

# THE JUNGLE OF CALAIS

## A PLACE OF RESISTANCE AND MONUMENTALITY

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## ESSAY 90/05

MIGRATION

ART OF RESISTANCE

(POST)COLONIAL PRACTICES

ARTISTIC PRACTICES

ETHNOGRAPHY

The ongoing critical European border regimes are leading to the emergence of new official/unofficial refugee and migrant camps, which I understand, are an important aspect of the (post)colonial era. Of particular interest to this paper is reflecting upon past actions and motivations in my first experience in one of the biggest informal camps in Europe, 'The Jungle' in Calais, France. For this purpose, I question my artistic and pseudo ethnographic methodologies. Such as artistic intervention with an art action, participatory observation, and informal interviews, reflecting on how to research these 'peripheral' places. I will deal with my own experience in The Jungle with ethnographic and artistic considerations

and consider theories such as; the art of resistance and (post)colonial practices, which have helped guide my ongoing thoughts on 'monumentally'. I see The Jungle as a possible visual manifestation of ongoing problematics of the 'autonomy of migration' in a contemporary Western context. The particular interest of this text is the reflection on/ of different theoretical, ethnographic, and artistic materials from the research during my first encounter in The Jungle. The major focus is between 2015 and 2016 when the urban and social development of the area took place (and when my initial fieldwork took place). This text engages on layers of memory with aspects of personal experience and anthropological theory.

## INTRODUCTION

The growing humanitarian crisis and the gaps in border laws worldwide, especially in European borders, have provided the grounds for developing migrant camps in cross-border zones. This paper aims to reflect on informal camps that have not been supported directly by government agents. Volunteers, NGOs, and neighbors are the direct aids in their social and urban development in peripheral spaces of the city. The first section of the paper covers my own experience of my first fieldwork with an ethnographic and artistic approach. This work particularly analyzes my first encounter as an artist in The Jungle camp in Calais, France. This first experience motivated me to inquire into social scientific theories such as the art of resistance, the 'autonomy of migration' (De Genova, 2017), and (post)colonialism (Stoler, 2008), which will be analyzed in the second section of this text. I am interested in challenging the art of resistance and (post) colonial approaches with the problematics of the border regime. These concepts guided me in my ongoing thoughts on 'monumentally', which will be analyzed in the last section of this text. I see The Jungle as a possible visual manifestation of ongoing problematics of the 'autonomy of migration' in a contemporary Western context.<sup>1</sup>

## ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE

From the mid-1990s to the end of 2016, the northern part of Les Dunes in Calais, France, was characterized by informal migrant urbanization. This place was commonly called *The Jungle*, an informal migrant camp. Through my research I realized that the name 'The Jungle' was given by the press and outsiders (in reference to the "chaotic" internal dynamics of the place) and not by the inhabitants themselves. In my previous research I found no information of a specific name given by the inhabitants themselves, only the answer given by the participants of

the local radio station that operated inside the camp between 2015-2016, Jungala Radio. The name Jungala means Jungle-NO in Arabic. Evoking the name 'The Jungle' as a racist and exotic description of the dehumanized reality of the camp.

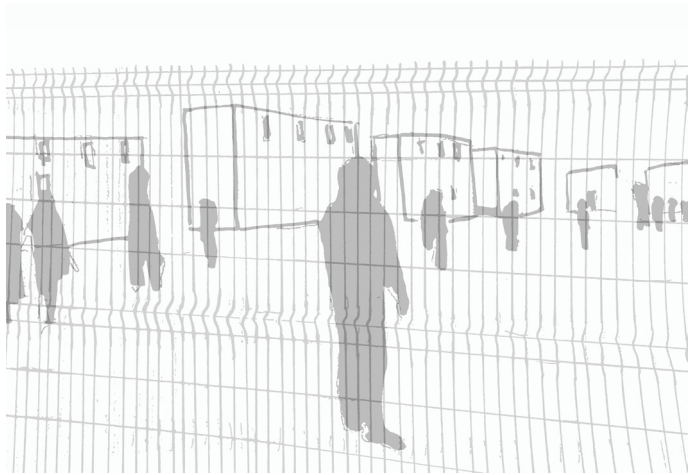
The Jungle was located on the periphery of Calais, in the area of Les Dunes. Calais is one of France's most important ports, which, across the Channel Strait of Dover, borders England. One of the most important economies in Calais is tourism. The city's infrastructure is adapted to the needs of the tourist, which contradicts the reality in The Jungle. The town has more than 20 years of migration history, coming mainly from Sudan, Darfur, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Eritrea, and other crisis zones. This informal settlement is one of the oldest in the European Union. In 2015 and 2016 the camp gained global attention during the peak of the European border crisis, when the population of the camp exploded and French authorities began carrying out evictions. On 26 October 2016, French authorities announced that the camp had been cleared (Bau-mard, 2016). However, conversations with volunteers provide evidence that it still exists.

