

FAILURE OF THE MIGRATION POLICY AND OF MULTICULTURALISM IN THE EU? THE ‘CALAIS JUNGLE’ AND THE SETUP OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES

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ABSTRACT:

DURING THE CURRENT MIGRATION CRISIS VARIOUS LEADERS FROM CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE HAVE RAISED THEIR VOICE AGAINST MULTICULTURALISM AND THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS, SUSTAINING THAT ON THE LONG RUN IT'LL LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES. ACCORDING TO THESE STATESMEN, ONCE IN THESE IMMIGRANTS WOULD KEEP THEIR COMMUNITIES BASED ON THE VALUES BROUGHT WITH THEM AND THEN SOONER OR LATER, EVEN IF THESE VALUES ARE DIFFERENT FROM THE EUROPEAN ONES, THE EUROPEANS WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THEM FOR THE SAKE OF COHABITATION. THIS WOULD LEAD TO THE EROSION OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND OF THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN LEGACY. LINKING MULTICULTURALISM WITH THE SET UP OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES IS NOT A NOVELTY IN THE EU'S POLITICAL SPACE, AS A FEW YEARS AGO THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER DAVID CAMERON OPENLY ADMITTED IN ONE HIS SPEECHES HELD IN 2011 IN MUNICH, GERMANY THAT THE "STATE OF MULTICULTURALISM" HAS FAILED IN THE UK, REFERRING TO THE INCAPABILITY AND UNWILLINGNESS OF MOSTLY MUSLIM COMMUNITIES TO INTEGRATE, ACCUSING HIS COUNTRY OF ENCOURAGING DIFFERENT CULTURES TO LIVE SEPARATE LIVES. HE OBJECTED TO ALL KINDS OF EXTREMISM AND RADICALIZATION, URGING FOR A STRONGER NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE UK. ONE OF THE MOST VIVID EXAMPLES OF THE FAILURE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE AND ALSO THE MATERIALIZATION OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES AND THE SELF AND OTHER DELINEATION SET UP BY IRREGULAR AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS, IS THE SO CALLED CALAIS JUNGLE. THIS ARTICLE AIMS TO ANALYSE THE EU'S MIGRATION POLICY IN THE PRISM OF THE IMPROVISED REFUGEE CAMP AT CALAIS, NICKNAMED BY THE MEDIA AS "JUNGLE", DEPARTING FROM THE HYPOTHESIS THAT IF THE CURRENT MIGRATION CRISIS WON'T BE HANDLED PROPERLY, THE CONTINUOUS INFLUX OF IMMIGRANTS WILL CONDUCT TO THE CREATION OF OTHER CALAIS 'JUNGLES' IN VARIOUS STATES OF THE EU, THUS LEADING TO THE SET UP OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES.

KEY WORDS: GATED COMMUNITY, CHRISTIAN EUROPE, EUROPEAN IDENTITY, SELF AND OTHER, SPACE CONSTRUCTION

MUSLIM POPULATION IN NUMBERS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Before speaking about the improvised migrant camp in Calais I shall start my analysis with a census of Muslim population in Europe/EU in order to reveal the invalidity of the *Christian Europe* concept.

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In the midst of the current migration crisis *religion* is more and more echoed as a major dividing line between the Europeans with a Judeo-Christian legacy and the predominantly Muslim immigrants. Already the founding fathers of the European Communities rendered to Christian values a very important role when putting the basis of the United Europe project, Robert Schuman epitomizing in 1958 that “we are called to bethink ourselves of the Christian basics of Europe by forming a democratic model of governance which through reconciliation develops into a ‘community of peoples’ in freedom, equality, solidarity and peace and which is deeply rooted in Christian basic values”.²

The recent migration crisis has led to the revival of the *Christian Europe* concept, appearing in the rhetoric of various European leaders, such as the prime minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, who emphasized in multiple speeches that migrants represent a threat to the European identity and to the Christian values. In October 2015 in an interview given to the Spanish Intereconomía Television he urged the closure of the borders of the European Union in front of these migrants, as according to him the only way to defend “Christian Europe is if don’t let them in”.³In his discourse delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the Hungarian National Day on the 15th of March 2016, he described Europe as a pot of coexisting Christian, free and independent nations, based on equality between men and women, fair play and solidarity, pride and humbleness, justice and mercy, stressing out that “[...] masses of people arriving from different civilizations pose a threat to our way of life, culture, customs and Christian traditions” [...] and that “those arrived earlier instead of integrating, have built for themselves a separate world, with their own laws and their own ideals, which straddle the thousand year old European framework”.⁴

Looking at the statistics provided by the Pew Research Center it can be ascertained that the *Christian Europe* collocation is not totally accurate, as in Europe today there are more than 44.1 million Muslims. Since 1990 (29.6 million) the share of Muslim population in Europe has grown about 1% per decade and is forecasted that in the upcoming years (by 2030) it will reach 58 million, thus the Muslims would make up 8% of Europe’s population.⁵According to the projections mostly Western and Northern Europe will experience a considerable growth in the number of Muslim communities in the upcoming years fostered predominantly by migration.

