International Institute of Social Studies

"Out of Sight"
An ethnographic observation of the dynamics between refugees and the host community in the region of Calais

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List of Acronyms

UK	United Kingdom
EU	European Union
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
HRO	Human Rights Observer
CRS	Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières

Abstract

This study focuses on the social and physical infrastructures in the region of Calais in North of France and how they influence solidarity between the host community and the refugees living in the informal settlement. The study is important because there is increasing border violence and deaths that remain unseen. The main research question: *"What is the role of infrastructures, determined or limited by securitization, in shaping interactions, cooperation, and solidarity between the host community and informal migrant settlements?"* is addressed through an ethnographic method including observations, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews looking at the case study of Calais. There is a lack of interactions between refugees and the local community due to the hostile environment affecting both. Moreover, when solidarity does emerge it does so through local initiatives that manifest into grassroot humanitarian organizations, characterized by their informality, independence of funding from states and their network of solidarity. The latter intersects with the politics of securitisation visible through Necropolitics that is translated in border violence. This makes it difficult for solidarity's sustainability, however their infrastructures delegitimize the state's logic. This paper recommends establishing a legal and safe way to seek asylum in the UK through an asylum center in France where the UK has externalized its borders. Moreover, the investments should be redirected from re-bordering to programmes prioritizing care and inclusion. At last, actors of the borders should be trained to work within this particular context. Implementing these measures would lead the way for a cooperative migration system.

Relevance to Development Studies

This topic is relevant to development studies insofar as it tries to bring forth the importance of an alternative approach to migration management. This challenges current securitization policies not only in their framing but also in their impact on the everyday experiences of both refugees and local communities in border spaces. Current practices push pathways for irregular migration and frame migration as a threat. Instead this research advocates for inclusive development and human rights by recommending social protection, healthcare, and education for refugees, contributing to SDG 16, and promoting "inclusive societies and accountable institutions". Moreover, cooperation between NGOs, local communities, and refugees and between France and the UK in ensuring safe routes and dignified migration management aligns with SDG 17 which encourages international cooperation on migration management. More so, the findings fill a gap in the migration development nexus adding a new dimension to infrastructures. This research bridges the micro-level interactions in border spaces with macro-level migration policies of securitization by speaking with the involved actors., speaking *with* rather than *of* refugees and local communities.

Keywords

Informal settlements; refugees; securitization; necropolitics; border violence; solidarity; host community; humanitarian volunteerism; infrastructures; migration management; ethnography; interviews.

This thesis is dedicated to the daughters, sons, mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters who lost their lives crossing the English Channel in hope of a better future, to the ones who remain missing, to their loved ones and to the survivors who will never forget.

Table 1 Some statistics on the border of France and the UK as evidence of the current humanitarian crisis happening at the European Union's wealthiest borders:

Statistic	Data[1]
Total deaths at the France-UK border since 1999	463 people[2]
Increase in deaths at the France-UK border from 2023 to 2024	65%
Total asylum applications in the UK (between June 2023-2024)	75,658 applications
UK's rank in Europe for asylum applications per head of population	20th
Percentage of initial decisions granting protection (between December 2022-2023)	63%

Chapter 1: What this study is all about

1.1 Background and research problem

In 2015, 1.3 million people crossed with unbelievable strength the Mediterranean Sea, seeking asylum in the European Union (EU), declaring a "migration crisis" determined by images of drowned bodies, wrecked boats, and water metaphors to accentuate the number of asylum seekers (Bojadžijev & Mezzadra, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2016). Refugees set up tents in the European cities; hopped on trains and boats; and when stopped by the police they marched to the next borderland (Hess, 2017). They were met with various degrees of either solidarity or resistance and relied on the help of smugglers, host communities, or each other (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2017; Siim & Meret, 2021). Resistance in the form of collective protests from undocumented migrants such as Canada's "Migrant Spring" and the Netherlands "We are here" movement raised international public awareness and the bravery of refugees was celebrated (Dunai, 2015; Hess, 2017; Muduis & Chattopadhyay, 2017).

However, media changed after 2015 from celebrating refugees' courage to showing dehumanizing pictures (Hess, 2017). Simultaneously, countries "re-bordered" themselves with surveillance equipment, barbed wire, guard dogs, and fences as seen at the Serbian and Hungarian border (Hess, 2017, p.63). This approach has shaped current migration management practices in Europe characterized by policies of "security" (Sweet, 2017). Calais, particularly has been a symbol of the EU mismanagement during the so-called "crisis" (Freedman, 2018).

This research looks at Calais, as a case of many border spaces in and around the EU's external borders, diving into the consequences of strict border policies. Specifically, it dives into the dynamics in the region of Calais between refugees and host communities and how infrastructures influence those. Indeed, the current physical infrastructures of exclusion have been installed to contain movement and include the use of technology such as cameras or drones (La Voix du Nord, 2024). Yet, this also enforces psychological barriers and creates insecurities for both refugees and border communities (Hess, 2017; Jašina-Schäfer, 2023). The increased adoption of these safeguarding tools strengthens the image of seeing refugees as a "threat" and reinforces the "us vs. them" narratives (Sweet, 2017). Vice versa, these discourses and dynamics also lead to the adoption of more tools, creating a cycle reinforcing each other (Bello, 2020). This cycle has had profound implications on the ground reflected in the recent shift to right-wing parties in Europe (Marsi, 2024).

Referring to asylum seekers as "illegal" has become common in public discourses. Since all humans are according to the Univervsal Declaration of Human Rights allowed to seek refuge, that these rights may be contested provokes concerns about the meaning of humanity as a whole (Gilmartin & Kuusisto-Arponen, 2019). In this paper, I have intentionally decided to refer to people on the move stuck in border spaces as refugees. This term is to highlight that all people I have met during this research claim to migrate not out of choice but are forced to leave their countries (Freedman, 2018).

As *Table 1* shows by the granting rates, this is a broken system that pushes people who would get refugee status into such spaces of exclusion up until they survive the deadly crossings to file their application. This research does not intend to represent these people nor do I have a particular understanding of their lived experiences. I cannot fully understand the injustices happening at the borders every day by observing infrastructures and speaking with various actors for a few weeks. I do not intend to draw a picture of refugees as simple victims of violence but instead, underline a call for alternative paths for border management.

Refugees are every day resisting the system and I cannot speak for them. This research rather aims to shed light on the infrastructure that is the by-product of this broken system.

Table 2 Top 10 nationalities of people crossing the channel by small boat (May 2023-April 2024)

Nationality	Number of arrivals	Expected grant rate (%)
Afghanistan	5,591	98
Iran	3,523	83
Turkey	3,134	59
Eritrea	2,719	99
Syria	2,534	99
Iraq	2,465	37
Vietnam	2,430	48
Sudan	1,782	99
Albania	855	4
Egypt	601	17
Total	**28,529**	**73**

Source: Authors adaptation from Refugee Council (2024).

1.1.2 Spaces of exclusion

Although asylum is a right, the EU's securitization approach tends to criminalize refugees, making their lives as difficult as possible to deter them (Učakar, 2020). In this regard, migration is managed and controlled through administrative or criminal penalties (PICUM, 2024). According to Fauser (2024), this leads to further exclusion. The border is not only external but happens on the street. It has become symbolic and separates groups reinforcing public discourses portraying refugees as "welfare tourists" or "fake spouses" (p.2482). This not only impacts refugee's rights and access to services but also racialized citizens such as in healthcare or housing (Fauser, 2024).

Moreover, law enforcement agents are deployed to control "divisions of belonging" (Fauser 2024, p.2477). De Genova (2013) speaks of a "spectacle" that fosters a climate of marginalization where border control keeps some people out while some in. This is inherent to colonialism if there were no border we would speak of mobility and not of "migrants". The enforcement of exclusion of certain populations is particularly visible in Calais, a transit point at the border of England and France where the policy of a "zero fixation point" forces refugees into *informal settlements* waiting to cross dangerous waters. This policy aims to prevent pull factors for refugees to migrate and evict refugees every 48 hours to avoid any permanent settlements (Moltedo, 2022).

Informal settlements such as the ones in Calais are consistently being constructed by refugees and destroyed by police, shifting between visibility and invisibility as refugees also adapt to the regime of control (De Vries, 2016; Davies et al., 2019). According to Davies et al. (2019), these informal migrant settlements are characterized as temporary, often not authorized camps set up in remote locations. These camps are defined by their nomadic and insecure nature and arise because of the absence of official housing choices. They can range in size from tiny groups of improvised shelters to vast, expansive communities with improvised communal infrastructures. However, they are frequently disregarded and violently moved by state authorities, allowing them to flourish without official recognition or assistance. Indeed, recognizing the camp's existence would oblige and acknowledge a responsibility to take care of the refugees and provide adequate infrastructure.

As a consequence, these border spaces have evolved into spaces of *biopolitical* control categorizing people into governed bodies where *necropolitical* brutality dominates (Davies et al, 2017). The latter is evident in the confiscation and denial of basic needs, fostering spaces of vulnerability and dehumanization for refugees (Davies et al., 2017) . Necropolitics is a term coined by Mbembe (2003) which reflects on the "spectacle of suffering". It is about having control of who should live by letting people suffer and limiting necessities for survival (Davies et al., 2019, p.228).

According to Rodgers and O'Neill's (2012) introduction of the special issue on infrastructural violence, *"social suffering is often experienced in material terms"* (p.405). Infrastructure can be used as a means to observe power structures in society such as "the state, citizenship, criminality, ethnicity and class" (p.402) which affect everyday life. It result in various forms of repression. However, it can also conversely have positive avenues for social change (Rodgers & O'Neill, 2012).

The French government's violent inaction through its border violence, lack of support, and infrastructure of exclusion has led this year to be the deadliest one in history at this border with 64 deaths including children while many remain missing. The correlation between these numbers and the harsh deterrence policies is alarming (Muys, 2024). In such a scenario, frontline host communities that can either support such environments or resist them become very important.

1.1.3 The role of frontline host communities

Given the hostilities towards refugees in transit spaces, the role of frontline host communities is crucial in their actions. Shaped simultaneously by care and control, it can significantly impact the experiences of refugees. Border solidarity can increase public awareness which in turn promotes inclusive policies (Bhabha, 2022). For instance, according to Charitopoulou (2019), in Greece, although the population is stereotyped as having the highest anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe, in response to the European migration crisis in 2015, many mobilized themselves emotionally as well as physically to help e.g. providing food or shelter. However, if government aid is lacking and if adequate infrastructure is not provided for refugees such as housing or access to sanitation, this can also negatively impact the locals that are directly affected and further increase frustration towards the presence of refugees (Fotaki, 2022; Bhabha, 2022). This can then translate into discriminatory border politics and more (Bhabha, 2022).

The current situation in Calais where no formal humanitarian system exists highlights the need to provide support at the borders which can only happen with cooperation and increasing interactions between the host communities and refugees living in the informal settlements. Care and control are constantly negotiated (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017). By providing humanitarian action, it saves lives but also rewrites measures put in place at the border by prioritizing and fostering new border actors of care (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017;

Dadusc & Mudu, 2020). Notably after 2015, new forms of informal solidarity came about in the form of organizations emerging from grassroots initiatives (Sandri, 2017; Ishkanian & Shutes, 2022). The strengthening of social infrastructure however does not come without challenges (Ticktin, 2005; Rozakou, 2019). For instance, the French state's legal measures attempt to control these dynamics, regulating hospitality and prosecuting citizens who host undocumented migrants (Ticktin, 2005). Moreover, the work of volunteers may perpetuate hierarchical relationships (Rozakou, 2012; Ticktin, 2016; Ambrosini, 2022; Jašina-Schäfer, 2023).

1.2. Case study: Calais

Map 1 UK-France maritime border
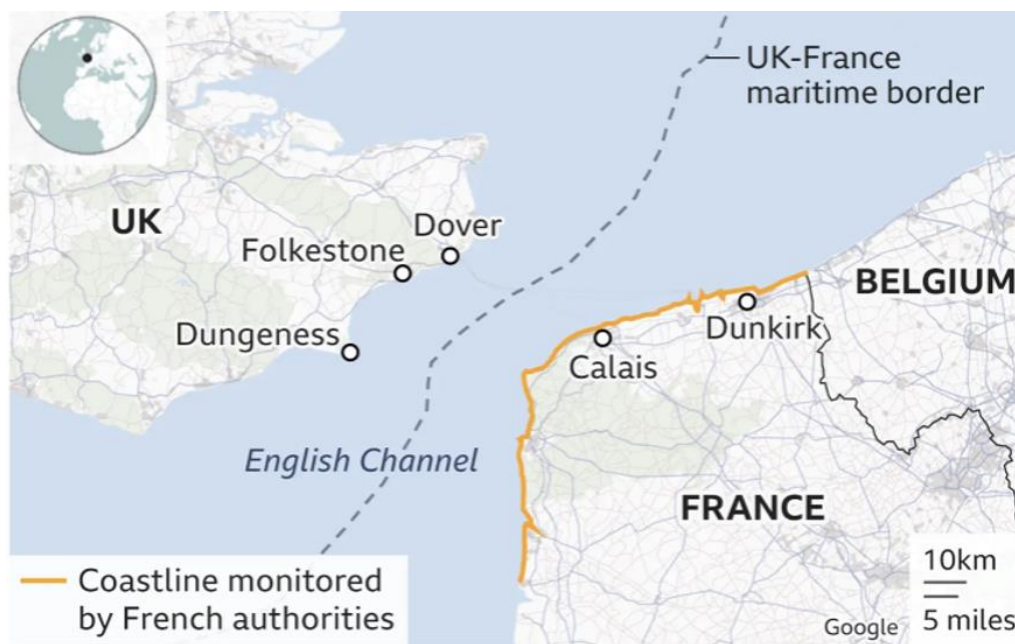
Source: 2022 BBC

In Northern France, at the border of England and the EU, thousands of refugees are settling in informal camps around the cities of Calais and Dunkirk along the coast. Home to a major port and due to its proximity as can be seen on *Map 1*, refugees attempting to cross the channel to the UK is not a new phenomenon. In 1999, the first Red Cross center was opened to accommodate those fleeing Kosovo. They came to Calais because of its proximity to the "El Dorado" which is the UK, a place of new opportunities (Sweeney, 1999; Toubon, 2015). It had to close in 2002 due to the number of refugees growing (Toubon, 2015). The however did not lead refugees to leave, it degraded their living conditions, and small camps emerged. These informal settlements and squats were given the name of "jungles" by Afghan refugees. This reflected the trees, sand, and dunes where the different settlements were located as well as their tough living conditions (Toubon, 2015).