During the summer of 2016, the Camp was rapidly urbanizing and developing, with 'common buildings' beginning to appear, as described by Michel Agier in his book: *The Jungle: Calais's camps and migrants* (2018). Agier refers to these 'common' areas in terms of their communal/voluntary construction and distinguishes them with 'public services' since Calais municipality did not participate in the construction of these communal areas for the inhabitants. NGOs, volunteers and the inhabitants themselves were responsible for the construction of social facilities such as schools, churches, mosques, communal kitchens, libraries, art school, kindergarten, theater and a youth center (Agier, 2018). Parallel to the camp's rapid growth and development was a rise in media attention: newspapers, TV shows, radio shows, online documentaries, etc, which further accelerated the development of The Jungle. This area was gradually becoming a neighborhood and a small town on the periphery of Calais with global exposure: "This town began to

focus the attention of the whole world, which could well appreciate how it was both prophetic and catastrophic in character, marvelous and wretched, utopian and dystopian” (Agier, 2018, p. 71). At the same time, through my first encounter in the camp, I could perceive the development of a micro-economy. Restaurants with different cultural backgrounds started to flourish, creating a kind of internal market, which the inhabitants could benefit from. Mostly there was the exchange of goods as a means of payment for these small entrepreneurs. I was able to understand this kind of ‘exchange’ thanks to a specific situation of my experience in The Jungle. In one of the meetings I had with some residents, around a cup of tea, I shared chocolates and cigarettes on the table, they told me that those two goods were some of the most appreciated things to trade in the camp. They kept it for the next few days to exchange with their peers.

The attention from mass media at a national and international level consolidated the monumental character of The Jungle. In the peak of the 2015 border crisis, especially within the European Union, the monumental state (which I will explain in more detail in the discussion section) was an important factor in the following governmental and European Union actions, causing extreme consequences (demolitions, violence, human rights violations, human right violations, among others) in The Jungle’s history. Less than six months after the French government’s public proclamation of ‘tolerance’ towards migrants in Les Dunes zone, the then French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, announced in September 2015 his desire to create a ‘tent camp’ on the same location of Les Dunes. This would end up being a container camp called the Centre d’Accueil Provisoire (temporary shelters, CAP). When I was first arriving in The Jungle in July 2016, I saw these white containers, as an installation from the 70s with an industrial architectural aesthetic<sup>2</sup>. Each container provides sleeping space for approximately 12 people. The structures did not provide for the possibility of bringing or hanging things that reminded the dwellers of home, which is another one of the reasons that many migrants did not want to

**Figure 1** Melanye Garland, *Field drawing, CAP containers, The Jungle, Calais, 2016.*



go live in the CAP. Of course, the first reason was when deciding to go and live there, one had to give their fingerprints and enter the EU data system, here 'luck was on the run' and there was almost no possibility of disappearing from the data identification system. The second reason was the fact that it is not possible to create your 'home', even for a temporary period. By prohibiting the display of personal objects (such as posters, photos, etc.), the French municipality was making a statement to remind everyone that Les Dunes is a temporary and transitory place. The duality found in the Les Dunes territory, between the CAP, its industrial, regulated containers and the organic The Jungle, visualizes the in-between space in which migrants found themselves living on a daily basis. The conflict between these two models; one, represents state power in the face of migration, with its industrial, structural, systematic, technological, capital, 'masculine' aspects. The other presents a self-organized, dynamic, flexible, adaptable, sociable, supportive, empowering, militant, 'feminine' reality. This confrontation brings me to think about the reality of destruction and construction that the inhabitants of The Jungle had to continuously deal with. Not only dealing with survival, but with the 'possibility' and (false sense of) hope of being able to cross the metal fences and enter the CAP system, therefore the France

state and EU system, in order to feel 'safe', like a 'citizen' and 'belonging to a European territory'.