As map no.1 shows the biggest Muslim community from the European Union is living in Germany, 4.760.000 people, representing 5.8% of the country’s total population, while France is on the second place, shortly lagging behind with 4.710.000 Muslims, and accounting for 7.5% of the population. In the UK reside approximately 2.960.000 Muslims, accounting for 4.8% of the population, thus the UK becoming the third in the line of EU countries with the biggest Muslim inhabitants, followed by Italy (2.220.000) and Bulgaria (1.020.000).⁶Furthermore, is forecasted that by 2030 Muslims will account 8.2% of the UK’s population reaching 5.6 million, this trend also continuing in France (with 6.9 million) and in

²Philip Fountain, *Deeply Rooted. The Forgotten Vision of Robert Schuman* (Heerde: Initial Media Global, 2010), 5.

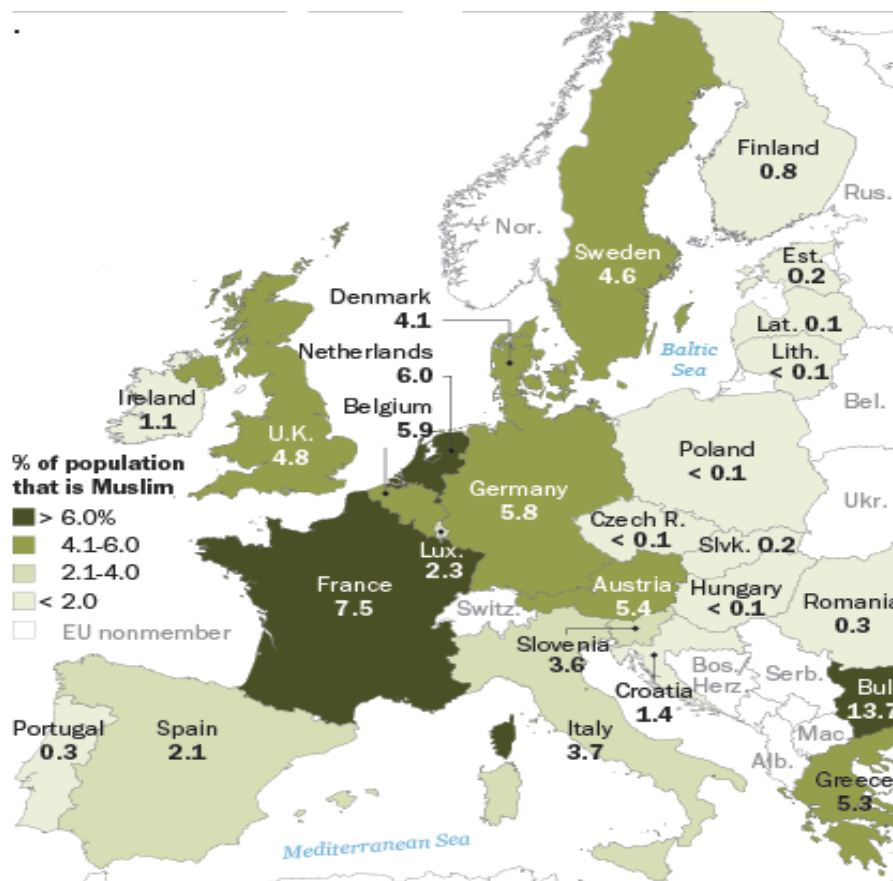
³Barbara Thüringer, “Orbán: A keresztény Európát úgy lehet megvédeni, ha nem engedjük be őket [Orbán: We can defend Christian Europe if we don’t let them in]”, *Index.hu*, November 23, 2015, accessed June 10, 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2015/10/23/orban_kereszteny_europa_menekultek/.

⁴Magyarország Kormánya [The Government of Hungary], „Orbán Viktor ünnepi beszéde 2016. március 15 [Viktor Orbán’s Festive Speech 15th of March 2016]“, accessed June 15, 2016, http://www.kormany.hu/hu/aminiszterelnok/beszedek-publikaciok-interju_k/orban-viktor-unnepi-beszede.

⁵ Pew Research Center, „The Future Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010-2030“, January 15, 2011, 121, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-europe/>.

