first 52 women and children arrived at the Jules Ferry centre in March 2015, following a declaration by the Mayor of Calais, Natacha Bouchart, that the land surrounding the centre was to become a 'tolerated area' for Calais' irregular population.

Bouchart encouraged the estimated 1500 inhabitants of squats and makeshift encampments around Calais – including the Galloo squat, open since 2014, and the Tioxide camp, which accommodated around 700-900 people – to relocate immediately to *la lande.*[11] Over the following months, the squats around Calais were evicted and demolished, with some resistance

[8] Ibrahim and Howarth, 57.
[9] Philippe Lioret, *Welcome* (France: Mars Distribution, 2009).
Sylvain George, *Qu'ils Reposent En Révolte (Des Figures de Guerres I)* (France: Noir Production, 2010).
[10] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 72.
[11] "Migrants de Calais : Un Camp « toléré » Voit Le Jour Autour Du Centre Ferry," *La Voix Du Nord*, March 24, 2015, https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/migrants-de-calais-un-camp-tolere-voit-le-jour-ia33b48581n2731759.

from residents and activists.[12] The process of relocating the residents of the Tioxide camp to the 'new Jungle' is captured in Frederik Subei's documentary *Transit Zone*.[13]

The 'new Jungle' was described by the French organisation *L'Auberge des Migrants* as a 'government-sanctioned slum.'[14] Its perimeter was surrounded by three kilometres of fences topped with barbed wire, and it was policed heavily by the *Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité* (CRS) who, along with local police officers and far-right groups, including *Sauvons Calais*, subjected the residents of the 'tolerated' camp to various forms of violence.[15] Organisations also raised concerns about the toxicity of the site – a former landfill that fell 'within an area designated as contaminated with dangerous industrial substances under the Seveso III European Union (EU) Directive.'[16]

In June 2015, when the population of the Jungle was estimated at between 3000 and 5000, the French Government announced that drinking water, lighting, electricity, sanitation and hygiene facilities would be installed in the camp.[17] One month later, a French ferry workers' strike alerted the British press to the scale of the situation in Calais, which led to 'relentless, overtly hostile and sometimes downright inaccurate […] daily coverage on TV news bulletins and in

[12] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 49–60.
"Why We Are Not Moving; from Residents of Galloo," Calais Migrant Solidarity, 2015, https://calaismigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/2015/04/01/why-we-are-not-moving-from-residents-of-galloo/.
[13] Frederik Subei, *Transit Zone* (UK: Edinburgh College of Art and Screen Academy Scotland, 2015)
[14] John Lichfield, "Calais' Migrant Shanty Town to Be Provided with Water and Electricity by French Government," *The Independent*, June 21, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-migrant-shanty-town-to-be-provided-with-water-and-electricity-by-french-government-10335225.html.
[15] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 34–37.
"The Long Wait: Filling Data Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in the Calais Camp," Refugee Rights Europe, 2016, 18–19, http://refugeerights.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/RRE_TheLongWait.pdf.
[16] Dan Hicks and Sarah Mallet, *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2019), 2.
[17] "Migrants de Calais : Bientôt Des Points d'eau, de l'éclairage et Des Sanitaires Dans La «new Jungle»," *La Voix Du Nord*, June 18, 2015, https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/migrants-de-calais-bientot-des-points-d-eau-de-ia33b0n2891692.

national newspapers.'[18] When intrusions into the Eurotunnel began to number at 1,500 to 2,000 per night in late July 2015, France and Britain signed a joint declaration on 'managing migratory flows in Calais.' They committed to providing Eurotunnel with substantial – and highly effective – security reinforcements.[19]

During the summer of 2015, media reporting on Calais 'completely eclipsed' news coverage of the far larger-scale events of the 'refugee crisis' taking place in Greece, Italy, Hungary, Serbia and Macedonia.[20] That is, until 2nd September 2015, when the death of the toddler Alan Kurdi shifted the media focus south. By October 2015, Calais was old news again, leading Roy Greenslade to ask, '[w]here have all the Calais "migrants" gone? Gone from front pages, every one.' Greenslade labelled the Calais crisis a myth manufactured by the media, 'a fabricated "crisis" – a non-crisis, in fact.'[21] The Jungle resurfaced briefly in the press in November 2015, owing to a false rumour that the camp had been set on fire in connection with the Paris terror attacks, which was picked up by mainstream news channels.[22] By this time, the camp's population had reached 6000.

---

[18] Roy Greenslade, "Now We Can See the 'Calais Crisis' for What It Was - a Media-Made Myth," *The Guardian*, October 1, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2015/oct/01/now-we-can-see-the-calais-crisis-for-what-it-was-a-media-made-myth.

[19] "Channel Tunnel: UK Offers £7m to Boost Calais Security," *BBC News*, July 28, 2015, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-33692851.
"Managing Migratory Flows in Calais: Joint Ministerial Declaration on UK/French Co-Operation," GOV.UK, 2015, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/455162/Joint_declaration_20_August_2015.pdf.

[20] Alan Travis, "The Only 'Migrant Madness' Is the Tabloid Pretence about Events in Calais," *The Guardian*, July 30, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/the-only-migrant-madness-is-the-tabloid-pretence-about-events-in-calais.

[21] Greenslade, "Now We Can See the 'Calais Crisis' for What It Was - a Media-Made Myth."

[22] David Kearns, "Massive Blaze Sweeps through Calais 'Jungle' Hours after Paris Terror Attacks," *Independent.Ie*, November 14, 2015, https://www.independent.ie/world-news/europe/paris-terror-attacks/massive-blaze-sweeps-through-calais-jungle-hours-after-paris-terror-attacks-34200770.html.
Caitlin Dewey, "Paris Terror: 10 Internet Hoaxes about the Attacks Debunked," *The Independent*, November 17, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-terror-10-internet-hoaxes-about-the-attacks-debunked-a6738331.html.

Calais Migrant Solidarity (CMS) report that clearances of the Jungle took place from September 2015.[23] The first substantial clearance operation occurred in January 2016, however, when a 100-metre 'buffer zone' was created around the camp's perimeter. Residents and volunteers collaborated at short notice to move tents and shelters from the eviction zone further inside *la lande*. This was followed in late February-March 2016 by the demolition of all residences in the southern half of the Jungle, an operation which took place against the background of protesting residents and volunteers, and which led to the disappearance of 129 unaccompanied children.[24]

Some of the residents displaced by these demolitions left for Dunkirk, Belgium or other parts of France, while others moved into tents and shelters in the crowded northern part of the Jungle.[25] Others registered for the *Centre d'Accueil Provisoire* (CAP) – a fenced-off area inside the camp consisting of 125 shipping containers converted into sleeping quarters for 1500 people, which had opened in January 2016. Although the 'humanitarian camp' (more often called the 'container camp'), also run by *La Vie Active*, offered clean water, heating and electricity, camp residents were slow to take up places there, as some believed its 3D hand-scanning technology to be linked to Eurodac.[26]

---

[23] "Introduction to Calais," Calais Migrant Solidarity, accessed September 13, 2018, https://calaismigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/introduction-to-calais/.

[24] Peter Yeung, "Calais 'Jungle': 129 Unaccompanied Children Missing since Refugee Camp Demolition," *The Independent*, April 2, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-jungle-unaccompanied-children-refugee-camp-demolition-minors-a6965216.html.
Angelique Chrisafis, Peter Walker, and Ben Quinn, "Calais 'Jungle' Camp: Clashes as Authorities Demolish Homes," *The Guardian*, March 1, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/29/french-authorities-begin-clearance-of-part-of-calais-jungle-camp.

[25] "« Jungle » de Calais : La Zone Nord s'organise, En Attendant Le Démantèlement," *La Voix Du Nord*, April 27, 2016, https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/jungle-de-calais-la-zone-nord-s-organise-en-ia33b48581n3470619.

[26] Eurodac (the European Asylum Dactyloscopy Database) is the EU's fingerprint data-sharing system. The fingerprints of asylum claimants and people who cross the EU's external borders irregularly are entered into Eurodac and, once on the database, can be transmitted, stored and cross-checked internationally. A member state can use Eurodac to check if a person seeking asylum has already entered another state and been fingerprinted,

March 2016 also saw the opening of *La Linière* in Dunkirk. *Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) constructed 'France's first official refugee camp' in Grande-Synthe to accommodate the majority-Kurdish population of the *Basroch* camp, where a large number of families with small children were living in squalid conditions. In August 2016, a census conducted by Help Refugees placed the total population of the Jungle at 9106, including 865 children, 78% of whom were unaccompanied.[27] At this point, the prefect's office in Calais prepared to demolish the 72 shops, restaurants and other businesses operating in the Jungle, following several raids of the premises, because 'they represented a parallel economy that did not pay tax, and because they carried fire and sanitation risks.'[28] On the 12th August, however, the bid to demolish these communal spaces was rejected by the Administrative Court in Lille, which ruled that there was 'no legal basis for expelling 72 people running makeshift stores and cafes' in the camp.[29]

This legal tussle was of limited significance, however, as the process of demolishing the entire camp began just over two months later, on the 24th October. Over the course of one week, residents of the Jungle were filed onto 170 buses and transported to *Centres d'Accueil et d'Orientation* (CAOs) across France. [30] Around 2000 left before the relocation operation took

but failed to claim asylum there. This can result in their removal back to the country that recorded their fingerprints, under the Dublin III regulation.
"Calais : Migrants Craintifs et Débuts Timides Pour Le Camp Humanitaire," *La Voix Du Nord*, January 12, 2016, https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/calais-migrants-craintifs-et-debuts-timides-pour-le-camp-ia33b48581n3265256.
[27] "Latest Calais Census," *Help Refugees*, August 24, 2016, https://helprefugees.org/news/latest-calais-census/.
[28] Angelique Chrisafis, "French Court Rejects Bid to Demolish Shops at Jungle Refugee Camp," *The Guardian*, August 12, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/12/french-lille-court-calais-jungle-refugee-camp.
[29] "Ordonnance Du 12 Août 2016," Tribunal Administratif de Lille, 2016, http://lille.tribunal-administratif.fr/content/download/69146/633588/version/1/file/1605689.pdf.
[30] Maryline Baumard, "« Jungle » de Calais : Le Démantèlement Débutera Lundi à l'aube," *Le Monde*, October 21, 2016, https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2016/10/21/jungle-de-calais-le-gouvernement-detaille-l-operation-de-demantelement-qui-debutera-lundi_5018279_1653578.html.

place. The French Minister of the Interior, Bernard Cazeneuve, announced on the 24th October that 450 CAOs were ready to receive the Jungle's former population.[31]

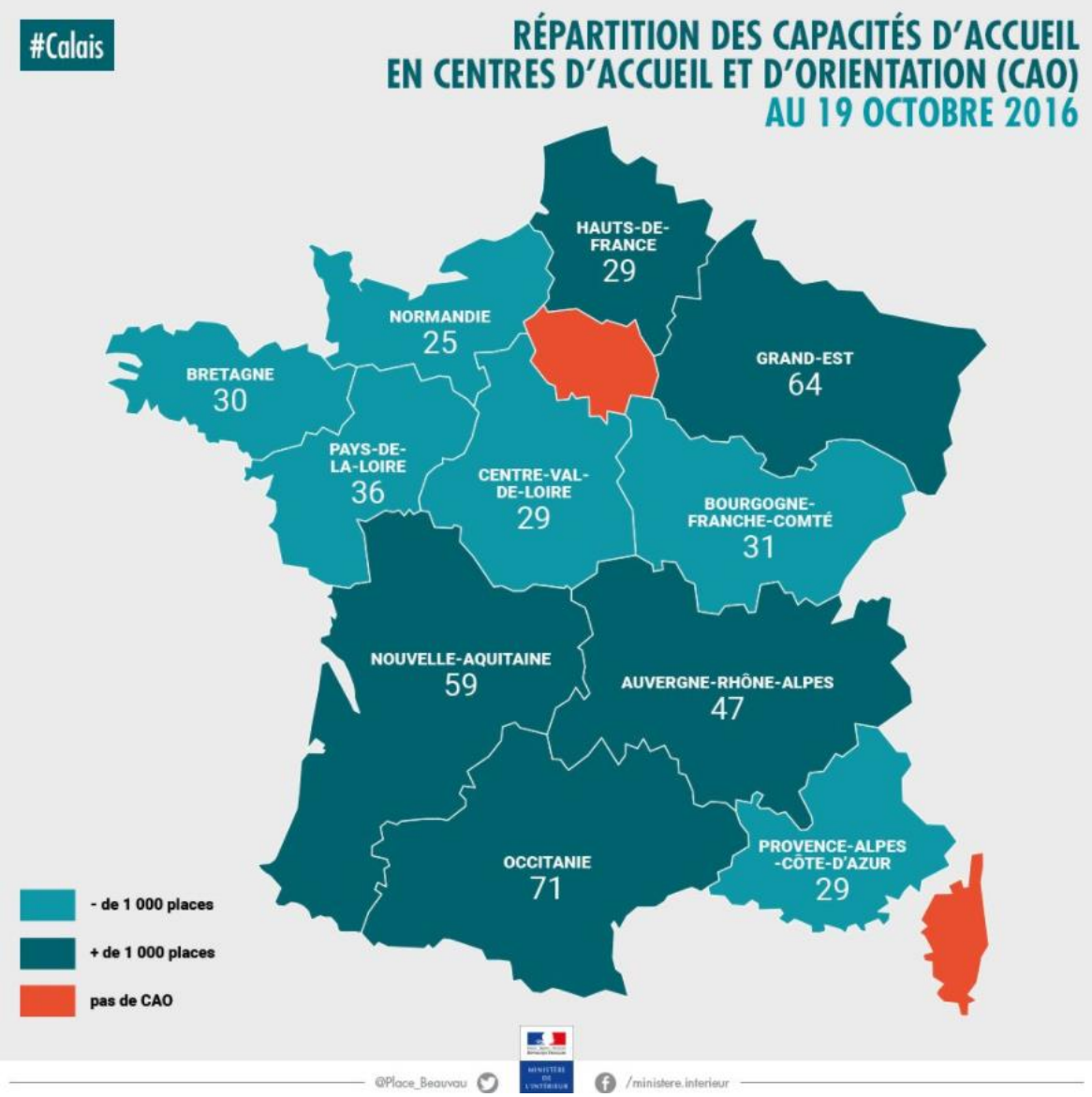


Figure 1: A map showing the distribution of 450 CAOs across France, shared by the Twitter account of the Ministère de l'Intérieur (@Interieur_Gouv) on 24th October 2016.

[31] Iris Péron, "Calais: Quel Avenir Pour Les Migrants Qui Quittent La 'Jungle'?," *L'Express*, October 24, 2016, https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/calais-quel-avenir-pour-les-migrants-qui-quittent-la-jungle_1843956.html.
Ministère de l'Intérieur (@Interieur_Gouv), "Les 450 Centres d'accueil et d'orientation #CAO En France Métropolitaine Disposent de 7 500 Places Pour Accueillir Les Migrants de #Calais," *Twitter*, October 24, 2016, https://twitter.com/Interieur_Gouv/status/790542204058083329.

The October demolition was characterised in the British press as a defensive act of war; it was described as 'The Battle of the Calais Jungle.'[32] Help Refugees reported that 500 journalists came to document the destruction of the camp.[33] The press reported the *démantèlement* as having been an overall success, although human rights organisations denounced the treatment of unaccompanied children during the week-long clearance process. After the adults had departed to CAOs, and most of the shelters had been destroyed in a fire, the children were left unsupervised in the camp with a shortage of food, water and accommodation, in circumstances likened to *Lord of the Flies*.[34]

The *Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration* (OFFI) reported that, when the Jungle was demolished in October 2016, around half of the people living there were not attempting to reach the UK, and had either already claimed asylum in France, or were planning on doing so.[35] Some were living in the Jungle while waiting for the result of a French asylum claim, due to the community ties and aid available there, and the shortage of accommodation for asylum applicants in France. Others were residing in the Jungle due to Article 13 of the Dublin III regulation: they were waiting for twelve months after having had their fingerprints registered

[32] Nick Fagge and Gareth Davies, "The Battle of the Calais Jungle Has Begun," *Mail Online*, October 24, 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3862226/With-belongings-bin-bags-shopping-trolleys-thousands-migrants-set-spread-Northern-France-forced-leave-Calais-Jungle-bulldozed.html.
[33] "Eviction of the Calais Camp," *Help Refugees*, October 24, 2016, https://helprefugees.org/news/eviction-calais-camp/.
[34] "Calais 'Jungle' Cleared of Migrants, French Prefect Says," *BBC News*, October 26, 2016, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-37773848.
Charlotte England, "Calais 'Jungle' like 'Lord of the Flies', with More than a Thousand Children in Container Compound, Claim Volunteers," *The Independent*, October 30, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/the-calais-jungle-has-become-like-lord-of-the-flies-with-1500-children-left-behind-in-containers-and-a7388021.html.
Kirsty Brimelow and Jelia Sane, "Breakdown: The Dismantling of the Calais 'Jungle' and of the Promises to Its Unaccompanied Children," *The Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales (BHRC)* (London, 2017), https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/basw_53412-6_0.pdf.
[35] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 127.

by an EU member state before applying for asylum in another member state, in the hope that they would not be returned to the country that initially fingerprinted them.[36]

The British media paid little attention to events in Calais following the demolition of the Jungle, save for the outrage expressed over the UK-funded, £2.3 million, four-metre high, one-kilometre-long 'Great Wall of Calais' built to block access to the motorway leading to the port.[37] The mainstream press also published 'before and after' aerial photographs that described the site of the Jungle as a 'desert' and a 'barren wasteland,' lending a false sense of closure to events in Calais.[38]

[36] See Chapter One, Part Two for a full explanation of the Dublin III regulation and its significance in the context of the Calais Jungle.
[37] Matt Broomfield, "Calais Jungle Wall Is Completed Two Months after All the Refugees Were Driven Out," *The Independent*, December 13, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-jungle-refugee-camp-wall-completed-emptied-two-months-cleared-a7472101.html.
[38] Charlie Bayliss, "How the Calais Jungle Turned into a DESERT: A Year after the Infamous Refugee Camp Was Cleared, It Is Now a Barren Wasteland," *Mail Online*, October 21, 2017, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5003851/Calais-Jungle-camp-12-months-demolition.html.



Figure 2: Daily Mail, *'This image shows that most of the grass on the site has regrown'*, 21st October 2017 © AFP / Getty Images

The municipality of Calais had planned for the site of the Jungle to become the location of an unlikely new theme park, Heroic Land.[39] These plans did not come to fruition, however, and in a twist of irony, the site has undergone a process of *'renaturisation'* and is now a protected area for migratory birds.[40] The demolition of the Jungle did not bring an end to the 'refugee situation' in Calais, and the invisibility it granted drove living conditions into increasing instability. The adults that returned to Calais from CAOs, and the children who ran away from the *Centres d'Accueil et d'Orientation pour Mineurs Isolés Etrangers* (CAOMIEs) after having had their UK transfer requests rejected, were met with a renewed campaign to criminalise aid in the

[39] "Calais: Un Parc d'attraction Baptisé Heroic Land Doit Ouvrir En 2019," *20 Minutes*, October 12, 2015, https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1707423-20151012-calais-parc-attraction-baptise-heroic-land-doit-ouvrir-2019.
[40] Melissa Bell, "Former Jungle Camp Becomes Home for Migrant Birds," *CNN World*, July 26, 2017, https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/26/europe/calais-jungle-camp-nature-reserve/index.html.

town.[41] Attempts to criminalise aid distribution in Calais led to a series of legal battles between aid organisations, the Prefect of Pas-de-Calais and the Commune of Calais. While aid organisations fought to secure clean water and sanitation facilities for the town's displaced population, the town's authorities fought to prevent a return to the situation of 2015-16.[42] Back and forth accusations – of police violence towards volunteers, and of volunteers' illegal activities – grew in frequency and severity.[43]

On 10th April 2017, a fire destroyed *La Linière* camp in Dunkirk, leaving 1,500 without shelter. Those who did not take buses to CAOs began to live in makeshift camps around Grande-Synthe.[44] The construction, evacuation and demolition of small, makeshift camps dominated events in Calais and Dunkirk from 2017 to 2020. Camps that developed in the vicinity of the Jungle and *La Linière*, sometimes containing populations that numbered in the thousands, were cleared with increasing regularity.[45] Aid organisations frequently raised concerns about the violent and punitive actions taken during these clearances, including the use of tear gas on

[41] Sonali Naik, "Government Reneges on Commitment to Bring Vulnerable Unaccompanied Refugee Children to the UK," *Garden Court Chambers*, December 29, 2016, https://www.gardencourtchambers.co.uk/news/government-reneges-on-commitment-to-bring-vulnerable-unaccompanied-refugee-children-to-the-uk.
Amelia Gentleman, "Calais Mayor Bans Distribution of Food to Migrants," *The Guardian*, March 2, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/02/calais-mayor-bans-distribution-of-food-to-migrants.
[42] "Ordonnance Du 26 Juin 2017," Tribunal Administratif de Lille, 2017, http://lille.tribunal-administratif.fr/content/download/104162/1042470/version/1/file/1705379.pdf.
[43] Amnesty International, "Targeting Solidarity: Criminalization and Harassment of People Defending Refugee and Migrant Rights in Northern France" (London, 2019), https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR2103562019ENGLISH.PDF.
L'Auberge des Migrants et al., "Calais: The Police Harassment of Volunteers" (Calais, 2018), https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Police-Harrassment-of-Volunteers-in-Calais-1.pdf.
[44] "France Migrants: Hundreds without Shelter after Grand-Synthe Camp Fire," *BBC News*, April 11, 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-39573736.
[45] Diego Jenowein, Jenni Whitaker, and Hannah Lindner, "Forced Evictions in Calais and Grande-Synthe: 1 August 2018 - 1 June 2019," *The Human Rights Observers* (Calais, 2019), https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Forced-Evictions-in-Calais-and-Grande-Synthe-ENG-1.pdf.

sleeping people, and the confiscation of tents, shoes, mobile phones and sleeping bags. Leonie Ansems de Vries and Marta Welander have called this the 'politics of exhaustion.'[46]

A series of Anglo-French agreements have also been signed since the Jungle was demolished, including the Sandhurst Treaty in January 2018, which pledged an extra £44.5 million towards security in Northern France, and the 'Joint Action Plan' in 2019, designed to tackle the steady increase in boats crossing the Channel since the end of 2018.[47] These treaties are highly symbolic, as they demonstrate France's willingness to continue bilateral border enforcement after Brexit, stymying rumours – fuelled by President Emmanuel Macron himself in 2016 – that the Le Touquet agreement would come to an end if the UK left the European Union.[48]

At the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, the provision of aid in Calais became even more difficult, as some organisations were forced to withdraw or scale back their operations. Some accommodation for displaced people in Calais was provided by the French authorities during

[46] Marta Welander and Leonie Ansems De Vries, "Calais Demolition: 'Mission Accomplished', the Politics of Exhaustion and Continued Struggles for Mobility," *Open Democracy*, November 25, 2016, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/mediterranean-journeys-in-hope/calais-demolition-mission-accom/.
L'Auberge des Migrants et al., "Rapport Sur Les Violences à Calais: Pratiques Abusives et Illégales Des Forces de l'ordre" (Calais, 2018), http://www.laubergedesmigrants.fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Rapport-Violences-Calais-2018.pdf.
Charles Diaz et al., "Evaluation de l'action Des Forces de l'ordre à Calais et Dans Le Dunkerquois" (Paris, 2017), https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Publications/Rapports-de-l-IGA/Rapports-recents/Evaluation-de-l-action-des-forces-de-l-ordre-a-Calais-et-dans-le-Dunkerquois.
Michael Garcia Bochenek, "'Like Living in Hell': Police Abuses Against Child and Adult Migrants in Calais," *Human Rights Watch*, 2017, https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/07/26/living-hell/police-abuses-against-child-and-adult-migrants-calais.
[47] "Treaty Between the Government of the United Kingdom of Greaty Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the French Republic Concerning the Reinforcement of Cooperation for the Coordinated Management of Their Shared Border," GOV.UK, 2018, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/674885/Treaty_Concerning_the_Reinforcement_Of_Cooperation_For_The_Coordinated_Management_Of_Their_Shared_Border.pdf.
"Joint Action Plan by the UK and France on Combating Illegal Migration Involving Small Boats in the English Channel," GOV.UK, 2019, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/773403/UK_France_declaration_24_Jan_13.00.pdf.
[48] "France 'would Close Migrant Camps' in the Event of a Brexit," *France 24*, March 3, 2016, https://www.france24.com/en/20160303-france-would-close-migrant-camps-event-brexit.

the lockdown period, but camp clearances continued to take place.[49] Due in part to the reduction in road traffic that resulted from the pandemic, 'record-breaking' numbers of Channel crossings in the summer of 2020 brought the news cycle back around to Calais once again.[50]

2. Methodology

Mireille Rosello has described the 2015-16 Calais Jungle as a site of great academic and artistic interest, 'a conceptually disputed terrain that a dissenting chorus of voices wished to represent in order to legitimate the actions that they advocated.'[51] Collectively, 'filmmakers, photographers, graphic book authors, writers [and] graffiti artists,' alongside the French and British authorities, journalists, aid organisations and volunteers, created a 'chaotic and dissensual assemblage of mediated descriptions' of the Jungle.[52] Michel Agier and colleagues agree that the Jungle 'gave rise to major intellectual mobilizations.'[53] They note that '[m]any books have been published in both French and English on the subject of migrants and the Calais Jungle,' as activists, artists and academics alike saw in the camp 'material for renewing their

[49] Camille Moretti, "A Calais, Le Coronavirus Se Propage Parmi Les Migrants et Les Refugies," *C News,* April 9, 2020, https://www.cnews.fr/france/2020-04-09/calais-le-coronavirus-se-propage-parmi-les-migrants-et-les-refugies-945323?
"Open Letter to the European Union, the United Nations and the Council of Europe Regarding the Urgent Need for an Adequate Covid-19 Response in Northern France," *Refugee Rights Europe,* March 27, 2020, https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Open-Letter-Urgent-need-for-an-adequate-Covid-19-response-in-northern-France.pdf.
L'Auberge des Migrants et al., "Facing Multiple Crises: On the Treatment of Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France during the Covid-19 Pandemic." (Calais, 2020), https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Facing-Multiple-Crises-report.pdf.
[50] "Migrants: Record Number of Channel Crossings in August," *BBC News,* August 17, 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-53804670.
[51] Mireille Rosello, "The Calais Jungle: Mediations of Home," *European Journal of Media Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016): 91, https://necsus-ejms.org/calais-jungle-mediations-home/.
[52] Rosello, 91.
[53] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 9.

reflections on (in)hospitality, citizenship, cosmopolitanism, globalization, the status of foreigners and national public policies in the face of precarious mobility.'[54]

It is these major artistic and intellectual mobilisations concerning (in)hospitality, citizenship, cosmopolitanism, globalisation and the status of foreigners, published between 2015 and 2020, that form the basis of this study. They constitute a discursive blueprint of the Jungle that also serves as an access point into it. If literary anthropology is a method that utilises the creative arts as secondary evidence within an overarching anthropological framework, then the method employed here might be described as a reverse literary anthropology. That is to say, literary texts and literary critical approaches make up the primary research framework for this study, while research tools from anthropology, political philosophy, urban studies, critical legal studies and refugee and migration studies are drawn upon in order to understand how and why an unofficial, semi-urban settlement of unprecedented scale emerged in Northern France over the course of 2015.

The field of refugee studies is highly interdisciplinary; the subject matter lends itself to border-sceptic approaches. In his 2004 lecture 'Europe as Borderland', Étienne Balibar highlighted 'the necessity to cross all sorts of borderlines, beginning with the lines between academic disciplines.'[55] David Farrier also argues that an interdisciplinary approach is essential for engaging with the strange high-stakes entextualisation of the refugee subject. He asserts that 'the competing narrative pressures imposed upon asylum seekers [...] situate them at a point of intersection between multiple disciplinary frames,' meaning that 'tracing the lines that cross

[54] Agier et al., 9.
[55] Étienne Balibar, "Europe as Borderland," (The Alexander von Humboldt Lecture in Human Geography, University of Nijmegen, Gelderland, November 10, 2004).

and run between different disciplines can be enabling to a discussion of the place of the boundary in the contemporary asylum age.'[56]

I prioritise the fields of literary and cultural studies within the interdisciplinary methodological framework of this thesis because these fields provide the most suitable critical tools for exploring the semiotics of hospitality and borders, and the representational politics of the testimonial asylum narrative. This thesis draws primarily upon postcolonial and affect theory, in particular the work of Homi Bhabha, Jacques Derrida, Sara Ahmed, Lilie Chouliaraki and Ghassan Hage. I have found it necessary to foreground affect theory because, as Carolyn Pedwell notes, 'ethnocentric and racialising articulations of "place" and "culture" often map directly onto ethnocentric and racialising articulations of "emotion."'[57] Consequently, this thesis considers 'the ways in which subjects, spaces and contexts are produced and mediated *through feelings*, rather than existing before or apart from emotion.'[58] Affect theory is well suited to this interdisciplinary model because, as Pedwell argues,

> it is often at the intersections, borderlands and in-between spaces of both geo-political domains and disciplinary bodies of knowledge that we not only encounter the productive force of affective technologies of power but also critically imagine how they could be otherwise.[59]

The viability of some postcolonial approaches to forced migration have been challenged in recent years, based on their 'perceived tendency to thematize the liberatory aspects of displacement.'[60] Researchers are concerned that strains of postcolonial theory that invoke the marginal and the interstitial as tools for reimagining dominant cultural forms, can end up

[56] David Farrier, *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law* (Liverpool: Liverpool Universty Press, 2011), 19, 20.
[57] Carolyn Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 113.
[58] Pedwell, 114.
[59] Pedwell, 2.
[60] Farrier, *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law*, 3.

idealising 'creative border living.'[61] Farrier points out that '[p]ostcolonial studies has long deployed diaspora theory as a means to describe minoritarian agency.'[62] Others consider that deconstructive postcolonial approaches have developed an unhelpfully romanticised view of deterritorialization that obscures the situated realities of forced displacement. I acknowledge these risks, and agree with Gillian Whitlock that the concept of the refugee is itself 'a sign of the need to rethink the frontier, the boundary, the periphery, and the contact zone – those key concepts of postcolonial studies.'[63]

Yet I argue here for the continued utility of postcolonial theory as a means of addressing art and representation in the context of forced migration. This is because, as Homi Bhabha writes, postcolonial criticism is uniquely capable of 'bear[ing] witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order.'[64] Postcolonial theory is capable of pinpointing the ambivalences of Western humanism, and of the ethnocentric ideology underpinning both literal and symbolic border-constructs. The site-specific nature of this study, combined with its cross- and inter-disciplinarity, are intended to place limitations upon the possibility of idealisation or over-abstraction where the deployment of postcolonial literary theory is concerned.

The thesis is organised thematically, as this facilitates an intertextual analysis of the themes, concepts, tropes and linguistic patterns that make up the narrative web of the Calais Jungle. This analogy of a web, network or map of creative narratives indicates that what happens

[61] Farrier, 2.
Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).
[62] Farrier, *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law*, 2.
Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2000).
[63] Gillian Whitlock, *Postcolonial Life Narratives: Testimonial Transactions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 174.
[64] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 245.

between the texts in this patchwork collective is just as important as what happens *within* each individual text. This is not to argue that one dominant narrative thread underlies all of the creative works produced about the Jungle, or that each individual work is a fragment of a homogeneous whole. It is simply to identify certain representational trends, ideas and symbolic languages that cut across the group of highly diverse 'Jungle narratives' considered herein. This makes it possible to trace key concepts, such as voice, humanity, silence, speech, hopes, dreams, nationhood and hospitality, across a range of texts.

I do not approach these creative works either as factual evidence of life in the Jungle, or as works of art to be judged purely on their aesthetic value. Rather, I explore the fluctuating relationships between reality and representation that take place with the textual corpus, in order to draw out the preoccupations, pressures and priorities of the artists and authors. My aim is to determine whether the representational choices and lines of enquiry pursued in creative texts about the Calais Jungle conform to, or diverge from, normative processes of depicting refugees within the established representational forums of mainstream media, humanitarianism, human rights and asylum law.

The study is concerned mainly with British perspectives on the Jungle, and with British cultural products and artistic projects. While the distinction between 'British' and 'French' works is not entirely clear-cut, there are significant differences between approaches and interpretations from either side of the Channel. A comparative account of Anglo-French representations is an important task, therefore, but not one that can be undertaken here. The psychological function of art for displaced people also falls outside of the scope of this study. The work of arts-based trauma initiatives in Calais such as Art Refuge, for example, and the relationship between art

and trauma more generally, is not discussed.[65] Finally, while I have outlined the reasons for addressing the subject matter thematically, there is significant value in understanding how creative representations of the Jungle developed chronologically in response to key events and the general political climate. For this reason, the timeline appended to this study places media and creative representations alongside key political, legal, and social events from January 2015 to May 2020.

3. Defining Terms

When it comes to the process of seeking and claiming asylum, language itself is the battlefield over which the struggle for recognition is fought. This makes it particularly important to justify the terminology used in this study. Firstly, the name 'Jungle' poses difficulties, as the word's animalistic connotations leave it vulnerable to weaponization by xenophobic rhetorical forces. The origins of the name 'Jungle' are contested. Haydée Sabéran writes that the term is an anglicisation of the word for 'forest' in Dari and Pashto.[66] Some creative texts employ an alternative spelling – such as *zhangal* or *dzanghal* – to reflect this etymological history. Sabéran's account contradicts other explanations that describe the origins of the name 'Jungle' as a pejorative term that was later 'reappropriated' or 'reclaimed' by the camp's residents, in order to 'demonstrate that they were being "treated like animals."'[67] The word 'Jungle' will be

[65] Miriam Usiskin and Bobby Lloyd, "Making (In-)Visible: Art Refuge in alais, Northern France," *Refugee Rights Europe*, January 17, 2020, https://refugee-rights.eu/2020/01/17/making-in-visible-art-refuge-in-calais-northern-france/.
[66] Haydée Sabéran, *Ceux Qui Passent* (Paris: Carnets Nord, 2012), 20.
[67] Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi, "Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe," 1265.
Joseph Charlton, "Refugee Crisis: What Life Is Really like inside the 'Jungle' in Calais," *The Independent*, September 30, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-what-life-is-really-like-inside-the-jungle-in-calais-a6674256.html.
Joseph Harker, "Stop Calling the Calais Refugee Camp the 'Jungle,'" *The Guardian*, March 7, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/07/stop-calling-calais-refugee-camp-jungle-migrants-dehumanising-scare-stories.

used here without inverted commas, primarily because this was the name used by the camp's residents to refer to *la lande*.

Some have chosen to avoid using the term 'refugee crisis' altogether when recounting the events of 2015-16. Others have repurposed the term, in order to argue that the *real* crisis of 2015 was not caused by Europe's new arrivals, but by the collective failure of European states to respond to these new arrivals – the scapegoating, wall-building and lack of international cooperation. The 'real' crisis is diagnosed variously as one of borders, of values, of empathy, of humanity and of imagination. The thesis will not reattribute the term 'crisis', but will retain it, although always in inverted commas. This is because, as Didier Fassin has noted, the 'dramatization' of refugee issues 'results far more from representations than from social facts,' and 'one knows that in this matter, as in others, representations are social facts.'[68]

In other words, the events of 2015-16 cannot be understood without the term 'refugee crisis': it constitutes the (mis)representation-as-social-fact around which the political and media dramatization of events revolved. The term 'refugee crisis' is a reminder of the media hypervisibility and moral panic against which creative representations of the Jungle were required to position themselves. The inverted commas, however, signify that the term is fundamentally inaccurate, and acknowledge how the concept of a 'refugee crisis' has fed unhelpfully into the misconception that Europe was incapable of absorbing the impact of the new arrivals to its shores in 2015-16.

The most highly contested terminological debate within this subject area concerns whether to refer to Europe's displaced population as migrants, refugees, both or neither. To this day,

[68] Fassin, "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France," 380.

Bridget Hayden asserts, it remains 'impossible to define refugees in such a way that legal, ethical, and social scientific meanings of the term could align.'[69] Journalists and activists have experimented with a range of approaches. Several news outlets placed a blanket ban on the word 'migrant' at the height of the 'crisis' in 2015. *Al Jazeera* stopped using the term altogether, on the basis that it had become 'a tool that dehumanises and distances, a blunt pejorative.'[70] This sparked discussions in other outlets, including *The Guardian, The Washington Post* and *HuffPost,* about their use of 'politically charged expressions such as "economic migrants", "genuine refugees" or "illegal asylum seekers."'[71] The BBC now includes 'a note on terminology' at the end of their news reports, in which they explain that

> [t]he BBC uses the term migrant to refer to all people on the move who have yet to complete the legal process of claiming asylum. This group includes people fleeing war-torn countries, who are likely to be granted refugee status, as well as people who are seeking jobs and better lives, who governments are likely to rule are economic migrants.[72]

Ibrahim and Howarth consider that 'the shifting terminology between a "migrant" and a "refugee" has become an instrumental device to ascribe violence [and] criminality' to individuals at the UK border.[73] In policy terms, they argue, the label 'migrant' implies a degree of opportunism that allows the British Government to take a more punitive stance towards displaced people in Calais. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

---

[69] Bridget Hayden, "What's in a Name? The Nature of the Individual in Refugee Studies," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19, no. 4 (2006): 472, https://doi.org/10.1093/refuge/fel021.
[70] Barry Malone, "Why Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants,'" *Al Jazeera*, August 20, 2015, https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html.
[71] David Marsh, "We Deride Them as 'Migrants'. Why Not Call Them People?," *The Guardian*, August 28, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/28/migrants-people-refugees-humanity. Adam Taylor, "Is It Time to Ditch the Word 'Migrant'?," *The Washington Post*, August 24, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/08/24/is-it-time-to-ditch-the-word-migrant/ Judith Vonberg, "Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants' but We Should," *HuffPost*, August 25, 2016, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/judith-vonberg/al-jazeera-migrants_b_8036950.html.
[72] "Channel Migrants: Two Boats Found after 86 Attempted Crossing," *BBC News*, September 11, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-49662172.
[73] Ibrahim and Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*, 53.

maintains a clear distinction between the categories of 'refugee' and 'migrant'. The UN Refugee Agency warns that

> [c]onflating refugees and migrants can have serious consequences for the lives and safety of refugees. Blurring the two terms takes attention away from the specific legal protections refugees require. It can undermine public support for refugees and the institution of asylum at a time when more refugees need such protection than ever before.[74]

UNHCR's approach has been criticised by those who consider that it erects artificial binaries between the voluntary and the involuntary, the deserving and the undeserving, the legal and the illegal, the legitimate and the illegitimate. Migrant rights activists despair at the way 'refugee' had become a 'safe and consensual substitute' for 'migrant' in public discourse.[75] Those who advocate for retaining the word 'migrant' argue that the hierarchical positioning of refugees as 'good immigrants' and migrants as 'bad immigrants' champions a narrow idea of refugee rights at the expense of a broader concept of migrant rights.

As the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' border-crossers is exploited by politicians and the media to incite fear and justify inaction, some believe that it 'ultimately serv[es] the function of maintaining global inequalities and the borders of wealthy states.'[76] The label 'refugee' can also be depoliticising, as it reinforces the false ideological separation of the economic from the political, in a world where the two realms cannot be extricated. Some consider that using 'migrant' instead of 'refugee' works to re-politicise economic violence, demystifying the

[74] Adrian Edwards, "UNHCR Viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'Migrant' – Which Is Right?," *UNHCR*, July 11, 2016, https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html.
[75] Raia Apostolova, "Of Refugees and Migrants: Stigma, Politics, and Boundary Work at the Borders of Europe," *American Sociological Association*, September 14, 2015, https://asaculturesection.org/2015/09/14/of-refugees-and-migrants-stigma-politics-and-boundary-work-at-the-borders-of-europe/.
[76] Apostolova.

irregular migrant's relation to the labour market and acknowledging the role of Western expansionist capitalism in creating the situations from which people flee.

This labelling debate is far from new; it has been ongoing in academic discourse for over twenty years. In 2000, Roger Zetter argued that the label 'refugee' functioned, within an increasingly bureaucratised asylum system, as a mechanism to 'marginalize, exclude, differentiate and to restrict humanitarianism' for irregular migrants.[77] Zetter's argument has been reinvigorated recently, with academic studies pinpointing instances where the restrictive legal categories of migration – illegal, bogus, economic, trafficked, failed and undocumented – map ineffectually onto reality. Raia Apostolova calls this obsession with labelling in the current climate 'categorical fetishism,'[78] a term that Heaven Crawley and Dimitris Skleparis take up in order to criticise policymakers and politicians who, instead of 'problematizing the nature of categories and the process of category construction,'[79] blame irregular migrants for not fitting into the abstract categories laid out for them.

In some cases, these terminological debates have resulted in a shift away from the label 'refugee' and towards broader categories of 'forced migrant' or 'irregular migrant'. I continue to use the term 'refugee' in this thesis, however, because the creative works analysed herein engage specifically with issues relating to the legal process of obtaining refugee status, including the acts of seeking and claiming asylum, the narratives that structure this process, the conventions and expectations placed uniquely upon people seeking asylum, and the impact of humanitarian and human rights discourse upon subjects interpellated as 'refugees'. In using the

[77] Roger Zetter, "Refugees and Refugee Studies: A Valedictory Editorial," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13, no. 4 (2000): 353.
[78] Apostolova, "Of Refugees and Migrants: Stigma, Politics, and Boundary Work at the Borders of Europe."
[79] Heaven Crawley and Dimitris Skleparis, "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's Migration Crisis," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 59, doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1348224.

term ‘refugee’, however the study remains attuned to the ways that the act of categorisation can become a racist ideological manifestation of state power that excludes, hierarchises, discriminates and controls by limiting our apprehension of complex realities and the scope of possible solutions.

Furthermore, I do not understand ‘refugee’ to be an ontological term, but a circumstantial one. The idea of *being* a refugee, I argue, is fallacious. As Anna Szörényi highlights, ‘refugeeness’ is not ‘an intrinsic state of being,’ but rather ‘the effect of particular and changeable historical and political processes.’[80] Narratives concerning *being* a refugee are unhelpful because ‘refugee status’ is just that: a status. It is something that one *has*, not something that one *is.* ‘Refugee’ is a historical term that refers to a particular relationship of domination between an individual and a world of bordered nations. As such, the term ‘refugee’ is only significant within our specific form of global governance, and only under the ideological premise that national institutions possess unlimited power to circumscribe the movement of people across the surface of the earth.

‘Refugee’, therefore, is neither a predicate nor a characteristic. It does not meaningfully describe a personality type, a set of attributes, a type of behaviour, a belief system or a preference. ‘Refugeeness’ is something conferred, not innate. Although some people may wish to claim ownership of their refugee status, choosing to incorporate it into their self-identity, ‘refugee identity’ is not a meaningful concept in and of itself. As Michael Jackson contends, we cannot ‘claim that “refugeeness” is a sui generis phenomenon that covers a well-defined class of persons, a discrete cluster of ostensive traits, or a specific field of human experience –

[80] Anna Szörényi, “The Images Speak for Themselves? Reading Refugee Coffee-Table Books,” *Visual Studies* 21, no. 1 (2006): 28, doi: 10.1080/14725860600613188.

as is [very often] assumed.'[81] Jackson's solution is to 'treat "the refugee" as a discursive figure rather than as an individual subject.'[82]

To challenge the idea of 'being' a refugee is also to respond to Judith Butler's appeal to look beyond the 'simple entry of the excluded into an established ontology,' and towards 'an insurrection at the level of ontology, a critical opening up of the fundamental questions, What is real? Whose lives are real? How might reality be remade?'[83] To open up the lines of enquiry that will allow space for these kinds of questions, the thesis will treat refugee status as a sociolegal category by consistently referring to 'refugeeness' as a mode of subjectivation. The thesis will employ the terms 'refugee subject' and 'refugee figure' to highlight that the concept of refugeeness 'consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency.'[84] This logic also applies to those ideas associated with refugeeness, which appear in inverted commas throughout the thesis, including 'refugee voice,' 'refugee hope' and 'refugee storytelling'.

4. Organisation of Chapters

This thesis is based upon three core arguments. In Part One, I contend that the Jungle's unique psychogeography – as an unofficial and semi-autonomous border settlement situated between the UK and the Schengen area – led to a mutation in the representational schema of late refugee humanitarianism. This rhetorical shift in humanitarian accounts of the Jungle is characterised, I argue, by a confluence of human rights and humanitarian paradigms for interpellating refugees

[81] Michael Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling: Variations on a Theme by Hannah Arendt* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2013), 93.
[82] Jackson, 93.
[83] Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006), 33.
[84] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 2.

as ‘human beings.’ Part One departs from so-called ‘post-Agamben’ critical approaches to the Jungle by proposing an alternative framework for examining the cultural politics of ‘refugee humanity’.

This alternative critical framework is structured upon the ubiquitous yet contentious concepts of ‘refugee voice’ and ‘refugee storytelling’. These humanities-based constructs support a different form of enquiry into the construction of ‘refugee humanity’ in the Calais context because, as Pheng Cheah notes, ‘the humanities does not take the humanity of the human being as a given but sets as its basic task the inquiry of how humanity is constituted.’[85] By tracing the relationship between humanity, voice and storytelling across the texts, plays, documentaries, films, installations, exhibitions, and visual artworks produced about the Jungle, Chapters One and Two work to decode the rhetorical constructs via which ‘humanity’ continues to be negotiated, granted and revoked in Calais.

In Part Two, I trace an emergent language of grassroots refugee solidarity across a set of narratives that centre upon the figure of the voluntary aid worker. These ‘volunteer-centric’ texts have played a key role both in defining and interrogating the identity of the ‘refugee crisis volunteer’ in the contemporary European context. In Chapter Three, I consider the novel form of refugee solidarity that developed in response to the ‘refugee crisis’. I discuss the ways that creative accounts of the Jungle have provided a forum for reflecting upon the practical, moral and representational dilemmas generated by the new cultural phenomenon in voluntary refugee aid.

[85] Pheng Cheah, “Humanity in the Field of Instrumentality,” *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (2006): 1552, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25501625.

In Chapter Four, I combine two critical lenses – the *politics of hospitality* and the *politics of palatability* – to argue that volunteer-centric texts about the Jungle present the camp as an explicitly 'European' place – with all of the complexity such an attribution entails in the post-Brexit political context. Chapter Five isolates the defining features of the evolving language of grassroots refugee solidarity. It argues that the new chapter in voluntary aid discourse that opened in 2015 is characterised by anxiety, irony and self-reflexivity. Part Two concludes by exploring the political implications of this introspective turn in refugee crisis communications.

Part Three considers how creative representations of the Calais Jungle reflect and respond to shifting ideas of European nationhood. I focus on one representational strategy that has been central to establishing the Jungle's legacy within the European sociopolitical imaginary. This narrative phenomenon, described here as 'the affective economy of hopes and dreams,' situates Europe's irregular arrivals in space and time using the affective constructs of 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming'. Chapter Six examines the role played by 'refugee hope' across two representational planes in the Jungle: storytelling and spatiality. It analyses texts that construct affective economies of hopefulness between refugees and European citizens by presenting the Jungle as an urban settlement. Chapter Seven charts the rise of the 'refugee dream-narrative' as a sub-genre of refugee writing, while Chapter Eight measures the impact that the dream-narrative has had upon the temporal politics of hospitality and asylum seeking in Europe.

Together, these three core arguments work to disentangle the textual network that has grown up around the Calais Jungle. The three parts of the thesis uncover an idiosyncratic discourse that combines a strong commitment to the 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling', a self-conscious scepticism regarding the aid sector, and a decisive turn towards the narrative models of 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming'. By drawing out the intersecting features of this

narrative network, the thesis works to unravel the relationship between Europe as a geopolitical construct, 'Europeanness' as a cultural concept, and the Calais Jungle as a repository of symbolic meaning, in the post-Brexit political landscape. It details the ways that creative representations of the Calais Jungle have worked at times to reinforce, and at other times to reconstruct, the identificatory boundaries of the UK, Europe, and the spaces in between.

The thesis ultimately aims to demonstrate that, between 2015 and 2020, contemporary refugee humanitarianism became harnessed to projects of national and international identity (re)construction: of reimagining British and European nationhood and citizenship in the post-Brexit age. As the geopolitical frontiers between Europe and the UK have become increasingly volatile fault-lines of identity, the refugee figure in the Calais borderlands has ceased to represent the 'other' of the British or European citizen. Rather, I argue that the refugee has become an emotional limit-concept against which groups of citizens and activists have anxiously redefined themselves and their sociopolitical communities at a time of hostility and uncertainty. This has both opened up and foreclosed pathways of strategic self-representation for refugee and asylum-seeking subjects in Europe.

PART ONE

VOICE, HUMANITY AND STORYTELLING IN THE CALAIS JUNGLE

We know of course there's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'. There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.

Arundhati Roy[86]

CHAPTER ONE

THE 'REFUGEE CRISIS': HUMANITARIAN CRISIS OR CRISIS OF HUMANITARIANISM?

1. The Calais Jungle and the Crisis of Humanitarianism

'Refugees have been good for humanitarianism, and humanitarianism has been good for refugees.'[87] This is the conclusion Michael Barnett draws after charting the expansion of the humanitarian sector alongside the rise in global refugee populations. Such a 'co-dependent relationship'[88] between humanitarianism and refugees was not reflected in the events of the so-called 'refugee crisis', however. The absence of humanitarian forces from the ground in Europe

[86] Arundhati Roy, "Peace and the New Corporate Liberation Theology," *City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture*, CPACS Occasional Paper No. 04/2, November 4, 2004, http://sydneypeacefoundation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/2004-SPP_Arundhati-Roy.pdf.
[87] Michael Barnett, "Refugees and Humanitarianism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, ed. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 251.
[88] Barnett, 246.

in 2015-16 undermined any such reciprocal arrangement, sparking a crisis of confidence in the NGOs and international agencies that make up the 'traditional' or 'mainstream' refugee-humanitarian aid sector. This opened the way for new, experimental and grassroots forms of refugee aid and advocacy, both in the Calais Jungle and across Europe more broadly.[89]

To begin with, the events taking place at Europe's borders underscored the limited authority of the UN Refugee Agency. Jessica Reinisch maintains that UNHCR had 'never seemed more impotent' than when faced with the 'refugee crisis', as it could neither 'broker agreements between states' nor 'force them to make and adhere to supra-national agreements.'[90] UNHCR responded to events in Calais by declaring the Jungle a 'civil emergency' in August 2015, and expressing concern about the unaccompanied children in the camp in early 2016.[91] Ahead of the first major demolition of the Jungle at the end of February 2016, UNHCR endorsed the Minister of the Interior's voluntary relocation scheme, which had been transporting residents of the Jungle to CAOs since October 2015. UNHCR demonstrated approval for the official government programme by producing the mini-documentary *France: Leaving the Calais 'Jungle*', and publicising the CAOs as a viable 'way out' of the camp.[92]

UNHCR welcomed the news that, between October 2015 and February 2016, 'over 2,400 people had chosen to go to one of the 92 CAO centres' scattered across France. However, it did not acknowledge any of the concerns raised about these reception centres by the *Fédération*

[89] See Chapter Three for a detailed account of the grassroots voluntary aid response to the Calais Jungle.
[90] Reinisch, "'Forever Temporary': Migrants in Calais, Then and Now," 520.
[91] "UN Urges French Action on Migrant 'Civil Emergency' in Calais," *France 24*, August 7, 2015, https://www.france24.com/en/20150807-un-urges-french-action-migrant-civil-emergency-calais.
Will Spindler, "UNHCR Concerned about Conditions in Calais and Dunkerque," *UNHCR*, February 5, 2016, http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/2/56b4ac916/unhcr-concerned-conditions-calais-dunkerque.html
[92] UNHCR, *France: Leaving the Calais 'Jungle'* (France: YouTube, 2016), https://youtu.be/iNnENeEiYEM.

Nationale des Associations d'Accueil et de Réinsertion Sociale (FNARS).[93] It made no mention of the warnings given by refugee aid groups about the mistreatment of refugees in isolated towns and villages, even after the far-right organisation *Génération Identitaire* protested on the roof of a CAO in Moselle against the arrival of a group of former Jungle residents.[94] In the week of 24th October 2016, all residents of the Jungle were relocated to CAOs across France. While some welcomed the chance to leave the camp, very serious allegations were made concerning the treatment of unaccompanied children in CAOMIEs, including reports of neglect, abuse and disappearances.[95] While the UN Refugee Agency can hardly be held accountable for the rights violations recorded at CAOMIEs over the winter of 2016-17, their uncritical backing of the CAO relocation scheme corroborates Reinisch's argument that UNHCR served as 'no more than a weak advocate of refugees' rights' during the 'crisis' in 2015-16.[96]

As neither France nor Britain were keen to see the Jungle become an 'official' refugee camp with a centralised management structure, it is unsurprising that UNHCR was not granted a mandate to provide direct aid in Calais in 2015. On the contrary, Thom Davies, Arshad Isakjee and Surindar Dhesi argue, the approach taken by EU states was guided by avoidance and negligence – a tactic they describe as agnopolitics: the practice of 'intentionally maintaining

[93] Céline Schmitt, "Calais - A Way Out," *UNHCR*, February 9, 2016, http://tracks.unhcr.org/2016/02/calais-a-way-out/.
Maryline Baumard, "Pourquoi Les Migrants de Calais Boudent Les Centres d'accueil et d'orientation Prévus Pour Eux," *Le Monde*, March 1, 2016, https://www.lemonde.fr/immigration-et-diversite/article/2016/03/01/pourquoi-les-migrants-de-calais-boudent-les-centres-d-accueil-et-d-orientation-prevus-pour-eux_4874486_1654200.html.
[94] "Arry : 9 Identitaires Sur Le Toit Du Futur Hébergement de Réfugiés de Calais," *France 3*, October 27, 2015, https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/grand-est/moselle/arry-8-identitaires-occupent-le-toit-du-futur-hebergement-de-refugies-de-calais-838485.html.
Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 126–30.
[95] Benjamin Hunter and Rosie Pope, "An Uncertain Future: Life for the Children of the Calais 'Jungle' Post-Eviction," *Help Refugees* (Calais, 2016), https://www.dropbox.com/sh/mc1qtfz8h2wx561/AAAof4FQGk50uEF9p6Iabj3Ha?dl=0.
May Bulman, "Child Refugees in France 'neglected' in Accommodation Centres after UK Home Office Rejections," *The Independent*, January 29, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/child-refugees-crisis-france-accomodation-centres-uk-home-office-rejections-middle-east-syria-iraq-a7517141.html.
[96] Reinisch, "'Forever Temporary': Migrants in Calais, Then and Now," 520.

ignorance of a situation for political ends.'[97] They describe the EU response to the 'refugee crisis' as 'a series of violent *in*actions.'[98] They point to the shortage of food, facilities and state-provided accommodation in Calais as an example of the 'violent consequences of state (in)action' in 2015-16.[99]

The same charge of 'violent inaction' that Davies, Isakjee and Dhesi bring against European governments can also be levelled at international humanitarian organisations. For many refugee advocates, the 'traditional' humanitarian sector lost its credibility as an impartial, neutral and independent body when it failed to establish a meaningful presence at Europe's so-called 'migrant hotspots' in 2015-16. While significant bureaucratic hurdles prevented effective humanitarian intervention on European soil at this time, many view the absence of NGOs in Calais primarily as an ideological problem. They claim that the humanitarian sector sacrificed its founding principles and exposed its political affiliations by capitulating to Western state interests in the summer of 2015.

'Traditional' INGOs were not entirely absent from Northern France during this period, however. In September 2015, the Mayor of Dunkirk, Damien Carême, invited *Médecins Sans Frontières* to construct a refugee camp in Grande-Synthe to accommodate the women and children living in dangerous conditions in the area. After lengthy negotiations, MSF was granted permission to build *La Linière* in January 2016. The camp, comprised of 300 wooden shelters designed to accommodate 2,500 people, opened on the 7th March 2016.[100] In the Jungle, too, MSF enjoyed a limited presence, alongside *Médecins du Monde, Gynécologie Sans*

[97] Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi, "Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe," 1276.
[98] Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi, 1263.
[99] Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi, 1264.
[100] "Refugee Crisis: MSF Granted Permission for New Camp in Northern France," *Médecins Sans Frontières*, January 12, 2016, https://www.msf.org.uk/article/refugee-crisis-msf-granted-permission-new-camp-northern-france.

Frontières, the Red Cross, Save the Children, ACTED, and the French organisations *La Vie Active* and *France Terre d'Asile (FTDA).* Unlike the Red Cross at Sangatte fifteen years before, these groups tended to maintain a low profile, with some choosing to support or finance the work of grassroots groups, rather than assuming a visible presence or overarching operational role themselves. The 2015-16 Calais Jungle thus formed itself around the absence of large NGOs, and the grassroots volunteer groups that stepped in to fill the void.

It was not only the lack of *practical* aid from international humanitarian organisations that refugee advocates objected to, however. Humanitarian media outlets also faced criticism for their apparent unwillingness, or inability, to develop a convincing *representational* strategy in response to Europe's border crisis. I argue here that humanitarian communications systems failed to reframe the 'refugee crisis' as a humanitarian crisis because of the inflexible spatial model of traditional humanitarian representation and response. In its most basic form, humanitarianism is designed to deal with *distant* suffering. Barnett writes that 'humanitarianism can be minimally understood as the attempt to relieve the suffering of *distant* strangers,'[101] showing that even the most 'minimal' definition of humanitarianism involves a qualification of distance.

Traditional humanitarian communications networks also rely upon a distancing framework. Luc Boltanski writes that the 'politics of pity' – a controversial stalwart of humanitarian discourse – entails 'the conveyance *over distance* of a representation of suffering.'[102] 'Near' suffering simply does not fall within the remit of this highly territorialised and generally accepted structure of humanitarian communications. The Calais Jungle, as an unofficial refugee camp

[101] Barnett, "Refugees and Humanitarianism," 243.
[102] Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, trans. Graham Burchell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37. *Emphasis added.*

that brought 'sufferers' and 'spectators' into close proximity, posed a challenge that humanitarian representational forces struggled to meet. In their crossing of borders and collapsing of space, Europe's new arrivals in 2015-16 exposed the strict spatial dynamics of humanitarian discourse. Didier Fassin writes that

> on the global scale it is obvious that humanitarian government displays a dual model. In poor countries it deals with large and often undifferentiated populations, for whom mass initiatives are set in place. In rich countries, it is faced with individuals, whose narratives it examines and whose bodies it scrutinizes. Refugees represent the paradigmatic expression of the former, and asylum seekers the emblematic figure of the latter. For refugees there are the huge camps where thousands are gathered, protected, and assisted. For asylum seekers there is the subtle legal argument through which decisions are parsimoniously made about which of them may be granted protection under the law. But in order for this double register of humanitarianism to work, both the territorial and the moral boundaries between the two worlds must be sealed as tightly as possible.[103]

During the 2015-16 'refugee crisis', when 'huge camps where thousands are gathered' (if not protected and assisted) sprung up unprecedentedly in 'rich countries,' we saw 'the territorial and moral boundaries between the two worlds' becoming unsealed. We can consider the Mediterranean a set of scales on which the 'double register of humanitarianism' balances: refugee collectives to the south, asylum seeking individuals to the north. In 2015, the weight of a million refugees tipped the scales towards Europe, upsetting the precarious equilibrium of the 'dual model' of humanitarian governance.

As Jerome Phelps puts it, 'the collapsing of distinctions between the "here" of comfortable Western lives and the "there" of humanitarian catastrophe and war' made up the 'key political content' of the 'refugee crisis.'[104] Phelps considers 'this struggle over the shifting space of globalisation' to be central to the politics of the 'refugee crisis,' arguing that the collision of

[103] Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, trans. Rachel Gomme (Berkeley, LA and London: University of California Press, 2012), 253.
[104] Jerome Phelps, "Why Is so Much Art about the 'Refugee Crisis' so Bad?," *Open Democracy*, May 11, 2017, https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/jerome-phelps/refugee-crisis-art-weiwei.

'here' and 'there' triggered a 'respatialisation of our political geography.'[105] It was precisely this 'respatialisation' that the discursive norms of traditional humanitarianism struggled to represent or respond to.

The narrative web surrounding the Calais Jungle represents a significant moment in the linguistic life of humanitarianism – the moment when the 'there' of globalised refugee camps becomes, geographically and discursively, the 'here' of domestic politics. The coming-near of the refugee subject during the 'refugee crisis' occurred across a temporal plane, too. The 'respatialisation of our political geography' prompted by the 'refugee crisis' coincided with, and was spurred on by, the rise of the smartphone and social media. The impact of digital technology upon irregular migration to Europe has been a key area of recent research. Studies have addressed both sides of the issue: the implementation of new securitisation technologies by European governments to restrict movement across borders, and the utilisation of new digital technologies by irregular migrants to facilitate movement across borders.[106]

In communications terms, recent digital innovations have democratised digital media, diversified citizen journalism, sped up information flows, and figuratively shrunk the globe. Saolo Cwerner argues that, in the context of refugee representation, new digital technologies have 'created a sense of global simultaneity and instantaneity founded on the speed through which information, goods and people can travel.'[107] This has imbued the contemporary refugee

[105] Phelps.
[106] Marie Gillespie et al., "Mapping Refugee Media Journeys: Smartphones and Social Media Networks," 2016, http://www.open.ac.uk/ccig/sites/www.open.ac.uk.ccig/files/Mapping Refugee Media Journeys 16 May FIN MG_0.pdf.
Koen Leurs and Kevin Smets, "Five Questions for Digital Migration Studies: Learning From Digital Connectivity and Forced Migration In(to) Europe," *Social Media and Society* Special Is (2018): 1–16, doi: 10.1177/2056305118764425.
[107] S.B. Cwerner, "Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK," *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004): 72, doi: 10.1177/0961463X04040747.

subject with a greater degree of proximity, which is evidenced by the new directions taken in news reporting on Calais in 2015.

The British press has historically represented irregular migrants in Calais through a language of suspicion, fear, dehumanisation, demonisation, and illegality.[108] Many of the well-worn media tropes and techniques for reporting on 'illegal' migration in the UK carried over into reporting on 'Calais migrants' in 2015. Tabloid newspapers continued to use aquatic metaphors (forced migrants as floods, tidal waves, torrents and influxes), as well as allusions to zoology, war and theology, alongside descriptions of danger, disease and degradation. In some ways, media hostility reached new extremes at this time. In April 2015, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, was required to step in to condemn British columnist Katie Hopkins' use of the word 'cockroaches' to describe irregular migrants, condemning her language as 'incitement to hatred.'[109]

British Prime Minister David Cameron was also rebuked at the end of July 2015 for referring to those attempting to cross the border as 'a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean' (a comment he confirmed he did 'not regret').[110] Shortly afterwards, he went on to speak of people 'breaking into our country illegally.'[111] The Ethical Journalism Network criticised British reporting on irregular migration at this time as 'schizophrenic' and 'politically-

[108] Greg Philo, Emma Briant, and Pauline Donald, *Bad News for Refugees* (London: Pluto Press, 2013).
Roy Greenslade, *Seeking Scapegoats: The Coverage of Asylum in the UK Press* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2005).
Costas Gabrielatos and Paul Baker, "Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005," *Journal of English Linguistics* 36, no. 1 (2008): 5–38, doi: 10.1177/0075424207311247.
[109] Sam Jones, "UN Human Rights Chief Denounces Sun over Katie Hopkins 'cockroach' Column," *The Guardian*, April 24, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/apr/24/katie-hopkins-cockroach-migrants-denounced-united-nations-human-rights-commissioner.
[110] "David Cameron: 'Swarm' of Migrants Crossing Mediterranean," *BBC News*, July 30, 2015, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-33714282.
[111] "David Cameron: We Need to Stop Migrants 'Breaking In,'" *BBC News*, August 15, 2015, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33945402.

driven.'[112] Yet media accounts of Calais also diversified greatly over the same period, and a 'curiosity' about the everyday lives and conditions of people at the border became evident for the first time.

Howarth and Ibrahim pinpoint 'a moment of conflicted visuality' in 2015, where refugee bodies became 'objects of interest and curiosity' as well as fear and revulsion. They attribute this representational shift partly to the 'diversification of imaging techniques' that had resulted from developments in, and accessibility of, digital communications technology.[113] Media reporting on the 2015-16 Jungle utilised a wide range of digital formats, including photo essays, virtual reality and augmented reality videos, 'day in the life' videos, live and pre-recorded social media broadcasts, dedicated YouTube channels, and interactive news stories. Documentaries filmed in the Jungle over several weeks by news outlets were created to meet the public's seemingly-newfound desire for 'in-depth access' into the lives of refugees in Calais.[114]

---

[112] Aidan White, ed., "Moving Stories: International Review of How Media Cover Migration" (London: Ethical Journalism Network, 2015), 42, 6, https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/assets/docs/038/141/6adda26-23eaf8d.pdf.
Daniel Trilling, "How the Media Contributed to the Migrant Crisis," *The Guardian*, August 1, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/01/media-framed-migrant-crisis-disaster-reporting?fbclid=IwAR23dube3QfHjxj7s4xy1P9AA-wwPQdkpE-WZMB9cEZFpIwH1hR2KRLgCqs.
Monish Bhatia, "Social Death: The (White) Racial Framing of the Calais 'Jungle' and 'Illegal' Migrants in the British Tabloids and Right-Wing Press," in *Media, Crime and Racism*, ed. Monish Bhatia, Scott Poynting, and Waqas Tufail (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 181–212.
"Calais: Migrants, Myths and the Media," *Al Jazeera*, August 11, 2015, https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/08/calais-migrants-myths-media-150811102333795.html.
Ellie Price, "Day in the Life at Calais 'Jungle' Camp," *BBC News*, August 7, 2015.
[113] Ibrahim and Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*, 61, 57.
[114] Sean Smith, Guy Lane, and Matt Fidler, "Migrant Life in Calais' Jungle Refugee Camp - a Photo Essay," *The Guardian*, August 10, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/media/ng-interactive/2015/aug/10/migrant-life-in-calais-jungle-refugee-camp-a-photo-essay.
John Domokos et al., "Calais Migrants: Life in the Jungle – Video," *The Guardian*, July 27, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/video/2015/jul/27/calais-migrants-jungle-camp-video.
Charlton, "Refugee Crisis: What Life Is Really like inside the 'Jungle' in Calais."
Mary Turner, "Inside the Homes of the Calais Jungle Camp - in Pictures," *The Guardian*, February 27, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/feb/27/homes-inside-the-calais-jungle-camp-in-pictures.
BBC News, *Calais Migrants: What's It like in the "Jungle"? (360 Video)* (France: YouTube, 2015), https://youtu.be/9McdcF3CglE.

Howarth and Ibrahim consider this new type of 'intrusive, inquisitive and transgressive gaze' to have been harmful for refugees, however, as it violated their privacy and made them into objects of 'voyeuristic fascination.'[115] Phelps argues that '[p]art of the difficulty of representing the "refugee crisis" lies in 'the very ubiquity of its representations,' as perhaps 'the most photographed humanitarian crisis in history.'[116] The immediacy granted by digital technology and social networking platforms during the 'refugee crisis' meant that the refugee subject adopted new representational forms in the media. It was the unprecedented nearness of the refugee to Europe – both in geographical terms and in terms of their hypervisibility on the 24-hour news cycle and on digital media – that humanitarian representational strategies, with their inbuilt distancing frameworks, struggled to navigate or respond to.

2. Human Rights and 'Humanitarian Reason' in Calais

The Calais Jungle was not only moulded by the absence of humanitarian forces, however. It was also predicated upon humanitarian logic and language, as these manifested in political discourse around asylum and security. Miriam Ticktin argues that 'humanitarianism has been transformed into a form of politics' in France, 'functioning as a transnational system of governance tied to capital and labor even while purporting to be apolitical.'[117] She describes humanitarianism and policing as 'two sides of the same coin – two essential elements of a moral economy in which law as a regime of systematic justice is not central.'[118] Ticktin maintains that an exclusionary logic of humanitarianism has usurped rights-based discourse in the reception

[115] Ibrahim and Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*, 57, 65.
[116] Phelps, "Why Is so Much Art about the 'Refugee Crisis' so Bad?"
[117] Miriam Ticktin, "Where Ethics and Politics Meet: The Violence of Humanitarianism in France," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 1 (2006): 33.
[118] Miriam Ticktin, "Policing and Humanitarianism in France: Immigration and the Turn to Law as State of Exception," *Interventions* 7, no. 3 (2005): 350, doi: 10.1080/13698010500268148.

of asylum seekers in France. She describes 'a shift in emphasis from rights to the practices of humanitarianism in regulating immigration.'[119]

Fassin calls this infiltration of humanitarian logic into political ideology 'humanitarian reason'. He shows how 'humanitarian governance' has led to the 'humanitarianization of asylum' in Europe – a reorganisation of the moral economy of refugee protection based on the joint practices of compassion and repression.[120] Fassin explains that 'states have two means of resolving th[e] tension between the discredit of asylum and the inevitability of refugees: repression, aimed at dissuading refugees […] and compassion, which renders the undesirables acceptable.'[121] While the discourse of repression, fuelled by motives of securitisation, nationalistic purity and public order, overtly blocks potential refugees from accessing legal routes to asylum, forces of compassion more covertly eclipse possible pathways to state protection by 'humanitarianising' asylum – substituting the human rights of asylum seekers with the charitable imperative to mitigate suffering.

For Fassin, the Red Cross centre in Sangatte provided 'a basis for understanding the moral economy of contemporary Europe.'[122] He considered Sangatte to have been 'paradigmatic of tensions between the discourses and practices of compassion and repression in the policies of immigration and more specifically of asylum in Europe,' because the Red Cross centre turned asylum seekers into aid recipients, allowing the French and British Governments to 'pretend to forget that they are seeking asylum and generously offer them humanitarian treatment.'[123] In

[119] Miriam Ticktin, "Where Ethics and Politics Meet: The Violence of Humanitarianism in France," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 1 (2006): 36.
[120] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, 137.
[121] Fassin, 148.
[122] Fassin, "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France," 365.
[123] Fassin, 376.

other words, Sangatte allowed '[a] display of sympathy' to replace 'the recognition of a right.'[124] The Jules Ferry centre followed the same model of compassion and repression: it provided food, hygiene facilities and accommodation for 400 women and children, while distancing them from the citizens of Calais and the town's declining tourism industry.[125]

'Humanitarian reason' also infiltrated into the discourse of the French Government, in their descriptions of the clearances and demolitions that took place in the Jungle over the course of 2016. Debarati Sanyal notes that both major demolitions of the camp were 'couched in humanitarian rhetoric and enfolded into the logic of protection and care.'[126] When the southern half of the Jungle was demolished in February-March 2016, Cazeneuve described the clearance as '"a humanitarian stage of intervention" (*une étape humanitaire*), conducted with "respect for the dignity of persons," to protect them from "indignity, the mud and the cold" (*l'indignité, la boue, et le froid*).'[127] Cazeneuve outlines two other 'humanitarian' measures in the same speech: the heightening of border controls in Calais, and the refusal to give irregular migrants the impression that reaching England is possible.[128]

The demolition of October 2016 was also legitimised through humanitarianism rhetoric; Cazeneuve described the 'dismantlement' of the camp 'as a "humanitarian duty" conducted in the name of protection, shelter, and care.'[129] Ahead of the October demolition, Agier et al.

---

[124] Fassin, 376.
[125] Che Ramsden, "The New Sangatte: Rights Pushed out of Sight," *Open Democracy*, April 15, 2015, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/new-sangatte-rights-pushed-out-of-sight/.
[126] Debarati Sanyal, "Calais's 'Jungle': Refugees, Biopolitics, and the Arts of Resistance," *Representations* 139 (2017): 2, doi: 10.1525/rep.2017.139.1.1.
[127] Sanyal, 2.
[128] Bernard Cazeneuve, "Discours de M. Bernard Cazeneuve, Lors de Son Déplacement Au Centre d'accueil et d'orientation Du Mans Le 22 Février 2016," *Ministère de L'Intérieur*, February 22, 2016, https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Archives/Archives-ministres-de-l-Interieur/Archives-Bernard-Cazeneuve-avril-2014-decembre-2016/Interventions-du-ministre/22.02.2016-Deplacement-au-Centre-d-accueil-et-d-orientation-du-Mans.
[129] Sanyal, "Calais's 'Jungle': Refugees, Biopolitics, and the Arts of Resistance," 2.

record that '[a] substantial communications mechanism was established by the prefecture authorities' in Calais, in order to show the 'humanitarian character' of the clearance.[130] Journalists invited to record the destructive spectacle reinforced the idea that the demolition was an operation of 'humanitarian sheltering' by focussing on 'the smiling faces of candidates leaving for the CAOs,' the 80 students newly enrolled at the University of Lille, and the young people transferred to the UK under the Dubs Amendment and expediated Dublin III transfer scheme.[131]

Four months later, in February 2017, the decision to withdraw the Dubs Amendment was similarly justified through humanitarian rhetoric by British politicians. The Home Secretary Amber Rudd announced the withdrawal of the Dubs Amendment, which offered a potential legal route to the UK for unaccompanied children in Europe, on the basis that it was putting those children in danger. She argued that it 'acts as a draw. It acts as a pull. It encourages the people traffickers.'[132] When humanitarian logic is deployed by European states as a method of border enforcement, as Nick Vaughan-Williams has argued, the contemporary refugee can get 'caught between the discourses of securitization and humanitarianism.'[133]

While the absence of UNHCR and traditional NGOs from Calais laid bare the limits of humanitarianism and the politicisation of its founding principles, the language of humanitarianism seeped into political discourse, shaping the asylum politics against which the

---

Hervé Favre, "JUNGLE DE CALAIS Cazeneuve : 'Ce Démantèlement Est Un Devoir Humanitaire Pour Notre Pays,'" *La Voix Du Nord*, October 23, 2016, https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/63970/article/2016-10-23/cazeneuve-ce-demantelement-est-un-devoir-humanitaire-pour-notre-pays%0D.

[130] Michel Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019), 122.

[131] Agier et al., 122, 123.

[132] "Children's Commissioners Call for Dubs Amendment Reversal," *BBC News*, February 15, 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38988321.

[133] Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Europe's Border Crisis: Biopolitical Security and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2.

Jungle developed. The Jungle's existence can thus be attributed to a combination of the politicisation of humanitarianism, and the 'humanitarianisation' of politics. The grassroots organisations that stepped in to administer the Jungle, meanwhile, operated through a combination of humanitarian and human rights imperatives. It is worth noting here that the frontier between humanitarianism and human rights is a contested one, drawn in different places at different times. Barnett distinguishes between human rights and humanitarianism on the basis that

> [h]uman rights relies on a discourse of rights, humanitarianism a discourse of needs. Human rights focuses on legal discourse and frameworks, whereas humanitarianism shifts attention to moral codes and sentiments. Human rights typically focuses on the long-term goal of eliminating the causes of suffering, humanitarianism on the urgent goal of keeping people alive.[134]

Today, however, as Samuel Moyn has emphasised, 'human rights and humanitarianism are fused enterprises, with the former incorporating the latter and the latter justified in terms of the former.'[135] While some have welcomed the overlap of humanitarian and human rights discourse, particularly with the advent of rights-based humanitarianism in the 1990s, others have opposed the 'conflation of humanitarian and human rights language' because they fear that 'a rights approach opens the door to forms of conditionality and subordination to wider agendas that are at odds with the humanitarian ethic.'[136]

---

[134] Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 16.
[135] Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010), 221.
[136] James Darcy, "Human Rights and Humanitarian Action: A Review of the Issues," in *Human Rights and Humanitarian Action* (Geneva: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, 2004), 11, 5, https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2311.pdf.
For an argument in favour of combining human rights and humanitarian approaches, see Hugo Slim, "Not Philanthropy But Rights: The Proper Politicisation of Humanitarian Philosophy," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 6, no. 2 (2002): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/714003759.
For arguments that highlight the dangers of amalgamating human rights and humanitarianism, see David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (London: Vintage, 2002).

Volunteer networks operating in the Calais Jungle combined the defence of human rights and the pursuit of humanitarian imperatives in an experimental, improvised manner. Elisa Sandri argues that the small, unofficial grassroots groups active in the camp enjoyed more flexibility and manoeuvrability than traditional NGOs, so were free to mix advocacy with aid provision on an ad hoc basis.[137] In their communications strategies, volunteer organisations in Calais tended to use the language of rights to represent the unaccompanied children in the Jungle, but humanitarian rhetoric to represent the adults. This was because, in 2016, British and European law stipulated two legal routes via which unaccompanied children in Calais could theoretically enter the UK: the Dubs Amendment and the Dublin III Regulation.

These two pieces of legislation are sometimes confused due to their similar-sounding names. The former refers to Section 67 of the UK Immigration Act (2016), known as the 'Dubs Amendment' after Lord Alf Dubs, the Labour peer who proposed the legislation in March 2016 as a legal route to Britain for 3,000 unaccompanied child refugees. After passing back and forth between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the Dubs Amendment eventually passed into law in May 2016, but without the specification of 3,000 places. It ultimately provided a legal pathway for 480 children to come to the UK between 2015 and 2020. The Home Office reports that 220 unaccompanied minors were transferred to the UK from Calais under the Dubs Amendment between October 2016 and July 2017.[138] However, the strict eligibility criteria for 'Dubs places' introduced in November 2016, based on age and nationality,

David G. Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

[137] Elisa Sandri, "'Volunteer Humanitarianism': Volunteers and Humanitarian Aid in the Jungle Refugee Camp of Calais," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 66, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1352467.

[138] "Transparency Data: Transfers of Children to the UK from the Calais Operation November 2017," GOV.UK, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/transfers-of-children-to-the-uk-from-the-calais-operation-november-2017.

left most of the unaccompanied minors in the Jungle ineligible for transfer to the UK under the Dubs scheme.[139]

The Dublin III Regulation is a piece of EU legislation that determines the member state responsible for processing an asylum claim. The regulation specifies that the first 'Dublin state' a person enters must consider their asylum application, unless the applicant is eligible for reunification with a family member legally resident in another state. While adults can be eligible for family reunification in certain cases, in the context of the Calais Jungle, it was the reunification of unaccompanied minors with close relatives in the UK that volunteers in the camp – spearheaded by the organisation Safe Passage – focussed their attention on. Between October 2016 and July 2017, over 500 children were brought to the UK from Calais under an accelerated version of the Dublin III family reunification clause.[140]

The Dubs Amendment and the Dublin III regulation lent voluntary organisations working in the Jungle a legal language of rights, duties and obligations through which they could communicate about the unaccompanied children living in the camp. In fact, four significant legal challenges were brought against the Home Office by groups working with unaccompanied refugee children in Calais*: ZAT v Secretary of State*, *Citizens UK v Secretary of State*, *Help Refugees Ltd v Secretary of State* and *ZS v Secretary of State*.[141] Sue Clayton's documentary *Calais Children: A Case to Answer* follows the proceedings of the latter two cases, and

[139] See Chapter Seven for a discussion of representational issues surrounding the Dubs Amendment.
"Policy Statement: Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016," GOV.UK, 2018, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/policy-statement-section-67-of-the-immigration-act-2016.
"Guidance: Implementation of Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016 in France [Archived]," *Home Office* (London, 2016), 6, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/598563/Archived_Implementation_of_section_67_of_the_Immigration_Act_2016_in_France_v2.0.pdf.
[140] "Transparency Data: Transfers of Children to the UK from the Calais Operation November 2017."
[141] See *Timeline* for details of each of these cases, including key dates, case summaries and judgments.

investigates the impact that the Dubs Amendment's eligibility criteria had on young people caught up in legal limbo in France.[142] As the legal situation for adults in the Jungle could be more complex to argue, volunteer organisations tended to fall back on humanitarian language when describing their circumstances.

The ways in which small, independent volunteer organisations in the Jungle combined humanitarian and rights-based approaches is exemplified by the dual agenda of the organisation Help Refugees. Established in August 2015 to meet the basic needs of Jungle residents, Help Refugees has expanded exponentially ever since.[143] The organisation overlaps in many ways with a traditional INGO: it ran a large aid warehouse in Calais in partnership with *L'Auberge des Migrants*, which distributed wooden shelters, food, clothing and hygiene products to refugees in the Jungle. The organisation's 'Choose Love' logo, merchandising, pop up shops, big brand collaborations, social media presence on Twitter and Instagram, and constant celebrity endorsement, all conform to a typical – and highly effective – humanitarian branding strategy.

Yet Help Refugees has simultaneously been a major player in legal, rights-based advocacy on behalf of refugees in Calais. The organisation participated in legal cases in the French courts, first contesting the demolitions of the Jungle in 2016, then repeatedly securing legal orders from the Administrative Court in Lille for clean water and sanitation facilities to be provided for the displaced population in Calais from 2017 onwards.[144] In the British courts, Help Refugees

[142] Sue Clayton, *Calais Children: A Case to Answer* (UK: EastWest Productions, 2016).
[143] "Help Refugees: Our Impact, August 2015 to December 2017," Help Refugees, 2018, https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Help-Refugees-impact-report-Aug-2015-Dec-2017-LQ.pdf.
[144] "Calais Statement - Our Concerns," *Help Refugees*, February 18, 2016, https://helprefugees.org/news/calais-statement-our-concerns/.
"Ordonnance Du 26 Juin 2017."

began its 'strategic litigation' against the Home Office a week before the eviction of the Jungle in October 2016, to impel the Government to start transferring eligible children to the UK under the Dubs Amendment.

Help Refugees then embarked upon 'nearly four years of legal challenges and campaigning to pressure the UK government' to fulfil its obligations under the Dubs Amendment.[145] While the organisation was unsuccessful in lifting the cap on the number of available 'Dubs' places, their litigation served to increase the number of places in the scheme from 350 to 480. The Court of Appeal also ruled in favour of Help Refugees' claim that the Home Office acted unlawfully by failing to tell unaccompanied children in Calais why their 'Dubs applications' had been rejected.[146]

By combining legal and moral frameworks, and addressing both immediate humanitarian needs and longer-term rights and duties, Help Refugees exemplifies how activist and volunteer groups that developed in response to the emergency situation in Calais combined human rights and humanitarian languages, approaches and imperatives on an impromptu basis and in an experimental way. I argue that this experimental approach also impacted upon the cultural politics of 'refugee humanity' in the Jungle. As Ticktin notes, the languages of human rights and humanitarianism 'are based on different forms of action and, hence, often institute and

[145]"Press Release – Help Refugees Response to Announcement That Section 67 'Dubs Amendment' Now Ended," *Help Refugees*, May 21, 2020, https://helprefugees.org/news/press-release-help-refugees-response-to-announcement-that-section-67-dubs-amendment-now-ended/.

[146] "Dubs Fact Sheet," Help Refugees, 2017, https://helprefugees.org/dubs/fact-sheet/.

Amelia Gentleman, "Legal Challenge to Cap on Dubs Child Refugee Scheme Fails," *The Guardian*, November 2, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/02/child-refugee-legal-challenge-dubs-government-scheme-fails.

"Government Broke the Law by Not Giving Reasons for Dubs Children Rejections, Court Finds," *Help Refugees*, October 3, 2018, https://helprefugees.org/news/dubs-court-case-ruling-home-office-october-2018/

protect different ideas of humanity.'[147] It is these 'different ideas of humanity,' instituted and protected by volunteer organisations in Calais that will be addressed below.

3. Theoretical Approaches to Voice and Humanity

Creative representations of the Calais Jungle are filled with perpetual, insistent proclamations that *refugees are human beings*. These repetitious declarations and affirmations of the humanity of refugees are the result of a spontaneous and unspoken campaign to 'humanise' the refugee, undertaken in the Jungle over the course of 2015-16. This creative humanising operation was a response to the dehumanising media coverage of the Jungle, and to 'the politics of humanity' enacted by Europe's border camps, 'which works by constantly reordering the boundaries of the human.'[148] Because the 'refugee crisis' played out along the axis of humanity, and because EU states actively manipulated the representational threshold of the human in order to evade responsibility for their irregular arrivals, a plethora of artists and activists embarked upon processes of 'humanising' or 're-humanising' refugees in Calais through creative channels.

This task was made more difficult, however, by the fact that the Jungle existed *between* the discursive fields of human rights and humanitarianism. Usually, the rhetorical act of 'humanisation' takes place in accordance with the narrative tradition *either* of humanitarianism, *or* of human rights. In the language of Louis Althusser, the typical process for recognising (or 'misrecognising') the 'humanity' of a dehumanised figure is by interpellating or 'hailing' them as a human subject within a particular ideological field. In Althusser's argument, 'ideology "acts" or "functions" in such a way that it […] "transforms" the individuals into subjects' by an

[147] Ticktin, "Where Ethics and Politics Meet: The Violence of Humanitarianism in France," 35.
[148] Miriam Ticktin, "Calais: Containment Politics in the 'Jungle,'" *Funambulist Magazine*, 2016, 32, https://thefunambulist.net/articles/calais-containment-politics-jungle-miriam-ticktin.

operation of '*interpellation* or hailing.'[149] Althusser argues that '*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects,* by the functioning of the category of the subject.'[150]

Victims of famine and natural disaster tend to be interpellated as 'humans' within the humanitarian narrative tradition, for example, while political prisoners tend to be interpellated as 'human beings' within the human rights narrative tradition. The Calais Jungle, however – situated on European soil, but functionally outside of European law, at the Western border of the Schengen area – did not fit neatly into either of these narrative frameworks. The suffering of its inhabitants was neither distant enough for humanitarianism, nor close enough for human rights. As a result, there was no overriding definition of humanity, or procedure for interpellating refugees as 'human beings,' directing representations of the Calais Jungle. Instead, the camp's inhabitants were interpellated as 'human beings' through a sometimes-productive, and sometimes-confused and incompatible, mixture of both the legal code of human rights, and the moral code of humanitarianism.

While the aid vacuum in Calais opened the way for a multitude of tangled attempts to secure recognition of the refugee subject as a 'human being' within creative accounts of the Jungle, the 'humanity vacuum' placed the camp itself at the epicentre of a rhetorical shift in refugee humanitarianism, characterised by the discursive entanglement of the 'human' of human rights and the 'human' of humanitarianism. As a result, a range of humanitarian and human rights norms, ideals, and representational structures were stitched together into hybrid and unstable

[149] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," in *Media and Cultural Studies Keyworks*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 84. *Emphasis in original.*
[150] Althusser, 84. *Emphasis in original.*

models for 'humanising' refugees in creative accounts of the Jungle. The oscillation between discursive frameworks left the refugee in an uncertain position *vis á vis* European states and their institutions. The refugee figure became suspended, not only in the gap between two sovereign states, but also in the gap between two forms of recognition-as-human.



Figure 3: Still image from Google Street View of the entrance to the Jungle: *I Too Am Human,* © 2017 Google

Theoretical arguments concerning the question of humanity in the context of the Calais Jungle are often based upon the work of Giorgio Agamben. There seems to be a tacit acknowledgement within these arguments, however, that Agamben's understanding of biopolitics and statelessness is neither contemporary enough, nor flexible enough, to fully capture the situation in the Jungle.[151] As a result, analyses of the Jungle often begin with Agamben's concepts of

[151] Diana Martin, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz, "Rethinking the Camp: On Spatial Technologies of Power and Resistance," *Progress in Human Geography* 44, no. 4 (2019): 744, doi: 10.1177/0309132519856702.

'bare life' and the 'state of exception' as a baseline, but then modify his ideas to better respond to the particularities of life in the camp.[152] Irit Katz, for example, argues that the Jungle's inhabitants lived *in between* 'bare life' and 'everyday life', because the camp was both a site of 'control and abandonment outside the normal legal and civic order' where refugees were 'not treated as humans but as unwanted and exposed bodies,' *and* it was 'a space formed to accommodate the *everyday life* of its dwellers in all their complexities, creating a sense of community and belonging.'[153]

Perhaps as a result of the Jungle's uniquely indeterminate position between the jurisdictions of human rights and humanitarianism, some of these modifications of Agamben's political philosophy result in illogical and disconsonant adaptations of his work. Darragh McGee and Juliette Pelham base their analysis of the Jungle on a combination of Agamben's theory of sovereignty and Jacques Rancière's theory of dissensus; Rigby and Schlembach structure their assessment of the 2009 'first Jungle' using the same theoretical conjunction.[154] Following Agamben, McGee and Pelham describe the Calais Jungle as a 'space of exception' in which refugees are 'reduced to what Agamben termed the *homo sacer* – namely the figure whose life is forcibly stripped "naked" of biography, rights and citizenship such that they may be subjected to physical and symbolic violence without legal recourse.'[155] As *homo sacer,* they argue, 'the refugee' in the Jungle is

> neither included nor excluded but rather held in an indeterminate "zone of indistinction" – their bare life exposed beneath the impotent language of rights and rendered dependent on a

[152] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[153] Irit Katz, "Between Bare Life and Everyday Life: Spatializing Europe's Migrant Camps," *Architecture_MPS* 12, no. 2 (2017): 10, 10, 9, https://doi.org/10.14324/111.444.amps.2017v12i2.001.
[154] J Rigby and R Schlembach, "Impossible Protest: Noborders in Calais," *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 2 (2013): 157–72.
[155] McGee and Pelham, "Politics at Play: Locating Human Rights, Refugees and Grassroots Humanitarianism in the Calais Jungle," 24.

> humanitarian struggle which ultimately seeks to reimagine – even reconstitute – the camp as a social and political space.[156]

The move here from the camp as a 'zone of indistinction,' to the camp as a 'social and political space,' reflects the authors' intention to

> contribute to a growing interdisciplinary literature on the camp not merely as a biopolitical "space of exception," […] but as a contested social and political terrain – one in which ever-changing hierarchies of inclusion and rights are produced and policed, but also negotiated and subverted.[157]

This raises some concerns, however, because in Agamben's own terms, it is inconceivable that a 'state of exception' could *also* be, or could *become*, a 'social and political space.' In Agamben's 'state of exception,' both politics and rights are radically suspended and cannot be conjured up. In the same way, the *homo sacer*, as the one whose life cannot be recognised even in death, cannot also be, or cannot become, a political actor and rights bearer. This is not to say that refugees in Calais cannot be subjected to inhumane violence and simultaneously demonstrate political will – it simply means that there is no room for this eventuality under the umbrella of Agamben's biopolitical theory of exception.

The difficulties increase when Rancière's theory of dissensus is used to describe the transformation of the Jungle from a 'state of exception' into a 'social and political space,' because it is precisely this categorical split between political and non-political spaces that Rancière opposes in his work. Rancière rejects Agamben's 'state of exception' as a biopolitical concept precisely because it 'evacuates the possibility of political dissensus.'[158] He rejects altogether the idea that there are separate presuppositional categories of *zoe* and *bios*, or a 'state

[156] McGee and Pelham, 24.
[157] McGee and Pelham, 24.
[158] Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, ed. Steven Corcoran (London and New York: Continuum, 2010), 192–93.

of exception' in which *zoe* is abandoned to sovereign power. In Rancière's estimation, Agamben 'completely misses the logic of political subjectivation.'[159]

It is illogical to argue, therefore, that grassroots volunteer groups in Calais enacted 'a politics of dissensus' by challenging 'the hierarchies of humanness which construct the refugee as homo sacer […] within the "exceptional" space of refugee camps.'[160] Political dissensus, as Rancière understands it, is 'not simply a reordering of the relations of power between existing groups' or 'an institutional overturning.'[161] Rather, it is precisely that which concerns the 'border' between political life and private life, *bios* and *zoe*, and 'continually places it in question.'[162] It is incongruous to apply Rancière's theory of dissensus *after* one already understands individuals as split *a priori* into categories of *zoe* and *bios*. A similar roadblock can be identified in critical analyses that are based upon a combination of Agamben's theoretical constructions, and arguments for the 'autonomy of migration', as an approach that 'privileges the agency of migrants, with a politics of control emerging as a response to the productivity and creativity of migrant mobility.'[163]

When analysing the politics of humanity in the Calais Jungle, it seems preferable to depart from accounts of the contemporary refugee as *homo sacer* than to draw upon a combination of incompatible theories to modify Agamben's work. This is not to discredit the substance of the research undertaken within these theoretical frames, or to imply that issues of sovereignty,

[159] Rancière, 70.
[160] McGee and Pelham, "Politics at Play: Locating Human Rights, Refugees and Grassroots Humanitarianism in the Calais Jungle," 32.
[161] Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics,* 2.
[162] Rancière, 68.
[163] Kim Rygiel, "Bordering Solidarities: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement and Camps at Calais," *Citizenship Studies* 15, no. 1 (2011): 4, doi: 10.1080/13621025.2011.534911.
For an account that combines Agamben's theoretical work with 'autonomy of migration' arguments in the context of the Calais Jungle, see Sanyal, "Calais's 'Jungle': Refugees, Biopolitics, and the Arts of Resistance."

violent citizenship practices and necropolitics do not apply in the context of the Calais Jungle. It is simply to suggest a move away from 'bare life' and the 'state of exception' as springboards for analysing the refugee situation in Europe.

I propose that the contested concepts of *refugee voice* and *refugee storytelling* can serve as alternative critical tools for exploring the ways that 'refugee humanity' has been discursively negotiated, granted and revoked in Calais. By unravelling the relationship between different notions of 'refugee humanity', and different narrative models of 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling', we can trace an analytical pathway through the divergent, collective efforts to 'humanise the refugee' in creative accounts of the Jungle. The structural politics of 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling' serve as alternative entry points into questions of 'refugee humanity', I argue, because the refugee's position within nation-state structures is so often conceptualised through models of vocalisation: of silence and speech; of having or not having a voice; of being able or not being able to tell a story.

The refugee is often portrayed as a 'silent' or 'silenced' figure as a way of communicating a lack of agency. Sarah Gibson, for example, argues that 'the figures of asylum seekers and refugees are often silenced and rendered invisible within the public sphere.'[164] She considers that '[a]sylum seekers and refugees are predominantly constructed as speechless, invisible, passive, and voiceless; in short, the refugee is the inverse of the visibility, rationality, and agency of the citizen.'[165] Alison Jeffers also speaks of 'the expectations of silence and invisibility that are so often imposed upon' refugees and asylum seekers, while Peter Nyers

[164] Sarah Gibson, "Testimony in a Culture of Disbelief: Asylum Hearings and the Impossibility of Bearing Witness," *Journal for Cultural Research* 17, no. 1 (2013): 1, doi: 10.1080/14797585.2011.613221.
[165] Gibson, 3.
Gillian McFadyen, "Memory, Language and Silence: Barriers to Refuge Within the British Asylum System," *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 2018, doi: 10.1080/15562948.2018.1429697.

argues that '[w]hat is most at stake politically with the refugee phenomenon is that refugees are silent – or rather, silenced – because they do not possess the "proper" political subjectivity [...] through which they can be heard.'[166] These examples indicate how voice, speech and silence have been used as metaphorical access points for addressing the subjectivation and 'humanisation' of refugees in Europe. The 'voiceless condition of the asylum seeker'[167] is invoked as a symbolic tool for communicating the oppression of refugees within narrative-based institutions, including asylum law and psychiatry.