Calais remains one of the main locations for informal refugee encampments in northwest Europe. In 2014, another center opened and in 2015 the Jules Ferry Center opened under the supervision of *La Vie Active*, a government-supported organization. There was also some accommodation for women and children. However, this was located six kilometers from the city center as it had the objective of emptying the town of 80% of the refugees (Toubon, 2015). This center lacked formal accommodation and camps continued

to expand. One of the biggest, the so-called "Jungle" received a lot of media attention portraying it as the primary frontline in the European migrant crisis.

However, these places exist because of the strict surveillance implemented by the UK on the French side of the border. One of the key agreements between France and the UK is the "Touquet Treaty", signed in 2003. This agreement has allowed the UK to externalize its borders on French territory, turning the entire region as can be seen on *Map 1*, into a checkpoint to enforce border control. However, Article 9 in the treaty prohibits any asylum claims at the border point (Timberlake, 2023). What is important to note is that the UK was part of the EU but not of the Schengen whereas France is. This intra-EU agreement was part of a bigger trend starting in 2000 that aimed at reducing asylum claims (Hansen, 2005). In 2010, other policies were agreed upon to increase cooperation on border management and security such as the joint intelligence unit allowing the exchange of information between police forces (GOV.UK, 2010). Since 1998, £1.44 billion has been spent on the border and in 2014, £232 million from the UK to France was promised (Timberlake, 2023).

In 2016, the main "Jungle" was demolished by the French government and refugees were sent to various centers across France without any long-term solution. Since then, refugees have lived in informal settlements called "jungles" taking the form of tents hidden in green areas, makeshift camps close to industrial zones, or simple cardboard boxes by the roads. Some squats exist and a few houses have opened up to shelter notably women and children. Refugees' living conditions have deteriorated and they are constantly facing violence from riot police, local people, or other refugees (Townsend, 2018). In the 2024 french legislative elections, Rassemblement National, which has very strict policies towards immigration, got the majority of votes in the Pas-de-Calais region (Aubert et al., 2024). Leading to the elections, graffitis were found in squats situated in the center with words such as "Leave and Burn" reflecting some of the high anti-immigrant sentiments in the region (Calais Migrant Solidarity, 2024). A recent French newspaper article also detailed a complaint that water had been intentionally poisoned (SudOuest, 2024).

It has also become difficult to access services provided by the organizations. To illustrate, law enforcement closed off evicted areas with large blocks of stone to prevent civil society and charity groups from accessing the refugees (Médecins Sans Frontières [MSF], 2024). Moreover, the riot police do regular evictions, confiscate belongings and physically assault refugees (Human Rights Observer [HRO], 2024). This is accompanied by the implementation of physical infrastructure such as barbed wire and the presence of law enforcement around strategic locations which has considerably increased over the years.

The informal settlements in the Calais region are unlike any other refugee camps in the world, it is not official according to the French government. This has led to the absence of international humanitarian organizations except for a limited presence of MSF and Doctors of the World. With the absence of durable solutions, the current humanitarian crises will keep on happening, imposing a growing weight on the ones least equipped for it. Emergency solutions are sought instead of durable ones which leads to durable social exclusion (Da Silva, 2016).

The border space of Calais has become a space of discrimination, violence, and poor living conditions. It is a transit place hosting thousands of men, women, and children. Most are in their twenties and have come from Afghanistan, Sudan, Syria, and Eritrea. As can be seen above in *Table 1*, these nationalities have a high chance of receiving asylum. However, there are no legal safe routes to the UK, forcing refugees to be stuck sometimes for months and to take dangerous risks. This is all happening at the EU's wealthiest border. This research focuses on the sites surrounding the jungles, including public spaces such as roads, parks, and the terminal and where Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) provide their services often directly next to the living sites.

1.3. Research objectives

In the context of the border region of Calais, this research aims to:
1. Understand dynamics in Calais, specifically the interactions between refugees and the host community.
2. Analyze social and physical infrastructures that facilitate and can potentially increase cooperation and well-being of the host community and refugees
3. Highlight the different narratives and complexities faced by refugees living in informal settlements, to humanize their stories and hear them out, considering them as knowledge holders.
4. Challenge the current politics of securitisation suggesting an alternative approach to the process of migration specifically in situations of necropolitics as seen in informal settlements in Europe.

1.4. Research question

To realize these objectives, this thesis tries to answer the research question:
What is the role of infrastructures, determined or limited by securitization, in shaping interactions, cooperation, and solidarity between the host community and informal migrant settlements?

And followingly, the sub-questions:
  a. What are the individual experiences and perceptions of refugees and locals regarding their interactions within the community?
  b. What are the key factors that influence positive or negative interactions between locals and refugees in Calais, and how do these factors contribute to a sense of solidarity?
  c. How does cooperation between host communities from the region of Calais and informal migrant settlements happen?
  d. How effective are the infrastructures in fostering solidarity between locals and refugees, and what can enhance their impact?
  e. Does existing infrastructure challenge the politics of securitization?

1.5. Relevance and justification of the research topic

This paper explores the specific context of refugees living in informal settlements in Calais. Here, politics of containment create a "legal limbo" (Davies et al., 2019). Spread out all over the coast, refugees are sheltering in makeshift tents in harsh conditions (Davies et al., 2019); and lack access to basic infrastructure which negatively impacts both refugees and locals as Yatim (2017) observed for Palestinians in Lebanon and Syrians in Jordan. This also affects mental health and impedes the potential for refugees to flourish (De Jesus et al., 2023).

Despite these challenges, infrastructure within jungles may play an essential role in encouraging collaboration and enhancing refugees' experiences (Yatim, 2017). Bhabah (2022) argues for the importance of host communities' role in resisting exclusive policies and in promoting inclusive infrastructure to address shared difficulties. Looking at the context of informality is crucial in recognizing their part in the process of migration (Davies et al. 2019).

Calais is a convincing case study due to its complex infrastructures. Much research revolves around the "Jungle" and its dismantlement in 2016. Yet, little has been researched about the current situation although lives have been lost every five days since the beginning of the year (Project Play France, 2024).

Scientifically this work dives into a critical under-studied area- the linkage between informal settlements, host communities, infrastructures, and the context of securitization. Analyzing potential alternatives in this context can offer valuable insights in migration studies. It also contributes to underlining the consequences of exclusive infrastructure which broadens the debate on more dignified and sustainable strategies. By doing an ethnographic study, the complexities of the refugees can be further understood. On a societal level, not only does this study raise public awareness on what is happening at the EU's wealthiest borders; it provides policy recommendations to better manage the process of migration in transit countries for both refugees and host communities.

Chapter One presents the research problem and the case study. In the following *Chapter Two*, the paper explores the literature that provides a deeper understanding of the current situation. Thereafter, *Chapter Three* presents the methodology employed in this research and explains how it has attempted to address the research questions. Finally, *Chapter Four* presents the findings before drawing conclusions and offering recommendations in *Chapter Five*.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In line with my objective to understand the dynamics in Calais and how current infrastructure influences those, this chapter first gives an overview of the studies that have looked at how securitization intersects with biopolitics and necropolitics, used as a tool to exclude. It then dives into the development of actors of care as a response to the politics of securitization and its limitations.

2.1 Securitization and Necropolitics: The exclusion of migration by design

This section introduces the logic of securitization that was already previously touched upon in the introduction. It then dives into biopolitics and necropolitics and finally how it manifests on the ground.

2.1.1 Securitization and the politics of control

Securitization indicates the shift of an issue onto urgent security agendas (Browning, 2017). This can be done through speech acts where the audience must be convinced of what should be seen as a threat and if accepted then the politics of security can become legitimate (Balzacq et al., 2016). These politics can occur by constructing shared meaning amongst the audience and the one in power. Once the issue enters emergency politics, decision-makers can then justify exceptional measures to curb the threat such as mobilizing financial resources; using military means; limiting information; and in some cases, suspending rights (Balzacq et al., 2016). This may not lead to more safety but rather increase insecurity, especially for certain communities such as minorities and refugees but also for border communities (Hess, 2017; Jašina-Schäfer, 2023).

Securitization theory has particularly been applied to migration in the so-called Global North. In early discussions in Europe, this was associated with the notion of national, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic identity which saw migration as a threat to society's existence (Messina, 2017). According to Jašina-Schäfer (2023), minorities which are often immigrants are seldom viewed as important actors but rather destabilize the collective socio-political and cultural majority. The former shall be met with strict integration policies, and oversight and follow a logic of ordering (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012). Through these practices, access to basic rights is problematized resulting in a hostile and unstable environment for the "outsiders" (Jašina-Schäfer, 2023; Fauser, 2024, p.2478). This security-migration nexus is visible today in the poor conditions of the numerous refugee camps across the EU (García, 2024). Government's view refugees as potential threats to the majority population instead of people in need of humanitarian assistance (d'Appollonia, 2015; Sweet, 2017; Učakar, 2020; Massari, 2021; Jašina-Schäfer, 2023).

2.1.2 Biopolitics and necropolitics

Securitisation as described above is how biopolitics is put into action. Tazzioli and Walters (2016) through Foucault highlight the complex dynamics where the governments exercise their political power through managing people's lives and controlling them which aligns with Foucault's concept of biopolitics. To understand the implications of this idea, Mbembe (2003) as cited by Van Gemert (2024, p.32) goes beyond, claiming that biopolitics surge from colonial ties and arise from what he calls Necropolitics which construct "death-worlds" (p.23). According to Van Gemert (2024), looking at the EU's migration management, notably in the Mediterranean, deaths have become a "deathscape" (p.145), where deaths are normalized. Simplified, the protection of the European citizens results in justifying refugees' suffering (Van Gemert, 2024). Border security is prioritized over humanitarian concerns visible through denying basic needs or not rescuing refugees in danger at the maritime borders (Davies et al., 2017). As critiqued by Van Gemert (2024) and De Genova (2016), the EU claims to be an open society and portrays itself as ethical and just, yet it fails to recognize its role in colonial violence which in reality has reinforced its inner borders reserving its space for EU citizens. The EU's border spaces are then not only a physical and political threat but a symbolic one where racialized populations are excluded (Weheliye 2014, as cited in Stümer, 2018). It is across borders that citizens and non-citizens are constructed. Borders are not only geographical divisions but spaces where state power can be exercised (Fauser, 2024). De Genova's (2012) "border spectacle" highlights the nation's highly visual rule over immigrants, often via the depictions in the media of law enforcement activities such as border surveillance, detentions, and expulsions. Further, Stümer (2018) underlines that deaths have become a tragic but ignored reality. As Mbembe (2003, as cited in Stümer, 2018) highlights, necropolitics leads to a "triple loss" for refugees: of their homes, their bodies, and their political rights.

2.1.3 A physical manifestation of necropolitics

It has been well established that in today's globalized world, borders are not fixed but are ever-evolving. Countries now, especially those on the periphery of for instance the EU can act as borderlands because of their key entry points for refugees exemplified by the emergence of informal camps (Davies et al., 2017; Fauser, 2024). In Fauser's (2024) words, the pluralization of borders takes different roles besides defending the state's geographical boundary, it creates "divisions of belongings" (p.2477). Border spaces encompass various aspects, both physical and social, and can influence refugees' experiences in different ways. Acting as filters, they facilitate or rather restrain certain populations. Through their intricate architecture, borders as Mezzadra and Neilson (2012) coin enforce "differential inclusion" (p.67), where while immigrants may be included, they are pushed to the margins often in lawless spaces creating a hierarchy of who deserve dignity and who does not.

In this context, camps can act as a physical demonstration of border management, communicating exclusion through infrastructure. In contrast to the idealized image of a well-developed infrastructure where one has running water, the life in informal settlements such as in Calais is drastically different. Physical infrastructure has been used as a communicative means to dissuade migrants (Rodgers & O'Neill, 2012; Erdener, 2021). Erdener's (2021) work in Calais highlights how physical infrastructure impacts refugees. After the dismantling of the "Jungle", government-run areas were put in place taking the form of shipping containers to house refugees. The latter highlighted the disposability of refugees as a surplus population that would be shipped. Refugees worried that their fingerprints would restrict their asylum claim in the UK because of the Dublin regulations. This led refugees to rather

stay in makeshift tents despite the tough conditions (Erdener, 2021). Formal camps act to assist refugees but can also restrict them (Davies et al., 2017).

The difference between camps should however not be simplified to a dichotomy between formal or informal but exist on a spectrum. Their infrastructures exist simultaneously and relate to each other. The *Jungle* camp reflects the most marginalized formation. The latter lacks the basic infrastructures urban squats or official refugee camps have such as running water, or wifi, reflecting the population's extreme exclusion (Davies et al., 2017). It is important to note that the use of the term "Jungle" signals the distinction between chaotic infrastructure in comparison to our modern civilized society. These camps are often found on wasteland and made from donated or built from gathered and recycled materials such as cardboard, nylon tarps, or branches (Davies et al., 2017; Jordan & Minca, 2023). Although the name has emerged from refugees themselves, this has been used negatively, especially by the media. Davies et al. (2019) highlight its racial connotations and the "'zoo political' way migrants are animalized" (p.225), highlighting them as outsiders (Sweet, 2017).

Informal camps such as the ones described above show how structural violence through necropolitics can emerge from governance embedded in securitization. Although informal camps can be seen as sites of abandonment, they are controlled by decisions made at the geopolitical level, such as the emergence of the Schengen Zone. The latter may have increased mobility within Europe, but it has also immobilized others. The formation of informal settlements challenge the sovereignty of the state, showing the lack of control over who enters and leaves their territory. On a symbolic level, these formations also weaken the values of equality and respect for human rights in the EU. The poor infrastructure refugees must live in and their marginalization highlights the global inequalities in the midst of the EU (Davies et al., 2017). The lack of access to basic needs such as water, the use of riot police in evictions, and the barbed wire in Calais highlights the control states have over the refugee's lives; and by letting refugees live in such misery, the state effectively controls their lives demonstrating their "disposability" (Davies et al, 2019, p. 228). Through Necropolitics, refugees are made invisible by governments (De Vries, 2016).