⁶ Pew Research Center, The Future Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010-2030, 15.

Germany (5.9 million). According to these statistics by 2030 France will outrun Germany in terms of Muslim population.⁷ However, analysing other resources it can be observed that these statistics may vary, identifying France as the country with the biggest Muslim community from the EU numbering 6.263.658 in 2010, forecasted to increase to 6.635.327 by 2020.⁸ As a consequence of the recent migratory influx, however the exact data is not known, it can be ascertained that the biggest number of Muslim migrants arrived to Germany (approx. 1 million), adding to the already existing community in the country.



Map 1. The percentage of Muslim population in the EU countries ⁹

FAILURE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN THE EU AND THE FORMATION OF PARALLEL SOCIETIES

Analysing the emergence of Muslim communities in Europe (apart from the Balkans) from a historical point of view drives us to the conclusion that they mostly appeared as a consequence of migration, especially after World War II. Driven by the labour shortage experienced by the countries devastated by war, in the 50s'-70s' various programmes were created for guest workers from outside Europe/European Community. The need for cheap, unskilled workforce tripled the number of foreigners in Western Europe in the 70's, reaching almost 11 million (15 million in 1982, 19 million 1992) experiencing a significant increase from the 4 million in the 50's. This tendency has continued despite the anti-immigration and nationalist policies of the Western European states from the 80s', finalizing with the

⁷ Pew Research Center, *The Future Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010-2030*, 127.

⁸ Houssain Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," *International Journal of Environmental Science and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (2010): 157, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.ijesd.org/papers/29-D438.pdf>.

⁹ Pew Research Center, „5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe,“ November 17, 2016, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/17/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>.

establishment of new Muslim communities. We may state that today the second/third generation Muslim migrants and their families are omnipresent especially in the Western European demographic landscape.¹⁰ Their presence is incontestable in this part of Europe/EU but their level of integration raises a few question marks. The descendants of the early immigrants were already born and raised in Western Europe, but due to the influence of their family and community they have kept the traditions and culture of their country of origin, thus nurturing a double identity, representing the minority in a mainstream society. There assimilation is difficult mostly because of the lack of the will to integrate both from their part and from the part of the native population. Some of them are not willing to learn the language, or to live by the laws of the host country, hence contributing to their self confinement and marginalization by the society.¹¹ Those who in lack of alternatives turn away from the mainstream society revive the religion of their ancestors and reinvent for themselves a new identity can easily take the path leading to radicalization. This so called *self induced isolation* can conduct to violent manifestations in the form of terrorist attacks, as the ones committed in Brussels and Paris by second/third generation migrants born and schooled in the EU, whom the French and Belgian state has failed to integrate. Actually, this is a collective failure, that of the nations states and that of the European Union as whole.

With this brief quantitative and historical inquiry I intended to highlight the prevailing problems concerning the integration of third country nationals (outside Europe/EU) into the EU body, leading to the formation of parallel societies in the EU.

As the integration of mostly Muslim communities hadn't realized as expected, in various Western EU states the "multiculturalism has utterly failed" collocation has begun to spread in the EU, in 2010 making the headlines of various newspapers. Surprisingly, the lead voice was given by Germany, perceived earlier as the *model country of multiculturalism*. Horst Seehofer the Bavarian prime-minister, president of the CSU Party pointed out in a speech delivered in Potsdam in October 2010 the indispensability of knowing the German language for a successful integration. The importance of Christian values and of respecting the German *Leitkultur*¹² was also highlighted in his rhetoric. Reference was made to the pressure triggered by the immigrants on the national welfare system, Seehofer stating that his country does not want to be "welfare office for the whole world".¹³ Back in 2010 also the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel openly admitted that the concept of "multiculturalism has failed and failed utterly" and the idea of Germans and foreigners coexisting „happily side by side“ with each other was nothing but an illusion, stressing that the entire German governmental apparatus and also the German society kidded themselves when they thought that once in the guest workers who were invited to revive the German economy would leave the country after the expiration of their contracts.¹⁴ The "multiculturalism is failure" rhetoric was taken out of the dustbin and reloaded by Angela Merkel in December 2015, her rather polemic interjection coming shortly after Germany's open doors refugee policy launched in

¹⁰Csiki Tamás and Justh Krisztina, "Az iszlám Európában- integráció vagy konfliktus [Islam in Europe-integration or conflict]," *Nemzet és Biztonság. Biztonsápolitikai Szemle* 10(2010): 39, accessed June 18, 2016, http://www.nemzetesbiztonsag.hu/cikkek/csiki_tamas_justh_krisztina-az_iszlam_europaban_____integracio_vagy_konfliktus_.pdf

¹¹ Csiki Tamás and Justh Krisztina, *Az iszlám Európában- integráció vagy konfliktus*, 40.