Yet running parallel with the impulse to label refugees as silent, or silenced, in the above constructions, an alternative narrative positions irregular border-crossers as innate storytellers, as naturally vocal subjects. Some consider refugees to possess a singular enunciative power, due to a shared transgressive potential that links the refugee to the storytelling act. Jackson, for example, describes storytelling as an event that 'questions, blurs, transgresses, and even abolishes […] boundaries' such as the ones that 'police traffic across borders' and that 'keep migrants and refugees from fully participating in the life of the state.'[168]

Jackson argues that storytelling, for refugees, 'enabl[es] the powerless to recover a sense of their own will, their own agency, their own consciousness, and their own being.'[169] He insists that 'the succession of stories that refugees tell offer us […] glimpses into the process whereby

[166] Alison Jeffers, *Refugees, Theatre and Crisis: Performing Global Identities* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 14.
Peter Nyers, *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 16.
[167] Farrier, *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law*, 176.
[168] Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling: Variations on a Theme by Hannah Arendt*, 43, 42, 42.
[169] Jackson, 45.

control over one's destiny is recovered and the imbalance between contingency and necessity redressed.'[170] He also attributes to the refugee an instinctive *need* to tell stories, asserting that

> [r]efugee stories are driven by existential need rather than emotion, epistemology, eschatology, or ethics. By this I mean that they do not tell us what we may know, what we may believe, how we may judge, or how we may feel; they attest to the fact that telling stories is, like our need to breathe or defecate – as necessary as it is pedestrian.[171]

Jackson's association between the experience of displacement and the desire to tell stories is based upon an overlap in metaphorical and literal ideas of border-crossing. Other theorists have not looked kindly upon this tendency, however. While Edward Said argues that 'exile cannot be made to serve notions of humanism,' Sara Ahmed objects that the 'act of granting the migrant the status as a figure (of speech) erases and conceals the historical determination of experiences of migration.'[172]

This pervasive yet contradictory relationship between storytelling and refugeedom has meant that, as Anna Szörényi argues, '[r]efugees who come to voice do so amidst a host of imperatives towards both silence and speech.'[173] Rather than positioning refugees as those whose voices are capable of transcending traditional frontiers, or as those who always need to be 'given a voice', Szörényi suggests that we do better to attend to 'the encounters that take place between individual refugee stories, international refugee discourse, and national border protection regimes, tracking the ways in which speech is alternately and in different contexts prohibited, demanded, circumscribed or appropriated through these regimes.'[174] Attending to the narrative encounters that demand, circumscribe and appropriate the 'refugee voice' and the 'refugee

[170] Jackson, 112.
[171] Jackson, 104.
[172] Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 174. Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 81.
[173] Anna Szörényi, "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony," *Life Writing* 6, no. 2 (2009): 175, doi: 10.1080/14484520902930927.
[174] Szörényi, 174.

story' also helps to determine how the power politics of voice and storytelling constructed and constricted the 'humanity' of the refugee within those humanitarian and human rights narrative frameworks that mutated in unpredictable ways in response to the Calais Jungle.

4. Silence, Speech and Sentimentality in Humanitarian Representations

The 'refugee voice' in traditional humanitarian discourse is conspicuous primarily by its absence. Although humanitarian rhetoric is neither universal nor unilateral, certain strategies and conventions have, over time, become identified with humanitarian representations of refugees.[175] In her influential essay 'Speechless Emissaries', Liisa Malkki argues that the paradigmatic humanitarian refugee is a depoliticised, dehistoricised and decontextualised object of knowledge. She explains that, by presenting refugees as universal, homogeneous 'mute victims' – as an 'anonymous corporeality' – 'humanitarian practices tend to silence refugees': they tend to 'strip from them the authority to give credible narrative evidence or testimony about their own condition' in political and institutional contexts.[176] And once refugees are considered incapable of accounting for themselves, then aid and development experts are required to speak for, and produce knowledge on behalf of, these silent creatures. As a result, Malkki argues, 'refugees suffer from a peculiar kind of speechlessness in the face

[175] In ascribing separate characteristics to the discursive fields of human rights communications and humanitarian communications, the thesis subscribes to a particular genealogy of human rights and humanitarian literature that recognises the two categories as autonomous, and that supports this claim with evidence of disparate communicative tropes associated with the two genres. Where, and even if, such a boundary should be drawn across the fields of humanitarian literature and human rights literature is a widely contested and evolving debate for which there is currently no consensus; a broad range of approaches to human rights and humanitarian literature disagree about the thresholds, overlaps and divergences of the two domains. Here, I trace the distinctions between them that are important for the study at hand.

[176] Liisa H. Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 378, 388, 378, 378, doi: 10.1525/can.1996.11.3.02a00050.

of the national and international organizations whose object of care and control they are.'[177] Fassin extends this observation to argue that,

> in the contemporary era, the prolixity of humanitarian workers […] stands against the silence of survivors. The voice of the former is substituted for the voice of the latter. Or to be more precise, wherever victims of violence and injustice are seen as deprived of the power of expressing themselves, humanitarian organizations speak in their place: they have established themselves as spokespeople for the voiceless.[178]

The tendency for humanitarian representational forms to silence refugees is mirrored and exacerbated by the media, Malkki argues, resulting in an even more widespread and 'systematic […] silencing of persons who find themselves in the classificatory space of "refugee."'[179] Refugees tend to be represented imagistically, Malkki argues, meaning that 'photographs and other visual representations of refugees are far more common than is the reproduction in print of what particular refugees have said.'[180] As such, '"the refugee" is commonly constituted as a figure who is thought to "speak" to us in a particular way: wordlessly.'[181]

More recent arguments have reinforced and expanded Malkki's assertions.[182] Prem Kumar Rajaram argues that 'humanitarian representations of the refugee [...] amount to a blanketing and generalizing depoliticized depiction of refugees as helpless victims, thereby obscuring the

---

[177] Malkki, 386.
[178] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, 206–7.
[179] Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," 386.
[180] Malkki, 386.
For a contemporary perspective on this argument, see Lilie Chouliaraki and Rafal Zaborowski, "Voice and Community in the 2015 Refugee Crisis: A Content Analysis of News Coverage in Eight European Countries," *The International Communications Gazette* 79, no. 6–7 (2017): 613–35, doi: 10.1177/1748048517727173.
[181] Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," 390.
[182] Nando Sigona, "The Politics of Refugee Voices: Representations, Narratives, and Memories," in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, ed. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 369–82.
Jennifer Hyndman, *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
Arthur Kleinman and Joan Kleinman, "The Appeal of Experience; the Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times," in *Social Suffering*, ed. Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997), 1–23.

particularity of different sorts of refugee experience.'[183] He argues that '[t]he connection of political identity and discourse to the territorial state means that those without citizenship or bereft of it are speechless (or taken to be speechless), requiring an agency or expert to speak for them.'[184] Representations of refugees in the media thus fall into two extreme categories: the 'distant' refugees who are silenced and dehumanised through narratives that evoke victimhood, weakness and paternalism, and the 'near' refugees who are silenced and dehumanised through narratives that evoke fear, danger and the threat of invasion.

In Rajaram's assessment, the refugee is 'rendered speechless and without agency' when they are 'consigned to their body.'[185] Yet the body as a symbol of silence and speechlessness actually *becomes* its own mode of testifying within forced migration contexts. For humanitarian decision-makers, Malkki argues, 'wounds speak louder than words,' because '[w]ounds are accepted as objective evidence, as more reliable sources of knowledge than the words of the people on whose bodies those wounds are found.'[186] The representational strategy that obscures refugees' voices by constructing a symbolic language from their bodies was evidenced repeatedly during the 'refugee crisis.' Photographs of tightly-packed bodies were used to illustrate powerful anti-migrant messages, as in the then-UKIP leader Nigel Farage's famous 'Breaking Point' poster. [187]

The global media also converged upon the silent, wounded refugee body in their reporting on the tragic death of 3-year-old Alan Kurdi, on the 2nd September 2015. Most media reports and

[183] Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 3 (2002): 251, doi: 10.1093/jrs/15.3.247.
[184] Rajaram, 251.
[185] Rajaram, 251.
[186] Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," 384.
[187] Heather Stewart and Rowena Mason, "Nigel Farage's Anti-Migrant Poster Reported to Police," *The Guardian*, June 16, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants.

subsequent creative responses to Kurdi's death centre upon the fragile image of the child's body. The image is left to stand alone in these accounts, to 'speak for itself', to become imprinted upon front pages and upon the collective conscience of news consumers. A tiny, silent, lone figure was presented to European publics as stark evidence of the inhumanity of 'Fortress Europe' and the actions taken on 'our' behalf. Its intolerably simple message captured the imaginations of European citizens unlike any other single image of the 'refugee crisis'.

Visual representations of the refugee as 'mute victim' are recuperated through the discursive driving force behind humanitarian narratives: sentimentality. The sentimental model of humanitarianism refers to a communications strategy that works to inspire pity, compassion or empathy in humanitarian media audiences, in response to the suffering of humanitarian subjects. The heartrending image of the toddler on the beach is considered the catalyst that softened public opinion towards refugees in 2015, marking the beginning of citizens' compassionate engagement with the 'crisis' at their borders. As such, the media reports on Kurdi's death, and the subsequent artistic engagements with the tragedy, amount to what Richard Wilson and Richard Brown have called a 'mobilization of empathy'[188] – a situation where 'narratives of suffering' and other 'time-honored techniques used to generate compassion' spark 'indignation at the suffering of others and channel[] it towards a wide array of humanitarian acts.'[189]

However, the 'mobilization of empathy' can also have other, unintended consequences. As an affective mechanism of sentimental humanitarianism, the mobilising force of empathy has been

[188] Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown, "Introduction," in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, ed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 19.
[189] Wilson and Brown, 18, 19.

widely criticised by theorists due to its propensity to romanticise, aestheticise, commoditise and depoliticise the pain and suffering of 'others'. Sentimental humanitarian narratives have been denounced by some for their selectivity, unpredictability and fallibility, and for being susceptible to, or even encouraging, the onset of compassion fatigue.[190] As a strategy of sentimental humanitarian engagement, empathy can redirect attention away from the suffering of others and towards a narcissistic fascination with the act of empathising itself. Consider Ai Weiwei's photographic reconstruction of Kurdi's death for *India Today* magazine – perhaps the most (in)famous of all artistic engagements with the 'refugee crisis.'[191]

[190] Susan Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sells Disease, Famine, War, and Death* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).
[191] "Artist Ai Weiwei Poses as Aylan Kurdi for India Today Magazine," *India Today*, February 1, 2016, https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/artist-ai-weiwei-poses-as-aylan-kurdi-for-india-today-magazine-306593-2016-02-01.



Figure 4: India Today, *Artist Ai Weiwei poses as Aylan Kurdi for India Today Magazine*, 1st February 2016, © Rohit Chawla

Weiwei's photograph evidences many of the pitfalls of sentimental humanitarianism described above. The image has been widely rebuked; it was described in the *Guardian* as 'risible, fatuous and grotesque.'[192] Through his photograph, Weiwei displays what Dominick LaCapra has called 'full identification with the victim,' in which empathy goes to 'the point of fascination or extreme identification, wherein one becomes a kind of surrogate victim oneself and assumes the victim's voice.'[193] Weiwei's image demonstrates how the 'mobilisation of empathy' can, at times, exacerbate the perceived 'speechlessness' of the refugee subject.

[192] Jonathan Jones, "Jake Chapman Is Right to Criticise Ai Weiwei's Drowned Boy Artwork," *The Guardian*, January 13, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2017/jan/13/jake-chapman-ai-weiwei-refugee-crisis.
[193] Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 146.

By placing the artist in the position of the victim, the gesture of empathy can also depoliticise the suffering of refugees by absolving 'privileged subjects' of their 'complicity […] in the wider relations of power in which marginalisation, oppression and suffering occur.'[194] By depoliticising suffering and absolving the spectator of their complicity, the empathetic gesture can overshadow calls for comprehensive legal solutions. As Millner identifies, in the context of refugee activism in Calais, 'postures of compassion towards the refugee' can 'convert expressions of vocal dissent into matters for moral sympathy.'[195] Other critiques of the hypervisibility of reporting on Kurdi's death within the international media landscape have been made through visual art, such as Eduardo Salles' illustration *La Memoria Colectiva Siempre es de Corto Plazo.*

[194] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 10.
[195] Naomi Millner, "From 'Refugee' to 'Migrant' in Calais Solidarity Activism: Re-Staging Undocumented Migration for a Future Politics of Asylum," *Political Geography* 30, no. 6 (2011): 320, doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.07.005.

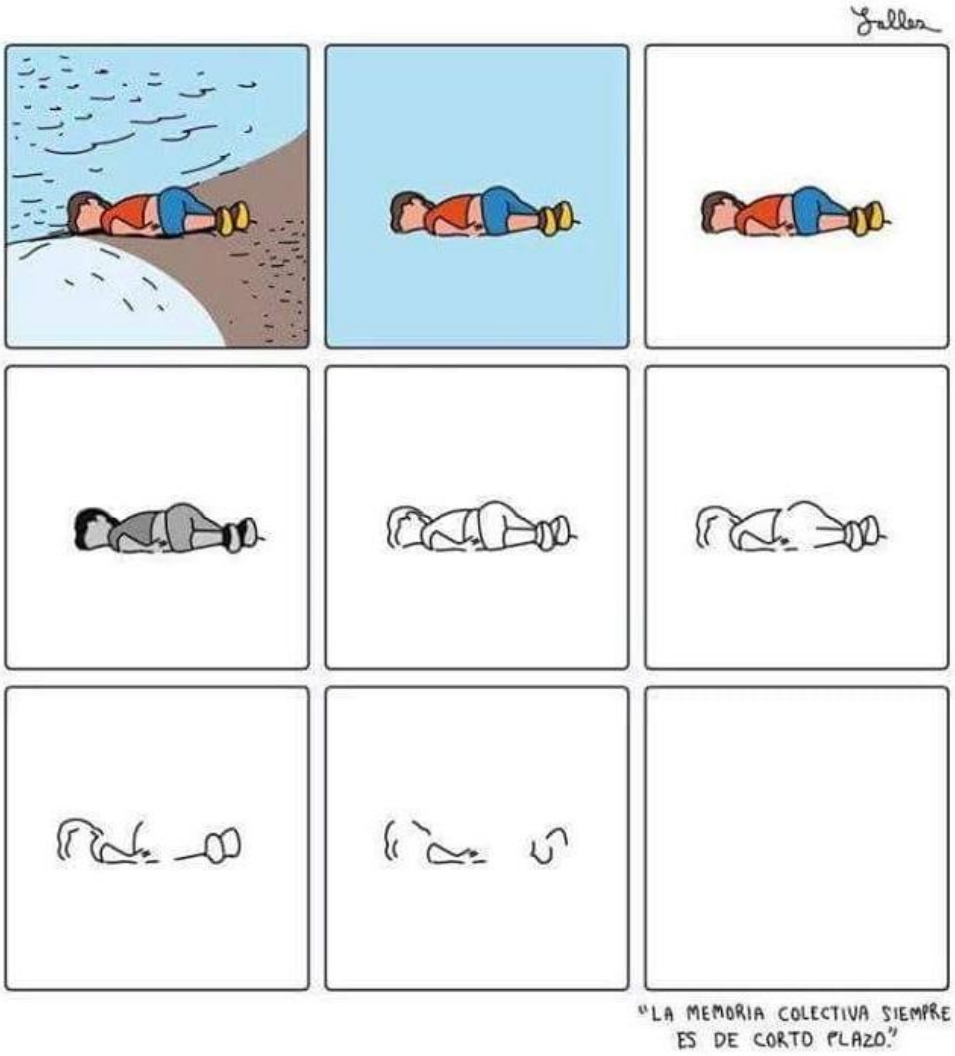


Figure 5: Eduardo Salles, *La Memoria Colectiva Siempre es de Corto Plazo* (*Collective Memory is Always Short Term).*

When the refugee is 'consigned to their body' and rendered 'speechless and without agency' within humanitarian narratives, it is through sentimentality that they are rescued from the brink of dehumanisation. Yet the empathetic gesture encouraged by sentimental humanitarianism can exonerate the citizen-spectator of political responsibility. As Pedwell and others have pointed

out, 'there is no straightforward or necessary link between the generation of empathy and the achievement of transnational social justice.'[196]

The sentimental model of humanitarianism also limits the scope of 'humanity' that it permits. Lynn Festa writes – in the context of abolitionist writings – that 'sentimentality evades (or cannot capture) a coherent notion of "humanity"' because

> [t]he sentimental operates on an ad hoc basis, selectively exciting feelings about particularly moving examples of suffering and recognizing these subjects exclusively based on the fact of that suffering. As a result, the subject produced by sentimental antislavery *[or, in this case, sentimental representations of refugees]* is granted only a diluted form of humanity grounded in pain and victimhood, a humanity that is only as enduring (or as fleeting) as the recognition of the metropolitan subject who bestows it.[197]

The logical endpoint of this form of humanisation-through-suffering is that refugees and irregular migrants become fully human only in the fullness of their suffering: they become fully human in death. This explains the mobilising power of the media iconography surrounding the images of Alan Kurdi. The 'diluted form of humanity' engendered by sentimental humanitarianism, which recognises refugees as fully human only in death, also explains why artistic representations of refugees are so often reminiscent of memorials.[198]

Successive exhibitions documenting the 'refugee crisis' have displayed rows of lifejackets, emergency blankets, or collections of clothing abandoned on Europe's beaches to symbolise those who have sought asylum in Europe. The best-known and largest-scale example of this is another of Weiwei's works: 'Safe Passage'. This visual installation saw the columns of Berlin's

[196] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 190.
[197] Lynn Festa, "Humanity without Feathers," *Humanity* 1, no. 1 (2010): 4, doi: 10.1353/hum.2010.0007.
[198] Danyel M. Ferrari, "Visualising Vulnerabilities: The Temporality of 'Awareness Raising' Memorials and the Making of the Always-Already Lost" (Central European University, 2016), http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2016/ferrari_danyel.pdf.

Konzerthaus, and later the Minneapolis Institute of Art, covered in 14,000 life jackets collected from beaches in Greece.[199]



Figure 6: Ai Weiwei, *Safe Passage*, Konzerthaus Berlin, 15th February 2016, © Markus Winninghoff

The sense of finality evoked by these types of exhibits is at odds with the fact that the people who wore the life jackets are largely still alive. Other creative works, such as M.I.A.'s music video for her song *Borders*, have pushed back against this memorialising aesthetic by presenting the imagery of boats, fences and emergency blankets in a more subversive way.[200]

[199] Kate Sierzputowski, "Ai Weiwei Wraps the Columns of Berlin's Konzerthaus with 14,000 Salvaged Refugee Life Vests," *Colossal*, February 16, 2016, https://www.thisiscolossal.com/2016/02/ai-weiwei-konzerthaus-refugee-life-vests/.
[200] M.I.A., *Borders - Official Music Video* (UK: Interscope Records, 2015), https://youtu.be/r-Nw7HbaeWY.



Figure 7: Still from M.I.A.'s music video *Borders,* November 2015, © Maya Arulpragasam / Interscope Records

The commemorative aesthetic is nowhere more evident than in Gideon Mendel's book and exhibition, *Dzhangal*. The exhibition, hosted at the Autograph ABP Gallery in Shoreditch at the beginning of 2017, presents the refugees who lived in the Jungle metonymically through 2,189 discarded items that Mendel collected from the camp. These items, now stored in the Museum of London archaeology archive, were retrieved from the Jungle and displayed in organised rows inside the exhibition space.[201] Mendel 'set about forensically photographing these found objects as if they were precious archaeological artefacts,' with the intention that the images would 'portray the residents' humanity, and also stand in for the plight of displaced people everywhere.'[202]

[201] Gideon Mendel, "Dzhangal, The Act of Collecting," Gideon Mendel, 2017, http://gideonmendel.com/the-act-of-collecting/.
Amelia Gentleman, "Teddies and Teargas Canisters: What Remained in the Calais Camp," *The Guardian*, December 30, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/30/teddies-tear-gas-canisters-what-remained-calais-camp.
[202] Mendel's archaeological approach to the Jungle, and his efforts to collect and forensically document these artefacts, foreshadows the methodological approach taken by *Lande: The Calais Jungle and Beyond.* See Chapter Six, Part Four for a full discussion of the Contemporary Archaeology of the *Lande* project.

It is a 'diluted form' of humanity that is invoked by the *Dzhangal* exhibition, however, validating Festa's assertion that 'the sentimental method of humanization usually generates a subject in the thrall of victimhood, restricted to a state of innocence, passivity, and political impotence.'[203] Partly because a display of tattered, ownerless shoes cannot but recall the collection of shoes at the Holocaust Museum in Auschwitz, *Dzhangal* communicates an overwhelming sense of mourning, helplessness, finality, and bearing witness to death.

Gideon Mendel, "Dzhangal," Gideon Mendel, 2017, http://gideonmendel.com/dzhangal/.
[203] Festa, "Humanity without Feathers," 14.

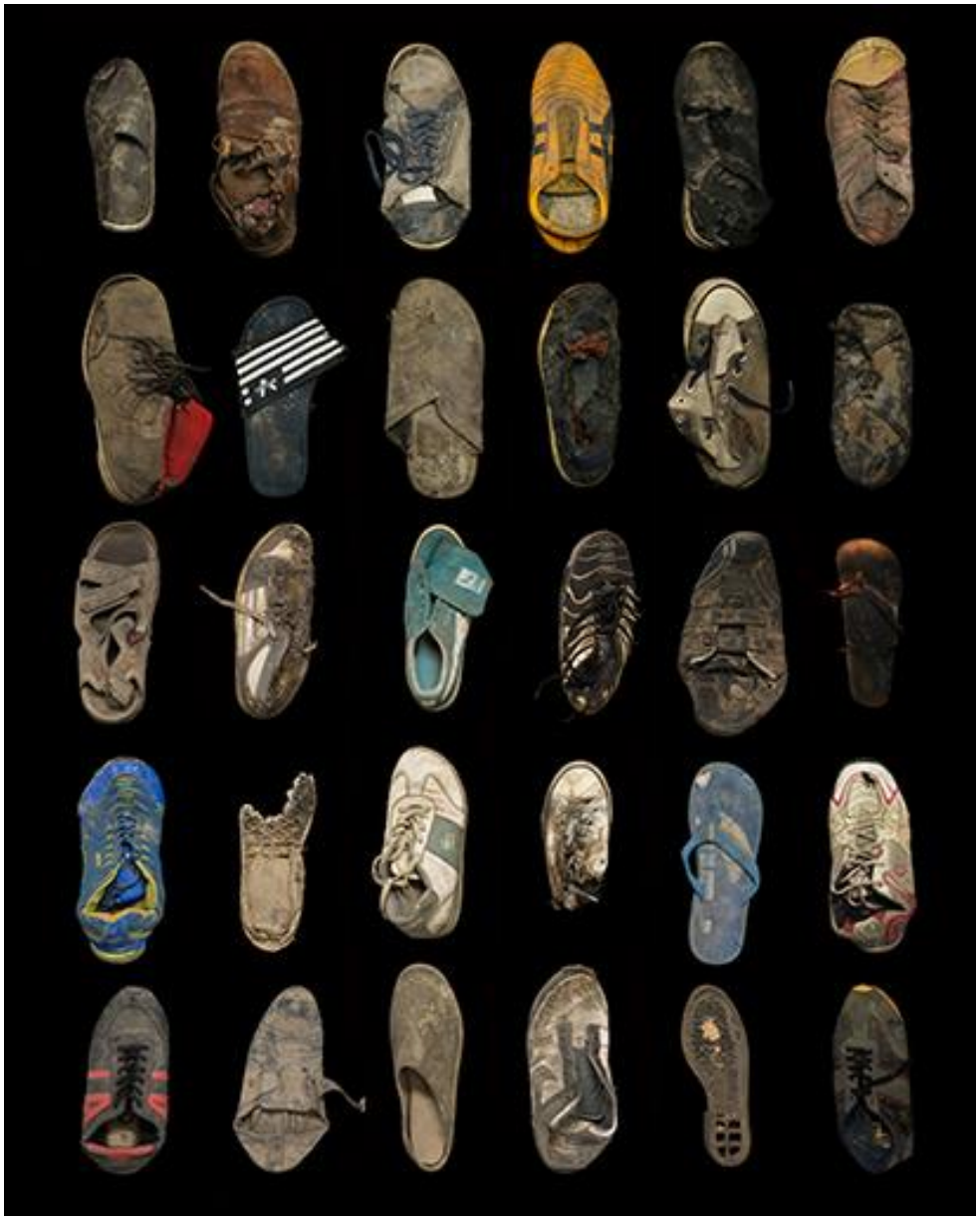


Figure 8: *Thirty Shoes, Trainers, and Sandals, Collected 21st May, 15th September, 27th October, and 28th October 2016,* Dzhangal Exhibition, 2017, © Gideon Mendel

The 'thirty shoes, trainers and sandals', 'twelve playing cards', 'eighty-four toothbrushes' and 'tampon with applicator' displayed as part of the *Dzhangal* exhibition certainly describe a minimal humanity, the remnants of humanity, a pitiful and disempowered death-in-life. The exhibition represents an aesthetic rendering of Achille Mbembe's concept of necropolitics, 'in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of

living dead.'[204] The *Dzhangal* exhibition demonstrates that the act of 'humanising' refugees through a combination of corporeal symbolism, sentimentality and the 'humanitarianization of asylum' amounts to a memorialisation of the still-living. The act of depicting living people as if they were dead is perhaps the ultimate form of silencing through sentimental imagery.

5. Empathy, Imagination and Substitution

At times, then, sentimental humanitarian narratives reduce the 'refugee voice' to the silent speech of the suffering, absent, wounded or deceased refugee body, which is recuperated by a memorialising rhetoric in order to evoke empathy and compassion for the victim. At other times, however, sentimental humanitarian representations of refugees go beyond the silent symbolism of the refugee body, to actively seek out the unfiltered, authentic 'refugee voice' as a tool for 'humanising' refugees. The shift from visual 'refugee body' to aural 'refugee story' within the sentimental humanitarian tradition does not necessarily signal a drastic change in approach, however. The act of listening to refugees' stories, just like the act of bearing witness to their wounded bodies, can 'invite[] problematic appropriations or projections on the part of privileged subjects.'[205]

In the summer of 2018, UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador Khaled Hosseini wrote an article for the *Guardian*, reflecting upon the stories told to him by refugees in Italy and Lebanon. Hosseini remains resolutely focussed on himself throughout the piece, and on his own role as empathetic listener. Every story that he retells is channelled through the lens of his personal experiences, as he visualises the people he meets as his own children: 'I picture my son crossing those dusty fields, alone and frightened, hungry and exhausted […]. It is my son's right leg the gunman's

[204] Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," trans. Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 40.
[205] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 10.

bullet pierces when he escapes one night, and it is my son who lies shivering in a crowded rubber boat.'[206] Hosseini's insertion of fantasies about his son into the stories he is told mirrors Weiwei's visual replacement of a toddler's body with his own. Hosseini concludes his article with the statement that

> [s]tories are the best antidote to the dehumanisation caused by numbers. They restore our empathy. Each story I hear from a refugee helps me feel, bone-deep, my immutable connection to its teller as a fellow human. I see myself, the people I would give my life for, in every tale I am told.[207]

Hosseini's claim that 'I see myself […] in every tale I am told' reveals the narcissistic impulse embedded in the gesture of empathetic identification. These stories establish a 'human connection' between teller and listener, but they also become mechanisms through which the listener can develop themselves emotionally: the stories 'restore our empathy,' they 'help us feel.' The sympathetic spectator can be foregrounded, then, and the 'suffering other' made invisible, through acts of empathetic identification in both visual and aural interactions between citizens and refugees.

The same narcissistic impulse, the same empathy-as-substitution, is evident in what has become a ubiquitous phrase in refugee advocacy: *anyone can become a refugee.* This claim is made either explicitly or implicitly in a multitude of refugee representations from across the artistic spectrum. The motif appears, for example, in BBC Two's publicity poster for James Bluemel's award-winning documentary *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*, created by KEO films and broadcast in the summer of 2016.

[206] Khaled Hosseini, "Refugees Are Still Dying. How Do We Get over Our News Fatigue?," *The Guardian*, August 17, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/aug/17/khaled-hosseini-refugees-migrants-stories.
[207] Hosseini.

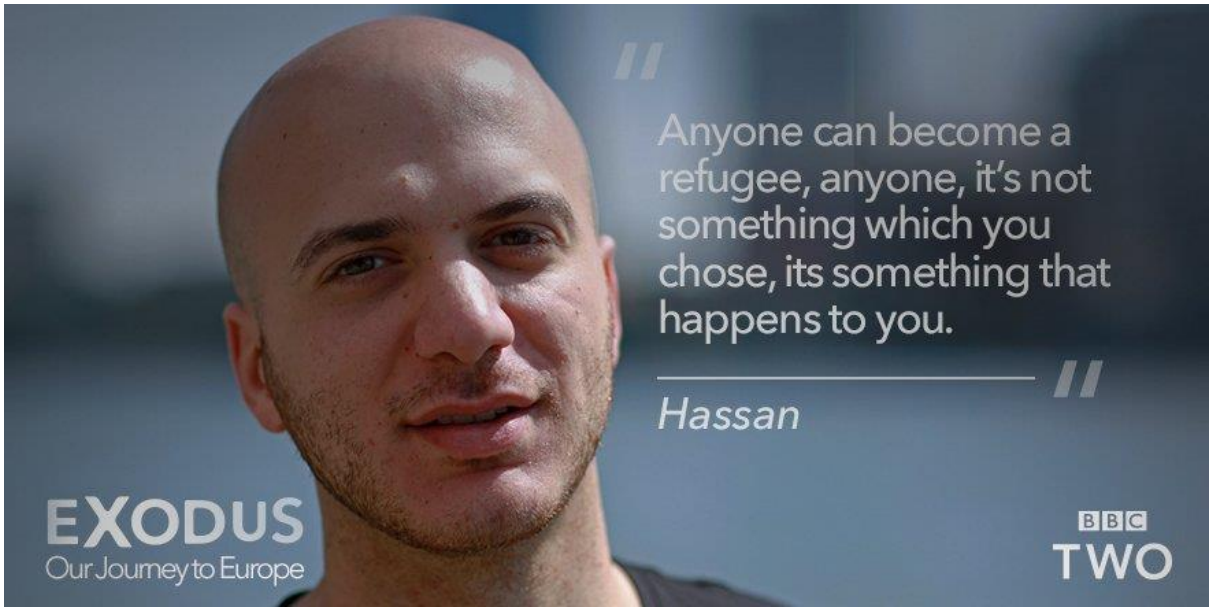


Figure 9: Poster for *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe,* BBC Two and KEO Films, 13th July 2016

The final episode of *Exodus* also ends with the words, 'just like it happened to me, it could happen to you.'[208] By suggesting to the audience that they, too, many one day have to flee their country and seek asylum, *Exodus* invokes 'a Hobbesian interpretation of pity which is based upon the possibility of experiencing the same reversals of fortune oneself and consequently on selfish interest.'[209] The same *anyone can become a refugee* motif underpins Sarah Woods' radio production *Borderland*, which aired on BBC Radio 4 in February 2017. The story of *Borderland*, in which a mother and daughter escape from the UK to Ireland as refugees of a dystopian future world, 'offers a unique perspective on the urgent issue of global migration – by giving British listeners a taste of what it might be like to be pushed to leave your home, in a desperate search for a better life.'[210]

[208] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe - Episode Three" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2016).
[209] Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, 38.
[210] Sarah Woods, "Borderland," BBC Radio 4, 2018, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08dnhjx.

The imaginative invitation offered by the idea that *anyone can become a refugee* also guides interactive media renderings of the 'refugee crisis,' such as the BBC article 'Syrian Journey: Choose your own escape route,' in which the reader is offered a series of either-or choices to 'understand the real dilemmas the refugees face.'[211] *Quartz* offers another version of this either-or quiz, in 'Are you "gay enough" to get asylum as an LGBTQ refugee?'[212] UNHCR's 'Finding Home' mobile app, meanwhile, turns the user's smartphone into that of a 16-year-old Rohingya refugee, allowing them to 'find themselves immersed in the real time experience of being a refugee.'[213]

The 2019 *Choose Love / A Mile In My Shoes* exhibition utilised a similar empathy-as-substitution model. The collaboration between Help Refugees and the Empathy Museum gave visitors 'the chance to borrow a pair of shoes belonging to a refugee and take a walk while listening to a first-hand story of their life.'[214] The act of 'walking a mile in a refugee's shoes' can risk glossing over fixed structural inequalities, however, by positioning the refugee-figure as the vessel for, rather than the beneficiary of, imaginative identification – as a tool for European citizens' emotional development and self-improvement.

The *anyone can become a refugee* motif reflects Judith Butler's account of the way that humans recognise the precarity of their own lives through the precarity of other lives. She argues that

> [t]he apprehension of the precarity of others – their exposure to violence, their socially induced transience and dispensability – is, by implication, an apprehension of the precarity of any and

[211] Mamdouh Akbiek and Eloise Dicker, "Syrian Journey: Choose Your Own Escape Route," *BBC News*, April 1, 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-32057601.
[212] Max de Haldevang, "Quiz: Are You 'Gay Enough' to Get Asylum as an LGBTQ Refugee?," *Quartz*, June 20, 2019, https://qz.com/1648215/world-refugee-day-are-you-gay-enough-to-get-asylum/.
[213] "Grey Malaysia and UNHCR Launch Unique Smartphone Application to Experience a Rohingya Refugee's Journey," *UNHCR*, April 25, 2017, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2017/4/59128c487/grey-malaysia-and-unhcr-launch-unique-smartphone-application-to-experience.html.
[214] "Choose Love x A Mile in My Shoes," Help Refugees, 2019, https://www.helprefugees.org/choose-love-mile-in-my-shoes/.

> all living beings, implying a principle of equal vulnerability that governs all living beings. Since we are also living, the apprehension of another's precarity is implicitly an apprehension of our own, although the singular determination of lives makes it impossible to assimilate the one into the other. In other words, equal vulnerability does not imply radical substitutability; and yet, formally, there is no living being that is not at risk of destruction.[215]

Just because everyone is mortal, does not mean that everyone's mortality is experienced at all times with equal intensity. The fact that more than 3,770 people died crossing the Mediterranean in 2015, and the response from the international community was to discontinue and criminalise sea rescue, for example, makes abundantly clear that 'equal vulnerability does not imply radical substitutability.'[216] The criminalisation of sea rescue supports Butler's argument that 'we may know how to count, or we may well rely on the reliability of certain humanitarian or human rights organisations to count well, but that is not the same as figuring out how and whether a life counts.'[217]

The inequality disavowed by the empathy-as-substitution model is also a question of the differential distribution of individuals within hierarchies of grievability. Butler argues that only 'grievable' human lives 'can be valued, and valued through time.'[218] Only grievable lives are 'eligible for social and economic support, housing, health care, employment, rights of political expression, forms of social recognition, and conditions for political agency.[219] As non-lives, drowned refugees are not grievable: in order for European citizens to observe with 'righteous coldness' the mass letting-die at their borders, refugee lives must not be considered to have

---

[215] Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2016), xvi–xvii.
[216] "Over 3,770 Migrants Have Died Trying to Cross the Mediterranean to Europe in 2015," IOM Missing Migrants: Tracking Deaths Along Migratory Routes, 2015, https://missingmigrants.iom.int/over-3770-migrants-have-died-trying-cross-mediterranean-europe-2015.
"Fundamental Rights Considerations: NGO Ships Involved in Search and Rescue in the Mediterranean and Criminal Investigations," FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-ngos-sar-mediterranean_en.pdf.
[217] Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?*, xx.
[218] Judith Butler, *Notes Toward A Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 198.
[219] Butler, 198.

been lived.[220] It is because of the inequality of grievability that the *anyone can become a refugee* narrative rings false. Substituting the evidently un-grievable non-lives of refugees, even in the imagination, with grievable citizens' lives, elides a radical inequality. It suppresses the structural reasons underlying the fact that some people are *far more likely* to become refugees than others.

In short, the *anyone can become a refugee* trend in humanitarian communications hides the cheapness of refugee lives in the European political imagination. It also camouflages European-citizens' active or passive complicity in the construction of refugee non-lives: Butler explains that 'when such lives are lost they are not grievable, since, in the twisted logic that rationalizes their death, the loss of such populations is deemed necessary to protect the lives of "the living."'[221] The exercise of empathy as imaginative substitution conceals the fact that those un-grievable refugee lives will 'never have been lived' in order to 'protect' the interests of European citizens. The *anyone can become a refugee* motif, like Weiwei's beach reconstruction, and Hosseini's splicing of his son into the 'refugee stories' he hears, replaces the object of the humanitarian gaze with the seeing, listening spectator-self. In each of these examples, the narrative is stunted by the invocation of empathy as a generous act of substitution.

6. The Cosmopolitan 'Migrant Voice'

Sentimental humanitarian narratives that elicit the 'refugee voice' as a means of 'humanising the refugee' in Calais often rely upon a cosmopolitan approach to literature as a vessel for communicating the universality of humanity.[222] The cosmopolitan argument for humanitarian

[220] Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?*, xxiv.
[221] Butler, 31.
[222] H. Grice and T. Woods, "Human Rights, Human Wrongs: Literatures of Captivity," *Textual Practice* 26, no. 5 (2012): 829–50.

literature, often associated with the work of Richard Rorty and Martha Nussbaum, considers narrative accounts of pain and suffering to be capable of acquainting

> people of different kinds with one another so that they are less tempted to think of those different from themselves only as quasi-human. The goal of this manipulation of sentiment is to expand the reference of the terms "our kind of people" and "people like us."[223]

By cultivating 'our' capacity to imagine other people in response to 'hearing sad and sentimental stories'[224] about them, Rorty argues, we increase our chances of treating those other people with compassion rather than cruelty (the collective pronouns in Rorty's argument are laden with assumptions about who is and is not included in 'the circle of the "we"').[225] Rorty argues that '[v]ictims of cruelty, people who are suffering, do not have much in the way of a language,' because '[t]he language the victims once used is not working anymore, and they are suffering too much to put new words together. So the job of putting their situation into language is going to have to be done for them by somebody else.'[226] This 'somebody else' he considers to be the 'liberal novelist, poet, or journalist.'[227]

The argument for cosmopolitan literary humanitarianism has faced sustained and devastating criticism over the years.[228] Elaine Scarry rejects the cosmopolitan approach on the basis that

---

Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007).
Brenda Carr Vellino, "Everything I Know about Human Rights I Learned from Literature: Human Rights Literacy in the Canadian Literature Classroom," in *Home-Work: Postcolonialism, Pedagogy, and Canadian Literature*, ed. Cynthia Sugars (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004).
[223] Richard Rorty, "Human Rights, Rationality, and Sentimentality," in *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993*, ed. Susan Shute, Stephen and Hurley (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 122–23.
[224] Rorty, 119.
[225] David A. Hollinger, "How Wide the Circle of the "We"? American Intellectuals and the Problem of the Ethnos since World War II," *The American Historical Review* 98, no. 2 (1993): 317–37, http://www.jstor.com/stable/2166835.
[226] Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 94.
[227] Rorty, 94.
[228] *Critical Bibliography (2): Critics of Humanitarian Sentimentality*

> [t]he human capacity to injure other people has always been much greater than its ability to imagine other people. Or perhaps we should say, *the human capacity to injure other people is very great precisely because our capacity to imagine other people is very small.*[229]

Thomas Laqueur makes the related point that '[t]here is no reason to believe that sympathy with a character in a fictional work or nonfictional narrative would make us more rather than less likely to treat kindly a real live person.'[230] Laqueur highlights that '[t]he contemplation of distant pain could just as well produce more pleasure […] for the ostensible humanitarian than it did relief for the subjects of "sad and sentimental tales."'[231] Simon Gikandi, meanwhile, considers the refugee figure to fit particularly *poorly* into the cosmopolitan imaginary. He argues that 'a discourse of cosmopolitanism remains incomplete unless we read the redemptive narrative of being global in a contrapuntal relationship with the narrative of statelessness.'[232] Gikandi describes the refugee as 'the Other of the cosmopolitan; rootless by compulsion,' a figure who has been 'forced to develop an alternative narrative of global cultural flows.'[233]

Notwithstanding this widespread criticism, the cosmopolitan argument for literary humanitarianism has been instrumental in constructing the relationship between the 'refugee voice', 'refugee storytelling' and 'refugee humanity' within sentimental narratives about the Calais Jungle. Ibrahim and Howarth rely on the argument for literary cosmopolitanism in their study of the narrative practices of Calais Migrant Solidarity (CMS), for example. They argue that, by featuring refugees' life stories on their website, CMS manage to 'restore the migrant

---

[229] Elaine Scarry, "The Difficulty of Imagining Other People," in *For Love of Country?*, ed. Martha C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 103.
[230] Thomas W. Laqueur, "Mourning, Pity and the Work of Narrative in the Making of 'Humanity,'" in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, ed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 32.
[231] Laqueur, 33.
[232] Simon Gikandi, "Between Roots and Routes: Cosmopolitanism and the Claims of Locality," in *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millenium*, ed. Janet Wilson, Cristina Șandru, and Sarah Lawson Welsh (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 26.
[233] Gikandi, 26.

voice, providing proximity through personal narratives that are constructed as archetypical of the adversities faced in journeying to Calais.'[234]

Ibrahim and Howarth consider that the 'vignettes of suffering' communicated by the 'migrant voice' on the CMS website allow the website user to 'see[] migrants as being like us, rehumanizing them through a proximity to their experiences, emotions and vantage points.'[235] This accords with Martha Nussbaum's argument that the cosmopolitan imagination 'bring[s] a distant individual into the sphere of our goals and projects, humanizing the person and creating the possibility of attachment.'[236] Ibrahim and Howarth also consider the 'reconstruction of the migrant' on the CMS website to be 'an important device in enabling proximity and reconstituting the migrant as real and human.'[237] They go on to argue that new media platforms have 'sought to resurrect migrants *as humans* by sharing their intimate and personal narratives, where they can be named and remembered as opposed to being unnamed casualties in their plight to cross the border or to escape their predicament as illegal corporeal bodies.'[238]

In this account, *being human* is made contingent upon the migrant's ability to elicit a *humane* response from spectators. Migrants are 'resurrected' *as humans* when they are treated *humanely* – when they are named and remembered. The language of resurrection, which echoes the artistic trend of memorialising the living considered above, also reflects the interplay between two

---

[234] Yasmin Ibrahim and Anita Howarth, "Sounds of the Jungle: Rehumanizing the Migrant," *JOMEC Journal: Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies*, 2015, 8, cf.ac.uk/jomec/jomecjournal/7-june2015/Ibrahim_Howarth.pdf.

[235] Ibrahim and Howarth, 8–9, 9.
CMS would likely disagree with this assessment. The 'No Borders' group are strictly political and vehemently opposed to humanitarian groups that interact with refugees in ways that they deem paternalistic or pitying. Some even accuse CMS of over-politicising refugees in Calais.

[236] Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 66.

[237] Ibrahim and Howarth, 1.

[238] Ibrahim and Howarth, 2. *Emphasis added.*

forms of humanity: 'humanity as shared species category and humanity as sympathy or benevolence.'[239] It feeds into the hierarchy that Festa identifies between 'those who elicit feelings of humanity,' and those who are granted the opportunity to behave humanely: between the citizens who 'have humanity', and the refugees who simply 'are it.'[240]

Through their 'vignettes of suffering,' the refugees evidence their *existential humanity* by eliciting our *feelings of humanity*. This confers upon the citizen-spectator the right to demand evidence of, and bestow humanity upon, the refugee. Both the deprivation of the migrant's humanity, and the reconstitution, resurrection or restoration of it, remain at the discretion of humanitarian media audiences and their capricious affective attachments. The processes of humanisation *and* dehumanisation take place beyond the control, and even beyond the knowledge, of the persons being 'reconstituted'.

As the European citizen-spectator holds the power to 'restor[e] dignity and identity to the migrants of Calais,'[241] or to choose not to do so, this widens 'the social and intellectual divide' that Joseph Slaughter describes 'between the enfranchised benefactor-reader and the marginal subject in need of reading.'[242] These tales of 'the suffering and trauma of the migrant'[243] are more likely to reinforce, than to undermine, the binary distinction between sufferers and spectators. This can be dangerous because, as Slaughter argues, '[i]n a social order constituted even partially on reading acts, the incorporated readers' power to withhold or grant a "reading"

[239] Festa, "Humanity without Feathers," 7–8.
[240] Festa, 8.
[241] Ibrahim and Howarth, "Sounds of the Jungle: Rehumanizing the Migrant," 7.
[242] Joseph R. Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 305–6.
[243] Ibrahim and Howarth, "Sounds of the Jungle: Rehumanizing the Migrant," 12.

(or hearing) may be tantamount to the power to retract or extend the community's franchise – to deauthorize or authorize claims for inclusion.'[244]

The inequality embedded in the sentimental model of humanitarian reading raises difficult questions about the relationship between 'refugee storytelling' and 'refugee humanity' in the context of the Calais Jungle. What does it mean for refugees to be 'humanised' through the same representational channels by which their 'humanity' was initially withdrawn? Do the 'we' in the equation – the citizens, the onlookers, the empathisers, the humanity-givers – have an automatic right to consume refugees' 'vignettes of suffering,' to share in their 'intimate and personal narratives'? Can we construct an ethics of reading refugee narratives, or is the consumption of refugee stories always, automatically voyeuristic?

Within the discursive field of sentimental humanitarianism, the 'refugee voice' opens up two separate pathways for 'humanising the refugee'. First, the silent speech of the wounded refugee body, which leads to a limited form of humanisation, communicated through a memorialisation of the still-living. Secondly, the deployment of the 'refugee voice' within sentimental humanitarian narratives, which replaces political responsibility with enjoyable imaginative scenarios, such as the suggestion that *anyone can become a refugee*. The latter formulation relies upon a cosmopolitan argument for literary humanitarianism, which 'humanises' the refugee through 'vignettes of suffering,' but which tends to 'coalesce in a patronizing humanitarian model of reading that effectively reinforces the disparity between rights holders and those who cannot enact their rights.'[245]

[244] Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.*, 305.
[245] Slaughter, 305.

No simple equation exists, then, between the 'refugee voice', 'refugee storytelling', and liberty or equality for the refugee subject. Rather, the discordant relationship between voice and humanity in the humanitarian arena reveals the dilemma at the heart of the 'voice–storytelling-humanity' construct: that 'giving a particular space for refugees to speak is not the same as working "outside the system", it is rather to make more efficient the workings of another system that also predefines and restricts the scope of refugee voices.'[246] By recognising the ambivalence of the 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling' within the sentimental humanitarian context, it is possible to embark upon a more fruitful consideration of how the individuality and the political will of a person seeking refugee status might be asserted, in ways that do not rest solely on the idea of their 'being' a refugee.

[246] Rajaram, "Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee," 259.

CHAPTER TWO

HUMAN RIGHTS, VOICE AND HUMANITY IN THE CALAIS JUNGLE

7. The Asylum Story and the 'Refugee Voice'

Now that 'the personal stories of refugees are taking on an increasing cultural significance,' argues Anna Szörényi, we are faced with 'both an imperative and an opportunity to consider carefully the ways in which the trajectory into recognisable "humanity" and "individuality" is constructed' for the contemporary refugee subject.[1] We have seen that invoking the 'refugee voice' within sentimental humanitarian narratives offered only a precarious trajectory into negligible humanity for those caught up in the 'refugee crisis'. A concurrent 'trajectory into recognisable "humanity"' is facilitated by the 'refugee voice' in accordance with the human rights narrative tradition.

Voice and storytelling play a central role in contemporary human rights regimes. Slaughter has argued that a human rights abuse can be 'characterized as an infringement on the modern subject's ability to narrate her story,' and as such, 'the voice should be the focus of international human rights instruments.'[2] He argues that 'human rights in general, and human rights law in particular, can be productively formulated in terms of narrative genres and narrative voices.'[3] In this assessment, the purpose of human rights discourse is to create the conditions, and the

[1] Anna Szörényi, "The Face of Suffering in Afghanistan: Identity, Authenticity and Technology in the Search for the Representative Refugee," *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 21, no. 1 (2004): 6, doi: 10.1080/13200968.2004.10854328.
[2] Joseph R. Slaughter, "A Question of Narration: The Voice in International Human Rights Law," *Human Rights Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1997): 413, 407, http://www.jstor.com/stable/762582.
[3] Slaughter, 407.

interpretive schema, for previously-silenced voices to be heard. In short, Slaughter considers that 'the narrative of human rights attempts to provide public, international space for a voice.'[4]

The life narrative form (alongside the *Bildungsroman* genre) is the literary vehicle most closely associated with the voicing of human rights claims.[5] Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith explain that 'life narratives have become one of the most potent vehicles for advancing human rights claims,'[6] and that

> countless numbers of published narratives have fueled and been fueled by campaigns for human rights. Told from diverse locations by diverse people, *many of whom have been previously silenced,* they offer hybrid modes of telling stories, and hybrid modes of mediating political, ethical, and aesthetic imperatives.[7]

The relationship between voice and humanity within human rights discourse in the Calais Jungle is made clear in two life narrative collections: *Voices from the 'Jungle': Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp,* and *Humans After All: Voices from Calais.* The former was the product of a Life Stories course run by the University of East London (UEL) in the Calais Jungle in 2015-16.[8] Published in 2017, it gathers together 22 first-person accounts from individuals who lived in the camp, assisted by a team of editors. *Voices from the 'Jungle'* conforms to Schaffer and Smith's definition of a human rights life narrative anthology. Human rights life narrative anthologies, they explain, are texts that

> gain their ethical force by gathering multiple narratives of shared victimization into one volume whose purpose is to challenge and rewrite history, call the reader to recognition, and spur action. Such anthologies are almost always […] introduced and edited by advocates or activists who

[4] Slaughter, 428.
[5] *Critical Bibliography (3): Key Studies in Literature and Human Rights*
[6] Kay Schaffer and Sidone Smith, *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1.
[7] Schaffer and Smith, 28. *Emphasis added.*
[8] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp,* ed. Marie Godin et al. (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

> provide scholarly commentary on the contexts that gave rise to the testimony and propose interpretive human rights frameworks through which to read and make sense of the stories.[9]

Voices from the 'Jungle' is a useful starting point for investigating the position of the 'refugee voice' and its associated 'trajectory into recognisable "humanity"' within literary structures of human rights humanism. While its title self-consciously foregrounds the vocal over the visual (thus setting itself against the kinds of humanitarian representations described in the previous chapter), J.J. Bola's review on the back cover asserts that 'through these stories, we reclaim that home and the humanity that is lost with what comes with being labelled a refugee.'[10] The depiction of storytelling as a reclamation of humanity testifies to the prominent role that the 'refugee voice' plays in the 'trajectory into recognisable "humanity"' for refugees in Calais.

Many of the authors in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* explicitly claim humanity or declare themselves to be human. The author who uses the pseudonym 'Refugees' Voice' pointedly describes the residents of the Jungle as 'Humans of Calais,' while Teddy states, simply, that '[w]e are human beings.'[11] Zeeshan Imayat complains that '[s]ometimes French people, when you go to Calais city, they will ignore you. Why? We are all human. That is a mistake and it happens because we are refugees.'[12] In comparison, Africa says of the Jungle's residents that '[y]ou can find the real kind of human being here,' while the volunteers in the camp 'respect you because you are human.'[13]

This is in stark contrast to the Home Office, which 'does not treat us as people; they do not want to see or hear us. They treat us worse than they might treat an animal.'[14] The sub-headings

[9] Schaffer and Smith, *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition*, 45.
[10] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, back cover.
[11] Calais Writers, 154, 179.
[12] Calais Writers, 130.
[13] Calais Writers, 155, 156.
[14] Calais Writers, 224.

for the book's thematic sections also foreground the language of humanity and inhumanity. These include: 'Humanity denied', 'Everyday humanity' and 'Belonging – "We are all human."'[15] At times, the authors' invocations of humanity are envisioned as explicit inversions of the sensationalist, sectarian and dehumanising rhetoric of mainstream media. Babak writes that [w]hen people are seeing all of these really bad things in the media, they think we are not human beings, they think we are violent,' yet '[w]hen they come to visit the camp, they see that it is not like this, they see they are all just humans.'[16] Similarly, Haris reflects that,

> [w]hen someone hears the name 'Jungle', they think about animals, not human beings. Here in Calais there is a jungle, yes, but humans are living in the 'Jungle', so if you want to show that, you show the toilet conditions of the 'Jungle', the food conditions, the tents, clothes and shoes. You show them the people who are living in here. You show them the human life.[17]

The repeated declarations and affirmations of humanity in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* contribute to the idea that the 'refugee voice' is the dominant cultural vehicle via which displaced people in Europe are able to code themselves as 'human' within human rights discourse. Yet some consider the human rights life narrative to be 'a poor host for refugee testimony.'[18] Gillian Whitlock argues that testimony becomes 'immobilized' by refugees, as 'those humans who become "things,"' and whose experiences remain 'unspeakable, unimaginable, and off the map.'[19] She describes the testimonial act as 'a process of "becoming human,"' but considers refugees and asylum seekers to have been left behind by the humanising impulse of testimonial culture, remaining 'abject bodies that trigger not empathy and compassionate witness but the obverse: aversion and disgust.'[20] She takes up Michael Dillon's argument for 'the refugee' as a figure that 'recalls the radical instability of meaning and the incalculability of the human,' to

[15] Calais Writers, 121, 140, 169.
[16] Calais Writers, 172–73.
[17] Calais Writers, 254.
[18] Whitlock, *Postcolonial Life Narratives: Testimonial Transactions*, 179.
[19] Whitlock, 170, 2, 178.
[20] Whitlock, 95, 170.

argue that '[r]efugees bring to light uncertainties about who can be understood and felt to be human.'[21]

My argument departs from the idea of refugees as 'silent' and 'unspeakable' 'things', and from celebrations of 'empathy and compassionate witness.' Yet I also wish to argue, using different reasoning, that the human rights life narrative has proven to be an inhospitable form for those seeking asylum in Europe today. I argue that the human rights life narrative is an ambivalent host for 'refugee voices' because every instance of autobiographical narrative construction undertaken by those seeking asylum in Europe is influenced by, and has the potential to influence, the decision-making processes of the asylum determination system in the country of asylum.

It is well understood that at the core of every asylum claim is an 'asylum story', and that the task of an asylum seeker within the application process is one of high-stakes narrative construction: as Jenni Millbank puts it, 'refugee determinations involve the most intensely narrative mode of legal adjudication.'[22] When claiming asylum, Agnes Woolley writes, 'refugees must narrate themselves into existence as legitimate beings' through the stories they tell.[23] Every life narrative produced by a person seeking asylum in Europe, in every form, across every forum, is circumscribed and controlled by the spectre of the juridical 'asylum story'. As Eleanor Paynter explains,

> [r]efugee life narrative occupies a complex and contentious discursive space because its most crucial manifestation, the asylum court, serves as the setting in which a migrant's fate is

[21] Michael Dillon, "The Scandal of the Refugee: Some Reflections on the 'Inter' of International Relations," *Refuge* 17, no. 6 (1998): 30.
Whitlock, *Postcolonial Life Narratives: Testimonial Transactions*, 179.
[22] Jenni Millbank, "'The Ring of Truth' : A Case Study of Credibility Assessment in Particular Social Group Refugee Determinations," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 21, no. 1 (2009): 2, doi: 10.1093/ijrl/een040.
[23] Agnes Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 20.

> determined and, at the same time, severely limits the kinds of narratives and strategies of self-representation a migrant can utilize.[24]

As a result, 'other genres of refugee life narrative are necessarily in conversation with the high stakes of asylum testimony.'[25] Narrative inconsistencies both inside and outside of official asylum interviews have the potential to affect asylum claims negatively, based on the (widely criticised) assumption that inconsistencies between different versions of the same 'asylum story' signify a lack of credibility. If the narrative given during an initial or substantive asylum interview is found to contradict evidence provided elsewhere, including in autobiographical texts intended for educational and advocacy purposes, this can result in a negative credibility judgment.[26]

This may be why some authors in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* tell their stories cautiously and with precision, as if speaking before a court. Milkesa describes his circumstances in a language appropriate for an asylum interview. He explains that, as a teacher of the Oromo language, he was forced to leave Ethiopia because 'the Ethiopian authorities continued to severely restrict the basic civil right to develop Oromo culture and language,' despite the fact that 'it is declared in the Ethiopian Constitution that everyone has the right to develop their language and culture.'[27] This vigilance carries over into Milkesa's description of his reasons for travelling to Europe, as he outlines that

> [t]he Egyptian government's laws allow refugees neither to resettle nor to work in Egypt. Hence I needed legal protection. But I didn't have an offer of resettlement from the UNHCR or any

[24] Eleanor Paynter, "Autobiographical Docudrama as Testimony: Jonas Carpignano's Mediterranea," *Auto/Biography Studies* 32, no. 3 (2017): 659, doi: 10.1080/08989575.2017.1339467.
[25] Paynter, 659–60.
[26] Stephen Paskey, "Telling Refugee Stories: Trauma, Credibility and the Adversarial Adjudication of Claims for Asylum," *Santa Clara Law Review* 56, no. 3 (2016): 462.
[27] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 45, 44.

> other governmental and nongovernmental organisations. As a last option, I came to Europe to ask for asylum, and to enjoy peace, freedom, security and human dignity.[28]

As Benjamin Thomas White asserts, 'Milkesa's narrative – fluent, detailed and dated, but also self-justifying – appears ready-made for an asylum hearing.'[29] Milkesa's narrative corroborates Kristin Sandvik's argument that the asylum seeker's construction of their own identity 'relies heavily on sufficient command of the human rights discourse.'[30]

The Dublin III regulation circumscribes the narratives of those seeking asylum in Europe today. When a person claims asylum in a 'Dublin state', that state may issue a 'take charge request' to another member state if they have evidence that an asylum applicant either entered or spent a significant period of time in that state. Where no Eurodac fingerprints exist, the asylum caseworker decides whether to issue a 'take charge request' based on '[t]he assessment of an applicant's credibility.'[31] An applicant's credibility is damaged by their 'failure to engage with the asylum system of another Dublin State, when presented with the opportunity to do.'[32] This can prove problematic for people who spent extended periods in the Jungle before eventually claiming asylum in the UK.

In order to determine the credibility of an asylum applicant, a caseworker will look for 'evidence of the individual circumventing immigration control whilst in one (or more) Dublin States, and showing wilful disregard for the asylum procedures available in those States.'[33] The caseworker is able to assess 'any and all evidence available' to ascertain whether an applicant

---

[28] Calais Writers, 87.
[29] Benjamin Thomas White, "Calais Writers, Voices from the 'Jungle': Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp. Review.," *H-France Review* 18, no. 199 (2018): 5–6, https://h-france.net/vol18reviews/vol18no199white.pdf.
[30] Kristin Bergtora Sandvik, "The Physicality of Legal Consciousness: Suffering and the Production of Credibility in Refugee Resettlement," in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, ed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 231.
[31] "Dublin III Regulation," 18.
[32] "Dublin III Regulation," 18.
[33] "Dublin III Regulation," 18.

'is likely to have spent at least 5 months in a Dublin State (contrary to their own account of their journey to the UK).'[34] This means that, if a refugee's published life narrative includes 'evidence […] suggesting that illegal entry into the Dublin territory took place across the external border of a Dublin State,' or that they have 'been living illegally in a Dublin State for a continuous period of at least 5 months,'[35] this could influence the Home Office's decision to submit a 'take charge request' based on the applicant's perceived lack of credibility.

All life narratives told by people seeking asylum in Europe orbit around the asylum determination procedure and 'the credibility of the account given during the screening interview.'[36] This has resulted in a clinical, homogeneous archetype of the creative 'asylum story', even across forums that are not affiliated with legal or national asylum infrastructures. Yet the human rights life narrative is *particularly* susceptible to the gravitational pull of the asylum interview – this cardinal instance of 'refugee storytelling' – because the two narrative forms share certain rhetorical conventions, values and requirements. Despite their differing intentions, the human rights life narrative form and the juridical asylum story both position their first-person narrators as authentic, sovereign subjects capable of representing themselves and their personal histories through objective, factual and verifiable truth claims.

8. Hospitality, Authenticity and the Human Rights Life Narrative

The extensive narrative research conducted around the juridical asylum story reveals the importance of *plausibility* and *credibility* to a successful asylum application. This research also tends to agree upon the unsuitability of this assessment criteria for judging the 'authenticity' of

[34] "Dublin III Regulation," 18.
[35] "Dublin III Regulation," 23.
[36] "Dublin III Regulation," 18.

an asylum claim.[37] Research studies have shown that decision-makers' assumptions about what is plausible or credible within any given narrative circumstance tend to be culturally conditioned, derivative, subjective, and sometimes arbitrary or inconsistent. Research has also shown that judgments upon the plausibility or credibility of an asylum narrative can be influenced by the race, gender and sexuality of the person claiming asylum.[38]

The asylum stories that are considered 'credible' and 'plausible' tend to be the ones that communicate the applicant's 'well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion'[39] through a linear series of empirical markers. The asylum narratives most likely to be deemed credible and plausible provide clear, coherent, accurate and detailed lists of place names and timeframes without any contextualising, idiosyncratic or culturally-specific elements, as this is what decision-makers often perceive to be the most truthful form of storytelling.

As Jan Blommaert summarises, a successful asylum story must 'stress textual consistency, linearity, logic, rationality and factuality.'[40] Simon Behrman reflects that 'asylum tribunals hear claims in the language of the law, one informed by the political and socio-economic ethos of the nation-state and capitalism.'[41] He criticises 'the inability of the law to loosen its bounds of legal definitions, procedure, and subjectivity,' because these stringent narrative structures force

[37] *Critical Bibliography (4): Critique of Credibility Assessments in Asylum Hearings*
[38] Helen Baillot, Sharon Cowan, and Vanessa E. Munro, "Seen but Not Heard? Parallels and Dissonances in the Treatment of Rape Narratives across the Asylum and Criminal Justice Contexts," *Journal of Law and Society* 36, no. 2 (2009): 213–18.
[39] "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," UNHCR, 2010, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/3b66c2aa10.
[40] Jan Blommaert, "Investigating Narrative Inequality: African Asylum Seekers' Stories in Belgium," *Dicourse & Society* 12, no. 4 (2001): 436.
[41] Simon Behrman, "Legal Subjectivity and the Refugee," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 26, no. 1 (2014): 14, https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eet049.

the refugee to 'fit their narrative into a particular set of criteria of religious or political persecution, of what constitutes a race, nationality or social group.'[42]

As the asylum applicant is required to adopt an identity consistent with this narrow legal language, the asylum procedure is also a process of performative self-construction for the refugee subject. Woolley argues that this high level of prescriptiveness has resulted in 'an idealized version of refugeehood on which the civic incorporation of the asylum seeker depends and which circulates in a narrative economy that sets the terms for the enunciation of refugee experience.'[43] The refugee must perform their identity as a rational, individualistic, self-possessed and self-knowing subject, in order to conform to the notion of individual personhood entailed by 'the liberal political tradition.'[44]

It is because 'the cultural assumptions about the person and what it means to be human' are 'ones that emerged relatively recently in Western Europe,' Bridget Hayden writes, that '[t]he person assumed by both the refugee and human rights regimes of the United Nations is a culturally-specific construct defining the relationship between the individual and society in a way that precludes an adequate understanding of refugees.'[45] Elizabeth Anker makes a similar observation about the human rights life narrative tradition. She argues that the autobiographical form inaugurates an 'individualist dictate to self-fashion via self-narration,' which has naturalised 'normative ideas about progress, maturation, autonomy, civic incorporation, and

[42] Behrman, 15.
[43] Agnes Woolley, "Narrating the "Asylum Story": Between Literary and Legal Storytelling," *Interventions* 19, no. 3 (2017): 376, doi: 10.1080/1369801X.2016.1231585.
Jeffers, *Refugees, Theatre and Crisis: Performing Global Identities*, 17.
[44] Hayden, "What's in a Name? The Nature of the Individual in Refugee Studies," 485.
[45] Hayden, 471.

human rights.'[46] Anker writes that, '[i]nsofar as human rights norms and statements envision a "liberal," "self-determining" "individual", certain modes of narrative self-assertion have been viewed as crucial to both claiming human rights and establishing a person's entitlement to them.'[47]

Both the asylum narrative and the human rights life narrative, then, have been criticised for their formalistic prioritisation of empirical truth, authenticity, individualism and liberalism. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson attest to a 'crisis of suspicion surrounding narratives of witness in contemporary human rights campaigns,' which they attribute to the 'metrics of authenticity that have come to be associated with testimony as guarantors of the subject position of first-person witness and its credibility.'[48] Their identification of 'an over-investment in "authenticity"' within the testimonial narrative form suggests that the demand for an authentic, sovereign, plausible and credible first-person narrator pervades both the human rights life narrative form and the 'asylum story.'[49] As the stakes of performing authenticity for refugees are particularly high, a literary form that *also* privileges verifiability, individual sovereign selfhood and authenticity can work to 'silence' refugees at the same time as it provides a channel for speech.

In *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, this verifiable, objective narrative style is evidenced by the use of footnotes. Citations are included alongside authors' accounts, to substantiate their claims with reference to trusted sources and secondary, corroborating evidence. For example, Zeeshan

[46] Elizabeth S. Anker, "Commonly Human: Embodied Self-Possession and Human Rights in Jamaica Kincaid's 'The Autobiography of My Mother,'" in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, ed. Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 41.
[47] Anker, 37.
[48] Sidone Smith and Julia Watson, "Witness or False Witness?: Metrics of Authenticity, Collective I-Formations, and the Ethic of Verification in First-Person Testimony," *Biography* 35, no. 4 (2012): 591, http://www.jstor.com/stable/23540886.
[49] Smith and Watson, 592.

Imayat explains that 'I couldn't stay in Islamabad because we are Pathans. I am a target in Pakistan.' His cousin Zeeshan Javid continues, '[m]y dad told me to leave. He said, "Otherwise Taliban will take you and they will wash your brain."'[50] Accompanying their accounts is a footnote which confirms that '[a]ccording to Minority Rights Group International, the Pathan population has been adversely affected by the war on terror and American military intervention in the area.'[51] The footnote directs readers towards a trusted resource where they can find more information.

The use of facts from reputable sources to substantiate the idiosyncratic and euphemistic narrative – 'wash your brain' – emulates the use of country guidance documents and expert witnesses within asylum hearings, as a means of adjudicating on the authenticity of a refugee's testimonial narrative. Country guidance documents had a significant impact on some young people living in the Jungle, as inaccurate information contained in the country guidance pertaining to Eritrea was said to have prevented unaccompanied minors from Eritrea transferring to the UK under the Dubs Amendment.[52] The footnotes become even more contentious when the information contained therein contradicts the authors' accounts.

Where Milkesa states that '[t]he Oromo make up the largest portion of the Ethiopian population,' an attached footnote confirms that the Oromo 'account for 40 per cent of the population of Ethiopia.'[53] Although the correction itself is minor, it signifies the inability of the life narrative form to 'avoid installing that same opposition between authentic and inauthentic

[50] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 26, 27.
[51] Calais Writers, 27.
[52] Diane Taylor, "Home Office Eritrea Guidance Softened to Reduce Asylum Seeker Numbers," *The Guardian*, January 22, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jan/22/home-office-eritrea-guidance-softened-to-reduce-asylum-seeker-numbers
[53] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 39, 40.

narratives' that makes up 'a constituent part of the asylum determination system.'[54] The human rights life narrative is limited in its capacity to challenge the informational hierarchy constructed by the asylum application process, which endorses certain types and sources of information, and certain verification processes and styles of communication, over others.

In other ways, however, *Voices from the 'Jungle'* acknowledges the risk of positioning the 'refugee voice' an authentic first-person narrator. The text addresses the issue meta-critically by departing from the formal strictures of traditional autobiography, instead taking an approach where '[a]uthors were free to create stories of any length, to use any forms that they chose – for example, poetry, prose poems, diary entries, photography and drawings, as well as more conventional written accounts – and to concentrate on any topics they wanted.'[55] The structure of *Voices from the 'Jungle'* departs from the conventions of a human rights life narrative anthology. Rather than a series of complete, linear, autobiographical progress narratives, the text is organised thematically: short paragraphs or sections from individual life narratives are collected under thematic headings that deal with particular concepts, ideas, events or objects. These excerpts are then sewn together by the contextualising sections provided by the editorial voice. The introduction explains that '[t]he authors' own voices are heard in this variability of structure,' as it granted them the flexibility to select which parts of their experiences they wanted to write about. [56]

The text evokes the disorientation and chaos of the 'migration journey' by interspersing excerpts from individual authors' stories throughout the text. The unpredictability and

[54] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 19. Other refugee life narratives employ footnotes even more extensively to fact-check authors; see Dave Smith, *Refugee Stories: Seven Personal Journeys Behind the Headlines* (Hertfordshire: Instant Apostle, 2016).
[55] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 10.
[56] Calais Writers, 10.

confusion documented by the authors is heightened as the text jumps between people, places and times. While the authors' individual narratives are disjointed, then, these fragments are reincorporated into the text in accordance with an overarching chronological structure, meaning that the master narrative of *Voices from the 'Jungle'* does resemble a typical 'refugee journey narrative'. Chapter One deals with 'home:' the 'before' of the refugee experience. Chapter Two then tackles journeys: what happened on the way. Chapter Three and Four are concerned with the Jungle as a temporary destination point, then Chapter Five deals with 'Life after the "Jungle:"' the future. This linear narrative structure conforms to the 'authentic' refugee journey as it is understood in judicial contexts. As Blommaert explains,

> the procedurally relevant biography of the [asylum] applicant is that portion of his or her life that can be rewritten in the shape of a travelogue, starting with (an) event(s) that prompt his or her escape from the country of origin, the process of escape and travel itself including details of time, duration, medium and itinerary, and his or her arrival in [the destination country], all portions of which can be documented by means of place descriptions and time frames.[57]

Although *Voices from the 'Jungle'* emphasises that '[t]here is no singular refugee experience or journey,'[58] the overarching chronological structure into which these fragmented stories are reincorporated conforms to an archetypal, homogenising and holistic idea of *the* refugee experience. As the thematic structure of *Voices from the 'Jungle'* also requires a high level of directional input from the editorial voice, this voice assumes a prominent guiding role within the text. It glues together and contextualises snippets of different authors' life narratives, making comparisons and distinctions between the authors' accounts. It also solidifies the relationship between the 'refugee voice' and the 'editorial voice' within the text.

[57] Blommaert, "Investigating Narrative Inequality: African Asylum Seekers' Stories in Belgium," 442.
[58] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 105.

I refer to the 'editorial voice' here, rather than 'the editors', partly because we are told that the authors also contributed to the editorial process, and partly to emphasise that this analysis is concerned with *textual* relations – the interaction of voices *within* the text – rather than the methodological approach taken by the Life Stories course itself.[59] The latter has been reflected upon by Cigdem Esin and Aura Lounasmaa, who explain that the course aimed

> to show what teaching and learning in UK universities could look like, and to allow those living in the camp to imagine that studying in university was/would be a possibility available for them. While there were no guarantees that university studies could ever become a reality to the participants, being allowed to think beyond material needs while living in the "Jungle' could be important for morale.[60]

Whether this constitutes an ethical justification for running an accredited university course in the Jungle is its own question, separate from the purely textual dynamics established by the narrative of *Voices from the 'Jungle'*. Within the text itself, the interaction between the 'editorial voice' and the 'refugee voices' conforms to a standardised model of literary hospitality. The editorial voice assumes the position of host, as it explicitly and performatively introduces the authors into its discursive domain, through declarations of welcome: 'Here is Ali Badjar describing the next stage of his journey'; 'Here Majid talks us through the European leg of his journey'; 'Here is Mohammed Ahmed once more.'[61] These introductions code the 'refugee voices' as invited guests within the text.

The editorial voice also mediates and explicates the authors' life stories. For example, Shikeb's narrative is preceded by the explanation that '[f]or some, remembering the events along the journey were difficult to retell – and they preferred to gloss over the details – such as Shikeb,

[59] Calais Writers, 8.
[60] Cigdem Esin and Aura Lounasmaa, "Narrative and Ethical (in)Action: Creating Spaces of Resistance with Refugee-Storytellers in the Calais 'Jungle' Camp," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 23, no. 4 (2020): 393, https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1723202.
[61] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 63, 87, 104.

whose experience of the journey had been traumatic to the point where it was better to forget.'[62] This introduction influences the way that the reader approaches Shikeb's story. The editorial voice thus hosts the textual encounter within *Voices from the 'Jungle'* by orchestrating the reader's comprehension of the individual authors' life narratives. Comparisons, distinctions and extrapolations are also made between the authors' accounts, in statements such as '[f]or many authors', '[i]n many cases,' 'like almost every author', 'different from all the other authors', '[f]or many of the authors of this book.'[63] This guides the reader's apprehension of the text, directing their engagement with, and interpretation of, the sections of 'refugee life narratives'.

The editorial voice also makes generalisations about the refugees' experiences, such as '[y]oung men miss their mothers, feel guilty for abandoning them and, at times, even blame their mothers for sending them away.'[64] In this way, the 'refugee voices' are homogenised by the editorial voice. While some accounts are transformed into representative cases – '[t]his author's account speaks for increasing numbers of other refugees within Europe'[65] – others are marked out as anomalies – 'Africa […] gave perhaps the most positive account of what it meant for him in his early time there – an account […] not shared by all authors or residents.'[66] These acts of mediation and cultural translation position the refugees structurally, and stylistically, as guests within their own narratives.

This reflects the aporia that Jacques Derrida identifies at the heart of the ethical gesture of hospitality. He considers that, in order to act hospitably, a host must assert control over the threshold of their domain. According to Derrida, it is not possible to 'open up or offer

[62] Calais Writers, 71.
[63] Calais Writers, 21, 56, 136, 19, 139.
[64] Calais Writers, 22.
[65] Calais Writers, 34.
[66] Calais Writers, 155.

hospitality, however generous, even in order to be generous, without reaffirming: this is mine, I am at home, you are welcome in my home.'[67] To act hospitably is to demarcate, maintain and even defend the boundaries of one's own space, and this makes every hospitable gesture into 'a reaffirmation of mastery' that 'forbids in some way even what it seems to allow to cross the threshold to pass across it.'[68] When a host extends hospitality to a guest, they also reinforce their power to police the border. As there must always be 'customs and police checks with an invitation,'[69] the act of hospitality can reaffirm the exclusionary boundaries between inside and outside, betraying a level of hostility embedded in the hospitable gesture.

Through the aporetic logic of hospitality, the performative gesture of welcome in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* is also an affirmation of mastery. While offering a platform for 'refugee voices', it is the editorial voice that retains control over the terms of the encounter, and over the interpretive threshold of the text. This imbalance of power demonstrates the need to consider narrative form alongside content in the analysis of human rights testimonial encounters, particularly, as Szörényi argues, 'when the stories are told by people seeking asylum, precisely because the moment they are defined *as* refugees or asylum seekers, the tellers of these tales are already caught up in a particularly acute discursive engagement with questions of "humanity" and "human rights."'[70]

The act of 'hosting' refugee voices within literary texts reflects the standardised model of hospitality through which we have come to anticipate, and to neutralise, strangers and their

[67] Jacques Derrida, "Hostipitality," *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities* 5, no. 3 (2000): 14, doi: 10.1080/09697250020034706.
[68] Derrida, 14.
Jacques Derrida, "Hospitality, Perfectibility, Responsibility," in *Deconstruction Engaged: The Sydney Seminars*, ed. Paul Patton and Terry Smith (Sydney: Power Publications, 2006).
[69] Derrida, "Hostipitality," 14.
[70] Szörényi, "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony," 174.

'strangeness'. This signals the need for alternative forms of encounter that 'would recognise how the encounter itself is implicated in broader relations and circuits of production and exchange,' while creating room for 'the one which is already assimilated' to 'surprise' and to 'move beyond the encounter which names her and holds her in place.'[71] This encourages us to consider what possibilities might exist *beyond* the idea of 'hosting' refugee testimony.[72]

9. Humanity as the 'Refugee Voice'

Like *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, the documentary *Humans After All: Voices from Calais* constructs a relationship between voice and humanity in accordance with the human rights narrative tradition. *Humans After All* is described on the Amnesty International UK website as

> [a] documentary, made by Tomo Brody, in the refugee camp in Calais featuring a sample of 65 different testimonies from men, women and children from seven different countries. We see only their hands, their identity is left obscured. Their voices tell the story of why they had to leave, how they arrived here and the experiences they have had in the camps.[73]

The relationship between 'refugee voice' and 'refugee humanity' in *Humans After All* is markedly different from the relationship constructed within humanitarian discourse. Where sentimental humanitarianism 'humanises' the refugees through a cosmopolitan lens – eliciting empathy and compassion, encouraging generous imaginings and the recognition of a universal capacity for suffering – *Humans After All* deliberately stymies affective attachment through its representational choices: 'we see only their hands, their identity is left obscured.' *Humans After*

---

[71] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 152. *Emphasis removed.*

[72] The philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas provides one such alternative. Unlike Derrida's argument, which places 'dwelling' at the core of hospitality ethics, Levinas considers 'exile' to be at the heart of the ethical gesture of hospitality. For Levinas, it is 'only when the self realizes, acknowledges its own exile within the world, its own destitution, that it becomes capable of generosity and of hospitality.' Chapter Four will consider Levinas's alternative, exilic approach to hospitality.
Abi Doukhan, *Emmanuel Levinas: A Philosophy of Exile* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 34.

[73] Tomo Brody, "Humans After All: Voices from Calais," Amnesty International UK, 2017, https://www.amnesty.org.uk/humans-after-all-voices-calais.

All presents us with seven different pairs of hands, which emerge from the darkness that engulfs the screen. When the contributors speak, they sometimes fidget, gesticulate, interlace their fingers or rub their hands together. Some are held uneasily in place, as if being inspected. The viewer notices the dirt under the nails, a scar, a bandage, but there is no overarching symbolic meaning to be gleaned from these observations.

Whereas bodily evidence of suffering is often suffused with symbolic meaning in sentimental humanitarian accounts, isolated body parts are presented in *Humans After All* without figurative intent. The hands do not offer anything *in particular* to assist in the transmission of the narratives. The documentary's sub-title, 'Out Of Their Hands,' communicates that a displaced person lacks control over their fate, but also that this fate is written onto their hands – in the indisputable evidence extracted from their fingertips. What happens to people after arriving in Europe is often determined by the information taken 'out of their hands' by 'officials trained in the proportionate use of coercion' who 'may apply the minimum level of coercion required' to record their fingerprints on the international Eurodac database, 'while ensuring respect of the dignity and physical integrity of the data-subject.'[74] In *Humans After All*, the hands provide no such definitive proofs. They are inscrutable; they prove nothing, they only withhold.

The editorial structure and delivery of the narratives in *Humans After All* also eschews the possibility of affective attachment between speaker and viewer. Seven narratives are interwoven together, and crammed into the twelve-minute video. Neither the arrangement of narratives nor the transitions between them follow a discernible pattern. As most instalments

[74] "Commission Staff Working Document on Implementation of the Eurodac Regulation as Regards the Obligation to Take Fingerprints," *European Commission* (Brussels, 2015), 4, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/documents/policies/asylum/general/docs/guidelines_on_the_implementation_of_eu_rules_on_the_obligation_to_take_fingerprints_en.pdf.

consist of a few short sentences, last for less than a minute, and begin and end abruptly, the viewer is prevented from investing emotionally in the tales told. As in *Voices from the 'Jungle',* some of the narrative fragments convey the sense of having been carefully crafted and rehearsed, not to elicit an emotional response, but to relay unambiguous, factual information. The speech of the fifteen-year-old boy that begins the documentary is precise and detailed:

> It was 11 o'clock and it was time for break. At this time, when they rang the bell, the Taliban started bombing our school. Four people from my class were killed […] Twenty-three of my friends were injured. One of my teachers was also killed.

Establishing the time and place, and the level of detail regarding the bell ringing and the list of numbers killed and injured, are reminiscent of a witness statement. This provides further evidence of the seepage of the judicial asylum story into creative works. The documentary's stated aim is to elicit information identical to that of an asylum interview: 'why they had to leave, how they arrived here and the experiences they have had in the camps.' The investigatory framework echoes the typical questions asked in an asylum hearing, reiterating the difficulty that creative life narratives have in escaping the all-encompassing prospect of the juridical asylum story.

Humans After All: Voices from Calais does not provide a 'trajectory into recognisable "humanity"' through a sentimental humanitarian frame. Rather, it is the existence of the refugee voice *itself* that marks out the participants as *humans after all,* not the possibility for empathetic attachment entailed by these vocalisations. The documentary's encroaching darkness, by 'obscuring' the 'identity' of the speakers, foregrounds their speech. The English-language subtitles run across the otherwise-empty bottom half of the frame. The lack of visual cues heightens the significance of the written words; the subtitles themselves command the audience's attention.



Figure 10: Still from Tomo Brody, *Humans After All: Voices from Calais***,** 2016

The documentary's title – *Humans After All: Voices from Calais* – indicates that it is the very *existence* of the refugee's voice that is the key to 'humanising the refugee' in Calais, rather than any form of sentimental attachment entailed by the 'refugee voice'. An equation is established in the title, on either side of the colon: humans = voices. If the *Voices from Calais* prove that asylum seekers are *Humans After All,* then the state of 'humanity' comes to be defined as the ability to speak and be heard. The correlation of *the state of being human* with *the state of being seen and heard* – the idea of speech as a predicate of humanity – can be traced back to the Greeks: '[a] speaking being, according to Aristotle, is a political being.'[75] The idea that political beings are speaking beings was elaborated by Hannah Arendt in the mid-twentieth century. She wrote that,

[75] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 12.

> [f]or us, appearance – something that is being seen and heard by others as well as by ourselves – constitutes reality. Compared with the reality which comes from being seen and heard, even the greatest forces of intimate life – the passions of the heart, the thoughts of the mind, the delights of the senses – lead an uncertain, shadowy kind of existence unless and until they are transformed, deprivatized and deindividualized, as it were, into a shape to fit them for public appearance.[76]

Arendt goes on to argue that '[t]he most current of such transformations occurs in storytelling and generally in artistic transposition of individual experiences.'[77] Here it is crucial to remember, however, that Arendt's understanding of the relationship between voice, speech, refugeedom and humanity is more complex than is often argued.[78] While Arendt argues for storytelling as an intersubjective tool for transforming private, natural life (*zoe*) into public, political life (*bios*), the difference between 'political life' and 'humanity' in her argument is vast. In her essay "We Refugees", Arendt advises against aiming for recognition simply as a 'human being', through storytelling or otherwise. She warns of

> the fate of human beings who, unprotected by any specific law or political convention, are nothing but human beings. I can hardly imagine an attitude more dangerous, since we actually live in a world in which human beings as such have ceased to exist for quite a while; since society has discovered discrimination as the great social weapon by which one may kill men without any bloodshed; since passports or birth certificates […] are no longer formal papers but matters of social distinction.[79]

The mobilisation of the 'refugee voice' as a tool to transform 'refugees' into 'humans after all' is of limited value if the transformation does not also guarantee political rights or protections. Invoking the 'refugee voice' as a vehicle through which to set the refugee in Europe onto a 'trajectory of recognisable "humanity"' is an equivocal practice by dint of fact that being 'nothing but human' is an undesirable state. Aligning 'refugee humanity' with the 'refugee

[76] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 50.
[77] Arendt, 50.
[78] For an account of the complex relationship between the refugee, humanity and storytelling in Arendt's work, see Lyndsey Stonebridge, "Refugee Style: Hannah Arendt and the Perplexities of Rights," *Textual Practice* 25, no. 1 (2011): 71–85, doi: 10.1080/0950236X.2010.510901.
[79] Hannah Arendt, "'We Refugees,'" in *The Jewish Writings*, ed. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York: Schocken Books, 2008), 273.

voice' in this way also makes the refugee figure vulnerable to dehumanisation through the withdrawal of the capacity to speak. The extreme version of this withdrawal, as Scarry and Slaughter have highlighted, occurs when a person is subjected to torture.[80] But in less extreme venues, too, basing the recognition of 'refugee humanity' on a person's ability to speak and be heard allows for humanity to be withdrawn when a person is forced into silence.

As Eric Doxtader warns, the equation of speech and humanity through the rhetorical structure of human rights means that 'the gift of speech defines the human at the risk of subjecting being to itself.'[81] Lynn Festa has also cautioned that '[a]dditive definitions' of humanity, such as the classic Platonic definition of 'man' as a featherless biped capable of speech and reason, serve to 'create a checklist of traits (speech, reason, feathers) and then reel individual cases in and out of the class of human based on the possession of these traits or the want thereof.'[82] At the core of the refugee's subjectivation within human rights frameworks, then, lies the problem of the additive definition of humanity. Humanity cannot be defined by the ability to speak without setting up an ontological hierarchy of speech and being, from which there will always be some who are violently excluded.

10. The Temporality of Humanity in Calais

The equation of the 'refugee voice' with 'refugee humanity' in *Humans After All: Voices from Calais* is underwritten by three distinct temporal scenarios. In the first, the documentary

[80] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
Joseph R. Slaughter, "Vanishing Points: When Narrative Is Not Simply There," *Journal of Human Rights* 9, no. 2 (2010): 207–23, doi: 10.1080/14754831003761712.
[81] Erik Doxtader, "With Double-Binds to Spare: Assuming the Rhetorical Question of Human Rights Language as Such," in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, ed. Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 409.
[82] Festa, "Humanity without Feathers," 3–4.

administers to refugees' *disputed* humanity by providing a platform for the *Voices from Calais*. It makes accusatorial reference to the dehumanising manner in which refugees are often represented in mainstream media, by demonstrating that what may have seemed to be 'corporeal masses' were, in fact, humans after all; humans all along. In the second interpretation, the documentary attests to the refugees' *enduring* humanity*:* even *after all* they've experienced – the persecution and violence they have fled, the inhumane conditions they have endured – they are still human, after all of that, and as such, still viable candidates for national protection and eventually, perhaps, European citizenship.

In the third temporal scenario, the documentary *precedes* the refugees' humanity. Here, it is the documentary that, by amplifying and disseminating the refugees' voices, actually *makes* the voice-holders human; it is through the refugees' participation in this documentary, through the medium of voice, that they embark upon a 'trajectory into recognisable "humanity."' The third temporal scenario accords with the additive definition of humanity that Festa describes: only those with voices can be labelled human beings. This raises the question of what these individuals were before, or what they would have been without, the documentary's artistic intervention. That is to say, what exactly is it that creative representations of refugees are disproving, suppressing or denying, when they display (or indeed construct) 'refugee humanity' through the 'refugee voice'?

The question of voice and humanity in the Calais 'Jungle' is a temporal, rather than an existential, one; the issue at hand is not *if* refugees can be considered human, but *when*. The temporal trajectory of becoming-human-through-voice for refugees in the Jungle and elsewhere in Europe – the 'when' of humanity for refugees – is a paradoxical one, simultaneously tautological and teleological. It mirrors the 'impossible tautological-teleological developmental

complex' which, Slaughter writes, 'engenders the formal, paradoxical structure of international human rights law and the narrative of human personality development that it charters.'[83]

The numerous declarations of humanity made by residents of the Calais Jungle reflect the tautological structure underpinning human rights language and law. These individuals claim, through the 'refugee voice', a status which they already hold: they are human. Refugees can only become 'humans after all' (recognised, accommodated, welcomed, tolerated) when their voice is heard, because they already *are* what they appear to *become* through acts of vocalisation. This exemplifies the 'rhetorical paradox' of human rights which, Doxtader explains,

> presumes a sovereign subject even as it constructs that subjectivity; it presumes humanity, even as it constructs that humanity; *it presumes a speaking subject, even as it gives that subject a voice,* and it articulates rights even as those rights expose every human's vulnerability. As such, this rhetorical paradox parallel underlines most others in human rights discourse because it exposes the foundational ontological relationship of the subject to language.[84]

The act of becoming-human-through-voice in the Calais Jungle mirrors the tautological development of the human personality into what it already is, a process that Slaughter attributes both to human rights law and to the *Bildungsroman* genre. These forms, he argues, 'cooperate to disseminate and legitimate the norms of human rights, to make each other's common sense legible and compelling.'[85] Both the assertion of humanity through the refugee journey narrative, and the narrative structure of the 'novel of demarginalization,' work 'by bringing otherwise

[83] Joseph R. Slaughter, "Enabling Fictions and Novel Subjects: The 'Bildungsroman' and International Human Rights Law," *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (2006): 1412, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25501613.
[84] Doxtader, "With Double-Binds to Spare: Assuming the Rhetorical Question of Human Rights Language as Such," 434. *Emphasis added.*
[85] Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.*, 3.

socially marginalized subjects to the center to prove their (obvious) humanity through their story of development' – to make their humanity 'legible and compelling'.[86]

The refugee's claim to humanity is a tautological statement of the already-obvious: they become what they already are. But it is simultaneously a teleological negotiation that takes place over a considerable timeframe. As Szörényi comments, the idea that 'the testimony of refugees can prove that they are humans […] betrays a certain nervous twitch — the repeated "just like us." Refugees are apparently not only "humans" and "people", but "human beings *like the rest of us.*"'[87] This 'like the rest of us' points to the differential distribution of humanity based on geographical location and citizenship status. It places the 'rest of us,' the already-human citizen-spectators in refugee receiving nations, at the destination point of a teleological progress narrative of assimilation into fully-enfranchised humanity.

Postcolonial theorists have long asserted that Western citizens are represented as living in the future compared to the rest of the world. Johannes Fabian famously argued that 'the rise of capitalism and its colonialist-imperialist expansion' relies upon a juxtaposition of Western 'progress, development [and] modernity' against non-Western 'stagnation, underdevelopment [and] tradition,' meaning that '*geopolitics* has its ideological foundation in *chronopolitics.*'[88] In this teleological formulation, the readers of refugee stories and the hearers of refugee voices are the natural subjects of human rights, capable of allocating and authorising the humanity of others. As consumers of refugee testimony, the humanity of the citizen-spectator is 'not only

[86] Slaughter, "Enabling Fictions and Novel Subjects: The 'Bildungsroman' and International Human Rights Law," 1417.
Eleni Coundouriotis, "Review: Human Rights, Inc. by Joseph R. Slaughter; That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity by James Dawes," *Human Rights Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2008): 1007, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20486720.pdf.
[87] Szörényi, "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony," 183. *Emphasis in original.*
[88] Johannes Fabian, *Time & The Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 143–44.

taken for granted,' but they 'have such a *surplus* of humanity that they can charitably "give" it to others.'[89] Meanwhile, Europe's new arrivals are still travelling along the topographical timeline of humanity, and must consistently declare their status as 'human beings' in order to prove that they too belong in the present 'like the rest of us.' As one refugee participant in the 'Jungleye' photography project put it, 'we wait for our permission to be human.'[90]

The doubling action of the tautological-teleological human rights narrative drives the repetitious performances and affirmations by refugees of their disputed humanity within testimonial encounters. Residents of the Jungle are required to perform a culturally-specific version of the 'humanity' that preceded them, because '[t]he tautological structure of this teleology animates natural law's categories of inherency and inalienability as projects of cultural development.'[91] At the same time, the refugee is required to *prove* what is supposedly innate, because '[t]he infusion of temporality into the human rights tautologies changes their aspect from natural to positive, from expositive to narrative.'[92] Those seeking asylum in Europe are required to speak, again and again, in a particular way, in order to claim and to confirm a positivistic legal humanity that is already, in theory, presupposed.

The endless declarations from refugees that 'we are human beings' turn the 'obviousness' of humanity into a matter of opinion, allowing the recognition of refugees' humanity to be deferred indefinitely. A new forum, *Conversations from Calais*, was launched at the beginning of 2020, with the aim of '[d]ocumenting conversations between volunteers and migrants met in Calais.

[89] Szörényi, "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony," 183.
[90] Patrick Kingsley, "Postcards from the Calais Jungle: 'I Wish People Could See How Human We Are,'" *The Guardian*, February 3, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/feb/03/postcards-from-the-jungle-calais-jungleye-refugee-phot-collective.
[91] Slaughter, "Enabling Fictions and Novel Subjects: The 'Bildungsroman' and International Human Rights Law," 1415.
[92] Slaughter, 1415.

Sharing them with the world by pasting them on our cities' walls. Re-humanising the refugee crisis.'[93] Approximately four years after the testimonies for *Humans After All: Voices from Calais* were recorded, and two years after the publication of *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, the aims of this project mirror those of its predecessors. *Conversation from Calais* aims

> *to re-humanise those affected by the refugee crisis* by using public space to share conversations volunteers have had with migrants met in Calais. It is a way of bearing witness for the thousands of displaced people stuck in Calais and trying to reach the UK, *whose voices are so often silenced or ignored.* This ever-growing collection of conversations focuses on capturing the diversity of experiences and avoids creating new stereotypes of refugees as villains, heroic figures or hopeless victims.[94]

The echo that reverberates through this mission statement, in its ambition to 're-humanise those […] whose voices are […] silenced,' provides compelling evidence to support the argument that, for refugees in Europe, 'becoming human' amounts to a tautological-teleological process of endlessly-deferred recognition. The suspensive delay built into 'refugee humanity' casts doubt upon the effectiveness of 'refugee storytelling' as a tool for recognition within the arsenal of human rights discourse. It tempers what Szörényi has called 'the celebration of testimony and voice as the means to humanisation,'[95] leading us to ask how many 'refugee voices' must be broadcast, how frequently, and to how wide an audience, for *sustained* recognition of the forced migrant as a human being to be secured. How consistent a flow of evidence that 'they' are 'just like us' is necessary for the 'refugee voice' to function as a reliable channel for humanisation, resistance and liberation?

---

[93] "Documenting Conversations between Volunteers and Migrants Met in Calais," Conversations From Calais, 2020, https://www.conversationsfromcalais.com/.
[94] "Documenting Conversations between Volunteers and Migrants Met in Calais." *Emphasis added.* "Conversations from Calais: The Posters Sharing Migrant Voices with the World," *The Guardian*, February 25, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2020/feb/25/conversations-from-calais-the-posters-sharing-migrant-voices-with-the-world.
[95] Szörényi, "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony," 184.

The commitment made by *Conversations from Calais* in 2020 to once again re-humanise the silent, passive refugee in Northern France also raises questions about the exact relationship between humanity and refugeedom within the 'refugee storytelling' encounter: are 'refugeeness' and 'humanity' mutually exclusive identity categories, so that any advance made in the realm of humanity depends on a reduction in the degree of measurable refugeeness? Or is the aim to amalgamate, and thus redefine the substance of, these two sociolegal categories, against the grain of populist media discourse? Is the storytelling encounter in Calais intended to transform the speaking subject into a 'human being' *definitively*, or is the 'refugee story' considered a temporary salve, designed to bring the refugee's humanity into focus only for the duration of the storytelling event?

For artists and activists working in forced migration contexts, securing the conditions of the storytelling event is often considered a necessary act of resistance against the inhumanity of border politics. But if these storytelling mechanisms are not able – or indeed not intended – to humanise the refugee *conclusively*, then we have to take seriously the intervals at which refugee stories must be repeated and reformulated in order to sustain the refugee's perceived humanity. We must identify the factors that determine the longevity of 'refugee humanity', and the ways that such a humanity wears off. This means monitoring more closely the rhetorical constructs via which humanity gradually dissipates, as well as those through which it is more violently and explicitly revoked. Ultimately, we must decide upon the value of a humanity that laps in and out of Calais like the tide, periodically washing over the town's clandestine residents, before receding, then returning once more.