The fieldwork to The Jungle was an arbitrary decision. Since the large-scale arrival of the Syrian community in Germany in 2015, artist communities started to organize cultural projects to help within the German government's refugee camps. Together with my art collective nomadicArt (see [www.nomadicart.org](http://www.nomadicart.org)), we realized that inside the camps in Berlin (which were set up in hotels, gyms, and empty schools), there were no workshops or artistic and therapeutic activities for families, especially for children, youth, and women. What struck us the most was that the program within the camps did not initially<sup>3</sup> have a school or any form of education for the children and youth. Only basic needs were covered, like shelter, food, legal aid, among others. Therefore, with my artist colleagues, we started to schedule weekly workshops, which we adapted to the needs of the participants. We asked what they would like to do, and we worked arranging tutors and fundraising to buy materials. Here was the starting point for the *Connecting Stories* (see <https://www.melaniegarland.com/ART-WORKS/CONNECTING-STORIES-2>) workshop and the initial reflections on anthropology, which led me to The Jungle in July 2016.

*Connecting Stories* was a writing letter workshop in which the participants were children, youth, and adults. Depending on the day, families gathered around a table to write letters. Depending on the participants' motivation, the letters could be exchanged with other participants in other camps in Berlin (at that time, I was doing this workshop in three camps in close neighborhoods). The main idea was to provide a quiet space to write and, if possible, to share it with peers. Some writing suggestions were; writing to an unknown person, sharing experiences from the new place and the journey from their home country to Germany. There was a mixture of languages: Farsi, Arabic, German and English. Sometimes, I invited a translator friend when someone wanted to describe or read their letter. But it usually was a mixture of languages and sound, where the sound texture was more predominant than the meaning

of the words. Usually, at the end of the workshop, the participants would give me their letters (which were given, later on, to other participants in another emergency center). Then, I would give them back letters from other participants, which they would read immediately. Each participant knew that before I delivered their letter, I would scan it for later research use. I didn't know at the time what to do with the information collected in those letters, but I had an intuition that it was a kind of collective memory. A sort of migrant's memory archive, that was emerging thanks to this workshop (Garland, 2021).

During one of my last sessions in June 2016, a group of participants asked me if I would do this workshop or another one outside Germany (I was already looking at possibilities to volunteer in Europe and Asia). They shared with me about the situation in Calais and told me about The Jungle. If I went there I could deliver some letters from them anonymously (they knew there would be no specific receiver). Some of them had passed through before coming to Germany, leaving friends behind. Other ones believed that their relatives were trapped there, unable to cross to England. But they had no way of communicating with them; because of its undocumented nature, the digital media (*Whatsap, Facebook*) was not an ideal channel to communicate between migrants

**Figure 2** Melanye Garland,  
Connecting Stories exhibition,  
LITE-HAUS Gallery Berlin, 2019.  
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**Figure 3** Melanye Garland,  
Connecting Stories exhibition,  
LITE-HAUS Gallery Berlin, 2019.  
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in transit. *Connecting Stories* began to transform into a possible kind of 'concrete' communication, becoming a form of activism against the European border regime. Later on, *Connecting Stories* transformed into an art action, where the artistic artifact was the letter and the envelope. In my paper, *The Jungle de Calais: Entre Liminalidad, Espacio fronterizo y lugar de posibilidades* (2021), I describe in detail *Connecting Stories*, which I critical analyze my role as an artist and 'mail-woman'—questioning the ethics and power relations of the project through anthropology. In this article, I want to highlight how this art action, which had an intuitive and empirical nature, allowed me to experience the reality inside, reflecting later on, in the art of resistance and the (post)colonial actions of The Jungle's inhabitants.