The invisibility of informal settlements allows the government to do its politics of securitization (Erdener, 2021). These discrepancies have led social infrastructures to form and respond to the structures that either facilitate or impede refugees (Davies et al., 2017). In such a scenario, frontline host communities can either support such environments or resist them.

2.2 Community responses and social infrastructures

This second section looks at studies on the interplay of frontline communities and other actors in response to the politics of exclusion, specifically on how they either resist or reinforce state practices through creating social infrastructure.

2.2.1 "Grassroots Humanitarianism": border solidarity and resistance

At the borders, an interplay of actors engages with refugee's journeys. As noted by Bhabha (2022), local people play an important role in supporting refugees on their journeys while navigating policies of deterrence. Locals at the borders and refugees often share "transit zones" for a few hours, days, or even months where feelings of compassion and safety may be fostered. First, they can make a difference on the individual level through their solidarity. Secondly, if they organize themselves, they can also influence the political and institutional level making a long-term impact (Bhabha, 2022).

Since 2015 new forms of citizen-led movements have arisen, adding a new dimension to humanitarianism (Sandri, 2017; Ishkanian & Shutes, 2022). These grassroots movements characterized by their autonomy and informality follow Sandri's (2017) "volunteer humanitarianism" (p.2) or what Ishkanian and Shutes (2022) call in their paper on the Greek refugee crisis "Solidarians" (p.398). Here initially apolitical people get involved in unofficial humanitarian assistance, providing an alternative in a securitized environment (Ishkanian & Shutes, 2022). Through their collective actions, and by prioritizing care and humanity, they stand against the system of management and control that the state tries to enforce. The prolonged stay of refugees in spaces can lead to the mobilization of civil society to more professionalized organizations as illustrated by Vandevoordt (2019) in Belgium. As opposed to what Ticktin (2014) writes, Sandri (2017) and Ishkanian and Shutes (2022) argue that these grassroots-led organizations resist the politics of securitization or at least become a symbol. As Isin and Rygiel (2007) argue, these organizations can make it somewhat of a protective space, which in turn can facilitate cooperation between local actors and refugees.

Refugees themselves also self-organize using their agency to challenge governments. Yet because of power asymmetries, NGOs can facilitate this and act as mediators that can for instance bring cases to the national or international level. Testimonies from refugees are a crucial part of NGO's campaign successes such as going to court. For example, in Malta, demonstrations in detention centers put pressure on the poor conditions and harsh policies which resulted in legal action reducing sentences and removing the obligation for asylum seekers to be held in detention (Mainwaring, 2016). In the case of Calais, before the destruction of the so-called "Jungle", NGOs and refugees also worked together and built schools, barber shops, and grocery shops to replace the lack of decent physical infrastructure (Healy et al., 2017).

Further, In 2015, many refugees navigated the routes by themselves with the help of other refugees. They relied on information and advice from people who were also traveling or networks, family, and friends who had already taken those routes. For instance, some religious networks have well-established support infrastructures where one can receive food or temporary shelter. Although some might have left their home alone, it becomes a collective journey (Hess & Petrogiannis, 2020). Instead of seeing refugees as victims of the system, De Vries (2016) underlines how refugees navigate governance and resistance using "tactical visibility" (pp.21-22) in Malaysia deciding when to be seen or when to be hidden to maneuver the system of control where Necropolitics emerge.

2.2.2 Reluctance and limitations to solidarity

The current border spaces as described through Necropolitics have become complex spaces where hospitality is not appreciated nor encouraged. It is becoming increasingly difficult for organizations or local people to help in fear of negative consequences such as fines or the emotional toll (Rozakou, 2019; Bhabha, 2022). When governance systems do not share responsibility, properly allocate resources, or provide adequate infrastructure it can rather lead to "compassion fatigue" according to Bhabha (2022, p.75), which fosters discontentment from the local people and a feeling of abandonment (Fotaki, 2022; Bhabha, 2022). Furthermore, other reasons for the reluctance to help are dependent on the action of one's surroundings, meaning inaction will justify more inaction (Latanè & Darley 1970 as cited in Charitopoulou, 2019). Moreover, the lack of common identity or social belonging limits host communities' initiative to offer aid (Charitopoulou, 2019). Fotaki (2022) also looked at how Greece's initial solidarity led to its indifference toward the refugee situation after the refugee crisis. This was notably due to policies of exclusion that led to anxiety and tiredness.

Additionally, states increased the criminalization of "solidarians" who tried to help (Fotaki, 2022, p.309). As Dadusc and Mudu (2020) also evidenced, states have tried to use smuggling laws against those involved in solidarity. States try to silence those making necropolitics visible which would force the actors of control committing crimes to be held accountable. Furthermore, local people started becoming more reluctant when physical infrastructure such as fences and walls immobilized refugees which led many to feel that the situation was only getting worse and they had to deal with it. These factors have led to the legitimization of seeing refugees as the others the more distancing was created (Fotaki, 2022). Further, as Thravalou et al. (2021) demonstrate, solidarity efforts in border spaces are in fact mostly expressed in the form of immediate needs and lack long-term integration. This is clear when more than half of the host community in Lesbos assisted refugees in providing necessities and were reluctant to help with long-term opportunities as it would mean giving high dedication and refugees inclusion in the community (Thravalou et al., 2021). What was intended to be a temporary transit zone has become a more permanent environment as refugees have been trapped, extending their stay beyond what was originally intended or expected by the local populations (Fotaki, 2022). The reluctance to include refugees' full participation highlights the constraints of short-term solutions in addressing root causes.

Although grassroots movements have emerged successfully at some borders into organizations, there are also limitations to their sustainability. This movement's lack of a long-term approach has been criticized for not being accompanied by political engagement and not fighting social inequalities (Fotaki, 2022; Ticktin, 2015). Freedman (2018) criticizes the apolitical nature of volunteers in spaces such as Calais as they focus on direct aid and not on the structures that perpetuate the need for humanitarian assistance. Ambrosini (2022) also criticized these organizations as they sometimes reproduce power and social inequalities. Similarly, Jašina-Schäfer (2023) argues that they can contribute towards "the process of 'stranger-making'" (p.185). As Ticktin (2016) argues, giving aid automatically creates power imbalances where the one in need of aid is oftentimes victimized. To sum up, the limitations and reluctance to solidarity underline the fragility of this emergence as a social infrastructures. Without proper political participation and sustainable solutions, these grassroots movement efforts might find themselves overwhelmed by the politics of securitization's negative impacts.

These above-mentioned debates help us unpack our research and guide us in the analysis of our fieldwork. To begin, *securitization theory*, and its manifestation through *necropolitics* and *biopolitics* has set the context of *exclusion* and *invisibility*, influencing how these emerge and how these can influence perceptions and experiences within the community and therefore interactions. Yet it often overlooks its impact on local communities (Question a & b). Moreover, concepts of solidarity such as *"solidarians"* or *"humanitarian volunteerism"* conceptualise how cooperation can emerge without a formal system of aid (Question c). Yet, critiques of the latter also highlight their limitations and restricted effectiveness (Question d). Finally, *(in)visibility* and the logic behind politics of security help us look at how the infrastructure can challenge the latter (Question e). Together, the litterature show how infrastructures, necropolitics, resistance and humanitarianism can emerge in a space like Calais helping us to see where they intersect and reveal potential for alternative paths within borderspaces.

Chapter 3: Methodology[3]

Through ethnographic methods, this study focuses on Calais in France because of its informal settlements fitting the context of the study. The selection of a case study, which is a comprehensive analysis of a specific social phenomenon (Babbie, 2020), is made to better understand the experiences of refugees and locals residing in and around Calais between Sangatte and Dunkirk.

3.1 Qualitative methods

Humanitarian actors such as project leaders, field coordinators, activists or volunteers, but also the local people in Calais, the riot police (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité [CRS]), Gendarmerie or Police Nationale and most importantly refugees themselves were selected for this research. Ethnographic observation was conducted during Three Phases (*see Table 2 in appendices*).

The *First phase* focused on analyzing the context and getting a first impression of the dynamics and the infrastructures in place whereas the *Second Phase* went more in-depth and included in-person semi-structured interviews, informal conversations as well as ethnographic observations. For safety reasons and to minimize negative consequences, interviews did not include any of the law enforcement. Moreover, to minimize intrusion and additional trauma, informal conversations were preferred throughout the research for refugees. This included conversations with around 30 refugees that went from a few minutes to an hour and 45 minutes. These were all men in their twenties except for one in their forties. All were living in the informal settlements. I mostly accessed them through volunteering but also in the city waiting for the bus or walking in the park. Volunteering made it possible to access the organization's distribution sites that are located close to living sites and helped to build trust. The observations focused on the dynamics between relevant actors and infrastructure in the region through walking around the city, going to cafes, bars, and parks as well as through volunteering. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with locals and humanitarian actors, all based on interview guides *(see appendices)* to gain in-depth information (Hennink et al., 2020). They lasted from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. For the interviews, participants were contacted through the networks of the researchers as part of a snowball sampling method through volunteering until saturation was met (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Hennink et al., 2020).

The *Third phase* included semi-structured interviews which were held online via Microsoft Teams. This also included an informal conversation through WhatsApp of an hour and 45 minutes with a refugee who currently lives in the UK but was stuck in Calais in 2021. This phase also included a round table that I joined online as a listener with scholars, refugees, and humanitarian workers at Sheffield University. Through this, I accessed materials such as photos to describe the infrastructure in the region.

Overall, this research results are based on 12 semi-structured interviews: five with the host community, two with field coordinators, four with volunteers, and one with a refugee living in the UK; and 47 Informal conversations via volunteering and outside of volunteering: 30 refugees in Calais, 15 volunteers, and two project leaders. All the ethnographic observations took the form of field notes, voice notes, and photographs which are all saved on a secured external hard drive with password.

Once the data was gathered, I transferred my field notes and interviews onto the software *Atlas.ti* where I organized my data through coding. I went through my data several times to analyze patterns and find similarities or contrasts. Then I did some inductive coding where I did open coding, making it as detailed as possible. I then put my open coding into

axial coding, categories that could help answer my research questions. For instance, the codes "discrimination: public transport" or "police state: use of arms" shed light on the experiences of refugees which may have affected their perceptions relating to my first subquestion. I reviewed my codes multiple times. The extra material such as pictures or articles were put on a drive and I took notes on how they were relevant to my research.

3.2 Reflection on the use of an ethnographic method

As Richardson (2000) argues *"The ethnographic life is not separable from the self"* (p.1). Ethnographic research is embedded in humanity and constructed, meaning it takes in experiences and emotions making it inseparable from the ethnographer's identity. The latter shape the knowledge produced and its process which underscores this method as reflective and subjective.

This research chooses specifically the method of ethnography through a social constructivist approach which emphasizes that knowledge is based on interactions as well as interpretations of our realities (O'Leary, 2013). There is no single truth, and it can only be understood by attempting to understand others (Berger, 1993). It is crucial to take into consideration the power dynamics in the construction of knowledge (Sahin, 2019). This is essential for this research project since the objective is to provide alternatives to the current approach of migration which for now are determined and shaped by governments and international actors.

3.3 Privacy and ethical considerations

3.3.1 Positionality

While the researcher's educational background can be of value it can also have negative consequences. Thus, it is important to engage in self-reflection and consider whether one is contributing to greater damage rather than good.

I write this assignment from a position of privilege as a white international student from Sweden and France. Despite good intentions, my efforts to humanize the process of migration and support can be considered threatening and suspicious for individuals seeking asylum, perhaps dehumanizing even more their experiences. Further, I was born in France, nevertheless, my experience is very different from the local people of Calais, and thus the importance of studying the context and reflecting on my outsider perspective (Roulston, 2010).

This process of reflexivity is an ongoing and iterative process during the research. For this, I have kept a journal taking notes before, during, and after the fieldwork which has been helpful in clarifying assumptions, and reactions to contexts such as emotions. These notes also include indications of the context that may affect data (Olmos-Vega et al., 2023).

3.3.2 Ethics and limitations

All the interviews were recorded after giving consent and were given adequate information (Allmark et al., 2009). Before any questions, the rights have been stated such as the right to withdraw from the interview at any moment. This has also been stated for informal conversations, that no questions must be answered if uncomfortable. Moreover, in informal conversations, I have also explained the reason for my being in Calais. For confidentiality, I utilize pseudonyms for all participants (*see Table 3 in appendices*) and do not disclose participant details to the public (Babbie, 2020). The names of the refugees and the host community have

been changed daily to safeguard their information. The NGO I was volunteering at is also kept anonymous due to the sensitivity of their work.

Because of the organization's regulations, my personal details have not been shared with the refugees in Calais during volunteering. For this reason, I limited the data collection with refugees staying in Calais to ethnographic observations and limited informal conversation. Since the situation in Calais is ever-evolving and because there is a lot of austerity towards refugees it has been important to remain flexible and attentive to any warning signs and to quickly adapt to any distress by for instance cutting short a conversation.

Approaching participants on the street was not as well met as expected as some local people were not interested. Speaking with refugees was also at times difficult in the street as some thought it was suspicious and other conversations were focused on helping them access services provided by the organizations. Volunteering hours were also a few hours to think of something else for refugees and therefore did not always feel correct to speak of the ongoing situation. Moreover, for the refugees, most of them are young men and it is difficult to approach women as they often have children with them and stay back in the living sites. Because of ethical reasons, I decided not to approach any minors or anyone who might look under 18.

To give back to the community I have and still am involved in local initiatives such as volunteering for an organization, being part of a committee to support refugee children's right to play, and raising funds for donations. Moreover, I have been sharing any relevant information for refugees, for example the New Arrivals Guide by Channel Info Migrant (*see appendices*) where they can receive support such as accessing the organizations that provide meals or other services. When this research is published, the researcher will share this with her network to shed light on the situation and hopefully mobilize people to donate, volunteer, or conduct further research.