¹² Leading culture.

¹³Die Welt, "CSU-Chef Seehofer erklärt Multikulti für tot [CSU Leader Seehofer Declared Multiculturalism is Dead]," October 15, 2010, accessed June 13, 2016, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article10326616/CSU-Chef-Seehofer-erklaert-Multikulti-fuer-tot.html>.

¹⁴Jess Smie, „The World from Berlin: Merkel's Rhetoric in Integration Debate is Inexcusable,“ *Spiegel Online*, October 18, 2010, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-world-from-berlin-merkel-s-rhetoric-in-integration-debate-is-inexcusable-a-723702.html>.

the summer of 2015. After being praised by the UNHCR, human rights activist groups for her stamina and being named by the *Times* magazine *the person of the year*, her affirmation concerning the significant reduction of the number of refugees arriving to Germany came as a cold shower. In line with other EU leaders, such as UK's David Cameron, Hungary's Orbán or Slovakia's Fico, she also underlined that multiculturalism is a *life lie* or *sham* because it has led to the setup of parallel, isolated societies within Germany, and it also illustrates the failure of the German administration to assimilate the immigrants.¹⁵

Operating with certain terms such as *multiculturalism* or *parallel society* would also require a conceptual framing, thus in the following passages I shall offer the reader a succinct description of these connotations in use.

Encyclopaedia Britannica defines *multiculturalism* as a view according to which „cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgement of their differences within a dominant political culture“.¹⁶ Thus, with other words multiculturalism is the policy of maintaining a diversity of ethnic cultures within a given community. Founded under the aegis of the “united in diversity” motto, the EC/EU is fostering multiculturalism likewise by bolstering the promotion of a sense of community and belonging among European countries with different nations, cultures, religions and traditions.

Concerning the term *parallel society* is in fact a neologism, originated from the German *Parallelgesellschaften*, attributed to Professor Wilhelm Heitmeyer from the University of Bielefeld. He used this concept for the first time in 1996 in a scientific analysis referring to secluded, mostly Turkish or Islamic communities of immigrants in Germany.¹⁷

Heitmeyer understands by the concept of *parallel society* a voluntary or so called *self induced isolation* or segregation of mostly Muslim people reluctant to integrate into the German society, thus posing a threat to the cohesion and democratic pillars of Germany. Segregation could also lead to fundamentalist groups gaining prominence within the mainstream society, hence creating a *friend versus foe* situation between the migrant communities and the native population. According to Heitmeyer “there is that danger that religious-political groups could form ‘parallel societies’ on the edges of the majority society”, which could lead to the disintegration of the society.¹⁸ The term itself has also some negative connotations being perceived as the substitute for the *state within the state* neologism, which is considered a politically incorrect and ambiguous term used by the Nazi propaganda against the Jews during the 2nd World War.¹⁹

Thomas Meyer, professor of political science at the University of Dortmund took Heitmeyer's basic idea and developed a matrix formed of five criteria of which cumulative fulfilment would lead to the emergence of a *parallel society*.

¹⁵Rick Noack, „Multiculturalism is a Sham, says Angela Merkel,“ *The Washinton Post*, December 14, 2015, accessed June 14, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/12/14/angela-merkel-multiculturalism-is-a-sham/>.

¹⁶Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Multiculturalism,” accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/multiculturalism>.

¹⁷Adamantios Karytianos, „Parallel Societies: An acknowledgement of failure or a step towards integration? The Greek paradigm,“ The London School of Economics and Political Science European Institute, Hellenic Observatory, The 3rd Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium Contemporary Greece: Structures, Context and Challenges, 14-15 June (2007): 2, accessed June 23, 2016, http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/pdf/3rd_Symposium/PAPERS/KARYTIANOS_ADAMANTIOS.pdf.

¹⁸Wilhelm, Heitmeyer, „Für türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland spielt der Islam eine wichtige Rolle“, *Die Zeit* 35 (1996) apud William Hiscott, „‘Parallel Societies’ – A Neologism gone Bad,“ *Multicultural Center Prague* (2005): 5, accessed June 21, 2016,

http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/3bfc4ddc48d13ae0415c78ceae108bf5/WHiscott_Parallel_Societies.pdf.

¹⁹ Karytianos, „Parallel societies,“ 2.

The criteria are the following:²⁰

- ethno-cultural or religious-cultural homogeneity of an immigrant group
- economic segregation and civil society segregation
- duplication of majoritarian institutions
- self-induced isolation as a result of discrimination
- spatial segregation (such as isolation within a specific area of the city, usually at the periphery)

After presenting these criteria later I shall try to implement them in the realm of the *Calais Jungle*, analyzing whether the five indicators identified by Meyer are being fulfilled or not.