To arrive at The Jungle, I had to take a local bus that left me a 45-minute walk to the camp entrance. The walk was in a straight line, and I passed through a deserted landscape, abandoned factory and saw graffiti with paintings, drawings, and texts on the walls, symbolizing solidarity with the inhabitants of The Jungle. Along the way, I noticed people (all young men) walking and sitting on the sidewalk, some of them waving at me. But in general, there was a silence that blended with the sea breeze. Arriving at the camp, I

found a human barrier of French police officers who gave me the feeling that they were waiting for something. They told me in French and then in broken English if I entered the camp; it was difficult that they were going to help me if any 'confrontation' occurred. Those sentences were the first ones where I began to understand the tension happening in the Les Dunes zone.

The first thing I saw was the camp map, which I immediately drew so that I could locate myself and understand how the settlement was structured. I already knew beforehand that the Jungle was also divided by communities and languages. Looking at the map, I could not find where the Syrian community was. Since that was my mission, to look for the Syrian community and deliver the letters (20 in total) that I had collected in Berlin and, if possible, receive some letters

**Figure 4** Melanye Garland, *Field drawing, Copy of the Camp-map, The Jungle, Calais, 2016*



to take back. I asked some inhabitants and a volunteer of Irish origin who were at the entrance (since it was also the starting point of the main street where the restaurants and bars were). They all told me that the Syrian community was small (at that time), so they were close to the Kurdish and Afghani communities. By locating it on the map, I found it on the main street on the left side.

Walking along the main street, I could observe the infrastructure and architecture of the restaurants and bars, which at that moment were covered with a dark color. Getting closer to see the materiality of the venues (built with light materials, such as wood, plastic, and recyclable materials), I noticed that the surfaces were burnt. The smell of burning was also present, which by its intensity, I could guess that this had happened the day before or only a few days ago. Later, in the meeting with the Syrian leader (during the letters exchange<sup>4</sup>), he told me that there had been a confrontation with the French police the day before. He mentioned that this event was not isolated and had been going on for a couple of weeks. Looking back now, it could have been one of the first signs of the massive eviction in October 2016 (Garland, field notes fragments, 2016).

#### THE JUNGLE AS A RESISTANCE

The Jungle is often referred to as a 'state of exception' that produces 'bare life' (Agamben, 2005), a state of being outside the boundaries of city policy and planning, along with the degree of dehumanization and danger that these terms bring. Beyond that, The Jungle is a complex 'liminal place', in which the unstable zone between 'political' and 'bare' has produced states of biopower, resistance and abjection in and outside the camp.

It is a place where bodies, in all their clandestine 'out of placeness', nevertheless create, construct, and persevere in their attempt to survive, remain in place or stay on the

move. These are 'political subjects' who draw from the knotted symbolic resources of the past in their resistance to the contemporary border's regime of surveillance and control. (Sanyal, 2017, p. 14)

The visible traces of modern slavery and colonialism between the past and present, preserve the particularity of the Jungle and challenge the refugee's image as the silent 'bare life' (Sanyal, 2018). Through the Bodily Arts of Resistance (Sanyal, 2017) within The Jungle, a state of ephemeral monumentality (which I will explore in more detail in the last section) has been produced on an international scale. The massive media exposure, triggered not only by journalists and politicians but also by the open exposure of terror and dehumanization by the inhabitants and volunteers of The Jungle. It was one of the fundamental stages of resistance to border sophistication. The various strategies of resistance generated allowed a possible monumentality to be shown internationally, again putting the spotlight on the interaction between border regime, empowerment and political subjectivity of the present time.