Chapter 4: Analysis

This chapter first illustrates my volunteering experience in March 2024 and my first impression of the region to provide context on my interpretations that follow. The different narratives in the region are then highlighted through the lens of my participants as well as my observations. Subsequently, the factors influencing interactions are analyzed before looking at how solidarity emerges. Then, how infrastructures impact solidarity between the refugees and the host community is explored. Finally, this research highlights how infrastructures challenge and delegitimize current politics.

4.1 My experience: volunteering in Calais

The team operating in Calais distributes aid such as clothes, tents, or toiletries as well as services such as giving a hot drink or playing football. They aim to provide humanitarian aid with dignity but also change perceptions to welcoming attitudes to refugees. As soon as I arrived and spoke with refugees, I understood their diversity and that they come with similar aspirations to my own. Ironically, I met one refugee who had been helping through a humanitarian organization refugees in his own country before becoming one himself. We had conversations about everything and nothing. It was all very light at first. I realized that I do not need special training to help others. Meeting the refugees changed my perception which has been shaped by where I grew up and what media feeds me. Direct interaction can shape positive perceptions, take down misconceptions often found in public discourses, problematize them, and promote solidarity.

However, the cheerfulness of my conversations changed quickly on my second morning. In the briefing that we had every morning at the warehouse, the Project Leader announced that one of the refugees' bodies was found in the canal, in an industrial zone of the Petite-Synthe in Dunkirk. He explained that when a refugee dies, some volunteers try to identify the body and hopefully repatriate it to the family if this is even possible. They also document and investigate what has happened and do remembrance work such as giving a decent funeral according to their religious beliefs or the families choice. In this case, this person never got identified, we only know that he was around his forties. That evening I started googling this organization "the death group". I ended up checking on a link that took me to a memorial page, with all the names or descriptions of people that had lost their lives at the border. Hundreds of icons in blue for men, red for women, orange for children, and all too many gray for the unidentified ones, including children. As I moved my mouse onto the different faceless icons reading the descriptions, I realized that this might be the closest thing to family's closure, reminding us of the lack of dignity at the margins (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012).

Later, on Thursday, I was sitting in the car on the way to one of the informal settlements that the organizations provide aid to between the BMX park and one of the living sites called the "Eritrean jungle". Suddenly we stopped, and the project leader's radio went on. I looked out and there were at least 15 riot police cars. I could see law enforcement dragging people's tents, throwing them carelessly in their trucks while their owners were standing on the side waiting for them to be done. The riot police left in a rush and drove away in a line of cars without interacting with the refugees. This took about 15 minutes before we could enter the scene waiting for all the cars driving in front of us.

Once on the ground, as I was responsible for games I quickly installed everything as time had been lost. Most of the men I had met were in their late teens or close to my age which made it seem like any interaction I would have back home. This time, however, two

young boys, one around two years and the other six plus a girl around eight ran up to me. Their eyes lit up seeing all the colorful books and pens. This is when my sadness shifted to anger. The girl seemed to know exactly how the distributions work and helped me put the chairs in front of the tables for the different stations. She confidently grabbed the material she needed, smiled, and asked what my name was. During breaks I would see her hugging five volunteers in a row. In the earlier briefing, the project leader explained that many children have undergone trauma and hug strangers as a way of coping. To not normalize this behavior he told us it is important to not encourage this by hugging back.

This significantly impacted my understanding as I was observing her. It sparked a sense of anger and I was confronted with a reality that is often not shown in the media: many so-called refugees are also children. The border violence increases the dehumanization of refugees which is clearly visible in Calais as we will further discuss.

4.2 A city of paradoxes

Calais is a border town unlike others, characterized by its different realities. While some might travel here to enjoy the beach, others come to Calais as a last resort after months if not years on the move. The invisible border has evidently created contrasting experiences and perceptions.

4.2.1 Lack of awareness

Through the organization I was working at, I met Jean, a French local who had grown up in Calais. He was eager to participate in my research and said that it must be difficult to find French people willing to speak on this. During our interview, Jean explained that he grew up close to one of the organization's warehouses yet never spoke about what had become of the refugees after the "Jungle"'s dismantlement in 2016. No one in his family spoke about it nor did his teachers in school although migration was on the curriculum. This was confirmed by Adélie who I met through Jean and went to another school. When speaking about migration, examples from all around the world were taken but nothing was mentioned about their hometown. It was not until Jean was older that he got curious and joined a day with one of the British organizations. He was shocked to see the number of people residing in makeshift tents and lacking basic needs. He spoke about it with friends, and many seemed unaware. From all the interviews it was clear that this is the reality for many of the local French people living in Calais:

> *"If you ask any resident, they'll tell you, well there are no refugees in Calais. I mean, they don't exist because everything is put in place to make it that way. I think that the city's image has suffered a lot to be assimilated with the jungle and they really want to detach from it today, especially for tourism. And that is why there has been a real effort (…) You even talk to close friends in Calais that say that refugees aren't anymore. I mean, it's over now." (Jean)*

As Jean describes, the town suffered a lot with media presence and the town's reputation from the "Jungle". Because of that, Camille says it has become very taboo to speak about this topic, and it is all by design. The state through the "zero point of fixation" deters refugees to camp permanently (Moltedo, 2022). Evictions are happening every 48 hours in Calais and in Dunkirk every two weeks on a bigger scale. The state pushes away refugees to the outskirts of the city center and is successful in making refugees somewhat invisible to the public eye (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2003)

This was apparent when I was standing in the parc Richelieu during my second week volunteering when I attended one of many memorials to pay my respect to the ones whose journeys ended in the North of France. We were standing in what was once a circle an oval as the banderol with all the names of the deaths was getting longer and longer as weeks went by. Behind me, was a couple having a picnic dinner on the bench. The couple were enjoying their meal without looking up once or showing curiosity about what this gathering entailed. On the other side behind us was a police car observing us, its presence marking that even acts of solidarity are subject to monitoring. People were passing by, probably not noticing or indifferent to the reasoning of the crowd. On the right side was a statue of De Gaulle and Churchill, symbolizing their historical cooperation in their reconstruction post World War II. While that war has an end date, the cooperation of these same countries has led to this endless "war" at the borders- a conflict without solutions, where children, mothers, fathers, and siblings get caught in limbo.

Picture 1 A paradoxical minute of silence

Source: 2024 Reitan

I asked my friend Oscar Reitan to use his art to capture these contrasts that are not unusual in this town. As can be seen on *Picture 1*, it evokes the tension and different realities in Calais where refugees are socially invisible. Calais is seen as a touristic place with its long sandy beaches and this is what I thought when I grew up myself. When I asked Camille and Adélie if they had ever seen this type of memorial, minutes of silence, or heard about any movement standing up for the refugees, they had no idea. They did not really know where people slept

or how they could access their basic needs. They had never received any information on what is ongoing in their hometown.

This disconnection was evident one Tuesday afternoon when I went to speak with some of the refugees I had seen in the park. I discussed with two refugees who had just arrived in town, one of them coming from Belgium to look for his brother. He had not heard from him in the last three days since he was supposed to cross. He looked everywhere and was starting to become desperate; not knowing where to look anymore. I tried to help him and gave him several numbers he could call. After an hour of calling different people and trying to reassure him, I went back home and decided that perhaps it is better to speak with refugees through the organizations as many are very vulnerable and it does not feel correct to ask questions about my research when many are living their worst nightmare. I was walking on the street reflecting on this encounter when suddenly I saw three men in their 30s, they spoke French and were laughing loudly. I was curious about what they were doing with their phones running around. I peeked and saw that they were looking for Pokémon. These contrasts were all too common during my stay in Calais, while one is desperately looking for his little brother who he thinks might have drowned, others look for fictional creatures.

This disconnect highlights a bigger problem: social dynamics and monuments reminding us of the importance of cooperation and solidarity, stand in strong contrast with the inadequate response and lack of cooperation in addressing the current migration crisis. The state hides the disregarded reality (Stümer, 2018). The detachment between the visible symbols and the invisible suffering underline the region's paradoxical character: refugees' suffering remains invisible to the everyday lives of locals through necropolitics (De Vries, 2016).

4.2.2 Compassion

Yet, just like Jean, others mobilize themselves realizing there must be more to the public discourse. Unawareness meets compassion and curiosity. Marie had an apartment close to the "Jungle" in 2015. She worked there for four years as a social worker for La Vie Active and helped with refugee's cases to seek asylum in France. After the dismantlement, the government opened reception centers all around France, however, if ¾ of the people living in the camps got sent to these centers there were a lot of injustices. Marie describes:

> *"Suddenly we found ourselves with 1,700 minors waiting every day for someone who could legally bring them to England. So it was a lot, a lot of pressure, violence, and that's it. And in the end, it didn't work. So it was mistreatment for, let's say, a month. And so that in the end, they urgently opened leisure centers all over France. In fact, centers that usually serve as day camps and leisure centers. So opened all over France to send all the minors. And so they did that to really empty the jungle and to stop the mess. Except that not even 10 days went by before the minors gradually came back. And at that time, the State condemned the associations to distribute meals after the dismantling. And so yes. So, after the dismantling, the State had condemned the associations that distributed food, water that marauded. Well, it was really forbidden. So there were some associations that continued but in hiking bag mode. Well, like they had, we couldn't use the vehicles anymore, so they put thermoses, chocolate rolls in their bags. Well, you see, it really was. They left like that in the streets, there were more camps, so people were really under the bridges. Even more hidden than now. You couldn't see a sleeping bag in town? Nothing. And it was the hunt for minors"*

What was happening in the shadows became a state secret and she among others had to step in. Buses took refugees often without letting the passengers know where, which today still happens. Marie was eventually relocated to Paris after the closure of the camp, but she

continued with her mission, sheltering Eritrean men who also helped out with some of the children in her home. Working for the government, she found herself stuck between the strict law and her own moral duties. Since giving water or food was illegal, it forced her to operate in fear – not only from the government but also from her neighbors. For several years she lived scared of being discovered. The 56 refugees and 24 children she was hosting for two months at one point, had to come one by one to the door to avoid any suspicions. Her experience echoes with recent research on states criminalizing citizens helping refugees since it would show the attempt of the government to control lives by not supporting refugees access to basic needs (Ticktin, 2016; Rozakou, 2019; Dadusc and Mudu, 2020; Fotaki, 2022). Her family was worried that she would end up in prison and it was very taboo what was happening in town.

Since then, the law has changed but she must remain careful as the government constantly resists these acts of solidarity. It is not rare that she picks up her son from school with other non-scholarised children. This has opened the eyes of other locals and sometimes mothers prepare donations for the displaced children. Marie is also in contact with six other houses that operate similarly. They often speak with each other and help for example if they get unsure about regulations as the government makes attempts to close these down.

Solidarity is not welcomed by the state, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for local people to help in fear of fines, the emotional toll or "compassion fatigue" as highlighted by Bhabha (2022). Marie has decided to scale down her operation. She has dedicated her life, working seven days a week, 24 hours on 24. Her place has become more of a community, but she limits her actions outside except for working once a week with other organizations. She does not go to the living sites anymore because she does not want to know the misery that is going on because it has become unmanageable. She does so to protect herself but also to focus on what she can and doing it well. Relying on social infrastructures of care derived from local initiatives by individuals such as Marie alone, reduces the sustainability of services and care provided to refugees as it inadvertently leads to burnout by witnessing repeated suffering. A lack of support and resources on the part of the state have created a burden of care on the locals and relies on their individual empathy with the refugees in Calais, pushing locals to choose between their own wellbeing or altruism.

I asked Anne, whom I met through another volunteer, who has spent time researching the living sites, if she had seen similar acts of individual mobilizations. She shared her experience about a man who would keep the refugees' belongings in his van during evictions and would go every morning at seven am to check if everyone was doing okay. He also helped one of the organizations during food distribution as it can be challenging. Sometimes there is not always enough food for everyone. She started helping him and spent her mornings at the camp speaking with refugees observing the everyday lives of the settlements. This French man has been involved for several years and know the jungles inside and out. He collect wood and blankets and go to the camps when there were police checkups. He has dedicated his free time to make sure the refugees, his neighbors, are doing okay. Anne also spoke about another local she met who has dedicated her life to resist the current situation:

> *"And so I've met this amazing woman who every night after her day off at work, goes to the jungle and distributes clothes, blanket pants, but also collects clothes to wash them at her place and collect and power banks to plug them in and give them back the next day. And that's on a daily basis."*

Anne explained that while some of the locals worked with the organizations they went beyond and would work in the early mornings or evenings. Some felt limited by the organization's structures. As she says, to have a personal discussion nothing should stop you as long as there are no negative consequences which of course should be taken into

consideration. In other words, the power structure should be broken down and not repeat those dynamics that many have experienced during their journeys.

These people, Marie, the man with his van, and the woman who spends her evenings helping others illustrate how local people stand up where governments are failing. Whether these actions are small and happen in the shadow of the public eye, they highlight resistance to the politics of securitization. It gives hope and brings forth the lack of government action- where care has been imposed and fallen on individuals who take great risks to help others. However, it was clear from all the interviews that there is only a minority of the local French people resisting the unjust system or even interacting with the refugees.

4.2.3 Distance

I asked Sandra, a volunteer from the UK and Miranda, another volunteer who has previously worked with the first aid team, why some feel more compassionate than others. They said the main issue was the cultural and emotional barriers that exist because of fear and ignorance. This came up in all the interviews. Sandra describes:

> *"…as they are unable to wash, unable to access hot or cold running water. It's a big issue because it's completely alien to the way your average person in Calais is going to live their life and it just buys into all the negative anti refugee rhetoric, doesn't it?"*

Moreover, there are preconceptions on who the refugees are. Jean told me that his mum was not happy that he went volunteering with the refugees as she believed it was people with a lot of diseases. There is a clear separation, and Sandra believes it is grounded also in the then "Jungle". Marie also brought up that during that time the media would say a lot of negative things that were not representative of the actual situation. Sandra explains:

> *"If you look back to the jungle, you know when you come to Calais and there's all those gates and up why there's barbed wire everywhere, you know, it's all about the refugees are and the fact that they would throw things on the road to stop the lorry so they could get into the lorries. The view is that they commit crimes. (...) I wonder, I mean I've witnessed local people at one of the sites. The community are there playing their music, you know, trying to forget how awful their life is and the local Calais people walking past. So, I saw one. One child was like, really dragging his heels and wanting to have a look at what was going on and I saw his father grab hold of his wrist and sort of drag him"*

These preconceptions push people to avoid refugees and to discrimination. Ismael, who has lived in Calais for 16 years and who I met through a mutual friend, told me that refugees had been denied access to Auchan, a big French supermarket. Camille, another French local, also told me that refugees were banned from the city's swimming pool because there were complaints that they would bring diseases. This aligns with Fauser's (2024) "divisions of belonging" (p.2478) as this area has become a space of filtering where refugees find themselves restrained. This is rooted in racialized stereotypes. The exclusion from public spaces, notably because they might "infect" the local population is based on racist beliefs.