WHAT IS THE ‘CALAIS JUNGLE’?

Before becoming the subject of public hysteria and one of the many testing grounds of the EU policies concerning immigration, the history of the ‘Calais Jungle’ has begun in 1999, when the French Red Cross established a centre for migrants in Sangatte, a small French commune from Pas-de-Calais province nigh the Euro Tunnel entrance. The motive behind setting up this centre was to manage the growing problem of third country nationals who were continuously trying to fraudulently reach the United Kingdom using the Tunnel.

Amongst the most important pull factors attracting people to Calais were/are:²¹

- geographical proximity to the UK
- the belief that due to the flexible economy and skill shortages in the UK once in they could easily get a job
- migrants already have friends, relatives in the UK
- knowledge of the English language
- possibility to work illegally as many British employers hire undocumented people in order to evade taxes, being estimated that 10% of the UK’s GDP comes from back economy
- belief that they won’t be caught and sent back.

The number of people residing in Sangatte was fluctuating, in 2002 the Red Cross and UNHCR numbered over 3000 migrants, but the average was 1700 individuals with approximately 100 arrivals daily. Since 2001 riots and attempts to break out from the centre and to reach the UK have been very frequent, hence triggering the outrage of the French inhabitants of Calais and of the private operator of the Euro Tunnel, who initiated legal proceedings twice, claiming the closure of the centre, in the end its appeal being turned down by both the French and the British local authorities. As a consequence of the riots the British have decided to increase security measures on their side of the border, raising a double fence, installing CCTV cameras and increasing the number of police patrols in the area. In an attempt to break the deadlock the British and French authorities have signed a burden-sharing agreement with the purpose of shutting down the centre and transferring its residents. As a part of the deal the British committed themselves to host 1000 Iraqi Kurdish and 200 Afghan refugees, while the French promised to take care of the remaining 300 residents and of the third country nationals from the vicinity. By November 2002 no new arrivals were permitted to the centre, and it was officially closed by the end of the same year.²² Various organizations,

²⁰ Karytianos, „Parallel societies“, 3.

²¹ Migration Watch UK, „Lessons from Calais,“ *Immigration System & Policy: MW 368*, August 13, 2015, accessed June 20, 2016, <http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/368>.

²² Jessica Reinisch, „Forever Temporary: Migrants in Calais, Then and Now,“ *The Political Quarterly* 86 (2015): 516, accessed June 17, 2016, doi: 10.1111/1467-923X.12196.

especially human rights groups and also the British Refugee Council had pointed out that this was only a superficial solution for a more deeply rooted problem, and with the dismantling of the camp the cause, the trigger pushing migrants towards the UK will not disappear. Their forecasts have turned out to be right, as even after the closure migrants were continuously arriving, setting up new improvised camps close to the Euro Tunnel. The problem management plan of the French authorities was rather ambiguous, hesitating between two scenarios of providing shelter and covering basic needs or deliberately making living conditions unbearable in order to halt new arrivals. Finally the situation has deteriorated in such a manner that a newly improvised camp had to be demolished again in 2009, Eric Besson²³ clearly stating that the establishment of a new Sangatte was totally out of question, as it would be an open invitation to new migrants, hence fostering the activity of migrant smuggling networks.²⁴

In April 2014 Calais has come again into the attention of the media when the French border police had detected an increase in the influx of mostly African migrants coming through the Provence-Alpes-Cote d'Azur region. According to the Bridging Europe poll²⁵ by August 2014 the number of migrants camping nigh the industrial zones of the port of Calais and the ferry terminal reached 1500, while in the statistics provided by the Prefecture of Pas-de-Calais²⁶ appear only 1100 in the same period. The most important desire of these third country nationals is to reach the UK at all costs and for this Calais is the perfect place, as it is close to the Channel Tunnel, from where they can easily sweep by clinging on lorries transiting the Tunnel. According to prefect of the Pas-de-Calais region Dennis Robin the modus operandi of the migrants has changed, because in comparison with the previous years when they were using more discreet methods, trying to sneak into the UK undetected, in 2014 they were operating in plain sight and in groups, being more aggressive. This change is mostly due to the growing number of refugees/migrants and to the increased security measures which made their transit more difficult.²⁷