The Jungle's diverse strategies of resistance to the European border regime on the part of its inhabitants, also has led to an internal mutilation of its own identity. The degree of 'communitas' and collective empowerment has created community, neighbourhood and sociability, but it has also led to the erasure of personal identity. The degree of monumentality of The Jungle and its massive international exposure was made possible by the communal state of 'unity'. It was no longer just migrants wandering around Calais and living in the streets, but rather 'The Jungle', a strong, fighting and organized community, which was creating 'culture' as an action of resistance against French and British governments. The empowerment and appropriation of the Les Dunes zone has brought (post)colonial attitudes (which I will address in more detail in the next section) but simultaneously has brought along the 'voluntary' eradication of self-identity, for defense against the European Union's border laws. I experienced an example of this during

my first fieldwork. At the time, I was so overwhelmed by the whole complex and dynamic context of The Jungle that I didn't have the awareness to understand what I was observing. I remember in one of the meetings with the Syrian community leaders, I noticed that two of them had the tops of all their fingers wrapped with medical bandages. It caught my attention but I thought it was a kitchen accident. Looking back now, I can understand that it was most probably the result of them attempting to erase their own fingerprints.

The undocumented habitants in The New Jungle have created biopolitical strategies to survive and resist surveillance and border control in Calais. By the eradication of fingerprints, is not only a resistance to the state and its politics of mobilization. From what I could identify in my own experience in the field, this is also a process of disappearance that generates a 'body-group', (post)colonial and 'communitas' (Turner et al., 1969) attitude that triggers a powerful resistance to fight for a safe place outside the legal framework of European refugee camps. The database that collects fingerprints and identifies people, in this case in the European zone, does not allow illegal entry to different EU borders. Applying for political asylum as a refugee does not depend only on which country he/she is seeking asylum, since once they are in the EU database, migrants will be forced to return to the first European country that they were identified as entering. This procedure does not allow for the migrant to choose the country they would like to seek asylum in. This is why the strategy of mutilating the fingerprints will allow this 'free' mobility and to be able to decide which country the migrant wants to end their journey. This decision on the part of the 'autonomy of migration' (De Genova, 2017) provides a window to new possibilities, which by 'disappearing' as an individual, can strengthen the group identity, becoming 'one' by creating a new communal identity. The Jungle is tangible proof of this art of resistance.

EU legislation dictates that no matter which country is first registered, it is the country to which asylum must be reques-

ted, preventing the person from claiming asylum in the country they wish to be in. The Dublin Regulation also dictates that migrants can and should be deported to the country from which the first fingerprint was made, stopping them from continuing to cross borders. It is also an 'option'<sup>5</sup> to require that fingerprints can be removed from the EU database. In a conversation with a volunteer at The Jungle, she told me that there were many inhabitants of the camp who were waiting to find out if their fingerprints had disappeared from the system, so that they could ask for asylum in France or even in the UK and not be reported to the country they were first registered in, usually Turkey, Greece or Italy. A significant challenge becomes following the different elements of the procedure, since migrants do not have an internet access, email or a postal address, which is the usual communication system of the EU registration agency. Many carry out this process with the help from NGOs<sup>6</sup>. Hence, the removal and mutilation of fingerprints highlights complex discussions about disappearance and the right to it. Roberto Esposito's term "immunitary dispositif" describes how the current situation of identification policy creates a real and symbolic problematic of contemporary life. This immunitary disposition is "the coagulating point, both real and symbolic, of contemporary existence" (Esposito, 2011). The digital and technological incorporation in the human body with the process of identification through fingerprints, represents an official biopolitics of inscription. The mutilation and the almost amputation of the physical and digital identity becomes a product of the state violence and control (Sanyal, 2017).

The sophistication in borders of today<sup>7</sup> is driving towards the obligation (right) to be seen, confronted with the 'right to disappear', on behalf of the 'autonomy of migration' and its eradication of fingerprints. In order not to have to belong to any state and territory, this process is a possible example of decolonization of migrant bodies that have been colonized by the contemporary border regime. The right to disappear, through mutilating practices in order to detach themselves from the database, proposes the reflection of the 'autonomy

of migration' and the priority of mobility over border control, demonstrating that the autonomy is still possible even if the borders have become more sophisticated. Migrants' strategies of burning documents, erasing fingerprints, among others, as described by Dimitris Papadopoulos and Vassilis Tsianos, are tactics to disappear and break the relationship between the human body and its identity by abandoning the human 'right'. At the same time, they are going beyond any further exclusion of representation, visibility, citizenship and human rights. Focusing on the art of resistance through innovative tactics, it challenges contemporary security and border control. The interplay between appearing and disappearing that underlies autonomous migration tactics makes the resistance sophisticated. However this gradual 'improvement' in both 'migration strategies' and 'border regime' has led to tragic and extreme conditions outside of the human rights framework. The deaths that the Mediterranean has witnessed are one of the consequences of this struggle to resist and defend the right of freedom's mobility and security.