Moreover, it is not uncommon that refugees do not receive adequate care and face discrimination when they do receive it, defining the concept of "differential inclusion" as receiving care and technically being included but then still subordinate (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012). This was clear when speaking to one of the refugees Mo, he described to me how he saw the French people in the city as having a good life where they can work and seem happy whereas he is in the outskirts watching from far as if he is behind a glass wall. He told me that he needs 1000 euros to cross but does not have it and therefore will remain here. He

would like to work, he is educated, and speaks perfect English. I met him first in May and now in July. When he first arrived, he saw a lot of people going onto boats. He tried to jump on one but the smuggler in charge of the boat stopped him, took up a knife, and cut his head. Mo showed me his scar and explained to me how he had tried to escape and call the emergency line. However, no one came to rescue him. He hid in his tent, afraid that the smuggler would come back for him, and waited hours for help. No ambulance came until he got ahold of one of the organization's numbers that could help him. Naturally, many refugees do not seek care because of their fear of getting deported, arrested, or documented as John points out. Care can become a means of control, central to biopolitics (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016).

Ismael told me that it is not safe to be a refugee. He told me that walking around in the city at night as a black person is very dangerous and he had witnessed it himself. He has been shot twice, once by local people and another time by the police:

> *"No, I was shot by people from the city with real bullets. It was 10 p.m., and the second time was at the Berthelot bridge. They missed me, I was on my bike. Later, at the roundabout, it hit me. I fell to the ground (…) But here it's the case at night, sometimes you have places, you shouldn't hang around when you're black. And it's a truth, you have to say it too (…) The violence is daily, it's because we don't talk about it. I think there are people who live nearby but they don't know about it. Ah. I have someone who told me he saw a migrant and they put a bullet in his head, they buried him behind the fields over there. Who talks about it? Nobody."*

Several times he has not been allowed on the bus and when asked why the chauffeur said he was told not to let refugees onboard. Ismael often gets stopped to show his papers, notably problematic with the CRS as there are rotations every six weeks and often do racial profiling. He also experimented once to look for housing and it was clear that as soon as they saw his face the contract got canceled unjustified. Ismael thinks it is because people are close-minded. Many have not left their town and lack information about who the refugees are. As Fauser (2024) explains, racialized citizens such as Ismael are also negatively impacted and see their rights affected. This lack of interactions emerges from various factors which we will delve into in this next section.

4.3 A hostile climate for the "undesired"

Although there are positive initiatives, there are a lot of tensions fostering distance between locals and refugees. This is by design, indeed this section highlights the government's practices and how it limits cooperation from happening.

4.3.1 A "mille-feuille" of fences

Necropolitics, as Mbembe (2003) defines it, is visible in Calais notably through the police omnipresence around the region. Calais has become a "police state" as Ismael describes because of its apparatus- surveillance cameras, law enforcement trucks, barbed wire, and walls all over town as can be seen on *Pictures 2*, *3*, *4*, and *6* that I received from the researcher Sophie Watts at a round table from the University of Sheffield on border violence. If it makes some feel safer it becomes more dangerous for the displaced community as their belongings, spaces, and presence are constantly pushed to the margins reminding us of the triple loss (Mbembe 2003, as cited in Stümer, 2018). Miranda explained that there were more than 70 km of barbed wire and this does not include as Pecqueux (2021) writes in one of the local newspapers "La Voix du Nord", the doubled wire, if not tripled wire making it a "mille-feuille" of barbed wire.

Picture 2 Barbed wire along the canal with broken lifevest

Source: 2024 Watts

Picture 3 Barbed wire along the canal

Source: 2024 Watts

Picture 4 Barbed wire on top of wall

Source: 2024 Watts

Picture 5 Fence with barbed wire and other security measures by the rails

Source: 2024 Watts

Evictions used to happen in the mornings before people would wake up whereas they have now changed that to after lunch when refugees go and meet their needs through the organizations. This leads to refugees having to choose between taking a shower, getting food, or coming back to their belongings being confiscated. In Dunkirk, belongings and tents are confiscated although their occupants are present. To illustrate, this summer I went to one of the commemorations, and one of the refugees Abel from Ethiopia that I had spoken to during volunteering, came to pay his respects as he had tried to save the woman who died. He told me that day that he would not try to cross anymore because it is unbearable to try and save children from drowning. He and his friends said a prayer. Through their presence and words, they showed their resistance to the unjust system. However, when he came "home" to his belongings they had been stolen by the police. I was supposed to see him the day after, but his friends told me that he was tired and tried one last time out of despair to cross although still exhausted and traumatized from the recent events. The eviction coerced him to re-assess risks and his initial decision to not go through the dangerous route over the channel again.

Evictions exemplify Necropolitics when alternative shelter or solutions are not provided. They are used as tools to deter the marginalized population from the public eye. As evident in the case of Abel, these evictions are targeted at police operations to increase the precariousness of their living situations and their insecurity highlighting the "disposability of undocumented migrants as non-citizens" as Davies et al. (2019, p.228) denotes. Targeting already vulnerable people was also exemplified by another eviction the day after a boat capsized and people died, is a clear strategy to keep the "undesired" out of sight just the day after. The people were still wet with no option to warm themselves up, many still in shock trying to process the deaths of people that could have been them. Without any concern for their mental and physical well-being, it strongly illustrates power over life and death. Control comes before care which undermines fundamental human rights (Davies et al., 2019).

Refugee deaths are not uncommon in the region and can be directly linked to police brutality and the inaction of the government, choosing not to provide adequate support. Many die from hypothermia, drowning, or suffocation on the boats. The lack of legal pathways or absence of a formal humanitarian system forces families to take dangerous routes to escape.

4.3.2 Stuck in transit

These practices are ingrained in wider institutional policies. The violence happens even before refugees have made it to Calais. Government policies are the ones shaping current infrastructures of exclusion. The Dublin regulation pushes refugees in spaces of limbo as they cannot go back home nor stay in the host country. This has led people to move around Europe in the hope of a safe haven and a better future. The principle of causation obliges the State that has "caused" refugees to enter the EU to process their asylum claim. The safe third country principle also follows this logic where refugees who have been through a country can get sent back there meaning they can get deported while governments avoid the breach of the non-refoulement clause. This results in a vicious cycle and is contested because of its inclination to restrict asylum (Kasparek, 2016). It could also be seen as a wider form of necropolitics because of its ramifications translated on border spaces among others.

On my first week of volunteering, I was in Dunkirk at one of the distribution sites close to the railway. Other organizations were there such as Project Play, trying to entertain the children by blowing soap bubbles. I was playing with one boy and chatting to a man who was waiting for his turn for a haircut. We spoke about where we were from, and he pointed me to the three small girls drawing at the end of the terrain. He told me they also spoke Swedish. This made me think of the seven-year-old girl Sara who died the week before trampled and suffocated by the overcrowding and urgency of getting onto a dinghy. She was born in Belgium but grew up in Sweden. Sara and her family had been rejected for asylum in different EU countries. Her family had left Iraq before she was born and was supposed to start her first year of school in Uddevalla. Instead, her classmates have a picture with her and put drawings for her under a candle in the classroom (Göteborg-posten, 2024). As what happened to Sara, framing asylum as temporary allows states like Sweden to exercise their power by deciding who stays and gets to live and who can be expelled. Excluded from countries, has pushed people such as these children to get stuck in informal camps in the North of France where they face violence and abandonment (Davies et al., 2019; Fauser, 2024).

Additionally, current securitization policies such as the "zero fixation point" makes sure these spaces continue to be characterized as temporary (Moltedo, 2022). The jungles are different from where the local French people live. Not only are they in remote areas but lack basic infrastructure as can be seen on *Picture 6* and *7*. Hiding in abandoned spaces or the forest makes them invisible to the public.

Picture 6 Cooking equipment by an informal settlements

Source: 2024 Watts

Picture 7 Makeshift tents in an informal settlement

Source: 2024 Watts

Moreover, the poor conditions also create a mental distance from the French citizens making it difficult for any interaction to happen because of the lack of commonality (Charitopoulou, 2019). Enforced by the government, it suggests as the literature underlines that refugees are outsiders or threats to society (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012; d'Appollonia, 2015; Sweet, 2017; Učakar, 2020; Massari, 2021; Jašina-Schäfer, 2023; Fauser, 2024). Most of their residents are from the Middle East or sub-Saharan Africa. What was interesting is that during the Ukraine-Russia war, the Ukrainian refugees were welcomed, and flags were put on the statehouse to show solidarity. This gives an image of who should be included and excluded, although they are all fleeing similar persecutions just like Mezzadra and Neilson's (2012) "differential inclusion" (p.67). These racial biases translate directly on the ground as Camille shared:

> *"That's what shocks me, I work in a high school, and they offer staff houses only for Ukrainians, why only? Well, you understand, before them they had others, well no, why? Well, but I asked the question, why? Well, it's a bit mean, but why? Because they are white?"*

There is a clear hierarchy as some are treated almost like citizens and others are not. In the jungles, the governments do not pick up refugees' trash nor do they provide them with any garbage bags as can be seen on *Picture 8*. There is also a lack of access to water to cook, clean, and drink. Mo explained to me that when they can take a shower through La Vie Active there is a timer on the showers and a measured amount of soap comes out. This dehumanizes refugees and sometimes there is not enough food for everyone which highlights the control the state has over their lives. Ismael explained to me that refugees were denied access to Auchan, a French supermarket. This was because they looked like refugees.

Picture 8 Pile of trash next to living site

Source: 2024 Watts

The current infrastructure of exclusion isolates refugees and as a consequence increases tensions among the local population. Emma who worked as a project coordinator for one of the organizations in charge of medical team presence in the area explained an incident that happened between a farmer and a refugee:

> *"He's just a farmer in France who is living his life, who has a wife, and there are 100 strangers living 20 meters away from his house on his land who he doesn't know. They've never had a conversation one time; I think some of the people in the camp had a fight and then one of them was terrified. And I think maybe the police were called. So he ran into the farmer's house to hide because he was scared. But what it meant is he ran into the house while his wife was getting out of the shower. So she was in a towel, absolutely petrified. But also this man who'd run into the house, was terrified for his life. Yeah, that farmer is obviously blaming his kind of financial circumstance and his unhappiness on these migrants that that farmer has a piece of land that he's not using but these migrants need in order to survive and to build any kind of community that can keep them moving forward."*

These clashes create misunderstandings and more fear as Jašina-Schäfer (2023) and Fotaki (2021) highlight leading to such insecure scenarios and othering. However, Emma could act as a mediator and explain the situation while listening to the farmer in French. He was angry but someone listened to him which was also important. There is a gap that impacts the

interactions between the local communities and the refugees, and it has led the latter to internalize and accept this distance which only pushes away the problems people are faced with. Emma also explained that at one location because of the lack of bins and because no one picks up the trash, some had burned it and the houses close by got angry. The firefighters and the police had to come as it could have been dangerous.

In these scenarios, because no other solutions are provided to avoid these situations, refugees' presence negatively affects host communities. As Bhabha (2022) notes it creates anger which only perpetuates these events as people will vote for the same politics of opposition. In sum, isolating refugees fosters misunderstandings and increases fears which negatively impacts interactions. This is something some of the local people try to tackle for cooperation to happen at the borders.

4.4 Care in Calais

In Calais, the compassion of local French residents has increasingly evolved from grassroots mobilization to more structured aid also involving international volunteers. This section goes beyond local views to demonstrate how solidarity happens when it does.

4.4.1 Humanitarian organization's building web

Because of the lack of recognition of the presence of refugee settlements in need of aid, it has limited the presence of a formal humanitarian system with global and international actors. As a response, citizen-led initiatives have stepped in to the thousands of refugees in the region providing services and responding to basic needs such as first aid, washing clothes to providing food, clothes, and sleeping bags. The latter taking the form of new types of NGOs also strive to restore dignity where refugees are often met with violence, exclusion, and dehumanization. These movements have led to more organized humanitarian work with hundreds of volunteers from the local French community, particularly people from the UK but also from all around the world. It highlights the cooperation happening not only at the local level but internationally, creating positive attitudes through community-based humanitarian action. This highlights that it is not only a French or a UK-France problem but rather goes beyond. The diversity was evident in the volunteers I met during my fieldwork and my participants coming from all around the world.

Due to their following characteristics, we regroup these movements as Sandri's (2017) "humanitarian volunteerism". Most of these organizations are intentionally financially independent from states and the EU, demonstrating how successful informal infrastructures can be in building solidarity despite funding limitations. John, who works for an organization facilitating displaced children's right to play explained that ethically they could not take funds because of their stance against the EU's policies that prioritize control and management of migration instead of care and support. This also allows the organization to work independently. Because of the ever-evolving landscape, these humanitarian volunteers must constantly be flexible and rely on their own networks. They must make daily decisions on what they can offer, what distributions they can do, or even assess the risk-ability of taking non-trained volunteers to the sites. For example, due to the poor conditions people are living in and the lack of access to psychological support there have been incidents of violence on the sites. One instance regarded a refugee mentally suffering. This brought up concerns about the safety of providing usual services at that site. Instead of penalizing the whole community, the NGO spoke with the community leaders and the volunteers and decided to operate while keeping awareness of the situation.