The structural inhumanity of the Jungle, and dehumanising media coverage of the 'refugee crisis,' prompted a scramble to secure recognition of the refugee subject as a human being in

the representational no-man's-land of the Calais Jungle. Parallel attempts to interpellate the forced migrant in Calais as a 'human being' through intersecting humanitarian and human rights storytelling mechanisms positioned the forced migrant at a precarious ideological juncture. On the one hand, the process of interpellating the refugee in Calais as a human being within the sentimental humanitarian tradition depended upon the affective engagement of European citizens with refugees' suffering. The equation of maximum suffering with maximum humanity in the humanitarian imaginary propelled the forced migrant into premature memorialisation. On the other hand, the human rights life narrative provided an aspirational route into humanisation for the refugee in the Calais Jungle. This form of humanisation, predicated upon an infinite demand for speech, became structurally and infinitely deferred. These competing approaches to humanisation left the refugee figure suspended between postponed and posthumous forms of humanity.

While this may seem to spell a dead end for ethical literary praxis in the field of forced migration, the result is not so pessimistic. The upshot of this argument may simply be a reminder that, as Ahmed argues, 'being open to hearing might not be a matter of listening to the other's voice: what moves (between) subjects, and hence what fails to move, might precisely be that which cannot be presented in the register of speech, or voicing.'[96] This 'being open to hearing' requires a reappraisal of the 'refugee voice' as a privileged mode of discourse that is capable of bypassing standard representational hierarchies. It involves challenging the fetishization of the 'refugee voice' as both a saleable commodity and a mode of resistance.

Such a 'being open to hearing' also requires us to approach the 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling' not as direct and authentic access points into the 'otherness' of others, but as two

[96] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 156.

mechanisms within a complex system of mechanisms designed specifically to facilitate interactions between – and at the same time dictate the boundaries of – the refugee and the citizen. By moving away from 'invocations of the *authenticity* of the Other,' and towards 'the sustained and developing work on the *mechanics* of the constitution of the Other,'[97] as Gayatri Spivak recommends, it becomes easier to recognise that opportunities for speaking and listening are shaped by discourses of power, and that the orchestration of storytelling encounters dictates the nature of the stories told.

To move beyond prescriptive storytelling encounters, Ahmed proposes 'a communicative ethics which can deal with, or even better work with, the very impossibility of communication as dialogue, as one voice simply speaking to, and being heard by, another.'[98] This 'communicative ethics' is not simply a call to cast the identificatory net wider, to gather up the 'refugeeness' of the refugee that has spilled out beyond our recognised narrative forms, and to render narratable that which lays beyond the discursive borders of form, genre and narrative identity. Rather, it is concerned with the precise mechanisms within the literary marketplace that routinely redraw the border between silence and speech. It is an ethics literate in the unwritten rules of 'refugee storytelling' that dictate which 'refugee voices' are brought into the public arena, while sealing them off in a category called 'refugee voices.' Such a communicative ethics resists the temptation to conceal the hierarchical structures underlying the 'refugee voice' as a literary construct, and 'refugee storytelling' as a humanist mode of encounter.

[97] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 294. *Emphasis in original.*
[98] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 156.

PART TWO

VOLUNTEER IDENTITY, CULTURE AND COMMUNITY IN THE JUNGLE

A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition.

Gloria Anzaldúa[99]

What is beyond representation is also, at the same time, over-represented.

Sara Ahmed[100]

CHAPTER THREE
ADJUSTING THE LENS: VOLUNTEERS IN CALAIS

1. Rewiring the Circuits of Affective Attachment

Creative accounts of the Calais Jungle can broadly be divided into two categories. *Refugee-centric* narratives, as the previous chapters have shown, are concerned with the figure of the refugee: their voice, their 'humanity', their migration journey and their asylum story. *Volunteer-centric* narratives, meanwhile, focus upon the figure of the 'refugee crisis volunteer'. Turning

[99] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 25.
[100] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 1.

the representational lens inwards, volunteer-centric narratives deliberately shift attention *away* from the refugee, bypassing questions about where refugees come from, how and why they travel, and where they are going. These texts do not attempt to contextualise the Jungle within global (or even European) migration histories, or within political narratives of refugee-producing conflict and response. Rather, the edges of these texts mirror the edges of the camp itself: they do not exceed the space-time of the 2015-16 Calais Jungle.

These texts provide exceptionally detailed accounts of the new forms of voluntary aid that emerged in the Calais Jungle, and the experimental structures of solidarity established there. Volunteer-centric texts are concerned primarily with two key questions: *What kind of place was the Calais Jungle? What role did volunteers play in the camp?* The texts provide extensive accounts of the culture of volunteering in Calais, the interactions between volunteer and refugee groups, and the impact that volunteers had on the organisation of time and space in the camp. Stylistically, volunteer-centric texts are a heterogeneous mix: they include the documentaries *Calais: The End of the Jungle*, *Another News Story* and the forthcoming *On Our Doorstep*, the film *Aamir*, the short story collection *Breach*, the autobiographical narratives *Jungle Boy* and *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas*, and the plays *Borderland // Calais*, *Still Waiting* and *The Play about Calais*.[101]

[101] Dan Reed, *Calais: The End of the Jungle* (UK: BBC Two, 2017), https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09c1psj.
Orban Wallace, *Another News Story* (UK: Gallivant Film, 2017), https://www.anothernewsstory.com/.
"On Our Doorstep - Thomas Laurance," British Council, 2020, http://film-directory.britishcouncil.org/on-our-doorstep.
Vika Evdokimenko, *Aamir* (UK: An-Fan Terrible, 2017), https://vimeo.com/199351637.
Olumide Popoola and Annie Holmes, *Breach* (London: Peirene Press, 2016).
Seif Jamalulail, *Jungle Boy* (Negeri Sembilan: SJ Publisher, 2018).
Benedict O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle* (Hertfordshire: insight2foresight publishing, 2016).
Steve Waters, *The Play About Calais* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2017), Kindle.

Two texts stand out above all as paradigmatic examples of this volunteer-centric genre: *Threads*, a work of graphic non-fiction by Kate Evans, and *The Jungle*, a play written by Joe Murphy and Joe Robertson in affiliation with Good Chance Theatre (an arts organisation associated with the National Theatre and the Young Vic Theatre).[102] Both *Threads* and *The Jungle* give an account of the six-month period between October 2015, when the Jungle expanded rapidly in size and scale, and March 2016, when the eviction of the southern half of the camp took place. The authors of both texts volunteered in the Jungle themselves during this time.

Threads, published in 2017, is an account of Evans's first-hand experience of volunteering in the Jungle, which combines illustrations with occasional photographs. Extracts from *Threads* were featured in the 'Journeys Drawn: Illustration from the Refugee Crisis' exhibition at the House of Illustration in London, which took place from November 2018 to March 2019.[103] *The Jungle* is a play commissioned by the National Theatre and directed by Stephen Daldry, which has enjoyed remarkable success. It opened at the Young Vic Theatre in December 2017, before transferring to the Playhouse Theatre in the West End from June to November 2018. The play moved to St. Ann's Warehouse in New York for two months at the end of 2018, and then to The Curran in San Francisco from March to May 2019. The play was due to return to New York in April 2020 but was cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic.[104]

---

[102] Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis* (London: Verso, 2017).
Joe Murphy and Joe Robertson, *The Jungle* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017).

[103] "Journeys Drawn: Illustration from the Refugee Crisis," House of Illustration, 2018, https://www.houseofillustration.org.uk/whats-on/current-future-events/journeys-drawn-illustration-from-the-refugee-crisis.

[104] The original version of *The Jungle* script, published in 2017, forms the basis of this analysis, alongside the two versions of the play performed in the UK (at the Young Vic Theatre and at the Playhouse Theatre). These performances differed from each other, and there are several significant differences between the 2017 script and the amended script, published in 2018. While interesting in themselves, the different versions of the play are not discussed here. The performances of *The Jungle* in New York and San Francisco, and the relationship between

Refugees are not the protagonists of either *The Jungle* or *Threads.* Rather, it is the European volunteers that serve as entry points into the imagined space of the camp for the readership-audience. It is the volunteers in *The Jungle*, not the refugees, that the audience are initially encouraged to identify with. *The Jungle* opens in the midst of an emergency, with the volunteer-characters dominating the narrative and controlling the action, managing the chaos and confusion of the camp. The first person to speak in the play is the volunteer Derek. He makes an announcement: 'Right. Can I have everyone's attention, please? I know there have been a lot of rumours going round. People are frightened. I'm going to explain as clearly as I can the facts as we know them. Can you translate that, please?'[105]

The refugee-characters then translate his words into an assortment of languages. Derek and eighteen-year-old volunteer Sam disseminate information about the forthcoming camp clearance, informing the refugee-characters that '*we're* mounting an appeal.'[106] Meanwhile, level-headed volunteer Paula gathers information about the refugees for a census: *'we are* conducting a census. […] This is how *we are* going to fight. Legally. Peacefully.'[107] The opening lines of *The Jungle* are filled with short declarations about what 'we are' doing to challenge the clearance, marking out the volunteers as individuals with a certain degree of decision-making authority in the camp.

The interactions between volunteers and refugees in this tense opening scene are dominated by short imperative statements: the refugees are instructed to pay attention, to provide information,

---

the Anglo-French border regime and immigration enforcement in the US, are also important and expansive subjects that fall outside the scope of this thesis. For a theoretical account of *The Jungle* within the US context, see Áine J. Tyrrell, "(Re)Presenting Calais's Camp: In the Heart of The Jungle with the Good Chance Theatre," *TDR: The Drama Review* 64, no. 2 (2020): 155–62, doi: 10.1162/dram_a_00925.

[105] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 13.

[106] Murphy and Robertson, 15. *Emphasis added.*

[107] Murphy and Robertson, 16. *Emphasis added.*

to translate, to 'fill out a form', to 'tell me, tell Paula, tell Salar.'[108] While the refugees do not accept these instructions unquestioningly – Afghan restaurant-owner Salar accuses Sam of being a 'collaborator' and a 'liar'[109] – the refugees are nevertheless positioned as reactionary figures, only able to obey or disregard the volunteers' orders. Importantly, the stark imbalance of power evident in the opening scenes is not reflected in the rest of the play, where questions of power and authority are continually contested.

It is the audience's *initiation* into the play, then, that occurs through the volunteers' eyes. The literary technique of using volunteers as mediators through which Western audiences are introduced to 'crises of humanity' has a long history. *A Memory of Solferino*, Henri Dunant's bystander account of the bloodshed of the Second Italian War of Independence, is widely considered to be 'one of the most objectively successful humanitarian interventionist narratives in history,'[110] as its publication in 1862 contributed to the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Slaughter argues that the 'story grammar of humanitarian awakening' in *A Memory of Solferino* was underpinned by Dunant's position as a 'cosmopolitan tourist volunteer.'[111] He reflects that Dunant's inaugural humanitarian narrative 'assume[s] that we will *pity* the sufferer, but the narrative invites us to *empathize* with the humanitarian.'[112] The volunteer-protagonist is thus a founding figure of literary humanitarianism, and an established narrative tool for communicating injustice and inspiring action across borders.

[108] Murphy and Robertson, 17, 14.
[109] Murphy and Robertson, 15.
[110] Joseph R. Slaughter, "Humanitarian Reading," in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, ed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 90.
Henri Dunant, *A Memory of Solferino* (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1986).
[111] Slaughter, "Humanitarian Reading," 99, 100, 100.
[112] Slaughter, 101.

The volunteer-protagonist grew in prominence during what Fassin has called the 'second age of humanitarianism,' in which NGOs saw 'the emergence of the witness – not the witness who has experienced the tragedy, but the one who has brought aid to its victims.'[113] Fassin points to narratives written by MSF, in which 'the aim is to move people via stories in which aid workers place themselves center stage as privileged witnesses of the suffering of an oppressed people.'[114] Volunteer-centric texts about Calais, including *Threads* and *The Jungle*, draw upon the long history of the 'cosmopolitan tourist volunteer' within humanitarian discourse, while adapting it in significant ways.

Threads, as an autobiographical first-person account of volunteering in the Jungle, is tied even more closely to the volunteer's perspective than the opening scene of the fictional(ised) play *The Jungle.*[115] In *Threads*, the reader is exposed to the Jungle entirely through the lens of Evans' personal judgments, experiences and impressions. The overall timeframe of *Threads* spans one year, from 1st October 2015 to 21st September 2016, and during this timeframe Evans spends around two weeks in Calais. This makes *Threads* a deliberately selective account, and gaps in the history of the camp are plainly signalled in the text, in statements such as '[i]t has been ten weeks since I last saw the camp. It is totally transformed.'[116]

Threads also describes key events from a distance: the relocation of the perimeter of the Jungle, which forms the climax of *The Jungle*, is introduced in *Threads* via a computer screen. Evans recalls how she became aware of the camp clearance in January 2016 through an online 'Call

[113] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, 206.
[114] Fassin, 212.
[115] *The Jungle* was based closely on real events, and the characters based closely on real people. This raises a host of ethical questions about authorial rights and responsibilities. While acknowledging that these questions exist, and recognising that more might have been done to anonymise these distinctive individuals, the characters will be treated here as purely fictional constructs. Ultimately, this is a literary analysis of characters in a play rather than a psychological study of living people.
[116] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 40.

to Action' by Help Refugees. In the Chapter 'Day Tripper', the protagonist reads on her computer that volunteers are needed at short notice, and decides to travel to Calais to help.

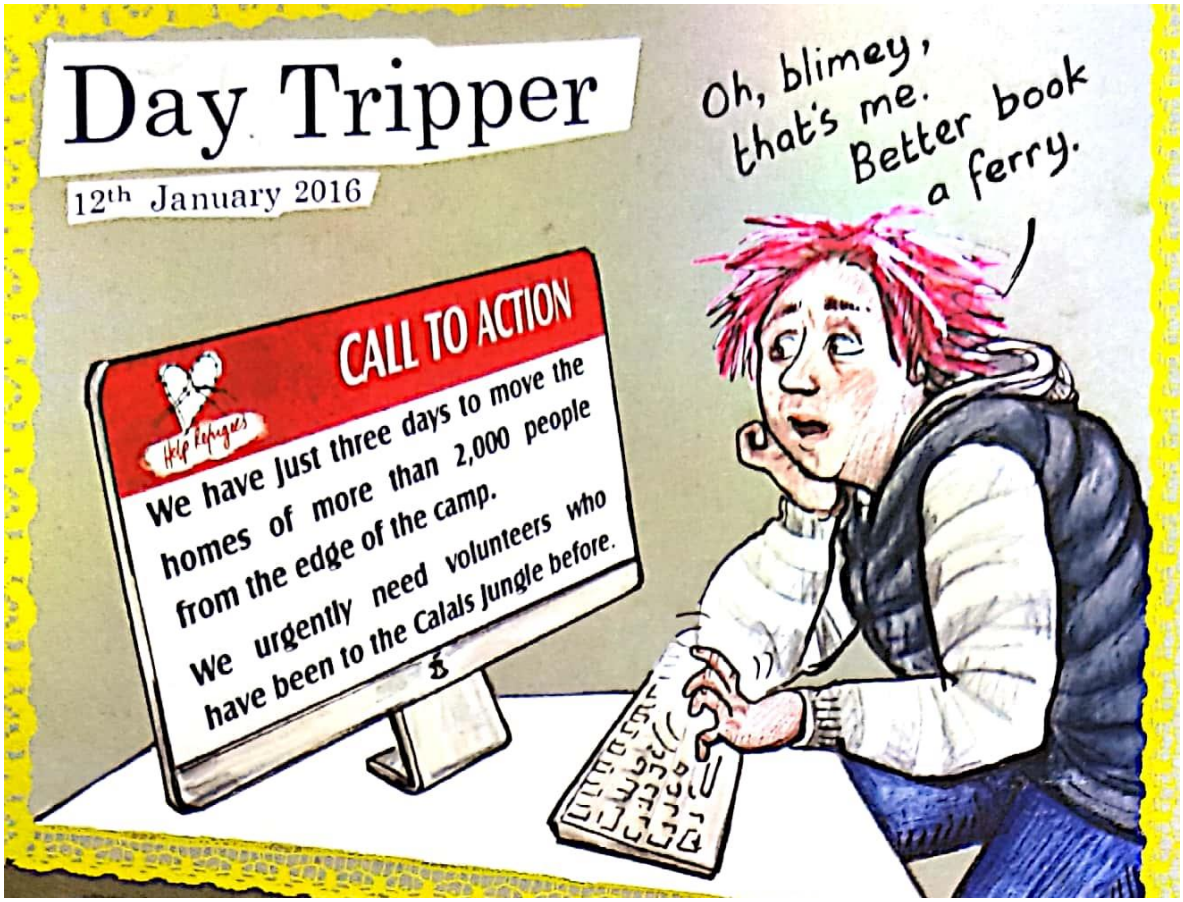


Figure 11: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.36 (detail)

The demolition of February-March 2016 – the clearance operation described in the chaotic opening scenes of *The Jungle* – is depicted in *Threads* via television and phone screens. The double mediation of these events, first through a screen, and then through Evans' illustrated account, is signalled stylistically by the use of photographs within the panels.

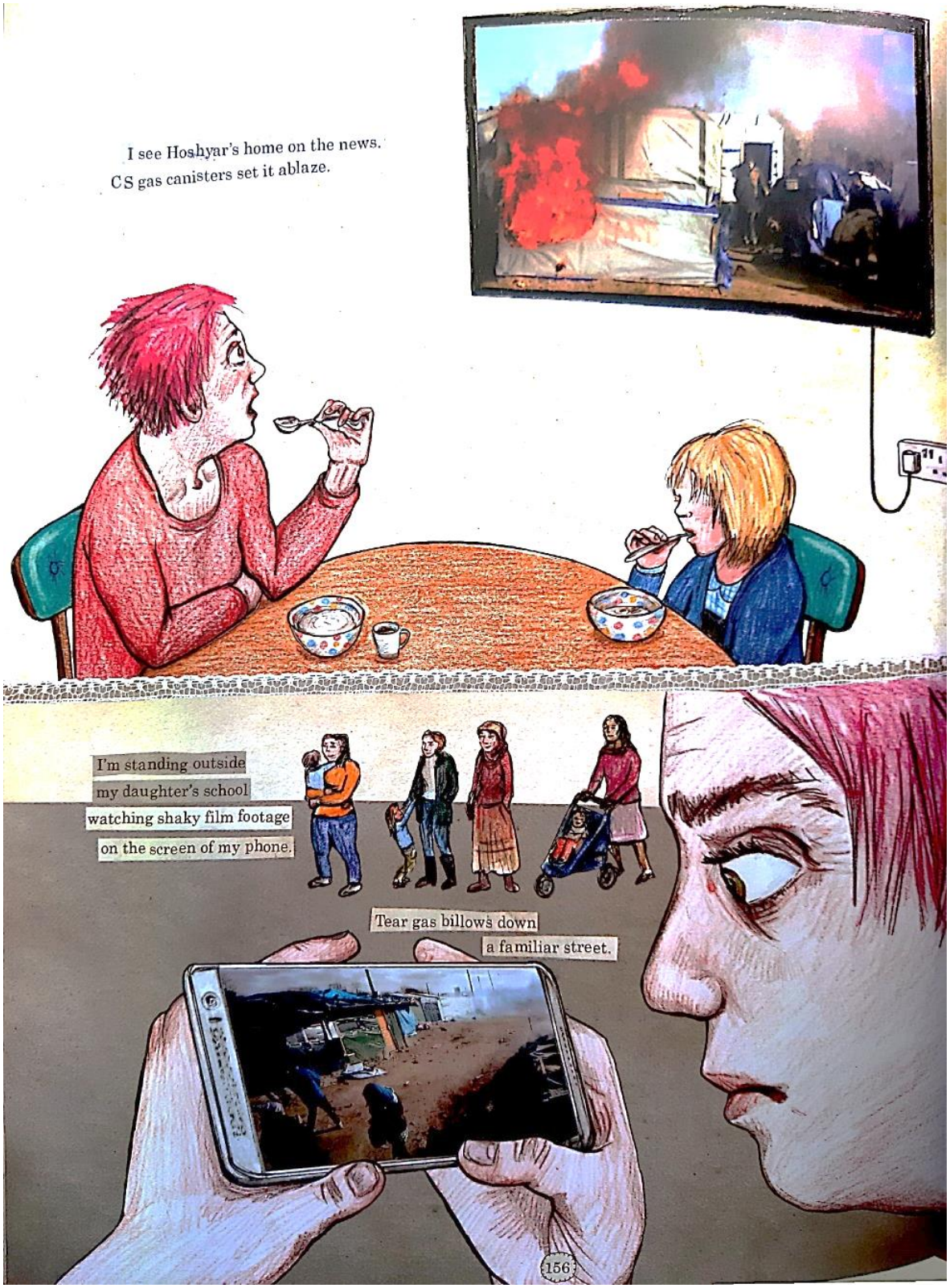


Figure 12: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.156

Threads is not intended to be an objective record of the history of the Jungle. It is, rather, a detailed, intimate and self-consciously partisan account of how one European citizen experienced and responded to the Jungle. Events are reported in *Threads* through the eyes of the volunteer-protagonist, and the reader is let into her moments of personal development – '[a]nd then I see, really see, what it means to have nothing'[117] – and expressions of emotion: '[i]t's the sight of the littlest child that breaks me. Her pure smile. Her shining eyes […] It's raining so hard no one will notice I've been crying.'[118] The narrative of *Threads* is closely aligned with Evans' subjective judgments, singular experiences, and psychological reactions to the events that she witnesses.

[117] Evans, 19.
[118] Evans, 64.



Figure 13: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.11 (detail)

Even more so than in *The Jungle*, then, it is the 'cosmopolitan tourist volunteer', rather than the figure of the refugee, that is the target of affective attachment and imaginary identification in *Threads.* It is the volunteer subject that the reader is encouraged to identify with, empathise with, and walk in the shoes of. This shift in focus from refugee-centric to volunteer-centric narratives deliberately drives these texts away from stereotypical asylum stories and refugee journey narratives. At times, the 'asylum story' is simply ignored and avoided in these volunteer-framed texts. At other times, however, the form is explicitly critiqued.

2. Interrupting the 'Asylum Story'

Following its dramatic and action-packed opening scene, *The Jungle* rewinds a year, to chart the arrival of the refugees, and then the British volunteers, to *la lande.* While the arrival of each volunteer is depicted in detail, the arrival of the refugees is conveyed collectively, and their motivations are described in general terms. When Mohammed (from Sudan) and Salar (from Afghanistan) enter the sparse space of the camp, they compare the places they left to the one they have arrived in:

Mohammed:	What a dump. […] This is the worst place in Europe. […] Let's count the things that kill us. Chemicals, snakes, the filthy land, all rubbish –
Salar:	Is better than bombs, Mohammed.
Mohammed:	Cold, wind, rain –
Salar:	Terrorists, the Taliban –
Mohammed:	The CRS –
Salar:	Drought, famine –
Mohammed:	Each other?
Salar:	We are safer than at any time in our lives.[119]

This is more a checklist of catalysts, of 'push factors', than an asylum story as such, and the sustained comparison to the current situation in France keeps the narrative firmly in the present tense. Rather than a 'travelogue' detailing past-home, present-journey and future-safety (in accordance with the narrative conventions of the asylum story), the temporal focus of *The Jungle* is fixed in the *present* of the camp, while the spatial focus is tied to the camp's *presence* – its contained geographical area.

[119] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 26–27.

The narrator of *The Jungle*, Syrian refugee Safi, deliberately withholds his asylum story. He refuses to answer the questions that structure the refugee journey narrative: Why did you leave? How did you get here? What happened on the way? Why this country? Instead, he simply states, 'I lived there to get here.'[120] It is only much later in the play, when the Sudanese teenager Okot begins to explain to eighteen-year-old volunteer Beth why he is in France, that the audience is exposed to a longer narrative more akin to a typical asylum story. In this version, however, the target of interrogation is reversed, and it is Beth's ability to comprehend Okot's story, rather than the credibility and plausibility of the narrative itself, that is placed under scrutiny. When Okot begins his tale, Beth expresses understanding as a gesture of sympathy:

Okot: I am dead.
Beth: What?
Okot: Dead.
Beth: You're not dead. You're here with me.
Okot: Dead. A refugee dies many times.
Beth: I know –
Okot: You know?
Beth: I didn't mean that. I mean I can imagine.
A long pause.
Okot: What do you know of me?
Beth: You're from Sudan.[121]

As it is not Okot who is under investigation here, he is free to use figurative language to describe his experiences: 'a refugee dies many times.' It is rather Beth's ability to listen – to comprehend and imagine what she is being told – that is being examined, and that is found wanting. As Okot's line of questioning continues, both Beth and the audience become 'uneasy', as her words – the standard language for engaging sympathetically with an asylum story – start to ring

[120] Murphy and Robertson, 26.
[121] Murphy and Robertson, 74–75.

hollow. It becomes evident that both Beth's knowledge, and the words at her disposal to communicate this knowledge, are superficial and inadequate:

Okot: What do you know of Darfur?

Beth: There are a lot of problems in Darfur.

Okot: What problems?

Beth: A genocide…When… an entire people is…

Okot: A people?

Beth: A race or religion. When a people is –

Okot: People is your father. People is your mother. What do you know about the Mediterranean?

Beth: I know about the boats.

He is silent. She is forced to continue. She is uneasy.

The boats are small. Too many people are put inside. By the smugglers. Lots of people, lots of the boats sink. It's obviously really dangerous.

Okot: Yes…

Beth: Hundreds of people try to cross every day. It's tragic.

Silence

It's a tragedy.

Silence

I don't know.

[…]

Safi: She doesn't know. They don't know.

Okot: Your mind cannot think.

Safi: Do you think we'd be here if they knew?[122]

The exchange between Beth and Okot demonstrates that asylum stories are formulaic – we already know what happens – but that this pre-knowledge can obstruct engagement, empty the 'asylum story' of meaningful information, and prevent it from communicating anything new. The words at Beth's disposal – 'tragic', 'genocide', 'obvious', 'dangerous' – also become

[122] Murphy and Robertson, 75–77.

empty referents. As Okot continues his explanation, the other refugees '*have gathered round to listen.*'[123] They start to contribute to the narrative:

Pause. Okot cannot continue.

Safi: Finally you are taken to the boats, yes?

Okot: Yes.

Safi: The coastguard has been paid. The local militia. Was it a big boat?

Okot: Small boat.

Safi: Rubber?

Okot: Yes.

Safi: A Zodiac. Fifty people.

Ali: You are given a package with a balloon to put your phone in, GPS device, a life jacket –

Safi: You hope the life jacket is real.

Yasin: You pray the life jacket is real.

Ali: Real or not, fifteen dinar for package.[124]

By the end of the story, the refugees *'have closed around Beth.*'[125] The tale has become representative. But rather than signifying unoriginality or inauthenticity, as is often assumed of 'generic' asylum stories, this communal narration attests to 'our' chronic inability to receive – to understand, to imagine, to re-present – the stories of those seeking sanctuary. When the story ends, the onus is placed upon Beth to account for her presence in Calais:

Okot: Why are you here, Beth?

Mohammed: Why are you not at your home?

Safi: What can we give you?

Okot: Before, I could give you anything. I could give you myself.

Helene: What do we have now?

Okot: This journey. This story.

Safi: And you have heard this story before. A thousand times, I am sure.

[123] Murphy and Robertson, 78.
[124] Murphy and Robertson, 78.
[125] Murphy and Robertson, 81.

Okot: Now you know. It isn't me. But now it is me.[126]

The power in the storytelling encounter is reversed, and it is Beth who must convince the refugees that she has good reason for being in the Jungle – that she is not simply a scrounger, a drain on their resources.[127] In *Threads*, too, Evans reflects upon the *lack* of asylum story, on her position of not-knowing.

[126] Murphy and Robertson, 81–82.
[127] Chapter Four will argue that this role reversal technique is central to the alternative representational strategy employed in *The Jungle*.

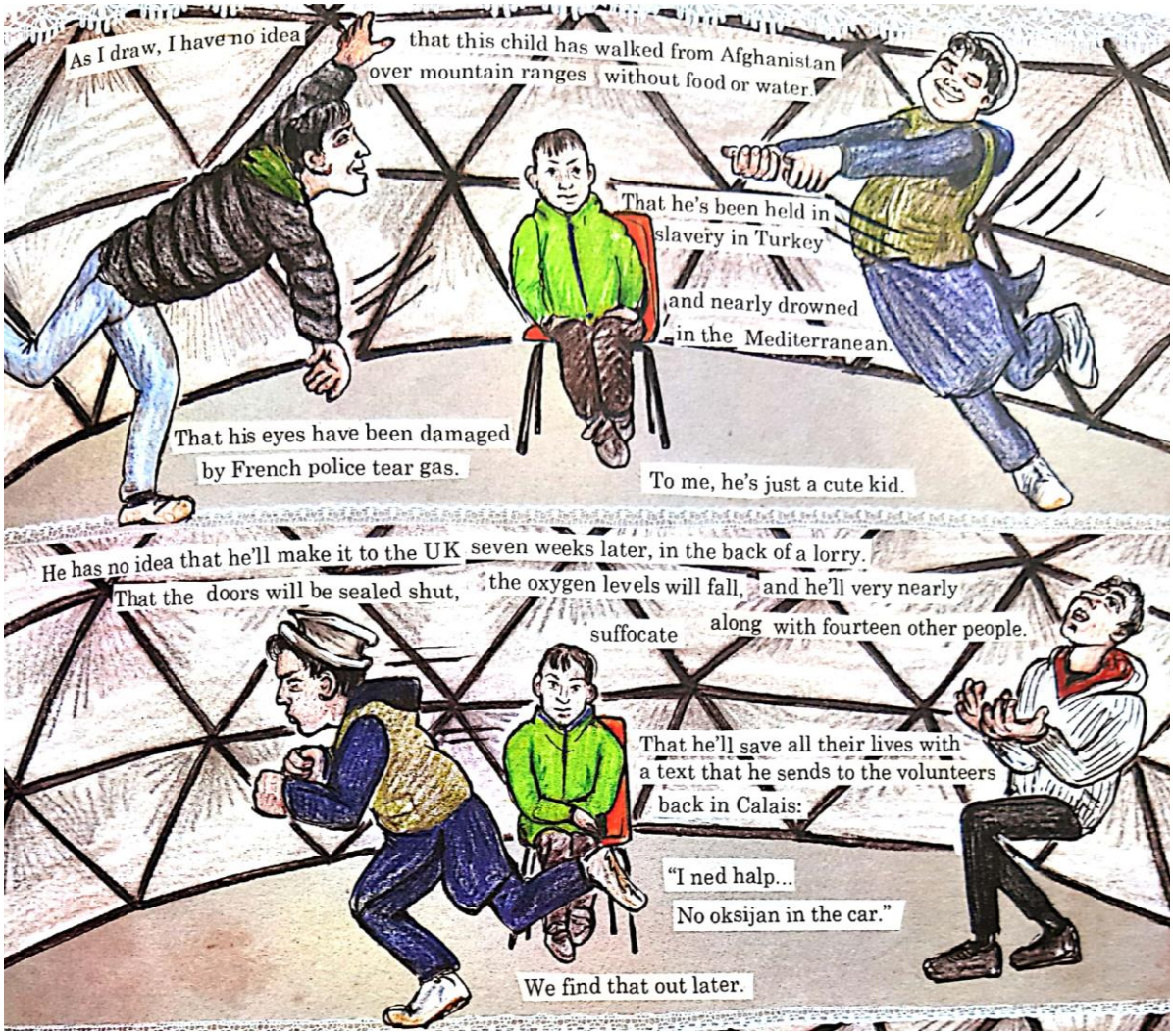


Figure 14: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis,* 2017, p.111 (detail)

There are no stereotypical 'refugee stories' in *Threads* until late in the text. A double-page spread in the concluding section contains snippets of asylum stories, but as these are unreferenced and decontextualised, it is unclear whether they are extracts from real asylum applications or inventions by the author. As the reader is left wondering whether the eighteen story fragments are 'genuine' or 'bogus', they are also invited to reflect upon the high value placed on authenticity in refugee storytelling. The textual fragments in *Threads* are positioned alongside a smartphone displaying an anonymous text message (one that was perhaps sent to the author, but again this is unclear), that expresses anti-refugee sentiment.

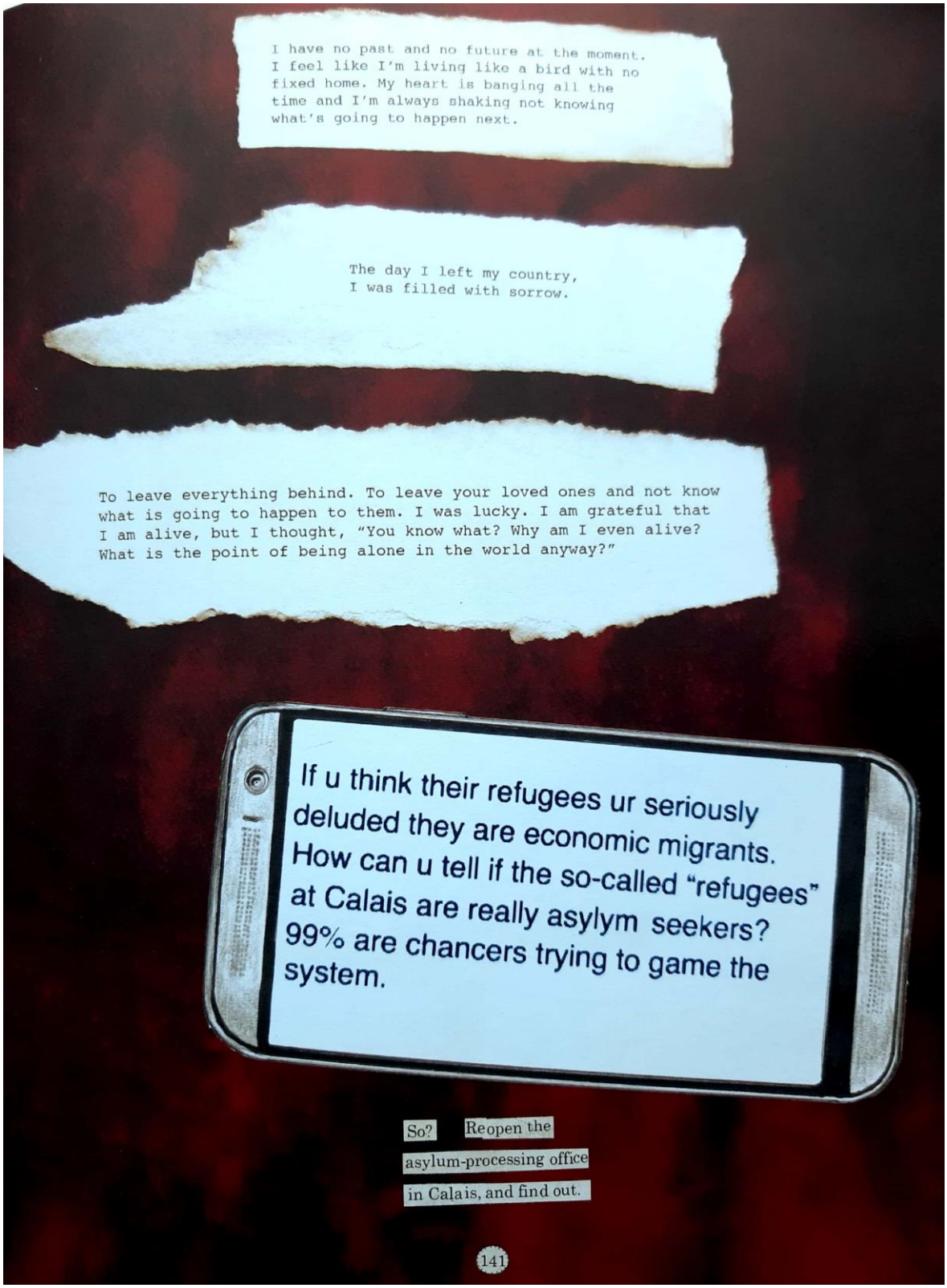


Figure 15: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.141

The scraps of asylum stories and the angry messages littered throughout the text appear, visually, very similar. The superficial likeness between these decontextualised narrative traces accentuates the fact that no dialogue seems possible between them. The textual fragments, placed side by side, appear as two discursive paths running in parallel but with no overlap. No channel, no tunnel seems possible between the disembodied sets of voices that are positioned next to each other, but that speak past one another.

This usefully highlights the problem of 'echo chambers' and political polarisation at a time when complex algorithms and targeted advertising only expose individuals to opinions they already subscribe to, leading to stilted dialogue and the entrenchment of extreme views. However, arranging the narrative fragments in this way also pits refugees' stories against xenophobic voices as part of a wider struggle between European political factions. The refugee stories become weaponised, used as ammunition in a broader dispute that encompasses European identity, the meaning of Europe, Brexit, globalisation and the rise of far-right nationalism. The eleven digital messages scattered throughout *Threads* attest to the vehemence of domestic disagreement over asylum policy in Britain.

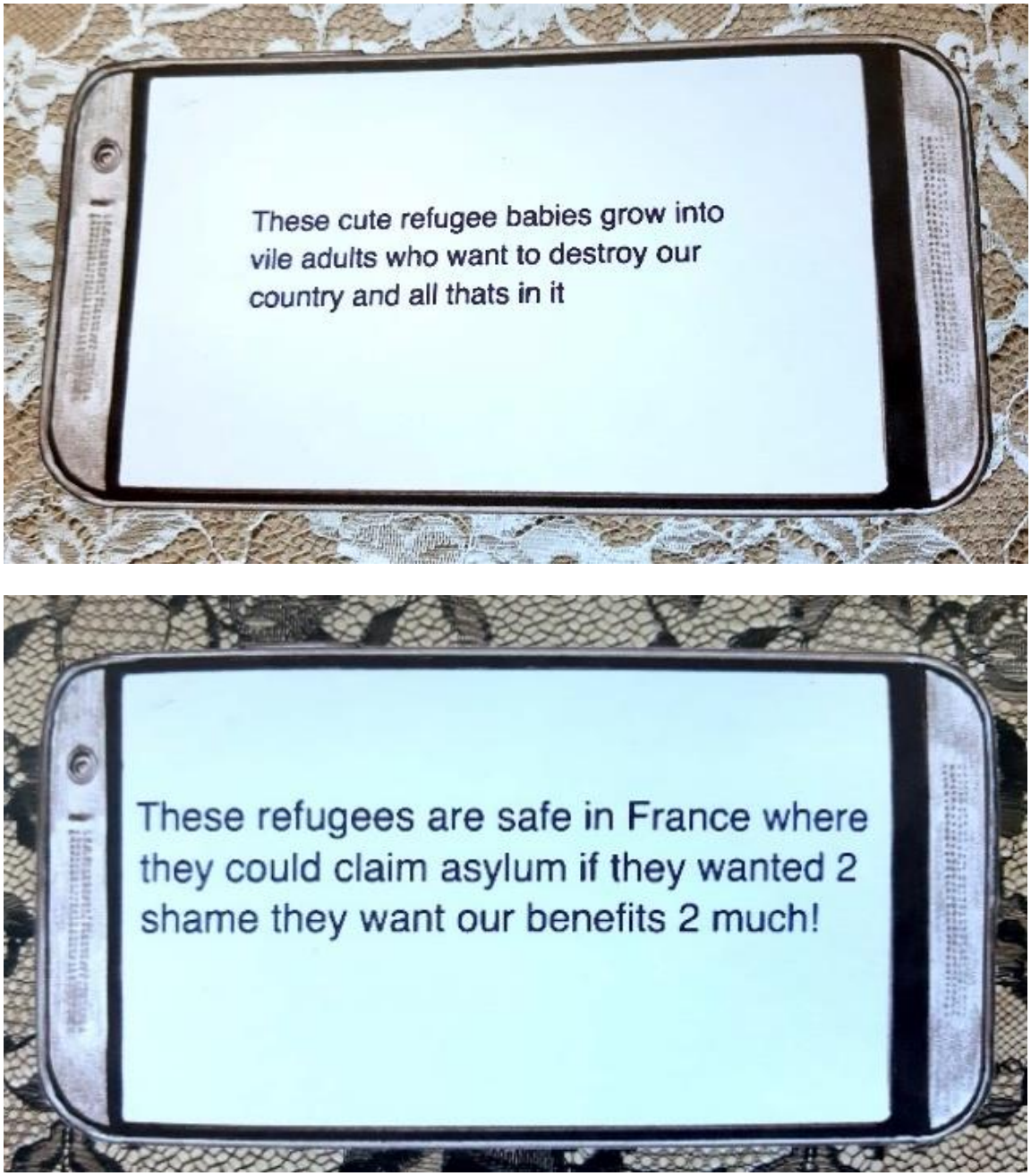


Figure 16: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.32 (detail) and p.27 (detail)

Yet reproducing these messages, together with their poor spelling and grammar, takes a mocking, antagonistic approach to anti-refugee sentiment. This underplays the political traction of these xenophobic views by attributing them to apparently uneducated and disempowered British citizens. It fails to acknowledge that these fervent sentiments are often the *consequence*

of the hostile environment, not the cause, even as they are characterised as the 'will of the people'.[128] After all, it is not internet trolls who agree arms deals, set immigration quotas, plan deportation flights, approve and implement deterrence regimes, instigate fear through media campaigns based on false information and rule inconsistently on asylum cases. It is politicians, diplomats, lawyers and newspaper owners – people with perfect grammar – who possess the real power to withhold supposedly inalienable rights. Attempts to discredit the anti-refugee position by homing in on misinformed members of the public can scapegoat the more subtle but insidious agitation of hate by social and political elites.

In *Threads,* as in *The Jungle*, asylum stories feature as part of a wider discussion about 'our' capacity to hear, comprehend, represent and respond to the information that the stories convey. In both texts, the critical focus is centred upon the listener, the receiver of asylum stories, rather than the 'authenticity' of the speaker or the 'credibility' of the stories themselves. By redirecting the critical lens from speaker to listener, both *Threads* and *The Jungle* sidestep the contradictory discourse of silence and speech used to describe the asylum storytelling event. Instead, these texts present a far more anxious and uncertain relationship between 'the refugee' as a literary figure, and the representational forms used to construct this figure.

3. The 'Refugee Crisis' and the Volunteer Phenomenon

The proliferation of volunteer-centric narratives about the Calais Jungle was not due solely to the creative limitations of the asylum 'travelogue' within refugee-centric narratives. The

[128] The hostile environment policy was introduced by Home Secretary Theresa May in 2012 as a means of reducing net migration in the UK. Under the policy, the immigration status of public service users is monitored by service providers, including schools, hospitals and banks. The Windrush Scandal in 2018 was one consequence of the hostile environment policy.
Liberty, "A Guide to the Hostile Environment" (London, 2019), https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/issue/report-a-guide-to-the-hostile-environment/.

remarkable number of texts documenting the voluntary aid response to the Jungle also reflects an anxious desire, emanating from the 'volunteer community' itself, to examine and understand its own role in the emerging history of the Jungle. As Chapter One explained, 'mainstream' INGOs did not take on an overarching organisational role in the Jungle in 2015-16, and this left a gap in aid provision in Calais that was filled by an unprecedented mobilisation of grassroots voluntary aid organisations. More than 40 small, independent organisations were active in the Jungle in 2016.[129] These groups provided a wide range of aid and services, and their remit spanned from emergency aid to long-term political advocacy.

Volunteer groups in the Jungle specialised in food and firewood distribution, clothing and hygiene provision, shelter construction, religious, sport and community organisation, medical and psychological support, specialised support for women and children, legal and educational services, demographic and analytical data collection, events and fundraising, and a range of creative arts projects.[130] Across Europe, research studies are currently working to situate this new form of grassroots humanitarian aid within our general understanding of what humanitarianism is and how it works. Studies of the mobilisation of non-professional volunteers during the 'refugee crisis' aim to understand the characteristics that distinguish this new era of humanitarianism from traditional humanitarian aid. They are concerned with the values, motivations and backgrounds of volunteers, the relationships between volunteers, NGOs and European states, and the impact that this voluntary work had upon the course of the 'refugee crisis' as a whole.[131]

[129] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 95.
[130] *Appendix: Aid Organisations Active in the Calais Jungle 2015-16*
[131] Margit Feischmidt, Ludger Pries, and Celine Cantat, eds., *Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

Tess Berry-Hart, co-founder of Calais Action, considers the 'ineffectiveness of major INGOs and deliberate pushback by governments' during the 'refugee crisis' to have had 'an intense, motivating effect on an entire generation.'[132] She argues that 'it is hard to over-estimate the phenomenon of the "people to people" grassroots aid movement which exploded in 2015,' recording that over 20,000 people from across Europe (and sometimes further afield) volunteered in Calais from 2015 onwards.[133] Agier et al. document that an average of 120 volunteers worked with *L'Auberge des Migrants* and its partner organisations every day in 2016.[134]

In her study of 'volunteer humanitarianism' in the Jungle, Sandri identifies five 'particular defining elements' of these grassroots groups that distinguish them from traditional INGOs.[135] These elements are improvisation, informality, geographical proximity, activism and sociality. Sandri argues that the ability of these voluntary groups to respond quickly and efficiently to rapidly changing circumstances in Calais set them apart from 'the bureaucratic and at times slow procedures of aid agencies in emergency situations.'[136] She argues that volunteer organisations were able to intervene spontaneously to provide essential support in the Jungle because they were not tied to the traditional, cumbersome model of the 'humanitarian machine.'[137]

Unlike traditional NGOs, these groups were able to collaborate with religious organisations, political parties and trade unions on an ad hoc basis. The flexibility and ingenuity of these

[132] Tess Berry-Hart, "People to People: The Volunteer Phenomenon," *Refugee History*, June 19, 2018, http://refugeehistory.org/blog/2018/6/19/people-to-people-the-volunteer-phenomenon.
[133] Berry-Hart.
[134] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 96.
[135] Sandri, "'Volunteer Humanitarianism': Volunteers and Humanitarian Aid in the Jungle Refugee Camp of Calais," 77.
[136] Sandri, 74.
[137] Sandri, 66.

volunteer organisations led to 'a disruption in the relationship between humanitarianism and some forms of neoliberal governance,'[138] Sandri argues, because, by participating in both humanitarian aid provision and civil society activism, these voluntary groups were able to protest against the government's neoliberal trend of outsourcing responsibility for refugees, at the same time as taking that responsibility on.

Other accounts are more pessimistic about the mobilisation of volunteers in Europe in 2015-16. Karakayali and Kleist express concern about the role that grassroots groups played in upholding, rather than challenging, neoliberal institutions. They highlight that, in Germany, '[t]he delicate balance between helping refugees and relieving the state of its core roles swung towards volunteers picking up where bureaucracies failed. At times, state institutions intentionally relied on volunteers.'[139] Karakayali and Kleist stress the importance of ensuring that 'volunteers do not substitute state obligations' in contemporary refugee response.[140] The volunteer organisations Are You Syrious and Shoufu Collective also warn that 'cooperation can seamlessly slide into complicity in systematic violations of human rights' when volunteer groups 'fill gaps left by humanitarian actors and take on the state's responsibilities.'[141]

Are You Syrious and Shoufu Collective contend that volunteers served as the 'lackeys of the INGOs and authorities' during the 'refugee crisis', rather than acting as a powerful independent force capable of challenging those authorities.[142] In late 2016, Fanis Kollais also raised concerns about the 'many different initiatives that have sprung up within a short time' in response to

[138] Sandri, 66.
[139] J Olaf Kleist and Serhat Karakayali, "Volunteers and Asylum Seekers," *Forced Migration Review: Issue 51*, January 2016, 66, https://www.fmreview.org/destination-europe/karakayali-kleist.
[140] Kleist and Karakayali, 66.
[141] AreYouSyrious and ShoufuCollective, "When Volunteers Become the Lackeys of Authorities," *Refugees Deeply*, March 27, 2017, https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2017/03/27/when-volunteers-become-the-lackeys-of-authorities.
[142] AreYouSyrious and ShoufuCollective.

Europe's border crisis. He worries that these may be 'simply "fireworks" that are attractive and intense for a short duration, but quickly fizzle out, leaving behind ashes and debris.'[143] Kollais captures the problem with an incisive question that he hopes grassroots voluntary aid groups ask themselves: '[d]o we really want to solve a problem or have we realized we'll only get funding if we find a problem to solve?'

The voluntary groups active in the Jungle were criticised from all corners of the political-humanitarian spectrum. The radical 'No Borders' group considered 'volunteer humanitarians' to be neocolonial actors complicit in upholding state power. At the other end of the scale, well-established NGOs expressed doubt that volunteers could maintain high standards of aid provision or avoid causing more harm to refugees.[144] Too anarchic for the NGOs, then, but too humanitarian for the anarchists, volunteer groups ushered in a new era of local, politically engaged humanitarian aid, highly critical of both neoliberal humanitarian governance and the cumbersome NGOs caught in the spokes of bureaucratic national security regimes. The volunteers' understanding of their own position in the Jungle covered a spectrum from distant professionalism to political communality, and creative representations of the camp became a forum for grappling with these conflicting approaches to refugee solidarity in Calais.

4. The 'Hyper-Self-Reflective' Volunteer Narrative

Volunteer-centric texts about the Jungle tend to be rigorously self-critical in their representations of volunteer identity, culture and community. This self-scrutiny can be considered in the context of a plea, made a decade previously, for 'hyper-self-reflexivity' in the

[143] Fanis Kollias, "The Elephant in the Room for Refugee Initiatives: 'Are We Relevant?,'" *Refugees Deeply*, November 1, 2016, https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2016/11/01/the-elephant-in-the-room-for-refugee-initiatives-are-we-relevant?.
[144] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 112.

fields of aid and development. Ilan Kapoor made the case for 'hyper-self-reflective development' based on his application of Spivak's arguments concerning subalternity to the aid and development sector.[145] In her famous essay 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Spivak criticises 'leftist intellectuals' for 'represent[ing] themselves as transparent' in their representations of others.[146] Rather than 'marking their positionality as investigating subjects' in their own work, Spivak argues, 'the first-world intellectual 'masquerad[es] as the absent nonrepresenter who lets the oppressed speak for themselves.'[147] In this way, the invisible intellectual becomes 'complicit in the persistent constitution of the Other as the Self's shadow.'[148]

Kapoor considers Spivak's critique of first-world intellectuals in the context of the development sector. He argues that development professionals construct themselves as objective, external actors in their political and artistic representations of aid recipients. By considering themselves impervious to ideological, institutional and geopolitical influences, Kapoor reasons, these development actors fail to acknowledge that 'we are all […] inescapably positioned in a variety of discourses' and that, as a result, 'our personal and institutional desires and interests are unavoidably written into our representations.'[149]

In failing to implicate themselves within the representational frameworks they use to capture others, Kapoor argues, development actors refuse to acknowledge that (as in Michel Foucault's famous formulation) producing knowledge about 'others' is intimately connected to acts of disciplining, monitoring, managing, and otherwise exerting control over those 'others.'[150] When

[145] Ilan Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2004): 627, doi: 10.1080/01436590410001678898.
[146] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," 275.
[147] Spivak, 296, 292.
[148] Spivak, 280.
[149] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 641.
[150] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Classics, 1991).

the development practitioner disavows their prejudices and complicities, they become liable to 'perpetuate, directly or indirectly, forms of imperialism, ethnocentrism [and] appropriation.'[151] Kapoor suggests that it is through 'hyper-self-reflection,' which he defines as 'a vigilance above and beyond conventional self-reflexivity, a radical self-reflexivity,'[152] that this neo-imperial representational drive can be tempered and resisted.

Volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle respond to Kapoor's call for hyper-self-reflexivity by reversing the anthropological gaze and 'casting a keen eye on the familiar and the taken-for-granted.'[153] Performatively rejecting any 'claims of purity, transparency or triumphalism'[154] on the part of volunteer subjects, these creative texts provide an uncompromising account of the challenges, limitations and failures of voluntary aid provision in Calais. Self-critical humanitarian aid narratives are not new: Boltanski describes a trend in humanitarian self-scrutiny in the 1980s and 90s, sparked by former MSF President Rony Brauman.[155] In volunteer-centric representations of the Jungle, however, self-reflexivity is not only the subject matter of communications, but a communications strategy in itself.

In Murphy and Robertson's play *The Jungle*, each of the five volunteer-characters (Paula, Boxer, Sam, Beth and Derek) act as vehicles for staging a deficiency or dilemma faced by the volunteer community in Calais. Sam and Beth, the two eighteen-year-old volunteers, are the only characters that evolve significantly over the course of *The Jungle.* At the beginning of the play, they are enthusiastic and inspired, but also naïve, inexperienced and out of their depth. The teenagers develop a more nuanced sense of the ambivalent politics of refugee response and

[151] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 635.
[152] Kapoor, 645.
[153] Kapoor, 641.
[154] Kapoor, 640.
[155] Luc Boltanski, "The Legitimacy of Humanitarian Actions and Their Media Representation," *Ethical Perspectives* 7, no. 1 (2000): 1–6, doi: 10.2143/EP.7.1.503788.

responsibility as the play progresses, and their optimism gives way to a crisis of doubt and disaffection.

The process of hyper-self-reflection in *The Jungle* is driven by Sam and Beth, particularly with regard to the question of complicity. For Kapoor, 'acknowledging complicity' is the key lesson that the development sector can learn from Spivak's work: he insists that the act of acknowledging one's complicity 'helps temper and contextualise one's claims, reduces the risk of personal arrogance or geoinstitutional imperialism, and moves one toward a non-hierarchical encounter'[156] with the aid recipient. *The Jungle* grapples with the question of complicity by asking whether the volunteers' well-meaning exploits exacerbated the difficulties encountered by refugees in Europe. French government official Henri accuses the volunteers of being complicit in turning the Jungle into a 'pull factor', and thereby putting more lives in danger:

> Sam: We all have responsibility for this.
>
> Henri: Responsibility for what? You are giving these people not only everything they need, but anything they want. You are making it appealing.
>
> Sam: Anyone who comes here and says this place is appealing has a problem.
>
> Henri: You think I'm cruel because I don't help these people in the way you want. But I don't want to go to bed thinking my actions have in any way persuaded someone in, let's say, Afghanistan to get inside a rubber boat, expecting to find happiness here. You give them false hope, Sam. Tell me, who do you think is cruel?[157]

The Jungle is inconclusive about the question of complicity; Beth and Sam battle their doubts without finding any clear answers. As well as probing the unintended consequences of volunteer action, *The Jungle* uses Beth's character to interrogate how the act of smuggling relates to the position that volunteers carved out for themselves in the camp:

> Beth: […] Look around, Sam. Look. I'm numb. What the fuck are we actually doing?

[156] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 641.
[157] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 99.

Sam: Something.

[…]

Beth: It's not enough. I've got to get [Okot] out.

Sam: That's not our responsibility.

Beth: Why not?

Sam: You run the school. I build houses. If we stick to that we can help.

Beth: So don't actually try to change anything?

Sam: If I didn't build houses, people would die.

Beth: Maybe that's a good thing.

Sam: Seriously?

Beth: Maybe the government would be forced to act.

Sam: I'm not going to let people die if I can stop it.

Beth: We're just preserving it. We're part of the problem.[158]

The relationship between smuggling and volunteering is also examined in 'Extending A Hand', a short story in Olumide Popoola and Annie Holmes' collection *Breach.*[159] In this narrative, two female refugees approach two volunteers in a car, and ask them:

'Can you take us? We'd hide in the back.'
The woman still smiles.
'I wish I could. Really, I do.'
There is no surprise, no resentment. She holds your gaze.
'Nobody would know.'
'It would be smuggling.'
[…] 'I'm sorry. Really. I'd love to. If I could.' The woman is waiting. She can't do this.
She really can't. Surely you must agree.[160]

These texts do not endorse the business of smuggling, but they do consider whether, theoretically, smuggling is the 'best' way to 'help' refugees, in the way that they wish to be helped. Some accounts of the Jungle, including Pooja Puri's novel *The Jungle* and Jason Wingard's film *In Another Life*, flatten smugglers into two-dimensional antagonists. *The Jungle*

[158] Murphy and Robertson, 86–87.
[159] While 'Extending a Hand' and 'Paradise' provide the most detailed critiques of 'volunteer culture' in Calais, two other stories in *Breach*, 'Lineage' and 'Ghosts', also criticise aspects of voluntary aid in the Jungle.
[160] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 55–56.

and *Breach*, however, raise the taboo question of whether the smugglers are actually more 'helpful' than the volunteers themselves, from the viewpoint of the refugees.[161] The exploration of Beth's complicity in upholding state power is extended when smuggler Ali accuses her of being 'happy to see refugees die as long as he is wearing new shoes,' whereas 'I help them find a home. I fight for real freedom.'[162] In the end, Beth seems to agree with Ali; she arranges for him to smuggle Okot to the UK.

Beth's determination to help Okot raises another contentious issue around the unofficial nature of voluntary work in Calais: the preferential treatment of certain refugees, and certain refugee communities, over others. Agier et al. suggest that the lack of a unified aid strategy in the Jungle meant some community groups were prioritised over others, 'depending on their stronger or weaker connection with volunteers.'[163] As the groups with 'stronger connections' were the ones who spoke English and shared cultural similarities, the hierarchies among refugee communities in the camp began to reflect broader social and racial hierarchies.

'Paradise', another short story from the collection *Breach*, also paints a picture of the Jungle in which the more culturally assimilable refugees were 'helped' more than those who, for various reasons, did not form advantageous connections with volunteers. The affable, English-speaking character Muhib is described as 'wearing clothes that his volunteer friends brought especially for him, stylish clothes: black stretch pants, a black and gold T-shirt and a black hoodie with sleek fat-toothed zips over the pocket.'[164] Both *The Jungle* and *Breach* reflect critically upon

[161] Pooja Puri, *The Jungle* (Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing Ltd, 2017).
Jason Wingard, *In Another Life* (UK: Wingarm, 2017), https://www.inanotherlifethefilm.com/.
[162] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 109.
[163]Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 80.
[164] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 69.
For another academic reflection upon the problem of favouritism in the Jungle, see Robin Vandevoordt and Gert Verschraegen, "Subversive Humanitarianism and Its Challenges: Notes on the Political Ambiguities of Civil

the ways that volunteers' 'prejudices and prerogatives' reinforced traditional sociocultural hierarchies among refugee groups in the camp.[165]

The forthcoming documentary *On Our Doorstep* also takes a hyper-self-reflective approach to documenting the volunteer contingent in Calais. The documentary examines the 'untold story' of the 'ordinary people [who] stepped in to fill the gap' left by authorities in 2015-16. It tells 'the story of what happened when young and inexperienced citizens were compelled to devise systems and structures to support 10,000 refugees; and were left unguided to face the moral quandaries, blurred lines and frequent grey areas of giving aid to vulnerable people.'[166] *On Our Doorstep* intends to capture 'the weight being carried by these open-hearted but untrained and ill-equipped volunteers' by focussing on the 'late night discussions, crises of confidence and the almost daily moral dilemmas that many faced in navigating a situation they'd had little to no training in.'

On Our Doorstep also reports on the 'PTSD-like symptoms and other mental health issues' faced by volunteers who returned to the UK following the October 2016 demolition. This echoes the concerns raised by psychotherapists Charlotte Burck, Gillian Hughes and Laureline Roncin that volunteers' lack of training, 'professional experience or guidelines' impacted negatively upon their mental health.[167] They report that volunteers in the Jungle displayed 'secondary traumatisation and "burnout,"' distress, stress, and an overdependence on alcohol,

---

Refugee Support," in *Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe*, trans. Margit Feischmidt, Ludger Pries, and Celine Cantat (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 113.

[165] Ilan Kapoor, "Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 8 (2007): 1216, doi: 10.1080/01436590500336849.

[166] SE15-Productions, "On Our Doorstep (A Documentary)," Kickstarter, 2017, https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/se15productions/onourdoorstep
This documentary is currently in post-production.

[167] Gillian Hughes, Charlotte Burck, and Laureline Roncin, "Therapeutic Activism: Supporting Emotional Resilience of Volunteers Working in a Refugee Camp," *Psychotherapy and Politics International* 18, no. 1 (2020): 2, doi: 10.1002/ppi.1517.

due to overwork and a belief that 'they were never doing enough' to provide the safety and shelter that the refugees required.[168] They report that 'most volunteers experience significant mood difficulties, poor sleep, intrusive memories or flashbacks,' as well as 'exhaustion and feelings of powerlessness.'[169]

One widely noted psychological difficulty experienced by volunteers in the Jungle was the guilt associated with the fact that they, unlike their compatriots in Calais, could travel to the UK whenever they wanted. Such an expression of guilt can be found in Benedict O'Boyle's autobiographical account of volunteering in the Jungle, in which he reflects that, '[d]espite staying 2 days longer than planned, I feel guilty for leaving, I don't deserve to have a warm, safe home any more than any other human being and I have barely scratched the surface of the work needed to be done.'[170]

Similarly, in *The Jungle,* both Sam and Beth are 'unscrupulously vigilant (ie hyper-self-reflexive)'[171] about the fact that they can return to the UK whenever they want. Both characters struggle to leave the camp, even refusing to spend the night in a hotel because others in the Jungle are unable to do so. While Beth exclaims that 'I don't need to go home! Okot can't go home!'[172] Sam reflects that 'I know I can leave when I want. I know I could be at home with my family. I know I could be anywhere but the fucking Jungle. I know that, but I'm not. I am here. I'm still here. I'm still here.'[173] Once again, this issue is mirrored in the short story 'Paradise', which tells the story of Julie, an inexperienced British teenager who volunteers in

[168] Hughes, Burck, and Roncin, 1, 4.
[169] Hughes, Burck, and Roncin, 5.
[170] O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*, 23.
[171] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 641.
[172] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 87.
[173] Murphy and Robertson, 120.

the Jungle with her activist aunt. Julie is approached by 'a hefty older guy' in one of the camp's cafés:

> 'Oh, hello,' he says in English, in a high fake voice. 'How are *you?* Are you well? Are you fine? Can I *help* you?'
> It stings her, the mockery. She slides off the shiny plastic platform to leave. But the big man stands by the entrance with his tea, so she must walk right by him.
> 'You are a volunteer?' he asks her. 'I am not,' he says, pointing to himself. 'Me, I'm in *in*volunteer. You understand? I'm here, yes, but *in*voluntarily.'
> […] All around her now, on the path, Julie sees stranded people, people who cannot cross that last fence. Involunteers.[174]

By staging some of the concerns, criticisms and objections made about British volunteers in Calais, volunteer-centric narratives undertake a hyper-self-reflexive exploration of the volunteer community in the Jungle. This introspective gaze hints at a pervasive anxiety surrounding the unprecedented mobilisation of young, untrained and underprepared volunteers in Calais – an anxiety that extends into the realms of morality, psychology and solidarity.

5. Representing Volunteer Identity, Culture and Community

The 'vigilant self-implication' undertaken in *The Jungle* takes the form of a *general* reflection upon the prejudices and complicities of the 'refugee crisis volunteer.'[175] Murphy and Robertson explore in broad terms the unintended role that volunteers played in maintaining the harsh conditions of the camp, exacerbating public hostility, and facilitating the minimalist response (or 'violent inaction') of the French and British governments. A completely different process of 'vigilant self-implication' is undertaken in *Threads*. The hyper-self-scrutiny in Evans'

[174] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 78–80.
[175] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 644.

narrative is communicated through very *specific* mistakes, disagreements and misunderstandings that arose among volunteer groups in Calais.

Evans reflects that '[d]istributing aid in the Jungle is a skilled job. Some people learn this the hard way.'[176] She asks, '[i]s it helpful if I write about the things we get wrong?'[177] Evans describes an incident where babies were put at risk, highlighting the dangers of relying on unskilled and unprofessional volunteers to administer aid in the camp.

[176] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 14.
[177] Evans, 80.



Figure 17: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis,* 2017, p.80 (detail)

A similar concern regarding volunteers' responsibility for children is addressed in the short fiction film *Aamir*.[178] Shot in the Jungle and, like *Threads*, created by a person who volunteered in the camp, *Aamir* is the story of Katlyn, a volunteer who promises to find a door for a young boy's shelter, but forgets her promise and fails to do so. The film reflects upon Katlyn's

[178] Evdokimenko, *Aamir*.

unwitting complicity in Aamir's suffering, in a self-critical documentation of the Jungle's disorganised volunteer effort.

Meanwhile, seven pages of *Threads* are dedicated to describing a failed publicity stunt organised by volunteers in the camp. The chapter 'I Predict a Riot'[179] recalls a clothing distribution designed as a media opportunity. This was a misjudged and poorly planned endeavour, Evans recalls, that resulted in people getting physically hurt. She offers three lessons to learn from the misadventure: 'When working in crisis situations, be honest'; 'Do not create a "special situation" unless there is something genuinely diverting and entertaining to do'; 'In a crisis situation, do one thing well. Do not attempt to do two things simultaneously, and badly.'[180]

Threads also reflects critically upon the overall lack of coordination *between* aid groups in the Jungle, illustrating that 'the volunteers' were not a cohesive unit, but a diverse mix of actors with varied and sometimes incompatible understandings of the roles and responsibilities of aid providers in the camp. These divergent approaches led to assertions of dominance over camp space, territorial behaviour regarding various refugee communities, and attempts to sequester the camp's sparse resources.

[179] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 88–94.
[180] Evans, 88–89.

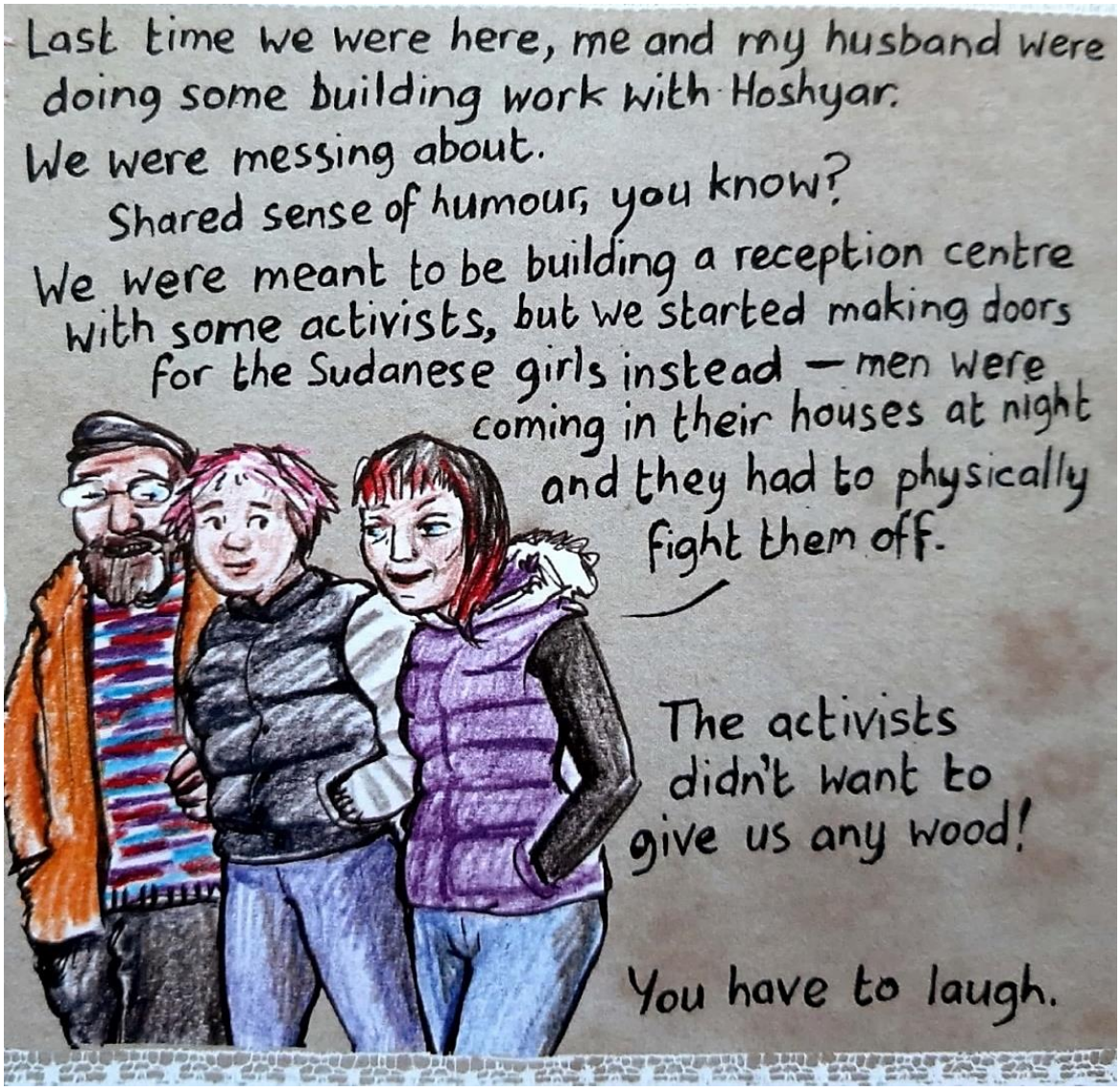


Figure 18: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.55 (detail)

Organisations in the Jungle often clashed in their understanding of the best approach to aid distribution, transparency, media relations, and representational strategies (what kinds of pictures to take, for example). At times, this factionalism, competitiveness and lack of inter-organisational cooperation escalated, culminating in serious allegations being made by some groups against others. As voluntary organisations often worked in isolation, or in competition with one another, Burck and Hughes report that 'there was no continuity of care for camp

residents, nor were people able to build on each other's work.'[181] The detailed record of errors provided in *Threads* suggests that volunteers' own understanding of their role in the camp was a hyper-self-reflective one, fraught with uncertainty and an awareness of broader structural inequalities.

The detail with which Evans documents the duration of her volunteering trips is another revealing feature of *Threads.* Evans emphasises the fact that she only spent a total of two weeks in Calais, specifying the dates of her visits in great detail: a few days from 1st October 2015; 48 hours from 13th-15th January 2016; five days from 15th-20th February 2016. An element of defensiveness with regard to duration is present throughout the text, in the term 'Day Tripper' and in the statements that '[w]e're here for less than a week, but we want to be as useful as we can,' and '[m]y friend and I set out for France, just for 48 hours. It's all we can squeeze from our busy lives.'[182] Evans compares the length of time she spent in the Jungle with other volunteers, writing that 'Sue is an artist, like I am. She first arrived in the Jungle back in October, on the same day that I did. Unlike me, she stayed.'[183]

The preoccupation with duration in *Threads*, and with distinguishing between the volunteers who 'stayed' and those who 'can't stop […] going back,'[184] attests to the fact that the distinction between 'long term volunteers' and 'short term volunteers' was the single most significant identity marker for Europeans working in the Jungle, and the basis upon which hierarchies among volunteers and volunteer groups were constructed. The high value placed upon duration is reflected in Dan Hicks and Sarah Mallet's argument that '*the giving of time*' by volunteers in

[181] Charlotte Burck and Gillian Hughes, "Challenges and Impossibilities of 'Standing alongside' in an Intolerable Context: Learning from Refugees and Volunteers in the Calais Camp," *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 23, no. 2 (2018): 225, doi: 10.1177/1359104517742187.
[182] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 61, 36.
[183] Evans, 33.
[184] Evans, 42.

the Jungle was, in itself, an answer to Natasha King's question of '[h]ow do we refuse borders?'[185] The distinction between 'long-term' and 'short-term' volunteers is explicitly addressed in *Threads* in the description of the Help Refugees warehouse. Evans records that she came to the warehouse on the 16th February 2016 'to be officially inducted into the relief effort there'.



Figure 19: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.73 (detail)

Here, the distinction between long-term and short-term as a means of establishing hierarchy is made clear. The difference in self-identification between 'long-term volunteers' and 'short-term volunteers' is indicated as a spotlight is placed upon the '[n]ew arrivals seeking signed

[185] Hicks and Mallet, *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond*, 71. *Italics in original.*
Natasha King, *No Borders: The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 4.

permission slips to go into the camp.'[186] By highlighting 'our' need to establish hierarchies in anarchic spaces, and by demonstrating the function of duration as a status symbol in an otherwise unregimented environment, *Threads* attests to a certain willingness within volunteer-centric narratives 'to admit to our complicities and desires' and 'to make them open to scrutiny and discussion.'[187]

The duration-based hierarchy between 'long-term' and 'short term' volunteers in the Jungle was a point of tension and division in the camp, as was the question of whether all Europeans had a 'right' to visit the Jungle. While 'long-term volunteers' were accused of crossing the line between safeguarding and gatekeeping in their administration of the camp, they considered that their duty to protect Jungle residents far outweighed the desire of transient 'short-term volunteers' to satiate their curiosity. A taste of this antagonism is evident in 'Paradise', as an accusation of hypocrisy is levelled at the 'long-term volunteers':

> Outside the school, Muhib is practising, knee to knee with his flute teacher, a German woman with pink-dyed dreads, an orange dress and a nose ring. […] He picks up her phone and frames a photograph of her with the merry 'School' sign painted on the wall behind her head. A notice on the door requests that people not photograph the school, but that's to protect the refugees from thoughtless snappers; it's not meant for the regulars like the flute teacher who've put in the time, who've chosen the Jungle, the real troopers.[188]

The sardonic tone of 'Paradise' demonstrates the ease with which the identificatory boundaries between 'short term' and 'long term' volunteers reinforced themselves through suspicion and hostility: while 'long-term volunteers' were accused of being territorial, arrogant and paternalistic, 'short-term volunteers' were criticised for being irresponsible, voyeuristic and

[186] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 71.
[187] Kapoor, "Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire," 1216.
[188] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 69–70.
For a theoretical account of tensions between volunteer groups and the preferential treatment of certain refugee communities in the Jungle, see Audrey Coguiec and David Suber, "Agency Encamped: The Case of Calais' Jungle Inhabitants," *Refugee Review* 3 (2017): 185–92, https://espminetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Refugee-Review-Vol.-III.pdf.

selfish. But this self-policing was not due simply to competitiveness, mistrust and stressful circumstances. It also resulted from an acute awareness of how the volunteer contingent was being perceived by the always-watchful media. The 'vigilant self-scrutiny' undertaken by volunteers in the camp was driven in part by an attentiveness to the hypermediated nature of the camp, an understanding of the importance of image management, and an awareness that both the refugees *and* the volunteers were vulnerable to misrepresentation in the mainstream press.

The least diplomatic account of volunteers in Calais can be found in *Jungle Boy,* an autobiographical account written by thirteen-year-old Seif Jamalulail, who helped his parents run an aid organisation in the camp.[189] In *Jungle Boy,* duration plays an even more important role in establishing identity than it does in *Threads.* The arrival and departure of volunteers are the only events that mark the passage of time in a place where very little changed day-to-day. *Jungle Boy* is the only volunteer-centric text that reflects upon the fact that refugees also took on volunteering roles in the Jungle. The text documents that refugees who took on volunteering roles were rewarded with greater access to transport, electricity, resources and advantageous European networks, showing that opportunities to volunteer alongside European organisations were yet another mode of establishing hierarchies between refugee community groups in the camp.

A large proportion of *Jungle Boy*, however, is taken up by lists of complaints about volunteers' behaviour: they were untidy; they were lazy; they did not take their work seriously; they came and went without warning; they were too few; they were too numerous. The interesting thing about these criticisms is their universality: the same petty grievances plague every voluntary

[189] Jamalulail, *Jungle Boy*.

endeavour, from refugee camps to local community events. Considering that such a large proportion of *Jungle Boy* is dedicated to registering these relatively minor complaints, it is difficult to imagine who the target audience for the book might be.

Volunteer-centric texts about the Jungle constitute a creative forum designed to address, reflect upon and respond to the unique practical challenges and moral dilemmas posed by the aid response to the Calais Jungle in 2015-16. The process of evaluation undertaken in these texts is characterised by hyper-self-reflection. Radical reflexivity as a creative approach involves striking a difficult balance, however. Gestures of self-reflexivity can easily tip over into self-indulgent performances, not intended for '[t]he deconstructive problematization of the positionality of the subject of investigation,' but to reinforce the identity of the artist.[190] Spivak refers to this as 'the sort of breast-beating which stops the possibility of social change' because it is 'left behind at the threshold and then business goes on as usual.'[191]

At times, hyper-self-reflexivity can spiral into narcissism; indeed, a common criticism of Spivak's work is that it 'reinforc[es] the West's self-obsession by focusing too much on questions of self-reflexivity.'[192] The same criticism can be levelled at these insistently introspective volunteer-centric narratives. In his justification of hyper-self-reflection as a representational strategy, Kapoor clarifies that self-scrutiny is not 'a navel-gazing exercise that reinforces Western ethnocentrism when it is expressly carried out *in order to* clear the way *for*

[190] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Intervention Interview," in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 121–22.
[191] Spivak, 121.
Jonathan Langdon and Coleman Agyeyomah, "Critical Hyper-Reflexivity and Challenging Power: Pushing Past the Dichotomy of Employability and Good Global Citizenship in Development Studies Experimental Learning Contexts," in *Globetrotting or Global Citizenship? Perils and Potential of International Experiential Learning*, ed. Rebecca Tiessen and Robert Huish (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
[192] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 639.
Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory* (London: Verso, 1997).

an ethical relationship with the Other.'[193] In Kapoor's understanding, the exercise of hyper-self-reflection is valuable to the extent that it facilitates and encourages ethical modes of encounter. The question becomes, then, how to differentiate reliably between those hyper-self-reflexive narratives that only amount to narcissistic, self-serving and 'self-consolidating' performances, and those that successfully accomplish 'a radical ethical and political self-reflexivity that is vigilant to our reproduction of neocolonialisms.'[194]

[193] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other,'" 643. *Emphasis in original.*
[194] Kapoor, 643.
Ilan Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), xiii.

CHAPTER FOUR

OWNERSHIP, HOSPITALITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

6. The Jungle: European Story, European Space

The project of hyper-self-reflection undertaken in creative accounts of the Calais Jungle extends beyond the volunteer community itself. The critique of grassroots voluntary aid considered in the previous chapter forms part of a wider investigation into the Jungle as an explicitly 'European' place, at a time when the meaning of 'Europe' is being reformulated at the UK border. Britain voted to leave the European Union in a referendum held on 23rd June 2016, when the Jungle was approaching the height of its population expansion, four months before it was demolished. The creative process of coming to terms with the legacy of the Calais Jungle coincided, therefore, with an unprecedented upheaval in British-European identity politics.

Debates around borders and (inter)national identity became increasingly polarised in the years following the demolition of the Jungle. At the same time, the border between Europe and the UK became an increasingly malleable symbol. For some, the Calais Jungle served as proof of the need to 'take back control' of Britain's borders, which the 'Leave' campaign claimed to be capable of doing. For others, the camp represented a cautionary tale – a warning about what can happen when European states fail to cooperate on border management, which the 'Remain' campaign wished to emphasise. For others still, the Jungle signified an alternative, anti-nationalistic and somewhat idealistic model for inhabiting Europe 'otherwise'. As public attitudes towards sovereignty and national belonging in the UK became increasingly volatile and identitarian following the events of 23rd June 2016, the external border in Calais became progressively suffused with affective significance and competing metaphorical meanings.

The public narrative surrounding immigration and asylum in Britain has transformed over the past five years for reasons beyond the Brexit process. While Britain's relationship with the EU influenced all four major votes that took place in the UK between 2016 and 2020 (two general elections and one European parliamentary election, as well as the EU referendum), each vote also testified *singularly* to the immeasurable change taking place in Britain's understanding of itself as a nation. Several seismic events disrupted the relationship between border management, humanitarian imperatives, national identity and 'British values' in this period. These included the Grenfell Tower fire in June 2017, the resignation of Home Secretary Amber Rudd in response to the 'Windrush scandal' in April 2018, the revocation of the citizenship of Shamima Begum in February 2019, the tragedy of the 'Essex 39' in October 2019, and the Black Lives Matter protests in the summer of 2020.

Slower-burning issues have also guided the public narrative on migration and asylum since 2016, including the steady expansion of the UK's hostile environment policy, the renewed appetite for Scottish secession, reignited tensions around the Irish border, the legislative overhaul proposed by the 'Immigration and Social Security Co-ordination Bill' (the Brexit Immigration Bill), and global culpability for the climate crisis. Each of these events has, in different ways, reiterated or reformulated Britain's place in the global order, by illuminating the permeability of the nation's ideological frontiers: the old story of the outside coming in, and the new story of the inside coming out. Such anxieties concerning the cultural borderlines of British Europeanness, or European Britishness, naturally found expression in creative narratives about the Calais Jungle, a camp that existed at both the literal and the symbolic frontiers of Europe and the UK.

The transformation taking place in British sociopolitical history is not only *documented* by creative accounts of the Jungle, however. These narratives have also *contributed* to the project of reimagining what counts, culturally and geopolitically, as 'European space' in the post-Brexit political landscape. This has anchored the Jungle to 'Europe': volunteer-centric texts apprehend the rise and fall of the Jungle not simply as a place, but as a profoundly *European* place. Volunteer-centric narratives consider the ways that the Jungle was unique to Europe – the logical consequence of European domestic and foreign policies of action and inaction. These texts situate the Jungle within European social, political and legal frameworks, through an interpretive field aligned more closely with Europe's internal struggles for unity than with global struggles for peace and stability.

A host of questions arise from this conceptual repositioning of the camp: what does the Jungle say about 'us'? How can we make sense of 'our' role in the construction of a place that is inside European territory, but outside European law? How does the legacy of the Jungle impact upon the highly disputed issue of European unity? What damage has the camp done to the ideals on which a united Europe was founded, both within and beyond the immediate context of immigration politics? These questions signal the current of anxiety that runs through these texts, which surfaces at times when authors explicitly propose new constellations of 'Britishness' and 'Europeanness' within the border landscape.

Volunteer-centric texts engage with the above questions by examining the spatial politics of the Jungle. They explore issues of ownership and belonging in the camp, to ascertain whether it is the refugees, or the volunteers, who must bear responsibility for the creation and expansion of *la lande*. The documentary *Calais: The End of the Jungle* provides one clear answer to these

questions of proprietorship and liability.[1] Directed by Dan Reed (who became embroiled in controversy the following year for directing the Michael Jackson exposé 'Leaving Neverland'), *Calais: The End of the Jungle* formed part of BBC Two's 'This World' series. It was broadcast on 24th October 2017 to mark the first anniversary of the demolition of the Jungle. The purpose of *Calais: The End of the Jungle* is to trace 'the impossible dilemmas faced by the French police and the dedicated team of British volunteers largely responsible for the creation of the Jungle.' It aims to capture 'the scale of the British volunteer aid effort that resulted in a huge influx of donations' to Calais, and 'the impact that the volunteers had on the course of the camp's growth and underground economy.'[2]

Calais: The End of the Jungle focusses exclusively on the Europeans whose lives were impacted by the existence of the Jungle. It documents the ways that French and British citizens perceived and responded to the 'impossible dilemmas' posed by the camp. Its guiding narrative is pieced together from 22 interviews, conducted with fifteen mainly-British volunteers, six French police and government officials, one lorry driver, and zero refugees. Only one refugee speaks over the course of *Calais: The End of the Jungle,* 37 minutes in. He is not interviewed directly, but is filmed while speaking to a group of journalists. Asked if he knows where he will go after the demolition, he replies, 'in a centre. A better life, no Jungle life, no animal life. Like a man life.' The only refugee featured in the documentary thus endorses the demolition.

Calais: The End of the Jungle conforms to tired visual stereotypes in its representation of refugees. The documentary's 'extraordinary footage of hundreds of migrants storming lorries' consists of wide-angled shots of shadows moving through darkness.[3] The figures signify a

[1] Reed, *Calais: The End of the Jungle*.
[2] "Calais: The End of the Jungle," BBC Two, 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09c1psj.
[3] "Calais: The End of the Jungle."

collective, indistinct threat: they create roadblocks, climb fences, disrupt traffic and hide inside vehicles. The Jungle itself is filmed using high-angled, panoramic shots; the camera pans across the camp from above, suggesting an objective, external viewpoint capable of capturing the camp without the input of its residents. Gender representation is also highly unbalanced in this Eurocentric narrative. In the scenes that discuss smugglers, police, blockades, violence, criminality and death, seven of the eight narrators are men. In contrast, in the scenes that depict cooking, fundraising, sorting donations, aid distribution and hygiene, four of the five interviewees are women. In the world of the documentary, women fulfil refugees' basic needs, while men monitor the frontline.

Unusually, the narrative *is* balanced in its representation of divergent perspectives on the Jungle. Unlike the adversarial approach taken in *Threads*, for example, neither 'side' of the debate is glorified or demonised in the documentary. *Calais: The End of the Jungle* provides a platform for a police union representative, a French border officer, a lorry driver and Calais' chief of police to speak alongside refugee rights advocates. These individuals voice the concerns of those keen to see the camp demolished, alongside the concerns of activists opposed to the violent and inhumane way that the demolition was managed. The documentary paints a relatively balanced picture of how a diverse group of French and British citizens relate to 'their' border, and of how this border impacts upon their sense of European identity.

In line with its Eurocentric approach, the spatial power dynamics portrayed in *Calais: The End of the Jungle* are relatively straightforward: in the world of the documentary, the volunteers are the proprietors of the Jungle, and the refugees simply live there. The volunteers interviewed in *Calais: The End of the Jungle* corroborate the documentary's straightforward assertion that 'the dedicated team of British volunteers' were 'largely responsible for the creation of the Jungle.'

One volunteer explains that ‘we were basically the driving force behind building the camp. There were times when we were knocking out over 20 houses a day. In six or seven months it got turned from a tent city to an entire shanty town with 1500 shelters in total.’

Some volunteers assume moral responsibility for the camp based on their role in constructing it: ‘we built a town. Was that the right thing to do?’ For others, the part they played in building the camp translates to emotional attachment – ‘of course I love it. I helped build it’ – and to feelings of belonging: ‘the Jungle was my home, […] It was where I lived […] and I built it, as well.’ In *Calais: The End of the Jungle*, it is through the volunteers’ recollections and emotional responses that the camp is made sense of *as a place*: it was the volunteers who built the on land, who represent the land, and who made the *la lande* their home.

Murphy and Robertson’s play *The Jungle* comes to precisely the opposite conclusion. In *The Jungle,* it is not ‘the dedicated team of British volunteers’ that are ‘largely responsible for the creation of the Jungle,’ but the refugees themselves. In *The Jungle*, the refugees bring the Jungle into being independently, and quasi-ceremonially:

	They divide the land.
Ali:	This is Kurdistan.
Yasin:	Here is Iraq.
Omid:	This Iran.
Helene:	Eritrea.
Safi:	Syria.
	[…]
Mohammed:	Sudan.
Salar:	And this is Afghanistan.
	An Afghan flag is raised as Norullah and Maz sing the national anthem.
	Salar translates.
	[…]

Safi: We were forced from many places into one, and this place we called:

Salar: Zhangal!

A drumbeat begins.[4]

The Jungle's 'date of birth'[5] is depicted as a semi-mythical origin narrative, in which the refugees establish religious, social, economic and domestic structures without the help of volunteers. Pre-volunteer life in *The Jungle* is a time of idealised, peaceful coexistence:

Safi: People meet and laugh and eat together. Share stories of great journeys, with excitement like I have never heard.

The call to prayer sounds.

This was five times a day at home. Now it is from mosques in Zhangal. It means, 'Come to pray. Come to *success.*' At home they were fighting. In Zhangal they were praying, Sunni and Shia together.

Helene sings 'Lord Have Mercy.'

Christians, too.

[…]

Everyone joins in the song.[6]

The initial construction of the camp is undertaken solely by the refugees in the play. Salar declares, on arrival, that 'this land is ours to use. We can build here!'[7] Safi then narrates that 'in the day we built. Everywhere, the sound of saws, hammers, work. In the absence of any help from the French state, we did it ourselves.'[8] The idealised 'Zhangal' boasts '[m]osques, churches, shops. And people from many countries for the first time living together in peace.'[9] At the end of the play, Salar protests that 'I built this restaurant with my hands. Every piece of wood, everything you see, I found.'[10]

[4] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 27–28.
[5] Murphy and Robertson, 26.
[6] Murphy and Robertson, 30.
[7] Murphy and Robertson, 26.
[8] Murphy and Robertson, 29.
[9] Murphy and Robertson, 32.
[10] Murphy and Robertson, 120.

Some creative licence is clearly being employed in this account. We know that the Jungle was not 'born' spontaneously; it was marked out by French authorities as a 'tolerated area' to which the inhabitants of other encampments around Calais were relocated over the first half of 2015. We also know that the volunteers did not all arrive in Calais simultaneously in September 2015 to disrupt the idyllic peace in the camp, as *The Jungle* indicates:

> Beth: A photograph of a boy. A little boy. Washed up on a beach.
>
> Safi: Alan. Alan Kurdi. From Kobani in northern Syria. Please, come in.
>
> […]
>
> Safi: We spend months trying to get to UK. And in September, UK came here.
>
> *The music returns and slowly builds as each volunteer arrives.*[11]

French voluntary organisations, including *Salam, L'Auberge des Migrants, Secours Catholique* and Calais Migrant Solidarity, had been operational in Calais for years prior to 2015, and even the newer British volunteer groups in Calais had begun attracting significant media attention in Calais in the summer of 2015, largely due to the publicity generated by the #HelpCalais hashtag.[12] Additionally, while the tragic death of Alan Kurdi is often presented as the sole catalyst for European citizens' involvement in the 'refugee crisis', this is a selective historical narrative that foregrounds traditional models of affect-driven engagement, obscuring the important ways that the volunteer effort in Europe was forging new – if questionable – pathways for delivering, conceptualising and communicating about aid.

In reality, there was no pre-volunteer utopia, devoid of European influence, as depicted in *The Jungle.* The extensive construction work that took place on *la lande* depended upon the

[11] Murphy and Robertson, 37–38.
[12] David Brown, "Band of Britons Move into Calais Jungle," *The Times*, August 11, 2015, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/band-of-britons-move-into-calais-jungle-mwg7bvt7ql9.
Roger Tagholm, "'Jungle' Migrant Camp in Calais Now Boasts Library," *Publishing Perspectives*, August 24, 2015, https://publishingperspectives.com/2015/08/jungle-migrant-camp-in-calais-now-boasts-library/.

materials, tools, electricity, funds and amenities supplied by voluntary organisations. As such, the timeline presented in *The Jungle*, in which volunteers arrived in September 2015 to disturb the peaceful life that the refugees had created for themselves, is a fabrication. It is a fabrication that is necessary, however, for the play's representation of the spatial dynamics of the camp, as the creative restructuring of events in *The Jungle* facilitates the accusation of neo-imperialism levelled at its volunteer-characters.

The modified timeline of *The Jungle* lays the foundations for exposing Sam and Derek's colonial mentality, as they both attempt to implement systems for governing the camp without realising that systems had already been developed prior to their arrival. When Derek arrives in the camp, he unknowingly modifies its name from 'Zhangal' to 'Jungle,' begins reciting Rudyard Kipling's poem 'The Law for the Wolves,' and mistakenly believes himself to be chairing 'the first democratic meeting in the history of the Jungle.'[13] Sam, meanwhile, launches an urban development project to replace the refugees' own division of space into zones based on national and ethnic groupings.

Sam's possessive language – his repeated use of 'I' and 'my' – shows that he views the development of the Jungle as his personal project, to be undertaken without consultation or collaboration with its residents. Sam says, for example: 'I've divided my map into quadrants'; '[t]his is my methodology for distributing houses'; 'there's no reason I can't build a hundred [houses]'; 'I've streamlined production'; 'I need to know if it's worth the investment'; I've built about four hundred houses here'; I'm not passing up this opportunity.'[14] Unsurprisingly, Sam's

[13] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 39, 50.
[14] Murphy and Robertson, 61, 61, 63, 64, 100, 98, 92.

one-man effort to restructure the camp proves highly unpopular. When unveiling his plan to reorganise the camp into quadrants, he is asked

> Ali: Where is Kurdistan?
>
> Sam: It isn't on there.
>
> Ali: You don't recognise State of Kurdistan?
>
> Sam: No. I mean, yes. I'm grouping it with Iraq and Iran, in this quadrant here –
>
> Ali: You're doing what?
>
> Sam: Or not…
>
> Ali: Do you have any idea of our history?![15]

Through humour, a loose parallel is drawn between Sam's division of the camp into quadrants and the role of Britain and France in dividing the Middle East into bordered nations following the First World War. The modified timeline of events in *The Jungle* allows for a less reductive exploration of the camp's spatial power dynamics than is found in *Calais: The End of the Jungle.* It provides a counterpoint to those narratives that attribute responsibility for the development of the camp solely to volunteer groups. In this, it is supported by some academic opinion. Coguiec and Suber argue that,

> [d]espite the involvement of local and international NGO's, of the Calais municipality, of border security agencies and anti-riot police, not to mention the engagement of hundreds of volunteers and activists from all over Europe, it was ultimately the inhabitants of the camp who directed – often in conflicting, contradictory and fragmented ways – the flourishing of the Jungle *as a space of resilience against the British and French border regime.*[16]

The Jungle draws out the neocolonial resonances embedded in the assumption that volunteers were necessary for the Jungle's social development. The attack loses some of its critical momentum, however, by being based on a fictionalised version of the history of the camp.

[15] Murphy and Robertson, 61–62.
[16] Coguiec and Suber, "Agency Encamped: The Case of Calais' Jungle Inhabitants," 186. *Emphasis in original.*

7. Reverse Hospitality

Questions of accountability and proprietorship are explored in volunteer-centric texts through the representational dynamic of hospitality, and the attribution of 'guest' and 'host' status to volunteers and refugees in the Jungle. In Chapter Two, I argued that the relations of hospitality set out in the refugee-centric life narrative collection *Voices from the 'Jungle'* mirrored the structure of hospitality underpinning citizen-refugee relations in the host nation. Volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle often take a different approach to hospitality, however. The power politics that separate belonging from non-belonging within the nation tend not to be *mirrored* in these texts, but *reversed.* In other words, these narratives position refugees as hosts in the Jungle, with the volunteers as their guests.

In *Threads,* the hospitable encounter between refugee-hosts and volunteer-guests is benign: the volunteers are welcomed warmly into the camp as the refugees' guests. Volunteers are invited into dwelling places, offered food and a place to sleep by the people they meet. Evans details acts of hospitality throughout *Threads:* '[w]e sit down together and are given dinner. Refusal is not an option'; 'Hoshyar busies himself in his eighteen-inch kitchen […]. Welcoming, cooking, sharing. You can tell this fits with his sense of how things should be in the world'; '[h]e cooks another meal, from scratch, just for me'; 'once again, I am gobsmacked by the generosity.'[17] The depiction of hospitality politics in *Threads* aligns with Agier et al.'s observation that, for the refugees,

> the Jungle had indeed become (or was in the process of becoming) their refuge, their hearth and home, thereby shifting the usual terms of hospitality, with the relationship between host and guest being in a way rebalanced and becoming rather more egalitarian. The strangers who were

[17] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 19, 56, 58, 103.

> there and had made this site more familiar for themselves wanted to receive as their 'guests' the inhabitants of those very territories from which they were excluded.[18]

Yet it is an oversimplification to suggest that refugees in Calais were absolutely open to receiving guests. The idea that 'the migrants themselves invented the hospitable town in France that the government refused them,' giving us all 'a lesson in hospitality,' is unhelpfully romanticised.[19] It is unwise to claim that refugees are fundamentally hospitable people – whether due to their religious beliefs, cultural traditions or otherwise – as it creates an expectation that refugees will act hospitably towards *each other* in all circumstances. In reality, individuals who have been granted asylum in Europe may be reluctant to offer hospitality to newer arrivals because of the perceived risks involved or because they do not wish to draw attention to themselves. For these reasons, it is preferable to avoid making generic claims about refugees' desire to host others.