If we put ourselves the question why did this situation occur in the vicinity of Calais, and why the French authorities haven't been able to resolve it for years, the answer might not be that simple. First of all, from a geographical point of view this is the closest point from where the migrants can reach *Eldorado*, their land of desire the UK. Secondly due to binding international and EU agreements, such as the UN's Geneva Convention from 1951 concerning the status of refugees and the Dublin Convention, based on the *non-refoulement principle* France cannot send back people to their countries of origin if their lives are in danger. Thirdly, the French authorities are caught in a so called *legal limbo* which limits their sphere of action, as the return policies cannot be easily enforced. If the French authorities find irregular migrants during their control activities, they cannot immediately push them back, but have to redirect them to the *French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons* (OFPRA) where they can apply for protection. If a third country national decides to apply for asylum, the review of the application procedure can take up months, period during which the applicants are being transferred to the official refugee centres (*Centres de Reception pour demandeurs d'Asile*' (CADAs) from France. In case of a negative

²³The French Minister Minister of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Mutually-Supportive Development.

²⁴ Reinisch, „ Forever Temporary,“ 3.

²⁵Pierre Tositti, „The Migration-Related Emergency in Calais, France,“ *EU Migration Policy Working Paper 8* (2014):3, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.bridgingeurope.net/the-migration-related-emergency-in-calais-france.html>.

²⁶„Official Site of Pas de Calais Prefecture,“ accessed June 16, 2016, <http://www.pas-de-calais.gouv.fr/Publications>.

²⁷ Tositti, „The Migration...“, 3-4.

review, the third country national has 1 month under the provisions of the OQTF (*Obligation de quitter le territoire français*) to leave the territory of France. However, the enforcement of these decisions is an arduous task, because most of the OQTFs are voluntary return obligations. In the vast majority of the cases these peoples will continue to remain on the territory of France, trying to sneak into the UK.²⁸ On the other hand, there's another problem in Calais that many of the migrants do not even apply for international protection, thinking that this might jeopardize their chance of getting to the UK, continuously preferring to live in improvised tents and slums, instead of the official housing arrangements put on their disposal by the French authorities, as for the accommodation registration for be necessary.

In September 2014 the international and especially the British media has picked up again the story the *Calais* improvised camp after the ferry transporting people to the UK was invaded by 235 migrants, causing public outrage amongst the British people. Natacha Bouchart, the mayor of Calais called for an emergency meeting with Bernard Cazeneuve, the French Minister of Interior to tackle the existing situation. Sadly the creation of the Jules Ferry centre in January 2015 providing migrants with meal, water and electricity and that of a night shelter aiding people sleeping in the cold didn't put an end to the prevailing situation.²⁹ Due to the degrading and unsanitary conditions the media had nicknamed the improvised refugee camp as *Jungle* invoking an imagined spatial geography in its debates of national interest.³⁰ In 2015 the number of new arrivals to the camp skyrocketed, in June reaching 3000 souls, their number doubling by October.

On the 20th of August 2015 the French Minister of Interior, Bernard Cazeneuve and his British homologue, Theresa May signed a *Joint Ministerial Declaration on the UK-French Cooperation concerning the Management of Migratory Flows in Calais*.³¹ The agreement was practically a package of guidelines concerning the smooth and efficient management of the migrant crisis by the French and British partners in the upcoming years. The major points of this agreement are being summarized in Figure nr. 1, emphasizing on security measures, collaboration between the law enforcement agencies, the creation of human conditions for migrants, common European and international action for addressing the migration challenge. During these months the British position had remained firm allotting an extra 7 million pounds³² to bolster the security of the Channel, James Brokenshire, the British Immigration Minister highlighting that "Security at the UK Border is our priority and we will continue to strengthen it to stop those who do not have the right to enter the UK. If people have a genuine need of protection they should claim asylum in the first safe country they reach. If they are just seeking to evade immigration control they need to know that they are risking their lives and that they will get caught."³³

²⁸ Tositti, „The Migration...“, 5.