We, the united people of the Jungle, Calais, respectfully decline the demands of the French Government with regards to reducing the size of The Jungle. We have decided to remain where we are and will peacefully resist the government's plans to destroy our homes. We plead with the french authorities and International Communities that you understand our situation and respect our fundamental human rights. (Manifesto from refugees, migrants and activists, when was the ultimatum for the Jungle south zone evacuation in 2015<sup>8</sup>).

#### THE JUNGLE AS A (POST)COLONIAL PRACTICES

Digging into The Jungle's past, not only from the tangible and direct past of the development process of the infrastructure and urbanization of the camp, but going beyond it, leading to an analysis of a colonialist past within the ge-

nealogy and ancestors of The Jungle's inhabitants. The landscape of The Jungle embraces temporal and visual qualities of a place dehumanized by excessive government violence as well as a liminal space of transformation, 'communitas', resistance, protest and 'space of appearance' (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). This is not only concentrated on the space and perimeter of the camp itself (zone les Dunes, Calais) since it is located on the border of the UK and consequently of the Schengen border. This duality of being inside and outside a European Union territory and Schengen, leads to different disputes of a remote past of a colonialist legacy, generating a possible monumental (post)colonialist image of The Jungle, going beyond its urban form and 'temporary event' within the dynamics of the contemporary border crisis. The Jungle is not only a new urban form of cosmopolitization as analyzed by Aiger (2018), due to its way of conviviality between different nationalities, cultures, religions, economic status (the socioeconomic past of each inhabitant) and inter-social positions (refugees/migrants/volunteers). It is possible to go further, understanding The Jungle and its environment as a cosmopolitical border settlement, by its geographical category of being located on the border between the continent (Europe) and the island (The UK). The Jungle is not only a cultural biopolitics and mobility, it also embraces the politics of geography and nature, its archeological borderline of being on the edge of geographical, natural, political, economic, cultural forms of contrast, among others (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). Considering the notion of archaeology, analyzing The Jungle only as a refugee camp, seeing it from a defined type of informal settlement risks losing the perspective of long-term juxtaposition between the several human experiences of displacement between the UK's border and the European continent. By defining The Jungle as a 'specific' form, it will not be possible to make the spatial parallels that this fringe embraces in the 'totality' of the present and past. Dan Hicks and Sarah Mallet write: "These juxtapositions proliferate: between colonial pasts and the



(post)colonial present, between shelter and dispossession, between the Global North and the Global South, and even, between Old and New Worlds” (Hicks & Mallet, 2019, p. 26).

When I first entered The Jungle and observed its precarious and dehumanizing conditions, I was extremely shocked to experience this reality within a European country like France. With my experiences inside shantytowns, ‘Tomas’ and ‘Favelas’<sup>9</sup> in South America, I already had a bit more understanding of the material reality of the inhabitants in these fragile environments. Observing this similar and even more complex context<sup>10</sup> in a European city inside the economic and political powers of the EU and the Schengen, it struck me how environmentally hostile what I was seeing was. The contrasts and parallels of contemporary realities between Europe and ‘the otherness’, triggered me to consider how “Western civilization’ grew in a two-way process simultaneously, creating a hybrid between the present and the past, perversely objecting to other growing realities, being less efficient, manufactured, savage, and so on.” (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). It is here that the reality of The Jungle (inside and out) embodies the ongoing problematic of colonialist legacies in contemporary Europe. The (post) colonial images and actions of resistance of the surviving bodies of the camp consistently point out the colonialist and imperial legacy of Western civilization. In The Jungle it is possible to witness first hand how

these ongoing (post)colonial survivors are experienced vividly by displaced people through the strange epoch into which they are forced: a technological Mesolithic, where, apart from the smartphone, there is no modern technology of shelter, of transport, of lighting, heating, or community based on sedentism. (Hicks & Mallet, 2019, p. 63)