A more complex reversal of hospitable relations takes place over the course of *The Jungle.* Volunteers in the play are consistently *called* refugees, and described *as* refugees. While smuggler Ali informs Beth that she has 'become a refugee,'[20] Boxer outlines his theory that all volunteers are 'actually' refugees:

> Boxer: […] I've got a theory, right. Everyone here is running from something. We're all refugees. So the game is, what you running from? I'll go first. […] Fleeing the authoritarian regime of my ex-wife. Refugee. How's about you?
>
> […]
>
> Derek: I think we'd all agree our country has changed. People don't talk to each other.
>
> Boxer: There you go. Refugee. What about you, little miss?
>
> […]
>
> Beth: Three years of my life. Seventy grand of debt. For what? I just felt everything was sort of shit.

[18] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 142.
[19] Agier et al., 143, 142.
[20] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 108.

Boxer: Refugee. What about you, son?

Sam: It's terribly important to be able to see and understand different cultures –

Boxer: […] Refugee. Thou, my darling?

Paula: Getting away from wankers like you.

[…]

Boxer: What about you, mate?

Safi: The civil war in Syria.

Boxer: Yeah, that'd do it. Refugee.[21]

Boxer's 'theory' that all volunteers are refugees because they are all running away from something chimes with a statement made by a volunteer in *Calais: The End of the Jungle* that 'the criteria for long-term volunteers is "lost or broken."'[22] But positioning the volunteers *as* refugees – as the ones running away, as the ones 'who need fucking help' – is a curious representational strategy.[23] The imaginative exercise that views everyone as a refugee because everyone is running from something is comparable to the cosmopolitan *anyone can become a refugee* motif explored in Chapter One, as in both cases, the exiled imagination is presented as a source of hospitality.

This is a well-established idea within refugee literature. Woolley argues in her study of contemporary asylum narratives that 'imagining their circumstances is one way in which to respond ethically to forced migrants' request for hospitality.'[24] The argument that fictional asylum narratives can facilitate 'an encounter with the other that engenders an ethical self-alienation' through the 'poetics of hospitality' reflects Levinas's interpretation of ethical responsibility as self-exile.[25] Stephen Morton summarises that, for Levinas, ethics is defined as 'the moment in which the transcendental self of western philosophy discovers that it is already

[21] Murphy and Robertson, 44–46.
[22] Reed, *Calais: The End of the Jungle*.
[23] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 96.
[24] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 67.
[25] Woolley, 34.

in an ethical relation to the Other before it is fully a self.'[26] Levinas considers that 'ethics is nothing more than the singular event in which the Self encounters itself in an ethical relation to the face of the Other.'[27] In *Otherwise than Being,* Levinas argues that this ethical relation between 'Self' and 'Other' involves the self's exile from itself. He writes that

> [t]he I approached in responsibility is for-the-other, is a denuding, an exposure to being affected, a pure susceptiveness. It does not posit itself, possessing itself and recognizing itself; it is consumed and delivered over, dis-locates itself, loses its place, is exiled, relegates itself into itself, […] to the point of substituting itself for the other, holding on to itself only as it were in the trace of its exile.[28]

Abi Doukhan explains that, according to Levinas, 'the self must itself experience exile […] if an encounter with the exilic dimension of the other is to be possible,' because the self's 'at-homeness in the world is, in effect, ruined by the intrusion of the destitute other.'[29] By the same token, the ethics of hospitality is predicated upon this experience of self-exile. Whereas in Derrida's philosophy, the act of hospitality requires 'being oneself in one's own home,' for Levinas, 'generosity emerges from a sense of my own homelessness in the world, my own exile within the world.'[30]

But what happens when, within a narrative encounter, a spectator's sense of their 'own exile within the world' – their voluntary, imaginative acts of self-exile – overlaps with literal, enforced circumstances of becoming exiled? In both the metaphorical and literal forms of self-exile, 'the self is not at home anymore, it finds itself a stranger within its own world, it finds itself expulsed, exiled from its very home.'[31] Both literal and imaginative processes of exile

---

[26] Stephen Morton, *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 37.
[27] Morton, 37.
[28] Emmanuel Levinas, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991), 138.
[29] Doukhan, *Emmanuel Levinas: A Philosophy of Exile*, 22, 31.
[30] Derrida, "Hostipitality," 14.
Doukhan, *Emmanuel Levinas: A Philosophy of Exile,* 34.
[31] Doukhan, 32.

involve leaving one's comfort zone and becoming alien, becoming stranger, foreign to others and to oneself. As Woolley argues, the difficulty of the literary ethics of hospitality in the context of asylum is that, when understood 'variously as a metaphor, a legal obligation and an ethical responsibility,'[32] the concept of hospitality can become trapped somewhere between the real and the imaginary.

The hospitable, imaginative gesture of 'ethical self-alienation' may challenge the power embedded in refugee aesthetics, but sliding between metaphorical and literal ideas of self-estrangement risks doing yet more injustice to refugees. The metaphorical hospitality of self-exile obscures the *political* resonances of becoming-refugee – the fact that refugeehood entails a specific process of subjectivation within a specific international context. Considering this, Boxer's 'theory' that all volunteers are refugees seems like a questionable narrative device.

On the other hand, the use to which Boxer's 'theory' is put in *The Jungle* is markedly different to how the *anyone can become a refugee* trope is deployed by sentimental humanitarian narratives of involuntary exile. As a cosmopolitan narrative device, *anyone can become a refugee* works in the service of 'our' sentimental education – it is designed to teach and encourage 'us' (the spectators), through imaginative identification, through 'putting ourselves in their shoes', to behave more hospitably towards 'them' (the sufferers). Chapter One argued that this affective device works to conceal and disavow the inequality of grievability.

The Jungle, however, does not turn volunteers into refugees, and refugees into hosts, so that the refugee can give us 'a lesson in hospitality.' Instead, this narrative device serves the opposite function. It is designed to allow refugees to *withhold* and *withdraw* hospitality from European

[32] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 31.

citizens, encouraging us to rethink the relationship between refugeedom and hospitality as a whole. In *The Jungle*, it is the refugees' *inhospitality*, and sometimes their hostility, that marks them out as masters over the threshold of the camp. Throughout the play, it is made clear that the volunteer-characters are not particularly welcome in the Jungle. Mimicking the conditional welcome extended to refugees by European states, the refugee-characters in *The Jungle* often argue over who should be welcomed into the camp, and under what conditions. Salar regards the volunteers as 'a problem' that must be excised from the camp.[33] The other characters are less sure:

> Helene: So what are you saying, Salar? We kick them out?
>
> Salar: Yes.
>
> Helene: How do we do this?
>
> Salar: We tell them, go! You are not wanted.
>
> […]
>
> Ali: You are not the border man, Salar.
>
> Helene: Salar deports from Zhangal!
>
> Mohammed: When I arrive in UK I hope for welcome. Now we should offer the same.[34]

In the end, the group of refugee-characters vote on whether to allow the volunteers into the camp:

> Safi: Do we accept help of British man? Do we welcome him? Who says yes?
> Helene, Ali and Mohammed raise their hands. Salar does not.
> Salar?
>
> Salar: I do not.
>
> Safi: We must have an agreement, my friend.
>
> Salar: I know what British are like. They go to places they don't belong and tell people what to do. […] If they stay, they support us in everything. They do not decide. They do not tell us what to do.
>
> Safi: (to everyone) First they stayed one night. Then they stayed two nights. Then they

[33] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 46.
[34] Murphy and Robertson, 48.

> moved in…[35]

A similar inhospitality towards volunteers is presented in the short story ‘Extending a Hand’ in *Breach.* The second-person narrative describes an encounter between the refugee-protagonist and a well-meaning volunteer:

> The woman wants to sit down, you can see it. Her eyes are angling for an invitation.
> ‘It must be hard.’ She’s waiting for your response. ‘Here.’
> […] It’s such a useless question. Your blood is starting to boil. Her five-minute concern is not going to help you keep warm at night, or leave this hellhole altogether. […] You want to shake the woman until her hair comes loose. […] What is this? What do they want? You have other things to do. You offer her nothing: no reassuring words, no acknowledging smile.[36]

The narrative goes on to reveal that

> [y]ou are tired of the visitors who all need acknowledgement, who need you to engage so they can feel that they are doing the right thing. It is not that you don’t appreciate their help. What they do keeps you alive. But the rules of it are annoying. You have, in fact, more important things to do.[37]

The protagonist’s hostility in ‘Extending a Hand’, and her unwillingness to perform gratitude, tackles the trope of the ‘grateful refugee’ head on.[38] The demand or expectation of gratitude placed upon refugees is a risk intendant upon the metaphor of hospitality. Rosello argues that hospitality-as-metaphor ‘blurs the distinction between a discourse of rights and a discourse of generosity, the language of social contracts and the language of excess and gift-giving.’[39] The protagonist of ‘Extending a Hand’ subverts the typical balance of generosity and gratitude, suffering and empathy. She challenges the trope of the grateful refugee as a figure that must

[35] Murphy and Robertson, 49.
[36] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 55–56.
[37] Popoola and Holmes, 52.
[38] Dina Nayeri, *The Ungrateful Refugee* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd, 2019).
[39] Mireille Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 9.

always know their place, assimilate, and never overstep the mark, for fear that the conditional welcome extended to her will be withdrawn if the mask slips.

Often, the nation's offer of sanctuary to the refugee contains a demand for reciprocity to be paid in gratitude, good behaviour and cultural assimilation. Refugees must be conscientious 'guests': their political and religious beliefs must be tempered, they must speak good English, they must be educated, passive, polite and provide positive reinforcement to their hosts, while demonstrating their commitment to hard work, family life and free market capitalism. They must be stoic in the face of hardship, and must process trauma and display traumatisation only through readily comprehensible channels. They must know when to be silent but, even more importantly, they must know when and how to speak when speech is prescribed. As the figure of the 'grateful refugee' feeds into the wider cultural category of the 'good immigrant', the politics of compassionate hospitality turns a legal right into a humanitarian concern, and prevents refugees from existing outside of idealised versions of themselves.[40]

In *The Jungle*, the volunteers are seen to 'help' refugees more in their capacity as consumers than as humanitarian aid providers. The idealised fully-functioning refugee-only society described before the arrival of the volunteers in the modified timeline of *The Jungle* implies that the refugees did not *need* the volunteers, but they strategically *chose* to accept them – primarily in order to make money from them:

> Ali: We do not need them.
>
> Salar: Thank you.
>
> Ali: But we may want them. Have the boy count your takings. Then tell me you don't

[40] Rosemary Sales, "The Deserving and the Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Welfare in Britain," *Critical Social Policy* 22, no. 3 (2002): 456–78, doi: 10.1177/026101830202200305.
Nikesh Shukla, ed., *The Good Immigrant* (London: Unbound, 2016).

want them.[41]

Later in the play, Salar announces that 'I would like to say thank you to British man for coming here. Already you have been great help. Now is like gold rush in the Jungle!'[42] Salar's sarcastic gratitude, another riposte to the 'grateful refugee' construct, suggests that the refugees *chose* to tolerate the volunteers in the Jungle because they provided the camp with a ready source of income. When the refugee is decoupled from performances of gratitude in *The Jungle* and 'Extending a Hand', the aid provider is also decoupled from traditional humanitarian ideas of helping the helpless, giving power to the powerless and giving voice to the voiceless. It is by stripping the volunteer figure of the protective shields of urgency and emergency that these texts are able to conduct a detailed critique of the individual actions and motivations of volunteers in Calais.

In this vein, the most unreservedly critical reflection upon volunteer culture in *The Jungle* is facilitated by the character Boxer, who represents the possibility that volunteers were not simply an annoyance for their refugee-hosts, but an additional burden upon them. Intoxicated and unreliable, Boxer comes to the Jungle because he has nowhere else to go. His actions often exacerbate tensions in the camp:

Paula:	Things need to change. Volunteers were drunk. Booze, spliffs, fuck knows what. I'm not naming names –
Boxer:	Oh, fuck off, Paula!
Derek:	There is a time and a place. This is a test of our strength. We need to come together now.
Salar:	He was asleep in my restaurant while the fire was burning. Children were screaming and he was on the floor.
Paula:	Salar, I'll deal with him. *(Shouting.)* Get a grip or fuck off!

[41] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 47.
[42] Murphy and Robertson, 51.

[…]

Salar: Let me speak. Refugees: remember why you are here. Good chance may soon be no chance. And volunteers.

Mohammed: Don't divide us, Salar –

Salar: We have trusted you with our lives. If you are here for holiday, or because this is better than your home, leave. We do not want you. The last thing Zhangal needs is more refugees.[43]

This exchange demonstrates that the gesture of welcome extended by the refugees to the volunteers within the camp space is conditional and can be withdrawn, mimicking the conditional hospitality extended to the refugees within the host nation. Salar's insinuation that the volunteers are 'here for holiday' aligns the representational strategy of 'reverse hospitality' and the debates over proprietorship, responsibility and belonging in Calais with broader discussions around the phenomenon of 'voluntourism'.

8. Volunteer Tourism

Voluntourism, or volunteer tourism, is the term given to package holiday-style trips designed for unskilled, enthusiastic and affluent teenagers to travel to specific locations, usually in the Global South, in order to experience poverty first-hand. 'Voluntourism' is often used as a derogatory term, closely related to the 'gap yah' phenomenon and to ideas of 'poverty porn' and the 'white saviour complex'. It is structured upon relations of pity and non-reciprocity. Mary Mostafanezhad describes the 'tourism-development encounter' as one that is 'mediated by discourses that create a binary and implicit hierarchy between givers and receivers.'[44] The term 'voluntourism' is also used as shorthand for referring to the neoliberalisation of aid and development programmes that repackage inequality as an opportunity for Western self-

[43] Murphy and Robertson, 84.

[44] Mary Mostafanezhad, "'Getting in Touch with Your Inner Angelina': Celebrity Humanitarianism and the Cultural Politics of Gendered Generosity in Volunteer Tourism," *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2013): 489, doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.785343.

development, while naturalising and neutralising global inequities.[45] The narrative of 'Extending a Hand' places the Jungle within the context of voyeuristic voluntourism. It describes the

> volunteers, mostly Brits, who park their cars or vans and then move on to the show inside. And it is indeed: the display of poor refugees, the lack of humane conditions. They, the ones who give up their time, are here to extend a helping hand, to help make things survivable. But you don't need a hand.[46]

'Extending a Hand' is scornful in its description of two women who have

> already distributed whatever they had fund-raised for or collected at home. They are in no hurry to get anywhere. They stretch, leaving the front doors open. On a day like this […] it's almost like any other short trip but even better: the satisfaction of having done good work, important in fact.[47]

This description of volunteering in the Jungle draws deliberate parallels with the voluntourism industry. But 'Extending a Hand' does not stop there in its condemnation. It also accuses the volunteers in the camp of neo-colonial arrogance, narcissism and the commoditisation of suffering:

> A song pops into your head as the woman moseys towards you. 'Do They Know It's Christmas?' It is of course not Christmas. It is autumn. It is the aid thing, the helping syndrome, you think of while you avoid the woman walking towards you. Your mother has told you many times of the great famine. And the great song. And the humiliation.[48]

'Do They Know It's Christmas?', recorded in 1984 as part of Bob Geldof's Live Aid campaign to raise funds for the famine in Ethiopia, is the paradigmatic example of the marketisation of distant suffering. The song has been re-recorded three times (in 1989, 2004 and 2014) and, despite a growing awareness of its inherent racism, thanks to protests and parodies, every

[45] Kate Simpson, "'Doing Development': The Gap Year, Volunteer-Tourists and a Popular Practice of Development.," *Journal of International Development* 16, no. 5 (2004): 681–92, doi: 10.1002/jid.1120.
[46] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 49.
[47] Popoola and Holmes, 52.
[48] Popoola and Holmes, 52–53.

version of the track has reached number one in the UK.[49] While the above passage feels a little stilted, then, it does efficiently conjure up the spectre of colonialism embedded in humanitarian aid in Britain, and lets its allegations loose upon the Jungle.

Some academic studies of aid provision in Calais support the idea that the Jungle was treated as a 'show'. Ibrahim and Howarth refer to 'the phenomenon of "voluntourism" where volunteers started to converge on Calais both through curiosity and an emerging politics of pity,' while Agier et al. comment on 'the scale acquired by a form of humanitarian tourism, solidarity in the form of a one-off visit, enabling people to take in the situation there, to be moved by it, to satisfy a certain curiosity or even a certain desire for exoticism.'[50] In *Threads*, the chapter 'It's Not a Fucking Day Trip' is concerned with 'misery tourism', while one of the smartphone-framed criticisms betrays an anxiety about superficiality within the volunteer culture in Calais.

[49] "Radi-Aid: Africa for Norway," Radi-Aid, accessed June 8, 2018, https://www.radiaid.com/.
Damian Zane, "Barbie Challenges the 'White Saviour Complex,'" *BBC News*, May 1, 2016, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-36132482.
"Humanitarians of Tinder," Humanitarians of Tinder, accessed June 7, 2020, https://humanitariansoftinder.com/.
[50] Ibrahim and Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*, 59.
Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 102.

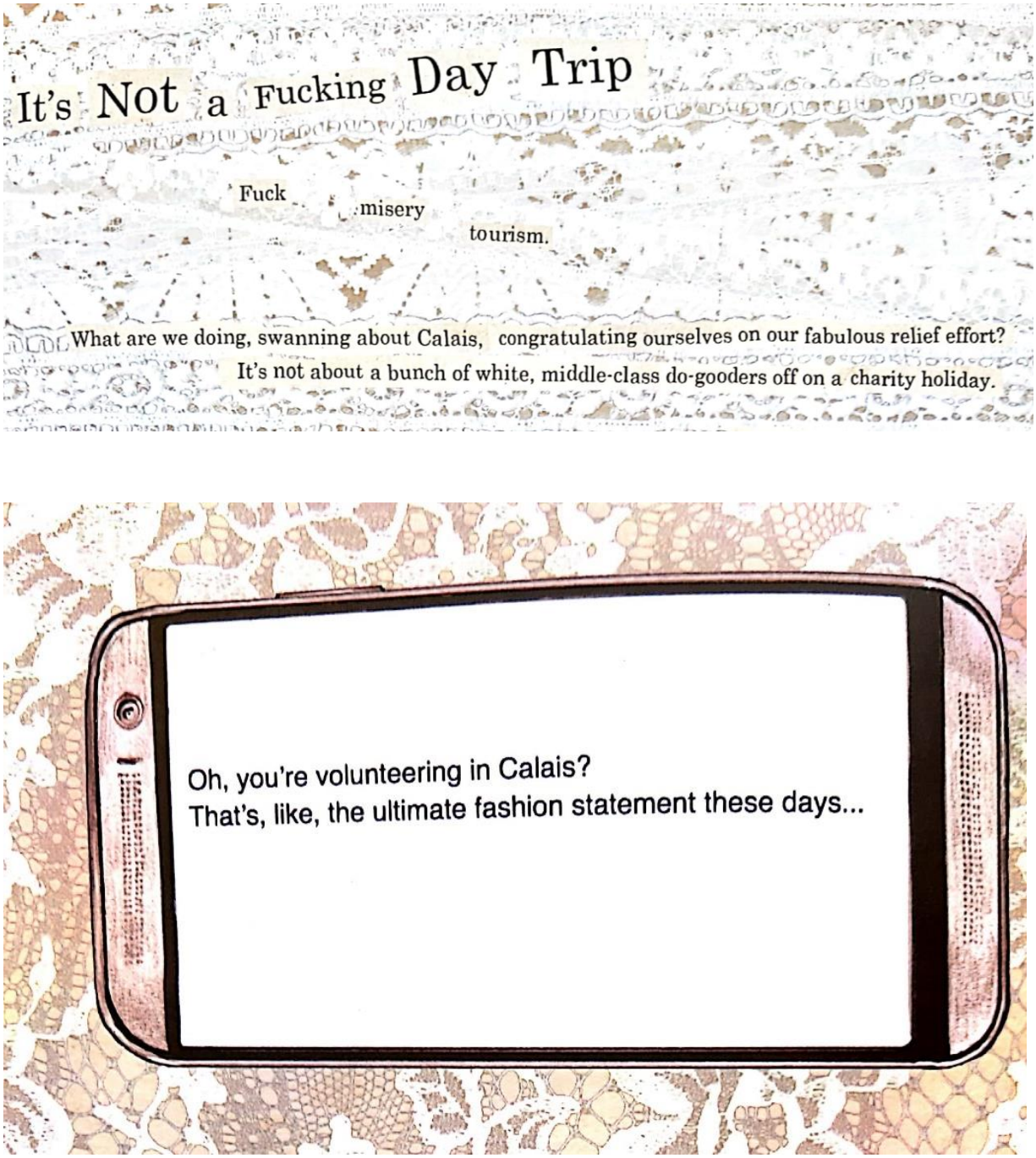


Figure 20: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.55 (detail) and p.54 (detail)

The idea that volunteering in Calais might have been a 'fashion statement' for the politically active left in Britain is also a concern expressed by the play *Still Waiting*, created by Crew for Calais and performed at the Vault Festival in February 2017. In *Still Waiting*, the cast sing a

song called 'Humblebrag' in response to 'the ego issues surrounding volunteering.'[51] One review summarises that '[a] self-parodic song, Humblebrag, riffs on boasts about visiting and failing to visit the Calais camp.'[52] This suggests that some people volunteered in the Jungle in order to advance their social status among their peers, or to improve their public image on social media. We find another reaction to this palpable anxiety in *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas*, which includes the revealing 'disclaimer' that 'I'm not a volunteer having a look and taking a selfie for my online profile. I'm there to work hard and help people.'[53]

In PSYCHEdelight's play *Borderline,* first performed at the Cockpit Theatre in London in November 2016, the idea of volunteering as a fashion statement is pushed to the extreme.[54] *Borderline* is a satirical take on the Calais Jungle and, as such, these characterisations are grotesquely exaggerated for humorous effect. The volunteer-characters in *Borderline* wear t-shirts with the slogan *#BeenToCalais* on the front, and *#Volunteer* on the back. One volunteer refuses to provide practical assistance because she is looking for 'a Syrian' with whom 'to share the pain'. When asked if she can help with construction in the camp, she replies,

> No, I'm sorry. I'm more of a human to human kind of person. I came here to help refugees to connect, to share the pain. *Je cherche des Syriens*. I'm sorry, I am looking for Syrians because, you know, because of all they have been through and all of their pain. And I can feel they are the ones who need me the most. Have you seen any?

When she eventually finds a Syrian, the young woman exclaims, 'I understand you so much,' and sings him Bob Marley's 'Three Little Birds'. Creative representations of the Jungle often

[51] Loren O'Dair, "Combining Art and Activism to Change the Narrative of the Refugee Crisis," *A Younger Theatre*, January 30, 2017, https://www.ayoungertheatre.com/blog-combining-art-and-activism-to-change-the-narrative-of-the-refugee-crisis/.
[52] Susannah Clapp, "Vault Festival Review – Light in the Tunnels," *The Guardian*, February 12, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2017/feb/12/vault-festival-review-london-great-gatsby-mars-actually-crew-for-calais.
[53] O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*, 8.
[54] "Borderline," PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, 2019, https://www.psychedelight.org/borderline.

depict volunteers as tourists by comparing the Jungle to a music festival. In *Borderline,* the volunteer searching for Syrians exclaims that the Jungle is 'just like Glastonbury,' to which her new friend replies, 'Is that a camp?' Similarly, *The Play about Calais* describes the camp in Grande-Synthe as 'something that resembled the end of Glastonbury,' with 'the volunteers in hi-vis like stewards at Latitude.'[55] In *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas,* O'Boyle writes that '[t]he mud is like Glastonbury…in December, after a year of chaos.'[56] In 'Paradise', we read that 'Julie walks by a tent she noticed the day before emblazoned with a marijuana leaf […]. But the camp feels a lot less like a music festival this morning.'[57] Finally, in *The Jungle,* when the volunteers arrive in the camp, they declare:

> Beth: It's like –
> Sam: Glastonbury –
> Beth: Or something.
> Sam: Without the toilets.[58]

Comparing the Jungle to Glastonbury clearly only works on a superficial level; it is an analogy designed to break down at close inspection. The surface-level comparison – a juxtaposition disguised as a correlation – implies that the volunteers have only a surface-level understanding of the camp. The Glastonbury analogy communicates the idea that the volunteers experience the Jungle as consumers: eating in restaurants, drinking tea, making friends, listening to music, singing, dancing, etc. The refugees are the hosts: they provide the entertainment, while also experiencing the Jungle on an entirely different plane, as if the camp were two separate places layered on top of one another. The idea that the Jungle was two places – a public place of music

[55] Steve Waters, *The Play About Calais* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2016), Act 1 Scene 5, Act 3 Scene 5, Kindle.
[56] O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*, 14.
[57] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 77.
[58] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 42.

and laughter, and a private place of business and danger – is communicated in *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas,* through O'Boyle's account that

> [i]t was properly dark by the time we headed off from the dome past the black market, where socks and gloves are sold on the road. It's always the hardest time and place to navigate in a large vehicle and at night the residents in mob mode are slow to move and have more of a, "Fuck off do-gooder. We've finished for the day. It's social time attitude."[59]

A similar sentiment is evident in Mani's statement in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* that

> I like the 'Jungle' nights. I am feeling that the 'Jungle' in the night just belongs to us. Belongs to us refugees. In the nights, especially at midnight. You can't see any volunteers, police or journalists. Just refugees. I am feeling more safe, more comfortable at these times.[60]

It is the portrayals of the camp's restaurants that do the most to solidify the Jungle's position as a tourist destination within these creative texts. Both *The Jungle* and *Threads* emphasise that the Jungle's restaurants were designed to attract European 'tourists'. In *Threads,* the volunteers are taken to eat at the '3 Star Hotal' at which they are 'the only people eating.'

[59] O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*, 51.
[60] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 171.



Figure 21: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.49

In *The Jungle,* Salar's 'Afghan Flag' restaurant is visited and reviewed by the late food critic A. A. Gill. Derek quotes verbatim from Gill's genuine *Sunday Times* review of a 'refugee camp café in Calais.'[61] Gill's review of The Three Idiots, a popular restaurant among volunteers in the Jungle, was published on 28th February 2016, coinciding with the demolition of the southern half of the camp. By incorporating this real restaurant review into the narrative of the play (a review that, reciprocally, also comments upon the work of *The Jungle* directors Murphy and Robertson), *The Jungle* attests to the remarkable speed with which the camp began to present itself to European citizens as a unique travel experience. After Derek reads the four-star review, Salar adds that his restaurant has received five stars on TripAdvisor. References to the popular travel website in both *The Jungle* and *Threads* communicate the idea that the camp became – momentarily – a highly marketable tourist destination, offering cheap, convenient, 'authentic', and social media friendly experiences to its high turnover of visitors.

The innovative staging of *The Jungle* adds another layer of complexity to this sense of the Jungle as a tourist destination. Designed by Miriam Buether, *The Jungle*'s staging won 'Best Set Design' at the 2018 Evening Standard Awards.[62] The entire theatre is converted into the 'Afghan Flag' restaurant, with audience members positioned 'inside' the play, as if customers at Salar's restaurant. The audience sit facing each other on cushioned platforms or along the central runways on which the actors perform. This creates the impression that the cast, who enter and exit from all sides, mingling and communicating with the audience, are standing on the restaurant's tables in order to attract the attention of its patrons.

[61] A. A. Gill, "Table Talk: AA Gill Reviews a Refugee Camp Cafe in Calais's The Jungle," *The Sunday Times*, February 28, 2016, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/table-talk-aa-gill-reviews-a-refugee-camp-cafe-in-calaiss-the-jungle-zgxvfjqmw.
Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 68.
[62] "The Jungle," Good Chance Theatre, 2020, https://www.goodchance.org.uk/the-jungle.

During its run at the Young Vic Theatre, the audience was required to walk through graffiti-scrawled CLS panelling and past a makeshift kitchen in order to enter the restaurant-theatre space. Situated 'inside' the restaurant, the audience members become, like the volunteer-characters, consumers of this unique travel experience.[63] The play's marketing material invites audience members to '[j]oin the residents over fresh baked naan and sweet milky chai at the Afghan Café, and experience the intense, moving and uplifting encounters between refugees from many different countries and the volunteers who arrived from the UK.'[64] This invitation to 'join' implicates audience members in the play's representational dynamic of reverse hospitality and volunteer tourism.

9. The Politics of Palatability

As the audience members are positioned as volunteer-tourists inside the 'Jungle restaurant', the strategic, opportunistic form of hospitality extended by the refugee-characters to the volunteers in *The Jungle* is also extended to the audience members within the performance context. In this dramatic construction, the refugees (who are guests of the state) become, through acts of entrepreneurialism and the provision of unique experiences, tales and tastes, the hosts of European citizens. The refugee-characters' strategic decision to welcome audience members into the restaurant space as customers and consumers is depicted as a form of empowerment, and the agency intendent on conditional reverse-hospitality is consolidated by instances of audience interaction.

[63] This was the case for all of the seating at the Young Vic Theatre. At the Playhouse Theatre, there was also stalls seating, called the 'Cliffs of Dover', which did not provide the same immersive experience. For a detailed analysis of *The Jungle*'s staging, see Olivia Lamont Bishop, "Four Thoughts on Place and The Jungle," *Performing Ethos* 9 (2019): 105–10, doi: 10.1386/peet_00011_7.
[64] "The Jungle at the Playhouse Theatre," National Theatre, 2018, https://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/shows/jungle-playhouse-theatre.

Part-way through the performance, Salar hands an audience member some food from his restaurant. After they have begun to eat, he demands payment. The audience member is taken by surprise and, embarrassed, they hand over the money.[65] The surprise and uncertainty come as a result of the play's collapsing of distinctions between volunteer, restaurant patron and audience member, and between theatre-space and restaurant-space. If audience members are literally purchasing food from the cast and eating it, are they not, by definition, in a restaurant? The refugee-characters' displays of strategic hospitality are presented as exertions of power over the volunteer cast members *and* the audience members within the play's staging of the reverse-hospitality encounter.

But is the agency attendant on the reverse-hospitality restaurant encounter really as empowering as it seems? Is the refugee's ability to host the citizen within a commercial encounter actually an agentive or subversive act? Or is the refugee-host simply occupying the usual position reserved for strangers within a nation: a precarious role in the culinary industry? In that case, the reverse-hospitality encounter presented in *The Jungle* would not upturn the power imbalance that structures the politics of hospitality within the nation. It would simply reinforce that restrictive and selective model of hospitality that underwrites the hospitality sector. [66]

There is a particular *gastronomic* dynamic that dictates a refugee's acceptance within the host nation. The 'politics of palatability', as described by Carolyn Morris, helps to explain this metaphorical *and* literal affiliation of 'desirable' refugees with culinary prowess. Refugees are often represented as acceptable when they are serving something for citizens to consume, either

[65] This was the case in the two performances I attended, at the Young Vic Theatre in December 2017 and at the Playhouse Theatre in June 2018.
[66] Sarah Gibson makes a similar argument in her analysis of the 2002 film *Dirty Pretty Things.*
Sarah Gibson, "Accommodating Strangers: British Hospitality and the Asylum Hotel Debate," *Journal for Cultural Research* 7, no. 4 (2003): 367–86, doi: 10.1080/1479758032000165039.

orally or aurally, or – in the case of *The Jungle* – a combination of both. In a metaphorical sense, 'palatable' refugees are economically 'desirable' refugees: 'we only eat the others we enjoy.'[67] They are those 'outsiders' that succeed in demonstrating their entrepreneurial skills, their resilience and ingenuity, their ability to contribute positively to the economy of the receiving state and, consequently, their decreased risk of becoming a 'burden' on that state. The palatable refugee is the tolerable refugee, where tolerance is understood to be 'a conditional, circumspect, [and] careful hospitality.'[68]

The palatable refugee is politically and ideologically conformist, and instinctively understands the duties and obligations attached to late capitalist society. The media attention paid to high-achieving, ambitious and entrepreneurial refugees attests to the fact that 'the circulation of empathy constitutes subjects/bodies of greater and lesser value on the basis of the marketable skills and resources they are understood to possess.'[69] The 'palatable' asylum seeker is an educated, cooperative, self-respecting, skilled, ingenious, business-minded, proactive, shrewd, and economically driven individual, and it is these attributes that are demonstrated within the performance context of the Jungle restaurant.

---

[67] Carolyn Morris, "The Politics of Palatability: On the Absence of Māori Restaurants," *Food, Culture & Society* 13, no. 1 (2010): 24, doi: 10.2752/175174410X12549021367983.
[68] Jacques Derrida, "Autoimmunity: Real and Symbolic Suicides," in *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, ed. Giovanna Borradori (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 128.
[69] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 32.
Kashmira Gander, "Meet the Syrian Family Who Fled Civil War and Now Make Halloumi in Yorkshire," *The Independent*, March 7, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/syrian-refugees-yorkshire-halloumi-cheese-from-fleeing-isis-and-assad-to-world-cheese-award-a7616046.html.
Harry Yorke, "Two Syrian Refugees Receive Straight A Grades in Their A-Level Results Two Years after Fleeing to Britain," *Telegraph*, August 17, 2017, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2017/08/17/two-syrian-refugees-receive-straight-grades-a-level-results/.
Evan Young, "#GetMohamedAJob: Refugee Rocket Scientist's Job Hunt Sparks Global Campaign," *SBS News*, August 17, 2018, https://www.sbs.com.au/news/getmohamedajob-refugee-rocket-scientist-s-job-hunt-sparks-global-campaign.
Pritti Mistry and Dan Wainwright, "Refugees Fleeing Syria to UK: 'We're Not Trouble,'" *BBC News*, September 9, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-49599377.

But alongside the metaphorical sense of palatability as generic desirability, there is a literal strain to the 'politics of palatability' which underscores a psychic connection between the figure of the refugee and the act of ingestion. Here, the palatability of the refugee subject is proportionate to the palatability of their exotic tastes, objects, experiences and ideas. The latter can be judged according to how easily and how profitably various dishes are inserted into the maw of capitalist consumption: how entirely and how successfully each particular form of 'otherness' can be commodified, bought and sold, generating opportunities and income. The politics of palatability helps to explain, for example, the inclusion of an apparently random 'interlude' in *Threads*, consisting of an encounter with a Syrian refugee employed in a kebab shop in Brighton.



Figure 22: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.25 (detail) and p.26 (detail)

The idea that refugees will 'teach the English how to cook' has proven to be a successful vehicle for presenting refugees as desirable, palatable 'others' both in the artistic sector – using the restaurant setting as an accessible framing device through which to present and perform the Jungle – and also in the business sector, with Jungle-themed café's and culinary experiences finding 'viability' and mainstream media coverage in Britain. The media attention granted to those with refugee status within the culinary industry suggests an acceptance of serviceable otherness in the form of (not too-)exotic cuisines.

In the UK, several restaurant businesses have emerged from the 'refugee crisis' in conjunction with voluntary organisations. Imad's Syrian Kitchen, which developed in connection with Help Refugees, has enjoyed success in London and Ibiza.[70] Head chef Imad Alarnab was named one of the *Evening Standard*'s most influential Londoners of 2018.[71] Mo's Eggs is also a London-based pop-up restaurant that sells 'Jungle eggs' and 'asylum eggs'. It is designed explicitly to recreate the experience of communal eating in the Jungle, of 'sharing food from one pan and giving people the love we had in "the Jungle."'[72] At a broader level, the 'Migrateful' initiative, the annual Refugee Food Festival and Ben & Jerry's 'Ice Academy' are also characteristic of this trend.[73] Success stories are remarkable and deserve to be celebrated. Yet the construction

[70] Rhik Samadder, "Eat a Falafel, Save a Life – Have I Found the Only Pop-up That Deserves to Stay Popped Up?," *The Guardian*, April 8, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/08/eat-a-falafel-save-a-life-have-i-found-the-only-pop-up-that-deserves-to-stay-popped-up.
Nadia Khomami, "How Syrian Refugee Chef's London Kitchen Is Helping Aleppo Hospital," *The Guardian*, April 29, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/29/how-syrian-refugee-chefs-london-kitchen-is-helping-aleppo-hospital.
"Falafels for Freedom: Inside Our Syrian Supper Club," Pikes Ibiza, 2019, https://pikesibiza.com/falafels-for-freedom/.
[71] Joy Lo Dico, "The Progress 1000: London's Most Influential People 2018 - The Changemakers," *Evening Standard*, October 8, 2018, https://www.standard.co.uk/news/the1000/the-progress-1000-londons-most-influential-people-2018-the-changemakers-a3956601.html.
[72] Jessica Murray, "The Syrian Refugees Changing the UK's Food Scene," *The Guardian*, July 12, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/food/2019/jul/12/the-syrian-refugees-changing-the-uks-food-scene.
[73] "Recipes Rebuilding Lives," Migrateful, accessed January 16, 2020, https://www.migrateful.org/.
"Refugee Food Festival 2019," Refugee Food Festival, 2019, https://www.refugeefoodfestival.com/?lang=en.
"Ben & Jerry's Ice Academy," Ben & Jerry's, accessed July 9, 2019, https://www.benjerry.co.uk/values/ice-academy.

of palatable otherness must also, necessarily, imply a *threshold* of palatability, beyond which tastes are considered too foreign, too unusual. As Morris points out,

> what tastes good to a particular person or group has little to do with either individual preference or the food itself, and that what we like to eat is instead a fundamentally social and cultural matter, deeply intertwined with other aspects of the social order.[74]

Just as important as what a society does consume, then, is what it refuses to consume. Plates that are considered revolting, that are not so easily stomached, can be expelled and abjected. This possibility of abjection signals an overlap, within the politics of palatability, of the conceptual frameworks of the *grievable* and the *perishable.* Morris also suggests that consuming 'ethnic' foods can be an act of domination. She draws on Lisa Heldke's idea of 'cultural food colonialism' to argue for a 'continuity between eating the food of dominated cultures and other modes of colonial, and neocolonial economic and political domination.'[75]

The 'politics of palatability' describes a process by which consumption leads to domination, and domination leads to assimilation. In turn, 'assimilation demonstrates that the incorporated Other presents no threat, either to self or culture.'[76] When 'the Other' is not consumable or assimilable, the host society risks 'the cultural equivalent of food poisoning.'[77] For the consuming society, it is important to know that 'if the Other becomes too unpalatable, one can imagine sending them back, just as a restaurant dish that does not meet expectations may be returned.'[78] Without detracting from the significant achievements of refugees who have found

---

[74] Morris, "The Politics of Palatability: On the Absence of Māori Restaurants," 8.
[75] Morris, 19.
Lisa M. Heldke, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), xv.
Ghassan Hage, "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building," in *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, ed. H Grace et al. (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1997), 99–153.
[76] Morris, "The Politics of Palatability: On the Absence of Māori Restaurants," 23.
[77] Morris, "The Politics of Palatability: On the Absence of Māori Restaurants," 23.
[78] Morris, 23.

commercial success in the UK in recent years, it is clear that these businesses tread a hazy line between 'strange' and 'familiar' by developing products for consumption that are not too unusual: couscous and conformity, falafel and flattery, hummus and harmony.

Morris's argument that 'culinary palatability signifies cultural subordination'[79] is consonant with the idea of 'eating the Other' outlined by bell hooks, who argues that '[i]t is by eating the Other' that 'one asserts power and privilege.'[80] hooks is concerned that 'cultural, ethnic, and racial differences will be continually commodified and offered up as new dishes to enhance the white palate – that the Other will be eaten, consumed, and forgotten.'[81] Ahmed extends the analysis of 'consumer cannibalism' entailed by 'eating the Other.'[82] She argues that

> the exotic and strange foods are incorporated into the bodies of 'Western' consumers as that which is different, but assimilable. This incorporation allows 'difference' to be associated with something that simply livens up the ordinary or mainstream diet […]. Ethnicity becomes a spice or taste that can be consumed, that can be incorporated in the life world of the one who moves between (eating) places. Differences that can be consumed are the ones that are valued: difference is valued insofar as it can be incorporated into, not only the nation space, but also the individual body, the body-at-home.[83]

The discourse of assimilation, incorporation, expulsion and abjection attests to a psychoanalytic strain within the politics of palatability, in which a parallel is drawn between the self-containment of the human body and the borders of the nation. Psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok describe 'incorporation' as a defective process of internalising the external.[84] While 'introjection' is a healthy management of the permeable border between self and other, the 'fantasy of incorporation' describes a pathological form of ingestion where the external

---

[79] Morris, 19.
[80] bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 36.
[81] hooks, 39.
[82] hooks, 31.
[83] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 117.
[84] Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, "Mourning *or* Melancholia: Introjection *versus* Incorporation," in *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, ed. Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 125–38.

object is swallowed whole, signalling 'the "failure" or the "refusal" to digest or assimilate the other.'[85] Incorporation occurs when the subject 'devours' the external object but does not digest it, meaning that a bit of the outside gets lodged on the inside.[86]

The 'fantasy of incorporation,' according to Derrida, describes a situation where a subject retains an object 'within itself but as something excluded, as a foreign body which is impossible to assimilate and must be rejected.'[87] In this way, Mark Wigley argues, '[t]he logic of incorporation turns out to be that of the parasite, the foreigner occupying the domestic interior.'[88] Through the politics of palatability, the 'fantasy of incorporation' ensures that the stranger is taken in *as* a stranger, in a way that keeps them strange. The refugee restauranteur offers up otherness to be tasted, tested, consumed, extracted, learned from, and imitated, but in doing so, they simultaneously become a stranger defined by their strangeness, 'assimilated *as* the unassimilable within the encounter.'[89]

When viewed through the lens of the politics of palatability, the refugee's exertion of authority within the theatre-restaurant of *The Jungle* does not exceed the boundaries of an exotic culinary experience, which is already a familiar and acceptable channel by which 'strangers' can present themselves *as* strangers to 'those who belong' within the nation, and against whom 'those who belong' can refine their self-identity. The process of reinforcing the boundaries of the nation *through* the figure of the refugee does not only take place via exclusion – fear, revulsion and

[85] Jodey Castricano, *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida's Ghost Writing* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 36.
[86] Maria Yassa, "Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok - the Inner Crypt," *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 25, no. 2 (2002): 87, doi: 10.1080/01062301.2002.10592734.
[87] Jacques Derrida, "Limited Inc Abc...," in *Limited Inc*, ed. Gerald Graff, trans. Samuel Weber (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 77.
[88] Mark Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1993), 179.
[89] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 54. *Emphasis in original.*

abjection. As Ahmed argues, 'the act of "welcoming the stranger"' can also 'serve to constitute the nation' through a process of strategically managed inclusion.[90] The refugee-host within the theatre-restaurant of *The Jungle*, for example, 'fit[s] into the nation precisely because they allow the nation to imagine *itself* as heterogeneous.'[91]

Both theatres and restaurants are settings in which citizens are *already* willing to suspend disbelief, approach the stranger, and become, for a short time, guests of the nation's outsiders. They are spaces where difference is *already* permitted, because it is packaged as a consumer product. The theatrical culinary encounter provided by *The Jungle*, while evocative, constructs a particularly narrow and marketized form of the cultural politics of hospitality. The temporary suspension of disbelief that accompanies citizens' experiences of 'eating the other' does not entail a sustained reappraisal of the power relations that structure encounters between citizens and refugees. Rather, by feigning a balanced encounter, this 'multicultural tolerance' may actually be, as Ghassan Hage argues, 'a strategy aimed at reproducing and disguising relationships of power in society' – 'a form of symbolic violence in which a mode of domination is presented as a form of egalitarianism.'[92]

Underlying the politics of palatability is thus a particularly *economic* form of selective hospitality that runs parallel to the 'politics of pity'. Where the politics of pity induces *humanitarian hospitality*, which is reliant on discourses of gratitude, passivity, suffering and exceptionality, and which positions refugees as helpless 'others', the politics of palatability induces a form of *neoliberal hospitality*, which functions within the fields of

[90] Ahmed, 95.
[91] Ahmed, 96.
[92] Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998), 87.

entrepreneurialism, resilience, ingenuity and inspiration, and which positions refugees alongside migrants as an expendable workforce. It is a welcome based on an economy of difference. Vicki Squire has cautioned against such an over-reliance on measurements of economic productivity in the management of migration. She argues that 'it is in the rearticulation of "unproductive" migrants as "undesirable" migrants that exclusionary processes of securitisation and criminalisation come to the fore.'[93]

The vulnerability entailed by this commercial form of hospitality is crystallised by the fact that a number of the restaurant-owners living in the Jungle had previously been restauranteurs in the UK, before being deported and making their way back to the border. The theatre-restaurant space of *The Jungle*, by combining entrepreneurialism with individual flourishing and democratic values, reflects a neoliberal understanding of social organisation. The politics of palatability has become a means of assigning refugees a place in the neoliberal social order in accordance with existing hierarchies of social relations. It provides a channel for refugees to integrate *as* marginal subjects within their traditional service roles.

[93] Vicki Squire, *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 24.

CHAPTER FIVE

REPRESENTATIONAL ANXIETY AND POST-HUMANITARIAN IRONY

10. Limitations of the Eurocentric Lens

Volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle redirect critical attention away from those seeking asylum in Calais, and towards the European citizens who show solidarity with them. They function as a networked intertextual space within which anxious explorations of volunteer culture and identity have been conducted. A set of stylistic traits, tropes and patterns have developed within this groups of texts, distinguishing them from standard aid worker witness narratives. Yet this does not mean that volunteer-centric narratives avoid the pitfalls associated with the classic humanitarian model of representing suffering.

In *The Jungle*, critical attention is focussed upon the interiority and growth of the British characters at the expense of individuation among the refugee-characters. Most refugees in the play stand in for one of the nationalities that made up the diverse Jungle community: there is one Eritrean character, one Kurdish, one Iranian, one Iraqi, one Ethiopian, as well as two Syrian, three Afghan and three Sudanese characters. These refugee-characters do not evolve significantly over the course of the play. Instead, they function as symbolic instruments via which the Western protagonists sharpen their self-awareness and develop their moral acuity.

The 'journey towards the stranger' communicated in *The Jungle* is thus 'a form of self-discovery, in which the stranger functions yet again to establish and define the "I."'[1] This representational model facilitates the play's critique of volunteer culture and identity, while

[1] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 6.

shifting the locus of suspicion away from the refugee-characters. Yet it also establishes a border hierarchy, based not only upon 'who physically *can move* and who is fixed in place,' but also upon 'who affectively *is moved* by empathy and what relations of power such movement entails.'[2]

In *Threads*, meanwhile, refugees are described primarily in terms of their physical appearance. It is Evans' role as an artist in the Jungle, sketching the faces of the people she meets, that quite literally presents the refugees at face value, when communicated through the visual, graphic format. One child in the Jungle is described as having 'one of those faces where none of the features fits together right,' while another is 'a beautiful, calm, quiet lad' who 'sits like a statue, in deep contemplation.'[3] A questionable 'refugee physiognomy' is built up as the text lists common physical traits among refugees, such as their 'strangely massive Afghan hands.'

[2] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 204. *Emphasis in original.*
[3] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 112–13.

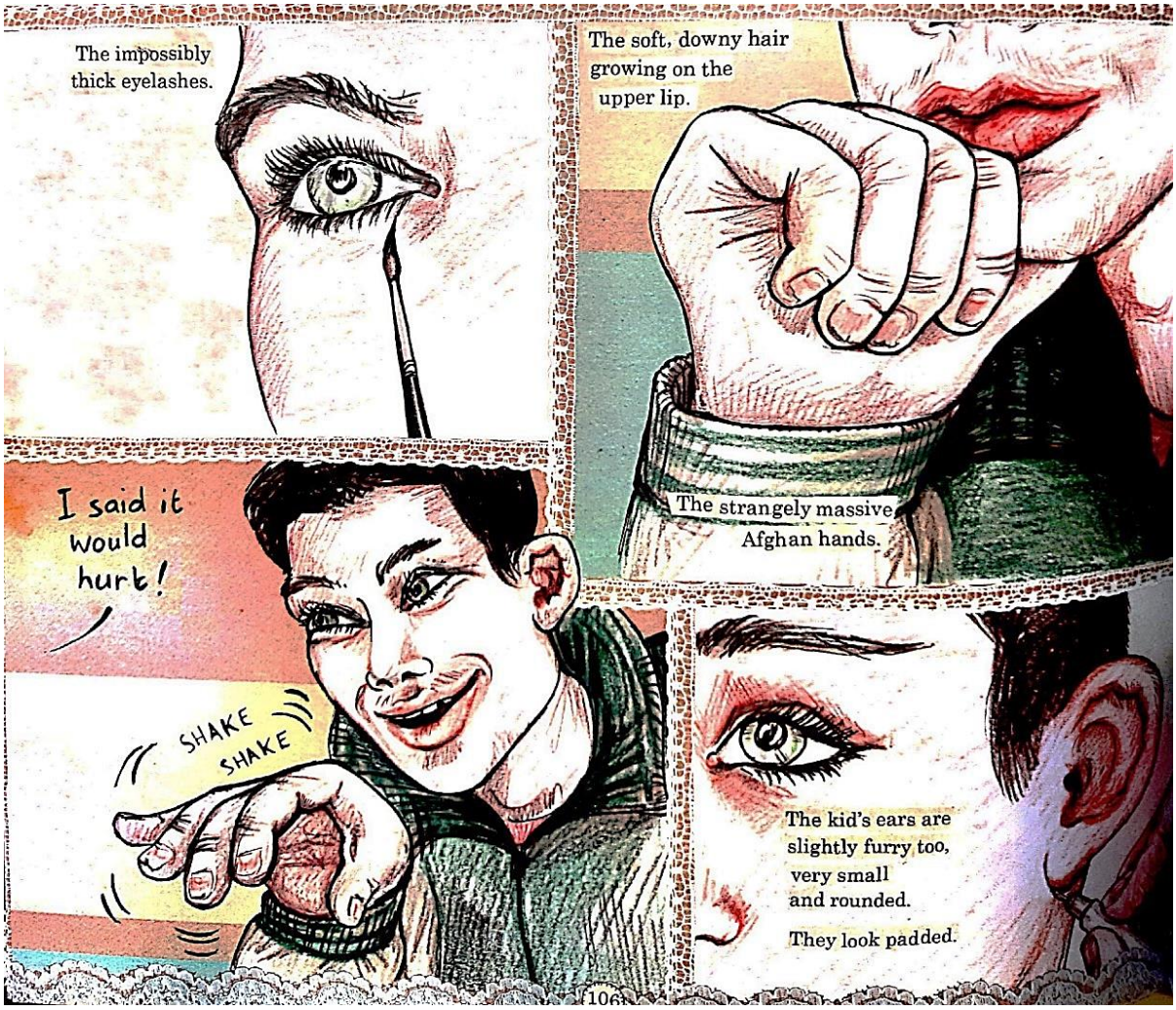


Figure 23: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.106 (detail)

While refuting the demands of the 'asylum story', this representational technique overlaps with older humanitarian models that characterise refugees as essentially visual figures, defined by their corporeality and always open for viewing. The idea that *Threads* substitutes one visual process of objectifying refugees with another, without subverting the act of objectification itself, is reflected in the narrative's revitalisation of the classic aquatic metaphor. Set against an overflowing sink, the metaphorical construction begins:

> Let's talk about people-smugglers. For now, we'll resort to that dubious metaphor, of refugees as a flood. And so, spending millions upon millions of pounds of public money on fencing and

> policing to seal the porous border at Calais can be likened to putting a plug in a sink. But the water still flows. […] Putting the plug in that sink forces the water to rise up and spill over the sides.[4]

The 'flood' metaphor appears twice more in *Threads*, in the statement that '[p]oliticians call them a "flood", but, of the millions of people around the world fleeing for their lives, this is just a trickle,'[5] and in Alison Bechdel's claim, on the back cover, that 'Evans transforms the human "flood" into shimmering droplets as she works and eats with the refugees.'[6] The transformation of refugees from 'floods' into 'trickles' and 'shimmering droplets' coincides with the primary aim of border enforcement: to reduce the quantity of displaced people, and to individuate them by ascertaining their identity. The aquatic metaphor, even when reclaimed and redeployed, continues to position refugees as a collective to be controlled and managed by increasingly efficient forms of surveillance technology.

The description of *Threads* as 'the story of Kate's time spent among the refugees – the insights acquired and the lives recounted' also conforms to an antiquated ethnographic model.[7] Through this ethnographic, observational stance, authoritative declarations are made about the refugees as a single unit: '[e]veryone here loves Jeremy Corbyn;' '[i]t's a sandal-wearing culture;' 'there's a massive Arab-African fight.'[8] It is because the narrative voice deliberately positions itself as an outsider, a 'Day Tripper', that the scattered comments about refugees' behavioural tendencies and physical appearances can seem patronising and fetishistic.

The traditional ethnographic style employed in *Threads* reinforces the knowledge hierarchy underlying the classic ethnographic encounter, as it positions the volunteer-protagonist as the

[4] Evans, 67.
[5] Evans, 8.
[6] Evans, back cover.
[7] Evans, dust cover.
[8] Evans, 60, 10, 14.

one who sees, who judges, 'who knows'. Ahmed suggests that asking 'who knows?' of a research relationship can bring 'the ethnographic desire to know more about strangers into contact with the post-colonial concern with the politics of representing others.'[9] Asking 'who knows?' in a particular encounter is a way of asking 'what knowledges are *already* in place which allow one to speak for, about or to a "group of strangers"?'[10] In *Threads,* the protagonist challenges humanitarian stereotypes about refugees as silent, angelic victims by pointing out flaws in the people she meets.[11] The result, however, is a rude and condescending commentary that undermines 'the postmodern fantasy that it is the "I" of the ethnographer who can undo the power relations that allowed the "I" to appear.'[12]

[9] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 61.
[10] Ahmed, 61.
[11] Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 83–84.
[12] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 64.

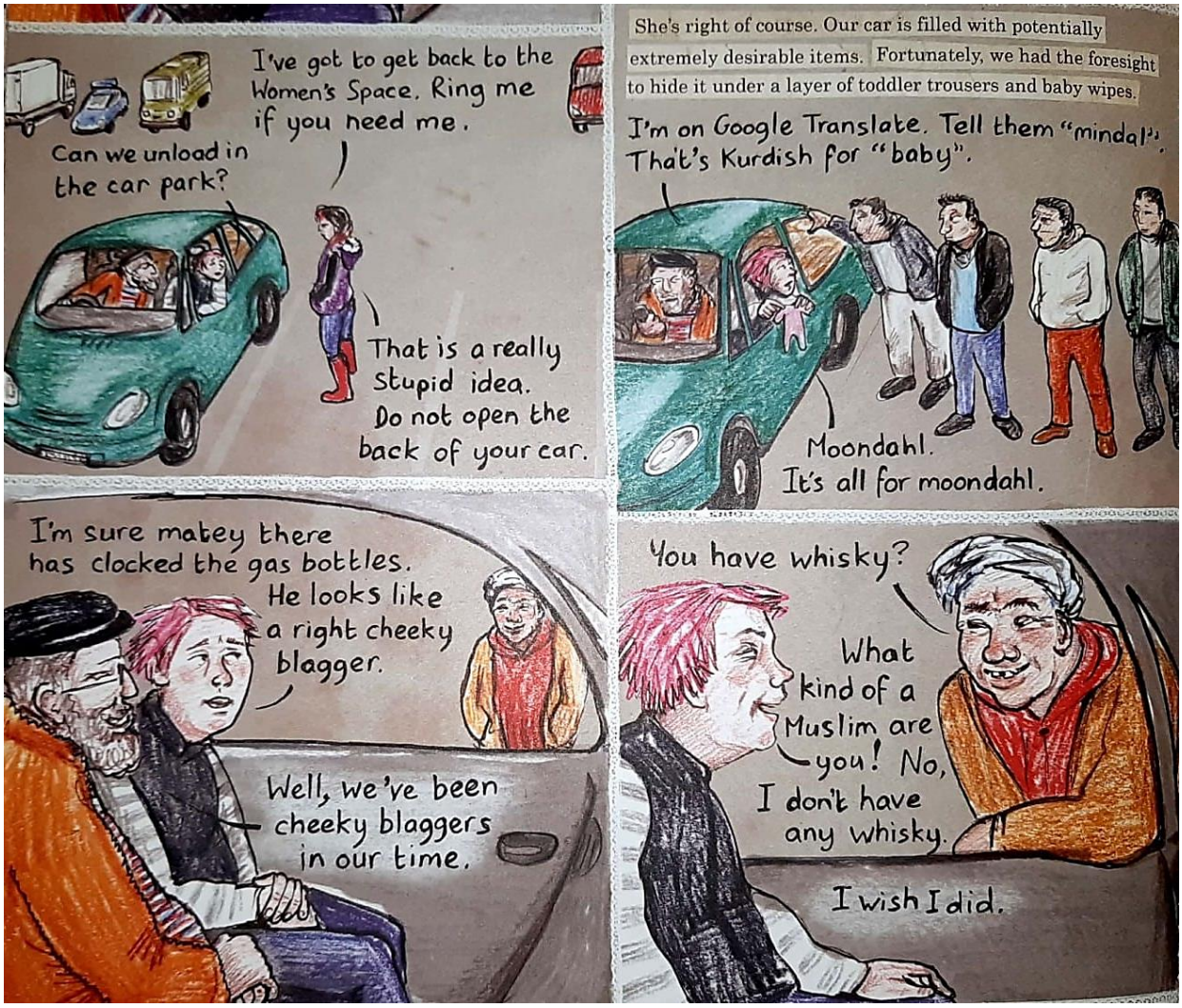


Figure 24: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.120 (detail)

This exchange is infantilising and, for some readers, highly alienating. This interaction with an Iraqi truck driver in Dunkirk reinforces the idea that all refugees are Muslim: it is only after this exchange that we discover the speaker is from Iraq, and even then, of course, not all Iraqi refugees are Muslim. The comment makes light of alcohol abuse among refugee groups in and beyond the Jungle, although substance abuse and addiction are serious issues among displaced populations. The 'joke' touches insensitively upon the delicate and often fraught issue of how displaced people navigate their religious and cultural identities after entering Europe, both

individually and as a community, while under intense pressure to assimilate. The comment signals an imaginative failure in its dismissiveness of the challenges that refugees face in reconciling religious traditions, cultural expectations and the demand to integrate into European society.

The 'joke' also represents a wider tendency to downplay religion as a vector of life in the Jungle. Although religious influence was present in the Jungle from the earliest days of the camp, only one volunteer narrative – *Jungle Boy* – pays serious attention to the role that religion played in the Jungle. It is often forgotten that the first appearance of the 2015-16 Jungle in mainstream British media, outside of the news cycle, was in an episode of BBC One's *Songs of Praise*.[13] The episode, which 'examines the faith aspects of the migrant crisis in Calais,' was filmed at St Michael's church in the Jungle and broadcast on 16th August 2015. It sparked significant controversy as politicians, public figures and the Archbishop of Canterbury made their views on the episode known. As a result, *Songs of Praise* became the unlikely stimulus for the first large-scale debate surrounding alternative media representation of the 2015-16 Jungle.[14]

It may be that the role of religious organisations is downplayed (and the support provided by mosques and British Muslim groups even more so than that of churches and Christian groups) in order to portray refugees as individuals who will assimilate successfully by conforming to

[13] *Songs of Praise 16.08.2015* (UK: BBC One, 2015), https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b067862y.
[14] Giles Sheldrick, "Songs of Praise in Calais EXPOSED – This Is How the BBC Is Spending YOUR Cash," *Express*, August 11, 2015, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/597444/Songs-of-Praise-Calais-BBC.
Kashmira Gander, "Songs of Praise Episode Filmed in Calais Migrant Camp Described as 'inspirational' and 'Humane' by Viewers," *The Independent*, August 17, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/news/songs-of-praise-episode-filmed-in-calais-migrant-camp-described-as-inspirational-and-humane-by-10458142.html.
India Knight, "What Would Jesus Do? Join the Migrants in Songs of Praise from Calais," *The Sunday Times*, August 16, 2015, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/what-would-jesus-do-join-the-migrants-in-songs-of-praise-from-calais-hm7hzgn2nl6.
Aubrey Allegretti, "JK Rowling Goes On Twitter To Attack Daily Express's Front Page On Calais Migrants," *HuffPost*, August 11, 2015, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/08/11/jk-rowling-daily-express-calias_n_7969776.html.

the secular values of their host societies. Yet the comment in *Threads* also evidences a curious phenomenon that sometimes occurred in the Jungle: namely the policing of perceived Muslimness by non-Muslim volunteers. *Threads* exemplifies the tendency within creative texts about the Jungle to marginalise religious structures and organisations while fetishizing individual expressions of religious identity.

The condescending ethnographic voice of *Threads* and the tokenisation of national groups in *The Jungle* demonstrate that these volunteer-centric texts do, at times, revert to the same silencing acts typical of traditional humanitarian narratives. The susceptibility of these volunteer texts to the same pitfalls as traditional humanitarian discourse raises the question of *precisely* how these narratives mark a divergence from, or a development of, older humanitarian models of 'speaking for' and 'on behalf of' refugees.

11. Existential and Representational Anxiety

I argue that it is the constitutive sense of unease with which the volunteer assumes the role of narrator that distinguishes volunteer-centric narratives from typical humanitarian and mainstream media representations of refugees. Two main channels of anxiety exist within these volunteer narratives: the first is an *existential anxiety* regarding the role of volunteers in the Jungle which, as Chapter Three demonstrated, is communicated through hyper-self-reflexivity. The second channel is a metacritical *representational anxiety*, stemming from a preoccupation with the volunteer's disputed 'right' to narrate the camp and to represent its inhabitants.

While existential anxiety is primarily communicated through volunteer *characters*, representational anxiety is a consideration attached to volunteer *authors.* Woolley has identified 'the emergence of a representational anxiety around refugees' within contemporary asylum

narratives, which 'engage[] self-consciously with the politics of representation,' and exhibit 'concerns around the representational appropriation of disempowered subjects.'[15] Volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle reflect this anxious trend. Questions of authorial responsibility and legitimacy abound in creative accounts of Calais, as volunteers express doubt that they are the right people to tell stories and generate knowledge about the camp.

While mainstream humanitarian organisations tend to presuppose their right to depict chaos and suffering in the places they administer, volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle betray a fundamental ambivalence about the witnessing act. This introduces an insistent level of self-referentiality and self-reflection into creative texts that is absent from traditional humanitarian narratives. Volunteer-centric narratives are characterised by this ineluctable self-doubt that manifests, stylistically, as irony. The combination of self-referentiality, irony and representational anxiety are taken to their logical extremes in Steve Waters' *The Play About Calai*s, a metatextual and relentlessly self-critical play about writing a play about Calais.

The Play About Calais describes itself as 'a theatre event, an unwritten play, or a play written with the audience, or some sort of sketch for a play that cannot be written.'[16] *The Play About Calais* is performed by a chorus: characters A, B and C represent 'facets of the Playwright', while characters 1 to 6 narrate the play's events and encounters.[17] Set in June 2016, the play charts the protagonist's journey of artistic and personal development, from his initial decision to write a play about Calais, to his return to the UK after a two-day trip to France.

[15] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 2, 20, 9.
[16] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 1, Scene 3.
[17] Waters, Characters.

The first two thirds of the play are set in Cambridge, as the playwright decides whether he will visit Calais or not. During this time, he speaks to six different people about the Jungle: the festival director for whom he is writing *The Play About Calais*; an author; his brother and sister (who visited Dunkirk); a 'No Borders' activist; and members of the refugee organisation 'CamCrag'. As in *Threads,* the information the audience receives about Calais is channelled through the subjective and emotional experiences of these individuals, who form the locus of affective attachment in the play. The playwright's brother recalls his visit to Dunkirk:

> 2. […] this was difficult for me and Caroline cos we both have kids about this age […] the most heartbreaking thing [...] I had to stop myself literally bursting into tears, I hadn't been prepared for feeling that […] it suddenly struck me: what if I was living in those conditions […]. The whole thing has a medium and long-term impact on you, traumatised, feeling guilty for feeling traumatised.[18]

Alongside conversations with friends and family, the playwright turns to the 'expert voices' of authors who have published books about the 'refugee crisis'. He provides a detailed retelling of parts of journalist Patrick Kingsley's book *The New Odyssey:*

> A. *The New Odyssey*'s a terrific book; yeah, really vivid, really begins to make sense of those journeys.
> B. It tells the story of Hashem a forty-year-old man who works for the water board in Syria; then in 2013, his town near Damascus is completely destroyed, his house destroyed, to create a buffer zone for Assad against the rebels.[19]

Here there are three layers of mediation: the playwright recounts a story, authored by Kingsley, about a Syrian man. The playwright contemplates writing his 'play about Calais' in dialogue with Kingsley's narrative:

> B. And there's this obese people smuggler, Hajj, in Libya, - a thirty-three-year-old law graduate of a Berber community; sitting amongst his friends, the poet, the haulier, the

[18] Waters, Act 1, Scene 5.
[19] Waters, Act 2, Scene 4.
Patrick Kingsley, *The New Odyssey: The Story of the Twenty-First-Century Refugee Crisis* (London and New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017).

civil engineer and – somehow – somehow I can imagine this guy.

A. I can almost – almost understand him.

B. For some reason I even want to write him, write him like this, as if he were in this play:

C. 'The scene: Hajj's flat, Zuwara, Libya, The TV is on with *Al-Jazeera* playing. Hajj drinks a non-alcoholic bottle of Becks, belches, props up his feet on a cushion; he grazes from a plate of chopped apples as he speaks.'[20]

The playwright muses that, if he writes a play in response to Kingsley's book, he need not visit Calais at all. The first two acts of *The Play about Calais* provide anecdotal accounts of the 'refugee crisis' as dictated by aid providers, activists and researchers. Act Three then describes the playwright's journey to and from Calais. Just one scene – Act Three, Scene Five – is set in the Jungle itself. It provides a cursory, sketchy report of the camp, as if the playwright is crossing off a checklist of sights and sounds:

2. The burnt-out spars of the wood.
4. The quickly erected tents.
5. The tin sinks and wash stations.
5. The rows of chemical loos.
4. The Sudanese guys pushing jerry cans of water in shopping trolleys.
1. The Afghanis the Syrians. […]
4. They have reached the edge of the camp. The Jungle.[21]

With the exception of this scene, *The Play About Calais* deliberately avoids representing the Jungle and its residents directly, and when a refugee does 'speak' in the play, it is to ask the playwright to refrain from photographing him.[22] Instead, the play turns inwards, to focus not on the 'refugee journey', but on the playwright's creative journey, which is filled with self-doubt and uncertainty.

A key source of representational anxiety for the playwright is his selfish motivations for writing about the Jungle: he hopes that the play will relieve his guilty conscience and 'save his

[20] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 2, Scene 4.
[21] Waters, Act 3, Scene 5.
[22] Waters, Act 3, Scene 4.

credibility as a so-called political playwright.'[23] These selfish motivations are made explicit when the playwright discovers that there has already been 'a performance in London about the situation directed by someone who regularly goes out to Calais,' to which he responds, 'Shit – someone got there first.'[24] This positions the Jungle as a limited resource to be mined by self-conscious British artists. The playwright is also worried that his creative endeavours are neither wanted nor needed. He questions whether there is any 'point' to his artistic endeavours at all:

> A. […] 'I promised a play, fine, but what sort of play can this actually be? A play about me not being able to write a play?'
> 4. How helpful is that as fires burn shelters to ash, as lives are lost in the wire mesh protecting Eurostar – as wetsuits from Calais wash up in Norway?[25]

By opening a conversation about the purpose of the play, Waters poses an important question about how we determine the 'usefulness' of creative works that respond to situations of extreme injustice: who gets to judge utility, and by what criteria? These important reflections upon the value of art in emergency are hampered, however, by the play's sexist and classist undertones. The playwright repeatedly uses the adjective 'sexy' to describe the women he meets volunteering in Calais:

> 2. There's the sexy architect from Annecy cycling from Ireland to Norway.
> 3. The equally sexy patent officer from Rome resident in the Netherlands.[26]

The phrase 'sexy architect' is repeated twice more during the play. In contrast, the 'expert voices' in *The Play About Calais* are exclusively those of white men: W.H. Auden, Matthew Carr, Patrick Kingsley, Wolfgang Bauer and Ted Honderich.[27] The prioritisation of male voices

[23] Waters, Act 1, Scene 1.
[24] Waters, Act 1, Scene 4.
[25] Waters, Act 1, Scene 3.
[26] Waters, Act 4, Scene 1.
[27] Charlotte McDonald-Gibson's book *Cast Away: Stories of Survival from Europe's Refugee Crisis* is also referenced, but the author is not mentioned by name.

in the play is mirrored by a celebration of 'educated' voices, and a demonisation of 'uneducated' ones. The playwright explicitly positions himself in opposition to the football fans he encounters on the Eurostar:

> 3. He has bought new pens some chocolate some chewing gum.
> 4. A *Guardian, bien sûr.*
> 5. Football fans bristle around. Maybe the Guardian was a mistake.
> […]
> 1. The football fans seem to be Polish. Presumably they're cool with the *Guardian.*[28]

The anti-refugee sentiment in *The Play About Calais* is voiced by an uncouth, puerile, small-minded football fan who shares the playwright's Eurostar carriage:

> A. The England fan looks briefly out of the window as we slide into the tunnel, for a second noticing he's not in his own nation.
> 2. 'So where's all them fucking little refugees then?'
> 1. He seems almost hurt, almost a bit peeved not to see anyone running into the darkness to die under the wheels of his train. […]
> A. […] I guess I should make some effort to understand his point of view, but do you know what,
> right now –
> I despise him.
> Actually.
> No, I feel ashamed of him.
> B. Okay, so now they're trading images of a woman they seem to have slept with, either together or separately.[29]

Using this ignorant football fan as a vehicle for voicing xenophobia aligns football fans with the hostile environment, and the playwright's Cambridge community (who seem to be in unanimous support of refugees) with migrant solidarity. This perpetuates the unhelpful notion that attitudes to migration can be divided neatly along lines of class and education. For a hyper-self-conscious narrative, the play is oblivious to its own prejudices, and this detracts from its utility as a reflective study of artistic responses to emergency contexts.

[28] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 3, Scene 1.
[29] Waters, Act 4, Scene 2.

The association that the play draws between football and xenophobia also obscures significant moments of refugee solidarity within the sport, including Gary Lineker's vocal advocacy on behalf of child refugees, Liverpool CFC's 'Football Welcomes Community Project', Mohamed Salah's affiliation with UNHCR, and the actions of Queens Park Rangers FC, who offered their team's coaches to transport unaccompanied refugee children to the UK following the demolition of the Jungle.[30] The playwright is a confident advocate for refugees when comparing himself favourably with his less generous countrymen, but the substance of his advocacy crumbles under his own self-scrutiny. It is around this kernel of hypocrisy that the representational anxiety of *The Play about Calais* revolves.

12. The Ironic Volunteer

Lilie Chouliaraki's study of recent developments in humanitarian communications helps to explain the rise of existential and representational anxiety in contemporary 'refugee crisis' narratives. Chouliaraki argues that our hypermediated 'society of the spectacle' has made humanitarian media audiences increasingly suspicious, cynical and compassion-fatigued. To combat this, a transformation is taking place in humanitarian discourse, whereby the traditional

[30] Esther Addley, "Gary Lineker Joins Stars to Condemn Scrapping of Dubs Refugee Scheme," *The Guardian*, February 14, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/13/scrapping-dubs-refugee-scheme-shameful-stars-tell-theresa-may-unaccompanied-children.
Matthew Weaver, "Gary Lineker Hits Back at Online Abuse over Criticism of Calais Refugee Coverage," *The Guardian*, October 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees.
"Football Welcomes Refugees: County FA Teams Up with LFC Foundation & Amnesty International UK to Launch Community Project," Liverpool FA, accessed November 9, 2019, http://www.liverpoolfa.com/news/2019/jul/31/county-fa-teams-up-with-lfc-foundation-and-amnesty-international-uk-to-launch-community-project.
"Mohamed Salah Joins up with Vodafone Foundation and UNHCR as First Instant Network Schools Ambassador," *UNHCR*, February 25, 2020, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/press/2020/2/5e550d714/mohamed-salah-joins-vodafone-foundation-unhcr-first-instant-network-schools.html.
Diane Taylor, "QPR Gives Fleet of Coaches to Bring Child Refugees from Calais," *The Guardian*, November 1, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/01/qpr-gives-fleet-of-coaches-to-bring-child-refugees-from-calais.

'theatrical' structure of humanitarian narratives is being replaced by a 'specular' one. In theatrical humanitarian narratives, 'the encounter between western spectator and vulnerable other takes place as an ethical and political event.'[31] But in specular narratives, the encounter involves only the western spectator and their own self-image. That is to say, the 'post-humanitarian imaginary' substitutes 'the stage of the other with a mirror of the self.'[32]

Post-humanitarian narratives offer an alternative to grandiose moral claims of duty and responsibility, and to the sentimental model of empathy and compassion, both of which are losing their power as humanitarian media strategies. Chouliaraki argues that 'the key feature of post-humanitarianism lies precisely in loosening up this "necessary" link between seeing suffering and feeling for the sufferer, and in de-coupling emotion for the sufferer from acting on the cause of suffering.'[33]

The Play about Calais perfectly encapsulates the post-humanitarian transition from affective theatrical connection to ironic self-reflection, as the play is concerned entirely with the spectating self. It makes no attempt to encourage the audience to develop affective or imaginative attachments to 'others', as in the sentimental humanitarian tradition. Instead, *The Play About Calais* emblematises the post-humanitarian tendency 'to render the psychological world of the spectator a potential terrain of self-inspection.'[34] The Calais Jungle functions in the play as a springboard for self-inspection, a landscape upon which the 'mirror of the self' can be superimposed. Statements such as 'the screeching of the gulls, [o]nly seems to confirm

[31] Lilie Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 4.
[32] Chouliaraki, 191.
[33] Lilie Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 119, doi: 10.1177/1367877909356720.
[34] Chouliaraki, 119.

my guilt'[35] demonstrate that the entire representational spectrum of the play is either a projection of, or a reflection upon, the playwright's existential and representational anxiety.

The Play About Calais is written in the 'post-humanitarian style,' by which 'the de-emotionalization of the suffering of distant others goes hand in hand with the over-emotionalization of our safe everyday life.'[36] As *The Play About Calais* is the story of one man's self-doubt regarding his ability 'to write two hours of theatre in a month,'[37] it epitomises the post-humanitarian drive to 'turn the doubt of the self into a source of the truth of suffering.'[38] The playwright describes his work as 'feeble bollocks.'[39] He 'feels a sense of superfluousness'[40] when around other activists. He tells himself '[y]ou are toying with this. You are wasting good people's time. You are hijacking an emergency.'[41]

The playwright requires constant reassurance to assuage his crippling self-doubt: '[a]ll day he stares forlornly at his mobile, hoping for an acknowledgement.'[42] When approaching a local refugee organisation, he describes himself as 'some random chancer wasting their time and hampering their effort.'[43] He worries that he is '[b]lagging his way into a situation that doesn't need him nor want him.'[44] He thinks that visiting Calais might be 'useless': he wants to 'pull out', 'pull the plug on this,' except that '[b]acking down would be pathetic.'[45] When in Calais, the playwright feels 'helpless' and asks '[w]hat possible use can I be here?'[46] Self-doubt drives

[35] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 3, Scene 5.
[36] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," 122.
[37] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 1, Scene 3.
[38] Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*, 179.
[39] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 1, Scene 3.
[40] Waters, Act 2, Scene 2.
[41] Waters, Act 2, Scene 2.
[42] Waters, Act 2, Scene 6.
[43] Waters, Act 1, Scene 4.
[44] Waters, Act 2, Scene 6.
[45] Waters, Act 1, Scene 3. Act 1, Scene 4. Act 2, Scene 6. Act 1, Scene 4.
[46] Waters, Act 4, Scene 1.

The Play About Calais, transforming the playwright's ironic self-reflection into a confessional self-deprecation that cannot be extrapolated into political critique. The narcissism that clouds the introspective gaze makes the work pleasurably contemplative rather than politically pertinent.

The influence of post-humanitarian irony in representations of the Jungle reaches beyond *The Play About Calais*. The 'specular' turn in humanitarian discourse also functions as a type of narcissistic short-circuiting that structures British voluntary involvement in the Jungle. In some artistic endeavours, the Jungle appears as a stage upon which British artists perform their 'ironic solidarity of self-expression[47] for the benefit of British media audiences. The post-humanitarian mirror-gaze underlies the Globe Theatre's performance of *Hamlet* in the Jungle, for example, and the performance of *Letters Live* at the Good Chance dome, which featured celebrities including Tom Odell, Toby Jones and Tom Stoppard.[48]

As British media consumers contributed significantly – if not overwhelmingly – to the intended audience of both of these performances, they do not so much represent European citizens' attempts to engage meaningfully with refugees, as their attempts to engage meaningfully with *each other* in 'a community of virtue that discovers in its own fellow-feeling for distant others a narcissistic self-contentment.'[49] The hyper-mediated visits to the Jungle by politicians and celebrities, including Jude Law, Will.i.am and Lily Allen, can also be regarded as performances

[47] Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*, 20.
[48] Oscar Quine, "Shakespeare's Globe Performs Hamlet at Calais Jungle Refugee Camp," *The Independent*, February 3, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/shakespeare-s-globe-performs-hamlet-at-calais-jungle-refugee-camp-a6851991.html.
"British Celebrities Highlight Refugee Plight in Calais 'Jungle,'" *The New Arab*, February 22, 2016, https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/society/2016/2/22/british-celebrities-highlight-refugee-plight-in-calais-jungle..
[49] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," 113.

designed for Western media audiences.[50] Media interest in the 'ordinary' British people who lived in the Jungle – the 'Army of Creative London Volunteers at the Heart of the Calais Jungle,' and the 'British Women on the Front Line of the Refugee Crisis' – similarly conforms to this post-humanitarian media strategy.[51]

A natural affinity exists between the ironic, self-reflexive model of post-humanitarianism, and the communications framework of social media. Due to the individualistic structure of social media platforms, the communication of humanitarian imperatives over social media always functions by 'rendering the West both the actor and the spectator of its own performances.'[52] The specular structure built into social media platforms dictates that all representations of the Jungle published via an individual or an organisation's Facebook, Twitter or Instagram account inevitably reinforce the digital identity of that individual or organisation, at the same time as disseminating information about the camp. The very nature of social media means that all

[50] Homa Khaleeli, "'This Seems like a Solvable Problem': Jude Law on Helping Calais's Refugees," *The Guardian*, February 22, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/22/this-seems-like-a-solvable-problem-jude-law-on-helping-calais-refugees.
Charlie Peat, "Black Eyed Peas Star Will.i.Am Visits Calais Jungle Days after Violent Migrant Protests," *Express*, April 14, 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/660862/Black-Eyed-Peas-Will-i-am-voice-Calais-jungle-migrants-protests-France.
"Lily Allen in Calais: 'I Apologise on Behalf of My Country,'" *BBC News*, October 12, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-37628854/lily-allen-in-calais-i-apologise-on-behalf-of-my-country.
Matt Broomfield, "Refugee Crisis: Jeremy Corbyn Visits Calais Jungle and Grande-Synthe Camps," *The Independent*, January 23, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-jeremy-corbyn-visits-calais-jungle-and-grande-synthe-camps-a6829701.html.
Ilan Kapoor, *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).
[51] Susannah Butter, "Meet the Army of Creative London Volunteers at the Heart of the Calais Jungle," *Evening Standard*, February 10, 2016, https://www.standard.co.uk/lifestyle/london-life/meet-the-army-of-creative-london-volunteers-at-the-heart-of-the-calais-jungle-a3176986.html#gallery.
Andrew Anthony, "Accidental Activists: The British Women on the Front Line of the Refugee Crisis," *The Guardian*, June 12, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/12/help-refugees-calais-accidental-activists.
Brown, "Band of Britons Move into Calais Jungle."
[52] Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*, 18.

representations over these digital platforms, regardless of intention, function in a sense as self-representations, 'evok[ing] the need of others by speaking about us.'[53]

Ofra Koffman et al. use the term 'selfie humanitarianism' to describe the digital phenomenon by which solidarity is expressed through a 'refashioning of the self through consumption, self-broadcasting, self-branding, self-promotion and media production.'[54] The volunteer's performance of 'selfie humanitarianism' is not informed so much by real-life interactions as by interactions with other social media users, who have become 'component actors' in the contemporary aid worker's digital self-construction, through positive reinforcement in the form of likes, shares and comments.[55] The individualistic, post-humanitarian logic of social media communications about the Jungle was evidenced in the double-bill performance *Borderland // Calais*, which took place at the Vault Festival in February 2017. The second half of this performance – *Calais*, written by Maddy Costa – is a narrative '[w]oven from the Twitter streams of the Refugee Info Bus and Help Refugees.'

[53] Chouliaraki, 17.
[54] Ofra Koffman, Shani Orgad, and Rosalind Gill, "Girl Power and 'Selfie Humanitarianism,'" *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161, doi: 10.1080/10304312.2015.1022948.
[55] Mary Mostafanezhad, "Volunteer Tourism and the Popular Humanitarian Gaze," *Geoforum* 54 (2014): 112, doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.04.004.

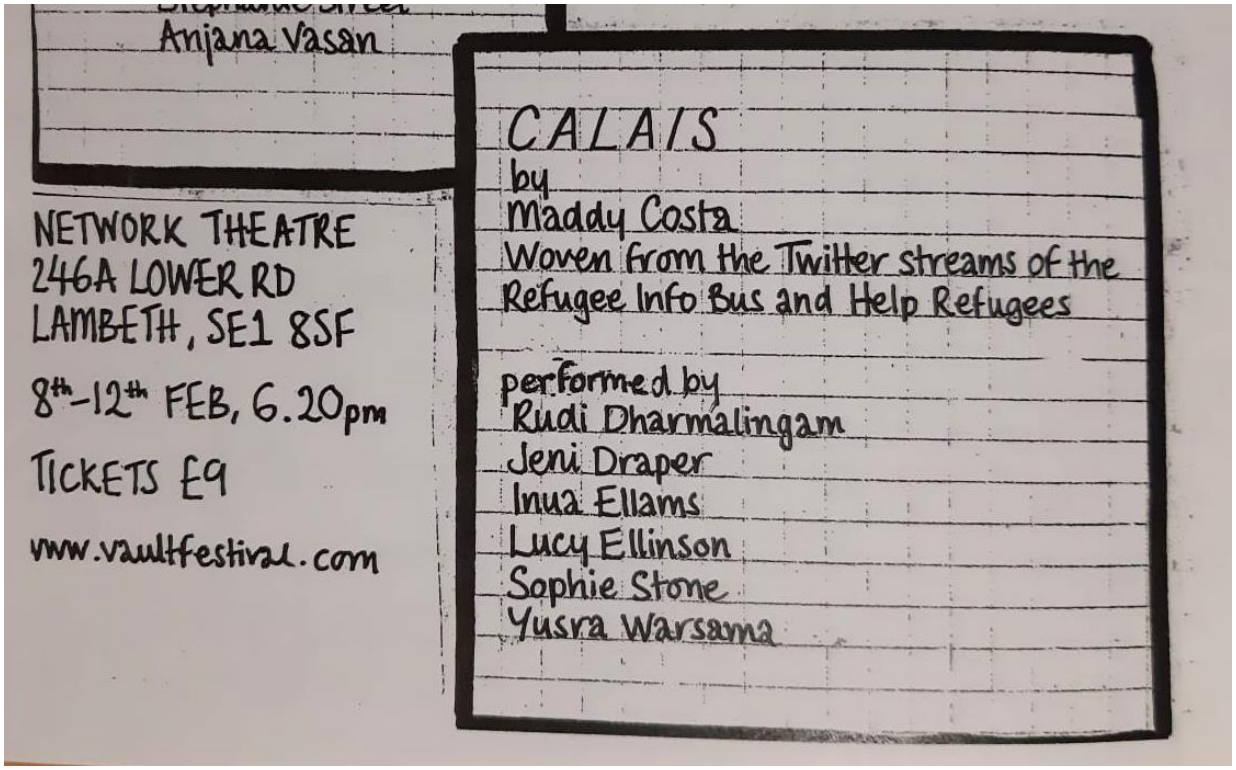


Figure 25: Crew For Calais, *Borderland // Calais,* Theatre Programme, 8th – 12th February 2017, author's photograph

The performance of *Calais* consists of a verbatim reading of these organisations' Twitter feeds from the time of the camp's demolition. It pushes the pleasurable, self-reflexive model of social media communications to its limit: *Calais* was described as 'too long, testing both the audience's patience and the format's ability to reach beyond itself.'[56] The ironic, post-humanitarian performance of *Calais* did not contain scope for the Jungle's residents to 'become anything more than shadow figures in someone else's story.'[57] In these post-humanitarian

[56] Fergus Morgan, "Review: Borderland/Calais at Vault Festival," *Exeunt Magazine*, February 13, 2017, http://exeuntmagazine.com/reviews/review-borderlandcalais-vault-festival/.
Jessie Thompson, "Twitter Feeds Documenting the Demolition of Calais Jungle Camps to Be Turned into a Theatre Show," *Evening Standard*, January 26, 2017, https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/theatre/twitter-feeds-documenting-the-demolition-of-calais-jungle-camps-to-be-turned-into-a-theatre-show-a3450361.html.
[57] Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*, 187.

accounts, the Jungle is a performance space, featuring British protagonists and British audiences, but within which refugees can only ever function as supporting actors.

13. The Recuperation of Irony

Not only is performance space transformed into camp space in the creative context of Calais, as in *The Jungle*'s theatre-restaurant, but camp space is also transformed into performance space. Political representations made on behalf of refugees within the hypermediated space of the camp become artistic reflections upon the act of refugee representation itself: '[t]o confront' the refugee within this theatre of aid 'is not to represent *(vertreten)* them but to learn to represent *(darstellen)* ourselves.'[58] As hyper-self-reflection and post-humanitarian irony become increasingly influential features of contemporary refugee discourse, it is useful to assess whether these representational strategies are *fundamentally* apolitical and narcissistic, or whether they can be deployed otherwise.

Orban Wallace's *Another News Story* and Arthur Levivier's *Regarde Ailleurs* are two documentaries that are concerned with media complicity and journalistic ethics in the 'refugee crisis' context.[59] While *Another News Story* records the cameras, lights and microphones that clogged the main arteries of Southern and Central Europe in September 2015, *Regarde Ailleurs* documents the news reporters that descended upon the Calais Jungle ahead of the demolition. *Regarde Ailleurs* holds the media to account for their knowing complicity in creating a staged performance of the *démantlement* of the camp in the week of the 24th October 2016. The

[58] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," 288–89.
[59] Wallace, *Another News Story*.
Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs* (France: Activideo, 2018), https://vimeo.com/267681938.

documentary follows the camera crews as they gather footage, with the aim of constructing an 'official' narrative of the camp's dismantlement.

Regarde Ailleurs shadows the media crews as they crowd around a group of men in orange jackets on the first day of the demolition. These men begin carefully dismantling a shelter at the edge of the camp, piece by piece. As the audience watches the performance take place, the voice of a videographer comments that the authorities are 'just doing this for the journalists,' and that 'as soon as the people are gone they will start using bulldozers, and flatten everything.' The videographer points out that, were the whole operation to follow this slow and careful process, it would take many months to complete. Over the following days, fires swiftly burned the camp to the ground.



Figure 26: Still from Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs*, 2018. Camera crews in the Jungle document the *démantlement.*

The narrative of *Regarde Ailleurs* is driven by such points of divergence between media representation and reality. Throughout the documentary, a television playing speeches by political figures, including François Hollande and Emmanuel Macron, is superimposed onto different scenes in Calais. The discrepancy between the politicians' claims and the reality fuels the documentary's ironic critique, 'highlighting the gap that exists between the field and official speeches.'[60]



Figure 27: Still from Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs*, 2018. A television playing a political speech is superimposed onto footage of life in Calais.

Another News Story, in comparison, is concerned less with the substance of media narratives, and more with precisely *how* such media content is generated at the most mechanical level. Wallace's documentary follows 'the world's 24-hour news gatherers in hot pursuit of the breaking story' as they gather at coastlines, train stations and border crossing-points across

[60] Arthur Levivier, "Regarde Ailleurs - Look Away," Regarde Ailleurs, 2018, https://filmregardeailleurs.com/.

Europe in the summer of 2015. *Another News Story* shows that, as irregular migrants travelled through Europe, they were 'accompanied by a pack of fellow travellers – reporters, camera-operators, producers and news vans.'[61] The documentary impresses upon its audience that the transit routes through Europe during the 'refugee crisis' were not secret, deserted pathways, but busy thoroughfares lined with flashing bulbs and microphones – more a red carpet of humiliation than a clandestine smuggling operation.



Figure 28: Still from Orban Wallace, *Another News Story*, 2019

The refugees in the documentary are hyper-aware of how their images are being utilised by their travelling companions. A young man complains that journalists always ask the 'same questions': 'what made you come here? Where are you going? What's wrong in your country?' Another man comments, after finishing an interview with a journalist, that 'that's maybe the eighth interview I do.' Interestingly, the journalists in the documentary are also unhappy about having their journeys recorded. They become defensive and suspicious when filmed, and attempt to deflect attention away from themselves. One asks the crew of *Another News Story*,

[61] "Another News Story: A Film by Orban Wallace," Another News Story, 2019, https://www.anothernewsstory.com/.

‘why are you filming journalists, not them? They’ve got way more important stories. We’ve got nothing to say. They’re the story, not us. If I was you, I’d go film the refugees, not the journalists.’ The irony is inescapable when another media professional asks the crew of *Another News Story* not to ‘make a star out of me’ because ‘I cherish my anonymity.’

Another News Story documents the ways that journalists influenced the course of the ‘refugee crisis’ not only representationally, through their news reporting, but also practically, through their physical presence along Europe’s transit routes. The documentary pinpoints specific events and encounters that undermine the idea that journalists were neutral and objective observers of the ‘refugee crisis’. At times, the journalists display violent behaviour. One Hungarian journalist is filmed kicking a young refugee and tripping over a man holding a baby. A symbolic form of violence is also signalled when a reporter stalks closely behind a woman, announcing that he will ‘shoot her from behind.’

At other times, the cameras form a protective barrier between the refugees and the police, as when ‘one guy was mildly hit by the Hungarian police, […] and he’s now surrounded by 75 TV cameras.’ On other occasions, reporters offer direct assistance to refugees, such as the journalist in Budapest who lifts a refugee through the window of a departing train. After being reprimanded by the police, he reflects that, ‘in this moment, I decided not to work as a journalist, I start to be more human being,’ because journalists are ‘eating human stories.’ This distinction between ‘a human’ and ‘a journalist’ is echoed by another reporter, who explains that ‘as a human you will want to help,’ but ‘as a journalist you have to bring these problems to the viewers.’

Moments of 'human to human' interaction are collated in *Another News Story* as evidence of how the physical presence of journalists at Europe's 'migrant hotspots' dictated, manipulated and modified the 'refugee crisis' in real time. While some journalists seem to view the 'crisis' callously, including the reporter who 'loves' her drone footage because it shows 'many refugees are waiting for the train, and that's very sexy,' others reflect more sombrely upon the ethical implications of their work. One interviewee reflects that some people 'want to put the camera down and never pick it up again,' because 'they feel like they are just being voyeuristic and they're exploiting people.'

There is also widespread recognition among journalists of the crucial role that the media plays in orchestrating public perception of newsworthiness. One camera crew member acknowledges that 'the story is only where we are. It might be happening somewhere else but because the media aren't there it isn't happening.' These moments of self-consciousness feed into the crisis of conscience that permeates the documentary as a whole, for it is also self-reflexive in its criticism. *Another News Story* is premised on the idea that its director 'went to follow refugees in Europe' but instead 'found the media,' indicating that he adopted his introspective style when met with an uncomfortable mirror image of himself at the border.

Another News Story questions its own form of journalistic ethics. In an interview, director Wallace admits that 'I can't say that what we did was any better than news journalists and their approach.'[62] Questions of hypocrisy and complicity pervade the documentary, and expand into a broader reflection upon positionality and participation in scenes of oppression and injustice. By keeping open the wound of its own ambivalence, *Another News Story* suggests that critical

[62] Andrew Lapin, "Refugees and Nationalism: How Europe Is Questioning Its Identity Through the Movies," *Indie Wire*, July 8, 2017, https://www.indiewire.com/2017/07/brexit-europe-national-identity-movies-1201851388/.

representational forces are *always* somehow implicated in that which they critique. By making a case for 'no critique without complicity', *Another News Story* conforms to the post-humanitarian trend that 'appeals to a cosmopolitan public that both desires and disdains the commodification of distant suffering.'[63]

The critical self-implication displayed in *Another News Story* marks a departure from the representational anxiety of *The Play About Calais,* however. The latter is apolitical political theatre because it documents the protagonist's feelings of inadequacy as an activist, but does not encourage or endorse refugee solidarity per se: it has 'suppressed the articulation of ethical discourse on public action' in favour of 'private emotionality and indulgent self-inspection.'[64] In *The Play About Calais,* the playwright's self-doubt does not evolve into any broader political, moral or ethical reflection upon inequality and injustice. The playwright does not attempt to 're-constitute the moral agency of Western publics along the lines of civic virtues such as solidarity with and care for vulnerable others.'[65] Rather, the he embodies Rorty's figure of the 'liberal ironist,' for whom 'human solidarity is not a matter of sharing a common truth or a common goal but of sharing a common selfish hope, the hope that one's world – the little things around which one has woven into one's final vocabulary – will not be destroyed.'[66]

The playwright in *The Play About Calais* undertakes solidaristic activities explicitly for personal gain, and justifies these activities based on the artistic, emotional, social and psychological benefits they provide him. This reflects Rorty's argument that '[w]hat matters for the liberal ironist is not finding […] a *reason to care* about suffering,' but 'making sure that

[63] Whitlock, *Postcolonial Life Narratives: Testimonial Transactions*, 191.
[64] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," 121–22.
[65] Chouliaraki, 121.
[66] Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 92.

she *notices* suffering when it occurs.'[67] However, Chouliaraki warns against the type of solidarity that functions by 'capitalizing on the reflexive resources of the individual without offering a moral justification for action,' arguing that it is this questionable form of liberal solidarity that is driving our 'political culture of communitarian narcissism.'[68]

Another News Story embarks upon a process of ironic self-reflection, yet it does not slip into 'private emotionality and indulgent self-inspection.' The documentary raises questions about implication, positionality, responsibility and complicity, while retaining its political expediency. While *Regarde Ailleurs* displays a more traditional ironic model in its juxtaposition of media representation and reality, both documentaries employ politically pertinent forms of irony in their contributions to contemporary discussions of voyeurism, exploitation and the mediation of suffering. This indicates that metacritical representational responses to the 'refugee crisis' are not bound to collapse into apolitical, post-humanitarian narcissism. Derrida's argument that 'There is No *One* Narcissism' is instructive here, in theorising the distinction between narcissistic and politicised ironic self-reflections. He argues that

> [t]here is not narcissism and non-narcissism; there are narcissisms that are more or less comprehensive, generous, open, extended. What is called non-narcissism is in general but the economy of a much more welcoming, hospitable narcissism, one that is much more open to the experience of the other as other. I believe that without a movement of narcissistic reappropriation, the relation to the other would be absolutely destroyed, it would be destroyed in advance. The relation to the other - even if it remains asymmetrical, open, without possible reappropriation - must trace a movement of reappropriation in the image of oneself.[69]

If we accept that intersubjectivity *will* induce a form of narcissistic reappropriation, we can reflect that a hospitable narcissism of politicised self-doubt that recognises its own limitations might not necessarily erect mirrors whose refractions conceal from the subject everything that lies beyond them. A distinction

[67] Rorty, 93.
[68] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," 121.
[69] Jacques Derrida, "'There Is No *One* Narcissism' (Autobiophotographies)," in *Points… Interviews 1974-1994*, ed. Elisabeth Weber (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 199.

might be made between apolitical, pleasurable and indulgent self-doubt, and politically engaged acts of doubting. This radical self-doubt would locate its interruptive possibility in a form of narcissism that acknowledges our implication in scenes of suffering, but refrains from fetishizing our shame and guilt as a fount of gratifying communality.