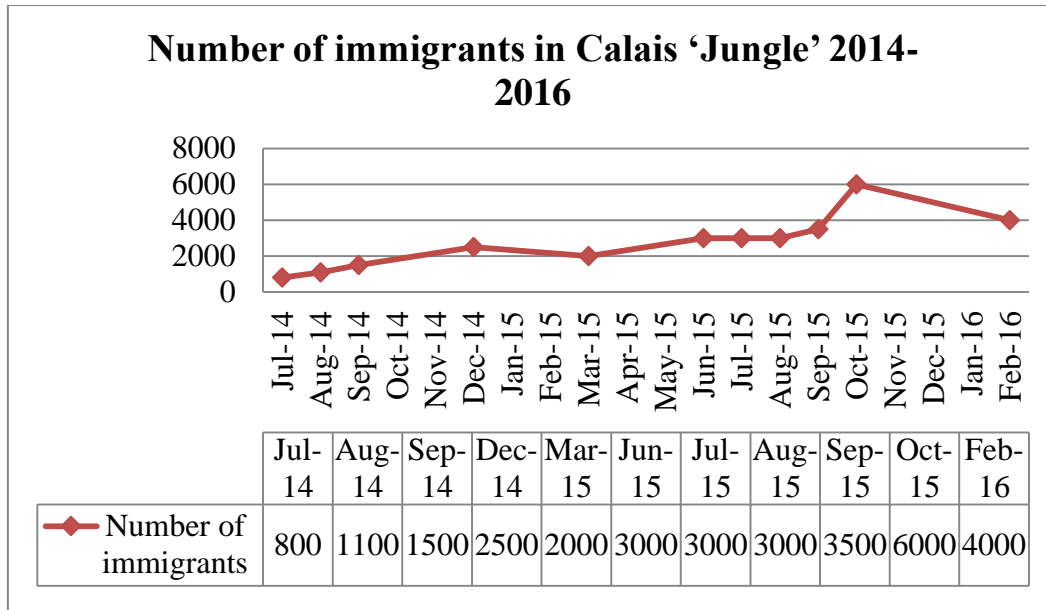
²⁹ Reinisch, „Forever Temporary“, 3.

³⁰ Yasmin Ibrahim and Anita Howarth, „Space Construction in Media Reporting. A Study of the Migrant Space in the 'Jungles' of Calais, *Fast Capitalism* 12 (2015): 2, accessed June 20, 2016, <http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/handle/2438/11323>.

³¹ Ministère de l'Intérieur - Ministère de l'Intérieur du Royaume-Uni, „Managing migratory flows in Calais Joint Ministerial Declaration on UK-French Cooperation,“ Calais, August 2015, accessed June 23, 2016, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/455162/Joint_declaration_20_August_2015.pdf.

³² Natural Hazards Observer, „Refugees in Crisis,“ Volume XL/33, (2016): 12, accessed June 21, 2016, <https://hazards.colorado.edu/natural-hazards-observer/volume-xl-number-3>.

³³ Tositti, „The Migration...“, 9.



Graph 1. Evolution of the number of migrants in the Calais Jungle 2014-2016 based on data provided by the Prefecture of Pas-de-Calais