In addition to the more organized grassroots efforts, some volunteers such as the ones Sandra met also participate in unregistered and self-sustained initiatives outside or

alongside these organizations reminding us of the Greek "solidarians" (p.398) during the so-called European migration crisis (Ishkanian & Shutes, 2022). They add to the wider humanitarian responses showing the resilience of informal systems of what Sandri (2017) calls "humanitarian volunteerism". This opposed to established NGOs that are not independent but more formal due to their funding from government for instance such as La Vie Active where intentions can be questioned.

4.4.2 Inclusion versus exclusion

The flexible infrastructures of organizations not only foster solidarity but also set the stage for cooperation between host communities and refugees by creating an accessible platform for volunteers to help. Some organizations hold events or initiatives to reach the local French people and break down barriers. For instance, every week there is an inter-organization meeting at *Secours Catholique* where organizations, individual actors, locals, and refugees are invited to speak about the current situation. Their community center provides a space where refugees can come and have a break during the day, charge their phones, and have a cup of coffee but also access legal information. This also gives organizations a space to provide their services such as playing with children. The center also attempts to bridge gaps by for instance organizing movie screenings on refugee's home countries or documentaries to spread awareness. *Calais Ploubelle* also organizes monthly waste collections with French locals and other volunteers. They provide trash bags and gloves, and push the government to provide refugees with adequate sanitation materials and collect their trash. More so, they facilitate a space where French people who want to mobilize themselves can join. *Calais la sociale* uses media to become through reports a spokesperson for social proposals which help to make Calais more united and more equitable. Other smaller initiatives such as the *Fotohane darkroom* use disposable cameras to raise awareness. Cameras are given to young children at the border and let them capture the current situation through their lenses.

Although the environment makes it difficult for cooperation to happen, these autonomous initiatives through collective actions become a symbol against the system of management and control that the state tries to enforce. Their wide network showcases that this goes beyond a local issue. It reaches people worldwide also involved in other spaces of exclusion such as Calais. Their effectiveness will further be discussed below.

4.5. Buildings blocks for solidarity: social and physical stability

The social and physical infrastructures put in place by the actors of care can effectively foster solidarity. This however does not come without limitations as it intersects with the politics of control and structural injustices embedded in their work.

4.5.1 The power of permanency

Social infrastructures have created permanent social ties. One of the refugees that I met through the organization I was working at had been in this region for two years and works with them at least once a week and has no plan of going to the UK. During a commemoration, I also met another refugee working for one of the French organizations that decided not to cross the channel. Speaking with Sandra, she said that many miss the social bonds they had in the jungles once they came to the UK. The experienced camaraderie and solidarity create a strong feeling of belonging and social networks. This echoes with Hess and Petrogiannis's (2020) paper on Greece, if some came alone, many leave with a shared experience. Communities are forming and although many mixes, the division of ethnicities in different settlements clearly marks the formation of groups and can counter expectations and tensions arising from refugees staying for a short time (Charitopoulou, 2019).

Physically, infrastructures have also become permanent as some locals house refugees. John spoke about a safe house that was created by volunteers in the city center for families and children. Moreover, locals like Marie also have created permanent shelters. Although she wants to stop hosting, she joked that one of the men currently staying will possibly grow old with her as he has no plans of leaving. She also goes and picks up her son often with other de-scholarised refugee children which makes them visible in front of other parents. This signifies that the phenomenon is not exceptional but refugees are, whether it is fitting or not, present in everyday lives and not only at the periphery. This puts the marginalized into sight and normalizes solidarity making it in turn more accessible. In fact, this can reverse what Charitopoulou (2019) noted, action can lead to more action because it increases the social belonging of refugees in the community.

By creating both social and physical spaces, refugees, local French people and other volunteers challenge the state's securitization policies of who should become visible or invisible. Countering invisibility and othering by establishing permanence can directly increase solidarity.

4.5.2 Barriers to doing good

Humanitarian work does not come without burden. As previously mentioned, many struggle financially and are also heavily dependent on volunteers' availability. This has led to various logics on how to operate which does not come without controversy. Some require months of training and must be vetted while others only require an email and an identity check to join one of the organizations. Without background checks it is difficult to know the real intentions of everyone. Sandra who is very involved with one of the organizations brought up that she questioned one of the volunteer's intentions, echoing Freedman's (2018) critique that volunteering can be based on trying to "save" refugees rather than challenge the structure injustices that had led to the need of these grassroots movements to emerge in the first place.

However, organizations need volunteers and the turnover rates are very high notably due to the emotional involvement. They often found themselves lacking resources which Sandra from the UK tries to mitigate by coming during quiet periods when people are less likely to join the organizations. When I was volunteering in May we were only seven whereas

in July we were at full capacity around 40 people. These variations push organizations to adapt but can also lead to a feeling of abandonment which creates more reluctance according to Fotaki (2022).

Additionally, the fragility of the organization's efforts is evident in the mental strain experienced by the project leaders. I discussed with two project leaders I met while volunteering and they had worked the longest in their organization's role- a little more than a year. It is not a regular job that stops once you clock out. It takes a toll mentally and is not currently fully sustainable unless adequate infrastructure exists as Bhabha (2022) observed in her study on solidarity. It forces organizations to often provide band-aid solutions for what should be under the responsibility of national policies.

4.5.3 Unstable realities

Additionally, while these grassroots organizations are crucial in helping refugees meet their basic needs by providing immediate care they can also perpetuate the current system. There is a power asymmetry between volunteers and refugees and some organizations have clear regulations to avoid their work being jeopardized due to the strict scrutiny they are under. There have been incidents that have led some of the organizations to prohibit volunteers from sharing their personal details. This is mostly due to the vulnerability refugees might experience when crossing and since volunteers are not trained to save anyone at sea it is better to make sure it does not happen. There is a fine line as Ambrosini (2022) highlights since it can further replicate inequalities and social divisions perpetuating power structures. Anne also brought this up and while she understands it is important for safeguarding reasons when handling such situations you do not need to be trained to support refugees:

> *"Clearly you are, you have to be careful. Not getting Situations for people who are in a very vulnerable position and that I understand and some of these organizations like X, they recruit from a very, very young crowd who might be vulnerable themselves. So I, you know, I get it, but sometimes it can be very rigid as a framework and it doesn't allow for much exchange and it doesn't allow for the power structure to be broken down a little bit when actually, that's what you need."*

This demands further thinking, the fragility of the current system illustrates a wider failure in France's, the UK's but also the EU's migration management. Ishkanian and Shutes (2022) bring up that if these initiatives are of utmost importance in their work and as acts of opposition, it is crucial to be aware of negative externalities such as prioritizing traditional humanitarianism over resilience humanitarianism. As previously mentioned Ticktin (2014) highlights that the work of such organizations can reinforce the image of refugees as "victims". This asks for a structural shift that humanitarian organizations indirectly through their infrastructures have attempted to challenge. Both locals and refugees can through this actively navigate the system which we will further develop below.

4.6 A flawed logic of securitization

Although there is a long way to go, this section highlights how the practices put in place by states can be questioned by the refugee's agency, and the inconsistencies of what is happening on the ground.

4.6.1 In and out of sight

Although visibility can be used as a means of resistance towards the state's objective of making refugees temporary, refugees can also use De Vries (2016) strategy of (in)visibility. To illustrate, Mo who has adapted to his new reality becomes visible when the organizations come to the distribution sites and invisible when confronted with the actors of control. When the volunteers are present he is very social, puts his music on the speaker, enjoys his food, has conversations with volunteers about politics, and where they come from, and smiles a lot. He also spoke with the project leader to come up with solutions on how to make the informal settlement cleaner. However, when the organization leaves or when the police come he goes back to the jungle hidden behind trees. The living sites are often hidden in remote areas to avoid detection. Being seen allows the reception of aid, yet also can more easily become detectable by the actors of necropolitics. Mo told me that in a way, no one controls him anymore as he navigates the system learning how it works and where to go on which days to meet his basic needs.

This resembles what Anne told me when she went to one of the living sites in Dunkirk that she was studying. She saw a man walking away from the settlement with all his belongings. He told her that he was evicting himself. Tired of waiting for the police to evict him, he decided to do it himself instead of waiting passively. Life in Calais just like Mo has somewhat become a routine that he has internalized but actively navigates.

4.6.2 When control weakens…

However, while some try to actively resist the system there are limitations. Yet, paradoxically, they also delegitimize the securitization policies by highlighting inconsistencies in the system of control. As Azad from Kurdistan told me, during evictions, it is difficult to stand up to law enforcement because they are outnumbered and have weapons. He sent me a video he took of one night and said *"When they (the police) destroy a place, they take everything-tents, water, food-literally anything important. They just throw it all out (…). The scenes I witnessed were like something out of a movie. There were more than 500 of them. With that kind of force, it is hard to imagine anyone having the courage to confront them".* People are scared of getting arrested and deported. He told me many refugees are very active on social media and publish the faced injustices in France. The power asymmetry between refugees and the state limits visible actions. Resistance is not welcomed and the real consequences for the residents of the informal settlements can be death without any repercussions as Ismael claims happens.

Despite this, some organizations such as HRO can jump in and document as was done in Malta (Mainwaring, 2016). Often during evictions or also during passages, refugees alert organizations when in danger. They for instance send videos like the one Azad managed to take or send their location. Moreover, the reports and investigations on fatalities challenge the state's narrative portraying refugees as "threats". This is particularly true when young children or women are the victims as the media often portrays refugee men as "criminals".

Additionally, John told me that there have been recent events where police sometimes call organizations for help when boats capsize. After being the ones sabotaging the boats by piercing them they call for aid for example, when people have fallen in the shallow water, are wet, and need clothes to warm up. This contradicts their role in the enforcement of

Necropolitics and the logic of securitization. By humanizing refugees and seeing them as people in need of aid it refutes the system that prioritizes control but rather de-legitimize it.

All interviews said this situation is a political game and is inconsistent. During my fieldwork this summer, the Olympics were held in Paris. Refugees told me that the police were now letting them cross to avoid public scrutiny and "waving them goodbye". There was also a growing presence of police at the train station of Calais to avoid them going to Paris. Two days before the start of the games, the police did not let us onboard the train without showing our identities. Volunteers also spoke about buses taking refugees out of the capital to hide refugees from the public eye which also was criticized in the media.

The alarming rise in deaths and the poor conditions do not go unnoticed. As a response, the mayor has vocally shared her discontent in the media towards the UK (Mathieu, 2024). Doing so, she is blame shifting while not taking accountability for the refugees well-being. This in turn highlights the failures of migration management and through visible inconsistencies decreases the credibility of control (Balzacq et al., 2016). Here, there is space for refugees and locals to challenge and question current policies.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Beyond

As all the above points have demonstrated, this research dived into the role of infrastructures, determined or limited by securitization, in shaping interactions and cooperation between locals and refugees living in informal settlements. The reason behind this research starts with the problem: States do not want immigration because governments see refugees as a threat to their cultural values, socio political spheres, and economy - notably, non-western migration (Messina, 2017). France is a democracy and the politics of securitization need the support of its population to put in place its politics (Balzacq et al., 2016). The government does not want non-citizens and must justify this (Fauser, 2024). This is where the logic of securitization has come into play, to portray refugees as threats that we need to protect from the general population (Van Gemert, 2024). The othering narrative legitimizes policies of exceptions which legitimizes discourses of "us vs. them", creating a cycle feeding each other (Sweet, 2017; Bello, 2020). On the ground, specifically in Calais, this has translated into border violence often without any legal foundations (Davies et al., 2017).

5.1 Conclusion

Specifically, my research has drawn several conclusions. First, this research attempted to understand the context and the various dynamics between refugees and the local host communities. These vary and although some mobilize themselves, most of the local people seem disconnected from the current events. Second, whether this is by choice or not, factors such as physical and structural ones emerge from securitization. This creates through Necropolitics cultural, emotional, and physical barriers that increase misconceptions and distance making any interactions between refugees and locals difficult. However, in the third section, we discuss how cooperation emerges when it does happen. Notably through local volunteering efforts that have also evolved into what Sandri (2017) defines as "Volunteer Humanitarianism". These movements are small, independent, and regroup locals, international volunteers, and organizations. They have built a complex informal network of social infrastructures that promote solidarity. Moreover, the social and physical infrastructures such as creating permanence foster solidarity by countering the imposed invisibility (De Vries, 2016). For instance, by providing housing refugees become included. However, there are limitations with the grassroots-led organizations notably because of present hierarchies and the lack of resources making their work difficult to sustain. Ultimately, the infrastructure indirectly challenges securitisation as refugees navigate the system countering the politics of invisibility. Actors of control have approached organizations for help and the narratives of seeing refugees as threats are being questioned. Visible inconsistencies also delegitimize the state's practices. Volunteering there myself put me at the frontline of atrocities that remain unseen- meeting ordinary people and refugees fighting for justice and their lives gave me a new perspective on this system embedded in inequalities.

5.2 Limitations

This research did not come without limitations. The lack of access to certain demographics may have impacted the findings. Moreover, the observations are based on a partial ethnographic study as in-depth research would require months of fieldwork to fully understand this social phenomenon. Although it captures a unique period and space in the

region, future studies should include more perspectives for a holistic view. There is not only one refugee community, it is an intersection of sex, class ethnicity, status, etc that should all be included (Tyerman, 2021). For instance, some are highly educated and speak perfect English whereas some speak languages that do not exist on Google Translate, making it difficult for them to access important information or participate in my research (Own observation, 2024).

Looking forward with the right ethical tools, I think that researching the women's and children's experiences in the informal camps notably of children's development with the help they received from humanitarian aid would highlight a crucial but underexplored area. I believe including this dimension can provide a critical perspective to take down barriers and foster compassion.

Overall, this research affirms the effective role physical and social infrastructures have in spaces of exclusion. Current policies of securitization build mental and literal walls, nevertheless, grassroots initiatives stand strong against and give through their solidarity hope for change and unity. To move towards sustainable cooperation and more human migration management it is imperative for states to understand the illogicality of their structures which I have tried to showcase here.

5.3 The way forward

We argue for several policy recommendations that should be taken into consideration. Although this should be at the EU level, France and the UK share bilateral agreements that reflect a shared responsibility distinct from the EU. Moreover, significant financial investment has been devoted to this border showcasing their responsibility. Finally, the externalization of the UK's border on French soil shows the bypassing of the EU's influence.