PART THREE

HOPES, DREAMS, SPACE AND TIME IN REFUGEE REPRESENTATIONS

It had been a cargo-hold of hope, she thought; although it was perhaps more correct to call it a cargo-hold of illusions. […] Sailors who were little more than shadows had forced them down into the cargo area, as if they were modern-day slaves.
But there had been no iron chains around their ankles. What had ensnared them were their dreams.

Henning Mankell[70]

This town began to focus the attention of the whole world, which could well appreciate how it was both prophetic and catastrophic in character, marvellous and wretched, utopian and dystopian.

Michel Agier et al.[71]

CHAPTER SIX

'REFUGEE HOPE', SPACE AND STORYTELLING

1. 'Refugee Hope' in Representations of the Calais Jungle

The vocabulary of hopes and dreams is a constituent part of refugee discourse. For journalists, artists, activists, academics and politicians alike, 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming' have

[70] Henning Mankell, *The Shadow Girls*, trans. Ebba Segerberg (London: Vintage, 2013), 2.
[71] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 71.

become a lingua franca for communicating about irregular migration, so much so that these terms have come to seem like self-evident and value-neutral ways of describing the act of irregular border-crossing. In reality, the language of 'refugee hopes and dreams' is infused with a complex set of ideological assumptions, values and judgments about the process of seeking asylum. This chapter unravels the ideological structure of 'refugee hoping', while Chapters Seven and Eight address the related notion of 'refugee dreaming'.

'Refugee hope' is the organising principle behind two planes of experience in the Calais Jungle: space and storytelling. As an affective construct, 'hope' became the linchpin for the numerous testimonial projects that developed in the unregulated literary marketplace of the Jungle. It was also the driving force behind the cultural-cartographic effort to map the volatile, quasi-urban physical environment of the Jungle onto the splintering geopolitical landscape of European space. Yet despite the considerable power that 'refugee hope' wields in representational networks of space and storytelling in Calais, and in the discursive field of refugeehood more broadly, the precise details of *how* hope attaches to refugees is rarely examined. To unravel the complex affective structure of 'refugee hope', we must begin by asking, who creates the 'refugee hope' that circulates within asylum discourse, who claims it, who communicates it, and who benefits from it? What are the stakes of 'refugee hope'? How is it politicised? How is it commoditised, neutralised and instrumentalised? To whom does it belong, attach and implicate? Who attributes 'refugee hope'? In whose psychological and social schema does 'hope' direct and inform understandings of cross-border migration?

Hope in itself is an expansive concept that branches into religion, morality, political philosophy, ethics, psychology and epistemology. As a philosophical idea, hope possesses a 'multitude of meanings and significations' that intersect with 'optimism, fear, desire, wishing, wanting,

dreaming, waiting and confidence.'[72] Some even consider the quotidian definition of hope as 'expectation of something desired; desire combined with expectation' to be inaccurate or inadequate.[73] The conceptual elasticity of hope is reflected in the wide variety of forms and functions that the term has taken on in creative, media and academic representations of the Jungle. Its versatility is best illustrated through a series of examples.

At the beginning of 2016, Pascale Hughes and Helen Spooner wrote an article for *The Independent* entitled 'What asylum seekers in the Calais Jungle hope for in 2016.'[74] They approach the Jungle through the lens of hope by asking, '[i]n a place widely regarded as being devoid of hope, is there any left at all for the upcoming year?' Camp residents respond: 'I don't hope for anything in 2016 because tomorrow is just another day'; 'I hope we will be able to reach a place where [my daughter] can go to school'; 'I hope I'll be able get this generator to work'; 'I hope that my hand will stop hurting.'

In Hughes and Spooner's article, hope is a relatively simple tool for gauging how refugees perceive and experience their immediate circumstances. It signifies a form of planning for short-term goals, reflecting Feldman and Snyder's definition of hope as 'a goal-directed cognitive construct.'[75] Other media accounts, in comparison, imbue hope with far greater philosophical import. Joseph Harker harnesses hope to the long-running campaign to 'humanise the refugee' in Calais. He insists that

[72] Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 2003), 9, 10.
[73] "Hope, n.," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed August 12, 2018, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88370.
[74] Pascale Hughes and Helen Spooner, "Refugee Crisis: What Asylum Seekers in the Calais Jungle Hope for in 2016," *The Independent*, January 5, 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-what-asylum-seekers-in-the-calais-jungle-hope-for-in-2016-a6797831.html.
[75] David B. Feldman and C. R. Snyder, "Hope and the Meaningful Life: Theoretical and Empirical Associations between Goal-Directed Thinking and Life Meaning," *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 24, no. 3 (2005): 402, doi: 10.1521/jscp.24.3.401.65616.

> [w]hether or not you believe the residents of the Calais refugee camp should be allowed into Britain, anyone who thinks these people are fully human, with hopes and aspirations like the rest of us, and lives just as valuable, should cease using language that denies them this humanity.[76]

For Harker, hope is a marker of shared humanity; the refugee is recognised as 'fully human' through their capacity to hope. At other times, hope is used to measure the value and legitimacy not of the refugees in the Jungle, but of the Jungle *itself*. David Kraft, writing for the *Guardian*, opposed the demolition of the camp in February-March 2016 on the basis that '[t]here's nascent hope in the Calais "Jungle" camp. So why destroy it?'[77] His support for the Jungle's continued existence, as a place containing 'glimmers of hope,' is mirrored in The Worldwide Tribe's documentary *The Lotus Flower: Hope in the Calais Jungle*. In this documentary, a volunteer describes the Jungle as 'a seed of hope, which is actually sprouting; there's so much potential in a place like this.'[78]

While the meaning of hope in the above accounts is relatively unambiguous, there is also a propensity within refugee narratives to treat hope as an abstract and intangible quality. In Amy Lawrence's article 'Football offers a haven of hope beyond the heartache of life as a refugee,'[79] the description of football as 'a haven of hope' for children in the Jungle evokes a field of associations without pinning down a definite meaning. This reflects Farran, Herth and Popovich's description of hope 'as an elusive, mysterious and "soft" concept.'[80] While the opportunity to play football was undoubtedly beneficial for young refugees in Calais, precisely

---

[76] Harker, "Stop Calling the Calais Refugee Camp the 'Jungle.'"
[77] David Kraft, "There's Nascent Hope in the Calais 'Jungle' Camp. So Why Destroy It?," *The Guardian*, February 18, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/18/hope-calais-jungle-camp-why-destroy-it.
[78] Jamie Noel, *The Lotus Flower: Hope in the Calais Jungle* (UK: The Worldwide Tribe, 2016), https://vimeo.com/155500584.
[79] Amy Lawrence, "Football Offers a Haven of Hope beyond the Heartache of Life as a Refugee," *The Guardian*, February 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/feb/19/refugees-football-calais-camp-hope-heartache.
[80] Carol J Farran, Kaye A Herth, and Judith M Popovich, *Hope and Hopelessness: Critical Clinical Constructs* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1995), 5.

why it represented a 'haven of hope' for them (or exactly what a 'haven of hope' might be) remains unclear.

At other times, hope takes on explicitly religious connotations. London-based pastor Giles Fraser, who has written a series of articles about the Jungle and the 'refugee crisis,' announced in August 2015 that '[t]he migrants' church in Calais is a place of raw prayer and defiant hope.'[81] Hope in Christianity has three significant features, according to the book of Romans: it exceeds reason and probability; it is connected to trust in powers unseen; it is the by-product of suffering.[82] In its biblical form, then, 'hope against hope' encapsulates the drive to keep going in the midst of intense suffering and with little prospect of earthly redemption.[83] This sense of hope as a survival strategy is mirrored in Greek mythology. It is Hesiod's myth of Pandora that is conjured up by the words of a father in Calais, interviewed for Lawrence's article, in his statement that '[t]he sunrise means hope. If there is no hope my life is finished. With hope you can still live a life.'[84] Some philosophers actually condemn hope-as-survival on this basis: Friedrich Nietzsche famously ruled hope 'the worst of all evils, because it protracts the torment of men.'[85]

In academic, fictional and autobiographical accounts of the Jungle, voluntary organisations are portrayed as a source of hope for refugees. McGee and Pelham consider the volunteer group

[81] Giles Fraser, "The Migrants' Church in Calais Is a Place of Raw Prayer and Defiant Hope," *The Guardian*, August 7, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2015/aug/07/migrants-church-in-calais-place-of-raw-prayer-and-defiant-hope.
[82] 'In hope, he believed against hope, that he should become the father of many nations.' (Rom. 4:18 RSV)
'Now hope that is seen is not hope. For who hopes for what he sees? But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait for it with patience.' (Rom. 8:24-25 RSV)
'Suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us.' (Rom. 5:3–5 RSV)
[83] "Hope, v.," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed August 12, 2018, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88372.
[84] Lawrence, "Football Offers a Haven of Hope beyond the Heartache of Life as a Refugee."
[85] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 45.

Play4Calais to have 'facilitated a temporary re-engagement with the Calais Jungle as a space of solidarity, hope and community.'[86] Ibrahim and Howarth argue that '[c]anned food and makeshift churches provid[ed] a glimmer of hope' for refugees, in a place 'filled with hope and tarnished through violence.'[87] Similarly, the short film *Aamir* describes how 'a well meaning but thinly stretched British volunteer' named Katelyn 'becomes Aamir's last hope for salvation.'[88] Adnan, the narrator of *In Another Life*, reflects that 'the only good thing about the Jungle' is

> the people. The hope that others can give you. One man gave me a lift in the rain – a photographer from the UK. When you're feeling low, a kind gesture, no matter how small, is sometimes all you need to restore your faith with humanity.[89]

While Pooja Puri's novel *The Jungle* is an optimistic tale of how 'hope and friendship can grow in the most unusual places,'[90] other accounts are more pessimistic. In the 2016 documentary *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*, Syrian refugee Hassan describes the Jungle as 'the graveyard of hopes or the graveyard of dreams. Because a lot of people like to just lose it there. They just don't make it.'[91] A similar account is given in the forthcoming documentary *Heart of the Matter*,

---

[86] McGee and Pelham, "Politics at Play: Locating Human Rights, Refugees and Grassroots Humanitarianism in the Calais Jungle," 32.
[87] Yasmin Ibrahim and Anita Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), ix, 4.
[88] "Interview – Vika Evdokimenko – 'Aamir' – A Feature Film," Film Debate, 2018, https://filmdebate.co.uk/promotion/interview-vika-evdokimenko-aamir-a-feature-film/.
[89] Wingard, *In Another Life*.
[90] Puri, *The Jungle*, back cover.
[91] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe - Episode Three."
Since *Exodus* was broadcast in 2016, Hassan has maintained a public profile in the UK. He has been a vocal campaigner for refugee rights, most recently making headlines as a cleaner at his local hospital during the Covid-19 pandemic, opening wider conversations about the treatment of NHS migrant workers and asylum seekers' right to work.
Anealla Safdar, "The Syrian Refugee on the UK's Coronavirus Front Lines," *Al Jazeera*, May 20, 2020, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/syrian-refugee-uks-coronavirus-front-lines-200518112745062.html.

which shows how '[h]ope springs eternal in the hearts of refugee children. But slowly, and relentlessly, that hope is being crushed.'[92]

O'Boyle's autobiographical volunteer-narrative *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas* describes a form of hope that is synonymous with agency. O'Boyle depicts refugees in Calais as people who 'had chosen to hope and wait, on the freezing coastline of France.'[93] He identifies intermittent 'sign[s] of hope' in the Jungle, such as '[p]eople sat around fires talking and welcoming those around them with cups of tea and food.'[94] He reflects that 'if you can sing in a place like this then there is hope.'[95] The signs of hope that O'Boyle identifies in the Jungle are anchored in displays of agency. This reflects Victoria McGeer's claim that '[h]oping always has an aura of agency around it because hoping is essentially a way of positively and expansively inhabiting our agency.'[96] The correlation between hope and agency also accords with Ghassan Hage's account of hope as

> the ability to cope with what is beyond one's control and a belief in the possibility of a minimum sense of agency despite all. In this sense, it is the perceived capacity to exercise some mastery over life, and it stands in opposition to helplessness.[97]

Hope performs a structural function in *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, a text that describes itself as 'an extraordinary account of the power of hope and human resilience.'[98] Hope assumes the form of a 'future-oriented emotion' in the narrative, driving refugees onwards within the established temporality of the asylum 'travelogue.'[99] The authors in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* describe 'the

[92] Worldwide Documentaries, "Heart of the Matter Trailer," Vimeo, 2016, https://vimeo.com/189147880.
[93] O'Boyle, *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*, 91.
[94] O'Boyle, 62, 91.
[95] O'Boyle, 20.
[96] Victoria McGeer, "The Art of Good Hope," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 592, no. 1 (2004): 104, doi: 10.1177/0002716203261781.
[97] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, 24–25.
[98] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, back cover.
[99] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 181.

wars and persecutions that drove them from their homes *[past]*; their terror and strength during their extraordinary journeys *[present]*; and the hope that has carried them forward *[future]*.'[100] This future-oriented form of hoping resonates with Ernst Bloch's famous theory of hope as a combination of affective and cognitive elements.

Bloch describes hope both as an emotional form of expectation, an 'anticipatory consciousness,' *and* as 'a directing act of a cognitive kind,' pointing to possibilities of the 'not-yet-conscious.'[101] 'Refugee hope' in *Voices from the 'Jungle*' reflects this dual structure: hope manifests in the text both as a future-oriented building block in the construction of the refugee 'travelogue', and as a conduit for affective attachment constructed through a shared sense of futurity. In *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, the refugees' 'hopeful futures' are both affective and cognitive in nature.[102] They are 'a way of reconsidering the temporality of feeling' that involves an act of 'imagination, a wishfulness that teaches us about what we strive for in the present.'[103]

In a reversal of the future-oriented trajectory of hope in *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, the project and exhibition *Lande: The Calais 'Jungle' and Beyond* directs hope toward the past, associating it with memorialisation. The *Lande* exhibition, held at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford from April to November 2019, echoes the *Dzhangal* exhibition described in Chapter One in its presentation of a collection of artefacts retrieved from the Jungle. Curators Hicks and Mallet argue that 'each object and image that persists' from the Jungle, be it 'a text message, a drawing, a photograph [or] an artefact,' represents 'a moment of hope that a light might be shone.'[104] They compare the exhibition's act of '[b]earing witness' to 'Ernst Bloch finding hope in the

[100] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, back cover.
[101] Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope: Volume One*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 13, 12. *Emphasis removed.*
[102] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 4.
[103] Ahmed, 181, 182.
[104] Hicks and Mallet, *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond*, 90.

moment of "not yet", by treating the near present as if it were the contemporary past.'[105] Together, the propulsive hope of *Voices from the 'Jungle'* and the archival hope of the *Lande* exhibition demonstrate how the versatile power of 'refugee hope' influenced not only the content, but also the form and structure, of creative accounts of the Jungle.

The short story collection *Breach* also invokes hope strategically as a narrative device. Publisher and editor Meike Ziervogel explains that he 'commissioned Olumide Popoola and Annie Holmes to go to the Calais refugee camps to distil stories into a work of fiction about escape, hope and aspiration.'[106] Hope is a calculated, manufactured outcome of the storytelling exercise in *Breach* – the result of a distillation process – rather than an organic by-product of the text itself. Similarly, in *The Play About Calais,* hope is presented as a literary tool:

> A. […] 'what do they always say in the screenwriting journals?'
> C. 'Where's the hope?'
> B. 'But is there hope in this story? Who are my protagonists – who are the people holding their hands around the world, around the town?'[107]

The premeditated, theatrical form of hoping in *The Play About Calais* accords with Emma Cox's argument that refugee theatre must provide 'an uplifting trajectory, a hopeful conclusion, in order to justify its artistic, narrative or even moral purpose.'[108] Cox has argued that the 'purpose or consequence of hope' in refugee theatre tends to be 'formulated, perhaps pragmatically, in terms of how it induces audiences to feel.[109] In light of the 'robust international

---

[105] Hicks and Mallet, 91.
[106] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach,* 3.
Kapka Kassabova, "Breach Review – Short Stories Exploring the Refugee Crisis," *The Guardian,* July 29, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jul/29/breach-by-olumide-popoola-annie-holmes-review-short-stories-refugees.
[107] Steve Waters, *The Play About Calais* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2016), Act 1, Scene 4, Kindle.
[108] Emma Cox, "Victimhood, Hope and the Refugee Narrative: Affective Dialectics in Magnet Theatre's 'Every Year, Every Day, I Am Walking,'" *Theatre Research International* 37, no. 2 (2012): 128, doi: 10.1017/S030788331200003X.
[109] Cox, 128.

marketplace for "redemptive" stories,' Cox argues, it is necessary to consider precisely '*how* hope appears' within theatrical refugee narratives, 'and *for whom.*'[110]

2. The Affective Economy of Hope and Hospitality

The field of 'refugee hope,' as it relates to the representational schema of the Calais Jungle, is a heterogeneous construct used to describe the motivations, movements, experiences and emotions of people seeking asylum. Yet even in its diversity, hope remains tied to the representational triad of storytelling, voice and humanity, as explored in Part One. The filmmaking project organised by Theresa Bodon, Jean Bodon, Ron Shields, and Debra Price in the Jungle, in association with UNESCO, draws upon this perceived affiliation between hope and storytelling. In the summer of 2016, Bodon's filmmaking team gave eight men aged between 18 and 35 recording devices, and asked them 'to participate in learning filmmaking techniques in order to create a documentary from their stories.'[111]

The coordinators regarded their filmmaking project as a source of 'liberation and hope for refugees living in dreadful circumstances.'[112] They modelled their teaching methods on Paulo Freire's 'pedagogy of hope,' reasoning that 'the most effective pedagogy is that of hope' because even 'in the most politically and humanitarian corrupt situations there is a hope, a hope in each and every one of us.'[113] The filmmakers' mission in the Jungle was therefore to create

---

[110] Cox, 126.
[111] Theresa C. Bodon et al., "Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes," UNESCO: Refugee Camps, 2016, 8, https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/mil_week_2016_theresa_bodon_jean-richard_bodon_-_sam_houston_state_university.pdf.
Dharmesh Patel, *UNESCO Calais Jungle* (USA: YouTube, 2016), https://youtu.be/REflwIQ_4lw.
[112] Bodon et al., "Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes," 6.
[113] Theresa C. Bodon and Nancy K. Votteler, "The Pedagogical Needs of Children and Adults Living in the Calais Jungle Refugee Camp: Existential Issues and Perspectives of Volunteer Teachers and Workers," *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education* 4, no. 1 (2017): 131, 124, http://dx.doi.org/10.18275/fire201704011132.

'a dialogue of hope, trust, and empathy' through storytelling, in order 'to unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be.'[114]

The 'pedagogy of hope' is remarkably similar to the strategy of 'doing hope together' that guided the psychotherapeutic work of Burck and Hughes in the Jungle.[115] Burck and Hughes theorise their involvement in the Jungle through Kathy Weingarten's theory of 'doing hope together.' They consider hope to be 'something we do with others,' a form of collective action that is 'the responsibility of the community.'[116] Their aims, motivations and emotional reactions were informed by the 'idea of "doing hope" for another.'[117] For example, Burck and Hughes wanted to develop a 'multifamily group for mothers and children to sustain hope and resistance' in the Jungle, and to assist them in 'identifying strengths and hopes.'[118] Their understanding of the relationship between hope and storytelling also overlaps with Bodon et al.'s definition above: while their 'narrative practices' were ways of telling 'humane stories connected to values and hopes for the future,' they worked to identify 'descriptions of resistance, survival, support and hope' in 'the accounts that refugees shared' with them.[119]

This parallel between the 'pedagogy of hope' and 'doing hope together' indicates how the critical nexus of hope, humanity and storytelling provided a framework for volunteer projects to situate themselves within the narrative landscape of the Jungle. 'Refugee hope' became a

---

[114] Bodon and Votteler, 124.
Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Robert R. Barr (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 3.
[115] Burck and Hughes, "Challenges and Impossibilities of 'Standing alongside' in an Intolerable Context: Learning from Refugees and Volunteers in the Calais Camp," 228.
[116] Kathy Weingarten, "Witnessing, Wonder, and Hope," *Family Process* 39, no. 4 (2000): 402, doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.2000.39401.x.
[117] Burck and Hughes, "Challenges and Impossibilities of 'Standing alongside' in an Intolerable Context: Learning from Refugees and Volunteers in the Calais Camp," 234.
[118] Burck and Hughes, 231.
[119] Burck and Hughes, 227–28.

mechanism for volunteer organisations to theorise and justify their participatory work in the camp. The approach to storytelling as a means of generating hope for marginalised groups is by no means new; it is a well-established practice within international aid discourse. James Dawes has written that, 'for those in need of rescue and care, the hope of being able to tell the story is sometimes the only hope.'[120] Yet in the Jungle, 'generating hope' was more than simply the *aim* of storytelling projects. It also served as the validation of their necessity and the measure of their success.

The hope-storytelling encounter also constructed relationships between citizens and refugees based on inequality, power and privilege. Bodon et al.'s profoundly Eurocentric approach establishes a stark inequality between the citizen-facilitators and the refugee-participants in their filmmaking project. The eight 'select participants' are described in a clinical, objectifying manner: while two were 'very sophisticated in their manners and attire,' another 'clearly had the appearance of a deprived and homeless person.'[121] Implausibly, another participant 'seems quite happy to be a refugee in Calais.'[122] At times, these clinical assessments of individual refugees lean uncomfortably towards racism. The two 'very sophisticated' refugees (who are also two of the authors in *Voices from the 'Jungle'*), showed in their documentary footage

> images of intellectual and "westernized" perceptions of life in the *Jungle*. For instance, they clearly wanted to show conflict between the police and the refugees. They also understood that citizen journalism as well as filmmaking is based on reporting conflicts. We never told them to report in this way, but this is what they chose to do. They probably left Iran for westernized ideologies because of religious or social conflicts in their homeland. In essence, their point of view seems to be global and westernized.[123]

[120] James Dawes, "Human Rights in Literary Studies," *Human Rights Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2009): 394, doi: 10.1353/hrq.0.0071.
[121] Bodon et al., "Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes," 8, 13, 14–15.
[122] Bodon et al., 16.
[123] Bodon et al., 14.

Being ‘westernized’ is conflated here with globalism, intellect, sophistication and an understanding of the principles of conflict reporting. These values are set in contrast to ‘Iran’, a place plagued by ‘religious or social conflicts’ but lacking any organic culture of citizen journalism through which to report on these conflicts. This entirely overlooks the fact that cultures of citizen journalism tend to blossom most significantly outside the West, and in places subject to censorship and limited freedom of information. Through this racialised lens, the mission to ‘unveil opportunities of hope’ comes to resemble other aggressive acts of ‘unveiling’ justified by Western actors in the language of ‘liberation and hope.’

The filmmaking team viewed their project as ‘giving a gift of hope to the people that we encountered.’[124] This consolidates the filmmakers’ power over the refugee-participants, by forcing the refugees into mandatory relationships of gratitude and reciprocity. Derrida considers gift-giving to be an act of self-construction. He argues that the giving party ‘seek[s] through the gesture of the gift to constitute its own unity and, precisely, to get its own identity recognized.’[125] The act of ‘giving a gift of hope’ to refugees paints the filmmakers in ‘the gratifying image of goodness or generosity, of the giving-being who, knowing itself to be such, recognizes itself in a circular, specular fashion, in a sort of auto-recognition, self-approval, and narcissistic gratitude.’[126] It is precisely in order to prevent such self-consolidating acts of gift-giving that Kapoor argues for hyper-self-reflexivity in the development sector. Kapoor champions ‘radically self-reflexive fieldwork’ in order to combat what he calls ‘the sado-narcissistic pleasures of the gift.’[127]

[124] Bodon et al., 18.
[125] Jacques Derrida, *Given Time. I, Counterfeit Money*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 11.
[126] Derrida, 23.
[127] Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*, 148, 90.

The idea of giving 'a gift of hope' to refugees also reflects the explicitly *economic* way in which Bodon's filmmaking team approach the concept of hope in the Jungle. They consider that, '[i]n order to follow Freire's pedagogical model of hope, it is important to understand how the refugees lost their hope during their journey to freedom.'[128] In order to counteract 'the progression of the loss of hope from one refugee camp to another from east to west,' they show two refugees a video that 'brought them tears and a high level of hope.'[129] Hope is treated here as an instrumental, objectively measurable and quantifiable substance prone to losses and gains, that can be administered, measured and documented in levels. This reflects Cox's assertion that hope has become 'an emotional commodity' in refugee communications, with its own 'representational use-value.'[130] The filmmakers' claim that 'hope could be obtained through the intercultural and interpersonal dialogue between refugees and others outside of the *Jungle* community'[131] reinforces the sense of hope as an economic unit to be given, received, transferred, generated, exchanged and *obtained*.

Ahmed's 'theory of emotion as economy' sheds light upon the transactional nature of 'refugee hope.'[132] Ahmed argues that 'affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity, but is produced only as an effect of its circulation.'[133] The circulation of affect, she argues, mediates the relationships that individuals have with state structures and institutions, and with the people around them. In refugee representations, hope travels between differently situated subjects as an emotional currency. Hope is not a 'psychological disposition' in refugee rhetoric so much

[128] Bodon et al., "Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes," 19–20.
[129] Bodon et al., 19, 18.
[130] Cox, "Victimhood, Hope and the Refugee Narrative: Affective Dialectics in Magnet Theatre's 'Every Year, Every Day, I Am Walking,'" 128.
[131] Bodon and Votteler, "The Pedagogical Needs of Children and Adults Living in the Calais Jungle Refugee Camp: Existential Issues and Perspectives of Volunteer Teachers and Workers," 126.
[132] Sara Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 120.
[133] Ahmed, 120.

as a psychosocial force for structuring social relationships.[134] While Ahmed considers how love and hate have been 'crucial to the delineation of the bodies of individual subjects and the body of the nation,'[135] it was hope that represented the dominant affective force in the Jungle. It was hope that inducted refugee subjects in Calais into relationships of emotional exchange with European nations and their citizens.

To understand how hope circulates amongst refugees and citizens as a form of capital, we can consider Ahmed's theory of affective economies alongside Hage's account of the social distribution of hope. Hage argues that 'all collective national identities work as a mechanism for the distribution of hope.'[136] He distinguishes between the 'caring' society, which 'generates hope among its citizens,' and the 'defensive' society, which 'suffers from a scarcity of hope.[137] Hage argues that 'the shrinking capacity of the nation-state to distribute hope'[138] has led citizens to form narcissistic, paranoid attachments to their own national identities. Citizens display paranoid forms of nationalism when they 'project the fear that is inherent in the fragility of their relationship with their own nation onto everything classified as alien.'[139] A society characterised by paranoid nationalism thus shows a 'generalised unwillingness and inability to offer hope to […] refugee claimants.'[140]

For Hage, hope underwrites the asylum politics of hospitality. '[W]hen it comes to discussing hospitality towards asylum seekers,' he argues, what we are really talking about is 'the availability, the circulation and the exchange of hope.'[141] To extend hospitality to refugees,

[134] Ahmed, 119.
[135] Ahmed, 117.
[136] Hage, 13, 15.
[137] Hage, 3.
[138] Hage, 3.
[139] Hage, 21.
[140] Hage, 3.
[141] Hage, 9. *Emphasis removed.*

Hage argues, a host society must already be producing a 'surplus of hope.' This makes surplus hope 'the precondition of all forms of hospitality.'[142] Hospitality and hope can be extended to asylum seekers only if there is already enough hope within a nation to go around, because 'to be able to give hope one has to have it.'[143]

In Hage's account of hope and hospitality, hope only travels in one direction: from the centre to the periphery, and from the citizen to the asylum seeker. The refugee is reliant upon the citizens of the host nation to extend the hand of hope. In the 'refugee storytelling' encounter, however, the balance of hope tips in the opposite direction. The affective economy of hope described by Hage is inverted in the Calais context, as refugees do not wait to *receive* hope from the citizens of host nations, but rather provide an emergency *source* of hope for citizens, allowing them to reinvigorate their relationships with their own national identities, and to affectively reengage with their own governmental and social systems.

This reversal in the circulation of hope is displayed in Hosseini's interactive digital story 'Sea Prayer.'[144] Written in collaboration with the *Guardian* and UNHCR, to commemorate the second anniversary of Alan Kurdi's death, 'Sea Prayer' is a fictional monologue, delivered by a Syrian father to his sleeping son, while they are waiting to cross the sea to Europe. The interview that accompanies 'Sea Prayer' documents '[h]ow Khaled Hosseini finds hope in telling refugees' stories.'[145] As it is Hosseini who 'finds hope' in the storytelling encounter, not

[142] Hage, 17.
[143] Hage, 9.
[144] Khaled Hosseini et al., "Sea Prayer: A 360 Story Inspired by Refugee Alan Kurdi," *The Guardian*, September 1, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/01/sea-prayer-a-360-story-inspired-by-refugee-alan-kurdi-khaled-hosseini.
[145] Carvell Wallace, "How Khaled Hosseini Finds Hope in Telling Refugees' Stories," *The Guardian*, September 2, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/sep/02/how-khaled-hosseini-finds-hope-in-telling-refugees-stories.

the refugees whose stories he is telling, the refugees in this affective transaction supply hope for the citizen-author to consume. The interviewer considers that

> Hosseini's hope, as tempered as it may be, is impressive. It is one thing to feel optimism when seated in a comfortable home in a country not quite at war, but quite another to travel and sit with people who have barely escaped unspeakable darkness, and still feel that a difference, no matter how small, must and can be made.[146]

This claim raises questions about the ownership of hope and the right to feel optimistic. If there *is* hope in unspeakable darkness, is it Hosseini's to feel or not feel? Does he have the 'right' to feel hope in response to the 'refugee crisis'? What is the relationship of Hosseini's hope to the refugees he speaks for? Is Hosseini's hope for the refugees a vote of confidence in their strength and their abilities, or does he hope *for* them, on their behalf, in their place? Does he hope for them because they cannot hope for themselves? Does he enact the hope they cannot enact, like Jacques Rancière's portrait of the humanitarians who inherit the human rights of the marginalised 'in order to enact them in their place'?[147]

3. Hope and Ethics: Stealing Stories

Diagnosing hope *in* a marginalised group, feeling hopeful *for* a marginalised group, or learning hope *from* a marginalised group, are all high-stakes activities.[148] This is never more the case than when the affective economy of hope is used as a tool for distinguishing between 'genuine refugees' and 'illegal migrants'. The distinction between 'refugees' and 'migrants' is often viewed as a bureaucratic matter within academic texts. In his account of 'refugee labelling', for

---

[146] Wallace.

[147] 'If those who suffer inhuman repression are unable to enact the Human Rights that are their last recourse, then somebody else has to inherit their rights in order to enact them in their place.'
Jacques Rancière, "Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man?," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2–3 (2004): 308.

[148] "Podcast : « À Calais, Les Migrants m'ont Appris l'espoir »," *La Croix*, January 21, 2020, https://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Podcast-A-Calais-migrants-mont-appris-lespoir-2020-01-21-1201073053.

example, Roger Zetter argues that 'migrants' are distinguished from 'refugees' through governments' efforts to 'regulate, discriminate and differentiate' between people that cross borders, as part of 'a social compact between the state and its citizens.'[149]

Crawley and Skleparis refer to this as our 'cookie cutter approach' to forced migration, which can only ever 'fail to capture adequately the complex relationship between political, social and economic drivers of migration or their shifting significance for individuals over time and space.'[150] Research studies that engage with the bureaucracy of asylum often highlight failures and inadequacies in migration taxonomies, and offer case studies of individuals or groups that fit into overlapping categories, oscillate between categories, or are demonstrably placed into the 'wrong' category.

Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, however, offer a completely different account of the difference between a 'refugee' and a 'migrant'. For them, the distinction is not bureaucratic, but emotional. They argue that drawing a clear and accurate division between 'migrants' and 'refugees' is not only possible, but necessary, if global refugee response is to be improved. Betts and Collier lament the fact that '[r]efuge has become bound up with a broader, and distracting, discussion about the right to migrate.'[151] Implicitly pushing back against those texts that replace the label 'refugee' with 'forced migrant' or 'irregular migrant', Betts and Collier affirm that

> refugees are not migrants. Although the difference cannot be discerned from the physical act of crossing a border, it is no less real. At its core is the psychological impetus for the decision.

[149] Roger Zetter, "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalisation," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 189, 190, doi:10.1093/jrs/fem011.
[150] Crawley and Skleparis, "Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's Migration Crisis," 51, 48.
[151] Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System* (Penguin Books, 2017), 11.

> Migrants are lured by hope; refugees are fleeing fear. Migrants hope for honeypots; refugees need havens.[152]

This offers an affective formula for distinguishing migrants from refugees. In what is essentially a psychological version of the 'push versus pull factor' argument, Betts and Collier argue that the difference between 'a migrant' and 'a refugee' is, at its core, the difference between feeling hopeful and feeling afraid. A refugee is a person 'driven out by fear,' and a migrant is a person 'lured on by hope.'[153] The distinction is not administrative, but affective, and a person's right to asylum is therefore based on an observational, quantitative diagnosis of how hopeful they feel when they cross the border.

For Betts and Collyer, it is an *absence* of hope that distinguishes 'the refugee' from 'the migrant'. For others, inversely, it is refugees' *overabundance* of hope that differentiates them from migrants. In August 2015, *Al Jazeera* announced that it was replacing the term 'migrant' with 'refugee' in its news reporting, on the basis that

> [i]t is not hundreds of people who drown when a boat goes down in the Mediterranean, nor even hundreds of refugees. It is hundreds of migrants. It is not a person – like you, filled with thoughts and history and hopes – who is on the tracks delaying a train. It is a migrant. A nuisance.[154]

Al Jazeera reasoned that 'migrant', in representational terms, does not refer to 'a person […] filled with […] hopes.' Consequently, they replace 'migrant' with 'refugee', to show that these people are 'like you, filled with […] hopes.' These two opposing formulations of 'refugee hope' demonstrate, once again, the mutability of the concept of hope: for *Al Jazeera*, hope signals naiveté and helplessness in opposition to calculated opportunism, whereas for Betts and Collier, hope *is* calculated opportunism. These contradictory attempts to separate refugees from

[152] Betts and Collier, 37.
[153] Betts and Collier, 39.
[154] Malone, "Why Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants.'"

migrants through quantitative scales of hopefulness have transformed the emotionally-charged definitions into competing, self-perpetuating tautologies: if refugees hope and migrants strategize, as in *Al Jazeera's* account, then the people who hope must be the refugees, and the people who strategize must be the migrants. If migrants hope and refugees fear, as in Betts and Collier's account, then those who hope are labelled 'migrants', while those who are frightened are labelled 'refugees'. In these diagnostic constructs, hope has become necessary and sufficient for explaining all irregular cross-border movement.

These accounts illustrate how the definitional boundary between 'the refugee' and 'the migrant' is caught up in the affective economies of empathy, hope and paranoid nationalism. For Bridget Hayden, '[t]he significant factor that distinguishes a refugee from other people who cross borders' is 'the sense of responsibility and either pity or empathy we feel for them.'[155] In other words, refugees can be differentiated from migrants by the emotional transactions that take place between citizens and people who cross borders. Hayden reflects that '"refugee" is fundamentally a category based on empathy and the recognition of responsibility to others' and, as a result, the distinctions we draw between 'genuine refugees' and other categories of border-crossers 'will always tell us more about ourselves […] than anything else.'[156] This is the case in *Al Jazeera*'s article above, which justifies replacing the term 'migrant' with 'refugee' using an imaginative exercise:

> Imagine waking your children in the morning. Imagine feeding and dressing them. Imagine pulling a little girl's hair into a ponytail, arguing with a little boy about which pair of shoes he wants to wear. Now imagine, as you are doing that, you know later today you will strap their vulnerable bodies into enveloping life jackets and take them with you in a rubber dinghy – through waters that have claimed many who have done the same. Think of the story you'd have

[155] Hayden, "What's in a Name? The Nature of the Individual in Refugee Studies," 478.
[156] Hayden, 485.

> to tell to reassure them. Think of trying to make it fun. Consider the emotional strength needed to smile at them and conceal your fear.[157]

Al Jazeera replaces 'migrant' with 'refugee' based upon 'our' capacity to imagine the horror of crossing the sea in a rubber dinghy. Yet if an 'undeserving', 'illegal' economic migrant were to take the same journey with their children, the scenario – and our capacity to imagine it – would be the same. The difference comes, then, in the way that this story is tied to the affective economics that structure relationships between citizens and strangers. *Al Jazeera* does not distinguish between 'a refugee' and 'a migrant' based upon any empirical difference, or even upon the presumption that refugees are to be empathised with, while migrants' suffering is to be rendered illegitimate. Rather, the refugee is distinguished from the migrant at the precise moment that the affective transfer through storytelling takes place.

This means that the refugee's ability to tell hopeful, imaginative and empathy-generating stories has become a requirement of 'refugeeness' itself. The refugee's status *as* refugee is contingent upon the stories they tell, and that are told on their behalf, to the extent that generating 'refugee stories' has become a prerequisite of refugee subjectivity. This helps to explain the sheer quantity of creative projects undertaken in the Jungle in 2015-16, in the mould of Bodon et al.'s above, that aimed to 'give a *voice* to the citizens of the *Calais Jungle*' by recording testimonies and establishing storytelling forums.[158]

The emphasis placed upon refugee storytelling as a precondition of both hope and humanity also explains how 'giving voice' in Calais became, at times, 'a matter of *taking* voice.'[159] For

---

[157] Malone, "Why Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants.'"
[158] Bodon et al., "Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes," 8. *Emphasis in original.*
[159] James Dawes, *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 8. *Emphasis in original.*

some, the unquestioned value of disseminating refugee voices came to justify the retrieval of those voices by any means necessary. This led to some unethical, manipulative, duplicitous and dishonest methods for 'stealing stories' from refugees in the Jungle, such as the use of hidden recording devices to record testimonies.[160] In these cases, the act of 'giving a voice' to refugees evidences Mark Sanders' assertion that 'an inauguration of voice may also be an inauguration or repetition of violence.'[161] While there is insufficient scope here to detail the extent to which these unethical extractions of 'refugee voice' took place in the Jungle, the issue has been approached in other creative and critical texts. Burck and Hughes record that, when speaking to residents of the Jungle, they needed to 'minimise the sense that people had of their stories being "stolen" and bringing them no relief,' because

> [w]e began to hear accounts from camp residents of visitors asking questions and 'stealing their stories' for their own purposes, while nothing changed for them. They had not been enabled to come to Britain, even those who had been told they had a right, and nobody had helped make the camp safer or given them a home.[162]

Threads also demonstrates an awareness of the issue in its account of the Help Refugees warehouse.

---

[160] The idea of 'stealing stories' from marginalised groups is an issue that has been reflected upon in other critical contexts. See:
Eileen Pittaway, Linda Bartolomei, and Richard Hugman, "'Stop Stealing Our Stories': The Ethics of Research with Vulnerable Groups," *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 2, no. 2 (2010): 229–251, https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huq004.
Sherene Razack, "Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses," *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 4 (2007): 375–94.
Dawes, *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity*, 176–77.
Karen McCluskey, "Personal Stories Can Be Powerful but Dangerous," *The World News*, January 27, 2020, https://theworldnews.net/gb-news/personal-stories-can-be-powerful-but-dangerous-karyn-mccluskey.
Ramzy Baroud, "'Activism' and Its Consequences: Syrian Refugees Are Not Subjects for a Social Media Gallery," *Middle East Monitor*, August 29, 2016, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160829-activism-and-its-consequences-syrian-refugees-are-not-subjects-for-a-social-media-gallery/
Rob Pinney, *Photographic Ethics in the Calais 'Jungle'* (UK: Vimeo, 2017), https://vimeo.com/204179148.
[161] Mark Sanders, *Ambiguities of Witnessing: Law and Literature in the Time of a Truth Commission* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), x.
[162] Burck and Hughes, "Challenges and Impossibilities of 'Standing alongside' in an Intolerable Context: Learning from Refugees and Volunteers in the Calais Camp," 235, 229.

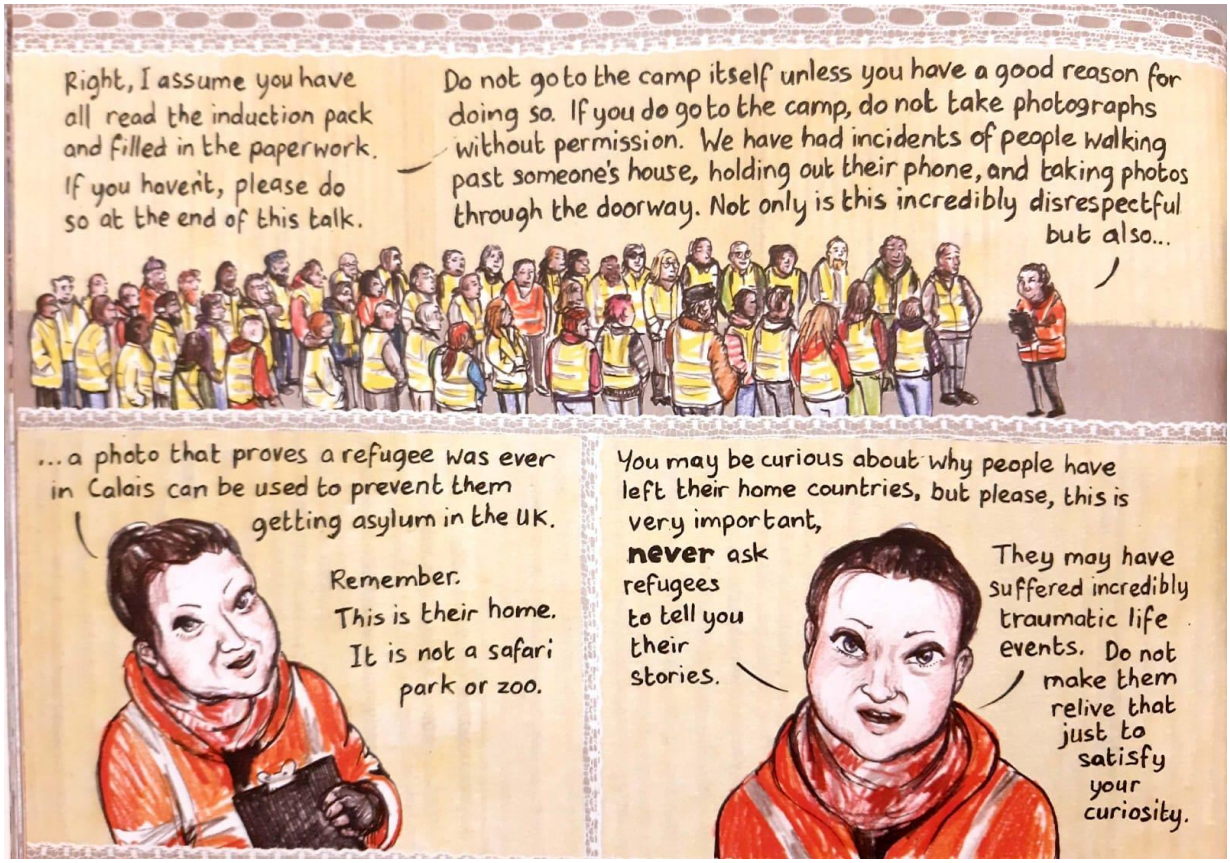


Figure 29: Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, 2017, p.74 (detail)

Mendel also attests to the potential violence of the storytelling event in his recollection that '[t]here were so many cameras coming in; there were no gatekeepers, because it wasn't an official camp, so any photography student, tourist or sympathiser could wander in. The general feeling was that the camera was an enemy of some sort.'[163] Help Refugees now stipulate in their code of conduct that

> [a]ssociates will often come into contact with, or possession of, information and items of a sensitive nature in relation to the lives, identity, and needs of beneficiaries. Such information

[163] Gentleman, "Teddies and Teargas Canisters: What Remained in the Calais Camp."

> must be treated with discretion and never made public, as it could add to the vulnerability and instability of the lives of individuals seeking asylum.[164]

An entrenched assumption that refugees need to tell their stories in order to acquire hope and humanity, combined with a sense of urgency concerning the dissemination of refugees' stories, meant that, for some, the end (retrieving the refugee's voice) came to justify the means (the methods used to retrieve the voice). Under these circumstances, deliberate acts of deception or coercion were perpetrated in the name of 'giving refugees a voice'. Considering this, it is helpful to complicate general assertions that the Jungle's residents 'were willing and eager to talk,'[165] by considering the multi-layered 'demand for narrative' that pervaded the camp. Derrida criticises the sociolegal 'demand for narrative' in his essay 'Living On – Border Lines.' He reflects that

> [w]hat is judiciously called the question-of-narrative covers, with a certain modesty, a demand for narrative, a violent putting-to-the-question, […] in ways that can go from the most archaic police methods to refinements for making (and even letting) one talk that are unsurpassed in neutrality and politeness, that are most respectfully medical, psychiatric, and even psychoanalytic.'[166]

When 'giving a voice' to refugees works 'to force a narrative out of the narrator,'[167] this gesture mirrors the narrative demands imposed upon refugees by the asylum system, and by medical, psychiatric, political and humanitarian institutions. In the context of refugee storytelling, then, it is necessary 'to disrupt or unhinge the demand for narrative' so that the act of 'giving a voice' does not become an 'inquisitorial insistence, an order, a petition' to tell refugee stories.[168]

---

[164] HelpRefugees, "April 2018 Code of Conduct / Avril Code de Conduite - L'Auberge Des Migrants Help Refugees," 2018, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1ZXXwMWu7vmqV0JNHpP-zBAni_j7UgJNjxEr2wql29O4/edit#heading=h.rxb0wcj6gojd.
[165] Kimberly Clair, "Art-Making as Social Justice in Za'atari and Calais," *Peace Review* 29, no. 1 (2017): 44, doi: 10.1080/10402659.2017.1272301.
[166] Jacques Derrida, "Living On - Border Lines," in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, trans. James Hulbert (Oxon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979), 94.
[167] Derrida, 96.
[168] Derrida, 102, 87.

Greater scrutiny of the storytelling imperative in refugee and asylum contexts is necessary to ensure that the invitation to give testimony does not '*demand* the narrative of the other, seek to extort it from him, like a secret-less secret, something that they call the truth about what has taken place: "Tell us exactly what happened."'[169]

The 'demand for narrative' and the act of 'stealing stories' may be significant for reasons beyond those of privacy, consent and representational ethics. Adriana Cavarero argues that '[e]very human being […] is aware of being a *narratable self*.' She reasons that, because 'the narratable self is constitutively related to others,' we rely on the recognition of those around us to reinforce our selfhood.[170] For this reason, she argues, 'the "self" comes to desire the tale of his or her own life-story from the mouth (or pen) of another.'[171] What might this mean for those in Calais who felt manipulated, humiliated or defrauded when they heard their 'narratable identity' told through the mouth of another, when this brought them no measurable benefit?[172]

Cavarero argues that every person 'already comes to us perceptibly as a narratable self with a unique story,'[173] but it is precisely this uniqueness, accessibility and narratability that transformed the refugee's life story into a desirable commodity in Calais. If a person is dependent upon others to reinforce their life-story, as Cavarero argues, then the act of 'stealing stories' would become not only a question of representational ethics, but of relational ethics at the most basic level. In Cavarero's theory of identity construction, the extraction and

[169] Derrida, 87. *Emphasis in original.*
[170] Adriana Cavarero, *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood*, trans. Paul A. Kottman (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 33, xii.
[171] Cavarero, x.
[172] Cavarero, 32–33.
[173] Cavarero, 34.

marketisation of the refugee's life story would impact upon the refugees' experience of their own selfhood and subjectification.

The phenomenon of 'stealing stories' complicates calls for 'refugee storytelling' as an ethical mode of encounter between citizens and refugees. It is unclear that the 'refugee story' can always be extricated from the relations of power that orchestrate its mode of production. Moreover, marginalised subjects are evidently more susceptible than others to having their stories demanded, instrumentalised and stolen. It is the tautological relationship between storytelling, hope and humanity that has so heightened the cultural politics of 'refugee storytelling': while much hope is placed in storytelling as a tool for establishing the refugee's humanity, the perceived humanising function of storytelling is regarded as a source of hope for refugees.

4. The Urban Jungle

The social distribution of hope is crucial for understanding not only the role of storytelling in the Jungle, but also the camp's spatial politics. There are two parallel approaches to representing space in the Jungle, both of which are underpinned by their own affective economies of hopefulness. The first spatial configuration locates the Jungle *within* the contemporary network of global cities, while the second positions the camp *beyond* the borders of nations. Both of these spatial representations centre upon the idea that the Jungle resembled an urban settlement more than it did a traditional refugee camp. Within the affective economies of hope that guide creative configurations of the 'urban Jungle', refugees transfer hope to citizens by making symbolic predictions about the future of European nation-state structures.

Creative texts that emphasise the Jungle's urbanity focus on its businesses with complex financial structures, its restaurants, schools, centres of culture, religion and community, thriving black market, overpopulation and crime. Some even argue – perhaps reductively – that the Jungle was 'just the same as any other city in the world.'[174] There has been little consensus about how *precisely* to characterise the Jungle's urbanity, however. The camp has variously been called a '*bidonville*,' a 'squalid shantytown,' 'the largest shantytown in Europe,' a 'slum of London's making,' a 'government-sanctioned slum,' a 'miniature village' and a 'small town.'[175] It has also been described as a 'mini-metropolis,' a 'cosmopolitan microcosm,' a 'global city,' a 'prototype city in the making,' a 'vibrant city-in-the-making,' a 'world city (*ville monde*),' a '*future ville*,' a 'shining city,' a 'city within a city,' a 'transient city,' and 'a home.'[176]

This emphasis placed upon the Jungle's urbanity is evidenced most clearly in visual representations of the camp. Paintings and illustrations often capture the Jungle's commercial activity, entrepreneurialism, resourcefulness, business acumen, ingenuity, innovation,

---

[174] Jamalulail, *Jungle Boy*, 9.

[175] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 20.
Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, dust cover.
Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 117.
Oli Mould, "The Calais Jungle: A Slum of London's Making," *City* 21, no. 3–4 (2017): 388–404, https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2017.1325231.
Lichfield, "Calais' Migrant Shanty Town to Be Provided with Water and Electricity by French Government."
Jamalulail, *Jungle Boy*, 6.
Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 1, Scene 5.

[176] Ibrahim and Howarth, *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*, 72.
Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 139.
PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," *Calais Mag: Édition Spéciale Avril 2016* (Calais, April 2016), 6, https://www.perou-paris.org/pdf/Actions/CALAIS_16_mag_anglais_ONLINE.pdf.
Oliver Wainwright, "We Built This City: How the Refugees of Calais Became the Camp's Architects," *The Guardian*, June 8, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jun/08/refugees-calais-jungle-camp-architecture-festival-barbican.
Sanyal, "Calais's 'Jungle': Refugees, Biopolitics, and the Arts of Resistance," 23.
"Calais, Atlas d'une Ville Monde," Actes & Cités, 2016, https://www.actesetcites.org/jungle.
Cyrille Hanappe, "Calais : La «jungle», Future Ville ?," *Libération*, September 8, 2015, https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/09/08/calais-la-jungle-future-ville_1378304.
Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 223.
Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, dust cover.
PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 22.
Rosello, "The Calais Jungle: Mediations of Home," 102.

community organisation and cultural expression.[177] Photojournalists have been particularly concerned with depicting the ways that the Jungle as a spatial formation fits into the urban landscape of Calais as a whole.[178] The array of participatory photography projects that took place in the Jungle also home in on agentive scenes of city life. The collections of photographs generated by 'Jungleye', 'Welcome to our Jungle', 'Humans of Calais' and the 'Refugee Info Bus Citizen Journalism initiative' all capture a sense of the camp's drive for economic and social liberty.[179]

These visual accounts of the Jungle demonstrate a concerted effort to challenge not only negative conceptions of refugees as weak and passive, but also negative conceptions of visual art as a tool for making refugees seem weak and passive. By replacing scenes of suffering with economic and architectural innovation, the urban aesthetics of these paintings and photographs directly challenge those stereotypes of crisis photography and portraiture as disempowering and voyeuristic.

---

[177] Artists and illustrators who follow this model include:
Louise Druelle, "Jungle: Performance Audiovisuelle," Journal de Loup Blaster, accessed February 2, 2020, https://sites.google.com/view/calaisjungle/jungle?authuser=0.
Hannah Kirmes-Daly, "Reportage: Calais Jungle Exhibitions," Hannah Kirmes-Daly, 2018, https://hannahkirmesdaly.com/portfolio/protestimony-a-collective-exhibition-on-the-calais-jungle/.
Alison Raimes, "'We Are All Refugees' 2017-18," Alison A Raimes, 2018, https://www.raimes.com/Portfolio/.
[178] Photojournalists who follow this model include:
Rob Pinney, "The 'Jungle,'" Rob Pinney Photography, accessed January 4, 2020, https://www.robpinney.com/the-jungle-calais.
Chris Barrett, "Calais Migrant Camp," Chris Barrett Photojournalism, 2016, https://www.chrisbarrett.info/calais-migrant-camp.
Henk Wildschut, *Ville de Calais* (Amsterdam: Idea Books, 2018).
[179] "Jungleye Activity Report," issuu, 2017, https://issuu.com/jungleye/docs/170731_jungleye_pr__printing_.
"The 'Jungle,'" Welcome to Our Jungle, accessed July 12, 2018, http://www.welcometoourjungle.com/.
Imane Moustakir, "Refugees in Calais Tell Their Stories through Photography," *France 24*, February 8, 2016, https://observers.france24.com/en/20160802-calais-refugees-tell-stories-through-photography.
Signe Sofie Hansen et al., "Humans of Calais: Migration from the Perspective of Migrants Research Report," issuu, 2016, https://issuu.com/signesofiehansen/docs/humans_of_calais_issuu.



Figure 30: A restaurant in the Jungle. Illustration © Loup Blaster

Academic studies have also focussed on the Jungle's urban characteristics. In *The Jungle: Calais' Camps and Migrants*, Agier et al. employ 'an architectural and town-planning perspective' to draw out similarities between the Jungle and 'a frenetic city in southeast Asia.'[180] The authors provide an extremely detailed account of the Jungle's architectural design, demographics and 'underground economy,' in order to show that '[t]he shantytown was a town' in which '[a]n urban life organized itself.'[181] They assert that 'a town was born' on the outskirts of Calais, 'whose components all followed the same processes as any other town in formation, but at a crazily accelerated pace.'[182] The camp's 'informal urbanization,' they argue, supported

[180] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 12, 64.
[181] Agier et al., 86, 74, 75.
[182] Agier et al., 71.

'a relatively autonomous social, urban and cultural life.'[183] This made possible political actions including demonstrations, court appearances and hunger strikes.

Two other academic initiatives in France also embraced the 'urban Jungle' narrative. These were *Réinventer Calais*, undertaken by PEROU and led by Sébastien Thiéry, and *La Leçon De Calais*, undertaken by ENSAPB as part of the *Actes & Cités* project, and led by Cyrille Hanappe.[184] *Réinventer Calais* was initiated in October 2015, in conjunction with university groups across France, in order '[t]o keep track of what is being invented in Calais, at the fine line between town and slum.'[185] While *La Leçon De Calais* is designed to be an 'atlas of a world city' (*atlas d'une ville monde*), *Réinventer Calais* is envisioned as an 'atlas of a potential city.' PEROU launched its online research forum in April 2016 in response to

> the need to establish a precise census of the constructions and deconstructions, to elaborate a typo-morphological catalogue of the shelters, to account for the multiple and inventive strategies of appropriation of the space, and thus to constitute the memory of a habitat of passage, of an urbanity in perpetual movement.[186]

The mission of *Réinventer Calais* was to identify 'new urban possibilities' from within the Jungle, and to suggest ways in which the camp represented a future urban form – an urbanity-to-come.[187] PEROU was particularly interested in documenting the Jungle's 'suburban

---

[183] Agier et al., 139, 41.

[184] PEROU stands for *Pôle d'Exploration des Ressources Urbaines*. ENSAPB stands for *École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville.*
"New Jungle Delire - Archives," PEROU Paris, 2016, https://perou-paris.org/Archives_actions_calais.html.
Cyrille Hanappe, "La Leçon De Calais," Actes & Cités, 2016, https://www.actesetcites.org/jungle..

[185] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 21.
A 2016 special issue of the journal *Multitudes*, which engages with the topic of the Calais Jungle, also places a strong emphasis upon the camp's urban features. See "Migrants/Habitants : Urbanités En Construction," *Multitudes* 64, no. 3 (2016), https://www.cairn.info/revue-multitudes-2016-3.htm.

[186] "Atlas of a Potential City," PEROU, 2016, www.reinventercalais.org. *Website now unavailable.*

[187] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 21.
Éléonore Bully, "Habiter La Jungle de Calais," *Métropolitiques.Eu*, October 2, 2017, https://www.metropolitiques.eu/Habiter-la-jungle-de-Calais.html.
Sébastien Thiéry, "La Jungle de Calais Est Une Ville-Monde, Une Forme Urbaine à Venir," *Midi:Onze*, April 13, 2016, https://www.midionze.com/2016/04/13/sebastien-thiery-jungle-calais-ville-monde-forme-urbaine/.

typology,' with its '700 small collective houses and about a hundred shops,' from which, they argue, both NGOs and town planners have something to learn.[188]



Figure 31: Réinventer Calais, *Typologie des Abris par Organisations,* PEROU, 2017

[188] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 19.

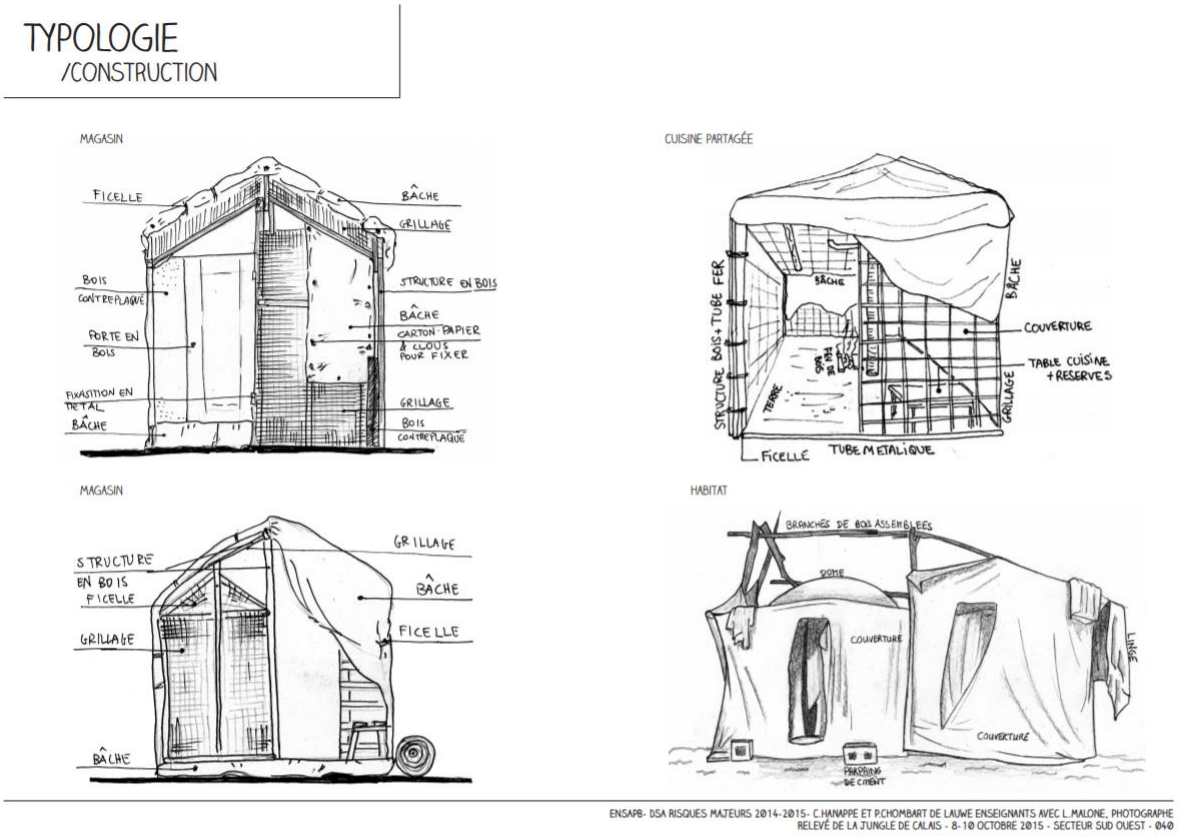


Figure 32: Actes & Cités, *Typologie/Construction – La Leçon de Calais*, ENSAPB, 2016

More recently, in 2019, *Lande: The Calais 'Jungle' and Beyond* presented itself as an explicit alternative to these architectural-anthropological studies.[189] Hicks and Mallet reject the idea that the Jungle was 'a new cosmopolitan urban form.'[190] Instead, they characterise the camp as 'a cosmopolitical border settlement' and 'a monument to national shame.'[191] They regard with 'extreme scepticism' the type of work undertaken by Agier et al., PEROU and ENSAPB, which attempts 'to build typologies of buildings and shelters in refugee camps, in the name of

[189] Although this is not a study of the different perspective taken by French and British groups, a tentative distinction can be made here between the French academic texts that approach the Jungle as an urban landscape, emphasising architecture and innovation, and the British academic texts, that approach the camp as a border settlement, emphasising securitisation technologies and humanitarian responses.
[190] Hicks and Mallet, *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond*, 13.
[191] Hicks and Mallet, 13, 84.

architectural design, or improving living conditions.'[192] Hicks and Mallet consider this another form of dehumanisation. They suggest viewing the Jungle instead 'through the lens of Contemporary Archaeology,' as 'an ecology of hostility and of resistance to violence.'[193]

Although they position themselves in opposition to one another, Hicks and Mallet's 'borderline archaeology'[194] and Agier et al.'s 'architectural and town-planning perspective' share more similarities than differences. Both methodological approaches intend to guide the research narrative away from the exceptional extraterritoriality of a refugee camp, and towards the integrated interiority of a geopolitical landscape. Both methods present the Jungle as something other than a stereotypical refugee camp and, by doing so, attempt to encode its residents as something other than stereotypical refugees.[195] The projects also share a political impetus, in their efforts to open up alternative aesthetic, theoretical and practical pathways for refugee solidarity.

Both theoretical approaches find reason to characterise the Jungle as a site of 'utopian resistance.'[196] While *Réinventer Calais* and *La Leçon De Calais* identify the camp's utopian potential in its figuration as an 'urban prototype, prophecy, or site for some tautological "future heritage,"' *Lande* points to the Jungle's 'endurance against precarity' as its source of utopian resistance.[197] Hicks and Mallet describe 'endurance against precarity' as 'the making of artwork' which produces 'counter-materials against the border.'[198] They go so far as to argue

[192] Hicks and Mallet, 44.
[193] Hicks and Mallet, vi, 12.
[194] Hicks and Mallet, 1.
[195] Hicks and Mallet, 14.
[196] Hicks and Mallet, 68.
[197] Hicks and Mallet, 45, 81, 46.
[198] Hicks and Mallet, 72.

that '[e]ach example of collecting, making, photographing, posting online, drawing, painting [and] keeping' is to some extent 'an exercise in redrawing the UK border.'[199]



Figure 33: Artefacts displayed as part of *Lande: The Calais 'Jungle' and Beyond*. Pitt Rivers Museum, 2019, author's photographs.

These anthropological and archaeological research studies, alongside the paintings and photographs of civic and commercial activity in the camp, contribute to the Jungle's performative politics of urbanity. Reflecting upon the 'politics of performing the urban' in the Jungle, Caroline Koegler argues that representations of the Jungle's 'thriving urbanism and community life' are strategically designed to make the Jungle's residents seem 'worthy of a liveable humanity.'[200] Like the cartographic projects undertaken in the camp by Mapfugees, Design Unlikely Futures and Calais Builds, creative and critical representations of the 'urban

[199] Hicks and Mallet, 84.
[200] Caroline Koegler, "Precarious Urbanity: 'The Jungle' (Calais) and the Politics of Performing the Urban," *Postcolonial Text* 12, no. 3 & 4 (2017): 1, 8, https://www.postcolonial.org/index.php/pct/article/viewFile/2309/2125.

Jungle' are performances designed to legitimise the camp and its residents by inscribing 'camp space' into national space and public consciousness.[201]

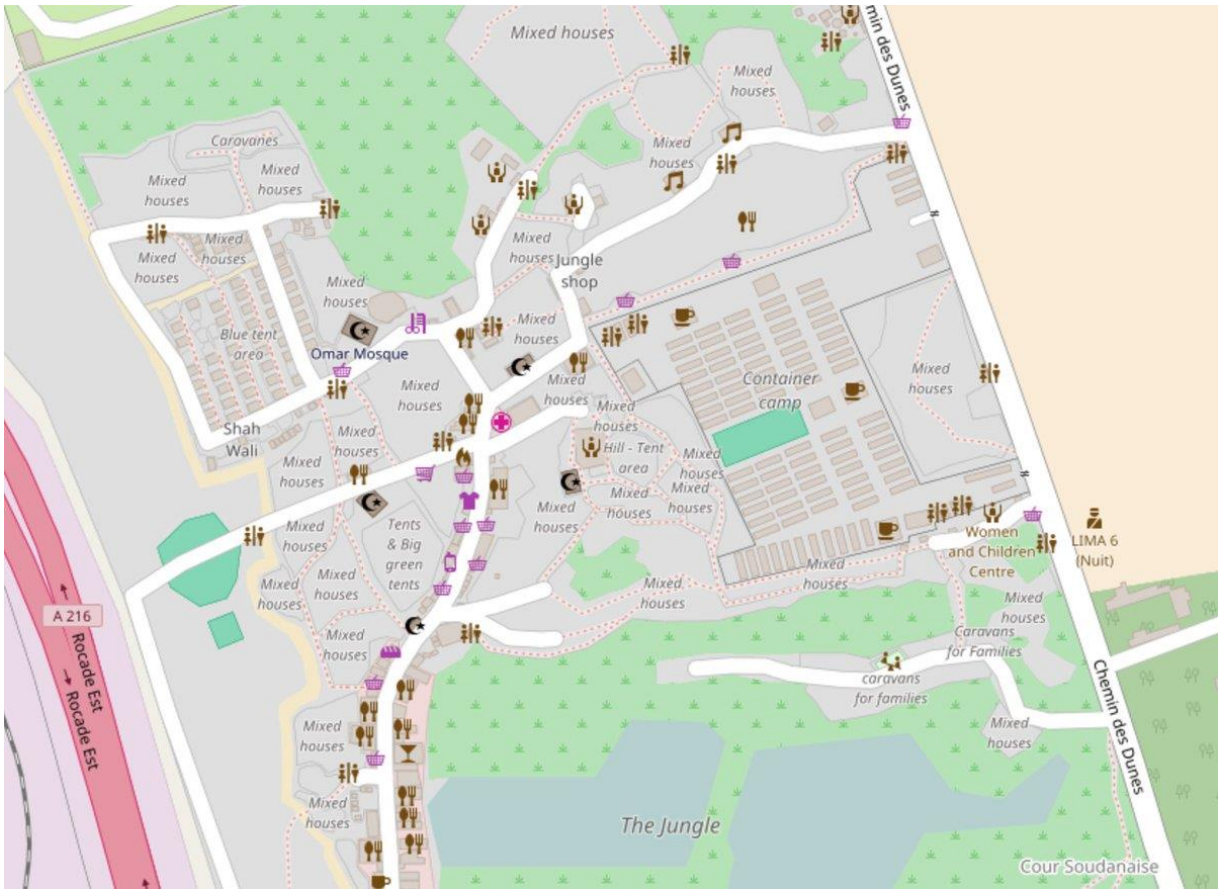


Figure 34: Mapfugees, interactive map of the Jungle created on OpenStreetMap, 2016

These performatively urban representations of the Jungle attempt to expand the concept of a refugee by expanding the concept of a refugee camp. In doing so, they reinscribe the Jungle's

[201] "Why Map Refugee Camps?," Mapfugees, 2016, https://mapfugees.wordpress.com/.
"Calais Street-View," Design Unlikely Futures, 2016, http://duf.space/street-view.php.
"Grainne Hassett: The Calais Maps," Irish Museum of Modern Art, 2017, https://imma.ie/whats-on/grainne-hassett-the-calais-maps/.
Hanappe, "La Leçon De Calais."

residents into alternative frameworks of being and belonging in Europe, in accordance with the affective economics of hope.

5. 'Radical Hope' and Spatial Configurations of Affect

Performances of city life in the Jungle induct refugees into Eurocentric narrative frameworks through the circulation of hope. Two different versions of the affective economy of hope underpin two alternative approaches to the 'urban Jungle' narrative. The first is a *radical hope* that positions the Jungle *beyond* European national structures; the second is an *assimilationist hope* that positions the Jungle *within* European national structures. Both of these economies of hope are exemplified in Murphy and Robertson's play *The Jungle*, alongside the now-familiar conjunction of hope, humanity and storytelling.

Audience engagement with *The Jungle* is channelled through affective circuits of hopefulness. Marketing material for *The Jungle* invites audiences to '[j]oin the hopeful, resilient residents of the "Jungle,"' who share 'unimaginable stories of hope against all odds.'[202] Reviewers describe the play as a 'tribute to hope and resourcefulness' and a 'brimful of hope, humour and humanity.'[203] Good Chance Theatre is also heavily invested in the idea of creating and spreading hope amongst refugees; their performances that took place in the geodesic dome in the Jungle were called 'Hope Shows'.[204] Following the demolition of the Jungle, Good Chance Theatre went on to devise and perform their 'Hope Shows' at locations around Paris from 2017 to

[202] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, back cover.
[203] Henry Hitchings, "The Jungle Review: Courageous Show Is a Tribute to Hope and a Sobering Reminder," *Evening Standard*, July 6, 2018, https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/theatre/the-jungle-review-courageous-show-is-a-tribute-to-hope-and-a-sobering-reminder-a3880791.html.
John Nathan, "Review: Jungle," *Metro*, December 19, 2017, https://www.metro.news/review-jungle/865030/.
[204] "Good Chance Calais," Good Chance Theatre, 2016, https://www.goodchance.org.uk/calais.

2019.[205] Cate Blanchett (UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador) praises Good Chance's 'theatres of hope' for offering 'a way to foster hope and connect with our common humanity.'[206]



Figure 35: Poster for Good Chance Theatre's *Hope Show* in Paris, November 2018

[205] "Good Chance Paris," Good Chance Theatre, 2019, https://www.goodchance.org.uk/paris-summer-2019.
[206] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, back cover.

Within the narrative of *The Jungle*, the volunteer-character Derek is the mouthpiece for the affective economy of *radical* hope. Derek views the space of the Jungle as an opportunity to build Britain anew; he claims that

> [t]he paradox at the heart of the Jungle is that the refugees are running in one direction and the volunteers are running in another. We have met here, in this middle ground, but we are running towards the same thing! We're building an image of Britain that doesn't exist! That's never existed! Certainly not in Britain. It exists in our dreams only. But I see the beginnings of it in this place. With time, it could exist here.[207]

Derek is the only volunteer-character in *The Jungle* who is not 'running away' from anything. Rather, he is 'running towards […] [c]ommunity,' chasing things 'that have disappeared in Britain.'[208] On arrival in the Jungle, he declares that he has 'been on a path here my entire life,' and expresses his desire that the Jungle blossom into a global city like 'Jerusalem. Athens. Alexandria. London.'[209] A similar sentiment is expressed in *The Play About Calais*. For the playwright, going to Calais 'seemed the beginning of a kind of hope, of adventure.'[210] The playwright considers whether the volunteer warehouse might contain 'the real Europe, the real European Union? Outside of the law or the state or the market, flinging its bodies between the fascists and the migrants, serving those who sleep out under the stars in the Jungle.'[211]

These optimistic expressions typify refugee narratives that position the Jungle as a symbol of resistance, a site of protest against neoliberalism, global capitalism and violent borders, 'a metonym for […] a Europe of solidarity, more open to others and the world.'[212] The spatialisation of the Jungle through the affective economy of radical hope is also reflected in the '*édition spéciale*' of 'Calais Mag' – PEROU's parody version of Calais' monthly magazine,

[207] Murphy and Robertson, 102–3.
[208] Murphy and Robertson, 45.
[209] Murphy and Robertson, 39, 103.
[210] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 2, Scene 6.
[211] Waters, Act 4, Scene 1.
[212] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 8–9.

distributed around the town in April 2016. 'Calais Mag' opens with an 'editorial not written by Natacha Bouchart, Mayor of Calais.'[213] In this editorial, not-Bouchart cancels the demolition of the Jungle. She admits that '[i]f we demolish the Jungle now, an extraordinary globalised, generous and active town will be erased.' She calls upon

> all inventors, architects and town planners to come and help our city become a 21st century utopia, an avant-garde of the world. We are on the threshold of a tremendous rebirth. I am asking you to join me and actively take part in this process. Together we will make miracles, together we will reinvent Calais![214]

Through the affective economy of radical hope, the urban Jungle is positioned psycho-spatially beyond the bordered divisions of Europe, as the augur of a utopian futurity. In the above examples, the Jungle contains a seed of alterity, the key to an alternative European future that challenges the parochial borders of nation-state structures. The defiant spatiality of the Jungle subverts the hierarchical organisation of European states constructed upon visas, passports and planning permissions. In these narratives, the lawless marginality of the camp, which led to such violence and fear, also constitutes a miraculous rebirth. The topographical performance of these radically hopeful accounts redefines Jungle residents not as quasi-human, but as citizens of a quasi-utopian global city.

Through the affective economy of radical hope, the refugee figure offers those European citizens who are looking for it the hope of regaining a sense of community lost to hyper-individualism, competitive consumerism, the social media age and the austerity-driven gutting of public institutions. Refugees are positioned in these radical hope-narratives as anti-nationalist warriors, teaching European citizens how to construct political structures of protest, and how to live 'otherwise'. When the Jungle is conceived in this way, as a place that inspires

[213] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 5.
[214] PEROU, 5–6.

hope in disillusioned, left-leaning European citizens, the camp is transformed into a piece of highly complex performance art, 'a place of politics in a Europe already losing its bearings and seeking new mobilizing symbols.'[215] In turn, the refugees in the Jungle become elaborate political performance artists. Their very existence becomes a sign of protest against the states that have shunned and ignored them, reflecting the tendency to 'deploy the refugee figure as a symbolic weapon in the war against injustice.'[216]

These refugee performance artists 'give the gift of hope' to disaffected European citizens through the transgressive communality that they display, outside of and in opposition to contemporary systems for apportioning rights and granting citizenship. The refugees in this radical imaginary represent a (however faint) hope that passionate grassroots movements *could* transform Europe, and that the political train racing towards intolerance, exploitation and environmental degradation *might* be thrown off course. The influence of the affective economy of radical hope can be identified in the ways that certain aspects of 'Jungle life' have been heightened, while others have been suppressed, by creative and critical accounts of the camp. It helps to explain the overemphasis placed upon the camp's nascent democratic institutions, for example.

Weekly meetings were held in the Jungle between volunteers and community leaders, who represented their national or ethnic group in discussions with aid organisations and the French authorities.[217] The significance of these community meetings is often overstated in accounts of the Jungle, however. The meetings did not develop organically; they were coordinated by the French organisation ACTED. Many people moving through the camp would have been unaware

[215] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 141.
[216] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 108.
[217] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 92.

that these meetings ever took place, or that they were being represented there by a community leader. In some cases, the community leader was known, but their authority was not recognised or respected. Often, it was religious leaders that were considered authority figures in the camp, rather than community leaders.

It is possible that the camp's democratic institutions were foregrounded and the role of religion downplayed in this way, because this is what European citizens *hoped to find* in the Jungle. The overemphasis on democracy, resistance and civil solidarity in the Jungle reflects a desire to transform the memory of the Jungle into a symbolic anti-capitalist, anti-nationalist and anti-colonialist protest. The hope that suffuses narratives about the Jungle is not (only) the refugee's hope of arriving in Britain, but the wild hope that the Britain that 'exists in our dreams only' may be willed into reality at the frontiers of the nation. We must take care, however, that as the history of the Jungle evolves, the camp is not glorified as a source of radical hope at the expense of historical accuracy.

The radical hope that Derek identifies in *The Jungle* positions the camp spatially at the centre of a radically new political formation, one that is carving out a space for itself at the margins of nations. However, this affective economy and its geopolitical mapping are not endorsed by the narrative of *The Jungle* itself. Derek is alone in visualising the urban landscape of the Jungle as a utopian 'town of hope', and his petition to change the camp's name to 'Hope Town' is met with bemusement:

> Derek: […] The name of this place, our temporary home. It does not feel like a jungle to me.
>
> Maz: Jungle for animals, not for humans!
>
> Derek: Yes, it's a town. A thriving, bubbling town. A town of hope. So I want to propose we change it. A new name!

Cheers

A more fitting name!

Cheers

Hope Town!

Silence.[218]

This silence in *The Jungle* returns us to the question of directionality, of who *feels* hopeful within the affective economy of radical refugee hope. While Derek views the camp as a blueprint of possibility, the refugees view it as a dystopia to be endured. The 'excitement of the Calais Jungle' for the 'hundreds of volunteers and activists' who 'converged' there was not shared by those who could not wait to leave.[219] Some refugees, including those who had fled their countries due to their political affiliations, had little desire to be recognised elsewhere as anarchists or anti-nationalist protestors. Moreover, people seeking asylum are uniquely dependent upon the nation-state as a political construct. As Woolley argues, 'the nation-state remains an important conceptual and material entity in relation to both the creation and the protection of refugees.'[220]

As in Hosseini's hopeful storytelling encounter described above, the '*silence*' in *The Jungle* indicates that 'refugee hope' refers to an emotion felt by those who come into contact with refugees, rather than an emotion felt by refugees themselves. When the Jungle is positioned as the site of a political performance, and attempts are made to cultivate hope in the petri dish of the borderland, then the affective transfer of 'refugee hope' is primarily a tool for concealing citizens' insecurities and counteracting paranoid nationalism. However, in order to transmit radical 'refugee hope' to European citizens, asylum seekers must remain in their unstable

[218] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 50–51.
[219] Agier et al., *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, 94.
[220] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 13.

position outside of the polis as signposts of an alternative interstitial trajectory. This reflects Imogen Tyler's argument that 'purportedly radical theoretical accounts' of asylum seeking can lead to a 'violent foreclosure' of the refugee subject, when 'attempts to take a stand "against" state violence' end up 'construct[ing] the imagined "victims" of that violence as narcissistic figures of "our own" political hope.'[221]

Derek identifies a radical hopefulness in the Jungle. He views the refugee as a central cog in the mechanism for imagining a new, alternative system of global governance. Yet when refugees become mechanisms for the transfer of hope, they also become vulnerable to its disappointment in a disproportionate way. Derek fails to distinguish lived reality from humanist metaphor, statelessness from voluntary exile, and reluctant refugees from mythical heroes. By making the refugee a marker of the disruption of the nation, his radical hope reifies the condition of displacement into an inescapably marginal subjectivity, around which borders of identification begin to solidify.

6. 'Assimilationist Hope' and Paranoid Nationalism

Derek's idealistic, radical hope is at odds with the overall narrative of *The Jungle*, which endorses a more modest, assimilationist model of 'refugee hope'. *The Jungle* presents *la lande* as a place undergoing a highly concrete and predictable process of development and expansion, in the same way that towns and cities have always developed and expanded. An excerpt from A. A. Gill's *Sunday Times* review of 'a refugee camp café in Calais' prefaces the published script of *The Jungle*. In it, Gill writes that

[221] Imogen Tyler, "'Welcome to Britain': The Cultural Politics of Asylum," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 199, doi: 10.1177/1367549406063163.

> despite the best intentions, the Jungle is beginning to become a place, with churches and theatres and art and restaurants. It is germinating into that collective home. But then, isn't this how all places once began? With refugees stopping at a river, a beach, a crossroads, and saying, we'll just pause here for a bit. Put on the kettle, kill a chicken.[222]

This open-ended question inserts the Jungle into an uncanny history of urban development: a familiar process of discovery, settlement, construction, urbanisation, economic expansion and community-building. Gill's musings are reframed in the play by Safi, who asks

> [w]hen does a place become a place? By November in the Jungle I could walk from Sudan through Palestine and Syria, pop into a Pakistani café on Oxford Street near Egypt, buy new shoes from the marketplace, Belgian cigarettes from an Iraqi corner shop, through Somalia, hot naan from the Kurdish baker, […] before arriving at Salar's restaurant in Afghanistan. When does a place become home?[223]

Safi's reflection upon the urban development of the camp ties the affective economy of assimilationist hope into the Jungle's market economy, its entrepreneurial spirit and the success of its start-up businesses. Safi depicts the grand opening of Salar's restaurant as a symbol of hope against a background of suffering:

> Safi: […] More and more people arrive, making journeys across the terrible sea. Walking through Europe, like we did, with our phones, to safety. To our dreams. Yes, Zhangal is unclean. […] Yes, you see children play in European mud.
>
> *Residents from many nationalities start to arrive at Salar's restaurant.*
>
> But more. More hope than you have seen in all lifetimes. More people of heart and song than you have ever heard. When you do not have enough of anything, you make from nothing.
>
> Salar: My restaurant is open!
>
> Norullah: My restaurant!
>
> Salar: The Afghan Flag. A traditional Afghan restaurant, serving traditional Afghan food.
>
> *Afghan music and dance commences.*
>
> Safi: Great is the hope that makes man cross border.

[222] Gill, "Table Talk: AA Gill Reviews a Refugee Camp Cafe in Calais's The Jungle."
[223] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 67–68.

All: Yayayayayayayayayaya![224]

The opening of Salar's restaurant is a concrete encapsulation of an excessive and elastic force – of 'the hope that makes man cross borders.' But unlike Derek's utopian dreamscape, Safi's hope is sanctioned by the other characters in the play. In the finale of *The Jungle*, Safi's account of the demolition of the 'Afghan Flag' restaurant is similarly guided by hope. Safi expresses his desire to construct an alternative, hopeful history of the restaurant and the camp, in defiance of the violent, crushing reality:

> In this story, in my head, this restaurant is saved. It is a story of great hope because it has to be. Looking back, there is no other way. This restaurant, in this moment, is Afghanistan. And the people inside it […] held hands to defend it. They believed in it. Great is the hope that makes man cross borders. Great is the hope that keeps us alive.[225]

Safi's narrative rewrites obliteration as optimism: 'it is a story of great hope because it has to be.' This is precisely the issue at hand: why does a refugee story *have to be* a story of great hope? Safi identifies hope in the success of Salar's restaurant – a restaurant that was 'really many restaurants. Cafés, shops, places,'[226] a metonymic device standing in for all of the Jungle's entrepreneurial endeavours. Where Derek's utopian, radical hope pushed the Jungle beyond European space, Safi's assimilationist hope recuperates the Jungle from its liminal position at the 'edge' of Europe, retrieving it from between the cracks of nations. This assimilationist hope incorporates refugee subjects into established nation-state structures and institutions. It folds the camp back into European sociopolitical space by depicting it in *economic* terms as just another city, whose residents are intent on making a living via innovative business endeavours.

[224] Murphy and Robertson, 36.
[225] Murphy and Robertson, 125.
[226] Murphy and Robertson, 125.

The affective economy of assimilationist hope that Safi traces through the camp's urban landscape does not set the foundations for a futuristic utopian dreamscape. 'Hope' within this alternative affective configuration is far more modest: it is not the hope of a radically different future-to-come beyond nation-state structures. It is simply the hope needed to remain resourceful and resilient in the face of immense hardship. It is the opportunity to provide for oneself, to make a profit, to open a business, to be enterprising, and to live in a way that approximates (or mimics more closely) daily life in any diverse and developing city. This economically driven hope reflects the claim made by Anthony Woodley, director of the 2019 film *The Flood*, that a person in Calas trying to reach the UK is 'the very definition of entrepreneur.'[227]

The affective economy of assimilationist hope positions the Jungle as a global city, poised not to disrupt, but to augment, the free flow of goods and capital across borders. The Jungle is not an elaborate piece of performance art launching an attack on neoliberalism, but a place essentially compatible with it. Chapter Four argued that the Jungle became imbricated in international networks of capital and exchange through its nascent tourism industry. The restaurants and other commercial enterprises in the Jungle inducted the camp into economic relationships with European cities through the politics of palatability – the neoliberal political economy of incorporating otherness.

When we return once again to the question of directionality – of who *feels* hope within this affective structure – it seems that the affective economy of assimilationist hope *also* works to

[227] Stuart Wright, "The Flood Dir. Anthony Woodley," Britflicks Podcast, 2019, https://soundcloud.com/stuart-wright-3/the-flood-dir-anthony-woodley.
Liam Kelly, "Why Refugees Love Being Entrepreneurs," *The Times*, July 21, 2019, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/why-refugees-love-being-entrepreneurs-tgb2qckhd.

siphon off refugees' hope, and channel it, via the politics of palatability, into a renewed hope in the European economy per se. As Pedwell highlights, 'hope can function as a technology of control and regulation, working to sustain affective attachment to dominant social and economic forms and structures in the context of neoliberal governmentality.'[228] Representations of the resilience of the entrepreneurial refugee function simultaneously as representations of the resilience of neoliberal market capitalism; the nation's others can *only hope* to be inducted into the economic and political circuits that define belonging within the nation.

Hage argues that the 'capacity to distribute hope in the midst of massive social inequality has been the secret of the nation-state's enduring ability to sustain capitalist accumulation.'[229] The refugee's assimilationist, capitalist hope is thus a tool for bolstering the citizen's hope in a strong, resilient economy benefitting from migrant labour. Narrative representations of the hope that refugees identify in tax-free, lasseiz-faire business models – '[m]ore hope than you have seen in all lifetimes'[230] – reinforce the neoliberal market economy as one that not only works, but that is capable of accommodating even the most peripheral of consuming subjects – subjects that have fallen beyond the pale of all other institutions: national and international law, human rights, social contracts and humanitarian aid. By reincorporating the refugee subject in this way, 'structural legacies of injustice associated with gender, race, sexuality, class and nation' risk being 'simply washed away by a neoliberal tide of hope.'[231]

The affective economy of *radical* hope, as envisaged by Derek, constructs the Jungle as a socio-political 'laboratory,'[232] an alternative to the European nation, and a challenge to the neoliberal,

[228] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 63.
[229] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, 14.
[230] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 36.
[231] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 66.
[232] Popoola and Holmes, *Breach*, 117.

statist logic of European sociopolitics and global capitalist hypermodernity. Running parallel to this, the affective economy of *assimilationist* hope, as communicated by Safi, inserts the Jungle into those international structures of commerce and exchange that underpin the relationships between European states. This puts the 'urban Jungle' in a complex spatial position: marginal to the nation, yet aligned with global cities through income, investments and tourism, simultaneously *inside* the network of global cities yet *outside* the borders of nations.

In this symbolic riptide, the refugee figure gets caught between incompatible mythologies of border-crossing, and incompatible visions of European futurity. 'Refugee hope' is a double-edged myth: on the one hand, that Europe has a future, and on the other hand, that it doesn't – at least not in its current form. The form of hope that the refugee-subject inspires in each citizen-spectator depends upon the kind of hope that the citizen has for their own political future: either a radical hope that things are about to change beyond recognition, or a more conservative hope that our current institutions will swallow up change, neutralise difference, and allow things to remain roughly the same. Essentially, the hope that the refugee-subject inspires in the European citizen is flexible and specular: it reflects back upon the citizen the hope that they hope to find beyond the spatiotemporal margins of the nation.

The fact that 'refugee hope' represents two opposing forces reflects the fact that Britain's national narrative is pulling (itself apart) in two different directions: towards globality and towards parochiality. Yet in both its radical and assimilationist forms, 'refugee hope' is recuperated and reincorporated to reinforce aspects of British and European self-identity, and to counteract paranoid nationalism. As Farrier argues, 'the asylum claimant acts as a fetish for the state's own anxious contingency.'[233] 'Refugee hope' is ultimately a way of speaking about

[233] Farrier, *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law*, 168.

Britain's hope for itself, and about Britain's fear for (and of) itself. 'Refugee hope' facilitates a process of future-oriented, narcissistic, affective reattachment to European nationhood. In this way, the refugee figure has become the emotional limit-concept against which nations define themselves and their sociopolitical communities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

'REFUGEE DREAMS' AND THE TIME POLITICS OF HOSPITALITY

7. Hopes and Dream Boats

Refugees are represented as people who follow their dreams, who put their lives on the line chase their dreams, and who will not stop until they reach their dreams. The act of claiming asylum is very often depicted in creative and media accounts less as the exertion of a right, and more as the act of 'dreaming the impossible dream' – of 'risk[ing] all in pursuit of one's most cherished hope or aspiration.'[1] Dreaming sometimes features alongside hoping in refugee discourse as a single quality or entity – 'refugee hopes and dreams' – wherein the 'refugee dream' represents '[a] vision or hope for the future.'[2] At other times, 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming' function as independent ideas relating to different spatiotemporal dimensions. While Chapter Six argued for 'refugee hope' as a spatial concept in asylum discourse, narratives of 'refugee dreaming' exert their influence over the temporal politics of border-crossing.

The collection of life narratives in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* describe the refugee's journey as one fuelled by dreams. Majid left his home after he 'began to dream of a perfect, free life in another country.'[3] He wonders whether he and his companions survived the Mediterranean crossing simply 'because our dreams were so powerful.'[4] On reaching the Macedonian border, he remembers that 'I felt that I was, already, near to reaching my dream.'[5] On arrival in Calais,

[1] "Dream, v.," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed August 12, 2018, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57602.
[2] "Dream, n. and adj.," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed August 12, 2018, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57600.
[3] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 54.
[4] Calais Writers, 78.
[5] Calais Writers, 91.

Babak found that 'most of the people who are living here have dreams of England,' and that 'in small groups, everybody is going the same way, to the boat of dreams or maybe to the train of dreams.'[6] Having witnessed this oneiric exodus, Babak reflects that '[a]ll our dreams work in the same way. First we build them in our head. Then we build walls that are on the way to dreams. But if we don't think about these obstacles, we reach our dreams easily.'[7] Ali, in comparison, describes his compatriots in the Jungle as 'their own hero, for fighting, trying to survive and follow their dreams.'[8] In *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, the act of border-crossing is depicted as an act of dreaming.

The refugee dream-construct, as an essentially optimistic narrative structure, is widely used as an engagement tool by refugee organisations and agencies. The dream-narrative is ideal for encouraging audience participation in advocacy and fundraising schemes because it functions through a semantic field of ideals, goals, ambitions and aspirations. 'The Dream Diaries', for example, is a UNHCR project designed to 'capture the dreams of children who have […] found a better life in Europe.'[9] According to 'The Dream Diaries', refugee children 'leave everything behind […] except their hopes and dreams.'[10] This dream discourse carries over into UNHCR's social media strategy. The UN Refugee Agency posted a video on Instagram in March 2019 of children in Lebanon, waving at the camera. The accompanying caption asks its followers to '[p]ost an emoji in the comments with what you think [their dreams] are.'[11]

[6] Calais Writers, 161, 238.
[7] Calais Writers, 253.
[8] Calais Writers, 259.
[9] "The Dream Diaries," UNHCR, 2018, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/dream-diaries.html.
[10] UNHCR, *The Dream Diaries* (Netherlands: YouTube, 2018), https://youtu.be/l8fQQJrMFNs.
[11] UNHCR(@refugees), "Before Saying Goodbye to Our Refugees Chief, These Kids Told Us Their Dreams," *Instagram Video*, March 9, 2019, https://www.instagram.com/p/BuykLX9gagj/.



Figure 36: UNHCR (@refugees) Instagram Video. Caption and a selection of comments, 9th March 2019

By using 'refugee dreams' as a campaign tool, UNCHR picks up on a strange ludic quality that aligns border crossing with gambling: a shared sense of good luck and bad luck, calculating risks, hedging bets and taking chances. This game of chance is also communicated in *The Jungle*, as Safi declares that '[g]ood chance is the dream,' and the teenage boys jump onto lorries '[f]or UK. For dream.'[12] The gameshow whimsicality of narratives that describe refugees chasing dreams across borders is reflected in the premise of TV shows such as *Smuggled*. Broadcast on Channel 4 in the UK at the end of 2019, *Smuggled* follows eight British citizens as they 'try to smuggle themselves back into Britain without their passports. Will Border Force catch them?'[13] The popularity of border control-based video games such as 'Papers, Please,'[14] launched in 2013, also demonstrate a public fascination with the act of border-crossing, as well as a curious sense that the whole thing is a giant game, a life-or-death version of British Bulldog.

[12] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 28, 113.
[13] "Smuggled," Channel 4, 2019, https://www.channel4.com/programmes/smuggled.
[14] Lucas Pope, "Papers, Please," 3909 LLC, accessed February 4, 2019, https://www.papersplea.se/.

Other artists and activists have criticised the type of refugee dream-sequencing employed by UNHCR, for the way that it perpetuates unrealistic expectations and illusory possibilities attendant on the idea of Europe as dreamland. The 'Dismaland Bemusement Park' represents one such critique.[15] In August 2015, popular graffiti artist Banksy opened an absurd fairground in a disused lido in Weston-super-Mare. A dark, twisted shadow of Disneyland, it focussed on those left behind by the consumerist fantasy of the American dream and its plastic-coated corruption.

'Dismaland' featured the work of 58 artists, and many of its exhibits reference shameful moments in recent British history, including a model of Cinderella lying dead in an upturned carriage being swarmed by paparazzi, and a man in a hazmat suit harvesting carousel horses for his lasagne, in a nod to Tesco's horsemeat scandal. Alongside these grotesque models, a coin-operated sideshow attraction, designed by Banksy, gave visitors to 'Dismaland' the opportunity to drive remote-controlled boats overflowing with asylum seekers around a small stretch of water at the foot of the White Cliffs of Dover, dodging the bodies that lay on the surface, for £1 a go.

[15] Banksy sent the leftover materials at the end of the exhibition to Calais to be turned into shelters. Banksy, "After Dismaland Closed in September 2015 Nothing Was Wasted," Dismaland, 2015, http://dismaland.co.uk/.



Figure 37: Banksy, the *Dream Boats* sideshow attraction is powered by a pay-per-go steering wheel, August-September 2015, © Lee Moran

When not being controlled by visitors, these 'Dream Boats' floated aimlessly around the small pond, with the reflection of the white cliffs rippling in the water around them. Banksy's sideshow attraction communicates that, while refugee dream-narratives might *seem* optimistic and empowering, they leave the refugee with very little control over their own circumstances. Whether a refugee's dreams come true or not is never within the individual's control; there are always unseen and unpredictable hands adjudicating upon the legality of those dreams. Banksy's sideshow reveals 'refugee dreams' to be cheap, disposable, and vulnerable to the whims of whomever takes the wheel. The attraction also indicates that, when Western actors take up the discourse of refugee dreaming, as in the UNHCR example above, there is a degree

of manipulation involved – of playing around with vulnerable lives, tossing them to and fro in a whirlwind of wishes and promises.