Ann Laura Stoler embraces the term ‘(post)colonial’ to stress the long-term legacies of European colonialism rather than consigning them to history (Stoler, 2016) or understanding the colonial past as merely an anthropological and a merely historical matter. Stoler prefers the term

(post)colonial studies rather than post-colonialism, since (post)colonial, with the use of ‘parentheses’, emphasizes the continuous colonial ‘presence’, from its tangible/intangible form and thereby confirms that there are colonial ‘presents’ (Stoler, 2016), not only as a temporary legacy after a colonialist experience, but rather a permanent presence of the colonialist frame. The Jungle can be an example of this juxtaposition, since geographically speaking, it is located in the European context and on the border of two European powers with colonialist pasts. When looking at the historical legacy as analyzed by Hicks & Mallet, which points out the radical vision of Lucy Mayblin (2017);

Most of the asylum seekers in Great Britain come from regions that used to be part of the British Empire. More specifically, in Calais these former regions overwhelmingly comprise only four states: Afghanistan, Sudan, Southern Sudan and Eritrea (with some smaller but significant numbers of Somalis). (Hicks & Mallet, 2019, p. 68).

Refugee Rights Europe reports that in the 2015-2016 census of the Jungle population, between two-thirds and four-fifths of the total population comes mainly from five countries: Afghanistan, Sudan, Southern Sudan, Eritrea and, to a lesser extent, Somalia. A significant number of Syrian and Iraqi communities began to arrive in 2015-2016 and Iranians began to arrive late 2017<sup>11</sup>.

Four of the five main countries that have been represented by nationals in Calais were former Protectorates or protected states of the British Empire: Afghanistan (Emirate of Afghanistan, 1879-1919), Sudan and Southern Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899-1956) and Somalia (British Somaliland 1884-1960). And in the case of Eritrea, after half a century of Italian rule there was a significant period of British military rule. (Hicks & Mallet, 2019, p.69)

It is here that the constant confrontations, hostile violence and the increasingly aggressive sophistication of the border regime from the French and British authorities, can be considered as attitudes of a colonialist legacy, from a material/

immaterial and past/present perspectives. Confronting resistance and survival strategies of the 'autonomy of migration' and in this particular case, the communities of The Jungle with (post)colonialist attitudes, are seeking to resist hostile processes within the EU and Schengen border regulations.

#### REFLECTING ON

For this reason, as a result of my first experience and subsequent research on The Jungle, I began my theoretical/artistic reflections about the development of a possible monumental and international image of a 'peripheral' zone located on the fringe of Calais city. I am interested in focusing (and continuing to research) how (post)colonial practices, resistance, community and 'togetherness', in this specific geographical place, were produced, transformed, mutated and evolved of empowerment, resistance and a process of near territorial autonomy. Leading to a possible monumentality and ephemeral representation of the ongoing global resistance of the 'autonomy of migration' against the doctrines of 'border regime'.

Nora Sterinfeld in her curatorial text *Counter-monument and Para-monument* (2018) analyzes the perspective of monuments and monumentality in public space as an artistic and political action of not forgetting 'what happened'. Etymologically, the term monument contains words in Latin; emind, admonish, warn, foretell, making a direct relationship between the past and the future of an event. Giving a meaning and a sense to 'memory', through the process of remembering, not forgetting and not erasing the past of a historical event. Monuments appropriate a past and reinterpret it in the process, a process of healing what 'happened' and what 'was', without forgetting the event itself to record it for future generations (Sterinfeld, 2018). In the process, the monuments are not only for remembering, but can also be an activist and (post)colonial statement against the past/present state regime. The renowned artist