The first recommendation serves as a base for a just system that would benefit all actors involved. The refugees in Calais are majoritarily people fleeing worn-torn countries. Thus, we recommend the establishment of a center that treats visa applications in France tailored for refugees to ensure safe and legal arrivals to the UK. This would on one hand tackle the smuggling business, moreover, it would also increase the UK's legitimacy in border control sovereignty by having controlled routes in comparison to irregular migration.

Secondly, going hand in hand with the first recommendation, the resources invested in the infrastructure of deterrence such as fences and other surveillance equipment should be redirected. Countries such as the UK put a lot of focus on integration. Yet, when people are faced with violence, take dangerous routes, and live in poor conditions this often comes with trauma. Resources should be put towards proper housing, access to mental health resources, and meeting basic needs. To highlight the cost-effectiveness a pilot program could first be implemented. This could lead to long-term benefits for the UK as the integration process could start before arrivals but would also increase France's public image by having a humanitarian approach.

Finally, money should be invested toward education where police among others should be trained to work with vulnerable people notably minors and children. The current practices rather show a "spectacle" where riot police act outside legal grounds. This only creates trauma, insecurities, and tensions.

To sum up, these recommendations include both immediate and long-term needs. They would not only save costs but move towards a cooperative system and decrease current tensions. This approach would set the stage for other countries to follow by showcasing what a cooperative migration system could look like.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Fieldwork Timeframe

Phases	Method	Actors
Phase 1 (5-11th May)	Ethnographic Observations, Informal conversations,	Refugees; Host community; Law enforcement agents; Humanitarian actors (e.g. Project leaders, Local activists, Volunteers)
Phase 2 (13-25th July)	Ethnographic observations, Informal conversations, in-person semi-structured interviews	Refugees; Host community; Law enforcement agents; Humanitarian actors (e.g. Project leaders, Local activists, Volunteers)
Phase 3 (6-20th August)	Online semi-structured interviews	Humanitarian actors (e.g. Project leaders, Local activists, Volunteers), Refugees

Appendix 2 Interview profile

Pseudonyms	Description
Martin	Lived in Calais for 16 years, Barber, originally from West Africa
Marie	French from Calais, Hosts refugees in her home
Camille	French from Calais, Educator in school
Jean	French from Calais, Student
John	Field coordinator for organization supporting refugee children from UK
Adélie	French from Calais, Student
Anne	Volunteer, Teacher, Author and Journalist from UK
Sandra	Volunteer from UK
Miranda	Volunteer, Medical Student from Portugal
Emma	Field coordinator for first aid support NGO from UK
Sam	Volunteer, Pediatrician from the US
Azad	Refugee living in the UK, Photographer from Kurdistan

Appendix 3 Interview guide actors involved with organisations

Introduction

- Introduce myself and explain purpose of research

- This interview will be used for the purpose of research. The answers will be confidential meaning names will be only shared with the supervisor and the researcher; answers will be published with pseudonyms, meaning names will be replaced with others unless you do not mind keeping your job title that we can discuss together. The answers will be recorded and stored until December 2024. You can stop the interview at any moment and withdraw from the study.

- Are you willing to participate in this interview and be recorded in order to share your answers for this research?

- Do you have any questions for me before we start?

Ice breaker

- Could you please tell me who you are, your expertise, background and how long you have been doing what you are doing?

- Are you familiar with the informal settlements in Calais?

  - If so, please share.

- What is your opinion on the unfolding events?

Topics

1. **Level of cooperation (sub-question:** *How can cooperation between host communities from the region of Calais and informal migrant settlements happen?)*

- When refugees cross transit countries and find themselves into these border towns such as in Calais, What is it like for you when refugees arrive in Calais?

- For the Refugees: What do you think are the experiences do refugees go through when they arrive in Calais?

- What types of cooperation have you observed between host communities in Calais and the informal migrant settlements (if any)?

- Do you have examples where locals and refugees in informal settlements have come together?

- Can you give me an example where this has been an obstacle?

2. **Factors influencing positive cooperation (sub-question:** *What are the key factors that influence positive or negative interactions between locals and migrants in Calais, and how do these factors contribute to a sense of solidarity?)*

Key Factors for Positive Interactions:

- In your opinion, what are the key factors that can lead to positive interactions between locals and migrants in Calais?

- What do you think can have an important impact on increasing cooperation?

Barriers to Cooperation:

- What do you see as potential obstacles or challenges to cooperation and trying to connect with the refugees or local population?

Solutions:

- What are some things that could help improve interactions and build a sense of community between refugees and locals in Calais?

3. **Infrastructures (sub-questions:** *How effective are the infrastructures in fostering solidarity between locals and migrants, and what can enhance their impact?; Does the existing infrastructure challenge the politics of securitization?)*

- How easy or difficult is it to access things like water, showers, food, and toilets, or to find a doctor for refugees? (Probe on different age groups e.g. if children think of education, how can they access the right to play? etc.)

- Are there any specific places or services the refugees rely on regularly to get food or showers for instance? If so, can you describe how they can help?

- What are the biggest challenges in Calais refugees face when trying to meet your basic needs like water?

- What are the biggest challenges the local French people face?

- In a perfect world, how would it look in Calais?

- How would the way people in Calais get what they need be different and make their lives easier?

End the interview:

- Anything respondent likes to add

- Thank you for your time and your response. It is very much appreciated.

- If you have any questions, please feel free to reach out to X

Appendix 4 Interview guide Host community (translated)

Introduction

- Introduce myself and explain the aim of this research and that this is a safe space.

- This interview will be used for the purpose of research. The answers will be confidential meaning names will be only shared with the supervisor and the researcher and answers will be published with pseudonyms, meaning names will be replaced with others. This can ensure that you can speak freely without fearing any consequences. The answers will not be recorded but I will take notes which will be stored until December 2024. You can stop the interview at any moment and withdraw from the study.

Some questions may be experienced as uncomfortable, but you should not feel more uncomfortable than in a normal conversation. Questions can also be skipped.

- Do you understand the objective of this research?

- Are you willing to participate in this interview and can I take notes to help me in this research? I will save them securely and you can read them through.

- Do you have any questions for me before we start?

Section 1: Ice breaker

- *Please tell me a little about yourself, where you are from, what you work with, etc.*

- *How long have you been living here in Calais? Where did you live before (if they did)?*

- *How involved are you in the community?*

- *What do you usually do during your free time? Do you regularly meet up with friends in cafes, bars? Go to the market?(Probe differently depending on age group, if family etc.)*

Section 2: Individual perceptions and experiences (sub-question: *What are the individual experiences and perceptions of migrants and local residents regarding their interactions within the community?)*

- Do you have any interactions with the refugees living in Calais?

    o If any, can you describe a specific instance where you interacted with someone from the refugee community? (positive, negative, or neutral?)

    o If not, please explain why.

- How would you describe the overall atmosphere?

- What is your view on the situation in Calais?

Section 3: Level of cooperation (sub-question: *How can cooperation between host communities from the region of Calais and informal migrant settlements happen?)*

- Would you say refugees and the local people cooperate and help each other sometimes? (whether this is you or other people or your friends)

- If so, please explain (probe on specific positive or challenging experiences related to cooperation)

- Are there opportunities for cooperation and support between the two groups? (probe on events, organizations, fundraisers, community meetings, etc.)

Section 4: Factors influencing positive cooperation (sub-question: *What are the key factors that influence positive or negative interactions between locals and migrants in Calais, and how do these factors contribute to a sense of solidarity?)*

- What are factors that could/do make you want to interact?

- On the contrary, what are the challenges that arise?

- Do/Would you want to cooperate and perhaps find solutions?

    o If not, why?

Solutions:

- What are some things that could help improve interactions and build a sense of community between migrants and locals in Calais?

Section 5: Infrastructures (sub-questions: *How effective are the infrastructures in fostering solidarity between locals and migrants, and what can enhance their impact?; Does the existing infrastructure challenge the politics of securitization?)*

- How easy or difficult is it to access your needs? Such as housing, work, care, etc. Do you think it has become more difficult?

- For the refugees: How easy or difficult is it to access things like water, showers, food, toilets, or to find a doctor? Do you think it has become more difficult?

- Have you seen a shift in the infrastructure here in Calais from when you first moved here or from when you grew up here? If so, in what way?

- How would you describe it now?

- In a perfect world, if refugees would still use Calais as a transit point to move to England, what do you think it should look like?

End the interview:

- Anything respondents likes to add

Thank you for your time and your response. It is very much appreciated

If you have any questions, please feel free to reach out on **WhatsApp** or **edstromadrienne@gmail.com**

Appendix 5 New arrivals Guide

New Arrival Guide (NAG)
NOVEMBER 2024
Calais

This information sheet is a guide only. All organisations do their best to stick to the below schedule, however they may occasionally have to adapt their session time or location.

For the latest version of this document & more info, use the QR code or visit: **lc.cx/calais**
For the New Arrrival Guide for Grande-Synthe/Dunkirk, visit: **lc.cx/grande-synthe**

All services listed are free.

You do not need money or papers to access them.

CHANNEL iNFO PROJECT

Food

RUE DE JUDEE (SOUTH) 50.944694, 1.912278
Everyday • Breakfast (Salam)

RUE DE JUDEE (NORTH) 50.951690, 1.911978
Everyday • 09:45 & 11:00 (La Vie Active)
Everyday • 14:00& 16:30 (La Vie Active)
Monday to Friday • 12:30-13:30 (RCK)

BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS)
50.943076, 1.899636
Monday, Wednesday & Friday • 16:15-17:15 (RCK)

ROUNDABOUT 2 50.939532, 1.895325
Tuesday & Thursday• 15:45 -16:15 (RCK)
Everyday • Breakfast (Salam)**

AUCHAN (COQUELLES) 50.945500, 1.805917
Everyday • 09:00-11:00 (La Vie Active)
Everyday • 14:00- 16:30 (La Vie Active)

RUE DES HUTTES 50.966028, 1.894917
Everyday • 09:00-11:00 & 14:00-16:00 (La Vie Active)
Everyday • Breakfast (Salam)**

BMX- ERITREAN JUNGLE
Everyday • 09:00-11:00 & 14:00-16:00 (La Vie Active)
Everyday • Breakfast (Salam)**

TOWN CENTRE (QUAI DE LA MOSELLE) 50.954868, 1.857705
Everyday • Breakfast (Salam)**

** Blankets and hygiene products by request.

Laundry
162 BD LA FAYETTE, 62100 CALAIS
The WASH center is currently closed to the public. Appointments and laundry will be taken onsite. The laundry will be ready to pick up at the WASH centre from the next day onwards.
Appointments are not available directly at the WASH Centre

BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS) 50.943076, 1.899636
Monday • 11:30
Thursday • 11:30

PEGASUS 50.938355, 1.879741
Wednesday • 14:00

HIPPOGRIFFE 50.935855, 1.860079
Wednesday • 11:30

FONTINETTES 50.937333, 1.852686
Wednesday • 11:30

BMX- ERITREAN JUNGLE
Tuesday • 11:00

ORANGE SQUAT 50.951391, 1.914602
Thursday • 14:00

Water

JERRY CANS (LA VIE ACTIVE)
RUE DE JUDÉE (NORTH) 50.951690, 1.911978
Everyday • 09:00-11:30, 14:00-16:00

AUCHAN (COQUELLES) 50.945500, 1.805917
Everyday • 9:00-11:30 & 14:00-16:00

RUE DES HUTTES 50.966028, 1.894917
Everyday • 09:00-11:00 & 14:00-16:00

BMX - ERITREAN JUNGLE
Everyday • 09:00-11:00 & 14:30-16:00

WATER CONTAINERS (CFC)
JUNGLE - RUE DE JUDÉE (SOUTH) 50.9384390, 1.9142165
UNICORN (BEHIND PASS) 50.9399604, 1.8887650
BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS) 50.943076, 1.899636
ROUNDABOUT 2 50.939811,1.897596
TOWN CENTRE (QUAI DE LA MOSELLE) 50.954868, 1.857705
HYPOGRIFFE 50.935576,1.860272
BMX- ERITREAN JUNGLE
ORANGE SQUAT 50.951192,1.914555
OLD LIDL (OLD JUNGLE) 50.943335,1.927907
FONTINETTES 50.937333, 1.852686
Call CFC at **+33 6 05 88 38 19** if the container is empty.
(Please bring your own jerry can)

Showers & Toilets
A bus service to free showers is provided by the French State.

FOR MEN
AUCHAN (RUE DE BERGNIEULLES) 50.945500, 1.805917
Monday to Friday • 11:15

RUE DES HUTTES 50.966028, 1.894917
Monday to Friday • 08:45

BMX - ERITREAN JUNGLE
Monday to Friday • 13:30

RUE DE JUDEE (NORTH) 50.951690, 1.911978
Monday to Friday • 09:30

FOR WOMEN/CHILDREN
From 14:00

- On all La Vie Active distribution sites in the afternoon
- At Secours Catholique day centre, a call can be made to La Vie Active, to collect women and children for showers.

Non-Food Items
BMX- ERITREAN JUNGLE
Monday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)
Thursday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)

BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS)
50.943076, 1.899636
Tuesday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)
Saturday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)

TOWN CENTRE (QUAI DE LA MOSELLE)
50.954868, 1.857705
Sunday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)

C4C does mass distribution of a full set of clothing over a period of several weeks. They won't be able to take specific requests. Care4Calais also provide services such as hot drinks, haircuts, sewing, bike repairs, games and English learning.

CHIP provide SIM cards and credit by visiting living sites.

Community Spaces
SECOURS CATHOLIQUE DAY CENTRE
39 Rue de Moscou, 62100 Calais
Everyone is welcome to have a cup of tea or coffee, charge their phones, get information and find medical support. You will be able to meet other organisations there, too.