Figure 38: Banksy, the *Dream Boats* at 'Dismaland' float around on the water when not being controlled, August-September 2015, © PA

After 'Dismaland' closed, one of Banksy's 'Dream Boats' was raffled off in support of Help Refugees. In an Instagram post at the end of 2018, Banksy announced that 'I'm raffling one of the boats from Dismaland for £2. Fully remote controlled, top speed 3 knots, batteries included. Just guess how much it weighs […] competition closes 22nd December.'[16] The idea that, for £2 a go, the public can guess the weight of a boat filled with asylum seekers, with the winner

[16] Banksy(@banksy), "I'm Raffling One of the Boats from Dismaland for £2 at Www.Choose.Love," *Instagram Photo*, December 1, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/Bq2Zmo9lMmh/.

keeping the boat as a prize, batteries included, seems to be an extension of the political critique driving the original fairground attraction, in which the boats could be manoeuvred for £1 a go.

The 'guess the weight' competition conforms to the dark, cynical idea that refugees' dreams are only as significant, as important, as *weighty*, as we in our careless frivolity imagine them to be. The absurdity of turning the 'Dream Boat' into a commodity, into somebody's Christmas present, is felt in Help Refugees' marketing for the competition, which asks, '[i]s it a darkly satirical work of art or a remote control toy in very bad taste? It might be both. It certainly is unique and it could be yours in time for Christmas.'[17] Considering the nature of Banksy's work, and the context in which the 'Dream Boat' was constructed, it is difficult to imagine that this 'guess the weight' raffle is not a continuation of the ironic performance of the original 'Dismaland' sideshow. No such ironic critique translated to the boat's new location in the Choose Love shop, however. Help Refugees CEO Josie Naughton does not acknowledge any critical irony her interpretation of the 'Dream Boat'. She asserts that

> [t]he human beings we support are at the centre of everything we do, so it feels fitting that this artwork brings their hopes and dreams to the heart of our store. For us, Banksy's 'Dream Boat' speaks of the people we support, and tells the story of their wishes for a better tomorrow.[18]

It is difficult, therefore, to judge the efficacy of Banksy's ironic, post-humanitarian performance. Is it a highly successful social critique in which every person who entered the raffle is implicated? Or is it a failed political stunt on the basis that, for all intents and purposes, the raffle was treated as a straightforward competition without any degree of ironic self-reflection? Was the commoditisation of the 'Dream Boat' a devastating take-down of the

[17] Tara John, "Banksy Is Raffling a Dismaland Refugee Boat for a Good Cause," *CNN*, December 3, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/banksy-dismaland-giveaway-gbr-scli-intl/index.html.
[18] "Banksy Offers Sculpture as Raffle Prize to Help Refugees," *Evening Express*, December 17, 2018, https://www.eveningexpress.co.uk/lifestyle/entertainment/banksy-offers-sculpture-as-raffle-prize-to-help-refugees/.

neoliberal humanitarian industry, or did it simply contribute to reinforcing the industry status quo? These uncertainties exemplify the dangers of post-humanitarian irony as a representational tool: even when deployed as a politicised critique of our engagement with 'distant suffering', this irony risks being neutralised by the affective economy of hopes and dreams – an economy in which we can buy, sell, gift, win, weigh up and raffle off the 'hopes and dreams' of distant and not-so-distant strangers.

8. Distant Dreams and Proximate Paranoia

At the height of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015, Slavoj Žižek made his case for 'the non-existence of Norway.'[19] He sparked controversy with his complaint that Europe's refugee arrivals 'assert their dreams as their unconditional right.' Today's refugees, Žižek argues, consider it 'the duty of Europe to realise their dreams – dreams which, incidentally, are out of reach of most Europeans.' Refugees are not satisfied simply with state protection, Žižek argues, because they are 'possessed by a dream,' an unrealistic ideal, a dream of 'Norway'. He recommends that refugees 'learn to censor their dreams' by recognising that '"there is no Norway," even in Norway.'[20] In Žižek's assessment, the 'refugee dream' signifies an excessive claim made by the refugee upon the European nation-state.

I approach the politics of refugee dreaming in the opposite way. The problem, I argue, is not that refugees consider it 'the duty of Europe to realise their dreams,' but that Europe considers it the duty of refugees to realise *Europe*'s dreams – the dreams that 'Europe' has about itself.

[19] Slavoj Žižek, "The Non-Existence of Norway: Slavoj Žižek on the Refugee Crisis," *London Review of Books*, September 10, 2015, https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v37/n17/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway.
[20] Slavoj Žižek, "Slavoj Žižek: We Can't Address the EU Refugee Crisis Without Confronting Global Capitalism," *In These Times*, September 9, 2015, https://inthesetimes.com/article/slavoj-zizek-european-refugee-crisis-and-global-capitalism.

Refugees who arrive in Europe are required to communicate their asylum claim not in the language of laws, rights and obligations, but under the discursive banner of hoping and dreaming. This is dangerous because, when the refugee's legal claim to state protection is constructed as the refugee's dream, the state's obligation to provide asylum and protect against rights violations becomes mystified and emotionalised as 'refugee dreaming'.

Dreaming is a precarious form of engagement with the world, because it comes with no guarantees and fails to pin down any pathways to recognition. There is always a legitimate possibility that a dream won't come true. This makes the refugee's dream of reaching a place in which their future can be reimagined and reconstructed a slippery and unstable demand, the fulfilment of which can be pushed indefinitely into the future without any fear of repercussions. Through the refugee dream-narrative, the relationship of the asylum seeker to the European nation-state is emptied of political expediency. The aestheticization of its legal obligations permits the host nation to 'incorporate' others: to absorb within itself those that it pushes outside of itself.

'Refugee dreams' are often captured by, or communicated through, the names of places: Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, or in the context of Calais: the UK, Leicester, Manchester, Birmingham, London. When locations are signalled in this way, it is often the mythological resonances of the signifiers – London, Berlin, Malmö – that are invoked, rather than a genuine sense of the places themselves. In the short documentary *Bag Full of Dreams*, for example, which tells the story of 'three Syrian boys armed with nothing but hope and a backpack of dreams' who 'arrived in Calais after months on the run,' one of the boys reflects that 'some

people could say, “Why England? Why not another country?” It’s like asking me why you are dreaming, or why you are even alive. That’s my dream.’[21]



Figure 39: *London My Dream*, Calais, 2016, © Refugee Info Bus/Beatrice Lily Lorigan

In these location-based dream narratives, the signifier (England, London) refers less to a concrete place, and more to a mythical idea of futurity, safety and opportunity. This serves to reinforce the mysterious, mythical aura surrounding these place names within narratives of asylum and displacement. The reciprocal structure of myth and dreaming is exemplified in *Voices from the ‘Jungle’*. Habibi explains, while living in the Jungle, that ‘I dream of England.

[21] Dominic Locher, *Bag Full Of Dreams: A Film by Refugee Residents of the Jungle* (France: Vimeo, 2016), https://vimeo.com/174252404.

I take pictures of the landscape. I use the images to say something about the beauty of England. If you can find a nice place in this jungle, then imagine what England must be like!'[22]

Declarations that a particular country or city is a refugee's 'dream' contribute to what Woolley calls 'the exclusionary myth-making processes of Europe.'[23] Europe's mythology is constructed, Anthony Pagden argues, through 'an elaborate palimpsest of stories, images, resonances, collective memories, invented and carefully nurtured traditions.'[24] According to Woolley, Europe's 'unchanging mythical narratives of land and identity' exert considerable power both over 'those requesting sanctuary and those in a position to withhold it.'[25] By describing Europe as their 'dream,' refugees help to 'construct Europe as hospitable, homogeneous [and] cohesive.'[26] The refugee dream-narrative reinforces those mythic histories that 'continue to act as barriers to refuge for forced migrants' through the 'concretization of national and ideological borders.'[27]

The refugee dream-narrative contributes to the 'homogenizing and totalizing' myths about Europe as a hospitable place, rather than 'problematizing an exclusive notion of Europe by exposing it to a critical, as opposed to mythical, sense of history.'[28] By reinforcing mythical ideas of European hospitality and generosity, the refugee dream-narrative becomes a manifestation of the post-humanitarian mirror gaze. When the refugee is represented as dreaming of Europe, the dream-narrative 'confronts the public it addresses with a mirror of their

[22] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 153.
[23] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 144.
[24] Anthony Pagden, "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent," in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33.
[25] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*. 143.
[26] Woolley. 144.
[27] Woolley, 145.
[28] Woolley, 146, 144.

own world'[29] – or, more precisely, a rose-tinted mirror of their own world that 'others' wish to inhabit. The refugee dream-narrative, in which a mythologised version of European unity is positioned as the 'dream' of 'others', functions to reinforce 'the normative boundaries of a European cultural and political identity.'[30] It functions as a basis upon which European self-legitimacy can be reconstructed.

The post-humanitarian specularity of the refugee dream-narrative is made evident in the ways that positive news stories about refugees envisage Europe as a place of sanctuary not only for refugees themselves, but also for their dreams. Seventy years ago, Arendt recognised that 'in this mad world it is much easier to be accepted as a "great man" than as a human being,' and today, it is widely understood that '[c]ultural initiatives or awareness campaigns self-consciously display refugees as talented and skilled individuals' in order to make them seem – or convince sceptical citizens that they are – desirable and valuable subjects.[31] What is less widely recognised, however, is the way that refugee success stories also serve to make the host nation seem more desirable and valuable, not to the refugees who *already* (within these representational mappings) view the country as 'their dream', but to the citizens of the host nation themselves, who may be less certain.

This casts new light upon positive news coverage of individual talented refugees, such as the mainstream media interest shown in the career trajectory of accomplished illustrator Majid Adin, who won a competition animating the music video for Elton John's classic hit 'Rocket Man', after arriving in the UK via the Calais Jungle.[32] It also sheds new light upon the

[29] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity," 121.
[30] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 144.
[31] Arendt, "'We Refugees,'" 270.
Vanessa Pupavac, "Refugee Advocacy, Traumatic Representations and Political Disenchantment," *Government and Opposition* 43, no. 2 (2008): 272, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2008.00255.x.
[32] "Majid Adin," Good Chance Theatre, 2020, https://www.goodchance.org.uk/ensemble-majid-adin.

international media attention paid to sisters Sarah and Yusra Mardini, who rescued their fellow passengers from a capsizing boat on the way to Europe. When Yusra swam for the refugee team at the 2016 Rio Olympics, solidaristic representations emphasised the fact that she and her colleagues were fulfilling their dreams in Europe.[33] The fact that Yusra's sister was later incarcerated in Athens on people-smuggling charges evidences the conditionality of this precarious dream-status.[34]

Talented musicians are in a similar position: while newspaper reports on the tragic death of Baris Yagzi, a Kurdish musician who 'drowned clutching his violin after trying to reach Europe,'[35] conjure up an image of the orchestra on the Titanic, musicians who survived the journey to Europe are depicted as rediscovering their love of music on the continent. This has

---

Sulaiman Hakemy, "The Refugee Who Smuggled Himself Out of Camps and into 'Rocket Man,'" *Vice*, June 23, 2017, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/newpxd/the-refugee-who-smuggled-himself-out-of-the-camps-and-into-rocket-man.
Matthew Mpoke Bigg, "New Exhibition in Venice Explores the Experience of Refugees," *UNHCR*, May 11, 2019, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2019/5/5cd68f304/new-exhibition-venice-explores-experience-refugees.html.
Andy Oliver, "Myriad Announce Majid Adin's 'Hamid and Shakespeare' – Debut Graphic Novel from Animator and Former Calais Jungle Camp Refugee to Explore the Crisis in 2021," *Broken Frontier*, February 12, 2020, https://www.brokenfrontier.com/majid-adin-hamid-shakespeare-myriad-editions/.
[33] Lin Taylor, "Yusra Mardini, the Refugee Olympian Who Captured Hearts at Rio 2016, to Have Her Story Told in Hollywood Film," *The Independent*, April 26, 2018, https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/olympics/yusra-mardini-2016-rio-olympics-refugee-story-hollywood-film-a8322956.html.
IOC-Media, *Refugee Olympic Team Gave Hope to Millions of Refugees in the World* (Brazil: YouTube, 2016), https://www.olympic.org/ioc-refugee-olympic-team-rio-2016.
"Refugee Olympic Team Swimmer Anis Fulfils His Dream," Olympic Games, 2016, https://www.olympic.org/news/rot-swimmer-anis-fulfils-his-olympic-dream.
[34] Helena Smith, "Syrian Aid Worker Who Swam Refugees to Safety Freed from Greek Jail," *The Guardian*, December 5, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/05/syrian-aid-worker-sarah-mardini-refugees-freed-greece.
[35] Lizzie Dearden, "The Story of the Kurdish Musician Who Drowned Clutching His Violin after Trying to Reach Europe," *The Independent*, May 4, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-boat-sinking-turkey-aegean-baris-yazgi-kurdish-violinist-belgium-musician-story-family-a7718551.html.
UNHCR Report: Josie Le Blond, "Refugee Musicians Hit Right Note with German Orchestra," *UNHCR*, June 26, 2018, http://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2018/6/5afeb9e14/refugee-musicians-hit-right-note-german-orchestra.html.
Natalie Rice, "Syrian Refugee's Guitar Opens Doors to New Life in Belgium," *Reuters*, March 2, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-belgium-musician/syrian-refugees-guitar-opens-doors-to-new-life-in-belgium-idUSKCN1GE286%0A

been the case for Aeham Ahmad, 'the Pianist of Yarmouk', who became famous in Europe as a result of the viral videos and photographs taken by Niraz Saied, who later died in prison.



Figure 40: *The Pianist of Yarmouk*, 2014, © Niraz Saied

After Ahmad won the International Beethoven Prize for Human Rights in 2015, a film entitled 'The Pianist of Yarmouk', documenting his life, was released in 2017, and his memoir of the same name, '[a] true story of hope, love and music,' was published by Penguin Books in March 2019.[36] These media representations emphasise the way that Ahmad's journey to Europe saw him go 'from rubble to record deal.'[37] They focus upon how his musical dreams, stunted in Syria, are allowed to flourish in Europe. In these upbeat tales of talented refugees realising or rediscovering their dreams across the sea, Europe becomes constructed as a place where

[36] Vikram Ahluwalia, *The Pianist of Yarmouk* (United Kingdom: Guernica Projects, 2017), http://thepianistofyarmouk.com/.
Aeham Ahmad, *The Pianist of Yarmouk* (London: Penguin, 2019).
[37] Laura Goehler, "The Pianist of Yarmouk: From Rubble to Record Deal," *CNN*, September 22, 2016, https://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/22/europe/pianist-of-yarmouk-record-deal/index.html.

refugees' dreams come true. Similarly, when the Jungle is described as 'the place where people suffered and dreamed,'[38] the UK is positioned as a place worth dreaming about. The refugee dream-narrative is used as evidence of Europe's continuing position as a bastion of liberal freedoms, sovereignty and individual flourishing. This betrays a certain paranoia surrounding the meaning of Europe, at a time when its violent border practices, growing far-right nationalist movements, and crumbling political union, are undermining its defining mythical values of equality, hospitality and humanism.

Žižek's argument that refugees, as a homogeneous collective, consider it 'the duty of Europe to realise their dreams,' fails to recognise how 'the refugee' has been thrown into the heart of Europe's identity crisis and assigned the task of dreaming dreams of democracy, due process and the white cliffs of Dover, so that British and European citizens can go on believing in them. Refugee dream-narratives propel the 'mythology of hospitality'[39] by persuading citizens of its viability – by dream-washing the collective violence of border regimes and focussing instead on the flourishing talents of individual refugees. Media representations of refugees fulfilling their dreams in Europe assuage Europe's paranoia regarding its diminishing desirability and its decreasing prominence within global dreamscapes.

Refugees' dreams are held up as flattering self-reflections of European values: they are the dreams of those willing to risk their lives for a chance to get what 'we' already have. This creates a self-perpetuating tautology of mythology and dreaming: the myth of Europe is reinforced when refugees' dreams are neutralised and reincorporated into established beliefs about nationhood, liberalism and free market capitalism, rather than becoming untenable and

[38] "The Jungle," 2020.
[39] Gibson, "Accommodating Strangers: British Hospitality and the Asylum Hotel Debate," 367.

irreparably tarnished through the violent reality of deterrence, detention and deportation. Refugees in Europe do not 'assert their dreams as their unconditional right' – rather, the contemporary refugee is subjugated to the myth of Europe through the tautology of their dreams of Europe.

The paranoid, narcissistic strain in representations of 'refugee dreaming' is apprehended by PEROU's *édition spéciale* of 'Calais Mag'. The satirical magazine provides an imaginary transcript of 'what Francois Hollande, Xavier Bertrand and Natacha Bouchart did not say during the meeting with the people of Calais which did not take place.'[40] The French leaders reflect upon how they should have responded to events in 2015-16, 'reinventing' events in Calais by filling official silences with ambitious plans, apologies and alternative histories. In light of the fact that some refugees attempt to reach the UK rather than claiming asylum in France, 'Bertrand' reflects that

> the migrants see England as their last hope. It's a dream to nurture when all they receive here is hostility. […] How do you expect them to want to live in France when all they know here is the thickness of the mud, the weight of the stick, the hate in our eyes? *The shame is ours: we've become totally unwanted.*[41]

France's failure to become 'a dream to nurture' induces the 'shame' of being 'totally unwanted.' This hints at the role played by the refugee subject in Europe's process of paranoid reattachment to itself through the dreams of strangers. Continuing in this vein, not-Hollande declares regretfully that

Tony Kushner, "Meaning Nothing but Good: Ethics, History and Asylum-Seeker Phobia in Britain," *Patterns of Prejudice* 37, no. 3 (2003): 257–76, doi: 10.1080/00313220307593.

[40] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 8.

[41] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 10. *Emphasis added.*

> from the very beginning, we should have welcomed those survivors of the world, celebrate what we have in common and destroy the myth of difference. We should have *seized in them the promise of renewal* and, through joy, silence the shouts of frustration.[42]

The imaginary 'Hollande' extends the idea of seizing promise and potential from Europe's new arrivals by proposing that

> [h]ospitality is not house arrest but it is to help another continue on his way or to help him/her stay, if he/she wants to. And it is also, at the same time, to be open enough to seize some of his/her strength, his skills or his dreams.[43]

This unique definition of hospitality as being open enough to seize another person's dreams suggests that there is something in 'their' dreams of Europe that is essential for Europe's symbolic survival; to be coherent, the myth of Europe must also be the subject of the dreams of 'others'. Not-Hollande's claim that migrants are 'human beings' with 'new dreams and hopes, which are probably crucial for all of us' exposes the anxious idea that the European values that 'we' have lost sight of live on in the dreams that 'they' have about 'us'.[44] It has become 'crucial for all of us' to extract and recycle the refugee's dreams into reconstructions of *our* land in *their* image – or more precisely, in the image of Europe that they had before they arrived.

The definition of hospitality as dream-seizure also opens up the possibility of an ethical responsibility resulting from the condition of being the subject of, or subject to, someone else's dreams. It points towards an ethical imperative attendant on Europe's presence in the dreams of 'others' – an imperative to 'seize' these dreams and reinvent ourselves in their image. Through its satirical commentary, PEROU's 'Calais Mag' not only suggests that Europe is haunted by a pathology of undesirability and irrelevance, but that in order to combat the 'shame' of having become 'totally unwanted', of failing to be 'a dream to nurture', we (here: France)

[42] PEROU, 8. *Emphasis added.*
[43] PEROU, 10.
[44] PEROU, 9.

must develop an ethics of hospitality based upon seizing that which refugees ostensibly dream about in us – which is often a nostalgic projection of what we no longer see in ourselves – and using it to transform ourselves radically, into the Europe of *their* dreams.

9. When Dream Meets Reality

The discrepancy between Europe-as-dreamscape and Europe-as-political-landscape is consistently acknowledged in creative representations of the 'refugee crisis'. In *Voices from the 'Jungle'*, author Babak reflects that '[w]hen we left our countries, in our dreams we did not imagine our European days to be such painful days. That day when we packed our memories in a bag with a dream of freedom walking to Europe, how naïve were we!'[45] Similarly, Africa writes that

> [i]t was big trouble for me when I came to Calais. I couldn't believe that this is Europe. Is it true that this place exists in Europe? Where is humanity, where is democracy? Where is all this bullshit? They just write it in the paper. […] We came here to see this really 'dignified' European life. […] It is like we have been deserted. Because this is Europe, a place of humanity.[46]

The incongruity between dream and reality also is captured poignantly by Khan, who is quoted in 'Calais Mag' as saying that, '[i]n Africa, we have a very beautiful picture of Europe. It's as pretty as a soap bubble. And it bursts like a soap bubble.'[47] Other creative representations push back against the refugee dream construct. In Olivier Kugler's 2016 illustration 'Three Syrians in Calais', a speech bubble reports: 'For us *Europe* is not a *dream land*. It is not *paradise*. It is not heaven. I prefer *Syria*. But without the war.'[48]

---

[45] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 241.
[46] Calais Writers, 134–35.
[47] PEROU, "Reinventing Calais," 7.
[48] Olivier Kugler, *Escaping Wars and Waves: Encounters with Syrian Refugees* (Brighton: Myriad Editions, 2018).



Figure 41: A section of the illustration *Three Syrians in Calais*, 2016, © Olivier Kugler

In Frederik Subei's 2015 documentary *Transit Zone*, the protagonist Teefa regrets that Europe is not how he had imagined it. He recalls, 'I think Europe something is great. Something is beautiful. I don't think there is […] terrible situation like this.' He goes on, 'I have a dream since I'm 18 years: I'll be in England. They destroy it with this place! I don't have any more dream to cross to England.'[49] Further expressions of this heavy realisation are to be found in the documentary *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*. While Ahmad tried to convince himself that the air in Europe is different 'because you don't want your hopes and dreams to let you down,' Hassan recalls that,

Vanessa Thorpe, "Reunited: Syrian Refugee and the Artist Who Drew Him in Calais," *The Observer*, November 10, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2018/nov/10/reunited-syrian-refugee-and-the-artist-who-drew-him-in-calais.

[49] Frederik Subei, *Transit Zone* (UK: Edinburgh College of Art and Screen Academy Scotland, 2015).

> when we landed in Greece, expectations didn't align with reality. In my mind, I thought it was going to be this organised structure, where there are NGOs, volunteers, people helping out, but it was very chaotic [...]. I was shocked, because I thought, like, this is Europe. I thought it was going to be different.[50]

The simplicity and self-evidence of the claim 'I thought, like, this is Europe' demonstrates the mythical power that the signifier 'Europe' is capable of wielding upon the global stage. The 'shock' occurs when the myth of Europe washes up on the shores of reality. If the 'exclusionary myth-making processes of Europe' are reinforced by creative reconstructions of refugee dream-narratives, then how does the myth of Europe as 'hospitable, homogeneous or cohesive' survive this type of 'shock'? How is it that the refugee figure strengthens, rather than undermines, the myth of Europe as a place characterised by liberal values and respect for human rights – a land of dreams – when the treatment that refugees receive often amounts to the opposite?

The answer can be found in a curious representational strategy of spatiotemporal repulsion. This discursive strategy positions refugees as *forever not-yet in Europe*, even after they seem to have arrived in Europe. The effect is achieved partly through rhetorical claims for Calais, and Europe's other 'open wounds' – Lampedusa, Ventimiglia, Ceuta, Melilla, Chios, Lesvos, Samos, Dunkirk, Yarl's Wood, and the other camps, detention centres and holding facilities across Europe – as being *outside of* or *not really part of* Europe.[51] In this narrative, these locations cannot really *be* Europe, because they are places where people are treated in contravention of the mythological concept of Europe as a place defined by freedom, dignity, equality and human rights.

---

[50] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe - Episode One" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2016).

[51] Gloria Anzaldúa famously described the U.S-Mexico border as an open wound, '*una herida abierta* where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds.'
Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 25.

The myth of European hospitality cannot accommodate these locations that are characterised by a lack of food, water and basic human rights, death from exposure, self-harm and suicide, so these places are symbolically abjected from 'European' space. They are described as 'not really Europe' and, in this way, the threat that they pose to Europe's structural integrity is neutralised. In representational terms, the mythical borders of Europe take precedence over, and determine, its geographical borders. The 'not-Europe' representational strategy is the creative corollary of the topographical distancing strategy that outsources Europe's border enforcement to non-EU states including Nigeria, Libya, Morocco and Turkey.

An example of this 'not-Europe' spatial narrative can be found in *The Play About Calais*. When the playwright first enters the Jungle, he asks, 'Where am I? Kabul, Peshawar, Raqqa, Luba, Asmara?'[52] Another volunteer in the play describes being in the Jungle as 'the nearest I have been to being in the Third World.'[53] While Robertson and Murphy's play *The Jungle* does not conform to this abjection-based model – as we have seen, it depicts the Jungle explicitly as an urban settlement – the play does acknowledge, through its characters' dialogue, the tendency to distance the Jungle psychically by labelling it 'not-France'. The declaration that the Jungle is 'not France' is repeated no less than seven times throughout the course of the play by European characters, primarily in clashes between French officials and British volunteers over the symbolic significance of the camp and the inhumane treatment of its residents:

> Guard: You are in France, you speak French!
>
> Beth: This is not France! He's a seventeen-year-old boy! Look at him! This is not France! You've forced him to sign documents! He doesn't speak French! He should have a translator, that's the *law*. This is *not France*. […] There's a European Convention on the Rights of the Child, don't you dare say this is

[52] Waters, *The Play About Calais*, Act 3, Scene 5.
[53] Waters, Act 1, Scene 5.

France![54]

Not only do the volunteer-characters use this phrasing to condemn the inaction of French officials, but these officials also mimic the claim, cynically, to assert dominance over the volunteers:

Sam: You can't make people homeless in Winter. That's French law.

Pause

Henri: This isn't France.[55]

This same claim, that the Jungle is 'not France,' is made five more times throughout the play, when Beth and Sam argue with the CRS, when Beth tries to persuade Okot that '[t]he Jungle isn't France,' when Paula declares '[t]his isn't France, it's a fucking joke,' and when Derek asserts that '[t]his is not Calais. This is not France.'[56] Declaring the Jungle 'not-France' is *both* a denunciation of the fate of refugees in Europe (a way of saying 'this shouldn't be happening here'), *and* rhetorical distancing act that protects the international image of Europe while abnegating responsibility for the violation of 'European' principles on European soil. It fails to acknowledge that these 'anomalous' spaces are the direct and logical consequence of European states' political decision-making.

The spatial abjection model reinforces Hage's argument that the nation is not 'a reality that needs to be protected' so much as it is 'a fantasy that needs to be protected from reality.'[57] The 'not-France' representational strategy is a defensive product of paranoid nationalism, which protects the fantasy of Europe as homogeneous and hospitable from the reality of its border camps. The myth of Europe as hospitable is not only dependent upon spatial distancing

[54] Murphy and Robertson, *The Jungle*, 73.
[55] Murphy and Robertson, 100.
[56] Murphy and Robertson, 25, 124, 59, 38, 103.
[57] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, 4.

frameworks, however. A temporal distancing strategy is also necessary to maintain the careful equilibrium between refugee dream and national myth.

10. The Temporality of Hospitality

The refugee dream-narrative is a mechanism of deferral: when dreaming becomes a mode of inhabitation in Europe, the refugee subject becomes trapped in futurity, in a process of postponement, as a result of which the refugee never *arrives* in Europe, even after their feet stand on European soil. The future-oriented subjectivation of the refugee takes place through refugee dream-sequencing, as this suspends the refugee figure in an endless process of moving *towards* an imagined Europe, while the moment of arrival, of fulfilment – just like the assurance of the refugee's 'humanity' – is constantly pushed into the future. As a result, the refugee-figure inhabits a strange and vulnerable temporal position of being *forever not-yet in Europe*. Through this temporal construction, the refugee is subjectivized through a process of endless deferral, and in this way, the carefully constructed myth of Europe-as-hospitable is reconciled with the refugee's experience of Europe as inhospitable.

The refugee's orientation toward the future is exemplified in *Exodus*: *Our Journey to Europe* and *Exodus: Our Journey Continues.* These two series, each consisting of three one-hour episodes, were created by KEO Films in collaboration with the Open University, and broadcast on BBC Two in 2016 and 2017 respectively. Both series of *Exodus* draw upon the refugee dream-narrative to anchor the documentary in the representational quagmire of the 'refugee crisis'. The opening voiceover for the first series, *Our Journey to Europe,* which aired in July

2016, announces that 'this is the story of the migrant crisis, told by the people who risked everything for the dream of a better life in Europe.'[58]

Refugees are introduced in *Exodus* as those people who are willing to 'risk everything' not for a better life, but for the *dream* of a better life. They are presented as people who will sacrifice everything, not for safety, legal protection or improved living conditions, but for the *dreams* they have of such things. This demonstrates the slippery quality of the refugee dream configuration – the sliding manoeuvre that the 'refugee dream' performs to dislocate the plane of refugees' expectations from that of states' obligations. This sliding-as-disavowal is possible because dreaming is a politics of futurity that does not take its own fulfilment as necessary for its logical functioning. That is to say, the realisation of one's dreams is not structurally necessary for the politics of dreaming to function cogently: the dream is not assured even within its *own* ideological schema. The refugee dream-narrative does not reflect the arrogance of refugees who 'assert their dreams as their unconditional right' and who consider it 'the duty of Europe to realise their dreams.' Rather, the dream-narrative functions as a method for states to avoid responsibility for, and to delegitimise, the asylum seeker's lawful right to claim asylum under the 1951 Refugee Convention, by transforming their concrete claims into abstract dreams.

This dream-sequenced representational model continues into the second series of *Exodus*, *Our Journey Continues*, which aired in November 2017. In this second instalment, the audience 'sees Europe through the eyes of those who thought they'd made it, […] and those who still dream of a better life.'[59] This announcement raises a similar question: if those who 'thought they'd made it' to Europe have not actually 'made it,' then where are they? Such an enforced

[58] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe - Episode One."
[59] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2017).

liminality nudges refugees into an endless, future-oriented subject status. Within these narrative constructions, displaced peoples' preconceptions and misconceptions of Europe trap them, the 'people who thought they'd made it', into future-oriented relationships with the places they are 'supposed to' have reached.

When the voiceover declares that 'the Europe they dreamed of has changed,'[60] the relationship between 'the Europe they dreamed of' and the Europe they arrived in becomes clouded. Has *Europe* changed, or only the dreams of Europe? What does it mean for a Europe that never existed to change? By pushing Europe representationally into a vague existential position, *Exodus* endorses the temporal configuration that defines refugees as those who have endlessly not-yet arrived in the 'Europe' of their 'dreams'.

The refugee's temporal relationship with Europe is illuminated in *Exodus* by the refugee-participants' use of the third conditional. The third conditional is a grammatical construct used for speculating about impossible conditions, about what 'would have' been; as the language learning resource English Club puts it, the third conditional is 'like a dream, but with no possibility of the dream coming true.'[61] In the first series, Hassan uses the third conditional to express that 'I would never have ever thought of going to England if I knew how bad Calais was.'[62] Azizzulah, an Afghan refugee living in an abandoned railway carriage in Belgrade, echoes Hassan's sentiment in his regret that, 'had I known that the way would be so difficult, I swear to God I would have never come.'[63] In these examples, the third conditional communicates the repellent force of the border. Hassan and Azizzulah position themselves as

[60] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Two" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2017).
[61] "Third Conditional," English Club, accessed May 14, 2017, https://www.englishclub.com/grammar/verbs-conditional-third.htm.
[62] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe - Episode Two" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2016).
[63] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three."

warnings to others, physical manifestations of Europe's policy of deterrence. Lateef, living with his wife in Malakasa camp in Greece, also uses the third conditional to reflect that 'I wanted our baby to be born in Germany. Because that country would have been better in every way.'[64]

The first episode of *Our Journey Continues* follows Dame, an Oromo refugee, as he travels from the Jungle to London. He explains, 'I went to Calais because I was told it is a nice and peaceful place to live. I was misinformed.'[65] Later, when asked about his experience in the UK, Dame reflects that 'I do not have any rights as a human being in this country […] I feel more like a ghost.'[66] Dame's description of himself as a ghost, when considered alongside the condition of the third conditional, recalls Mark Fisher's concept of 'hauntology,' which describes a 'confrontation with a cultural impasse: the failure of the future.'[67] In his music criticism, Fisher argues that '[w]hat haunts the digital cul-de-sacs of the twenty-first century is not so much the past as all the lost futures that the twentieth century taught us to anticipate.'[68] The language of *Exodus* is suffused by this idea of being haunted by, or feeling nostalgic for, lost futures. Azizzulah remembers that '[w]hen we were back home we'd talk about how peaceful and wonderful it would be in Europe. And that we'd live happily ever after.'[69] Interrupted space, for the participants in *Exodus,* means interrupted time; they acknowledge that they used to have a hypothetical future.

The marked shift between the two series of *Exodus* also reveals much about the temporality of asylum-seeking in Europe. *Our Journey to Europe* aired in July 2016, when the refugee crisis was still an occasional news item and, in the UK, the shock of the Brexit vote was still heavy

[64] Bluemel.
[65] James Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode One" (United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2017).
[66] Bluemel.
[67] Mark Fisher, "What Is Hauntology?," *Film Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2012): 16.
[68] Fisher, 16.
[69] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode One."

in the air. *Exodus: Our Journey Continues* was broadcast almost a year and a half later, when the political landscape had altered considerably. This change in atmosphere is reflected in the disparate tones of two series. *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe* is characterised by movement and innovation. The documentary, filmed partly by a professional camera crew and partly by the refugee-participants, was designed to put 'the voices from the migrants themselves […] at the forefront of th[e] series.'[70] *Our Journey to Europe* is concerned with the ways that displaced people use digital technology to film their journeys, communicate with smugglers, plan routes and access navigational tools. The series is accompanied by Open University studies into the transformation of irregular migration through digital technology.[71]

In stark contrast, *Our Journey Continues* is characterised by stagnation and stasis. The shift from the explosive drama of the 2015-16 series, to the paralysis of the 2016-17 series, is evident in the altered tones of the two series descriptions on the BBC website. The series summary for *Our Journey to Europe* explains that,

> [i]n 2015, we gave cameras to some of the people who smuggled themselves into Europe, to record where no-one else can go. The result is a terrifying, intimate, epic portrait of the migration crisis.[72]

The agentive refugees dictate the fast-paced action: they smuggled *themselves* and managed to 'record where no-one else can go'. In contrast, *Our Journey Continues* is summarised as

[70] BAFTA, *James Bluemel Wins Director Factual for Exodus: Our Journey to Europe* (UK: YouTube, 2017), https://youtu.be/ygMYMwdaVo0.
[71] Marie Gillespie, "Phones – Crucial to Survival for Refugees on the Perilous Route to Europe," *Open University*, July 5, 2016, https://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/phones-crucial-survival-refugees-on-the-perilous-route-europe.
Bruce Bennett, "Becoming Refugees: Exodus and Contemporary Mediations of the Refugee Crisis," *Transnational Cinemas* 9, no. 1 (2018): 13–30, doi: 10.1080/20403526.2018.1471181.
[72] "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe," BBC Two, 2016, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07ky6ft.

> [a]n intimate portrait of the migration crisis, revisiting some of those who arrived in 2015 and meeting those still making the increasingly difficult and dangerous journeys in search of a better life.[73]

By the time that *Our Journey Continues* was filmed, the driving force that fuelled *Our Journey to Europe* had decelerated – the shock of the 'crisis' had snarled up into razor wire and waiting rooms. It is intimacy, not remarkability, that comes to the fore in the second series. Agency has shifted from refugees who 'smuggled themselves', to European spectators who 'meet' and 'revisit' them. Where *Our Journey to Europe* was concerned with opening up new channels of communication and studying new information flows, *Our Journey Continues* is dominated by a language of closure, oppression and failure. The voiceover tells us that '[t]he route into Europe has slammed shut.'[74] It declares that 'mainland Europe is fortifying its borders.'[75] It is claustrophobic: there's 'no way back and no way forward.'[76] The increasingly prescriptive and formulaic narrative of *Our Journey Continues* heightens this sense of entrapment.

This discursive shift establishes a false dichotomy between the Europe of 2015 and the Europe of 2017. The two series of *Exodus* provide a clear example of how the myth of Europe as *having-been-hospitable* propagates itself. The stylistic divergence between the two series testifies to a dramatic shift in Europe's treatment of refugees between 2015 and 2017. It argues that Europe *had* been hospitable towards refugees when the 'crisis' began in 2015 but that, by 2017, the well of compassion had simply dried up. The idea that there was a rapid transformation in policy and public opinion in Europe between 2015 and 2017 is made explicit in *Our Journey Continues,* which 'tells the stories of those who are still prepared to risk

[73] "Exodus: Our Journey Continues," BBC Two, 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09dh6mt.
[74] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three."
[75] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode One."
[76] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three."

everything for the dream of a better life, even as public opinion seems to be turning against them, and the route into Europe has closed.'[77]

The claim that 'the route into Europe has closed' only makes sense if there had previously been an open route into Europe. Meanwhile, the assertion that public opinion 'seems to be turning against them' lends a sense of novelty to hostile attitudes towards irregular migration. This constructs an image of Europe as having recently been open and hospitable. *Our Journey Continues* argues that the *recent* growth of far-right nationalism in Europe has also, directly and independently, made border-crossing more perilous. A causal relationship to this effect is established by the conjunction 'so' in the explanation that '[t]he politics of the far right is gaining momentum, so it is more difficult than ever for migrants and refugees to cross international borders.'[78]

Two participants in *Our Journey Continues* – Sadiq and Tarek – illustrate this idea by attending far-right anti-refugee rallies in Finland and Germany. The fact that 'the Far Right are gaining ground all over the continent'[79] is undoubtedly a serious concern. Yet the documentary's deliberate staging of the lone refugee amidst the xenophobic crowds infers a distorted causal link between the recent growth of far-right nationalism and Europe's time-honoured policies for deterring and restricting irregular migration. By depicting xenophobia as a recent mutation in Europe's DNA, the documentary suppresses the long-term factors that have influenced hostile policies of refugee reception in Europe for many decades.

[77] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Two."
[78] "Exodus: Our Journey Continues," KEO Films, 2017, http://www.keofilms.com/projects/exodus-journey-continues/.
[79] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three."

The result is that an environment of hospitality towards refugees during the early stages of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015 is mythologised – retrospectively constructed – on the basis that the atmosphere became *even more hostile* as time went on. In *Our Journey Continues*, this version of history is endorsed by Sadiq, an Afghan refugee who was followed through Europe during the first series, and who is visited in his Finnish accommodation centre in the second. Sadiq recaps his migration journey from the previous series. He remembers:

> it took 45 days, I passed from 11 countries. Every border was very easy to pass. One day I was in Germany, another day Sweden. And I was feeling very good that I am in Europe [...] I many times told my friends "look how European people are good and kind. Here is freedom, freedom of everything."[80]

This endorses the idea that Europe's inhospitality towards refugees developed *after* the first series was broadcast, and that this hostility marked a dramatic shift from previous compassionate and hospitable attitudes. *Our Journey Continues* is concerned with documenting how far the Europe of 2017 has come from 'the Europe that welcomed them two years ago.'[81] It is difficult to argue, however, that 'Europe' as a political institution or a collection of states was a welcoming place for refugees in 2015. A small number of EU member states – notably, Greece, Italy and Germany – took on disproportionate responsibility for Europe's new arrivals at this time. Certain events, such as the discovery of Alan Kurdi's body, led to brief outpourings of compassion, but these had no impact on the international regimes of border enforcement, detention, detainment and deportation that have been carefully constructed to be the opposite of welcoming.

The representational shift between the two series of *Exodus* perfectly encapsulates the way that the myth of Europe as *having-been-hospitable* is constructed and propagated: on the basis that

[80] Bluemel, "Exodus: Our Journey Continues - Episode Three."
[81] "Exodus: Our Journey Continues," 2017.

Europe today is even more hostile than it used to be. As the goalposts move, and increasingly circumscribed forms of 'hospitality' become normalised, we are left wondering what it would take for Europe's reputation as *having-been-hospitable* to become tarnished.

11. The Kindertransport and the Dubs Amendment

Considered together, the six episodes of *Exodus* capture the non-synchronic temporality of asylum seeking in Europe: the propulsion of the refugee subject into the future and the propulsion of European hospitality into the past. The narrative of *Exodus* encapsulates this temporal repulsion as it occurred over two short years, from 2015 to 2017. A comparable operation has taken place in British history over the course of decades. A number of creative representations of the Calais Jungle draw comparisons between the plight of Jewish refugees in the mid-twentieth century and the contemporary 'refugee crisis'.[82] Tristan Daws and Stephan Bookas' acclaimed documentary poem *Refugee Blues*, for example, combines a reading of W. H. Auden's eponymous 1939 poem with evocative footage of walls and fences, police aggression, and daily survival in the Jungle.[83] *The Play About Calais* and the documentary *In Another Life* also use Auden's poem as a way of contextualising the Jungle within a longer history of European 'refugee crises'.

[82] Laura Tavares, "Text to Text: Comparing Jewish Refugees of the 1930s With Syrian Refugees Today," *The New York Times*, January 4, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/04/learning/lesson-plans/text-to-text-comparing-jewish-refugees-of-the-1930s-with-syrian-refugees-today.html.
[83] Tristan Daws and Stephen Bookas, *Refugee Blues - A Documentary Poem* (France/UK: Thousandth Mile, 2016), https://vimeo.com/158990770.



Figure 42: Stills from Tristan Daws and Stephan Bookas, *Refugee Blues*, documentary poem, 2016.

It is in representations of unaccompanied child refugees in Calais, however, that historical comparisons to the Second World War have been most influential. Refugee advocacy in the UK often anchors itself upon a notion of Britain's long history of hospitality, and the memory

of the Kindertransport is regularly invoked by activists working on behalf of child refugees. The Kindertransport was a humanitarian operation organised by Sir Nicholas Winton in 1938-9 that brought 10,000 children to the UK from Germany, Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Advocacy campaigns in support of the instatement, expansion, retention and later the reinstatement of the Dubs Amendment framed themselves around analogies to the Kindertransport, not least because its proponent and namesake, Lord Alf Dubs, arrived from Czechoslovakia himself on the Kindertransport in 1939.[84] Each year on Holocaust Memorial Day, and on the anniversary of the Kindertransport, the media returns to reflect upon Britain's treatment of child refugees during the 'refugee crisis'.[85]

Campaigns that draw upon the legacy of the Kindertransport to lobby Parliament to accept a greater number of child refugees rely heavily upon the idea that Britain was more hospitable to refugees in 1939 than it is today. Refugee advocates invoke Britain's mythic history of hospitality to encourage public support and compassion for contemporary refugee children. This discursive strategy is exemplified by the '80 Years On, it's Our Turn' campaign, launched

[84] See Chapter One, Part Two for an explanation of the Dubs Amendment and its significance in Calais.
"Barbara Winton and Kindertransport Survivors Speak Out," *Help Refugees*, October 29, 2016, https://www.helprefugees.org.uk/news/barbara-winton-kindertransport-survivors-speak/.
Laura Janner-Klausner, "When Jewish People Look at Calais Migrants, We See Ourselves," *The Guardian*, August 13, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/13/jewish-people-calais-migrants-kindertransport-children-nazis.
Nikki Tapper, *The Syrians and the Kindertransport* (UK: BBC Radio 4, 2019), https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0007l35.
Harriet Sherwood, "Kindness Saved Us from the Nazis. Now We Must Help Child Refugees," *The Observer*, July 6, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jul/06/child-refugees-britain-help-stephanie-shirley-kindertransport.
[85]Alf Dubs, "On Holocaust Memorial Day, Let Us Remember Our Duty to Child Refugees," *The Guardian*, January 27, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/27/holocaust-memorial-day-child-refugees-kindertransport.
Yvette Cooper, "On the Anniversary of the Kindertransport, We Should Reflect on Why We're Failing Child Refugees Today," *The Independent*, November 21, 2018, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/yvette-cooper-labour-refugees-kindertransport-anniversary-syria-alf-dubs-calais-children-a8644556.html.
Rachel Trafford, "On Holocaust Memorial Day, How Will We Be Remembered for Our Treatment of Child Refugees?," *TCS Network*, January 27, 2020, https://www.tcsnetwork.co.uk/how-we-treat-young-refugees-will-be-the-test-of-our-humanity/.

by Safe Passage in November 2018, which called upon each local authority in Britain to accept responsibility for three child refugees. The '80 Years On' campaign declares that

> 80 years ago Britain helped some of the most vulnerable refugees escape Nazi Germany. Yet right now our Government is refusing to offer the same compassion to some of the most at-risk child refugees stuck in dangerous camps across Europe. […] it is *our turn* to show the same care to child refugees.[86]

Employing this type of historical narrative can be an effective campaign strategy. However, it also raises questions about the dangers of dehistoricisation and anachronism. The allusions to sameness – the same compassion, the same care – can run the risk of 'subsum[ing] different histories under a logic of equation.'[87] Michael Rothberg argues that, while historical comparisons are not inherently damaging, it is essential to 'develop an ethics of comparison that can distinguish politically productive forms of memory from those that lead to competition, appropriation, or trivialization.'[88] Some British politicians objected to these kinds of historical allusions. When the Dubs Amendment was withdrawn in February 2017, Conservative MP Michael Fabricant told the House of Commons that, '[l]ike Lord Dubs, I have Jewish ancestry and I find it distasteful when some commentators compare the situation today with the 1930s and the Kindertransport. […] This situation is very different.' He called upon the Home Secretary to publicly renounce 'those commentators […] who compare the situation in the 1930s with today.'[89]

The '80 Years On' campaign urges its supporters to 'live up to our proud tradition of helping child refugees' in order to 'repair Britain's tarnished reputation for compassion.'[90] Safe Passage

---

[86] Beth Gardiner-Smith, Safe Passage campaign email, September 29, 2018.
[87] Michael Rothberg, "From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 526, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23133895.
[88] Rothberg, 525.
[89] "Unaccompanied Child Refugees - House of Commons Debate," They Work For You, February 9, 2017, https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2017-02-09a.636.3.
[90] Beth Gardiner-Smith, Safe Passage campaign email, September 29, 2018.

compares the situation for unaccompanied child refugees today with the Kindertransport in order to ignite the sentiments of the British public, to put pressure on the Government take meaningful action in protecting child refugees, and to accept a greater number of child refugees into the UK. The difficulty with this campaign strategy is that the Government is perfectly able to endorse and promote the historical memory of 'our proud tradition of helping child refugees', while at the same time refusing to extend legal routes to asylum in the present.

The celebration of 'our proud tradition of hospitality' has never been incompatible with the withdrawal of legal routes to asylum, and at times the two can even be complimentary. The Government is capable of invoking Britain's 'proud tradition of helping child refugees' precisely *in order to* delegitimise hospitality in the present. As Sarah Gibson asserts,

> [i]t is no coincidence that simultaneous with the "moral panic" surrounding asylum in Britain was the reassertion of Britain's pride in its tolerance and hospitality in welcoming genuine refugees in the past […]. Those past moments of hospitality are remembered precisely in order to legitimise current hostility towards "bogus" asylum seekers in the present.[91]

Advocacy campaigns that draw upon Britain's 'proud tradition of helping child refugees' and its 'reputation for compassion' to lobby the Government to improve contemporary refugee response can achieve the opposite of their intended results, therefore, by endorsing a selective historical narrative. Rather than exerting pressure upon the Government to take action in support of unaccompanied child refugees across Europe, these campaigns can end up sanctioning, through their celebratory historical narratives, the Government's moral authority

[91] Gibson, "Testimony in a Culture of Disbelief: Asylum Hearings and the Impossibility of Bearing Witness," 5. Sarah Gibson, "'Abusing Our Hospitality': Inhospitableness and The Politics of Deterrence," in *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, ed. J Germann Molz and S Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 159–76.

in discerning 'real' and 'deserving' child refugees (Jewish children in 1939) from 'bogus' and 'undeserving' child refugees (Eritrean and Afghan teenagers in 2016).

As Britain's legacy of hospitality over the past century, and the legacy of the Kindertransport itself, are far more conflicted and morally ambiguous than accounts of 'our proud tradition' suggest, the strategic whitewashing of history by refugee advocates can contribute to the historical narrative of *having-been-hospitable* towards refugees, which turns 'Britain' into a signifier to which hospitality can be assigned retrospectively.[92] Like the myth of European hospitality that is constructed retrospectively across the two series of *Exodus*, the myth of Britain as *having-been-hospitable* is propagated by campaigns for the protection of unaccompanied child refugees on the basis that Britain today is more hostile than it used to be. The risks associated with this retrospective model of hospitality were borne out in October 2016, when 200 unaccompanied minors arrived in the UK from the Jungle on the eve of the demolition.

As soon as they arrived in the UK, these young people were met with widespread media outrage. The press declared that the British public had been duped, and that these were *not* the children that the Dubs scheme had promised. Commentators insisted that the new arrivals undergo dental examinations to prove their ages, and the press used unofficial age-recognition software to ascertain the 'real' ages of the new arrivals, publishing the results as front-page news. The declaration by MP David Davies that '[t]hese don't look like "children" to me. I hope British

[92] Jennifer Craig-Norton, *The Kindertransport: Contesting Memory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).
Tony Kushner, "Truly, Madly, Deeply … Nostalgically? Britain's on–off Love Affair with Refugees, Past and Present," *Patterns of Prejudice* 52, no. 2–3 (2018): 172–94, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2018.1433014.

hospitality is not being abused,'[93] shows how hospitality can be negotiated across temporal, as well as spatial, planes.

Carly McLaughlin argues that the media firestorm caused by the arrival of these 200 young people was due, in part, to the discursive strategy employed by the Dubs campaign. She considers that the campaign for the Dubs Amendment, in its attempt to persuade the public of the need to act compassionately towards child refugees, ended up promoting and reinforcing 'a universal, ahistorical politics of childhood contingent on qualities such as innocence, passiveness and dependency on adults.'[94] McLaughlin considers the outrage concerning the physical appearance of Britain's new arrivals from Calais to have been fuelled, in part, by the timeless, ahistorical narrative of childhood deployed by campaigns for the Dubs Amendment.

The use of Kindertransport analogies as a communications strategy had led the public to expect *Kinder*-like children: pale, smart, clean and small. This discursive approach created a vague impression that the young people arriving from Calais would look and act as if they came from the 1930s: no mobile phones, no branded clothing, no fashionable hairstyles. This clashed with the reality of adolescents in 2016, who could thus 'only fail to convince the British public of their deservingness, their specific need for protection.'[95] When the Dubs campaign 'placed the figure of the lone child refugee firmly at the centre of the country's political and moral

[93] David Davies (@DavidTCDavies), "These Don't Look like 'Children' to Me. I Hope British Hospitality Is Not Being Abused.," *Twitter*, October 17, 2016, https://twitter.com/DavidTCDavies/status/788061702017392640.
[94] Carly McLaughlin, "'They Don't Look like Children': Child Asylum-Seekers, the Dubs Amendment and the Politics of Childhood," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 11 (2018): 1762, doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1417027.
[95] McLaughlin, 1764.

landscape,'[96] it did not take into account that the affectively charged label 'child' attaches differently to differently racialised bodies.

Consequently, comparisons between the Calais Jungle and the Kindertransport, while intending to defend the rights of unaccompanied child refugees, unintentionally 'pre-determined what a worthy refugee looks like' in a way that excluded the very people they were aiming to defend.[97] The retrospective narrative of British hospitality – the mythical narrative of Britain *having-been-hospitable* during the Second World War – also had longer-term consequences. In June 2018, another amendment (confusingly also called the Dubs Amendment) was accepted into the EU Withdrawal Bill. This ensured that the legal protections for child refugees enshrined in Article 8 of the Dublin III regulation would pass over into UK law after Brexit.[98]

In January 2020, after another tussle between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the 'second Dubs Amendment' was taken out of the Withdrawal Bill. Boris Johnson's newly-formed Parliament voted in favour of Clause 37, which removed 'the Government's existing obligations […] with regard to unaccompanied children seeking asylum in the EU who have family members in the UK.'[99] Although this left no provision whatsoever for family reunification under the proposed Brexit legislation, members of the public defended the Government's about-turn by invoking the scandal of October 2016 when, in their

[96] McLaughlin, 1759.
[97] McLaughlin, 1764.
[98] "Political Win: Family Reunion Route For Child Refugees To Remain Open After Brexit," *Safe Passage*, June 12, 2018, https://www.safepassage.org.uk/news/family-reunion-route-for-child-refugees-from-europe-to-the-uk-to-remain-open-after-brexit.
[99] Graeme Cowie, "The New EU (Withdrawal Agreement) Bill: What's Changed?," *House of Commons Library*, December 19, 2019, https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/brexit/legislation/the-new-eu-withdrawal-agreement-bill-whats-changed/.

understanding, adults deceived Britain into opening its borders by disguising themselves as children.

The historical narrative tying the Kindertransport to the Dubs Amendment shows that it is not only the rhetorical strategy of pushing refugees into the future through the refugee dream-narrative that assures the immunity of European nations' reputation of welcome – their ability to retain a mythical status of hospitality in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. There is also a parallel temporal strategy that pushes European hospitality into the past, through the rhetorical structure of Europe *having-been-hospitable*. Thanks to the double movement of myth, 'Europe' and 'Britain' are able to attribute to themselves a retrospective image of generosity and welcome, a 'proud tradition of helping child refugees' and a 'reputation for compassion,' on the basis that they have become less generous and welcoming over the years.

The refugee dream-narrative thus serves two purposes in discourses around the Calais Jungle. First, it answers the call of 'paranoid nationalism' by responding to and assuaging Europe's anxieties over its own identity crisis. Second, it reconciles the myth of Europe-as-hospitable with the refugee's lived experience of Europe as inhospitable through a rhetorical process of spatiotemporal distancing. It pushes the refugee subject into the future, to live out their experience of Europe in the third conditional, and European hospitality into the past, to construct a legacy based on favourable comparisons to the present. The danger, of course, is that the refugee dream-narrative will allow yesterday's injustices to pale in the face of today's greater injustices, constantly creating a 'new normal' in the logic and implementation of the hostile environment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DREAMING, DISRUPTION AND DESIRE

12. The Time of the Nation

The refugee dream-narrative is a discursive mechanism used to bridge the divide between the myth of Europe and the reality. It reinforces the dream that Europe has about itself as a hospitable place by delaying recognition of the refugee's arrival 'in Europe' temporally, even after they have arrived upon European soil spatially. The refugee dream-narrative is a representational device for absolving states of their obligations towards those refugees who are 'not yet' in the Europe 'of their dreams'. In order to reconcile the discrepancy between dream and reality, the dream-narrative must manipulate both the temporal politics of asylum seeking, and the temporal construction of the European nation-state.

As the refugee dream-narrative bridges the boundary between dream and reality, myth and experience, it represents a point of vulnerability within 'the complex time of the national narrative,'[1] as well as a mechanism of ideological control. The curious temporality of the refugee dream-narrative might, then, present an opportunity for border-crossing narratives to intervene in, undermine or haunt the temporal self-containment of the myth of European nationhood. In his essay 'DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation', Homi Bhabha discusses 'the essential question of the representation of the nation as a temporal process.'[2] He lays out two separate processes that contribute to constructing the nation as cultural event, explaining that

[1] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 206.
[2] Bhabha, 204.

> [i]n the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative. It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of *writing the nation*.[3]

Narratives that invoke the Kindertransport as a symbol of Britain's proud tradition of hospitality contribute to 'the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical' national narrative. 'Our proud tradition of helping child refugees' is a constitutive part of Britain's celebratory remembrance of the Second World War, which in itself is a cornerstone of British national identity. As the numerous plaques and statues commemorating the Kindertransport indicate, the ideological recursions to wartime hospitably within contemporary narratives of refugee response and responsibility strengthen the 'totalizing boundaries' of the 'imagined community' of the nation, inspiring national pride in past actions as a means of encouraging present ones.[4]

The nation is not only written into being through the 'continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical,' however. The pedagogical narrative is also consistently disrupted by 'the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative,' which 'intervenes in the sovereignty of the nation's *self-generation.*'[5] It is the nation's ambivalent, incommensurable signification of 'the people', Bhabha explains, that ensures the national narrative is always double, always split, always making itself vulnerable at the point at which it tries to seal its identificatory armour. Bhabha considers that 'the nation's interrupted address' is 'articulated in the tension between signifying the people as an a priori historical presence, a pedagogical object; and the people constructed in the performance of narrative, its enunciatory "present" marked in the repetition and pulsation of the national sign.'[6] Could this ambivalent signification of 'the people' indicate

[3] Bhabha, 209.
[4] Bhabha, 213.
[5] Bhabha, 211–12.
[6] Bhabha, 211.

a possibility for the refugee dream-narrative to performatively interrupt the national narrative's pedagogical myth of self-containment? Might the refugee dream-narrative be capable of inserting multiplicity into the very knife edge of the border, at the precise moment that 'inside' is ideologically extricated from 'outside'?

Two plays developed in the UK by PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, *Borderline* and *Welcome to the UK*, offer an answer to this question.[7] *Borderline* is a devised, clown-based satire about the Calais Jungle, developed after a year-long series of workshops run by director Sophie NL Besse in Calais and London. The play was first performed at the Cockpit Theatre in London, in November 2016, by a cast of European actors and actors with refugee status. Over the following two years, the play was performed around Britain, in several European countries, and in India. A documentary about the play was also released in August 2017.[8] Running in parallel with these performances were the 'Together Workshops,' a community project designed for people with and without citizenship status to meet and participate in drama activities. These workshops were central to the theatrical productions themselves, as the content of the performances was regularly adapted to incorporate the experiences of new cast members, who were introduced into the plays via the community created through the workshops.[9]

Borderline reflects upon the time of the nation by repeatedly interrupting itself.[10] The play's loose storyline about life in the Jungle is interrupted twice by a health and safety officer, who does not allow the two 'child actors' to perform certain tasks. When one of the under-18s is

[7] "Productions," PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, 2020, https://www.psychedelight.org/.
[8] Dominic Sivyer et al., "'I Don't Want Any More Sadness in My Life' - Comedy Theatre about Life in the Calais Refugee Camp," *The Guardian*, August 14, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/video/2017/aug/14/dont-want-any-more-sadness-my-life-creating-comedy-calais-refugee-camp.
[9] "Together Workshops," PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, accessed June 8, 2018, https://www.psychedelight.org/workshops.
[10] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 204.

about to jump down three steps onto the stage floor, in a reconstruction of jumping on top of a lorry bound for the UK, the health and safety officer calls from the audience, 'excuse me, sorry for interrupting.' As the house lights come up, the officer explains to the teen that he is not permitted to jump down the three steps as it breaches the theatre's health and safety code for children. In one of many examples of the blending of actor and character in the play, the teenager protests that he spent every night jumping onto real lorries in Calais, and there were no concerns for his health or safety then. Eventually, the officer agrees to let him jump if he holds her hand. The lights dim again and the action continues. Later in the play, on hearing the news of a death on the motorway, the cast stand in mourning at the front of the stage. The health and safety officer breaks the silence by intervening a second time, to march the two boys offstage for their hourly toilet break.

These repeated interruptions in *Borderline* are designed to emphasise that, while children in the theatre are required to follow certain health and safety precautions, in a disjointed time, children of the same age, and sometimes even the same children, are risking their lives crossing the Channel, or being registered as adults by the asylum authorities (the Home Office lost 262 age dispute cases between 2010 and 2017).[11] This testifies to the temporal dislocation experienced by young people seeking asylum in Europe. Unlike the universal, ahistorical narrative of childhood employed in advocacy campaigns for the Dubs Amendment, based on the legacy of the Kindertransport, *Borderline* acknowledges the temporal inconsistencies that position young people in some places as dependent children, but in other places as fully responsible adults. *Borderline* reveals how the identity of 'child refugees' is contingent upon the erratic ways that

[11] Peter Yeung, "Wrongly Classifying Child Asylum-Seekers As Adults Has Cost UK Millions Of Pounds," *Buzzfeed News*, January 18, 2017, https://www.buzzfeed.com/peteryeung/wrongly-classifying-child-asylum-seekers-as-adults-has-cost.

their minority is perceived within the changing spaces that they inhabit, and how the affectively-charged identity category of 'child' can be used as a tool of inclusion and exclusion, selection and deselection.

By demonstrating that ascriptions of youth, dependency, autonomy, growth and social responsibility are determined by a young person's relationship to the nation that they reside in, *Borderline* describes a process of subjectivation divorced from the typical *Bildungsroman* narrative of social development. Where the pedagogical narrative of the nation 'produces a symbolic structure of the nation as "imagined community" which, in keeping with the scale and diversity of the modern nation, works like the plot of a realist novel,' the interruptions in *Borderline* indicate that 'the homogeneous time of realist narrative' is, in reality, a fragile and unreliable discursive construct.[12] By demonstrating that different people experience national time in different ways, *Borderline* approaches more closely an understanding of 'the complex time of the national narrative,' and the effect that this complexity has on child refugees' attempts to navigate nation-state structures.

Borderline also intervenes in the 'horizontal, homogeneous empty time of the nation's narrative' through its performative subversion of the 'mythopoetics of migration.'[13] This is the term Cox has given to the collection of literary tropes, devices and narrative structures commonly used to tell migration stories. The mythopoetics of migration is 'a symbolic system' that 'compels our reading of the political present.'[14] We have seen, however, that mythic

[12] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 226, 227.
[13] Emma Cox, *Theatre & Migration* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 10.
[14] Cox, 9.

narratives are problematic constructs for representing forced migration, because 'myth-making, in fixing ideological certainties, also fixes territorial boundaries.'[15]

Unlike those narratives that reinforce the myth of European hospitality by making the geopolitical boundaries of Europe contingent upon its mythic boundaries, *Borderline* deliberately subverts the 'mythic cornerstones' of the archetypal migration narrative: 'the painful separation, the journey, the encounter with others, the longing for home.'[16] The play begins with each cast member in turn entering the stage, removing their shoes, and leaving the stage. These shoes are then incorporated into the piles of other shoes used throughout the performance to represent belongings, scenery, smuggled children and the camp population. Shoes are piled up at the back of the stage and used as a bed, as a grave, as a speaking platform, as umbrellas, as walls and as border fences.

Unlike the way that discarded shoes were used metonymically to represent refugees in the *Dzhangal* exhibition, for example, the shoes in *Borderline* are self-consciously evasive: their meanings are constantly mutating.[17] As these shoes with migratory meanings are the only markers of location throughout the entire play, they instil a sense of futility and aimlessness into the play's migration journey. The typical narrative structure of past-home, present-journey and future-destination collapses in on itself, as the recycling of scenery means that the characters never really get anywhere. Each new location is a reordering of previous locations, each as dangerous and unwelcoming as the last.

---

[15] Woolley, *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*, 147.
[16] Cox, *Theatre & Migration*, 9.
The mythic cornerstones of the migration narrative overlap with the narrative signposts of the traditional refugee life narrative, as discussed in Chapter Two.
[17] See Chapter One, Part Five. Mendel, "Dzhangal."

Borderline's failure to conform to the 'mythopoetics of migration' is not depicted as tragic, however. Much of the humour in *Borderline* results from its disruption of the 'mythic cornerstones' of heroic migration narratives. When a cast member is prevented from boarding a crowded boat, when a teenage boy is ordered to return the way he came because his fingerprints have been registered in Italy, and when a half-frozen new arrival in the UK is informed by police that he will not be going 'to this UK' (the destination everyone else reaches) but 'to *this* UK' (the long journey to asylum), the keenly felt absurdity of these instances of failed, illogical and circulatory movement is presented as a form of comic relief. By approaching the 'mythical cornerstones' playfully, *Borderline* shows that the narrative conventions that make up the 'mythopoetics of migration' are unable to capture the circuitous and random nature of many – or most – journeys to asylum.

The comically heightened, exaggerated and distorted portrayal of the Jungle in *Borderline* disrupts the easy sentimentality offered by the refugee victim narrative, leaving the audience uncertain about how they 'should' be feeling: one reviewer expresses that the play 'will have you laughing before you know what's hit you.'[18] While *Borderline* is not the only comic portrayal of asylum seeking to be produced in recent years – Channel 4's series *Home*, Aki Kaurismäki's comedic film *The Other Side of Hope* and Counterpoints Arts' 'No Direction Home' stand-up comedy project being other examples – it remains a relatively unusual representational approach.[19] *Borderline* rejects the clear-cut relationships between sufferer and

[18] Marienna Pope-Weidemann, "'It Feels like a Family': An Interview with Sophie Besse, Director of a Comedy about Calais," Refugee Week, 2017, http://refugeeweek.org.uk/its-heartbreaking-to-feel-like-you-only-inspire-pity-an-interview-with-sophie-besse-director-of-borderline-comedy-about-calais/.
[19] "Home," Channel 4, 2020, https://www.channel4.com/programmes/home/episode-guide.
Aki Kaurismäki, *The Other Side of Hope* (Finland: Sputnik, 2017), https://vimeo.com/241233201.
"No Direction Home," Counterpoints Arts, 2020, https://counterpointsarts.org.uk/artist/no-direction-home/.

spectator that structure the 'politics of pity' within tragic depictions of forced migration because, as director Besse astutely explains,

> [p]eople don't realise how heartbreaking it is to feel like you only inspire pity. Plus, you can feel all the sympathy in the world but still see these people as a burden. And if you don't feel strong enough to carry that burden, you still won't pick it up. Sympathy opens the heart but struggles to open a mind or a nation on its own.[20]

Comedy provides a space to critique European actors and stakeholders – aid workers, politicians, journalists and police officers – without having to position the refugees as agentless victims upon which abuses of power are conducted. *Borderline* disrupts the 'emotional legibility' of the mythical migration narrative, replacing it with something more experimental and potentially more subversive: the affective possibilities of physical comedy.[21]

13. Welcome to the UK

PSYCHEdelight's second devised satire, *Welcome to the UK*, continues the story that *Borderline* begins: it is a comedic account of what happens after a person seeking asylum arrives in the UK. The play, developed in conjunction with the organisation Women for Refugee Women, ran at the Bunker Theatre in London from 22nd January to 16th February 2019. Not unlike Banksy's *Dismaland* bemusement park, *Welcome to the UK* invites its audience into an absurd fairground in which humour and horror are spun together like the play's illegal trade in candy floss.

[20] Pope-Weidemann, "'It Feels like a Family': An Interview with Sophie Besse, Director of a Comedy about Calais."
[21] Cox, *Theatre & Migration*, 9. *Emphasis removed.*

Through farce and physical comedy, the fairground rides in *Welcome to the UK* catalogue the 'appropriation and usage of migrants' time' in service of the hostile environment.[22] The play moulds temporal experiences of asylum seeking into concrete, allegorical forms. It communicates that the time of the immigration system is, as Melanie Griffiths argues, 'one of reversals, delays, repetition, simultaneity and ambiguity.'[23] *Welcome to the UK* also demonstrates that, for those seeking asylum in Europe, temporality can be experienced as a form of violence, and that the lives of displaced people are very often lived through waiting.

Early in the play, a young Iranian man gets out of a crate after smuggling himself into the fairground. Wishing to find acceptance and protection due to his LGBT status, he climbs aboard a Ferris wheel. For the rest of the performance, he is stuck like a hamster inside the wheel: he walks endlessly in place, getting nowhere, his body language becoming increasingly despondent. The wheel is a visual metaphor for the UK's policy of indefinite detention; its circularity symbolises the way that indefinite imprisonment can be experienced as *infinite* imprisonment, approximating what Joseph Pugliese calls 'imprisonment-in-infinitude.'[24]

[22] Ruben Andersson, "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality," *American Anthropologist* 116, no. 4 (2014): 798, https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12148.
[23] Melanie Griffiths, "The Changing Politics of Time in the UK's Immigration System," in *Timespace and International Migration*, ed. Elizabeth Mavroudi, Ben Page, and Anastasia Christou (Cheltenham and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), 58.
[24] Joseph Pugliese, "Penal Asylum: Refugees, Ethics, Hospitality," *Borderlands E-Journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/pugliese.html.



Figure 43: An asylum claimant rides a Ferris wheel in *Welcome to the UK*, PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, January-February 2019, © José Farinha

By spatialising indefinite waiting, visualising a life suspended in time, the Ferris wheel represents the stretching thin of time during enforced and unspecified periods of delay and expectation. The entrapment of the young man on the wheel is a symbolic representation of Rajaram's claim that 'the holding of asylum-seekers in spatial confinement also amounts to a temporal confinement.'[25] The Ferris wheel illustrates how the 'active usurpation of time by state authorities' has become 'a multifaceted tool and vehicle – even a weapon of sorts' in the fight against illegal immigration.[26] It also shows how the 'homogeneous empty time of the

[25] Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Disruptive Writing and a Critique of Territoriality," *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 2 (2004): 223, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097910.
[26] Andersson, "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality," 795, 796.

nation's narrative' can be weaponised by the state in its management of refugees and asylum-seeking populations.[27]

A second fairground attraction in *Welcome to the UK* communicates a different branch of this temporal machination: a caricature of Theresa May spins a lottery ball, and announces to the crowd of waiting ticket-holders the lucky winners of appointments with the Home Office. This sketch makes visceral the confusion and frustration caused by unpredictable timescales. It communicates that, when one person waits a year for a court date or decision, but another only waits a few weeks, the decision-making process can *feel* like a random game of chance. A third fairground attraction, a fortune-teller with a talkative owl on her shoulder, captures the experience of the asylum interview itself. This scene depicts the anguish of *feeling* that a system tasked with arbitrating upon a person's future makes decisions on a whim, with the use of tarot cards and crystal balls. The interaction between the ridiculous fortune teller and the deadpan asylum applicant captures the collective *feeling* that the Home Office takes an arbitrary and unpredictable approach to adjudicating upon asylum cases. It conveys the anxiety felt by asylum applicants when timescales for asylum decisions are not met, when deadlines are repeatedly extended, and when limited information is provided about the progress of an asylum application.

It is not only indefinite periods of waiting that are captured by the fairground rides in *Welcome to the UK*, however. The play is also punctuated by sudden, short timescales and deadlines, represented by a human pinball machine. An erratic human pinball ricochets from side to side while counting down the 28 days in which a person who is granted asylum must leave their state-provided accommodation and settle into private accommodation, if they are to avoid

[27] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 219.

destitution. For the duration of these 28 days, the newly-certified refugee bounces around inside the machine. He is catapulted from one task to another: get a job, secure a deposit on an apartment, open a bank account. As he can't complete one task until he has completed the others, he is propelled back and forth by levers and springs until the 28-day clock runs out and the game is over. The human pinball machine allegorises Griffiths' argument that, within the UK immigration system, 'time is used as an administrative technique that delays, punishes and trips people up.'[28]

Through its collection of fairground rides, *Welcome to the UK* wrests invisible power into tangible forms; it shows that 'time is uncertain and malleable in the world of border management.'[29] The play testifies to the control and manipulation of an asylum seeker's perception of the passage of time, and the far-reaching implications that this form of control has on individuals' mental wellbeing. But the exploration of time inequality in *Welcome to the UK* also extends beyond this, to tackle broader issues concerning Britain's migrant workforce.

One cast member sings a song about working for Deliveroo, highlighting that the gig economy, and other low paid and precarious service work, depends upon the assumption that some people's time is to be valued more highly than others. In another sketch, cast members queue up to receive British documents. EU citizens applying for settled status in the UK cut in front of the refugees waiting in line, while Meghan Markle and Prince Harry bypass the queue altogether. By reminding the audience that time is valued differently depending on who it belongs to, *Welcome to the UK* shows how time inequality can map onto more general structures

[28] Griffiths, "The Changing Politics of Time in the UK's Immigration System," 56–57.
[29] Griffiths, 58.

of inequality, through 'the non-synchronous time-space of transnational "exchange", and exploitation.'[30]

The most striking tear in the temporal fabric of *Welcome to the UK* is signalled by a young man who sits atop a ladder for the duration of the performance. He has become totally enveloped in the time politics of asylum. So preoccupied is he with waiting for his asylum papers that he can't focus on being in the play at all. At one point, he video-calls his family, with whom he hopes to be reunited once his asylum status is granted. Otherwise, he simply sits and waits, ignoring the action around him.



Figure 44: An asylum claimant sits on a ladder in *Welcome to the UK*, PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company, January-February 2019, © José Farinha

[30] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 11.

Sitting atop the ladder, this figure also straddles the frontier of the performance itself. From this position, he shines a light upon the demand for hyper-authenticity within refugee theatre, which 'works on the proposition that the performance features "real" people and that there is no distinction between the subjectivity of the performer on and off "stage."[31] Hyper-authenticity, Silvija Jestrovic explains, is a demand made of 'real' refugees who play refugees onstage. In hyper-authentic refugee representations, the authenticity of the refugee 'in real life' depends upon how convincingly they perform their own identities (their own subject status, their own refugee status) in theatrical contexts. The idea of hyper-authenticity relies upon the notion that refugees possess an 'original exilic identity' that they are able to tap into at will. [32] To counteract this trend in hyper-authenticity, Jestrovic considers that 'the authentic body in performances of asylum might only be possible in the form of its own parody,'[33] and it is one such parody that *Welcome to the UK* provides.

By embodying the decision to not be 'in' the play, the man on the ladder places the concept of a 'refugee actor', and the theatrical expectations of hyper-authenticity, under scrutiny. He raises questions about the threshold of the theatre itself: can an actor 'in' a play choose not to play along? Can the inside of a play be detached from the outside? Is it meaningful to distinguish between fiction and reality at all in this case, considering the everyday performativity that goes along with refugee status? Is it meaningful to speak of actors, characters and theatrics *in opposition to* the drama, role play and scripted recitations demanded of asylum seekers in their

[31] Silvija Jestrovic, "Performing like an Asylum Seeker: Paradoxes of Hyper-Authenticity," *Research in Drama Education* 13, no. 2 (2008): 160, doi: 10.1080/13569780802054810.
[32] Jestrovic, 168.
[33] Jestrovic, 168.

day to day lives? By blurring the boundaries of performance and reality, the man on the ladder draws the frontiers of the theatre into the centre of the play.

The man on the ladder is a supplementary figure in relation to the play. Suspended, isolated and uncomfortable, he is part of the whole, yet he also exceeds the whole. This mirrors the refugee's supplementary position within the nation. The refugee is adjunct to, yet constitutive of, the guiding narrative of the nation-state, which relies upon outsiders to dictate and reinforce its identificatory boundaries through processes of exclusion. As Ahmed argues, it is the stranger that 'allows Law to mark out its terrain,' as 'the act of hailing or recognising some-body as a stranger serves to constitute the lawful subject, the one who has the right to dwell, and the stranger at the very same time.'[34] As the refugee is the limit concept that secures the borders of the imagined community of the nation, the refugee subject remains harnessed to 'the homogeneous time of realist narrative' that organises the temporal structure of nationhood. The nation *needs* the supplementary outsider – the refugee atop the ladder – in order to define its own boundaries and its own identity.

Yet *as* a supplementary figure, the man on the ladder also represents an interruption in the national narrative. As Bhabha argues, '[t]he power of supplementarity' consists 'in the renegotiation of those times, terms and traditions through which we turn our uncertain, passing contemporaneity into the signs of history.'[35] The disjunctive temporality of the refugee-supplement is interruptive, but without it, there would be nothing to interrupt. This melancholy, supplementary man on the ladder, surveying the performance from above, embodies a temporal disjunction, a dialectical malfunction, holding within himself 'the menacing, agonistic

[34] Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, 23.
[35] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 223.

boundary of cultural difference'[36] that refuses to be sublated. To return to the proposition with which this chapter began, he inhabits the position of 'the people' at the heart of the 'tension between the pedagogical and the performative.' The man on the ladder sits astride 'the cutting edge between the totalising powers of the "social" as homogeneous, consensual community, and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population.'[37]

Within its surreal, allegorical fairground, *Welcome to the UK* holds together circuitous time, indefinite time, expanding and retracting timescales, unrealistic deadlines, and the undervalued time of expendable workforces. The play's uncanny carnival transforms the theatre into 'a supplementary space for the articulation of cultural knowledges that are adjacent and adjunct but not necessarily cumulative, teleological or dialectical' – knowledges and experiences that 'add to' but do not 'add up'.[38] This is why the action of *Welcome to the UK* cannot be communicated through a linear, teleological narrative. Cwerner considers temporal synchrony to be a form of oppression within the asylum regime. He describes the 'time politics of asylum in the UK' as 'a function of the articulation of state power through mechanisms of legislation, legitimation and administration of law and public policy.'[39] It is through time politics, he contends, that the state can 'synchronize and control a myriad of migration and refugee events, movements, and narratives that have fallen beyond the state's traditional forms of control.'[40]

[36] Bhabha, 241.
[37] Bhabha, 209.
[38] Bhabha, 234.
[39] S.B. Cwerner, "Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK," *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004): 73.
Vassilis S. Tsianos, Sabine Hess, and Serhat Karakayali, "Transnational Migration Theory and Method of an Ethnographic Analysis of Border Regimes," 2009, 8.
[40] Cwerner, "Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK," 73.

The absence of a storyline, narrative arc, character development or denouement in *Welcome to the UK* (the play ends with a melodramatic reconstruction of the end of the film *Titanic*) resulted in some unfavourable reviews, as two separate critics deemed the play a 'ramshackle satire' and a 'ramshackle affair.'[41] It is only by rejecting the homogeneity of realist narrative time, however, that *Welcome to the UK* is able to communicate the idea, 'ramshackle' in itself (definition: irregular and disorderly), that people living in close spatial proximity – renting in the same apartment block, riding the same bus, frequenting the same supermarkets – can be 'liv[ing] affectively through different temporalities.'[42] It is the play's irregular, disorderly and hence sometimes inaccessible narrative that allows it to communicate 'the temporal complexity of the asylum process and the refugee experience.'[43]

Multiple divergent lived experiences of time are put on display in *Welcome to the UK*, as layers of temporal disjunction are made manifest in reified, symbolic forms. Each fairground ride testifies to 'the narrative temporalities of splitting, ambivalence and vacillation'[44] that pervade the discourse of the nation. The fairground in *Welcome to the UK* is thus a repository for, and a resurgence of, what Ruben Andersson has called 'the deferred hopes of the border's labyrinthine landscape of time.'[45] In a gesture of theatrical chromatography, *Welcome to the UK* stages the nation in counter-time, displaying the heterogeneous, agonistic timescales that have been assimilated into the synchrony of the national myth. *Welcome to the UK* testifies to

[41] Fergus Morgan, "Welcome to the UK Review at the Bunker, London – 'a Ramshackle Satire,'" *The Stage*, January 28, 2019, https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2019/welcome-uk-review-bunker-london/.
Michael Billington, "Welcome to the UK Review – Fancy a Game of Home Office Bingo?," *The Guardian*, January 28, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2019/jan/28/welcome-to-the-uk-review-the-bunker-london-borderline-refugees.
[42] Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*, 116.
[43] Cwerner, 73.
[44] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 211.
[45] Andersson, "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality," 805.

the ways that structural policies of deferral can silently eat away at years of a person's life, through enforced waiting, uncertainty, repeated delays, unknowing and unbelonging.

14. Dreaming as Disruption

While *Welcome to the UK* stages an ambitious discursive opposition to 'the synchronizing power of the nation-state and its institutions,'[46] *Borderline* conducts a critique of the oppressive temporality of the refugee dream-narrative. I have argued that the refugee dream-narrative pushes the asylum seeker into a future-oriented temporal relationship with their host nation, in which the refugee is constructed as a figure that never actually arrives in Europe, that is *forever not-yet in Europe.* The future-oriented temporality of the refugee dream-narrative can be dangerous, as it allows assurances of safety and security to be suspended indefinitely. *Borderline*, however, capitalises on a moment of disjunction within the posteriority of the refugee dream-narrative.

The scene in *Borderline* that audience members find most striking is an a cappella rendition of ABBA's 1979 song 'I Have A Dream.' It is sung by a cast member as part of a memorial for an Afghan minor who lost his life in Calais. The cast stand in a circle, heads bowed, and sprinkle earth onto a mound of shoes. On the surface, the song choice seems to feed into the stereotypical refugee dream discourse: border-crossing rendered as an act of dreaming. Yet it is the apparent innocuity of the song choice that makes the scene remarkable. Owing to its context and connotations, the song 'I Have A Dream' is one of those 'contingent and arbitrary signs and symbols that signify the affective life of the national culture.'[47] ABBA is a pop group that epitomises pan-European 'low culture' ('I Have a Dream' was also covered by the boyband

[46] Cwerner, "Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK," 77.
[47] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 203.

Westlife in 1999). As the second most successful band of all time in terms of album sales, the group's *schlager*-influenced style is famous for having been mocked by critics but embraced by 'the people'.

ABBA has become a symbol of trans-European nationhood owing to the band's 'homely, restrained and European values,' and their ability to communicate 'suburbia's hopes and fears.'[48] The films, stage productions, 'live experiences', karaoke bars, museum exhibitions and tourist packages that make up the 'Mamma Mia' franchise have turned ABBA's repertoire into 'a kind of common currency, cutting across boundaries: secular hymns for the Western world.'[49] ABBA also has a place in European cultural history. With band member Anni-Frid Lyngstad one of the Norwegian-German *Lebensborn*, the band developed a cultural product that united citizens of Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War years; the band's royalties from the Soviet Union were reputedly paid in oil commodity rights when the rouble was embargoed.

ABBA also became the most famous winner of the Eurovision Song Contest in 1974, with their song 'Waterloo.' Established in 1956, Eurovision was a nominally apolitical attempt to unite European countries following the end of the Second World War. In reality, Eurovision has always been a tool for constructing and constricting national and international identities on the European stage – an opportunity for 'both national solidarity and participation in a European identity' to be 'co-confirmed.'[50] A contest dominated by flag-waving, stereotyping and

[48] Andrew Harrison, "Why Are Abba so Popular?," *BBC Culture*, October 21, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140415-why-are-abba-so-popular.
[49] Fraser Nelson, "We're Still Thanking Abba for the Music, 40 Years after Eurovision," *The Telegraph*, April 5, 2014, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/rockandpopmusic/10746492/Were-still-thanking-Abba-for-the-music-40-years-after-Eurovision.html.
[50] Janelle Reinelt, "Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a 'New' Europe," *Theatre Journal* 53, no. 3 (2001): 386, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068949.

symbolic shows of political allegiance, Eurovision has helped to craft and legitimise the identities of emerging European states, including the ex-Soviet nations following the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the Southern European states following the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Owing to this cultural context, the rendition of 'I Have A Dream' in *Borderline* communicates a chimerical nostalgia for 'homely, restrained and European values,' while at the same time communicating the opposite. The subversive mimicry deployed in *Borderline* transforms 'I Have A Dream' into one of those 'counter-narratives of the nation that continually evoke and erase its totalizing boundaries.'[51] *Borderline* alters the iterative process of repetition and reinforcement, disrupting the self-containment of the national sign by '[i]nsinuating itself into the terms of reference of the dominant discourse.'[52] This type of mimicry occurs repeatedly throughout *Borderline*: in the rendition of the Guns 'N' Roses' classic 'Welcome to the Jungle', in the impersonation of Jude Law (who visited the Jungle in February 2016), in the allusions to Glastonbury festival, and in the cast's fashion catwalk, showing off the miniskirts and high heels that get donated to refugees whether they want them or not. *Borderline* plays upon the ambivalence of national signs and symbols – of those 'scraps, patches and rags of daily life' that 'must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture'[53] – by transforming Western pop culture icons into biting self-criticisms.

The actor who sings 'I Have A Dream' in *Borderline* is a Sudanese musician, and this musical influence comes across strongly in his performance. As the vocal style and Arabic-inflected stresses and pronunciation defamiliarize the song, 'the disruptive temporality of enunciation

[51] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 213.
[52] Bhabha, 223.
[53] Bhabha, 209.

displaces the narrative of the Western nation.'[54] The stylistic differences that echo within the performance imbue the lyrics with an uncanny rhetorical irony:

> And my destination, makes it worth the while
> Pushing through the darkness, still another mile
> […] When I know the time is right for me
> I'll cross the stream. I have a dream.[55]

This is not *only* a refugee dream-narrative, and neither is it *only* a vapid pop song. It is an act of mimicry that attests to the potential for difference and disruption that is constantly vibrating within the signs and symbols of (inter)national culture. In the minoritarian rearticulation of 'I Have A Dream', the song becomes detached from its standard signification, and begins to circulate in another language of distance, darkness and dream destinations. By apprehending the 'alienating and iterative time of the sign,' *Borderline*'s postcolonial mimicry scatters the totalising, accumulative time of pedagogical national narrative, attesting to 'the insurmountable ambivalence that structures the *equivocal* movement of historical time.'[56]

The performance of 'I Have A Dream' marks the out musician at the border as one of 'those people who speak the encrypted discourse of the melancholic and the migrant,' one of those people with 'a voice that opens up a void.'[57] It is through this void, this narcissistic wound, that the frontiers of the nation are revealed to be contingent, inessential and vulnerable – dependent upon continual performative iterations to uphold their mythical boundaries. The border-singer

[54] Bhabha, 54.
[55] Benny Andersson and Björn Ulvaeus, "I Have A Dream," *track 7 on ABBA Gold - Greatest Hits*, Polydor Records LC 0309, 1992, compact disc.
[56] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 228, 225–26.
[57] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 236.

in *Borderline*, whose 'desire to "imitate" language produces [a] void in the articulation of the social space,'[58] returns us to the question of paranoid nationalism.

In his borderline hybridity, the Sudanese musician transforms himself from a 'discriminated subject' into a 'terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification.'[59] To do this, he takes advantage of a 'very specific discursive form of paranoia' within the national consciousness, a 'persecutory paranoia that emerges from cultures' own structured demand for imitation and identification.'[60] This national paranoia, which works by disavowing its own dependence on imitation and identification, is the chink in the patriot's armour that the humour of *Borderline* is able to exploit. The performance of 'I Have A Dream' shows that the objects taken up by the nation's 'outsiders', and used as vehicles to declare their interruptive presence within the fabric of the exclusionary, mythical tapestry of national culture, are often the very objects that define and reinforce the boundaries of that national culture.

Through the dream-song, the refugee subject takes up the future-oriented dream sequencing into which he has been embedded, and inserts a jolt of uncertainty into the process of national narrative construction. This ironic reflection upon the nation's narcissistic imperative approaches 'refugee dreaming' from a different angle. It identifies a resistant strain within the dream-narrative that conforms more closely to the dream as described by Bhabha in his analysis of *The Satanic Verses* – a dream

> not of the past or present, nor the continuous present; it is not the nostalgic dream of tradition, nor the Utopian dream of modern progress; it is the dream of translation as 'survival' as Derrida

[58] Bhabha, 238.
[59] Bhabha, 162.
[60] Bhabha, 197.

> translates the 'time' of Benjamin's concept of the after-life of translation, as *sur-vivre*, the act of living on borderlines. [61]

This 'dream of survival' is 'an iteration that is not belated, but ironic and insurgent.'[62] Does such an ironic and insurgent possibility exist within the refugee dream-narrative, beyond the narcissism of post-humanitarian irony? What would it mean to dream 'as survival' and as 'the act of living on borderlines', while acknowledging that Derrida's sense of living on borderlines is tied up with 'the question of narrative as demand for narrative' – the question of '[w]ho will form a narrative of these borderline events' and '[a]t whose demand.'[63] I argue that the insurgent strain within the 'refugee hopes and dreams' narrative is sourced in the irreducibility of *excessive desire.*

15. In Defence of Desire

If postcolonial mimicry of the type exemplified in *Borderline* is capable of 'destroy[ing] narcissistic authority through the repetitious slippage of difference and desire,'[64] then desire itself may be a powerful force in counteracting the violent synchrony of the national narrative. The desire of some displaced people to reach the UK is an excessive force that resists categorisation. While both pro-refugee and anti-refugee lobbies aim for simplicity, clarity and quantifiability in their descriptions of why people journey to the UK to claim asylum, the *desire to move* is neither simple, nor clear, nor quantifiable. The desire, 'the dream', is always excessive. Consider the research report undertaken by Refugee Rights Europe (RRE) in October

[61] Bhabha, 324.
[62] Bhabha, 324.
[63] Jacques Derrida, "Living On - Border Lines," in Deconstruction and Criticism (Oxon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979), 103, translated by James Hulbert.
[64] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 129.

2017, which documents the reasons that people living in Calais believe the UK is the best country for them.

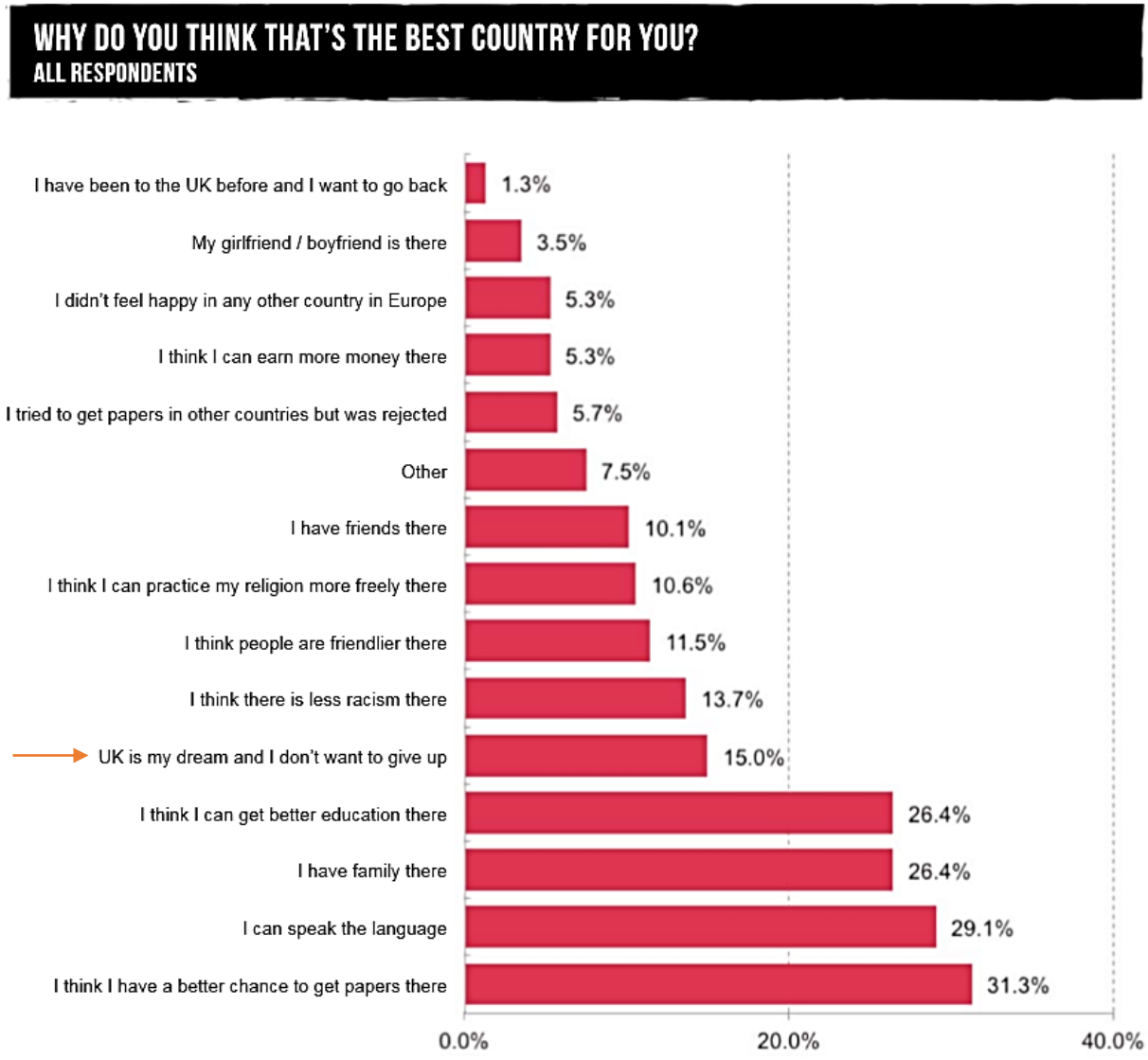


Figure 45: Refugee Rights Europe, *Twelve Months On: Filling Information Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France*, 2017, p.31

15% of those interviewed by RRE answered that the 'UK is my dream and I don't want to give up.'[65] Even the most exhaustive and reliable data on why people attempt to reach the UK, then, is infiltrated by dreaming as an inexplicable desire that resists scrutiny. This should not cast doubt upon those who fear persecution and seek protection, and it is not the same thing as arguing that refugees 'assert their dreams as their unconditional right.'[66] Rather, it is an opportunity to acknowledge that people are driven to cross borders by more factors than we have categories to accommodate. The *desire to move*, if not the act of moving itself, is intangible, unquantifiable and uncontrollable, and it disrupts the facts and figures of research reports.

Alongside those internationally recognised and easily categorizable reasons for cross-border movement, there exist illogical, unexpected, contradictory and complex drivers that cannot be organised into tables and charts. It is these that are gathered under the banner of 'refugee hopes and dreams'. Sometimes people cross borders for opaque reasons, or for reasons not fully clear to themselves. A wide range of deeply personal, obscure and idiosyncratic motivations for crossing borders are often repressed and disavowed by activists and detractors alike. These include obstinacy, envy, competitiveness, compulsion, pride, boredom, misinformation, contrarianism and nihilism. The whole of this messy, disruptive, ramshackle reality is stuffed into the category of 'refugee hopes and dreams'.

As a container for the uncontainable, inexplicable and unassimilable aspects of cross-border movement, the 'refugee hopes and dreams' narrative masks the discrepancy between the

[65] Marta Welander, "Twelve Months On: Filling Information Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France a Year On from the Demolition of the Camp," *Refugee Rights Europe*, 2017, 31, https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/RRE_TwelveMonthsOn.pdf.
[66] Žižek, "The Non-Existence of Norway: Slavoj Žižek on the Refugee Crisis."

quantifiability of statistical migration data on the one hand, and the unpredictability and complexity of real people on the other. As a representation of excessive desire, the dream-narrative resists and disrupts the hard borders of statistical migration data. The desire to move exceeds the interpretive and investigatory frameworks that are designed to control and curb cross-border migration, and it is to neutralise the threat posed to statistical migration data that this excessive desire is either disavowed or redirected into nation-building projects.

Representations of 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming' channel the excessive force of desire into pre-established narrative codes, reinvigorating economic and political humanisms, and transforming refugees into specular subjects to counterbalance the destructive force of paranoid nationalism. The 'refugee hopes and dreams' narrative functions as a narcissistic recuperation of Europe's anxiety regarding its own inter-national identity crisis. Ultimately, it is the incommensurability of hospitable myth and hostile reality that allows the borderline chorus to launch their oneiric critique. In the end, *we just don't know* why some people are willing to live in squalor and risk their lives to come to the UK, and it is this fundamental inscrutability that risks destabilising the paranoid construct of Eurocentrism.