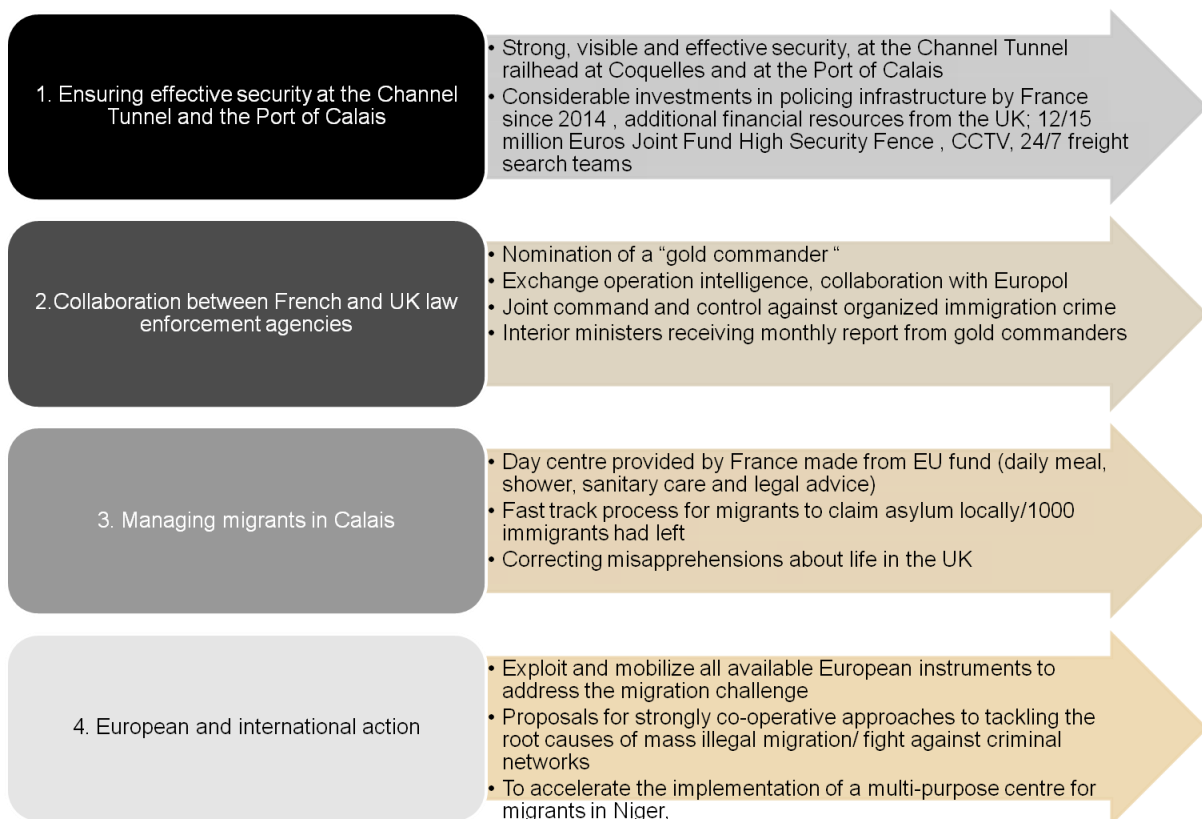


Figure 1. The summary of Joint Ministerial Declaration on the UK-French Cooperation concerning the Management of Migratory Flows in Calais³⁴

In order to pursue the people living in the *Jungle* to move to the white container camps from the Temporary Reception Centre, the French authorities have started to demolish again the improvised tents on the 29th of February 2016, completing the destruction of the Southern

³⁴ Own elaboration based on the data from Ministère de l’Intérieur - Ministère de l’Intérieur du Royaume-Uni, „Managing migratory flows...“, 1-7.

part by the 17th of March. During the European Football Championship in June 2016 there have been multiple attempts by the residents of the *Calais Jungle* to storm the lorries heading to the UK, British soccer fans going home being stuck on the road because of the clashes between the law enforcement authorities and the migrants.³⁵



Picture 1. The mini city of the Calais Jungle³⁶

CONCLUSION

The main objective of this article was to examine the EU's migration policy in the prism of the improvised refugee camp at Calais, nicknamed by the media as "Jungle", departing from the hypothesis that if the current migration crisis won't be handled properly, the continuous influx of immigrants will conduct to the creation of other Calais 'Jungles' in various states of the EU, thus leading to the set up of parallel societies. At the beginning of the research I have aimed at implementing Meyer's matrix in the realm of the Calais Jungle in order to demonstrate that although not totally, but partially it shows the characteristics of a parallel society. Concerning the first criteria the ethno-cultural or religious-cultural homogeneity of an immigrant group is not totally fulfilled because at Calais there are various

³⁵The Telegraph, "British Euro 2016 fans stuck in Calais after hundreds of migrants stormed lorry routes", June 21, 2016, accessed June 26, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/21/british-euro-2016-fans-stuck-in-calais-after-hundreds-of-migrant/>.

³⁶Josh White, „How Calais' 'jungle' migrant camp has now become a mini city - complete with restaurants, a theatre, book shops and free wifi,“*Dailymail*, December 6, 2015, accessed June 23, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3348594/Restaurants-theatre-free-wifi-Calais-Jungle-migrant-camp-mini-city.html>.

nationalities with different religion, but there exists a sense of belonging amongst the arrived refugees, creating for themselves a new identify, identifying themselves as people/inhabitants of the *Jungle*. The media had a central role in creating this social imaginary of migrant space, by using speech acts, socially, materially and discursively creating spaces, thus nurturing the *us* versus *them* delineation. As Picture nr. 1 illustrates there has been an attempt to emulate the everyday life of a normal society, creating similar conditions by establishing imitations of state institutions such as a school or a church, or of other entities such as shops, theatres, restaurants, kids playground, nightclub, artist area, barber shops etc. The isolation as a result of discrimination and the spatial segregation are fulfilled, thus it can be concluded that the improvised camp in Calais has the characteristics of a *society in society*. Of course that the parallel societies created by the second/third generation migrants in various EU countries are of a different nature but with this analysis I wanted to project the future risks of allowing the entrance of uncontrollable numbers of third country nationals from Africa and from the Middle East to the EU. The EU and the Member States are not able to give proper housing, jobs to these people or to integrate them into the European society, as they weren't able to assimilate the foreigners who arrived to Europe decades ago with valid contracts. There's a chance that due to the high influx of migrants the detention centres might become overcrowded and people would be set loose to wander on streets as it happened years ago in Greece, or they could simply break out/disappear³⁷ of these facilities, forming groups and settling in the periphery or border regions of towns and cities, on the long run creating a new form of *parallel society*.

³⁷Ian Drury, "More than 130,000 Migrants Have 'Vanished' in Germany - 13 per cent of arrivals in the last 14 Months - the Government Reveals, Dailymail, 27 February 2016, accessed 27 June, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3465171/More-130-000-migrants-vanished-Germany-13-cent-arrivals-14-months-government-reveals.html>.

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