Monday, Wednesday, Friday • 13:30-17:00
Wednesdays • 13:30-17:00 (Sewing/repairs)

MAISON D'ENTRAIDE ET DE RESSOURCES (MER)
3 Rue de Croy, 62100 Calais
Domiciliation (Address Setup) Service
Tuesday, Thursday • 14:30-16:00

Writing Assistance Service
Support with writing resumes, application letters and other formal documents in French.
Tuesday and Thursday • 14:30-16:00

Meeting with all the non-governmental organisations of Calais open to everyone.
Last Tuesday of the month • 15:30-17:00

Toilets
RUE DES HUTTES 50.964806, 1.895489
BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS) 50.943076, 1.89963

Travel in Calais
Buses in Calais are free.
Look up bus maps and timings on:
Visit: **www.sitac-calais-opale-bus.fr/horaires.php**

Phone Charging
BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS)
50.943076, 1.899636
Monday • 11:00 - 13:00 (CHIP)**
Tuesday • 14:00 - 17:00 (Care4Calais)
Thursday • 10:00-12:00 (CHIP)**
Saturday • 14:00 - 17:00 (Care4Calais)

HOSPITAL 50.939964, 1.896571
Tuesday • 10:00-12:00 (Secours Catholique)

BMX- ERITREAN JUNGLE
Monday • 14:00 - 17:00 (Care4Calais)
Wednesday • 10:30 - 12:30 (Croix-Rouge)* (not 1st week of the month)
Thursday • 14:00 - 17:00 (Care4Calais)
Friday • 14h:00 - 16:00 (CHIP)
Saturday • 14h:30 - 16:30 (CHIP)
Everyday • Battery Box Drop (CHIP)

PEGASUS 50.938355, 1.879741
Monday • 14:30 - 16:300 (CHIP) **
Wednesday • 14:30 - 16:30 (CHIP) **
Thursday • 11:15 - 13:15 (Croix-Rouge)* (not 1st week of the month)
Saturday • 10:30 - 12:30 (CHIP) **

TOWN CENTRE (QUAI DE LA MOSELLE) 50.954868, 1.857705
Tuesday • 14:30 - 16:30 (CHIP) **
Thursday • 14:30 - 16:30 (CHIP) **
Sunday • 14:00-17:00 (Care4Calais)

SECOURS CATHOLIQUE DAY CENTRE**
39 Rue de Moscou, 62100 Calais
Monday, Wednesday & Friday • 13:30-17:00

* WiFi also provided ** WiFi & information also provided

(!) Emergency Numbers
EMERGENCY SERVICES
Call 112 (English or French)

EMERGENCY ACCOMMODATION
Call 115

MEDICAL EMERGENCY
Call 15 (English and French)

RESCUE AT SEA
Call 112 (France and UK), then ask for **coastguard**.

ALARM PHONE
Call **+33 486 51 71 61**. If you are having trouble communicating with the coastguard or if they do not respond, Alarm Phone can help. You need to know your location. You should always call the coastguard first.

UTOPIA 56 +33 7 53 91 85 96
UTOPIA 56 emergency number is available for:
- Emergency accommodation (including for minors)
- Risks involved in crossing the Channel.
- Clothing and survival supplies to people who get wet after an attempted crossing.

Healthcare
STATE RUN

EMERGENCY AMBULANCE
Call 112 (English) or 15 (French) to go to the hospital. Free and available 24/7. You need to tell them your location.

PASS
1601 Boulevard de Justes, 62107 Calais
Free medical appointments. You do not need money or documents.
Monday - Friday • 09:00-12:00 and 13:30-16:30

Dentist
Tuesdays and Fridays • 09:00-12:00
Tuesdays : 12, 19, 26 of November
Fridays: 8, 15, 22 of Novembre

(10 patients per day, arrive early to secure an appointment)

Psychologist
Tuesday • 09:00-12:00 and 13:30-16;30
Wednesday • 09:00-12:00
Thursday • 13:30-16:30

Social Worker
Monday, Wednesday, Thursday • 14:00 - 16:00

NGOs
Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)
- Information, and accompaniment to medical or social structures. MSF also make referrals to PASS.
- Psychological consultations, psychosocial support activities, talking groups & health workshops.

Croix-Rouge
- First care consultations with nurses in a mobile clinic and referral to la PASS if a consultation with a doctor is required
This service does not operate during the 1st week of the month

First Aid Support Team (FAST) • +33 7 66 04 92 98
- Basic medical treatment including wounds, burns, injuries and minor illnesses.
- Referrals to a PASS for more serious problems.
- Outreach around Boulevard du 8 Mai, hippogriff, buffalo Grill, fontinettes every week. The timing of these visits varies on a needs basis.

PEGASUS (BEHIND PASS) 50.941374, 1.886606
Wednesday • 13:00 - 14h30

SECOURS CATHOLIQUE DAY CENTRE
Monday • 13:30 - 17:00 (FAST)
Wednesday • 14:00 - 16:00 (Croix-Rouge)
Friday • 13:30-17:00 (Médecins Sans Frontières)

BD DES JUSTES (ENGLISH TOILETS) 50.943076, 1.899636
Tuesday • 14:00 - 17:00 (FAST)
Thursday • 10:00-12:30 (Médecins Sans Frontières)
Saturday • 14:00 - 17:00 (FAST)

TOWN CENTRE (Quai de la Moselle) 50.954868, 1.857705
Sunday • 14:00 - 17:00 (FAST)

BMX- Eritrean Jungle
Wednesday • 11:00 - 13:00 (Croix-Rouge)
Wednesday • 15h00 - 17h00 (FAST)

Accommodation

CAES ACCOMMODATION CENTRE
A state centre you can stay in for up to 2 weeks.
After two weeks* you need to claim asylum in France to stay longer. This accommodation is outside of Calais and there are very limited spaces.
*Sometimes you will be asked to leave in less than two weeks

Monday - Friday • 08:30
Buses depart from Rue des Huttes at the bus stop 'ZI des Dunes'

EMERGENCY ACCOMMODATION - SAMU 115
A service organized by the French State. You can stay for 1 night, and sometimes you can take a shower and wash your clothes. You must reserve your place by calling 115 (French or English). There are limited spaces – call after 14:00. The number is free and available 24/7. If you do not speak French or English, or you need help to get there, Utopia 56 can help.

Legal Support & Asylum in France

LA CIMADE
La Cimade can assist you if you need legal help, including for asylum claims. La Cimade will be offering free legal advice for all, in partnership with the 'Bus de l'Accès au Droit', at Secours Catholic Day Centre.
Monday • 14h00 - 17h00

CONSEIL NATIONAL DES BARREAUX (CNB)
Free consultations with local lawyers able to support and take on legal cases dealing with asylum and residency in France. Friday • 14:00-17:00

Conseil Départemental Accès au Droit (CDAD)
Locaux France Services - 274 rue d'Orléansville
Free consultations with local lawyers able to give information and legal advice about asylum and residency in France.

Book a time slot through Secours Catholique or by visiting in person from 2:00 PM to 5:00 PM on the third Wednesday of the month.

COALLIA (SPADA)
1 All. du Chargement, 59660 Villeneuve-d'Ascq

Call **+33 3 28 55 12 43** to book an appointment. You will not be admitted if you show up without an appointment.
Monday - Friday • 09:00-12:00

OFII (CALAIS)
38 Rue Charost, 62100 Calais

Monday, Tuesday, Thursday • 09:00-12:00
Monday, Tuesday, Thursday • 14:00-16:00
Call **+33 3 61 11 70 20**

Family Link & Contact Services

Croix-Rouge • +33 6 45 46 39 93
The Croix-Rouge (Red Cross) offers a service to help you maintain or restore contact with your family. This includes international calls, sending written messages, search requests in case of lost connections with your loved ones, saving of your contacts and those of loved ones in a Red Cross software, creation of an email address etc.

BMX- Eritrean Jungle Wednesday • 10:30 - 12:30
Secours Catholique Wednesday • 13:30 - 16:30
Unicorn (behind PASS) Thursday • 11:15-13:15
50.941374, 1.886606

This service does not operate during the 1st week of the month Croix-Rouge also maraudes on Thursday afternoon on different living sites.

Minors (Under 18s)
ECPAT • +33 7 53 57 05 34

ECPAT accompanies minors by providing youth activities, information on rights, individual support and facilitates access to child protective services accommodation. There is accommodation for minors in St Omer, near Calais. ECPAT or Utopia 56 can help them.

Monday to Friday • 10:00-17:00 (WhatsApp)*
Friday • 14:00-16:30 (Secours Catholique)

*Outside of these hours, please call Utopia 56 at + 33 7 53 91 85 96.

Women & Families
Refugee Women's Centre • +33 6 71 51 18 15

Support for women and families, including material distribution, access to accommodation, psychosocial support and activities, information, and accompaniment through medical, social, and legal procedures.

Women's hygiene products and baby food can be requested at all 'La Vie Active' water distributions. See the 'Water' section of this guide for their times and locations.

Monday to Friday • 09:00-20:00 (WhatsApp)*
*Outside of these hours, please call Utopia 56 at + 33 7 53 91 85 96.

SECOURS CATHOLIQUE DAY CENTRE (Rue Baillon, ring at the door). For women and and children only, men can go to the men's section
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday • 13:00-17:00 (Secours Catholique team is offering creative activities, cooking, sewing)
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday • 13:30-17:00 (Specific demands and activities with RWC)
Acess to showers with shuttles is possible through La Vie Active

Project Play runs Children's fun play sessions
Tuesdays and Thursdays at Secours Catholique.

Kaleidoscope provides support to accompanied and unaccompanied minors aged 12 to 18. Providing psychosocial support and activities, on Thursday at Secours Catholique at 2pm.

Evictions & Police Monitoring
In Calais, the jungles are evicted by the police every other day: the police steal your personal belongings (such as tents and phones) and arrest people.

La Ressourcerie - 172 Rue des Huttes
If your things get taken by the police, you can try to find them the next day at La Ressourcerie.
Monday to Friday • 13:30-15:30

Human Rights Observers (HRO) • +33 6 51 46 68 81
Everyday • 05:30-20:00 (WhatsApp, Call or Message)

- Presence during the evictions of jungles, to collection of testimonies to denounce police violence, and taking legal actions against evictions. (Possibility to stay anonymous) When we see that an eviction is starting, we send an alert message on Whatsapp. If you want to receive these alerts, please send us a message and save HRO phone number in your contact list.
- Evictions are illegal. HRO can help you challenge these evictions in court. If you want to, contact us

Collective Aid • +33 7 66 29 35 19
If you have been a victim of police violence and would like to tell your story for advocacy purposes, you can send a WhatsApp message to Collective Aid to set up an appointment. Your testimony will be anonymous - it will not lead to legal action but can help to put pressure on governments to end border violence.

EU & UK Information

ASYLUM IN THE UK INFORMATION WORKSHOP
Visit: https://refugeelegalsupport.org/legal-info/new-arrivals-to-the-uk/

CHANNEL INFO PROJECT (CHIP)
Information Desk at Secours Catholique day centre providing info on Calais, asylum processes (France & UK) and any other general questions. Monday & Wednesday • 13:30-17:00

WELCOME TO EUROPE
Free, impartial information for refugees entering Europe in English, French, Arabic and Farsi.
Visit: https://w2eu.info/

RIGHT TO REMAIN TOOLKIT
A free, step-by-step guide to the UK asylum and immigration system, available in many languages. Written information and video explainers.
Visit: www.righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/

WATIZAT
General information on Asylum in France.
Visit: https://watizat.org/en/

REDUCTION OF RISKS AT SEA
Visit: alarmphone.org/en/safety-at-sea/channel/

Appendix 6 Consent form

Information sheet for thesis research: An ethnographic observation of the social and physical infrastructures in Calais and how it impacts dynamics between refugees and the host community in Calais.

Under the supervision of Dr. Zeynep Kaşlı, Adrienne Edström is examining infrastructures in informal settlements in Calais. This research can be realised with the help of your participation. Adrienne is curious about your opinion on the interactions between the host community and refugees. There are no right or wrong answers.

Why this research?	The purpose of this research is to look at infrastrucutres and dynamics between the host community and the refugees in Calais to find alternative approaches to the current process of migration emphasizing cooperation. This research is part of the MA studies of Adrienne Edström at the International Institute of Social studies.
Process	You will participate in a study in which we will gather information through:
	Interviewing you and if applicable recording your answers via audio recording. A transcript of the interview will be produced.
Confidentiality	We will do everything we can to protect your privacy as well as possible. In addition to the student, only the supervisor of the student will have access to all information you provide.
	No confidential information or personal data from or about you will be released so that someone will be able to identify you.
	In the research you are referred to by a made-up name (pseudonym), unless you have given permission to use your job title or name for quotes.
Voluntary participation	**You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Your participation is voluntary and you can stop whenever you want.**
	If you don't feel comfortable, you can terminate the interview at any moment.
	If you would like to withdraw your interview after it is completed, please contact Adrienne Edström via X
Data storage	Anonymous data or pseudonyms will be used in the Research Project. If applicable, the audio recordings, forms and/or other documents that are created or collected in the context of this thesis will be stored securely on a encrypted hard drive.
	The research data is stored until December 2024. Data will be deleted or made anonymous so that they can no longer be traced to a person at the end of this period, at the latest.

| **Submitting question complaint** | **a or** | If you have specific questions about how your personal data is handled, you can direct your question to Adrienne Edström via X. You can also submit a complaint to the Dutch Data Protection Authority if you suspect that your data has been processed incorrectly. |

By signing this consent form I acknowledge the following (only say yes if you agree):

| | | **Yes** | **No** |

1   I am sufficiently informed about the research. I have read the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions. These questions have been answered sufficiently and I have had sufficient time to decide on my participation.

2   I volunteer to participate in this study. **It is clear to me that I can terminate participation in the study at any time, without providing a reason. I don't have to answer a question if I do not want to.**

3   I give permission to process the data collected about me during this research as explained in the attached information sheet.

4   I give permission for audio and/or video recordings to be made during discussions and a transcript of my answers.

5   I give permission for use my answers as quotes in the student's thesis.

7   I give permission to state my job title in the quotes referred to above.

6   I give permission to store the data collected from me and to use it in a pseudonymized form for all further research where it can be used at a later date.

Name participant, **Signature** and Date: Name student, **Signature** and Date:
                                                   Adrienne Edström

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Notes

1 Data on deaths at the France-UK border is sourced from Auberge des migrants (September, 2024); All other data is sourced from the Refugee Council (2024).

2 These numbers do not include the missing people (Muys, 2024).

3 This chapter has copy pasted elements from my Qualitative Interviewing course.