When the nation attempts to reinforce its self-identity through refugee hopes and dreams, the excessive desire embedded in the dream-narrative exposes the artificiality of the desired object, and the absence at the core of the myth. The excessive desire of the dream-construct 'articulates the narrative of cultural difference which can never let the national history look at itself narcissistically in the eye.'[67] As this minoritarian desire resists capture and categorisation, overflowing the symbolic container of UK-as-myth, '[p]aranoid projections "outwards" return

[67] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 241.

to haunt and split the place from which they are made.'[68] The excessive desire to reach the UK raises questions about the coherence of the UK as a desirous place. It frustrates our desire for 'paranoid classification,' which at its core is a desire to classify ourselves as desirable.[69]

Excessive desire interrupts the recuperation of 'refugee hopes and dreams' into the mechanism of paranoid nationalism: if we don't know *why* they desire us, we cannot utilise this desire to reinforce our own identity as desirable. At the core of the cultural construction of the 'refugee dream', then, there exists a national paranoia. By overflowing the boundaries of positivist knowledge, the resistant refugee dream-narrative forces the affective economy of hope to turn on its own axis and reveal the absence at the core of the national myth. The paranoid, narcissistic force that reinforces the UK's image of itself as desirous becomes distorted and dislocated, as misplaced hope and audacious aspiration split the geopolitical signifier of 'Britain'. Failing to recognise itself in the mirror, failing to understand why the 'UK is my dream and I don't want to give up,' the desolation of the national myth is betrayed, and the game is up.

The challenge posed by this excessive desire is also the challenge of an approaching. Frantz Fanon writes that

> [a]s soon as I desire I am asking to be considered. I am not merely here-and-now, sealed into thingness. I am for somewhere else and for something else. I demand that notice be taken of my negating activity insofar as I pursue something other than life; insofar as I do battle for the creation of a human world – that is, of a world of reciprocal recognitions. [70]

Bhabha describes this moment of 'asking to be considered' in Fanon's writing (which might be the moment of an asylum claim) as 'the negating, splitting moment of desire.'[71] The excessive

[68] Bhabha, 214.
[69] Bhabha, 162.
[70] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1986), 218.
[71] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 74.

nature of desire disrupts the usual channels of identification because, when 'caught in the tension of demand and desire,' the place of identification becomes 'a space of splitting.'[72] As a result, Bhabha argues for 'the prefiguring of desire as a potentially conflictual, disturbing force in all those regimes of "originality."'[73] Desire, as a means of an approaching, may contain the possibility for moving beyond the ontological categories of 'being' or 'not being' a refugee. It may signal a partial response to Butler's call for 'an insurrection at the level of ontology.'[74]

There is a significant caveat which forestalls attempts to transform desire into possibility within the asylum context, however. The disruptive, destabilising identificatory *potential* of excessive desire will only manifest as a tangible form of resistance if we are willing to look beyond restrictive moralistic arguments regarding the desire to cross borders. Yet this is usually the exact thing that we remain unwilling to do. Superfluous desire has no place within straightforward questions of legitimacy and legality, but what goes on inside people's heads is anything but straightforward – there is no point in pretending otherwise. People are not machines, and they do not think and act like machines, predictably and logically, as immigration statistics indicate. To recognise the destabilising potential of excessive desire, it is necessary to move beyond accounts that construct the desire to move as morally reprehensible.

Betts and Collier, for example, argue that Western nations would be capable of meeting the demands of refugee protection if only they took the process of distinguishing refugees from migrants more seriously (this distinction being, as we have seen, the difference between hope and fear). They regret that, if the international community remains 'too intellectually lazy to distinguish the *quest for refuge* from the *desire to migrate*, a vital need which it is manageable

[72] Bhabha, 63.
[73] Bhabha, 116.
[74] Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, 33.

to meet would get drowned in a tidal wave of would-be migrants.'[75] In this argument, 'real' refugees do not 'get drowned' as a result of carefully constructed necropolitical border enforcement regimes. They do not 'get drowned' as a result of the discontinuation and criminalisation of search and rescue. It is, rather, other peoples' *desire to migrate* that causes deserving people to drown, beneath tidal waves of undeserving people. Here, the desire to move, as the inverse of deservingness, is figured as a moral aberration.

Yet it is only for certain people that the *desire to move* is considered criminal in this way – reprehensible, threatening and infinitely punishable. For many in the Global North, aside from the environmental issue of carbon consumption, the act of crossing borders for indeterminate reasons not is imbued with an innate moral significance. When a British or American citizen crosses a border, they may be required to produce documentation, but their *desire* to cross from one nation to another is not conceived as an inherently moral act: they are not seen as doing something 'good' or 'evil', 'right' or 'wrong'. They are simply going somewhere. As a result, the desire to cross borders without logical, comprehensible, credible and plausible explanations is a privilege confined to those with strong passports and strong currencies. It is only those who lack such privileges for whom the *desire to move* is considered inherently moral, and in some cases, inherently evil.

If we begin to treat the *desire* to cross borders (if not the act of border-crossing itself) as value-neutral, as an inevitability, even when that desire exceeds predetermined categories, then a far more comprehensive set of interpretive possibilities becomes available. As Bhabha argues, '[i]t is only by understanding the ambivalence and the antagonism of the desire of the Other that we can avoid the increasingly facile adoption of the notion of a homogenized Other, for a

[75] Betts and Collier, *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, 38. *Emphasis added.*

celebratory, oppositional politics of the margins or minorities.'[76] In recognition of this, we can turn instead to the account of desire given by Mani, who writes in *Voices from the 'Jungle'* that the Calais Jungle was 'full of humans with many hopes, dreams. I don't know whether, when they follow their dreams, they are doing right or wrong. It doesn't matter, we are alive; all living humans follow their dreams. Maybe sometimes in the wrong way.'[77]

In light of our impending climate catastrophe, the rapid criminalisation of solidarity, and the relentless withdrawal of legal routes to asylum, it is imperative that we detach the inevitable desire to migrate from an overly simplistic moral framework that conflates what is right with what is legal. This would allow us to approach both the desire to move, and the act of moving itself, more pragmatically and more holistically. It would allow us identify the ways that refugees' dreams and desires have been instrumentalised, neutralised and redirected towards upholding the perceived viability of European futurity, through the rhetorical structures described here as 'the affective economy of hope' and the 'refugee dream-narrative'.

[76] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 75.
[77] Calais Writers, *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*, 170.

CONCLUSION

THE JUNGLE AS FILM SET

In early 2015, an unofficial settlement known as the Calais Jungle grew up at the UK's external border in Northern France. By the time the camp was demolished in late 2016, the UK had voted to leave the European Union, a page had turned in Britain's national history, and the symbolic process of re-bordering European space had begun. In documenting the camp, Anglocentric accounts of the Jungle have also documented this moment of upheaval in British sociopolitical history. Creative representations of the Calais Jungle offer snapshots of Britain's perpetual struggle to reconcile its prevailing discourses of immigration, asylum, globalism, humanism, and British identity, into a coherent and homogenous national narrative. In doing so, they betray the anxiety of a nation beginning to reimagine its place in the world. This anxiety manifests most clearly in three ideological arenas, reflected in the three parts of this thesis: the insecure 'humanity' of the refugee, the experimentation of the grassroots voluntary aid sector, and the splintering narrative of British and European citizenship identity.

The cultural impact of these 'Jungle narratives' has also been felt on a narrower, more retrospective plane. Creative representations of the Jungle have helped to inscribe the camp into recent memory by translating lived experiences into communicable historical sequences. At the end of 2016, the wreckage of the Jungle occupied a psychic space somewhere between past and present: it was no longer there, but it had yet to be made sense of. Then, gradually, the whirlwind of divergent narratives circulating around the Jungle started to settle into an unofficial history of the camp. This process was driven by creative representations of the Jungle, which worked to wrest a historical narrative out of the clamour of competing accounts of the 'refugee crisis'.

Over time, these textual, artistic, dramatic, and filmic accounts of the Calais Jungle arranged themselves into a hermeneutic framework, remoulding the Jungle from an ongoing event into an object and site of memory.

Throughout this process, representations of the Jungle have become steadily more hegemonic, as particular events, organisations, and individuals have become retrospectively – and sometimes unexpectedly – recognised as the most significant in the history of the camp, while others have faded from view. Yet even as the 2015-16 Calais Jungle has crystallised into public memory, the situation for forced migrants in Calais continues to evolve. Decisions and developments at the UK border in France often go unreported in the British press, which tends to cast its representational net only as far as the Kent coastline, where 'migrant boats' sporadically arrive. As a result, the prevailing assumption continues to be that the 'refugee situation' in Calais was largely resolved at the end of 2016. Yet displaced people continue to arrive in Northern France, deterrence measures continue to be implemented, innovative border policing methods continue to be funded, and the representational dilemmas posed by the border town continue to plague the contemporary humanitarian imaginary.

Today, as in 2015, irregular migrants in Calais experience a degree of systemic deprivation and inequality usually reserved for representations of 'distant' suffering in Eurocentric humanitarian discourse. Owing to the well-documented hyperopia of the humanitarian gaze – the balancing of suffering 'over there' against spectatorship 'over here' – the proximal inhumanity of the Calais Jungle created a tear in the fabric of humanitarian geopolitics. The failure of well-established NGOs and intergovernmental agencies to take the lead in representing and responding to the 'refugee crisis' in 2015 led to the mobilisation of a grassroots creative arts campaign to 'humanise the refugee' in the Calais Jungle. The aid vacuum in Calais,

combined with the widespread dehumanising media coverage of the camp, opened the way for a multitude of tangled attempts to secure recognition of the refugee subject as a 'human being' in the representational no-man's-land of the Calais Jungle.

The representational strategies utilised by these groups to 'humanise the refugee' in Calais were stitched together from a patchwork of humanitarian and human rights norms, ideals, tropes and associated narrative forms. In an effort to secure the refugee's 'humanity' in the Calais Jungle, this diverse grassroots collective drew upon two different legacies of Enlightenment humanism: the 'human' of humanitarianism, and the 'human' of human rights. This experimental process placed the 'refugee crisis' at the epicentre of a rhetorical shift in humanitarian discourse, characterised by the confluence of discursive mechanisms for interpellating refugees as 'human beings'. In spite of its ingenuity and inventiveness, this representational approach exacerbated the liminal position of the refugee subject in Europe. It required the refugee to perform multiple versions of their own humanity, sparking constant declarations and reaffirmations of their status as human beings: 'we are all human,' 'we are human just like you,' 'the Jungle is for animals, not for humans.'

The refugee in Calais was required to conform to *both* the narrative expectations of the humanitarian refugee subject (enforced silence and sentimentality), *and* the expectation to narrate that is a prerequisite of the human rights refugee subject (enforced speech and sovereignty). The result of this double demand for narrative was explored in the first two chapters of the thesis. In Chapter One, I argued that the procedure for interpellating refugees in Calais as 'human beings' within the sentimental humanitarian tradition depended upon European citizens' affective engagement with, and imagination of, refugees' suffering. This proved to be a disempowering, inconsistent and unpredictable route into humanisation for the

contemporary refugee subject, as the equation of ultimate suffering with ultimate humanisation propelled them into premature memorialisation.

On the other hand, the human rights life narrative form constituted an aspirational model of humanity for the refugee in Calais. In Chapter Two, I argued that the recognition provided by the 'refugee voice' is predicated upon an infinite demand for speech, and is thus susceptible to infinite delay. Hence the possibility of 'becoming human' through speech is, for the refugee, structurally dependent on a procedure that ensures the endless deferral of such a recognition of humanity. In this way, the campaign to interpellate forced migrants in Calais as 'human beings' through intersecting humanitarian and human rights storytelling paradigms led to the discursive entanglement of the 'human' of human rights, and the 'human' of humanitarianism. This left the refugee suspended between postponed, and posthumous, forms of recognition, caught between retrospective and speculative forms of humanity.

These arguments demonstrate the extent to which notions of 'refugee humanity' are intertwined with narrative models of 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling'. In themselves, however, these concepts are matters of significant conflict. Some accounts code refugees as inherently silent, describing them as 'voiceless' and 'speechless' in order to convey their lack of agency within narrative-based institutions, including asylum law and psychiatry. Opposing accounts, meanwhile, code refugees as inherently vocal, associating the literal act of border-crossing with the metaphorical border-crossing power of storytelling. These competing approaches to the 'refugee voice' have resulted in a cultural conception of the contemporary refugee subject as a paradoxical 'silent storyteller'.

In reflecting upon the deployment of the 'refugee voice' and 'refugee storytelling' in the Calais Jungle, I have argued against positioning the refugee either as a figure in chronic need of a voice, or as a figure in possession of a voice capable of breaking down barriers. Instead, we must begin by recognising how the category of the 'refugee voice' itself has been constructed and circumscribed by Europe's punitive storytelling mechanisms. This permits us to consider how the individuality and the political will of a person seeking refuge might be asserted, in a way that does not rest solely on the idea of their '*being*' a refugee. This may contribute, in turn, to shifting the cultural narrative away from refugee ontology, and towards refugee phenomenology.

A second set of narratives refocus critical attention away from the refugee subject altogether, and towards the camp's European population. The diverse collection of 'volunteer-centric narratives' about the Jungle are united in their treatment of the 'refugee crisis volunteer' as the primary witness to suffering, the primary subject of analysis, the primary target of affective attachment and of imaginative identification. By making the European volunteer the focal point and protagonist of their narratives, these texts circumvent some of the representational dilemmas posed by the voice–humanity–storytelling triad. They also set in motion an extensive project of what Kapoor has called 'hyper-self-reflection.'[78]

As part of this reflective process, these volunteer-centric texts have compiled a detailed catalogue of approaches, values and communicative structures associated with the 'refugee crisis volunteer'. I argued in Chapter Three that this collective act of documentation served to reinforce the volunteer subject as an ideological figure distinct from both the professional humanitarian aid worker and the derided 'voluntourist'. These texts are particularly anxious to

[78] Kapoor, "Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other.'"

address the accusations of voluntourism, voyeurism and marketisation that were levelled at the volunteer contingent in Calais. Ultimately, it is this inveterate self-scrutiny *itself* that distinguishes volunteer culture in Calais most decisively from the oblivious, market-driven model of traditional voluntourism.

The process of hyper-self-reflection undertaken in these texts also extended beyond the grassroots volunteer movement itself. It began to reckon with the Jungle as an explicitly *European* place – at a time when the definition of Europe was being reformulated at the UK border. Volunteer-centric texts interrogated the meaning of 'Europe' in the Calais borderland by addressing questions of accountability, proprietorship and belonging. Chapter Four argued that volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle employ the discursive strategy of 'reverse hospitality,' by positioning refugees as hosts in the camp, with volunteers as their guests. This creative strategy is indicative of the direction in which moral and political discussions of refugee hospitality are travelling: away from 'humanitarian hospitality', as a welcome based on compassion and the relief of suffering, and towards 'neoliberal hospitality', as a welcome based on the stranger's capacity to contribute to the host state economy.

Chapter Five examined the stylistic traits, tropes and patterns that characterise volunteer-centric narratives about the Jungle, and that distinguish them from the standard model of aid worker witness narratives. The extensive process of self-reflection undertaken in these texts finds its rhetorical expression in an endemic anxiety – both an existential anxiety concerning the role of volunteers in administering the camp, and a representational anxiety concerning the role of volunteers in documenting the camp. This anxiety is conveyed stylistically through metatextuality, introspection, self-deprecatory humour and what Chouliaraki calls 'post-

humanitarian irony.'[79] This ironic strategy has had mixed results, however, with some texts offering a biting critique of Fortress Europe, and others collapsing into apolitical narcissism.

I have argued that the language of hopes and dreams has become part of our basic vocabulary for communicating about asylum seeking, and that literary tropes of 'refugee hoping' and 'refugee dreaming' pervade representations of the 'refugee crisis'. In Chapter Six, I described the 'affective economy of hope' that structures emotional interactions between refugees and European citizens across two planes of experience in the Calais Jungle: storytelling and spatiality. I argued that the transactional arrangement by which refugees produce hope for citizens to consume casts doubt upon the celebrated act of 'getting refugees to tell their stories.'

The consumer demand for 'refugee hope' has transformed the refugee into a symbolic object of Europe's future-oriented self-reflections. As a result, the refugee is obliged to perform, through storytelling, the qualities that would make them a 'palatable' future-citizen: gratitude, economic potential, religious conformity, assimilability, ingenuity, success, resilience, and above all, hopefulness. In order to combat this trend in the politics of palatability, 'refugee stories' in the future will be required to challenge stereotypes of displaced people not only as violent threats on the one hand, and helpless victims on the other. They will also have to engage with the exploitation of the refugee as symbolic currency that helps to facilitate Europe's narcissistic reattachment to itself as a mythical land of humanism and hospitality.

Texts that portray the Jungle as a town, city or urban landscape are underwritten by one of two forms of the 'affective economy of hope': either the idealistic economy of radical hope, which positions the Jungle beyond national borders, or the pragmatic economy of assimilationist hope,

[79] Chouliaraki, "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity."

which positions the Jungle *within* global city networks. Both spatial formations are intended to transform 'the refugee' symbolically from a drain on Europe's resources into an economic asset, and from a threat to European identity into an opportunity for reinforcing and reaffirming Europeanness. Yet neither of these economic structures is designed to generate hope *for* refugees: rather, the hope in these transactions is generated *by* refugees, for the benefit of European citizens. In short, 'refugee hope' is a rhetorical tool used to assuage 'our' collective national anxiety, or 'paranoid nationalism.'[80]

While the affective economy of hope is linked to spatial accounts of the Calais Jungle', the language of dreaming is used to communicate the temporality of asylum seeking. Chapter Seven described the 'refugee dream-narrative' as a representational tool that delays recognition of the refugee's arrival 'in Europe' temporally, even after they have arrived in Europe spatially. By pushing the refugee subject into a state of impossible futurity, the refugee dream-narrative absolves states of their responsibilities towards refugees who have not yet arrived in the Europe 'of their dreams'. The refugee dream-narrative emerged from the spatiotemporal chaos of the proximal 'refugee crisis': by positioning the refugee as *forever not-yet in Europe*, the 'not-yet' extension along the axis of time makes up for the 'already-here' compression along the axis of space.

When the deferral of responsibility inherent in the refugee dream-narrative combines with the deferral of humanity inherent in the human rights life narrative, the existential condition of being *forever not-yet-in-Europe* merges with the ontological condition of being forever-not-yet-human. This layering of liminalities reinforces the fact that hospitality as an ethico-political negotiation takes place across temporal as well as spatial planes. The temporal analysis of

[80] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*.

(in)hospitality also reveals that, while the refugee subject is pushed discursively into the future, ideas of British and European hospitality are representationally pushed into the past: myths of European hospitality are created retrospectively in comparison to today's increasing hostility.

The rhetorical function of 'refugee hoping and dreaming' sheds light upon the use of enforced waiting as a mechanism of Europe's asylum policy. At times, however, the cultural narrative of 'refugee hopes and dreams' contains a seed of resistance as well as repression. There is a vulnerability embedded in the narcissistic compulsion of the specular 'hopes and dreams' narrative – in the collective desire of the host society to reflect its own values back on itself via the figure of the refugee. Chapter Eight demonstrates one way in which refugees have taken advantage of this vulnerability in order to disrupt the iterative self-construction of the national narrative. By interrupting the hegemony of the nation's self-creation, the refugee expresses an excessive, disruptive and inordinate 'desire to move' which, in its commitment to ambiguity, contains an uncompromising attestation of equality. This excessive desire eats away at the categorical boundaries distinguishing deservingness from degradation.

At the same time as creative representations of the Jungle have become increasingly homogenised, they have also become increasingly fictionalised. This passage into fiction emblematises the fading consciousness of the camp, in its transition from current affairs to recent history. In June 2019, Anthony Woodley's film *The Flood* featured the first reconstruction of the Jungle as a film set.[81] The set of *The Flood* replaced the sand dunes and coastline of the camp with trees and grassland, marking the inaugural divergence within Jungle narratives away from the 'authenticity' of the camp space, and towards a representational

[81] Anthony Woodley, *The Flood* (UK: Megatopia Films, 2019), https://www.curzoncinemas.com/bloomsbury/film-info/the-flood.

approximation. Prior to this, films about the Jungle, such as *Aamir* and *In Another Life*, were filmed inside the camp itself, with the tents, shelters and border fences providing an evocative backdrop for the films' action.

This meant that, during its brief lifetime, the Calais Jungle was not only a border camp, but also a busy film set used for telling stories about the border camp. Actors portraying refugees filmed scenes alongside the refugees themselves, who began portraying actors when the camera fell upon them. In this way, refugees in the Jungle became extras in their own stories, populating the background shots of the movies of their lives. Every day in the Jungle, refugees performed the everyday, on a stage in which the smallest act or activity – from brushing one's teeth to making a phone call to frying an egg – was captured on camera, suffused with political significance, and almost simultaneously re-enacted in a different performance context.

It is just as important to understand the collective *impulse* to represent the Calais Jungle as it is to understand the content of these representations. I have considered not only *what* has been written, produced and performed about the Calais Jungle, but *why* so much should have been written, produced and performed. I argue that the Calais Jungle became such a busy film set because of its symbolic position at the border of Britain and Europe, at a moment when the UK was working to redesign its borders, and rebrand itself as a nation, on the global stage. I have argued that we will not be able to understand the legacy of the Calais Jungle as a refugee camp, until we understand the legacy of the Calais Jungle as a film set.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, Nicolas, and Maria Torok. "Mourning or Melancholia: Introjection versus Incorporation." In *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, edited by Nicholas T. Rand, 125–38. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Actes & Cités. "Calais, Atlas d'une Ville Monde," 2016. https://www.actesetcites.org/jungle.

Addley, Esther. "Gary Lineker Joins Stars to Condemn Scrapping of Dubs Refugee Scheme." *The Guardian*, February 14, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/13/scrapping-dubs-refugee-scheme-shameful-stars-tell-theresa-may-unaccompanied-children.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Agier, Michel, Yasmine Bouagga, Mael Galisson, Cyrille Hanappe, Mathilde Pette, and Philippe Wannesson. *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019.

Ahluwalia, Vikram. *The Pianist of Yarmouk*. United Kingdom: Guernica Projects, 2017. http://thepianistofyarmouk.com/.

Ahmad, Aeham. *The Pianist of Yarmouk*. London: Penguin, 2019.

Ahmed, Sara. "Affective Economies." *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 117–39.

———. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

———. *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Akbiek, Mamdouh, and Eloise Dicker. "Syrian Journey: Choose Your Own Escape Route." *BBC News*, April 1, 2015. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-32057601.

Allegretti, Aubrey. "JK Rowling Goes On Twitter To Attack Daily Express's Front Page On

Calais Migrants." *HuffPost*, August 11, 2015. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/08/11/jk-rowling-daily-express-calias_n_7969776.html.

Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)." In *Media and Cultural Studies Keyworks*, edited by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, 80–86. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Andersson, Benny, and Björn Ulvaeus. "I Have A Dream." *Track 7 on ABBA Gold - Greatest Hits*. Polydor Records LC 0309, 1992. compact disc.

Andersson, Ruben. "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality." *American Anthropologist* 116, no. 4 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12148.

Anker, Elizabeth S. "Commonly Human: Embodied Self-Possession and Human Rights in Jamaica Kincaid's 'The Autobiography of My Mother.'" In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, edited by Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore, 37–45. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Another News Story. "Another News Story: A Film by Orban Wallace," 2019. https://www.anothernewsstory.com/.

Anthony, Andrew. "Accidental Activists: The British Women on the Front Line of the Refugee Crisis." *The Guardian*, June 12, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/12/help-refugees-calais-accidental-activists.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. 4th ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012.

Apostolova, Raia. "Of Refugees and Migrants: Stigma, Politics, and Boundary Work at the Borders of Europe." *American Sociological Association*, September 14, 2015. https://asaculturesection.org/2015/09/14/of-refugees-and-migrants-stigma-politics-and-boundary-work-at-the-borders-of-europe/.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2018.

———. "'We Refugees.'" In *The Jewish Writings*, edited by Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman. New York: Schocken Books, 2008.

AreYouSyrious, and ShoufuCollective. "When Volunteers Become the Lackeys of Authorities." *Refugees Deeply*, March 27, 2017. https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2017/03/27/when-volunteers-become-the-lackeys-of-authorities.

"Arry : 9 Identitaires Sur Le Toit Du Futur Hébergement de Réfugiés de Calais." *France 3*, October 27, 2015. https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/grand-est/moselle/arry-8-identitaires-occupent-le-toit-du-futur-hebergement-de-refugies-de-calais-838485.html.

"Artist Ai Weiwei Poses as Aylan Kurdi for India Today Magazine." *India Today*, February 1, 2016. https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/artist-ai-weiwei-poses-as-aylan-kurdi-for-india-today-magazine-306593-2016-02-01.

BAFTA. *James Bluemel Wins Director Factual for Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*. UK: YouTube, 2017. https://youtu.be/ygMYMwdaVo0.

Baillot, Helen, Sharon Cowan, and Vanessa E. Munro. "Seen but Not Heard? Parallels and Dissonances in the Treatment of Rape Narratives across the Asylum and Criminal Justice Contexts." *Journal of Law and Society* 36, no. 2 (2009): 195–219.

Balibar, Étienne. "Europe as Borderland." *The Alexander von Humboldt Lecture in Human Geography*. Gelderland, Netherlands, 2004.

Banksy (@banksy). "I'm Raffling One of the Boats from Dismaland for £2 at Www.Choose.Love." *Instagram Photo*, December 1, 2018. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bq2Zmo9lMmh/.

Banksy. "After Dismaland Closed in September 2015 Nothing Was Wasted." Dismaland, 2015. http://dismaland.co.uk/.

"Banksy Offers Sculpture as Raffle Prize to Help Refugees." *Evening Express*, December 17, 2018. https://www.eveningexpress.co.uk/lifestyle/entertainment/banksy-offers-sculpture-as-raffle-prize-to-help-refugees/.

"Barbara Winton and Kindertransport Survivors Speak Out." *Help Refugees*, October 29, 2016. https://www.helprefugees.org.uk/news/barbara-winton-kindertransport-survivors-speak/.

Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2011.

———. "Refugees and Humanitarianism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, edited by Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona, 241–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Baroud, Ramzy. "'Activism' and Its Consequences: Syrian Refugees Are Not Subjects for a Social Media Gallery." *Middle East Monitor*, August 29, 2016. https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160829-activism-and-its-consequences-syrian-refugees-are-not-subjects-for-a-social-media-gallery/?

Barrett, Chris. "Calais Migrant Camp." Chris Barrett Photojournalism, 2016. https://www.chrisbarrett.info/calais-migrant-camp.

Baumard, Maryline. "« Jungle » de Calais : Le Démantèlement Débutera Lundi à l'aube." *Le Monde*, October 21, 2016. https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2016/10/21/jungle-de-calais-le-gouvernement-detaille-l-operation-de-demantelement-qui-debutera-lundi_5018279_1653578.html.

———. "Pourquoi Les Migrants de Calais Boudent Les Centres d'accueil et d'orientation Prévus Pour Eux." *Le Monde*, March 1, 2016. https://www.lemonde.fr/immigration-et-diversite/article/2016/03/01/pourquoi-les-migrants-de-calais-boudent-les-centres-d-accueil-et-d-orientation-prevus-pour-eux_4874486_1654200.html.

Bayliss, Charlie. "How the Calais Jungle Turned into a DESERT: A Year after the Infamous Refugee Camp Was Cleared, It Is Now a Barren Wasteland." *Mail Online*, October 21, 2017. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5003851/Calais-Jungle-camp-12-

months-demolition.html.

BBC News. *Calais Migrants: What's It like in the "Jungle"? (360 Video)*. France: YouTube, 2015. https://youtu.be/9McdcF3CglE.

BBC Two. "Calais: The End of the Jungle," 2017. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09c1psj.

———. "Exodus: Our Journey Continues," 2017. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09dh6mt.

———. "Exodus: Our Journey to Europe," 2016. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07ky6ft.

Behrman, Simon. "Legal Subjectivity and the Refugee." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 26, no. 1 (2014): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eet049.

Bell, Melissa. "Former Jungle Camp Becomes Home for Migrant Birds." *CNN World*, July 26, 2017. https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/26/europe/calais-jungle-camp-nature-reserve/index.html.

Ben & Jerry's. "Ben & Jerry's Ice Academy." Accessed July 9, 2019. https://www.benjerry.co.uk/values/ice-academy.

Bennett, Bruce. "Becoming Refugees: Exodus and Contemporary Mediations of the Refugee Crisis." *Transnational Cinemas* 9, no. 1 (2018): 13–30. doi: 10.1080/20403526.2018.1471181.

Berry-Hart, Tess. "People to People: The Volunteer Phenomenon." *Refugee History*, June 19, 2018. http://refugeehistory.org/blog/2018/6/19/people-to-people-the-volunteer-phenomenon.

Betts, Alexander, and Paul Collier. *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*. Penguin Books, 2017.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Bhatia, Monish. “Social Death: The (White) Racial Framing of the Calais ‘Jungle’ and ‘Illegal’ Migrants in the British Tabloids and Right-Wing Press.” In *Media, Crime and Racism*, edited by Monish Bhatia, Scott Poynting, and Waqas Tufail, 181–212. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Billington, Michael. “Welcome to the UK Review – Fancy a Game of Home Office Bingo?” *The Guardian*, January 28, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2019/jan/28/welcome-to-the-uk-review-the-bunker-london-borderline-refugees.

Bloch, Ernst. *The Principle of Hope: Volume One*. Translated by Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.

Blommaert, Jan. “Investigating Narrative Inequality: African Asylum Seekers’ Stories in Belgium.” *Dicourse & Society* 12, no. 4 (2001): 413–49.

Blond, Josie Le. “Refugee Musicians Hit Right Note with German Orchestra.” *UNHCR*. June 26, 2018. http://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2018/6/5afeb9e14/refugee-musicians-hit-right-note-german-orchestra.html.

Bluemel, James. “Exodus: Our Journey Continues.” United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2017.

———. “Exodus: Our Journey to Europe.” United Kingdom: BBC Worldwide, 2016.

Bodon, Theresa C., Jean R. Bodon, Ron Shields, and Debra Price. “Learning Together in Refugee Camps to Eradicate Prejudice and Stereotypes.” UNESCO: Refugee Camps, 2016. https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/mil_week_2016_theresa_bodon_jean-richard_bodon_-_sam_houston_state_university.pdf.

Bodon, Theresa C., and Nancy K. Votteler. “The Pedagogical Needs of Children and Adults Living in the Calais Jungle Refugee Camp: Existential Issues and Perspectives of Volunteer Teachers and Workers.” *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education* 4, no. 1 (2017): 113–38. http://dx.doi.org/10.18275/fire201704011132.

Boltanski, Luc. *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*. Translated by Graham

Burchell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

———. “The Legitimacy of Humanitarian Actions and Their Media Representation.” *Ethical Perspectives* 7, no. 1 (2000): 3–16. doi: 10.2143/EP.7.1.503788.

Brimelow, Kirsty, and Jelia Sane. “Breakdown: The Dismantling of the Calais ‘Jungle’ and of the Promises to Its Unaccompanied Children.” *The Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales (BHRC)*. London, 2017. https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/basw_53412-6_0.pdf.

“British Celebrities Highlight Refugee Plight in Calais ‘Jungle.’” *The New Arab*, February 22, 2016. https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/society/2016/2/22/british-celebrities-highlight-refugee-plight-in-calais-jungle%0D.

British Council. “On Our Doorstep - Thomas Laurance,” 2020. http://film-directory.britishcouncil.org/on-our-doorstep.

Brody, Tomo. “Humans After All: Voices from Calais.” Amnesty International UK, 2017. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/humans-after-all-voices-calais.

Broomfield, Matt. “Calais Jungle Wall Is Completed Two Months after All the Refugees Were Driven Out.” *The Independent*, December 13, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-jungle-refugee-camp-wall-completed-emptied-two-months-cleared-a7472101.html%0D.

———. “Refugee Crisis: Jeremy Corbyn Visits Calais Jungle and Grande-Synthe Camps.” *The Independent*, January 23, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-jeremy-corbyn-visits-calais-jungle-and-grande-synthe-camps-a6829701.html.

Brown, David. “Band of Britons Move into Calais Jungle.” *The Times*, August 11, 2015. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/band-of-britons-move-into-calais-jungle-mwg7bvt7ql9.

Bully, Éléonore. “Habiter La Jungle de Calais.” *Métropolitiques.Eu*, October 2, 2017. https://www.metropolitiques.eu/Habiter-la-jungle-de-Calais.html.

Bulman, May. “Child Refugees in France ‘neglected’ in Accommodation Centres after UK Home Office Rejections.” *The Independent*, January 29, 2017. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/child-refugees-crisis-france-accomodation-centres-uk-home-office-rejections-middle-east-syria-iraq-a7517141.html.

Burck, Charlotte, and Gillian Hughes. “Challenges and Impossibilities of ‘Standing alongside’ in an Intolerable Context: Learning from Refugees and Volunteers in the Calais Camp.” *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 23, no. 2 (2018): 223–37. doi: 10.1177/1359104517742187.

Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* London and New York: Verso, 2016.

———. *Notes Toward A Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

———. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso, 2006.

———. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Butter, Susannah. “Meet the Army of Creative London Volunteers at the Heart of the Calais Jungle.” *Evening Standard*, February 10, 2016. https://www.standard.co.uk/lifestyle/london-life/meet-the-army-of-creative-london-volunteers-at-the-heart-of-the-calais-jungle-a3176986.html#gallery.

“Calais : Migrants Craintifs et Débuts Timides Pour Le Camp Humanitaire.” *La Voix Du Nord*, January 12, 2016. https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/calais-migrants-craintifs-et-debuts-timides-pour-le-camp-ia33b48581n3265256.

“Calais: Migrants, Myths and the Media.” *Al Jazeera*, August 11, 2015. https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2015/08/calais-migrants-myths-media-150811102333795.html.

“Calais: Un Parc d’attraction Baptisé Heroic Land Doit Ouvrir En 2019.” *20 Minutes*, October 12, 2015. https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/1707423-20151012-calais-parc-attraction-baptise-heroic-land-doit-ouvrir-2019.

"Calais 'Jungle' Cleared of Migrants, French Prefect Says." *BBC News*, October 26, 2016. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-37773848.

Calais Migrant Solidarity. "Introduction to Calais." Accessed September 13, 2018. https://calaismigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/introduction-to-calais/.

———. "Why We Are Not Moving; from Residents of Galloo," 2015. https://calaismigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/2015/04/01/why-we-are-not-moving-from-residents-of-galloo/.

"Calais Statement - Our Concerns." *Help Refugees*, February 18, 2016. https://helprefugees.org/news/calais-statement-our-concerns/.

Calais Writers. *Voices from the "Jungle": Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*. Edited by Marie Godin, Katrine Møller Hansen, Aura Lounasmaa, Corrine Squire, and Tahir Zaman. London: Pluto Press, 2017.

Carr Vellino, Brenda. "Everything I Know about Human Rights I Learned from Literature: Human Rights Literacy in the Canadian Literature Classroom." In *Home-Work: Postcolonialism, Pedagogy, and Canadian Literature*, edited by Cynthia Sugars. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004.

Castricano, Jodey. *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida's Ghost Writing*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Cavarero, Adriana. *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood*. Translated by Paul A. Kottman. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Cazeneuve, Bernard. "Discours de M. Bernard Cazeneuve, Lors de Son Déplacement Au Centre d'accueil et d'orientation Du Mans Le 22 Février 2016." *Ministère de L'Intérieur*, February 22, 2016. https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Archives/Archives-ministres-de-l-Interieur/Archives-Bernard-Cazeneuve-avril-2014-decembre-2016/Interventions-du-ministre/22.02.2016-Deplacement-au-Centre-d-accueil-et-d-orientation-du-Mans.

Chandler, David G. *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention*. London: Pluto Press, 2002.

Channel 4. “Home,” 2020. https://www.channel4.com/programmes/home/episode-guide.

———. “Smuggled,” 2019. https://www.channel4.com/programmes/smuggled/episode-guide.

“Channel Migrants: Two Boats Found after 86 Attempted Crossing.” *BBC News*, September 11, 2019. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-49662172.

“Channel Tunnel: UK Offers £7m to Boost Calais Security.” *BBC News*, July 28, 2015. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-33692851.

Charlton, Joseph. “Refugee Crisis: What Life Is Really like inside the ‘Jungle’ in Calais.” *The Independent*, September 30, 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-what-life-is-really-like-inside-the-jungle-in-calais-a6674256.html.

Cheah, Pheng. “Humanity in the Field of Instrumentality.” *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (2006): 1552–57. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25501625.

“Children’s Commissioners Call for Dubs Amendment Reversal.” *BBC News*, February 15, 2017. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38988321.

Chouliaraki, Lilie. “Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity.” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 107–26. doi: 10.1177/1367877909356720.

———. *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

Chouliaraki, Lilie, and Rafal Zaborowski. “Voice and Community in the 2015 Refugee Crisis: A Content Analysis of News Coverage in Eight European Countries.” *The International Communications Gazette* 79, no. 6–7 (2017): 613–35. doi: 10.1177/1748048517727173%0D.

Chrisafis, Angelique. “French Court Rejects Bid to Demolish Shops at Jungle Refugee Camp.” *The Guardian*. August 12, 2016.

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/12/french-lille-court-calais-jungle-refugee-camp.

Chrisafis, Angelique, Peter Walker, and Ben Quinn. “Calais ‘Jungle’ Camp: Clashes as Authorities Demolish Homes.” *The Guardian*, March 1, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/29/french-authorities-begin-clearance-of-part-of-calais-jungle-camp.

Clair, Kimberly. “Art-Making as Social Justice in Za’atari and Calais.” *Peace Review* 29, no. 1 (2017): 40–47. doi: 10.1080/10402659.2017.1272301.

Clapp, Susannah. “Vault Festival Review – Light in the Tunnels.” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2017/feb/12/vault-festival-review-london-great-gatsby-mars-actually-crew-for-calais.

Clayton, Sue. *Calais Children: A Case to Answer*. UK: EastWest Productions, 2016.

Coguiec, Audrey, and David Suber. “Agency Encamped: The Case of Calais’ Jungle Inhabitants.” *Refugee Review* 3 (2017): 185–92. https://espminetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Refugee-Review-Vol.-III.pdf.

Cohen, Stanley. *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

“Commission Staff Working Document on Implementation of the Eurodac Regulation as Regards the Obligation to Take Fingerprints.” *European Commission*. Brussels, 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/documents/policies/asylum/general/docs/guidelines_on_the_implementation_of_eu_rules_on_the_obligation_to_take_fingerprints_en.pdf.

Conversations From Calais. “Documenting Conversations between Volunteers and Migrants Met in Calais,” 2020. https://www.conversationsfromcalais.com/.

“Conversations from Calais: The Posters Sharing Migrant Voices with the World.” *The Guardian*, February 25, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2020/feb/25/conversations-from-calais-the-posters-sharing-migrant-

voices-with-the-world.

Cooper, Yvette. “On the Anniversary of the Kindertransport, We Should Reflect on Why We’re Failing Child Refugees Today.” *The Independent*, November 21, 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/yvette-cooper-labour-refugees-kindertransport-anniversary-syria-alf-dubs-calais-children-a8644556.html.

Coundouriotis, Eleni. “Review: Human Rights, Inc. by Joseph R. Slaughter; That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity by James Dawes.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2008): 1002–11. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20486720.pdf.

Counterpoints Arts. “No Direction Home,” 2020. https://counterpointsarts.org.uk/artist/no-direction-home/.

Cowie, Graeme. “The New EU (Withdrawal Agreement) Bill: What’s Changed?” *House of Commons Library*, December 19, 2019. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/brexit/legislation/the-new-eu-withdrawal-agreement-bill-whats-changed/.

Cox, Emma. *Theatre & Migration*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

———. “Victimhood, Hope and the Refugee Narrative: Affective Dialectics in Magnet Theatre’s ‘Every Year, Every Day, I Am Walking.’” *Theatre Research International* 37, no. 2 (2012): 118–33. doi: 10.1017/S030788331200003X.

Craig-Norton, Jennifer. *The Kindertransport: Contesting Memory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019.

Crawley, Heaven, and Dimitris Skleparis. “Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe’s Migration Crisis.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 48–64. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1348224.

Cwerner, S.B. “Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK.” *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004): 71–88. doi: 10.1177/0961463X04040747.

Darcy, James. “Human Rights and Humanitarian Action: A Review of the Issues.” In *Human*

Rights and Humanitarian Action. Geneva: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, 2004. https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2311.pdf.

"David Cameron: 'Swarm' of Migrants Crossing Mediterranean." *BBC News*, July 30, 2015. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-33714282.

"David Cameron: We Need to Stop Migrants 'Breaking In.'" *BBC News*, August 15, 2015. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-33945402.

Davies, David. (@DavidTCDavies). "These Don't Look like 'Children' to Me. I Hope British Hospitality Is Not Being Abused." *Twitter*, October 17, 2016. https://twitter.com/DavidTCDavies/status/788061702017392640.

Davies, Thom, Arshad Isakjee, and Surindar Dhesi. "Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe." *Antipode* 49, no. 5 (2017): 1263–84. doi: 10.1111/anti.12325.

Dawes, James. "Human Rights in Literary Studies." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2009): 394–409. doi: 10.1353/hrq.0.0071.

———. *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Daws, Tristan, and Stephen Bookas. *Refugee Blues - A Documentary Poem*. France/UK: Thousandth Mile, 2016. https://vimeo.com/158990770.

Dearden, Lizzie. "The Story of the Kurdish Musician Who Drowned Clutching His Violin after Trying to Reach Europe." *The Independent*, May 4, 2017. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-boat-sinking-turkey-aegean-baris-yazgi-kurdish-violinist-belgium-musician-story-family-a7718551.html.

Derrida, Jacques. "Autoimmunity: Real and Symbolic Suicides." In *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, edited by Giovanna Borradori, 85–136. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

———. *Given Time. I, Counterfeit Money*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.

———. “Hospitality, Perfectibility, Responsibility.” In *Deconstruction Engaged: The Sydney Seminars*, edited by Paul Patton and Terry Smith, 93–104. Sydney: Power Publications, 2006.

———. “Hostipitality.” *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities* 5, no. 3 (2000): 3–18. doi: 10.1080/09697250020034706.

———. “Limited Inc Abc...” In *Limited Inc*, edited by Gerald Graff, translated by Samuel Weber, 29–110. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988.

———. “Living On - Border Lines.” In *Deconstruction and Criticism*, translated by James Hulbert, 75–176. Oxon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979.

———. “‘There Is No One Narcissism’ (Autobiophotographies).” In *Points… Interviews 1974-1994*, edited by Elisabeth Weber. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Design Unlikely Futures. “Calais Street-View,” 2016. http://duf.space/street-view.php.

Dewey, Caitlin. “Paris Terror: 10 Internet Hoaxes about the Attacks Debunked.” *The Independent*, November 17, 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-terror-10-internet-hoaxes-about-the-attacks-debunked-a6738331.html.

Diaz, Charles, Ramdane Ouali, Olivier Paquette, Hervé Masurel, Mejdi Jamel, and Michel Duclap. “Evaluation de l’action Des Forces de l’ordre à Calais et Dans Le Dunkerquois.” Paris, 2017. https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Publications/Rapports-de-l-IGA/Rapports-recents/Evaluation-de-l-action-des-forces-de-l-ordre-a-Calais-et-dans-le-Dunkerquois.

Dico, Joy Lo. “The Progress 1000: London’s Most Influential People 2018 - The Changemakers.” *Evening Standard*, October 8, 2018. https://www.standard.co.uk/news/the1000/the-progress-1000-londons-most-influential-people-2018-the-changemakers-a3956601.html.

Dillon, Michael. “The Scandal of the Refugee: Some Reflections on the ‘Inter’ of International Relations.” *Refuge* 17, no. 6 (1998): 30–39.

Domokos, John, Matthew Taylor, Mona Mahmood, Alexandra Topping, Laurence Topham, and Mustafa Khalili. “Calais Migrants: Life in the Jungle – Video.” *The Guardian*, July 27, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/video/2015/jul/27/calais-migrants-jungle-camp-video.

Doukhan, Abi. *Emmanuel Levinas: A Philosophy of Exile*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.

Doxtader, Erik. “With Double-Binds to Spare: Assuming the Rhetorical Question of Human Rights Language as Such.” In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights,* edited by Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore, 405–13. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Druelle, Louise. “Jungle: Performance Audiovisuelle.” Journal de Loup Blaster. Accessed February 2, 2020. https://sites.google.com/view/calaisjungle/jungle?authuser=0.

“Dublin III Regulation.” *Home Office*. London, 2020. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/909412/dublin-III-regulation.pdf.

Dubs, Alf. “On Holocaust Memorial Day, Let Us Remember Our Duty to Child Refugees.” *The Guardian*, January 27, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/27/holocaust-memorial-day-child-refugees-kindertransport.

Dunant, Henri. *A Memory of Solferino*. Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1986.

Edwards, Adrian. “UNHCR Viewpoint: ‘Refugee’ or ‘Migrant’ – Which Is Right?” *UNHCR*, July 11, 2016. https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html.

England, Charlotte. “Calais ‘Jungle’ like ‘Lord of the Flies’, with More than a Thousand

Children in Container Compound, Claim Volunteers." *The Independent*, October 30, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/the-calais-jungle-has-become-like-lord-of-the-flies-with-1500-children-left-behind-in-containers-and-a7388021.html.

Esin, Cigdem, and Aura Lounasmaa. "Narrative and Ethical (in)Action: Creating Spaces of Resistance with Refugee-Storytellers in the Calais 'Jungle' Camp." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 23, no. 4 (2020): 391–403. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1723202.

Evans, Kate. *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*. London: Verso, 2017.

Evdokimenko, Vika. *Aamir*. UK: An-Fan Terrible, 2017. https://vimeo.com/199351637.

"Eviction of the Calais Camp." *Help Refugees*, October 24, 2016. https://helprefugees.org/news/eviction-calais-camp/.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time & The Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Fagge, Nick, and Gareth Davies. "The Battle of the Calais Jungle Has Begun." *Mail Online*, October 24, 2016. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3862226/With-belongings-bin-bags-shopping-trolleys-thousands-migrants-set-spread-Northern-France-forced-leave-Calais-Jungle-bulldozed.html.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1986.

Farran, Carol J, Kaye A Herth, and Judith M Popovich. *Hope and Hopelessness: Critical Clinical Constructs*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1995.

Farrier, David. *Postcolonial Asylum: Seeking Sanctuary Before the Law*. Liverpool: Liverpool Universty Press, 2011.

Fassin, Didier. "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France." *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (2005): 362–87. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651596.

———. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*. Translated by Rachel Gomme. Berkeley, LA and London: University of California Press, 2012.

Favre, Hervé. "JUNGLE DE CALAIS Cazeneuve : 'Ce Démantèlement Est Un Devoir Humanitaire Pour Notre Pays.'" *La Voix Du Nord*, October 23, 2016. https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/63970/article/2016-10-23/cazeneuve-ce-demantelement-est-un-devoir-humanitaire-pour-notre-pays%0D.

Feischmidt, Margit, Ludger Pries, and Celine Cantat, eds. *Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Feldman, David B., and C. R. Snyder. "Hope and the Meaningful Life: Theoretical and Empirical Associations between Goal-Directed Thinking and Life Meaning." *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 24, no. 3 (2005): 401–21. doi: 10.1521/jscp.24.3.401.65616.

Ferrari, Danyel M. "Visualising Vulnerabilities: The Temporality of 'Awareness Raising' Memorials and the Making of the Always-Already Lost." Central European University, 2016. http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2016/ferrari_danyel.pdf.

Festa, Lynn. "Humanity without Feathers." *Humanity* 1, no. 1 (2010): 3–27. doi: 10.1353/hum.2010.0007.

Film Debate. "Interview – Vika Evdokimenko – 'Aamir' – A Feature Film," 2018. https://filmdebate.co.uk/promotion/interview-vika-evdokimenko-aamir-a-feature-film/.

Fisher, Mark. "What Is Hauntology?" *Film Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2012): 16–24.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin Classics, 1991.

FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. "Fundamental Rights Considerations: NGO Ships Involved in Search and Rescue in the Mediterranean and Criminal Investigations," 2018. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-ngos-sar-mediterranean_en.pdf.

"France Migrants: Hundreds without Shelter after Grand-Synthe Camp Fire." *BBC News,* April 11, 2017. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-39573736.

"France 'would Close Migrant Camps' in the Event of a Brexit." *France 24*, March 3, 2016. https://www.france24.com/en/20160303-france-would-close-migrant-camps-event-brexit.

Fraser, Giles. "The Migrants' Church in Calais Is a Place of Raw Prayer and Defiant Hope." *The Guardian,* August 7, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2015/aug/07/migrants-church-in-calais-place-of-raw-prayer-and-defiant-hope.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Robert R. Barr. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.

Gabrielatos, Costas, and Paul Baker. "Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005." *Journal of English Linguistics* 36, no. 1 (2008): 5–38. doi: 10.1177/0075424207311247.

Gander, Kashmira. "Meet the Syrian Family Who Fled Civil War and Now Make Halloumi in Yorkshire." *The Independent,* March 7, 2017. https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/syrian-refugees-yorkshire-halloumi-cheese-from-fleeing-isis-and-assad-to-world-cheese-award-a7616046.html.

———. "Songs of Praise Episode Filmed in Calais Migrant Camp Described as 'inspirational' and 'Humane' by Viewers." *The Independent,* August 17, 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/news/songs-of-praise-episode-filmed-in-calais-migrant-camp-described-as-inspirational-and-humane-by-10458142.html.

Garcia Bochenek, Michael. "'Like Living in Hell': Police Abuses Against Child and Adult Migrants in Calais." *Human Rights Watch,* 2017. https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/07/26/living-hell/police-abuses-against-child-and-adult-migrants-calais.

Gentleman, Amelia. "Calais Mayor Bans Distribution of Food to Migrants." *The Guardian,*

March 2, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/02/calais-mayor-bans-distribution-of-food-to-migrants.

———. “Legal Challenge to Cap on Dubs Child Refugee Scheme Fails.” *The Guardian*, November 2, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/02/child-refugee-legal-challenge-dubs-government-scheme-fails.

———. “Teddies and Teargas Canisters: What Remained in the Calais Camp.” *The Guardian*, December 30, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/30/teddies-tear-gas-canisters-what-remained-calais-camp.

George, Sylvain. *Qu’ils Reposent En Révolte (Des Figures de Guerres I)*. France: Noir Production, 2010.

Gibson, Sarah. “'Abusing Our Hospitality’: Inhospitableness and The Politics of Deterrence.” In *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, edited by J Germann Molz and S Gibson, 159–76. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

———. “Accommodating Strangers: British Hospitality and the Asylum Hotel Debate.” *Journal for Cultural Research* 7, no. 4 (2003): 367–86. doi: 10.1080/1479758032000165039.

———. “Testimony in a Culture of Disbelief: Asylum Hearings and the Impossibility of Bearing Witness.” *Journal for Cultural Research* 17, no. 1 (2013): 1–20. doi: 10.1080/14797585.2011.613221.

Gikandi, Simon. “Between Roots and Routes: Cosmopolitanism and the Claims of Locality.” In *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millenium*, edited by Janet Wilson, Cristina Șandru, and Sarah Lawson Welsh, 22–35. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Gill, A. A. “Table Talk: AA Gill Reviews a Refugee Camp Cafe in Calais’s The Jungle.” *The Sunday Times*, February 28, 2016. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/table-talk-aa-gill-reviews-a-refugee-camp-cafe-in-calaiss-the-jungle-zgxvfjqmw.

Gillespie, Marie. “Phones – Crucial to Survival for Refugees on the Perilous Route to Europe.” *Open University*, July 5, 2016. https://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/phones-crucial-survival-refugees-on-the-perilous-route-europe.

Gillespie, Marie, Lawrence Ampofo, Margaret Cheesman, Becky Faith, Evgenia Iliadou, Ali Issa, Souad Osseiran, and Dimitris Skleparis. “Mapping Refugee Media Journeys: Smartphones and Social Media Networks,” 2016. http://www.open.ac.uk/ccig/sites/www.open.ac.uk.ccig/files/Mapping Refugee Media Journeys 16 May FIN MG_0.pdf.

Gilroy, Paul. *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2000.

Goehler, Laura. “The Pianist of Yarmouk: From Rubble to Record Deal.” *CNN*, September 22, 2016. https://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/22/europe/pianist-of-yarmouk-record-deal/index.html%0D.

Good Chance Theatre. “Good Chance Calais,” 2016. https://www.goodchance.org.uk/calais.

———. “Good Chance Paris,” 2019. https://www.goodchance.org.uk/paris-summer-2019.

———. “Majid Adin,” 2020. https://www.goodchance.org.uk/ensemble-majid-adin.

———. “The Jungle,” 2020. https://www.goodchance.org.uk/the-jungle.

“Government Broke the Law by Not Giving Reasons for Dubs Children Rejections, Court Finds.” *Help Refugees*, October 3, 2018. https://helprefugees.org/news/dubs-court-case-ruling-home-office-october-2018/.

GOV.UK. “Joint Action Plan by the UK and France on Combating Illegal Migration Involving Small Boats in the English Channel,” 2019. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/773403/UK_France_declaration_24_Jan_13.00.pdf.

———. “Managing Migratory Flows in Calais: Joint Ministerial Declaration on UK/French

Co-Operation," 2015. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/455162/Joint_declaration_20_August_2015.pdf.

———. "National Statistics: Asylum," 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum.

———. "Policy Statement: Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016," 2018. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/policy-statement-section-67-of-the-immigration-act-2016.

———. "Transparency Data: Transfers of Children to the UK from the Calais Operation November 2017," 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/transfers-of-children-to-the-uk-from-the-calais-operation-november-2017.

———. "Treaty Between the Government of the United Kingdom of Greaty Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the French Republic Concerning the Reinforcement of Cooperation for the Coordinated Management of Their Shared Border," 2018. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/674885/Treaty_Concerning_the_Reinforcement_Of_Cooperation_For_The_Coordinated_Management_Of_Their_Shared_Border.pdf.

Greenslade, Roy. "Now We Can See the 'Calais Crisis' for What It Was - a Media-Made Myth." *The Guardian*, October 1, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2015/oct/01/now-we-can-see-the-calais-crisis-for-what-it-was-a-media-made-myth.

———. *Seeking Scapegoats: The Coverage of Asylum in the UK Press*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2005.

"Grey Malaysia and UNHCR Launch Unique Smartphone Application to Experience a Rohingya Refugee's Journey." *UNHCR*, April 25, 2017. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2017/4/59128c487/grey-malaysia-and-unhcr-

launch-unique-smartphone-application-to-experience.html.

Grice, H., and T. Woods. “Human Rights, Human Wrongs: Literatures of Captivity.” *Textual Practice* 26, no. 5 (2012): 829–50.

Griffiths, Melanie. “The Changing Politics of Time in the UK’s Immigration System.” In *Timespace and International Migration*, edited by Elizabeth Mavroudi, Ben Page, and Anastasia Christou. Cheltenham and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017.

“Guidance: Implementation of Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016 in France [Archived].” *Home Office*. London, 2016. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/598563/Archived_Implementation_of_section_67_of_the_Immigration_Act_2016_in_France_v2.0.pdf.

Hage, Ghassan. *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*. Sydney: Pluto Press, 2003.

———. “At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building.” In *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney’s West*, edited by H Grace, G Hage, L Johnson, J Langsworth, and M Symonds, 99–153. Annandale: Pluto Press, 1997.

———. *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998.

Hakemy, Sulaiman. “The Refugee Who Smuggled Himself Out of Camps and into ‘Rocket Man.’” *Vice*, June 23, 2017. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/newpxd/the-refugee-who-smuggled-himself-out-of-the-camps-and-into-rocket-man.

Haldevang, Max de. “Quiz: Are You ‘Gay Enough’ to Get Asylum as an LGBTQ Refugee?” *Quartz*, June 20, 2019. https://qz.com/1648215/world-refugee-day-are-you-gay-enough-to-get-asylum/.

Hanappe, Cyrille. “Calais : La «jungle», Future Ville ?” *Libération*, September 8, 2015. https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/09/08/calais-la-jungle-future-ville_1378304.

———. “La Leçon De Calais.” Actes & Cités, 2016. https://www.actesetcites.org/jungle.

Hansen, Signe Sofie, Layla Mohseni, Tara Flores, and Ishita Singh. “Humans of Calais: Migration from the Perspective of Migrants Research Report.” issuu, 2016. https://issuu.com/signesofiehansen/docs/humans_of_calais_issuu.

Harker, Joseph. “Stop Calling the Calais Refugee Camp the ‘Jungle.’” *The Guardian*, March 7, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/07/stop-calling-calais-refugee-camp-jungle-migrants-dehumanising-scare-stories.

Harrison, Andrew. “Why Are Abba so Popular?” *BBC Culture*, October 21, 2014. http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140415-why-are-abba-so-popular.

Hayden, Bridget. “What’s in a Name? The Nature of the Individual in Refugee Studies.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19, no. 4 (2006): 471–87. https://doi.org/10.1093/refuge/fel021.

Heath, Tina, and Richard Jeffries. “Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2004.” The National Archives, 2005. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218141739/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hosb1305.pdf.

Heldke, Lisa M. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Help Refugees. “Choose Love x A Mile in My Shoes,” 2019. https://www.helprefugees.org/choose-love-mile-in-my-shoes/.

———. “Dubs Fact Sheet,” 2017. https://helprefugees.org/dubs/fact-sheet/.

———. “Help Refugees: Our Impact, August 2015 to December 2017,” 2018. https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Help-Refugees-impact-report-Aug-2015-Dec-2017-LQ.pdf.

Help Refugees Field Managers. “April 2018 Code of Conduct/ Avril Code de Conduite - L’Auberge Des Migrants Help Refugees,” 2018.

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1ZXXwMWu7vmqV0JNHpP-zBAni_j7UgJNjxEr2wql29O4/edit#heading=h.rxb0wcj6gojd.

Hicks, Dan, and Sarah Mallet. *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2019.

Hitchings, Henry. "The Jungle Review: Courageous Show Is a Tribute to Hope and a Sobering Reminder." *Evening Standard*, July 6, 2018. https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/theatre/the-jungle-review-courageous-show-is-a-tribute-to-hope-and-a-sobering-reminder-a3880791.html.

Hollinger, David A. "How Wide the Circle of the 'We'? American Intellectuals and the Problem of the Ethnos since World War II." *The American Historical Review* 98, no. 2 (1993): 317–37. http://www.jstor.com/stable/2166835.

Hooks, Bell. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992.

Hosseini, Khaled. "Refugees Are Still Dying. How Do We Get over Our News Fatigue?" *The Guardian*, August 17, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/aug/17/khaled-hosseini-refugees-migrants-stories.

Hosseini, Khaled, Adeel Akhtar, Liz Edwards, Francesca Panetta, Nicole Jackson, Shehani Fernando, Mona Mahmood, et al. "Sea Prayer: A 360 Story Inspired by Refugee Alan Kurdi." *The Guardian*, September 1, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/01/sea-prayer-a-360-story-inspired-by-refugee-alan-kurdi-khaled-hosseini.

Hughes, Gillian, Charlotte Burck, and Laureline Roncin. "Therapeutic Activism: Supporting Emotional Resilience of Volunteers Working in a Refugee Camp." *Psychotherapy and Politics International* 18, no. 1 (2020): 1–15. doi: 10.1002/ppi.1517.

Hughes, Pascale, and Helen Spooner. "Refugee Crisis: What Asylum Seekers in the Calais Jungle Hope for in 2016." *The Independent*, January 5, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-what-asylum-seekers-in-the-calais-jungle-hope-for-in-2016-a6797831.html.

Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007.

Hunter, Benjamin, and Rosie Pope. "An Uncertain Future: Life for the Children of the Calais 'Jungle' Post-Eviction." *Help Refugees*. Calais, 2016. https://www.dropbox.com/sh/mc1qtfz8h2wx561/AAAof4FQGk50uEF9p6Iabj3Ha?dl=0

Hyndman, Jennifer. *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Ibrahim, Yasmin, and Anita Howarth. *Calais and Its Border Politics: From Control to Demolition*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

———. "Sounds of the Jungle: Rehumanizing the Migrant." *JOMEC Journal: Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies*, 2015, 1–18. cf.ac.uk/jomec/jomecjournal/7-june2015/Ibrahim_Howarth.pdf.

International, Amnesty. "Targeting Solidarity: Criminalization and Harassment of People Defending Refugee and Migrant Rights in Northern France." London, 2019. https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR2103562019ENGLISH.PDF.

IOC-Media. *Refugee Olympic Team Gave Hope to Millions of Refugees in the World*. Brazil: YouTube, 2016. https://www.olympic.org/ioc-refugee-olympic-team-rio-2016.

IOM Missing Migrants: Tracking Deaths Along Migratory Routes. "Over 3,770 Migrants Have Died Trying to Cross the Mediterranean to Europe in 2015," 2015. https://missingmigrants.iom.int/over-3770-migrants-have-died-trying-cross-mediterranean-europe-2015.

Irish Museum of Modern Art. "Grainne Hassett: The Calais Maps," 2017. https://imma.ie/whats-on/grainne-hassett-the-calais-maps/.

issuu. "Jungleye Activity Report," 2017. https://issuu.com/jungleye/docs/170731_jungleye_pr__printing_.

Jackson, Michael. *The Politics of Storytelling: Variations on a Theme by Hannah Arendt*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2013.

Jamalulail, Seif. *Jungle Boy*. Negeri Sembilan: SJ Publisher, 2018.

Janner-Klausner, Laura. "When Jewish People Look at Calais Migrants, We See Ourselves." *The Guardian,* August 13, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/13/jewish-people-calais-migrants-kindertransport-children-nazis.

Jeffers, Alison. *Refugees, Theatre and Crisis: Performing Global Identities*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Jenowein, Diego, Jenni Whitaker, and Hannah Lindner. "Forced Evictions in Calais and Grande-Synthe: 1 August 2018 - 1 June 2019." *The Human Rights Observers*. Calais, 2019. https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Forced-Evictions-in-Calais-and-Grande-Synthe-ENG-1.pdf.

Jestrovic, Silvija. "Performing like an Asylum Seeker: Paradoxes of Hyper-Authenticity." *Research in Drama Education* 13, no. 2 (2008): 159–70. doi: 10.1080/13569780802054810.

John, Tara. "Banksy Is Raffling a Dismaland Refugee Boat for a Good Cause." *CNN*, December 3, 2018. https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/banksy-dismaland-giveaway-gbr-scli-intl/index.html.

Jones, Jonathan. "Jake Chapman Is Right to Criticise Ai Weiwei's Drowned Boy Artwork." *The Guardian,* January 13, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2017/jan/13/jake-chapman-ai-weiwei-refugee-crisis%0D.

Jones, Sam. "UN Human Rights Chief Denounces Sun over Katie Hopkins 'cockroach' Column." *The Guardian*, April 24, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/apr/24/katie-hopkins-cockroach-migrants-denounced-united-nations-human-rights-commissioner.

"Jungle de Calais : La Zone Nord s'organise, En Attendant Le Démantèlement." *La Voix Du Nord*, April 27, 2016. https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/jungle-de-calais-la-zone-nord-s-organise-en-ia33b48581n3470619.

House of Illustration. “Journeys Drawn: Illustration from the Refugee Crisis,” 2018. https://www.houseofillustration.org.uk/whats-on/current-future-events/journeys-drawn-illustration-from-the-refugee-crisis.

Kapoor, Ilan. *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

———. “Hyper-self-reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World ‘Other.’” *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2004): 627–47. doi: 10.1080/01436590410001678898.

———. “Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire.” *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 8 (2007): 1203–20. doi: 10.1080/01436590500336849.

———. *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Kassabova, Kapka. “Breach Review – Short Stories Exploring the Refugee Crisis.” *The Guardian*, July 29, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jul/29/breach-by-olumide-popoola-annie-holmes-review-short-stories-refugees.

Katz, Irit. “Between Bare Life and Everyday Life: Spatializing Europe’s Migrant Camps.” *Architecture_MPS* 12, no. 2 (2017): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.14324/111.444.amps.2017v12i2.001.

Kaurismäki, Aki. *The Other Side of Hope*. Finland: Sputnik, 2017. https://vimeo.com/241233201.

Kearns, David. “Massive Blaze Sweeps through Calais ‘Jungle’ Hours after Paris Terror Attacks.” *Independent.Ie*, November 14, 2015. https://www.independent.ie/world-news/europe/paris-terror-attacks/massive-blaze-sweeps-through-calais-jungle-hours-after-paris-terror-attacks-34200770.html.

Kelly, Liam. “Why Refugees Love Being Entrepreneurs.” *The Times*, July 21, 2019. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/why-refugees-love-being-entrepreneurs-tgb2qckhd.

KEO Films. “Exodus: Our Journey Continues,” 2017.

http://www.keofilms.com/projects/exodus-journey-continues/.

Khaleeli, Homa. "'This Seems like a Solvable Problem': Jude Law on Helping Calais's Refugees." *The Guardian*, February 22, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/22/this-seems-like-a-solvable-problem-jude-law-on-helping-calais-refugees.

Khomami, Nadia. "How Syrian Refugee Chef's London Kitchen Is Helping Aleppo Hospital." *The Guardian*, April 29, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/29/how-syrian-refugee-chefs-london-kitchen-is-helping-aleppo-hospital.

King, Natasha. *No Borders: The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance*. London: Zed Books, 2016.

Kingsley, Patrick. "Postcards from the Calais Jungle: 'I Wish People Could See How Human We Are.'" *The Guardian*, February 3, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/feb/03/postcards-from-the-jungle-calais-jungleye-refugee-phot-collective%0D.

———. *The New Odyssey: The Story of the Twenty-First-Century Refugee Crisis*. London and New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

Kirmes-Daly, Hannah. "Reportage: Calais Jungle Exhibitions." Hannah Kirmes-Daly, 2018. https://hannahkirmesdaly.com/portfolio/protestimony-a-collective-exhibition-on-the-calais-jungle/.

Kleinman, Arthur, and Joan Kleinman. "The Appeal of Experience; the Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times." In *Social Suffering*, edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock, 1–23. Berkley: University of California Press, 1997.

Kleist, J Olaf, and Serhat Karakayali. "Volunteers and Asylum Seekers." *Forced Migration Review: Issue 51*, January 2016. https://www.fmreview.org/destination-europe/karakayali-kleist.

Knight, India. “What Would Jesus Do? Join the Migrants in Songs of Praise from Calais.” *The Sunday Times,* August 16, 2015. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/what-would-jesus-do-join-the-migrants-in-songs-of-praise-from-calais-hm7hzgn2nl6.

Koegler, Caroline. “Precarious Urbanity: ‘The Jungle’ (Calais) and the Politics of Performing the Urban.” *Postcolonial Text* 12, no. 3 & 4 (2017): 1–15. https://www.postcolonial.org/index.php/pct/article/viewFile/2309/2125.

Koffman, Ofra, Shani Orgad, and Rosalind Gill. “Girl Power and ‘Selfie Humanitarianism.’” *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 2 (2015): 157–68. doi: 10.1080/10304312.2015.1022948.

Kollias, Fanis. “The Elephant in the Room for Refugee Initiatives: ‘Are We Relevant?’” *Refugees Deeply*, November 1, 2016. https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2016/11/01/the-elephant-in-the-room-for-refugee-initiatives-are-we-relevant?.

Kraft, David. “There’s Nascent Hope in the Calais ‘Jungle’ Camp. So Why Destroy It?” *The Guardian*, February 18, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/18/hope-calais-jungle-camp-why-destroy-it.

Kugler, Olivier. *Escaping Wars and Waves: Encounters with Syrian Refugees*. Brighton: Myriad Editions, 2018.

Kushner, Tony. “Meaning Nothing but Good: Ethics, History and Asylum-Seeker Phobia in Britain.” *Patterns of Prejudice* 37, no. 3 (2003): 257–76. doi: 10.1080/00313220307593.

———. “Truly, Madly, Deeply … Nostalgically? Britain’s on–off Love Affair with Refugees, Past and Present.” *Patterns of Prejudice* 52, no. 2–3 (2018): 172–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2018.1433014.

L’Auberge des Migrants, Help Refugees, Human Rights Observers, and Refugee Rights Europe. “Facing Multiple Crises: On the Treatment of Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France during the Covid-19 Pandemic.” Calais, 2020. https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Facing-Multiple-Crises-report.pdf.

L'Auberge des Migrants, Refugee Info Bus, La Cabane Juridique, and Utopia 56. "Rapport Sur Les Violences à Calais: Pratiques Abusives et Illégales Des Forces de l'ordre." Calais, 2018. http://www.laubergedesmigrants.fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Rapport-Violences-Calais-2018.pdf.

L'Auberge des Migrants, Utopia 56, Help Refugees, and Refugee Info Bus. "Calais: The Police Harassment of Volunteers." Calais, 2018. https://helprefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Police-Harrassment-of-Volunteers-in-Calais-1.pdf.

LaCapra, Dominick. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

Lamont Bishop, Olivia. "Four Thoughts on Place and The Jungle." *Performing Ethos* 9 (2019): 105–10. doi: 10.1386/peet_00011_7.

Langdon, Jonathan, and Coleman Agyeyomah. "Critical Hyper-Reflexivity and Challenging Power: Pushing Past the Dichotomy of Employability and Good Global Citizenship in Development Studies Experimental Learning Contexts." In *Globetrotting or Global Citizenship? Perils and Potential of International Experiential Learning*, edited by Rebecca Tiessen and Robert Huish. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Lapin, Andrew. "Refugees and Nationalism: How Europe Is Questioning Its Identity Through the Movies." *Indie Wire*, July 8, 2017. https://www.indiewire.com/2017/07/brexit-europe-national-identity-movies-1201851388/.

Laqueur, Thomas W. "Mourning, Pity and the Work of Narrative in the Making of 'Humanity.'" In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, edited by Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

"Latest Calais Census." *Help Refugees,* August 24, 2016. https://helprefugees.org/news/latest-calais-census/.

Lawrence, Amy. "Football Offers a Haven of Hope beyond the Heartache of Life as a Refugee." *The Guardian*, February 19, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/feb/19/refugees-football-calais-camp-hope-

heartache.

Leurs, Koen, and Kevin Smets. “Five Questions for Digital Migration Studies: Learning From Digital Connectivity and Forced Migration In(to) Europe.” *Social Media and Society* Special Is (2018): 1–16. doi: 10.1177/2056305118764425.

Levinas, Emmanuel. *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*. Translated by Alphonso Lingis. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991.

Levivier, Arthur. *Regarde Ailleurs*. France: Activideo, 2018. https://vimeo.com/267681938.

———. “Regarde Ailleurs - Look Away.” Regarde Ailleurs, 2018. https://filmregardeailleurs.com/.

Liagre, Romain, and Frédéric Dumont. “Sangatte: The Life and Death of a ‘Refugee’ Center.” *Annales de Géographie* 641, no. 1 (2005): 93–112.

Liberty. “A Guide to the Hostile Environment.” London, 2019. https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/issue/report-a-guide-to-the-hostile-environment/.

Lichfield, John. “Calais’ Migrant Shanty Town to Be Provided with Water and Electricity by French Government.” *The Independent*, June 21, 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-migrant-shanty-town-to-be-provided-with-water-and-electricity-by-french-government-10335225.html.

“Lily Allen in Calais: ‘I Apologise on Behalf of My Country.’” *BBC News*, October 12, 2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-37628854/lily-allen-in-calais-i-apologise-on-behalf-of-my-country.

Lioret, Philippe. *Welcome*. France: Mars Distribution, 2009.

Liverpool FA. “Football Welcomes Refugees: County FA Teams Up with LFC Foundation & Amnesty International UK to Launch Community Project.” Accessed November 9, 2019. http://www.liverpoolfa.com/news/2019/jul/31/county-fa-teams-up-with-lfc-foundation-and-amnesty-international-uk-to-launch-community-project.

Locher, Dominic. *Bag Full Of Dreams: A Film by Refugee Residents of the Jungle*. France:

Vimeo, 2016. https://vimeo.com/174252404.

M.I.A. *Borders - Official Music Video*. UK: Interscope Records, 2015. https://youtu.be/r-Nw7HbaeWY.

Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization." *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377–404. doi: 10.1525/can.1996.11.3.02a00050.

Malone, Barry. "Why Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants.'" *Al Jazeera*, August 20, 2015. https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html.

Mankell, Henning. *The Shadow Girls*. Translated by Ebba Segerberg. London: Vintage, 2013.

Mapfugees. "Why Map Refugee Camps?," 2016. https://mapfugees.wordpress.com/.

Marsh, David. "We Deride Them as 'Migrants'. Why Not Call Them People?" *The Guardian*, August 28, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/28/migrants-people-refugees-humanity.

Martin, Diana, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz. "Rethinking the Camp: On Spatial Technologies of Power and Resistance." *Progress in Human Geography* 44, no. 4 (2019): 743–68. doi: 10.1177/0309132519856702.

Mbembe, Achille. "Necropolitics." Translated by Libby Meintjes. *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40.

McCluskey, Karen. "Personal Stories Can Be Powerful but Dangerous." *The World News*, January 27, 2020. https://theworldnews.net/gb-news/personal-stories-can-be-powerful-but-dangerous-karyn-mccluskey.

McFadyen, Gillian. "Memory, Language and Silence: Barriers to Refuge Within the British Asylum System." *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies,* 2018. doi: 10.1080/15562948.2018.1429697.

McGee, Darragh, and Juliette Pelham. "Politics at Play: Locating Human Rights, Refugees and Grassroots Humanitarianism in the Calais Jungle." *Leisure Studies* 37, no. 1 (2018):

22–35. doi: 10.1080/02614367.2017.1406979.

McGeer, Victoria. “The Art of Good Hope.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 592, no. 1 (2004): 100–127. doi: 10.1177/0002716203261781.

McLaughlin, Carly. “‘They Don’t Look like Children’: Child Asylum-Seekers, the Dubs Amendment and the Politics of Childhood.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 11 (2018): 1757–73. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1417027.

Mendel, Gideon. “Dzhangal, The Act of Collecting.” Gideon Mendel, 2017. http://gideonmendel.com/the-act-of-collecting/.

———. “Dzhangal.” Gideon Mendel, 2017. http://gideonmendel.com/dzhangal/.

“Migrants: Record Number of Channel Crossings in August.” *BBC News*, August 17, 2020. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-53804670.

“Migrants/Habitants : Urbanités En Construction.” *Multitudes* 64, no. 3 (2016). https://www.cairn.info/revue-multitudes-2016-3.htm.

“Migrants de Calais : Bientôt Des Points d’eau, de l’éclairage et Des Sanitaires Dans La «new Jungle».” *La Voix Du Nord*, June 18, 2015. https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/migrants-de-calais-bientot-des-points-d-eau-de-ia33b0n2891692.

“Migrants de Calais : Un Camp « toléré » Voit Le Jour Autour Du Centre Ferry.” *La Voix Du Nord*, March 24, 2015. https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/art/region/migrants-de-calais-un-camp-tolere-voit-le-jour-ia33b48581n2731759.

Migrateful. “Recipes Rebuilding Lives.” Accessed January 16, 2020. https://www.migrateful.org/.

Millbank, Jenni. “’The Ring of Truth’ : A Case Study of Credibility Assessment in Particular Social Group Refugee Determinations.” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 21, no. 1 (2009): 1–33. doi: 10.1093/ijrl/een040.

Millner, Naomi. “From ‘Refugee’ to ‘Migrant’ in Calais Solidarity Activism: Re-Staging Undocumented Migration for a Future Politics of Asylum.” *Political Geography* 30, no. 6 (2011): 320–28. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.07.005.

Ministère de l’Intérieur (@Interieur_Gouv), “Les 450 Centres d’accueil et d’orientation #CAO En France Métropolitaine Disposent de 7 500 Places Pour Accueillir Les Migrants de #Calais.” *Twitter*, October 24, 2016. https://twitter.com/Interieur_Gouv/status/790542204058083329.

Mistry, Pritti, and Dan Wainwright. “Refugees Fleeing Syria to UK: ‘We’re Not Trouble.’” *BBC News*, September 9, 2019. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-49599377.

Moeller, Susan. *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sells Disease, Famine, War, and Death*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

“Mohamed Salah Joins up with Vodafone Foundation and UNHCR as First Instant Network Schools Ambassador.” *UNHCR*, February 25, 2020. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/press/2020/2/5e550d714/mohamed-salah-joins-vodafone-foundation-unhcr-first-instant-network-schools.html%0D.

Moore-Gilbert, Bart. *Postcolonial Theory*. London: Verso, 1997.

Moretti, Camille. “A Calais, Le Coronavirus Se Propage Parmi Les Migrants et Les Refugies.” *C News*, April 9, 2020. https://www.cnews.fr/france/2020-04-09/calais-le-coronavirus-se-propage-parmi-les-migrants-et-les-refugies-945323?

Morgan, Fergus. “Review: Borderland/Calais at Vault Festival.” *Exeunt Magazine*, February 13, 2017. http://exeuntmagazine.com/reviews/review-borderlandcalais-vault-festival/.

———. “Welcome to the UK Review at the Bunker, London – ‘a Ramshackle Satire.’” *The Stage*, January 28, 2019. https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2019/welcome-uk-review-bunker-london/.

Morris, Carolyn. “The Politics of Palatability: On the Absence of Māori Restaurants.” *Food, Culture & Society* 13, no. 1 (2010): 5–28. doi: 10.2752/175174410X12549021367983.

Morton, Stephen. *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

Mostafanezhad, Mary. "'Getting in Touch with Your Inner Angelina': Celebrity Humanitarianism and the Cultural Politics of Gendered Generosity in Volunteer Tourism." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2013): 485–99. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.785343.

———. "Volunteer Tourism and the Popular Humanitarian Gaze." *Geoforum* 54 (2014): 111–18. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.04.004.

Mould, Oli. "The Calais Jungle: A Slum of London's Making." *City* 21, no. 3–4 (2017): 388–404. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2017.1325231.

Moustakir, Imane. "Refugees in Calais Tell Their Stories through Photography." *France 24*, February 8, 2016. https://observers.france24.com/en/20160802-calais-refugees-tell-stories-through-photography.

Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Mpoke Bigg, Matthew. "New Exhibition in Venice Explores the Experience of Refugees." *UNHCR*, May 11, 2019. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2019/5/5cd68f304/new-exhibition-venice-explores-experience-refugees.html.

Murphy, Joe, and Joe Robertson. *The Jungle*. London: Faber & Faber, 2017.

Murray, Jessica. "The Syrian Refugees Changing the UK's Food Scene." *The Guardian*, July 12, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/food/2019/jul/12/the-syrian-refugees-changing-the-uks-food-scene.

Naik, Sonali. "Government Reneges on Commitment to Bring Vulnerable Unaccompanied Refugee Children to the UK." *Garden Court Chambers*, December 29, 2016. https://www.gardencourtchambers.co.uk/news/government-reneges-on-commitment-to-bring-vulnerable-unaccompanied-refugee-children-to-the-uk.

Nathan, John. "Review: Jungle." *Metro*, December 19, 2017.

https://www.metro.news/review-jungle/865030/.

National Theatre. “The Jungle at the Playhouse Theatre,” 2018. https://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/shows/jungle-playhouse-theatre.

Nayeri, Dina. *The Ungrateful Refugee*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd, 2019.

Nelson, Fraser. “We’re Still Thanking Abba for the Music, 40 Years after Eurovision.” *The Telegraph*, April 5, 2014. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/rockandpopmusic/10746492/Were-still-thanking-Abba-for-the-music-40-years-after-Eurovision.html.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Human, All Too Human*. Translated by R. J. Hollingdale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Noel, Jamie. *The Lotus Flower: Hope in the Calais Jungle*. UK: The Worldwide Tribe, 2016. https://vimeo.com/155500584.

Nussbaum, Martha C. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Nyers, Peter. *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency*. New York and London: Routledge, 2006.

O’Boyle, Benedict. *Mud, Sweat and Tear Gas: Volunteering in the Calais Jungle*. Hertfordshire: insight2foresight publishing, 2016.

O’Dair, Loren. “Combining Art and Activism to Change the Narrative of the Refugee Crisis.” *A Younger Theatre*, January 30, 2017. https://www.ayoungertheatre.com/blog-combining-art-and-activism-to-change-the-narrative-of-the-refugee-crisis/.

Oliver, Andy. “Myriad Announce Majid Adin’s ‘Hamid and Shakespeare’ – Debut Graphic Novel from Animator and Former Calais Jungle Camp Refugee to Explore the Crisis in 2021.” *Broken Frontier*, February 12, 2020. https://www.brokenfrontier.com/majid-adin-hamid-shakespeare-myriad-editions/.

Olympic Games. “Refugee Olympic Team Swimmer Anis Fulfils His Dream,” 2016.

https://www.olympic.org/news/rot-swimmer-anis-fulfils-his-olympic-dream.

"Open Letter to the European Union, the United Nations and the Council of Europe Regarding the Urgent Need for an Adequate Covid-19 Response in Northern France." *Refugee Rights Europe*, March 27, 2020. https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Open-Letter-Urgent-need-for-an-adequate-Covid-19-response-in-northern-France.pdf.

Pagden, Anthony. "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent." In *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, edited by Anthony Pagden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Parry, Benita. *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Paskey, Stephen. "Telling Refugee Stories: Trauma, Credibility and the Adversarial Adjudication of Claims for Asylum." *Santa Clara Law Review* 56, no. 3 (2016): 457–530.

Patel, Dharmesh. *UNESCO Calais Jungle*. USA: YouTube, 2016. https://youtu.be/REflwIQ_4lw.

Paynter, Eleanor. "Autobiographical Docudrama as Testimony: Jonas Carpignano's Mediterranea." *Auto/Biography Studies* 32, no. 3 (2017): 659–66. doi: 10.1080/08989575.2017.1339467.

Peat, Charlie. "Black Eyed Peas Star Will.i.Am Visits Calais Jungle Days after Violent Migrant Protests." *Express*, April 14, 2016. https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/660862/Black-Eyed-Peas-Will-i-am-voice-Calais-jungle-migrants-protests-France.

Pedwell, Carolyn. *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Péron, Iris. "Calais: Quel Avenir Pour Les Migrants Qui Quittent La 'Jungle'?" *L'Express*, October 24, 2016. https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/calais-quel-avenir-pour-les-

migrants-qui-quittent-la-jungle_1843956.html.

PEROU. “Reinventing Calais.” *Calais Mag: Édition Spéciale Avril 2016*. Calais, April 2016. https://www.perou-paris.org/pdf/Actions/CALAIS_16_mag_anglais_ONLINE.pdf.

PEROU Paris. “New Jungle Delire - Archives,” 2016. https://perou-paris.org/Archives_actions_calais.html.

Phelps, Jerome. “Why Is so Much Art about the ‘Refugee Crisis’ so Bad?” *Open Democracy*, May 11, 2017. https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/jerome-phelps/refugee-crisis-art-weiwei.

Philo, Greg, Emma Briant, and Pauline Donald. *Bad News for Refugees*. London: Pluto Press, 2013.

Pikes Ibiza. “Falafels for Freedom: Inside Our Syrian Supper Club,” 2019. https://pikesibiza.com/falafels-for-freedom/.

Pinney, Rob. *Photographic Ethics in the Calais ‘Jungle.’* UK: Vimeo, 2017. https://vimeo.com/204179148.

———. “The ‘Jungle.’” Rob Pinney Photography. Accessed January 4, 2020. https://www.robpinney.com/the-jungle-calais.

Pittaway, Eileen, Linda Bartolomei, and Richard Hugman. “‘Stop Stealing Our Stories’: The Ethics of Research with Vulnerable Groups.” *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 2, no. 2 (2010): 229–251. https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huq004.

“Podcast : « À Calais, Les Migrants m’ont Appris l’espoir ».” *La Croix*, January 21, 2020. https://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Podcast-A-Calais-migrants-mont-appris-lespoir-2020-01-21-1201073053.

“Political Win: Family Reunion Route For Child Refugees To Remain Open After Brexit.” *Safe Passage*, June 12, 2018. https://www.safepassage.org.uk/news/family-reunion-route-for-child-refugees-from-europe-to-the-uk-to-remain-open-after-brexit.

Pope, Lucas. “Papers, Please.” 3909 LLC. Accessed February 4, 2019.

https://www.papersplea.se/.

Pope-Weidemann, Marienna. "'It Feels like a Family': An Interview with Sophie Besse, Director of a Comedy about Calais." Refugee Week, 2017. http://refugeeweek.org.uk/its-heartbreaking-to-feel-like-you-only-inspire-pity-an-interview-with-sophie-besse-director-of-borderline-comedy-about-calais/.

Popoola, Olumide, and Annie Holmes. *Breach*. London: Peirene Press, 2016.

"Press Release – Help Refugees Response to Announcement That Section 67 'Dubs Amendment' Now Ended." *Help Refugees*, May 21, 2020. https://helprefugees.org/news/press-release-help-refugees-response-to-announcement-that-section-67-dubs-amendment-now-ended/.

Price, Ellie. "Day in the Life at Calais 'Jungle' Camp." *BBC News*, August 7, 2015.

PSYCHEdelight Theatre Company. "Borderline," 2019. https://www.psychedelight.org/borderline.

———. "Productions," 2020. https://www.psychedelight.org/.

———. "Together Workshops." Accessed June 8, 2018. https://www.psychedelight.org/workshops.

Pugliese, Joseph. "Penal Asylum: Refugees, Ethics, Hospitality." *Borderlands E-Journal* 1, no. 1 (2002). http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/pugliese.html.

Pupavac, Vanessa. "Refugee Advocacy, Traumatic Representations and Political Disenchantment." *Government and Opposition* 43, no. 2 (2008): 270–92. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2008.00255.x.

Puri, Pooja. *The Jungle*. Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing Ltd, 2017.

Quine, Oscar. "Shakespeare's Globe Performs Hamlet at Calais Jungle Refugee Camp." *The Independent*, February 3, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/shakespeare-s-globe-performs-hamlet-at-calais-jungle-refugee-camp-a6851991.html.

Radi-Aid. “Radi-Aid: Africa for Norway.” Accessed June 8, 2018. https://www.radiaid.com/.

Raimes, Alison. “‘We Are All Refugees’ 2017-18.” Alison A Raimes, 2018. https://www.raimes.com/Portfolio/.

Rajaram, Prem Kumar. “Disruptive Writing and a Critique of Territoriality.” *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 2 (2004): 201–28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097910.

———. “Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 3 (2002): 247–64. doi: 10.1093/jrs/15.3.247.

Ramsden, Che. “The New Sangatte: Rights Pushed out of Sight.” *Open Democracy*, April 15, 2015. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/new-sangatte-rights-pushed-out-of-sight/.

Rancière, Jacques. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. Edited by Steven Corcoran. London and New York: Continuum, 2010.

———. *The Politics of Aesthetics*. Translated by Gabriel Rockhill. London and New York: Continuum, 2011.

———. “Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man?” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2–3 (2004).

Razack, Sherene. “Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses.” *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 4 (2007): 375–94.

Reed, Dan. *Calais: The End of the Jungle*. UK: BBC Two, 2017. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09c1psj.

“Refugee Crisis: MSF Granted Permission for New Camp in Northern France.” *Médecins Sans Frontières*, January 12, 2016. https://www.msf.org.uk/article/refugee-crisis-msf-granted-permission-new-camp-northern-france.

Refugee Food Festival. “Refugee Food Festival 2019,” 2019. https://www.refugeefoodfestival.com/?lang=en.

Reinelt, Janelle. “Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a ‘New’ Europe.” *Theatre Journal* 53, no. 3 (2001): 365–87. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068949.

Reinisch, Jessica. “‘Forever Temporary’: Migrants in Calais, Then and Now.” *The Political Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (2015): 515–22. doi: 10.1111/1467-923X.12196.

Rieff, David. *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. London: Vintage, 2002.

Rigby, J, and R Schlembach. “Impossible Protest: Noborders in Calais.” *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 2 (2013): 157–72.

Rorty, Richard. *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

———. “Human Rights, Rationality, and Sentimentality.” In *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993*, edited by Susan Shute, Stephen and Hurley, 111–34. New York: BasicBooks, 1993.

Rosello, Mireille. *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

———. “The Calais Jungle: Mediations of Home.” *European Journal of Media Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016): 89–106. https://necsus-ejms.org/calais-jungle-mediations-home/.

Rothberg, Michael. “From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory.” *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 523–48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23133895.

Roy, Arundhati. “Peace and the New Corporate Liberation Theology.” *City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture*. CPACS Occasional Paper No. 04/2, November 4, 2004. http://sydneypeacefoundation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/2004-SPP_Arundhati-Roy.pdf.

Rygiel, Kim. “Bordering Solidarities: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement and Camps at Calais.” *Citizenship Studies* 15, no. 1 (2011): 1–19. doi: 10.1080/13621025.2011.534911.

Sabéran, Haydée. *Ceux Qui Passent*. Paris: Carnets Nord, 2012.

Safdar, Anealla. “The Syrian Refugee on the UK’s Coronavirus Front Lines.” *Al Jazeera*, May 20, 2020. https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/syrian-refugee-uks-coronavirus-front-lines-200518112745062.html.

Said, Edward. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Sales, Rosemary. “The Deserving and the Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Welfare in Britain.” *Critical Social Policy* 22, no. 3 (2002): 456–78. doi: 10.1177/026101830202200305.

Samadder, Rhik. “Eat a Falafel, Save a Life – Have I Found the Only Pop-up That Deserves to Stay Popped Up?” *The Guardian*, April 8, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/08/eat-a-falafel-save-a-life-have-i-found-the-only-pop-up-that-deserves-to-stay-popped-up.

Sanders, Mark. *Ambiguities of Witnessing: Law and Literature in the Time of a Truth Commission*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Sandri, Elisa. “‘Volunteer Humanitarianism’: Volunteers and Humanitarian Aid in the Jungle Refugee Camp of Calais.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1352467.

Sandvik, Kristin Bergtora. “The Physicality of Legal Consciousness: Suffering and the Production of Credibility in Refugee Resettlement.” In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, edited by Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown, 223–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Sanyal, Debarati. “Calais’s ‘Jungle’: Refugees, Biopolitics, and the Arts of Resistance.” *Representations* 139 (2017): 1–33. doi: 10.1525/rep.2017.139.1.1.

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

———. “The Difficulty of Imagining Other People.” In *For Love of Country?*, edited by Martha C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen, 98–110. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Schaffer, Kay, and Sidone Smith. *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Schmitt, Céline. "Calais - A Way Out." *UNHCR*, February 9, 2016. http://tracks.unhcr.org/2016/02/calais-a-way-out/.

SE15-Productions. "On Our Doorstep (A Documentary)." Kickstarter, 2017. https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/se15productions/onourdoorstep

Sheldrick, Giles. "Songs of Praise in Calais EXPOSED – This Is How the BBC Is Spending YOUR Cash." *Express*, August 11, 2015. https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/597444/Songs-of-Praise-Calais-BBC.

Sherwood, Harriet. "Kindness Saved Us from the Nazis. Now We Must Help Child Refugees." *The Observer*, July 6, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jul/06/child-refugees-britain-help-stephanie-shirley-kindertransport.

Shukla, Nikesh, ed. *The Good Immigrant*. London: Unbound, 2016.

Sierzputowski, Kate. "Ai Weiwei Wraps the Columns of Berlin's Konzerthaus with 14,000 Salvaged Refugee Life Vests." *Colossal*, February 16, 2016. https://www.thisiscolossal.com/2016/02/ai-weiwei-konzerthaus-refugee-life-vests/.

Sigona, Nando. "The Politics of Refugee Voices: Representations, Narratives, and Memories." In *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, edited by Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Loescher Gil, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona, 369–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Simpson, Kate. "'Doing Development': The Gap Year, Volunteer-Tourists and a Popular Practice of Development." *Journal of International Development* 16, no. 5 (2004): 681–92. doi: 10.1002/jid.1120.

Sivyer, Dominic, Jess Gormley, Tim Tyson Short, and Noah Payne-Frank. "'I Don't Want Any More Sadness in My Life' - Comedy Theatre about Life in the Calais Refugee Camp." *The Guardian*, August 14, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/stage/video/2017/aug/14/dont-want-any-more-sadness-

my-life-creating-comedy-calais-refugee-camp.

Slaughter, Joseph R. “A Question of Narration: The Voice in International Human Rights Law.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1997): 406–30. http://www.jstor.com/stable/762582.

———. “Enabling Fictions and Novel Subjects: The ‘Bildungsroman’ and International Human Rights Law.” *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (2006): 1405–23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25501613.

———. *Human Rights, Inc.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2007.

———. “Humanitarian Reading.” In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, edited by Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

———. “Vanishing Points: When Narrative Is Not Simply There.” *Journal of Human Rights* 9, no. 2 (2010): 207–23. doi: 10.1080/14754831003761712.

Slim, Hugo. “Not Philanthropy But Rights: The Proper Politicisation of Humanitarian Philosophy.” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 6, no. 2 (2002): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/714003759.

Smith, Dave. *Refugee Stories: Seven Personal Journeys Behind the Headlines*. Hertfordshire: Instant Apostle, 2016.

Smith, Helena. “Syrian Aid Worker Who Swam Refugees to Safety Freed from Greek Jail.” *The Guardian*, December 5, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/05/syrian-aid-worker-sarah-mardini-refugees-freed-greece%0D.

Smith, Sean, Guy Lane, and Matt Fidler. “Migrant Life in Calais’ Jungle Refugee Camp - a Photo Essay.” *The Guardian*, August 10, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/media/ng-interactive/2015/aug/10/migrant-life-in-calais-jungle-refugee-camp-a-photo-essay.

Smith, Sidone, and Julia Watson. “Witness or False Witness?: Metrics of Authenticity,

Collective I-Formations, and the Ethic of Verification in First-Person Testimony." *Biography* 35, no. 4 (2012): 590–626. http://www.jstor.com/stable/23540886.

Songs of Praise 16.08.2015. UK: BBC One, 2015. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b067862y.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, 271–313. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

———. "The Intervention Interview." In *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, edited by Sarah Harasym, 113–32. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

Squire, Vicki. *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Stewart, Heather, and Rowena Mason. "Nigel Farage's Anti-Migrant Poster Reported to Police." *The Guardian*, June 16, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants%0D.

Stonebridge, Lyndsey. "Refugee Style: Hannah Arendt and the Perplexities of Rights." *Textual Practice* 25, no. 1 (2011): 71–85. doi: 10.1080/0950236X.2010.510901.

Subei, Frederik. *Transit Zone*. UK: Edinburgh College of Art and Screen Academy Scotland, 2015.

Szörényi, Anna. "The Face of Suffering in Afghanistan: Identity, Authenticity and Technology in the Search for the Representative Refugee." *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 21, no. 1 (2004): 1–21. doi: 10.1080/13200968.2004.10854328.

———. "The Images Speak for Themselves? Reading Refugee Coffee-Table Books." *Visual Studies* 21, no. 1 (2006): 24–41. doi: 10.1080/14725860600613188.

———. "Till Human Voices Wake Us: Responding to Refugee Testimony." *Life Writing* 6, no. 2 (2009): 173–91. doi: 10.1080/14484520902930927.

Tagholm, Roger. "'Jungle' Migrant Camp in Calais Now Boasts Library." *Publishing*

Perspectives, August 24, 2015. https://publishingperspectives.com/2015/08/jungle-migrant-camp-in-calais-now-boasts-library/.

Tapper, Nikki. *The Syrians and the Kindertransport*. UK: BBC Radio 4, 2019. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0007l35.

Tavares, Laura. "Text to Text: Comparing Jewish Refugees of the 1930s With Syrian Refugees Today." *The New York Times*, January 4, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/04/learning/lesson-plans/text-to-text-comparing-jewish-refugees-of-the-1930s-with-syrian-refugees-today.html.

Taylor, Adam. "Is It Time to Ditch the Word 'Migrant'?" *The Washington Post*, August 24, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/08/24/is-it-time-to-ditch-the-word-migrant/.