Olu Oguibe created an impressive artwork for *Documenta 14* (2017), *Monument to Strangers and Refugees*, which was installed on Königsplatz in Kassel in the form of a monolith. This monument had the biblical quotation 'I was a stranger and you took me in' written on it in four languages (German, English, Arabic and Turkish). The members of the Kassel municipality and the local citizens challenged this art sculpture. Kassel's AfD city council member Thomas Materner, discussed whether the obelisk would stay in the public space or not, as there were already complaints from citizens about the 'ideologically polarizing, disfigured art'. This is a contemporary example of the ongoing dispute over 'what' and 'how' to remember, and about how state policies and urban planning are the agents of deciding what can and should be remembered and monumentalized, and not necessarily the communities involved in 'the event' that they do not want to forget. That is why *The Jungle* provides an interesting perspective on the contemporary debates about what 'we should not forget' and 'who' are the actors of remembrance through monumentality. Activisms, resistances and (post)colonial experiences by the inhabitants of *The Jungle* in the face of the border regime doctrines have provided an externalization of the ongoing hostility in the area of Les Dunes. Providing a visualization and viralization of the current migration phenomena across Europe and beyond, these actions of visualization empowering, has led to the production of an external representation of the 'autonomy of migration' and has provided this possible ephemeral monumentality which should not be erased and forgotten. It is here that researchers involved in refugee studies, hybrid scholarly-activists, anthropologists, artists, and many others, play an important role in the process of not forgetting and remembering through empirical research, anthropological thinking and artistic practices/actions from a transdisciplinary perspective.

These pages of narrative, is the compilation of my ongoing searches and interests in relation to the possible 'monumentality' of *The Jungle of Calais*, is a continuing process, which will be transformed and mutated in the course of my PhD.

While traveling in 2022 for the second fieldwork, I will create other opportunities for data collection and interpretation, allowing the possibility of further exploration on (post)colonialism, monumentalism and contemporary regime borders.

## NOTES

**1** I thank my PhD supervisors (1st) Dr. Prof. Regina Römhild and (2nd) Dr. Prof. Bonaventure Ndikung, for the guidance and input in this text. I also thank my friend and colleague Julia Widdig for editing. A brief part of the ethnographic and artistic content of this article is inspired by my paper *The Jungle de Calais: Entre Liminalidad, Espacio fronterizo y lugar de posibilidades*. Post(s) Journal (2021). Spanish language.

**2** As described by Agier; "125 containers, uniformly white, on one or two levels, were strictly aligned along two axes. These ran in a west-north-westerly direction, forming roads that attracted the coldest prevailing winds, even accelerity and orientation meant that the roads were in the shade for the greater part of the day and did not see the sun at all in the winter" (2018, p. 72).

**3** At the end of 2016 the German government created a school aid program for 'integration' in local refugee centers.

**4** See more details about the experiences with the letter exchange in Garland (2021).

**5** Many migrants go through this process, but the system is extremely slow and often denied. For this reason, many migrants continue their journey, crossing illegally and hoping to find ways to stay in the final destination. That is why these informal camps within Europe, like The Jungle, are places of waiting, protection and resistance to also escape the laws of the EU database.

**6** Social workers and volunteers have to go out and find the applicants in informal camps and on the streets to update them about the procedure.

**7** Border control is no longer just physical, technological and digital; it has also been introduced into the biology of the body. The sophistication of the control in using carbon dioxide to detect human presence (heart palpitations) within transportation (cars, trucks) between borders and in the case of Calais, mainly in the Channel Tunnel zone, has generated a refinement in the mapping of the bodies by the state, producing a much more detailed database of migratory identification.

**8** See figure-image by Maryisokariari in: <https://somethingaboutmary.co.uk/2016/01/15/CALAIS-JUNGLE-CAMP-MIGRANTS-EVICTED-FROM-MAKESHIFT-SHELTERS-PREPARE-FOR-BULLDOZERS/>

**9** Refers to the same concept as shantytown, used mainly in South America. For example: Toma in the case of Chile and Favela in Brazil.

**10** Its cosmopolitan quality, its location on a territorial fringe and the daily violence between authorities.

**11** Due to the introduction of visa free travel for Iranians to Serbia.

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