Taylor, Diane. "Home Office Eritrea Guidance Softened to Reduce Asylum Seeker Numbers." *The Guardian*, January 22, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jan/22/home-office-eritrea-guidance-softened-to-reduce-asylum-seeker-numbers?

———. "QPR Gives Fleet of Coaches to Bring Child Refugees from Calais." *The Guardian*, November 1, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/01/qpr-gives-fleet-of-coaches-to-bring-child-refugees-from-calais.

Taylor, Lin. "Yusra Mardini, the Refugee Olympian Who Captured Hearts at Rio 2016, to Have Her Story Told in Hollywood Film." *The Independent*, April 26, 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/olympics/yusra-mardini-2016-rio-olympics-refugee-story-hollywood-film-a8322956.html%0D.

They Work For You. "Unaccompanied Child Refugees - House of Commons Debate," February 9, 2017. https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2017-02-09a.636.3.

Thiéry, Sébastien. "La Jungle de Calais Est Une Ville-Monde, Une Forme Urbaine à Venir." *Midi:Onze*, April 13, 2016. https://www.midionze.com/2016/04/13/sebastien-thiery-jungle-calais-ville-monde-forme-urbaine/.

Thompson, Jessie. “Twitter Feeds Documenting the Demolition of Calais Jungle Camps to Be Turned into a Theatre Show.” *Evening Standard*, January 26, 2017. https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/theatre/twitter-feeds-documenting-the-demolition-of-calais-jungle-camps-to-be-turned-into-a-theatre-show-a3450361.html%0D.

Thorpe, Vanessa. “Reunited: Syrian Refugee and the Artist Who Drew Him in Calais.” *The Observer*, November 10, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2018/nov/10/reunited-syrian-refugee-and-the-artist-who-drew-him-in-calais.

Ticktin, Miriam. “Calais: Containment Politics in the ‘Jungle.’” *Funambulist Magazine*, 2016. https://thefunambulist.net/articles/calais-containment-politics-jungle-miriam-ticktin.

———. “Policing and Humanitarianism in France: Immigration and the Turn to Law as State of Exception.” *Interventions* 7, no. 3 (2005): 346–68. doi: 10.1080/13698010500268148.

———. “Where Ethics and Politics Meet: The Violence of Humanitarianism in France.” *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 1 (2006): 33–49.

Trafford, Rachel. “On Holocaust Memorial Day, How Will We Be Remembered for Our Treatment of Child Refugees?” *TCS Network*, January 27, 2020. https://www.tcsnetwork.co.uk/how-we-treat-young-refugees-will-be-the-test-of-our-humanity/.

Travis, Alan. “The Only ‘migrant Madness’ Is the Tabloid Pretence about Events in Calais.” *The Guardian*, July 30, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/the-only-migrant-madness-is-the-tabloid-pretence-about-events-in-calais.

Tribunal Administratif de Lille. “Ordonnance Du 12 Août 2016,” 2016. http://lille.tribunal-administratif.fr/content/download/69146/633588/version/1/file/1605689.pdf.

Tribunal Administratif de Lille. “Ordonnance Du 26 Juin 2017,” 2017. http://lille.tribunal-administratif.fr/content/download/104162/1042470/version/1/file/1705379.pdf.

Trilling, Daniel. “How the Media Contributed to the Migrant Crisis.” *The Guardian*, August

1, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/01/media-framed-migrant-crisis-disaster-reporting?fbclid=IwAR23dube3QfHjxj7s4xy1P9AA-wwPQdkpE-WZMB9cEZFpIwH1hR2KRLgCqs.

Tsianos, Vassilis S., Sabine Hess, and Serhat Karakayali. "Transnational Migration Theory and Method of an Ethnographic Analysis of Border Regimes," 2009.

Turner, Mary. "Inside the Homes of the Calais Jungle Camp - in Pictures." *The Guardian*, February 27, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2016/feb/27/homes-inside-the-calais-jungle-camp-in-pictures.

Tyler, Imogen. "'Welcome to Britain': The Cultural Politics of Asylum." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 185–202. doi: 10.1177/1367549406063163.

Tyrrell, Áine J. "(Re)Presenting Calais's Camp: In the Heart of The Jungle with the Good Chance Theatre." *TDR: The Drama Review* 64, no. 2 (2020): 155–62. doi: 10.1162/dram_a_00925.

"UN Urges French Action on Migrant 'Civil Emergency' in Calais." *France 24*, August 7, 2015. https://www.france24.com/en/20150807-un-urges-french-action-migrant-civil-emergency-calais.

UNHCR (@refugees). "Before Saying Goodbye to Our Refugees Chief, These Kids Told Us Their Dreams." *Instagram Video*, March 9, 2019. https://www.instagram.com/p/BuykLX9gagj/.

UNHCR. "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," 2010. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/3b66c2aa10.

———. *France: Leaving the Calais 'Jungle.'* France: YouTube, 2016. https://youtu.be/iNnENeEiYEM.

———. *The Dream Diaries*. Netherlands: YouTube, 2018. https://youtu.be/l8fQQJrMFNs.

———. "The Dream Diaries," 2018. https://www.unhcr.org/uk/dream-diaries.html.

Usiskin, Miriam, and Bobby Lloyd. "Making (In-)Visible: Art Refuge in Calais, Northern

France." *Refugee Rights Europe*, January 17, 2020. https://refugee-rights.eu/2020/01/17/making-in-visible-art-refuge-in-calais-northern-france/.

Vandevoordt, Robin, and Gert Verschraegen. "Subversive Humanitarianism and Its Challenges: Notes on the Political Ambiguities of Civil Refugee Support." In *Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe*, translated by Margit Feischmidt, Ludger Pries, and Celine Cantat, 101–28. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Vaughan-Williams, Nick. *Europe's Border Crisis: Biopolitical Security and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Vonberg, Judith. "Al Jazeera Will Not Say Mediterranean 'Migrants' but We Should." *HuffPost*, August 25, 2016. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/judith-vonberg/al-jazeera-migrants_b_8036950.html.

Wainwright, Oliver. "We Built This City: How the Refugees of Calais Became the Camp's Architects." *The Guardian*, June 8, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jun/08/refugees-calais-jungle-camp-architecture-festival-barbican.

Wallace, Carvell. "How Khaled Hosseini Finds Hope in Telling Refugees' Stories." *The Guardian*, September 2, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/sep/02/how-khaled-hosseini-finds-hope-in-telling-refugees-stories.

Wallace, Orban. *Another News Story*. UK: Gallivant Film, 2017. https://www.anothernewsstory.com/.

Waters, Steve. *The Play About Calais*. London: Nick Hern Books, 2017. Kindle.

Weaver, Matthew. "Gary Lineker Hits Back at Online Abuse over Criticism of Calais Refugee Coverage." *The Guardian*, October 19, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/19/gary-lineker-hits-back-at-online-abuse-over-hideously-racist-coverage-refugees.

Weingarten, Kathy. "Witnessing, Wonder, and Hope." *Family Process* 39, no. 4 (2000): 389–402. doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.2000.39401.x.

Welander, Marta. “The Long Wait: Filling Data Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in the Calais Camp,” 2016. http://refugeerights.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/RRE_TheLongWait.pdf.

———. “Twelve Months On: Filling Information Gaps Relating to Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France a Year On from the Demolition of the Camp.” *Refugee Rights Europe*, 2017. https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/RRE_TwelveMonthsOn.pdf%0D.

Welander, Marta, and Leonie Ansems De Vries. “Calais Demolition: ‘Mission Accomplished’, the Politics of Exhaustion and Continued Struggles for Mobility.” *Open Democracy*, November 25, 2016. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/mediterranean-journeys-in-hope/calais-demolition-mission-accom/.

Welcome to Our Jungle. “The ‘Jungle.’” Accessed July 12, 2018. http://www.welcometoourjungle.com/.

White, Aidan, ed. “Moving Stories: International Review of How Media Cover Migration.” London: Ethical Journalism Network, 2015. https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/assets/docs/038/141/6adda26-23eaf8d.pdf.

White, Benjamin Thomas. “Calais Writers, Voices from the ‘Jungle’: Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp. Review.” *H-France Review* 18, no. 199 (2018): 1–7. https://h-france.net/vol18reviews/vol18no199white.pdf.

Whitlock, Gillian. *Postcolonial Life Narratives: Testimonial Transactions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Wigley, Mark. *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida’s Haunt*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1993.

Wildschut, Henk. *Ville de Calais*. Amsterdam: Idea Books, 2018.

Wilson, Richard Ashby, and Richard D. Brown. “Introduction.” In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, edited by Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown, 1–30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Wingard, Jason. *In Another Life*. UK: Wingarm, 2017. https://www.inanotherlifethefilm.com/.

Winter, Sarah. "'Inverted Sympathy': Empathy and Mediation in Literary Transactions of Human Rights." In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, edited by Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Woodley, Anthony. *The Flood*. UK: Megatopia Films, 2019. https://www.curzoncinemas.com/bloomsbury/film-info/the-flood.

Woods, Sarah. "Borderland." BBC Radio 4, 2018. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08dnhjx.

Woolley, Agnes. *Contemporary Asylum Narratives: Representing Refugees in the Twenty-First Century*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

———. "Narrating the "Asylum Story ": Between Literary and Legal Storytelling." *Interventions* 19, no. 3 (2017): 376–94. doi: 10.1080/1369801X.2016.1231585.

Worldwide Documentaries. "Heart of the Matter Trailer." Vimeo, 2016. https://vimeo.com/189147880.

Wright, Stuart. "The Flood Dir. Anthony Woodley." Britflicks Podcast, 2019. https://soundcloud.com/stuart-wright-3/the-flood-dir-anthony-woodley.

Yassa, Maria. "Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok - the Inner Crypt." *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 25, no. 2 (2002): 82–91. doi: 10.1080/01062301.2002.10592734.

Yeung, Peter. "Calais 'Jungle': 129 Unaccompanied Children Missing since Refugee Camp Demolition." *The Independent*, April 2, 2016. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/calais-jungle-unaccompanied-children-refugee-camp-demolition-minors-a6965216.html.

———. "Wrongly Classifying Child Asylum-Seekers As Adults Has Cost UK Millions Of Pounds." *Buzzfeed News*, January 18, 2017. https://www.buzzfeed.com/peteryeung/wrongly-classifying-child-asylum-seekers-as-

adults-has-cost.

Yorke, Harry. “Two Syrian Refugees Receive Straight A Grades in Their A-Level Results Two Years after Fleeing to Britain.” *Telegraph*, August 17, 2017. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2017/08/17/two-syrian-refugees-receive-straight-grades-a-level-results/.

Young, Evan. “#GetMohamedAJob: Refugee Rocket Scientist’s Job Hunt Sparks Global Campaign.” *SBS News*, August 17, 2018. https://www.sbs.com.au/news/getmohamedajob-refugee-rocket-scientist-s-job-hunt-sparks-global-campaign.

Zane, Damian. “Barbie Challenges the ‘White Saviour Complex.’” *BBC News*, May 1, 2016. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-36132482.

Zetter, Roger. “More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalisation.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 172–92. doi:10.1093/jrs/fem011%0D.

———. “Refugees and Refugee Studies: A Valedictory Editorial.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13, no. 4 (2000): 349–55.

Žižek, Slavoj. “Slavoj Zizek: We Can’t Address the EU Refugee Crisis Without Confronting Global Capitalism.” *In These Times*, September 9, 2015. https://inthesetimes.com/article/slavoj-zizek-european-refugee-crisis-and-global-capitalism.

———. “The Non-Existence of Norway: Slavoj Žižek on the Refugee Crisis.” *London Review of Books*, September 10, 2015. https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v37/n17/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway.

CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *General Criticism of Agamben's Theories*

Isin, Engin F., and Kim Rygiel. "Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps." In *Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror*, edited by E. Dauphinee and C. Masters. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Martin, Diana, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz. "Rethinking the Camp: On Spatial Technologies of Power and Resistance." *Progress in Human Geography*, 2019, 1–26. doi: 10.1177/0309132519856702.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Nielson. "Né Qui, Né Altrove— Migration, Detention, Desertion: A Dialogue." *Borderlands E-Journal* 2, no. 1 (2003). http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol2no1_2003/mezzadra_neilson.html.

Owens, Patricia. "Reclaiming 'Bare Life'?: Against Agamben on Refugees." *International Relations* 23, no. 4 (2009): 567–82. doi: 10.1177/004711780935054.

Ramadan, A. "Spatialising the Refugee Camp." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 1 (2012): 65–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00509.x.

Squire, Vicki. *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Tyler, Imogen. "'Welcome to Britain': The Cultural Politics of Asylum." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 185–202. doi: 10.1177/1367549406063163.

2. Critics of Humanitarian Sentimentality

Azoulay, Ariella. *The Civil Contract of Photography*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012.

Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Berlant, Lauren. *Compassion: The Culture and Politics of an Emotion*. Edited by Paul Gilbert and Lauren Berlant. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.

Boler, Megan. "The Risks of Empathy: Interrogating Multiculturalism's Gaze." *Cultural Studies* 11, no. 2 (1997): 253–73.

Brauman, Rony. "When Suffering Makes a Good Story." In *Life, Death and Aid: The Médecins Sans Frontières Report on World Crisis Intervention*, edited by Francois Jean. London: Routledge, 1993.

Chouliaraki, Lilie. *The Spectatorship of Suffering*. London: SAGE, 2006.

Dawes, James. "Human Rights, Literature and Empathy." In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, edited by Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore, 427–32. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Douglas, K. *Contesting Childhood: Autobiography, Trauma, and Memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

Forsythe, D. "Contemporary Humanitarianism: The Global and the Local." In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, edited by Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance*. Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Gunew, Sneja. "Subaltern Empathy: Beyond European Categories in Affect Theory." *Concentric* 35, no. 1 (2009): 11–30.

Hemmings, Clare. *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Hesford, W. S. *Spectacular Rhetorics: Human Rights Visions, Recognitions, Feminisms*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Keen, Suzanne. *Empathy and the Novel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Nussbaum, Martha C., and J. Cohen, eds. *For Love of Country?* Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Razack, Sherene. "Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses." *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 4 (2007): 375–94.

Slaughter, Joseph R. *Human Rights, Inc.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2007.

Spelman, Elizabeth V. *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997.

3. Key Studies in Literature and Human Rights

Balfour, Ian, and Eduardo Cadava. *And Justice for All? The Claims of Human Rights.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Brown, Wendy. "Suffering the Paradoxes of Rights." In *Left Legalism/Left Critique*, edited by Wendy Brown and J. Halley, 420–34. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Brysk, Alison. *Speaking Rights to Power: Constructing Political Will*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Dudai, R. "Advocacy with Footnotes: The Human Rights Report as a Literary Genre." *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2006): 783–95.

Festa, Lynn. "Sentimental Bonds and Revolutionary Characters: Richardson's 'Pamela' in England and France." In *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, edited by Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever, 73–105. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Goldberg, Elizabeth Swanson, and Alexandra Schultheis Moore. *Theoretical Perspectives on Human Rights and Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Gugelberger, G. M., ed. *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

Jensen, M., and M. Jolly, eds. *We Shall Bear Witness: Life Narratives and Human Rights*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

McClennen, Sophia A., and Alexandra Schultheis Moore, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

McClennen, Sophia A., and H. J. Morello. *Representing Humanity in an Age of Terror*. Bloomington: Purdue University Press, 2010.

McClennen, Sophia A., and Joseph R. Slaughter. "Human Rights and Literary Forms." *Comparative Literature Studies* 46, no. 1 (2009): Special Issue.

McLagan, M. "Human Rights, Testimony, and Transnational Publicity." In *Nongovernmental Politics*, edited by M. Feher, 304–17. Boston: Zone Books, 2007.

Merry, S. E. "Human Rights and the Demonisation of Culture." *PoLAR* 2, no. 1 (2003): 55–76.

Rowland, A. *Poetry as Testimony: Witnessing and Memory in Twentieth-Century Poems*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Stanton, Domna C., and Judith Butler. "The Humanities in Human Rights: Critique, Language, Politics." *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (2006): Special Issue. https://www.jstor.org/stable/i25501609.

4. *Critique of Credibility Assessments in Asylum Hearings*

Beneduce, Roberto. "The Moral Economy of Lying: Subjectcraft, Narrative Capital, and Uncertainty in the Politics of Asylum." *Cross-Cultural Studies in Health and Illness* 34, no. 6 (2015): 551–71.

Cohen, Juliet. “Questions of Credibility: Omissions, Discrepancies and Errors of Recall in the Testimony of Asylum Seekers.” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 13, no. 3 (2001): 293–309.

Eastmond, Marita. “Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 248–64. doi:10.1093/jrs/fem007.

Good, Anthony. *Anthropology and Expertise in the Asylum Courts*. Oxon and New York: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007.

Herlihy, Jane, Peter Scragg, and Stuart Turner. “Discrepancies in Autobiographical Memories: Implications for the Assessment of Asylum Seekers: Repeated Interviews Study.” *British Medical Journal* 324, no. 7333 (2002): 324–327. doi: 10.1136/bmj.324.7333.324.

Kagan, Michael. “Is Truth in the Eye of the Beholder? Objective Credibility Assessment in Refugee Status Determination.” *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 17 (2003): 367–415. https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1647&context=facpub.

Kalin, W. “Troubled Communication: Cross-Cultural Misunderstandings in the Asylum Hearing.” *International Migration Review* 20 (1986).

Kneebone, Susan Y. “The Refugee Review Tribunal and the Assessment of Credibility: An Inquisitorial Role?” *Australian Journal of Administrative Law*, 1998, 78–96.

Millbank, Jenni. “’The Ring of Truth’ : A Case Study of Credibility Assessment in Particular Social Group Refugee Determinations.” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 21, no. 1 (2009): 1–33.

Noll, Gregor. “Salvation by the Grace of State? Explaining Credibility Assessment in the Asylum Procedure.” In *Proof, Evidentiary Assessment and Credibility in Asylum Procedures*, edited by Gregor Noll, 197–214. Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijoff Publishers, 2005.

Rousseau, C, F Crepeau, P Foxen, and F Houle. “The Complexity of Determining Refugeehood: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of the Decision Making Process of the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 1 (2002): 43–70.

Silove, D. “The Psychosocial Effects of Torture, Mass Human Rights Violations, and Refugee Trauma.” *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 187, no. 4 (1999): 200–207.

Thomas, R. “Assessing the Credibility of Asylum Claims: EU and UK Approaches Examined.” *European Journal of Migration and Law* 8 (2006): 79–96. doi: %0A10.1163/157181606776911969.

Vogl, Anthea. “Telling Stories from Start to Finish: Exploring the Demand for Narrative in Refugee Testimony.” Griffith Law Review 22, no. 1 (2013): 63–86. doi: 10.1080/10383441.2013.10854767.

———. “The Genres and Politics of Refugee Testimony.” Law & Literature 30, no. 1 (2018): 81–104. doi: 10.1080/1535685X.2017.1346961.

5. Human Rights and Empire, Colonialism and Globalisation

Azoulay, Ariella. “Ending World War II: Visual Literacy Class in Human Rights.” In *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights*, edited by Sophia A. McClennen and Alexandra Schultheis Moore, 159–72. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Baxi, Upendra. “Human Rights: Suffering Between Movements and Markets.” In *Global Social Movements*, edited by Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, 33–45. London and New Brunswick: The Athlone Press, 2000.

———. *The Future of Human Rights*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Bernault, F. “What Absence Is Made Of: Human Rights in Africa.” In *Human Rights and Revolutions*, edited by J. N. Wassertrom, L. Hunt, and M. B. Young. Rowman &

Littlefield Publishers, 2013.

Burke, R. *Decolonisation and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Cooper, F. "Afterword: Social Rights and Human Rights in the Time of Decolonisation." *Humanity* 3, no. 3 (2012): 473–92.

Douzinas, Costas. *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*. Oxford and New York: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007.

Kelley, D. G. R. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.

Mitchell, W. T. J. *Seeing through Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Moyn, Samuel. "Imperialism, Self-Determination, and the Rise of Human Rights." In *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History*, edited by A. Iriye, P. Goedde, and W. I. Hitchcock, 159–78. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Radhakrishnan, R. *History, the Human, and the World Between*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

Williams, Randall. *The Divided World: Human Rights and Its Violence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

APPENDIX 1: AID ORGANISATIONS ACTIVE IN THE CALAIS JUNGLE 2015-16

ACTED
A Home for Winter
Ashram Kitchen (500 meals per day)
Art in the Jungle
Art Refuge UK
Belgium Kitchen (1,000 meals per day)
Cabane Juridique / Legal Shelter
Calaid
Calais Action
Calais Builds
Calais Kitchen (2,000 meals per day)
Calais Migrant Solidarity
Calais Sessions
Calais Woodyard
Caravans for Calais
Care4Calais
Darfur School
Donate4Refugees
Ecole Laique Chemin des Dunes
First Aid Caravans
Good Chance Theatre
Gynécologie Sans Frontieres
Help Refugees
The Hummingbird Project
IMAGINE Calais
Jungala Radio
Jungle Books
Jungle Canopy
Jungleye (Photography)
Kitchen in Calais (1,500 meals per day)
L'Auberge des Migrants
London2Calais
Mapfugees
Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)/ Medicins du Monde (MDM)
Mobile Refugee Support
PEROU
Phone Credit 4 Refugees and Displaced People
Refugee Community Kitchen (2,500 meals per day)
Refugee Info Bus
Refugee Rights Europe
Refugee Women's Centre
Refugee Youth Service
The School Bus Project
Safe Passage (Citizens UK)
SALAM
Secours Catholique
Side by Side with Refugees
Utopia 56
Welcome to Our Jungle (Photography)
The Women and Children's Centre
The Worldwide Tribe

APPENDIX 2: TIMELINE JANUARY 2015 – MAY 2020

	EVENTS AND LEGISLATION	MEDIA AND ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS
Jan 2015	**15th January:** *La Vie Active* and *L'Auberge des Migrants* begin to distribute food from three tents in the grounds of the Jules Ferry centre in Calais, in the industrial area of the Dunes, 3 miles away from the town centre, and near to the entrance of the ferry port. 250 meals are distributed on the first day, after which the site starts to provide hot meals, water, electricity and toilet facilities during daytime hours. *Associations* are banned from serving food in Calais town centre.	**24th January:** The *Passeurs d'hospitalités* blog provides regular updates on the situation in Calais over the following 5 years (FR).
Feb 2015	*Population estimate: 1,500-2000 in Calais* **26th February:** Running water is installed at the Jules Ferry centre, where construction work is underway to transform the former recreational facility into a centre providing overnight accommodation, toilets, hygiene and basic kitchen facilities to (initially) 100 women and children, as well as 20 showers for men. This is intended to put an end to the squats and makeshift camps around Calais, including the Tioxide camp, the Galloo squat, and the Leader Price camp, at which between 1,500 and 2,000 people are estimated to live.	
Mar 2015	*Population estimate: 100 in the Jungle, 1,500-2000 in Calais* The Mayor of Calais, Natacha Bouchart, announces that the 40 acres of land surrounding the Jules Ferry centre is to become a 'tolerated area' for irregular migrants in Calais. She encourages all inhabitants of squats around Calais to move to the area, so the squats can be demolished, and the irregular population centralised in one place. **24th March:** The first 25 men arrive from squats around Calais and pitch their tents on *la lande.* **25th March:** 52 women and children arrive at the Jules Ferry centre from an accommodation facility managed by Solid'R. **31st March:** The eviction of squats and relocation to *la lande* begins. Some residents and activists resist. Between 1200 and 2,000 people are relocated over the following weeks. All large squats in Calais are evicted by June, but several smaller squats remain in the area.	
Apr 2015	*Population estimate: 1,200 – 2000 in the Jungle* **1st–7th April:** A mosque, church and two shops have already been constructed on *la lande*, as well as tarpaulin shelters. The camp grows rapidly as hundreds arrive every day. **7th April:** Both *associations* and local residents denounce the new Jungle as a 'state slum'. They label it a worse version of Sangatte. *Associations* raise concerns about the toxicity of the	**1st April:** Residents of Galloo, *Why We Are Not Moving*. **17th April:** In a column for *The Sun*, Katie Hopkins calls migrants 'cockroaches' and advises the use of 'gunships' to keep them away. Her comments are

	land (a former landfill site), the marshy ground, the flood risk, the lack of clean water, hygiene facilities, lighting and waste disposal. They warn that the camp's distance from the town will lead to increased violence from far-right groups, CRS officers, smugglers and other residents. **16th April:** The Jules Ferry centre is fully operational, although *associations* warn that it does not provide enough facilities for all of the Jungle's new inhabitants.	condemned by Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Bern O'Donoghue, *Dead Reckoning,* origami boat installation. Each boat represents a person that has lost their life crossing the Mediterranean.
May 2015	*Population estimate: 2000-3000* **27th May:** The European Commission confirms that, when a person arrives irregularly in an EU Member State, 'coercion may be used in order to take his/her fingerprints,' and they 'may be kept in detention until such time as his/her fingerprints can be taken.' Hundreds of displaced people are also camping in the streets of Paris.	**7th May:** Ramón Campos, *Refugiados*, BBC Worldwide & Atresmedia, TV Series. **10th May:** A CMS video, filmed on 5th May, showing CRS violence towards border-crossers, receives widespread media attention. **29th–31st May:** *La Saveur de l'Autre,(1)*: Le Channel Theatre, Calais (FR).
Jun 2015	*Population estimate: 3000.* **13th June:** The far-right group *Sauvons Calais* demonstrates in Calais. A refugee solidarity counter-demonstration takes place at the same time. **17th June:** Following calls by the UN to improve conditions in the Jungle, French Housing Minister Sylvia Pinel and Minister of the Interior Bernard Cazeneuve announce improvements to *la lande*, including the installation of drinking water, lighting, electricity, hygiene facilities, and shelters, at a cost of €500,000. The NGO ACTED is appointed to oversee the running of some aspects of the site. **23rd–24th June:** A French ferry workers' strike causes major traffic queues in Calais. This leads to dramatic scenes on the motorway as people try to break into lorries bound for Britain. **26th–29th June:** CMS record two deaths at the border. **27th June:** The UK announces that it will build more than two miles of high-security fencing, at the entrance to the Channel Tunnel in Calais. **29th–30th June:** Another ferry strike causes more chaos.	**8th June:** A video posted on YouTube showing people entering lorries on the port bypass receives almost 2 million views. **10th June:** BBC, *I'm a trucker not an immigration officer*, short documentary. **15th–21st June:** Refugee Week 2015. Each year Refugee Week is held on the third week of June (World Refugee Day is on 20th June). **15th–21st June:** Gatwick Detainee Welfare Group, *Refugee Tales Walk in Solidarity with Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Detainees*. This week-long event takes place every summer. **16th June:** The CRS release their own videos of altercations at the port in response to the CMS video documenting police violence in May. **19th June:** BBC, *Escape to Europe: The migrants' story*, short documentary.

Jul 2015	*Population estimate:3000-5000* The improvements announced in June are made. Volunteers and residents also construct St Michael's church, Jungle Books library and *École laïque du chemin des dunes*. **4th–29th July:** CMS record nine deaths at the border. **22nd July:** Eurotunnel requests police reinforcements and government-funded security measures at the Channel Tunnel. Eurotunnel reports 2,000 attempted break-ins on 26th July, and 1,500 on the 29th July, causing major disruptions. 1000 people are reportedly removed from the backs of lorries, and a further 500-700 from the Eurotunnel site, every 24 hours. **28th July:** Theresa May (Home Secretary) and David Cameron (Prime Minister) commit £9m for increased security at the Eurotunnel site, to include fences, barriers, surveillance equipment (CO2 and heartbeat detection monitors, and infra-red cameras) and 460 police officers and sniffer dogs. These extra security measures have an instant effect, and Eurotunnel records a tenfold reduction in intrusions to the Tunnel. **29th July:** Cazeneuve announces that 120 CRS officers will be posted in Calais, in addition to the 350 already deployed there.	**27th July:** The Guardian, *Calais Migrants: Life in the Jungle*, documentary. **30th July:** David Cameron is criticised for referring to migrants as a 'swarm of people.' The Eurotunnel break-ins mean that daily coverage of Calais reaches its most saturated at this time, on television and in newspapers. News coverage of Calais 'completely eclipses' media reports on the 'refugee crisis' that is taking place in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean.
Aug 2015	*Population estimate: 3500-5000* Lliana Bird, Dawn O'Porter, Josie Norton and colleagues organise an aid convoy to Calais after their #HelpCalais hashtag goes viral. They raise £50,000 in one week and Help Refugees is born. The group quickly open an aid warehouse in Calais in collaboration with *L'Auberge des Migrants*, and their carpentry workshop provides the Jungle with 1,500 'self-build' and pre-fabricated shelters before March 2016. At its peak, 20 shelters per day are provided by the workshop. **20th August:** Theresa May visits Cazeneuve in Calais, and is met with activist demonstrations. May and Cazeneuve sign an agreement regarding cooperation on smuggling, increased police presence and capabilities in France, and UK-funded repatriation flights. The UK agrees to pay £7m over two years towards the deal, in addition to the £9m pledged in July, and the £12m pledged in 2014. **31st August:** French Prime Minister Manuel Valls visits Calais with two European Commissioners. He announces that a new 'humanitarian camp' (the *Centre d'Accueil Provisoire – CAP)* will be built in the Jungle for 1,500 people, run by *La Vie Active*, with assistance from MSF and MdM. The 'container camp' will be constructed 200 metres away from the Jules Ferry centre, and will consist of 125 containers, to hold 12 people each, at a cost of between €18 and €25 million. The European Commission contributes €5.2 million.	**4th August:** The Guardian, *Inside the Calais migrants' church – in pictures*, photo essay. Accompanied by a Christian perspective on the 'Calais crisis' by British pastor Giles Fraser. **7th August:** BBC News, *Day in the life at Calais "Jungle" Camp*, footage. **10th August:** The Guardian, *Migrant Life in Calais' Jungle Refugee Camp*, photo essay. **11th August:** Al Jazeera announces it will no longer use the word 'migrant' in its reporting on the 'refugee crisis'. **16th August:** BBC One, *Songs of Praise* at St Michael's church in the Jungle. The episode 'examines the faith aspects of the migrant crisis in Calais.' **21st August –27th September:** Banksy, *Dismaland* exhibition, Somerset, UK. Banksy sent the leftover materials at the end of the exhibition to Calais to be turned into shelters.

Sep 2015	*Population estimate: 3500-5000* **2nd September:** The body of toddler Alan Kurdi is found on a beach in Turkey. **3rd–12th September:** A series of protests take place in Calais. **4th September:** Four-metre fences are constructed to improve security at Calais-Fréthun train station. **4th September:** Angela Merkel announces Germany's open-door refugee policy. Almost 900,000 refugees arrive in Germany in 2015. **7th September:** David Cameron announces the expansion of the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS). The UK Government commits to resettling an additional 20,000 refugees in partnership with UNHCR. **12th September:** 'Refugees welcome' demonstrations take place across Europe. **16th–30th September:** CMS record five deaths at the border. The first clearances take place around the edge of the Jungle, and the last of the small squats around Calais (containing around 300 people) are evicted and relocated to *la lande*.	**2nd–3rd September:** Widespread media reporting on Alan Kurdi's death, including images of his body, shift European attitudes towards the 'refugee crisis' somewhat. **12th September:** BBC, *Calais Migrants VR*, a 360 degree 'virtual reality experience' of the Jungle. **19th September:** Bishop Jean-Paul Jaeger of Arras, Bishop Trevor Willmott of Dover and Archbishop Peter Smith of Southwark sign a joint statement of solidarity calling for generosity and understanding in Calais. *Art Refuge* begin art therapy sessions in Calais in collaboration with *MdM*. Following the demolition of the Jungle, they conduct art therapy workshops on a fortnightly basis in Calais.
Oct 2015	*Population estimate: 6000* **15th–26th October:** CMS record three deaths at the border. **21st October:** Cazeneuve announces an additional 460 police officers in Calais (300 gendarmes and 160 CRS), bringing the total daily police presence to 1,125, at a cost of €150,000 per day. Cazeneuve also announces the construction of 300 additional places at the Jules Ferry centre, to be completed by January 2016, increasing its capacity to 400. **26th October:** MdM and *Secours Catholique* take legal action, demanding that the French authorities improve living conditions in the Jungle. **27th October:** The CAO voluntary relocation programme begins. 292 people are transferred to reception centres across France on the first convoy. Some towns protest against the opening of CAOs in their local areas. Between October 2015 and March 2016, 2,667 people leave the Jungle for CAOs across France. Safe Passage is created as a branch of Citizens UK. It focusses on bringing unaccompanied children in Calais to the UK under the Dublin III regulation.	**1st October:** Jacques Toubon, the Defender of Rights, *Exiles and Fundamental Rights: The Situation in the Territory of Calais*. Report based on information gathered on 16th–17th June and 20th July 2015. **8th October:** Daniel Ali, *The Journey of a Stateless Man*, documentary. **8th – 10th October:** ENSAPB, Actes & Cités conduct their first study of the architecture and the urban landscape of the Jungle. **8th – 10th October:** Transport Theatre, *The Edge*, New Wolsey Theatre, Suffolk. **15th October:** Gulwali Passarlay, *The Lightless Sky*, Autobiography. Passarlay carried the Olympic Torch in 2012, five years after passing through Calais and arriving in the UK as a refugee. He co-founded the organisation My Bright Kite in 2017. **20th October:** The 'Appel des 800' is published in *Libération*. *Good Chance Theatre* is constructed. It is operational in the Jungle until the demolition in February-March 2016.

Nov 2015	*Population estimate: 4000-5000* **2nd November:** Construction of the container camp begins; shelters are demolished to make space. **8th – 10th November:** CMS report demonstrations by the far-right group PEGIDA in Calais, which lead to rioting and violence. **13th November:** A series of terror attacks take place in Paris, killing 130 civilians. A fire in the Jungle is incorrectly reported as a retaliation against these attacks. **20th November:** The Calais Prefecture approves plans for a theme park, 'Heroic Land,' to be constructed on the site of the Jungle, with a proposed opening date of 2019. These plans never come to fruition.	**2nd – 7th November:** Counterpoints Arts, *Third National Platforma Festival,* Leicester. **5th November:** Associated Press, *Seeking Home: Life inside the Calais Migrant Camp*, a 360-degree virtual reality report on the Jungle. **27th November:** M.I.A. *Borders,* single release. Jungleye and Welcome to Our Jungle launch participatory photography projects in the Jungle. UEL begins their accredited Life Stories course, which leads to the creation of *Voices from the 'Jungle.'*
Dec 2015	*Population estimate: 4000-5000* **1st December:** The *Basroch* camp in *Grande-Synthe* has grown to 2500 inhabitants, 90% of whom are Iraqi Kurds. **2nd – 28th December:** CMS record 4 deaths at the border. **5th December:** A march is held in memory of Youssef, a 16-year-old who lost his life in Calais. UNHCR reports more than one million arrivals by sea in 2015, and 3,735 deaths.	**6th December:** Marie Magnin, Libération, *Marche Pour Youssef, Mort à Calais,* photo essay (FR). **10th December:** Anna Lukacs, National Geographic, *Life in a Refugee Camp, As Seen By Children.* **11th December:** Four Banksy pieces appear in Calais. The first shows a P&O Ferry in the style of Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa.* In the second, a child looks at England through a telescope, on which a vulture is perched. The third is a piece of text that reads '*maybe this whole situation will just sort itself out.*' The fourth is an image of Steve Jobs at the entrance to the Jungle.
Jan 2016	*Population estimate: 4500* **11th January**: The container camp (CAP) opens for 1,500 residents; 144 people move there on the first day. Some are suspicious of the hand-scanning entrance system, thinking it may be linked to Eurodac, although officials explain it is to protect the site from smugglers. **13th January:** Eurotunnel flood the land around the Channel Tunnel as a defence measure, after clearing over 100 hectares of vegetation to improve security. Eurotunnel report that the heightened security measures implemented in July 2015 have drastically reduced the number of people braking into the Tunnel. **18th January:** A 100-metre 'buffer zone' is cleared between the Jungle and the motorway. About 1,500 people are evicted, and their tents and shelters transported further inside *la lande.* **23rd January:** Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn visits the Jungle. He states that all residents with family in the UK should be able to have their asylum claims heard in Britain.	**1st January:** Ai Weiwei sets up an art studio on Lesvos. Several weeks later he closes his exhibition in Demark in protest against the Danish Government's proposal to seize refugees' assets in order to cover their housing and food costs. **7th January:** The words 'London Calling' are added to the Banksy mural of Steve Jobs. Calais authorities pledge to protect the piece from further harm. **9th January:** Fredrik Subei, *Transit Zone*, documentary. **24th January:** Another Banksy piece appears outside the French Embassy in Knightsbridge, featuring Cosette from *Les Miserables* being tear gassed. A QR code links to a CMS YouTube video, showing a raid in the Jungle that took place on the 5th January.

	28th January: Save the Children estimates that there are 24,000 unaccompanied child refugees in Europe, and asks the UK Government to take responsibility for 3,000 of them. Save the Children criticises the Government for ignoring its obligations to reunite families under the Dublin III regulation. Parliament confirms it will not accept 3,000 unaccompanied refugees from Europe. This becomes a parliamentary battle, under the banner of the 'Dubs Amendment'. **29th January:** *R (on the application of ZAT) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* The Upper Tribunal rules that four Syrians – three children and one vulnerable adult – are allowed to enter the UK from France, bypassing the Dublin III family reunification procedure. The judge accepts that the long delay entailed by the Dublin procedure would breach their right to family life under Article 8 of the ECHR. This decision is overturned on review by the Court of Appeal on 2nd August 2016. The appeal judge rules that using the ECHR to bypass Dublin III would create chaos for EU asylum management. The judge specifies that Article 8 can only apply in exceptional circumstances, where a 'Dublin state' is demonstrably incapable of processing a Dublin III reunification request. This was deemed not to have been the case for the four Syrians in question, but they were not returned to France.	**31st January:** Ai Weiwei is photographed by Rohit Chawla. He poses as Alan Kurdi for India Today magazine, and for the accompanying exhibition at the India Art Fair.
Feb 2016	*Population census: 7,100, including 423 unaccompanied minors.* **12th February:** The French authorities announce that the southern half of the Jungle will be evacuated and demolished. **18th February:** Help Refugees publish their objections to the proposed demolition, and British celebrities petition David Cameron to bring refugee children to the UK ahead of the demolition. **22nd February:** Cazeneuve gives a speech at a CAO in Le Mans justifying his reasons for the planned demolition. **22nd February:** Help Refugees and *L'Auberge des Migrants* publish the first census of the Jungle, which indicates that the French authorities have underestimated the number of people who will be displaced by the forthcoming demolition. The official estimate is 800-1000, but the census reports 3,555 people living in the demolition zone, including 400 children, 300 of whom are unaccompanied. **23rd February:** *Associations* in Calais go to court in an attempt to prevent the demolition. The French authorities confirm that 1156 accommodation places are available (in CAOs, tents and the CAP) to rehouse the people whose accommodation is due to be demolished. This is enough for the official estimate of 800-1000, but not for the 3,555 people the census has counted.	**3rd February:** The Globe Theatre, *Hamlet*, performance in the Jungle. **9th February:** UNHCR, *Calais: A Way Out*. The UN Refugee Agency supports the CAO voluntary relocation programme. **15th February:** Ai Weiwei, *Safe Passage*, Konzerthaus Berlin, part of the "Cinema for Peace" gala. **16th February:** Tristan Daws and Stephan Bookas, *Refugee Blues*, documentary poem. **18th February:** Jamie Noel and the Worldwide Tribe, *The Lotus Flower: Hope in the Calais Jungle*, documentary. **21st February:** Jude Law, Tom Odell, Juliet Stevenson, Shappi Khorsandi, Tom Stoppard and Toby Jones, *Letters Live*, performed at the Good Chance Theatre dome in the Jungle. **27th February:** The Guardian, *Inside the Homes of the Calais Jungle Camp*, photo essay.

	25-6th February: The Administrative Court in Lille sanctions the demolition, but allows 'living spaces' in the camp – including a school, library, church, and youth centre – to remain intact. **29th February – 16th March:** The eviction and demolition of the southern half of the camp goes ahead.	**28th February:** The Sunday Times, *Table Talk: AA Gill reviews a refugee camp cafe in Calais's The Jungle*, restaurant review.
Mar 2016	*Population estimate: 5500* **2nd March:** A Sudanese man dies from a heart attack in the Jungle. **2nd March:** Emmanuel Macron (Minister of the Economy) claims that the Jungle will move to Kent if Britain votes to leave the EU, as the Treaty of Le Touquet will come to an end. **3rd March:** Cameron pledges an additional £17m at a summit with President François Hollande. This will cover security and shelter in Calais, as well as repatriation flights. **7th March:** France's first 'official' refugee camp, *La Linière*, opens in Grande-Synthe. MSF built the camp for 2,500 people at the request of Dunkirk Mayor Damien Carême. 1,200 people, including many families, transfer immediately from the *Basroch* camp. **18th March:** The EU-Turkey deal is signed. Turkey agrees to readmit asylum seekers from the Greek Islands in exchange for €6 billion. Some protest that this breaks the international law of non-refoulement. **21st March:** The first three children arrive in the UK from Calais under the Dublin III family reunification clause. Citizens UK identify 150 other children in the Jungle with a legal right to come to the UK under Dublin III, but the transfer process can take over nine months. **21st March:** The House of Lords vote (by a majority of 102) to allow 3000 unaccompanied child refugees living in Europe into the UK. The 'Dubs Amendment' stipulates that *the secretary of state must, as soon as possible, make arrangements to relocate 3,000 unaccompanied refugee children who are in European countries to the United Kingdom.* **31st March – 1st April:** CMS record two deaths at the border.	**1st March:** Refugee Rights Europe, *The Long Wait*, report. **1st March:** Olivier Cousin and Célia Demoor, *Paroles de Migrants*, Collection of short films (FR). **2nd – 25th March:** Twelve Iranian men hold a hunger strike in the Jungle. Nine sew their lips together, demanding safer conditions, medical and legal access, running water and an emergency services access road into the camp. **6th-12th March:** *Crew for Calais Festival*, Arcola Theatre. **10th March:** ENSAPB, Actes & Cités conduct their second study of the architecture and the urban landscape of the Jungle. **10th March:** Sue Partridge, 'Hung out to dry.' This is the beginning of the Paper People Project. Refugee Info Bus launches a participatory photography and citizen journalism project in the Jungle. In April 2016, the photographs are displayed at the Barbican in London.
Apr 2016	*Population census: 4946, including 294 unaccompanied minors* **2nd April:** Help Refugees and *L'Auberge des Migrants* confirm that 129 unaccompanied minors went missing during the February-March demolition.	**1st April** – BBC, *Frontline Doctors: Winter Migrant Crisis*, documentary.

	7th April: A 7-year-old Afghan boy saved the lives of 15 people by texting 'no oxygen' to a volunteer in the Jungle while trapped in a lorry. **25th April:** MPs reject the Dubs Amendment by 294 to 276 – a majority of 18. **26th April:** The Dubs Amendment is revised. It returns to the Lords without the specification of 3,000 children, and passes again. The Amendment now reads: *The Secretary of State must, as soon as possible after the passing of this Act, make arrangements to relocate to the United Kingdom and support a specified number of unaccompanied refugee children from other countries in Europe.*	**1st April – 29th May:** Juan delGado, *Altered Landscapes*, multimedia exhibition, Watermans Art Centre, London. **8th April – 5th June:** Henk Wildschut, *Calais – From Jungle to City*, Foam Amsterdam, Netherlands. **9th April:** PEROU, *Calais Mag*, parody special issue of Calais' monthly magazine. PEROU's online forum *Réinventer Calais* is launched later this month. **16th April – 13th May:** Isabelle Serro, *Le Droit de Vivre*, Bibliotheque de l'Université du Littoral Cote d'Opale de Calais, France.
May 2016	*Population census: 5,188, including 420 unaccompanied minors.* **9th May:** The House of Commons accepts the revised Dubs Amendment; the number of children to be resettled will be decided in consultation with local authorities. The 2016 Immigration Act, including the Dubs Amendment, comes into force on the 31st May. **9th-29th May:** CMS record two deaths at the border. **18th May:** The fence that runs along the port bypass in Calais is extended. **26th May:** A fire in the Jungle burns down 250 shelters. The cause is accidental.	**1st May:** Refugee Rights Europe and Dunkirk Legal Support Team, *The Other Camp*, report on *La Liniere*. **4th May:** The Calais Sessions, *Khandahar* single release. **13th May:** UNHCR, *Leaving the Calais Jungle*, short documentary. **15th May:** Natasha King, *'No Borders': The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance.* **22nd May:** Calais Action, *Refugees Welcome*, Southwark Playhouse, London. **24th May:** Iara Modarelli Steine, *Oblivion: A Refugee's Purgatory Life in the Calais Jungle*, short documentary.
Jun 2016	*Population census: 6,123, including 544 unaccompanied minors.* **16th June:** Nigel Farage unveils his 'breaking point' poster. **20th June:** Help Refugees / *L'Auberge des Migrants* record a 32% increase in unaccompanied minors in the Jungle over the previous month. **22nd June:** A Sudanese man walks through the Channel Tunnel. **23rd June:** The UK votes for Brexit. David Cameron announces his resignation. **23rd June:** Conditions for entering *La Linière* camp in Grande-Synthe change (perhaps in response to the Brexit vote; the French state funds the camp, at a cost of €4m). Only people applying for asylum in France can now access the camp, and later, lone adults are also prevented from entering, a decision challenged by MSF.	**1st June:** Erfan Saadati, Toby Coffey, & Rufus Norris, *Home: Aamir*, 360-degree VR film by the National Theatre. **2nd June – 22nd June:** Migration Museum, *Call me by my name: stories from Calais and beyond*, Londonewcastle Project Space, London. **10th June:** Gianfranco Rosi, *Fire at Sea (Fuocoammare)*, documentary. **16th June:** David Herd & Anna Pincus (editors) *Refugee Tales Volume 1*, short story collection. **19th – 22nd June:** Hannah Rose Thomas, *The Divine Image: For Mercy Has A Human Heart*, The Crypt Gallery, London. Portrait paintings of refugees in camps in Jordan and Calais. Also displayed at the Saatchi Gallery September 2017.

		24th June: Ester Svensson & Rosanna Martin, *These Walls Must Fall*, exhibition and auction, Geddes Gallery, London.
Jul 2016	*Population census: 7,037, including 608 unaccompanied minors.* **4th – 27th July:** CMS record five deaths at the border. **11th July:** Natacha Bouchart, Mayor of Calais, confirms that the Jungle will be demolished 'very soon'. 5270 people are living in the planned demolition area (outside of the CAP and the Jules Ferry centre), 425 of whom are unaccompanied minors. **13th July:** Theresa May is elected Prime Minister by Conservative Party MPs. **22nd July:** CRS officers begin to raid and shut down restaurants, shops and other businesses in the Jungle.	**6th July – 6th August**: Tess Berry-Hart & David Mercatali, *Cargo*, Arcola Theatre, London. **7th – 10th July:** Steve Waters, *The Play About Calais*, staged over 4 days at Hotbed Theatre Festival, Cambridge. **8th July:** Tomo Brody, *Humans After All: Voices from Calais*, short documentary. **11th July:** Dominic Locher Films, *Bag Full Of Dreams: A Film by Refugee Residents of the Jungle*, short documentary. **11th – 13th July:** Keo Films, *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe (series 1)*, 3-part documentary broadcast on BBC Two. **22nd July:** News Deeply & Bairbre Flood, *The Hungry Road*, radio documentary. **29th July:** The Calais Sessions, *The Calais Sessions*, 13-track album recorded in the Jungle. Also Sarah Hickson *'Calais Sessions'* photograph collection. **30th July – 7th August:** Good Chance Theatre, *The Dome on Festival Terrace*, Southbank Centre, London.
Aug 2016	*Population census: 9,100, including 675 unaccompanied minors* **3rd August:** Fewer than 20 child refugees have arrived in the UK over the previous 3 months. **12th August:** A court case objecting to the closure of the 72 restaurants, businesses and other communal spaces in the Jungle is heard in Lille. The judge confirms there is no legal basis for the closures. **24th August:** Help Refugees / *L'Auberge des Migrants* record 500 new arrivals each week, approximately 70 per day.	**1st August:** Annie Holmes & Olumide Popoola, *Breach*, short story collection. **5th – 21st August 2016**: The first Refugee Olympic Team takes part in the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio. **11th August:** Over 100,000 people sign a petition objecting to the closure of the Jungle Books Kids Café, ahead of the court hearing in Lille. **19th August:** Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *Nobody is ever just a refugee*, UN World Humanitarian Day Speech, New York. **22nd – 28th August:** Phosphorous Theatre, *Dear Home Office* at Underbelly Theatre, Edinburgh. A play created by unaccompanied minors in the UK who reside in supported accommodation.

Sep 2016	*Population census: 10,188, including 1,026 unaccompanied minors, 387 eligible for transfer to the UK.* **2nd September:** The forthcoming demolition of the Jungle is announced, and later confirmed by President Hollande. **5th September:** Lorry drivers and farmers create a blockade along the motorway in Calais, calling for the closure of the Jungle. Lorry drivers report being threatened with violence and deliberate traffic accidents. **16th-24th September:** CMS record two deaths at the border, including a 14-year-old boy. **20th September:** Work begins on the 'Great Wall of Calais,' to block access to the motorway leading to the port. It is 4m high, 1km long, and costs £2.3 million, to be paid from the £17m pledged by the UK in March 2016. CMS also reports on the £80 million privatisation of Calais border security.	**1st September:** Jérémie Reichenbach & Quilombo Films, *Les Corps Interdits*, short film (FR). **1st September:** Daphne Matziaraki, *4.1 Miles*, short film. **1st – 9th September:** deep:black, *Birds Crossing Borders*, exhibition at Rich Mix, London. **2nd September:** Lilian Simonsson & Safe Passage, *Dear Prime Minister*, short film. **17th September:** Solidarity with Refugees, *Protest March in London*, estimated 10,000 attendees. **22nd September:** Michael Rosen & Annemarie Young, *Who are Refugees and Migrants? What Makes People Leave their Homes? And Other Big Questions*, children's book.
Oct 2016	*Population estimate pre-demolition: 8,143* **5th October:** *La Linière* closes its doors to all new arrivals, including women and children. Local authorities aim to close the camp completely in early 2017. MSF opposes the plan until alternative accommodation becomes available. **9th–14th October:** CMS report two deaths at the border. **11th October:** Tobacconists in Calais file a complaint against the unregulated sale of tobacco in the Jungle. **12th October:** 21 children are brought to the UK from Calais under Dublin III. **18th October:** Help Refugees issue legal proceedings against the Home Office, as no children have yet been transferred to the UK under the Dubs Amendment. **21st October:** The Home Office begins registering children in order to transfer them to the UK. **22nd October:** The first unaccompanied children enter the UK under the Dubs Amendment, including 50 girls from Eritrea. **23rd October:** Some children arriving from Calais are placed in detention and foster care because background checks on family members have not been carried out. **24th October:** The evacuation of the Jungle begins. Residents form huge queues, and the French Government registers them, then takes them on buses to 450 CAOs located across France. The CAOs include barracks, holiday camps, gymnasiums and leisure centres. 1,900 people leave for CAOs on the first day,	**12th October:** Lily Allen, '*I apologise on behalf of my country,'* news report. **19th October:** Media controversy is caused as some claim the unaccompanied minors brought to the UK are adults. They call for dental checks and use age-recognition software to determine their 'real' ages. **20th October:** Carey Mulligan, Juliet Stevenson, Samuel West, *Last Chance: a staged plea for the unaccompanied children of Calais*, a staged reading of the Dublin III Regulation, Good Chance & the Young Vic Theatre, London. **24th October:** Help Refugees report there are 500 journalists attending the demolition. The Daily Mail calls it *'The Battle of Calais.'* **26th October:** The media reports that the evacuation of the Jungle has been completed, although people still remain in the camp. **30th October:** The situation for unaccompanied minors in the remains of the Jungle is compared to *Lord of the Flies*. **31st October:** BBC World Service Documentary Podcast, *The last days of the Calais Jungle*.

	and 2,000 more disappear from the camp before the relocation operation begins. **25th October:** 45 buses are intended to transport 2400 people to CAOs across France, but registration stops early. Women in the camp hold a peaceful protest as the 'dismantling' of the camp begins. Home Office staff bring some under-13s to the UK. Serious concerns are raised about the chaotic situation for the remaining children, who are not being registered or accommodated, and whose shelters have been destroyed. **26th October:** 40 buses are intended to transport 2000 people to CAOs. 50% of the camp has so far been demolished. Nearly 1,500 unaccompanied children wait in the container camp, to be sent either to the UK or to CAOMIEs (CAOs for children). 400 women and children also remain at the Jules-Ferry centre. Human Rights Watch and organisations in the camp denounce the conditions the children have been left in, without sufficient food, water, shelter or adult supervision. **27th October:** The registration process ends. The authorities report that 4,404 adults have been transferred to CAOs over four days. 1,600 women and children remain in the camp.	**31st October:** Jean Bodon, Dharmesh Patel, Theresa Bodon, *UNESCO Calais Jungle*, short documentary. Julien Pitinome, *La Jungle de Calais, la vie s'en est allée,* photography series.
Nov 2016	**3rd–4th November:** Following the demolition of the Jungle, encampments in Paris are also demolished, and over 3,800 inhabitants are taken to reception centres. **8th November:** Help Refugees is granted permission to judicially review the Home Office over its failure to implement the Dubs Amendment. **18th November:** The Home Office release new guidelines for the Dubs Amendment. The new eligibility criteria prioritise Sudanese and Syrian children, and largely rule out Afghans, Eritreans and Ethiopians between the ages of 13 and 17. This represents the largest demographic of unaccompanied minors currently residing in CAOMIEs. **23rd November:** Refugee Youth Service report that a third of the 179 children they monitored following the eviction have gone missing. Some have run away from CAOMIEs.	**1st November:** James John & The Worldwide Tribe, *End of the Jungle,* short documentary. **2nd – 6th November:** PSYCHEdelight Theatre Co, *Borderline* debut at Cockpit Theatre, London. **11th November:** Signe Sofie Hansen, Layla Mohseni, Tara Flores, Ishita Singh, *Humans of Calais: Migration from the Perspective of Migrants*, KCL Migration Research Group Photography Exhibition, Strand Campus, London. **22nd November:** Rony Brauman & Michaël Neuman, *From Dadaab to Calais: what are the alternatives to the refugee camp?*
Dec 2016	*Population estimate: 200-300* **9th December:** The UK Government ends the 'post-demolition' transfer of child refugees from Calais, after a final group of 79 enter the UK. **15th December:** Hundreds of unaccompanied minors who applied to transfer to the UK under the Dubs Amendment have their applications rejected. Many are told verbally by accommodation centre staff, with no reasons provided for the rejection. **16th December:** The High Court confirms that unaccompanied children transferred to the UK under Dubs cannot have already	**1st December – 4th December:** Nick Ellwood, *Where do we go from here?* London Illustration Fair, Bargehouse Gallery, London. **8th December:** Guido Hendrikx, *Stranger in Paradise*, documentary fiction (NL). **13th December:** Lutia Swan-Hutton, *Beauty of a Stateless Mind*, documentary about 3 artists in the Jungle.

	been eligible for transfer under Dublin III. This means that the same children cannot be counted twice under both schemes. **26th December:** Hundreds of former Jungle residents have returned from CAOs to small camps around Northern France. Dozens return each week, many of them children whose UK transfer applications were rejected.	**1st December:** Help Refugees publish a report on the situation for children living in 12 different CAOMIEs. **23rd December:** Undocument Film, *What Happened to The Refugees Living in The Jungle?* short documentary.
Jan 2017	**5th January:** The Women's Centre in Dunkirk is destroyed by a fire; the cause is unknown. **6th January:** The population of *La Linière* has increased by 500, to a total of 1320, despite the announcement that no new arrivals would be accepted. **10th January:** 40 unaccompanied minors previously resident in the Jungle are relocated to Ireland. **22nd January:** Care4Calais report that they are providing food for 70 people in Calais, the majority of whom are children who have run away from CAOMIEs. They estimate that 10-12 new people arrive every day. They have no access to running water, sanitation, cooking, heating or washing facilities. **22nd January:** It is established that Eritrean children were judged ineligible for transfer to the UK under the Dubs Amendment based on inaccurate country guidance information. **29th January:** An extensive investigation into CAOMIEs across France by Social Workers Without Borders reveals widespread neglect, including a lack of food, clothing, washing facilities, adult supervision, adequate sleeping arrangements, security and psychological support. Several members of CAOMIE staff confirm these findings, citing understaffing, lack of preparation and the mass rejection of Dubs applications.	**2nd January – 9th February:** BBC Three, *The Refugee Diaries*, documentary series. **6th January – 11th February:** Gideon Mendel, *Dzhangal*, exhibition of found objects, Autograph ABP Gallery, London. Book of the same name published 27th January. **25th January:** Yasmine Bouagga and Lisa Mandel, *Les Nouvelles de la jungle (de Calais)*, graphic reportage (FR). **25th January:** Brass Moustache Films, *The Asylum Market*, documentary. **27th January – 14th May:** BALTIC & Amnesty International, *Disappearance at Sea: Mare Nostrum*, BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, Gateshead, Newcastle. **31st January:** Business Insider, *12 celebrities you didn't realize were refugees*, article.
Feb 2017	*Population estimate: Help Refugees records 500-1000, mostly unaccompanied minors.* **2nd February:** The Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner calls for the Dubs eligibility criteria to be amended, arguing that these criteria fail to protect those vulnerable to modern slavery. **3rd February:** *R (on the application of ZS) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* ZS, a 15-year-old Afghan boy, brings a judicial review claim against the Home Office, arguing that the selection criteria for the Dubs Amendment, and the decision-making process for applicants, was unlawful. The court delays the case because it overlaps with the ongoing Help Refugees litigation. On 22nd January 2019, the Administrative Court eventually rules that the Home Office acted lawfully in its implementation of eligibility criteria for Dubs transfers. The Court rules that ZS	**1st – 5th February, 2017:** Crew for Calais, *Still Waiting*, Vault Festival, Waterloo, London. **3rd February:** SOAS becomes one of 40 UK universities to start a 'refugee scholarship' programme. **8th – 12th February:** Crew for Calais, *Borderland // Calais*, Vault Festival. **13th February:** A petition to reinstate the Dubs Amendment receives more than 60,000 signatures. **13th February:** Sarah Woods, *Borderland*, BBC Radio 4. **15th – 18th February:** Crew for Calais, *Walk With Me*, Vault Festival, Waterloo, London. Also a 'Hackathon' on 18th February.

	was not especially vulnerable compared to his peers, despite suffering from mental health problems. **8th February:** The UK Government confirms that 350 children will be brought to the UK under the Dubs Amendment, and the scheme is closed. As 200 children have already entered the UK, this means there are 150 more places available. **23rd February:** A fire is started at *La Linière*, but it is contained and nobody is hurt. The population has reached 1500. **28th February:** The container camp is dismantled and removed from the site of the Jungle.	**15th February – 23rd April:** Richard Mosse, *Incoming*, The Curve, Barbican, London. A film installation shot using a military thermal radiation surveillance camera. **23rd February:** UEL launches its Open Learning Initiative (OLIve) short course for 40 refugees and asylum seekers, funded by the Erasmus+ programme.
Mar 2017	**2nd March:** Calais Mayor Natacha Bouchart bans 'repeated, prolonged gatherings' at various locations around Calais, preventing food distribution for CAO returnees. **8th March:** Seven *associations* send a letter to Bouchart, asking her permission to distribute food twice a day. She denies the request on the 9th March, arguing that food is provided at the CAOs. **14th March:** New eligibility criteria for Dubs places is published; the nationality specification is removed. Organisations object that many of those previously rejected would now be eligible. **21st March:** A tribunal at the Administrative Court in Lille overturns the ban on food distribution in Calais, deeming it illegal. **24th March:** More security gates are installed in Calais. **30th March:** Banksy prints are auctioned to raise funds for the Refugee Community Kitchen in Calais.	**12th March:** Channel 4, *War Child*, documentary. **14th–19th March:** Tate Exchange & Counterpoints Arts, *Who Are We? (1)* exhibition. **16th March:** Pooja Puri, *The Jungle*, novel. **16th March:** Yolande Moreau and Laurent Gaudé, *Nulle part en France*, documentary, (FR). **17th March 2017 – 7th January 2018:** Ai Weiwei exhibition, *Law of the Journey*, National Gallery in Prague, Czech Republic. **24th – 26th March:** Le Channel Theatre, *La saveur de l'autre (2)*, Calais, France (FR). **29th March – 23rd April:** Grainne Hasssett, *The Calais Maps*, Irish Museum of Modern Art. Good Chance builds a temporary theatre in Paris, in collaboration with *Collectif MU* and *Emmaüs Solidarité*.
Apr 2017	**1st April:** Help Refugees report that 80% of people sleeping rough in Calais are under 18, with the youngest only 13. **10th–11th April:** *La Linière* camp is destroyed in an arson attack, leaving 1,500 (including 120 unaccompanied children) without shelter. **12th April:** Half of the former inhabitants of *La Linière* are accommodated in local sports centres, from which they are transported to CAOs. 80 are identified by Safe Passage as having family in the UK. **19th April:** All sports centres used for emergency accommodation are emptied, and nearly 1,200 people are transported to CAOs.	**6th April:** Calais Writers, *Voices from the 'Jungle': Stories from the Calais Refugee Camp*. A collection of life narratives produced from the University of East London's accredited Life Stories short course, conducted in the Jungle. **11th April:** Thomas Dandois & Stéphanie Marchetti, *Les Enfants de la Jungle*, film (FR). **19th April – 13th May:** Benjamin Zephaniah & Lemin Sissay, *Refugee Boy*, Chickenshed Theatre, London. **22nd April:** UNHCR, 'Finding Home' app launch. **26th April – 20th August:** Migration Museum, *Call me by my name: stories from Calais and beyond*, The Workshop, Lambeth, London.

	26th April: Due to an administrative error, 130 extra places are added to the Dubs scheme, bringing the overall total from 350 to 480, and the number of available places from 150 to 280.	
May 2017	*Population Estimate: 500 in Calais and Dunkirk (Help Refugees)* **14th May:** Emmanuel Macron becomes President of France. **18th May:** A makeshift camp in Puythouck, inhabited by 200 former residents of *La Linière*, is evacuated.	**1st May:** Refugee Rights Europe, *Six Months On*, research report. **3rd May:** Béatrice Huret and Catherine Siguret, *Calais Mon Amour*, Autobiography (FR). The book is due to be adapted into a film, with the name *Assoiffés*. **14th May:** *Exodus: Our Journey to Europe* wins a BAFTA for Best Factual Series. **18th May:** Vanessa Redgrave, *'Sea Sorrow'*, documentary. **22nd May:** Majid Adin, *Rocket Man.* Adin wins a competition to create the official music video for Elton John's 1972 hit Rocket Man. The video has received over 60 million views on YouTube. **24th May – 6th July:** Jacky Chapman & Janine Wiedel, *In Transit: Daily Life in the Calais Jungle and Grande-Synthe Refugee camp*, Gallery 101 – Salvation Army International HQ, London. **30th May:** Help Refugees, *Remember the Calais Jungle?*
Jun 2017	**8th June:** Theresa May is elected Prime Minister in a General Election. **14th June:** 72 people lose their lives in a fire at Grenfell Tower in London, including a significant number of people with refugee status. **20th June:** The Help Refugees case is heard in the High Court. **26th June:** The Administrative Court in Lille rules that aid and support measures must be implemented immediately in Calais, including the introduction of water points, hygiene facilities, toilets, provision for unaccompanied minors and transport to CAOs. The judge rejects the proposal to create another Jules Ferry-style emergency reception centre in the town. The Calais Mayor and Prefecture appeal to the *Conseil d'Etat*.	**20th June:** Kate Evans, *Threads from the Refugee Crisis*, graphic reportage. **21st June:** Sue Clayton, *Calais Children: A Case to Answer*, documentary. **24th – 25th June:** Phosphorous Theatre, *Dear Home Office 2: Still Pending*, Southbank Centre. Steph Goodger, *The Twilight Kingdom*, seven oil-on-canvas paintings, depicting the demolition of the Jungle. Thomas Dandois & Stéphane Marchetti *The Lost Kids of Calais*, documentary (FR).
Jul 2017	*Population estimate: 400-500 in Calais, incl. 200 unaccompanied children. (Human Rights Watch)* **10th July:** A camp of 300-500 people, including 40-50 babies and toddlers, has developed in Northern France. It is mostly made up of former residents of the Jungle and *La Linière* who have returned from CAOs. The camp is regularly dismantled to prevent it becoming more permanent.	**10th July:** CBC Radio – Love Me, *The Other Side*, audio story. **13th July:** Christine Beddoe. Human Trafficking Foundation, *An independent inquiry into the situation of separated and unaccompanied minors*

	10th July: Utopia 56, *Secours Catholique* and *L'Auberge des Migrants* report that water sources have been contaminated. **17th July:** The 'Defend Europe' movement plans to deploy a 422-tonne vessel with a 25-member crew to block sea rescues in the Mediterranean. **31st July:** The *Conseil d'Etat* reject the appeal by the Calais authorities, and reiterate their obligation to install water points, showers, toilets, outreach for minors and transport to CAOs.	*in parts of Europe*. This report, based on research conducted in April-June 2017, was presented in the House of Lords by Baroness Butler-Sloss and Rt Hon Fiona Mactaggart. **25th July:** Luma Mufleh, *Don't feel sorry for refugees -- believe in them*, TED Talk. **26th July:** Human Rights Watch, *Like Living in Hell: Report on Police Abuses Against Child and Adult Migrants in Calais*, report.
Aug 2017	*Population estimate: 750 in Calais, incl. 100-200 unaccompanied minors.* **16th August:** Several water points and ten toilets are installed in Calais in compliance with the July court ruling. **21st August:** Help Refugees and *L'Auberge des Migrants* publish a report on living conditions in Calais. They find that 75% of respondents have their possessions – including sleeping bags and blankets – confiscated 3 times a week. Over 50% sleep for less than 4 hours a night, and report that CS spray is used on them when they are sleeping. As tents are confiscated, many sleep out in the open. **31st August:** The shower facilities requested by the court have not yet been installed, so *associations* introduce mobile showers.	**2nd August- 28th September:** Association IMAGINE, *Protestimony* exhibition, Summerhall, Edinburgh. **29th August – 2nd September:** *MIGRATE* polaroid photography exhibition, Omeara, London. Delphine Coulin, *Une fille dans la jungle*, Novel (FR).
Sep 2017	**6th September:** The UK Government's post-Brexit immigration plans are leaked. **17th September:** *L'Auberge des Migrants* claim that border enforcement in Calais costs €500 per day per refugee. **18th September:** *R (on the application of Citizens UK) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* Citizens UK argue that the 'expediated' Dublin III family reunification procedure that took place in response to the demolition of the Jungle in October 2016 was legally flawed, as it violated the procedural safeguards contained in the Dublin III regulation. While 500 unaccompanied minors were transported to the UK under this process, over 500 others were refused without justification, or legal recourse to challenge the decision. The Administrative Court found that the expedited Dublin III process fell outside of the normal Dublin procedure, so the normal procedural safeguards did not apply. The Court of Appeal reversed this decision on the 31st July 2018, finding the expediated Dublin process to have been in breach of the common law duty of fairness.	**1st September:** Khaled Hosseini, *Sea Prayer*, short story. **1st September:** Ai Weiwei, *Human Flow*, documentary film. **20th September 2017 – 9th September 2018:** Migration Museum, *No Turning Back: Seven Migration Moments that Changed Britain*, The Workshop, London. **24th September:** Hetty de Kruijf, *Jungle*, fiction film (NL). **26th September:** Jason Wingard, *In Another Life*, docufiction filmed in the Jungle.

	18th September: Dunkirk Mayor Damien Carême holds a meeting with the Minister of the Interior, arguing for the reopening of *La Linière.* The State opposes the idea, but sanitary facilities are installed instead. **19th September:** 350-400 people are evacuated from *Puythouck* camp in Dunkirk, and transported to CAOs. In March 2019, this evacuation was retrospectively ruled to have been illegal.	
Oct 2017	*Population estimate: 700 in Calais* **16th October:** OHCHR urges the French Government to devise long-term measures to provide access to safe drinking water and sanitation in Calais and Dunkirk, as there are currently 10 toilets for a population of 700. **23rd October:** The French Government publishes an official report on policing in Calais and Dunkirk, following the findings of Human Rights Watch in July 2017.	**1st October:** Séverine Sajous & Patricia Sánchez Mora, *Mot de Passe: Fajara*, short film (FR). **1st October:** Vika Evdokimenko, *Aamir*, short film. **1st October:** Olivier Kugler, *Dem Krieg entronnen*, graphic reportage (DE). **4th October:** The Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales (BHRC), *Breakdown: the dismantling of the Calais "Jungle" and of the promises to its unaccompanied children*, report. **10th October:** Ice & Fire Theatre Company, *This is Who I am: LGBT+ Asylum Monologues.* **13th October –1st April:** Nidhal Chamekh, *Calais etudes et fragments de mémoires*, installation at La Biennale d'Architecture d'Orléans (FR). **19th October – 31st October:** Counterpoints Arts, *Fourth National Platforma Festival*, Newcastle, Gateshead, Stockton and Middlesborough. **24th October:** Dan Reed, *Calais: The End of the Jungle*, BBC Two, 'In This World'. Deep Network France, *L'Autre, c'est moi!* Performance project in Lille (FR).
Nov 2017	*Population estimate: 700-800 in Calais, 400-500 in Dunkirk, incl. 200 unaccompanied minors. (Help Refugees)* **2nd November:** *R (on the application of Help Refugees Ltd) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* Help Refugees challenge the lawfulness of the Government's process for calculating the number of available 'Dubs' places, arguing that local authorities were not properly consulted. They provide evidence of hundreds of places offered by local	**1st November:** Refugee Rights Europe, *Twelve Months On*, report. **2nd – 16th November:** KEO Films, *Exodus: Our Journey Continues (series 2)*, 3-part documentary broadcast on BBC Two. **15th November:** Laurent Van Lancker, *Kalès*, documentary (BE).

	authorities that were not included in the Government's calculation of 350, then 480, places. Help Refugees also argue that the Government's failure to provide individual written rejections for Dubs applicants in December 2016 was unlawful. The Divisional Court rules that the Government's consultation and implementation of the Dubs Amendment was fair, and their calculation of 350/480 places was reasonable. It rules that child refugees in Calais were not entitled to written justification for the rejection of their Dubs applications. The Court of Appeal overturns the latter ruling on the 3rd October 2018, confirming that the children should have been given written rejections to their Dubs applications, and the ability to appeal the Government's decisions. **18th November:** A 15-year-old Syrian boy is the first unaccompanied minor to arrive from Greece under the Dubs Amendment.	**18th November:** The Irish Times, *From camp to campus: Students from the Calais 'Jungle'*, report. **24th November–31st January:** Help Refugees/ Choose Love, First *Pop-up Shop* launched in Soho, London. Help Refugees have opened a pop-up shop in London and the US every year since. Human Rights Observers is founded in Calais.
Dec 2017	*Population estimate: 800 in Calais, over 1000 in Dunkirk.* **12th December:** MPs debate Clause 53 of the EU Withdrawal Bill, which is 'intended to provide for refugee family reunion in the UK in place of the family reunion aspects of the Dublin III Regulation.' **21st–29th December:** CMS record two deaths at the border, including a 15-year-old boy. **26th December:** Bouchart accuses NGOs in Calais of disturbing public order and of being 'complicit in very serious criminal acts.' The NGOS, in turn, report that French police are tear-gassing sleeping refugees and contaminating water supplies, confiscating shoes and sleeping bags and clashing violently with volunteers distributing aid. In Grande-Synthe, a sports centre is opened as emergency winter accommodation for 150-200 people. Attempts to enter the UK from Calais fell from 80,000 in 2015 to just over 30,000 in 2017.	**1st December:** The MECMI network, *Observatoire: Des Migrants Morts à Calais*, interactive map (FR). **7th December – 9th January:** Stephen Daldry & Justin Martin, *The Jungle*, Young Vic Theatre. **14th December:** Arabella Dorman, *Suspended*, installation artwork, St James's Church, Piccadilly. **18th December:** Majid Adin, *The Journey*, animated video.
Jan 2018	*Population estimate: 700 (BBC)* **18th January:** A new border security agreement, the Sandhurst Treaty, is signed by Theresa May and Emmanuel Macron. Britain agrees to pay an additional £44.5 million for security in Calais. The agreement also commits to greater efficiency for Dublin III transfer applications, although the average wait for Dublin transfers increases from 26 days in 2016 to 198 days in 2018.	**8th January:** Christophe Clavert, *C'était la jungle*, documentary (FR). **9th January:** BBC, *Calais Jungle: Police try to stop new camp forming*, video report. **20th January:** Arthur Levivier, *Regarde Ailleurs* documentary (FR). Yves Dimant & Dani Velázquez, *La Jungle: Where is Everyone?* documentary (SP).
Feb 2018	*Population estimate: 1000, including 200 children, in Calais and Dunkirk.*	

	1st February: Small camps around Calais are evicted almost every day. **6th February:** Emergency accommodation centres open for a week due to the cold temperatures. Organisations are concerned that there is only space for 335 people in the centres.	**3rd February 2018:** Émilien Cancet, Gustavo Almenara, *The Barber Shop*, short film. Sophie Djigo, author of *Les Migrants de Calais*, creates a platform called *Migr'action 59*, for citizens of Northern France to accommodate refugees in their houses at weekends.
Mar 2018	*Population estimate: 1000 in Calais.* **6th March:** *La Vie Active* are contracted to provide food in Calais (as in January 2015). *Associations* in Calais temporarily halt food distribution, but Refugee Info Bus reports that people refuse the food provided by *La Vie Active*. **16th March:** The Refugee Family Reunion Bill is debated in the House of Commons. This would allow unaccompanied child refugees to sponsor their close family to join them in the UK. **16th–21st March:** The emergency accommodation in Calais opens again for five nights. **17th-28th March:** CMS record two deaths at the border.	Jean-Gabriel Périot, *Song for the Jungle*, short film. Wshear Wali, *Long Way but Short Days*, short film.
Apr 2018	*Population estimate: 900 in Calais, 350 in Dunkirk – 200 accommodated in a sports centre in Grande-Synthe (OHCHR)* **4th April:** OHCHR urges the French Government again to provide safe drinking water, sanitation and emergency shelter in Calais and Dunkirk. They state that France is violating its international human rights obligations by failing to provide 'access to adequate housing, education, healthcare, water and sanitation as well as access to justice and remedies.' They also call for an end to the harassment and intimidation of volunteers and aid groups in Northern France. **23rd April:** France's National Assembly passes an immigration reform law. **29th April:** Amber Rudd resigns as UK Home Secretary as a result of the Windrush scandal. She is replaced by Sajid Javid.	**30th April – 7th July:** A 1,400km migrant solidarity march from Ventimiglia to Calais takes place over 70 days. Seif Jamalulail, *Jungle Boy*, autobiography.
May 2018	**17th May**: A 2-year-old girl dies after being accidentally shot by a police officer on the France-Belgium border.	**4th May – 5th September:** Varvara Shavrova, *The Sea is the Limit* exhibition, York Art Gallery. **10th May:** Lord Alf Dubs launches the Kindertransport Legacy Campaign. **18th May:** Harriet Grant & The Story, *The Kids of Calais*, podcast. **21st May:** Aske Kreilgaard, *Surviving the Jungle*, TEDx Talk. **22nd–27th May:** Counterpoints Arts & Tate Exchange, *Who Are We? (2)*, Tate Modern.

		23rd May: Positive Negatives, *North Star Fading*, animated story.
Jun 2018	**12th June:** *SOS Méditerranée*'s rescue ship Aquarius is allowed to dock in Spain, after the ship containing 629 rescued people is caught in a standoff between Italy and Malta, as neither country permits the vessel to disembark. **24th June:** An EU crisis summit takes place in Brussels to find 'European solutions' to the migration situation and to ease tensions between member states.	**14th–23rd June:** José Farinha and Jungleye photography exhibitions at Beyond Borders Festival, London. . **16th June – 3rd November:** Stephen Daldry & Justin Martin, *The Jungle*, The Playhouse Theatre, London. **18th June:** Habib & Majid Adin, *Dear Habib*, Positive Negatives Animation. **20th June:** Channel 4, *Britain's Refugee Children*, documentary.
Jul 2018	*Population: L'Auberge des Migrants report 700 in Calais and 500 in Dunkirk. The prefecture report 350-400 in Calais.* **6th July:** New Home Office guidance is issued regarding the procedure for assessing the asylum claims of those who arrive under the Dubs Amendment. **31st July:** *Associations* in Calais return to the Administrative Tribunal in Lille to demand water points, showers, toilets and clothes washing facilities for displaced people in the town.	**7th July:** The Migrant Solidarity March arrives in Calais, after leaving Ventimiglia at the end of April. Five participants in the march are placed in administrative detention. **12th July – 31st August:** Suzanne Partridge, *Paper People Bradford*, Bradford Peace Museum, Yorkshire. **20th July – 16th September:** Martha Cattell & Kyveli Lignou-Tsamantani, *Refuse/Refuge*, art exhibition, Project Gallery, York.
Aug 2018	**8th August:** Around 200 people, mainly families, are evacuated from a camp near the site of *La Linière*, and transported to CAOs. **30th August:** The Refugee Women's Centre warehouse burns down for a second time.	**1st August:** Refugee Info Bus, *L'Auberge des Migrants*, Help Refugees and Utopia 56, *Police Harassment of Volunteers in Calais*, report from investigations conducted 1st November 2017 to 1st July 2018. **17th August:** Khaled Hosseini, *Refugees are still dying. How do we get over our news fatigue*? opinion piece. **18th August:** Suzanne Partridge, *Bradford City Park Paper People*, 800 Paper People artworks in the park for one day.
Sep 2018	*Population estimate: 1000* **6th September:** A camp of 600 people is evacuated in Grande-Synthe. Over 400 people, including 60 families and nearly 100 children, are taken on buses to accommodation centres. Some of the buses return people back to Grande-Synthe due to lack of space in accommodation centres. **25th September:** A volunteer from the *L'Auberge des Migrants* is found guilty of defamation following a tweet criticising the	**7th September:** Victor Ohmer, *La Jungle*, short fiction film (FR). **7th September – 21st November:** Pramdepot, *Spotlight on Asylum*, festival and exhibition, Karamel N22, London.

	CRS, which he posted in January 2018. Amnesty International raises concerns. **28th September:** 500 people are evacuated from Puythouck and transported to reception centres.	**15th-19th September:** These Walls Must Fall, *The Channel: Voices from Detention*, Bristol.
Oct 2018	*Population estimate: 500 in Calais (L'Auberge des Migrants) and 1,800 in Dunkirk.* **5th October:** The Court of Appeal rules that everyone kept in detention in the UK under the Dublin III regulation from 1st January 2014 to 15th March 2017 was unlawfully detained. **23rd October:** The *Puythouck* camp is evacuated again. The French authorities report that 1,800 people were evacuated from the camp, with 1,300 sent to accommodation and detention centres. 400-700 people returned within a week. **26th October:** A Sudanese man is sentenced to fourteen years in prison after being found guilty of murdering a fellow inhabitant of the Jungle in December 2015. **30th October:** The camps located on *Chemin du Pont-Trouille* and *Rue des Verrotières* are evacuated and dismantled every two days. It is reported that around 70 inhabitants wait for the eviction to be over, then return immediately.	**5th–26th October:** Association IMAGINE, *Personne est invisible / Personne N'ait Invisible / Personne n'est invisible,* exhibition, Paris (FR). **16th October – 3rd November:** Good Chance build their theatre dome at the Museum of Immigration in Paris. **23rd–24th October:** Tom Bailey, *Zugunruhe*, Camden People's Theatre, London.
Nov 2018	**13th November:** 400 people are evicted from *La Ferme des Jésuites* and taken to accommodation and detention centres. **18th November:** CMS record one death at the border.	**1st November 2018 – 28th July 2019:** Migration Museum, *Room to Breathe*, London. **4th November:** Camden People's Theatre: *No Direction Home*, stand-up comedy. **5th November:** Jesús Armesto, *Los Burgueses de Calais, la última frontera*, documentary (SP). **15th November:** Sharon Walia, *The Movement*, documentary. **9th November 2018 – 24th March 2019:** Twelve Contemporary Artists, *Journeys Drawn, Illustration from the Refugee Crisis*, House of Illustration, London. **23rd November:** Refugee Info Bus, *We are Humans: Calais 2018*, short film. Deep Network France, *Les oiseaux de papiers*, Lille, France.
Dec 2018	**24th December-2nd January:** 100 people trying to cross the Channel by boat are apprehended on beaches around Dover, including 40 people on 5 boats intercepted on Christmas Day. **28th December:** Sajid Javid, UK Home Secretary, declares the Channel crossings a 'major incident'. Around 550 people	**1st December:** Refugee Info Bus, *L'Auberge des Migrants, Cabane Juridique* and Utopia 56, *Report on violence in Calais: Abusive and illegal practices.*

	attempted to cross the Channel on small boats in 2018, 80% from October to December, with 230 in December alone. Just over 50% of boats reached the UK successfully. This is compared to 23 boat interceptions in 2016 and 13 in 2017. *Associations* attribute this to the constant dismantling of camps, rumours around Brexit, and mild weather. A sports centre, *Espace Jeunes du Moulin*, opens as emergency winter shelter in Dunkirk.	**4th December – 27th January:** Good Chance, *The Jungle*, St Ann's Warehouse, Brooklyn, New York. **15th December:** Eric Bottero and Secours Catholique, *Human in the Jungle Style*, fashion show, Calais/Lille, France. **15th December:** The Bishop of Dover, Trevor Willmott, unveils a memorial plaque in Dover. It reads: *In memory of the many victims who have lost their lives seeking sanctuary in the UK.'* It is placed next to a memorial for the 58 Chinese nationals who died in a lorry on 18th June 2000. **22nd December:** Banksy's *Dream Boat* Sculpture is raffled at the Choose Love shop in London.
Jan 2019	*Population estimate: 500-600 in Calais, 300 in Dunkirk.* **2nd January:** Sajid Javid redeploys two Border Force vessels from the Mediterranean Frontex operation to the Channel. He visits Calais and agrees upon a 'Joint Action Plan' with his French counterpart. This involves increasing surveillance patrols, tackling smuggling gangs and educating displaced people about the dangers of crossing the Channel by boat. The new action plan commits a further £3.2m of funding for equipment, including drones, night goggles and security cameras. **24th January:** A group of people who crossed the Channel by boat are returned to France, as part of the new Joint Action Plan. The lawfulness of these returns is questioned. .	**22nd January – 16th February:** PSYCHEdelight, *Welcome to the UK*, Bunker Theatre, London. **28th January:** Shado Magazine, '*Changing Perspectives: Stories of Migration to Europe.*'
Feb 2019	**6th February:** The 'Stansted 15' are found not guilty of terrorism-related offences after preventing a deportation flight in March 2017. The trial represents the first time that terrorism charges have been brought against non-violent protesters. **19th February:** Home Secretary Sajid Javid announces the revocation of Shamima Begum's citizenship, following her IS involvement. **28th February:** The ECHR condemns the French Government for the 'degrading treatment' of a twelve-year-old boy who lived in the Jungle. The court orders France to pay the child €15,000.	**7th February:** *'Drowning hands'* street art appears in Pescara in protest against Italy's migration policy.
Mar 2019	**5th March:** More fences are erected around Calais. **8th March:** CMS record a death at the border. **26th March:** A drone is deployed in the Channel to detect crossings as part of the 'Joint Action Plan'.	**5th March:** Rufus Jones & Channel 4, *Home*, comedy series launch. **21st March:** Deep Network, *Mirages*, performance at University of Lille, France. **26th March – 19th May:** *The Jungle*, The Curran Theatre, San Francisco.

	28th March: Operation Sophia, an EU maritime patrol operation responsible for rescuing 49,000 people in the Mediterranean since 2015, is discontinued.	
April 2019	**23rd April:** Another death is recorded at the border.	**2nd April:** Five young refugees who lived in Calais win a Parliamentary community campaigner award for their advocacy work. **25th April:** Sister Eugenia Bonetti defends refugee rights before Pope Francis at an annual Good Friday sermon in Rome. **27th April – 29th November:** *Lande: The Calais 'Jungle' and Beyond*, exhibition at Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
May 2019	*Population estimate: 250-300 in Calais – the lowest number in years.* **3rd May:** Two refugees go before the Administrative Court in Lille to denounce the living conditions in Grande-Synthe. 6th **May:** Help Refugees withdraws from direct aid provision in Calais, and begins funding other operations. **23rd May:** The UK's final European parliamentary election is a landslide victory for the Brexit party. **24th May:** Theresa May announces she will resign as Prime Minister, triggering a leadership election. 140 people are intercepted in the Channel in May.	**11th May – 24th November:** Christoph Büchel, *Barca Nostra*, 58th Venice Biennale, Italy. UNHCR offers residencies to five refugee artists in Venice to coincide with the Biennale. **14th May:** BBC & HBO, *Years and Years*, refugee apocalypse TV series. **21st – 25th May:** Counterpoints Arts & Tate Exchange, *Who Are We? (3)*. **24th – 26th May:** *La Saveur de l'Autre (3)*, Le Channel Theatre with Atlas of Transitions, Calais, France (FR).
Jun 2019	*Population esimate: 550 in Calais (L'Auberge des Migrants), 650 elsewhere.* **1st June:** 8 boats carrying 74 people are intercepted crossing the Channel, the highest so far recorded in one day. Javid confirms that over 30 people who arrived by boat since January have been returned to Europe, and that boat arrivals will continue to be returned. **12th June:** Carola Rackete, captain of Dutch search and rescue boat Sea Watch 3, is arrested and faces imprisonment after docking at the port of Lampedusa without authorisation, following the rescue of 40 people who had been on board for 17 days. On 20th February 2020, the Italian Supreme Court found Rackete innocent. **17th June:** A new Refugee Resettlement Scheme is announced for 2020, to follow the Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Scheme. The Scheme aims to resettle 5,000 people in 2020. **24th June:** A photograph of Salvadorian father Óscar Alberto Martínez Ramírez and daughter Valeria, who drowned in the Rio Grande, taken by journalist Julia Le Duc and published by	**1st June:** The Human Rights Observers, *Forced Evictions in Calais and Grande-Synthe*, 1st August 2018 and 1st June 2019. **5th June:** Amnesty International, *Criminalization and Harassment of People Defending Refugee and Migrant Rights in Northern France*, report. **6th June:** David Herd & Anna Pincus (editors) *Refugee Tales Volume III.* **13th June to 13th July:** *Sink Without Trace*, exhibition at P21 Gallery, London. **14th – 23rd June:** Help Refugees & Clare Patey's Empathy Museum, *A Mile in My Shoes*, Soho, London. **16th -23rd June:** Jillian Edelstein *You, Me and Those Who Came Before: Portrait Series* V&A Museum.

	La Jornada, spark comparisons with Alan Kurdi's mediatised death in September 2015.	**18th – 24th June:** The annual Refugee Food Festivals in London and Lille feature chefs who previously lived in the Jungle. **20th June:** Refugee solidarity demonstrations take place simultaneously in Calais and Dover. **21st June:** Anthony Woodley, *The Flood*, film.
July 2019	*Population Estimate: 500-600 in Calais.* **23rd July:** Boris Johnson wins the Conservative Party leadership election. **24th July:** 11 people, including 2 children, are rescued while Crossing the channel in a rubber dinghy.	**26th July:** More than 100 faith leaders sign an open letter to Boris Johnson, asking him to resettle more refugees.
Aug 2019	**6th August:** The Italian Government passes a law by which the captains of search and rescue boats can be arrested, fined up to €1m, and have their ships confiscated, if they dock in Italy without authorisation. **9th – 26th August:** CMS record 2 deaths at the border. **21st August:** Pia Klemp, who faces up to 20 years in prison in Italy for assisting illegal immigration due to her Mediterranean rescue missions with Sea Watch International, refuses Paris's Grand Vermeil Medal for bravery.	**5th – 31st August:** Good Chance at Bastion de Bercy, Paris, France. **27th August:** Cole Moreton, *Calais – The Walk: Across the Water*, BBC Radio 4.
Sep 2019	*Population estimate: 600 in Calais, 1000 in Dunkirk, including 300 unaccompanied children.* **4th September:** Italy's new government partially relaxes its strict rules on disembarking rescue ships. **7–12th September:** Large-scale evacuations of 500 people from the industrial Dunes area take place in Calais. **10th September:** 86 people cross the Channel in small boats – the new record for a single day. A further 21 people arrive the following day. **17th September:** Between 700 and 1000 people, including 73 families, are evicted from in and around the *Espace Jeunes du Moulin* and transported to accommodation centres. **24th September:** Mobile Refugee Support report that 500 people have returned to Grande-Synthe following the eviction.	**1st September:** UK debut of the Refugee Orchestra Project. **13th September:** Behrouz Boochani, author of *No Friend but the Mountains*, is appointed visiting professor at Birkbeck Law School. **18th September:** Britain First begin 'patriot migrant patrols' along the south coast. Activists respond with a 'Refugees Welcome' event in Folkestone. **18th September:** Hassan Fazili, *Midnight Traveller*, documentary. **24th September:** BBC Radio 4, *The Syrians and the Kindertransport*, radio documentary. **29th September:** 'Angels Unawares' sculpture by Timothy Schmaltz, unveiled by Pope Francis in St Peter's Square.
Oct 2019	*Population estimate: 1,500 in Calais and Dunkirk, including 250 unaccompanied children (Help Refugees)* **14th October:** CMS record two deaths at the border.	**1st-27th October:** Counterpoints Arts, *Fifth National Platforma Festival*, Kent & Medway.

	23rd October: 39 Vietnamese nationals lose their lives while travelling to the UK in a lorry. **25th October:** The European Parliament rejects a plan to improve search and rescue in the Mediterranean. **28th October**: Eight people, including four children, are hospitalised after being found in a refrigerated lorry heading to the UK. **31st October:** Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic are found to have broken EU law by refusing to take in asylum seekers in 2015.	**5th October – 22nd December:** Pascal Beausse and Nathalie Giraudeau, *Reinventing Calais*, Centre National des Artes Plastiques. **26th October**: Waad Al-Kateab, *For Sama*, Channel 4 documentary.
Nov 2019	*Population estimate: 400 in Calais.* **1st November:** CMS record another death at the border. **10th November:** 53 people cross the Channel in small boats. Over 1,500 people have crossed by boat so far in 2019. **11th November:** A man is rescued by the P&O Ferry Pride of Canterbury while trying to swim to the UK, and taken back to Calais by helicopter. **19th November:** *Associations* take legal action against the daily expulsions taking place in the Dunes area.	**1st November:** François Delarozière & Compagnie La Machine, *Le Dragon de Calais*, a giant mechanical dragon visits Calais to try and change the image of the town. **4th November:** Channel 4, *Smuggled* series launch. The series is delayed by one week due to the tragedy on 23rd October. **20th November:** PSYCHEdelight Theatre Co, *Mohand & Peter*, Theatre Deli, London.
Dec 2019	*Populations estimate: 900 in Calais.* **3rd December:** A large-scale dismantling of the camp in the industrial area of the Dunes takes place. 350 people are taken to CAOs by bus, while 43 people are arrested and taken to detention centres. **12th December:** Boris Johnson wins the UK general election. Jeremy Corbyn resigns as leader of the Labour party. **20th December:** 'Clause 37' is proposed as an amendment to the Brexit Bill. This would revoke the commitment made in an older version of the Withdrawal Bill to negotiate an agreement with the EU to enable unaccompanied child refugees to join their relatives in the UK after Britain no longer subscribes to the Dublin III regulation.	**9th December:** Efrem Gidey, former Jungle resident, wins a medal for Ireland at the European Under-20 Cross Country Championship. **14th December–1st March:** *Refuge and Renewal: Migration and British Art*, Insiders Outsiders Festival at Royal West of England Academy. **14th December:** Secours Catholique, *Human in the Jungle Style*, fashion show, Calais.
Jan 2020	*Population estimate: 550 in Calais, including 200 unaccompanied children.* **8th January:** MPs vote in favour of Clause 37 (to remove the family reunification procedure from the Brexit Bill). **9th January**: CMS record one death at the border. **21st January:** The House of Lords overturns the Commons vote on Clause 37; they vote to keep refugee family reunification in the Brexit Bill.	**3rd January:** BBC Scotland, *Our Lives: From Syria to Scotland*, documentary. **13th January:** For Sama is nominated for an Oscar in the 'Best Documentary Feature' category. The documentary also wins a BAFTA for Best Documentary. **31st Jan – 1st Feb:** The first 'Refugee Solidarity Summit' takes place in London.

	21st January: Another dismantlement takes place in the industrial Dunes area. 145 people are taken away on 5 buses and 22 are arrested. Gates are installed in the area. **22nd January:** The Commons cast their final vote in favour of Clause 37. The commitment to refugee family reunification is officially rescinded from the Brexit Bill.	
Feb 2020	**20th February:** Refugees are granted the right to vote in local and national elections in Scotland. **28th February:** Turkish President Erdogan breaks the EU-Turkey agreement by allowing Syrians to travel to Greece. Erdogan threatened this action in 2019, stating that the EU was not upholding it side of the agreement.	**23rd February:** *When Home Won't Let You Stay: Art and Migration*, featuring Ai Weiwei's 'Safe Passage,' Minneapolis Institute of Art.
Mar 2020	*Population estimate:1000 in Calais, 2000 elsewhere in Northern France.* **9th March:** CMS record one death at the border. **11th March:** Lesbos records its first coronavirus case. **27th March:** Asylum seekers are not evicted from government-supported accommodation in the UK, even if their asylum claim is rejected, in order to prevent the spread of Covid-19. **31st March:** Only one NGO search and rescue boat is operational in the Mediterranean, Sea-Eye's 'Alan Kurdi'. It is impounded in May.	**27th March:** Organisations in Calais write an open Letter to the European Union, the United Nations and the Council of Europe regarding the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on displaced people in Calais.
Apr 2020	The number of people crossing the Channel by boat rises sharply again, from 200 people per month in 2019 to over 600 per month from April onwards. **3rd April:** Accommodation is opened for displaced people in Calais and Dunkirk during the national lockdown period. 623 accommodation places are made available, and evictions of makeshift camps continue to take place. **8th April:** Italy will not authorise the disembarkment of any rescue vessels until the end of the pandemic, declaring its own ports too unsafe to land in. **10th April:** Organisations in Calais warn that Covid-19 is spreading rapidly amongst the refugee population.	**6th April:** BBC Radio 4, *Return to the Calais Jungle*, Hossein Ahmadi, an Iranian refugee, reports on his return visit to the Calais Jungle. **11th April:** Hassan Akkad makes headlines working as an NHS hospital cleaner.
May 2020	*Population estimate:1100* **21st May:** The last of the 480 unaccompanied children arrive in the UK under the Dubs Amendment. **24th May:** The UK Government releases its 'draft working text for an agreement between the UK and the EU on the transfer of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children' after Brexit.	**9th May:** BBC, *Coronavirus: Volunteering at Calais' migrant camps*, article. Human Rights Observers, Help Refugees, Refugee Rights Europe and *L'Auberge des Migrants*, *Refugees and Displaced People in Northern France during the Covid-19 Pandemic*, report.