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Visual Essay

Fen-Orchids, a Garden, and a Tandem in the (Post-)Jungle: Unsettling Care and Control in the European Borderscape

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Liam Healy is a design-researcher and lecturer based at the University of Sheffield School of Architecture. His research interests sit at the intersection of design and social research, centering around situated critical and speculative design and research practices, DIY design, care, and design practices with a more-than-human ethic. Liam is currently working on an AHRC-funded research project exploring access, trails, and relations to woodlands and forests. Liam holds a

ABSTRACT   The purpose of this article is to unsettle and thicken the increasing attention that has recently been given to care in design research. I do this by looking to both the contents and the conditions of making a two-screen video with a tandem bicycle in the so-called "Jungle" refugee camp in Calais, northern France, and in the eco-park that replaced the camp after it was cleared. In doing so, I make two arguments. First, that care for nature in the camp is simultaneously a form of control over access to the space. Second, using the tandem as an example,

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I discuss a speculative approach to care that is concerned with consequences and possibilities by designing vulnerability into objects. In doing so, the article foregrounds critical approaches to care in speculative design research, conceptualizing care beyond normative assumptions of inherent "goods" to tune in to the complex and troubling political and ecological relations that certain care practices produce.

Introduction

This paper accompanies the short film *Calais Then (2016), and Then (2019)*, a two-screen video depicting the former "Jungle" camp in the industrial region of Calais, northern France. The film juxtaposes footage (Figure 1) shot during a tandem bicycle ride around the camp in 2016, the height of the Jungle's activity, with footage retracing the same route (Figure 2) in 2019, after the camp's residents were evicted and the area was bulldozed and landscaped into an eco-park. By revealing the re-wilding taking place on the site, the film explores which kinds of life are permitted in a Europe increasingly hostile to displaced people.

Reflecting on the process of making the film and the context it explores provides two ways to unsettle and thicken the increasing attention that has recently been paid to care in design research (e.g. Jönsson et al. 2019; Keshavarz 2017; Lindström, Se, and Ståhl 2019; Pennington 2019; Rodgers, Bremner, and Innella 2018). In the first part of this article, I argue that forms of "nature" are used as a

Figure 1
Still from the film *Calais Then (2016), and Then (2019)*. The still is taken from the film by Liam Healy in the same position in 2016 and then 2019 and shows the "Arianna Restaurant," now replaced with fen orchid flowers.
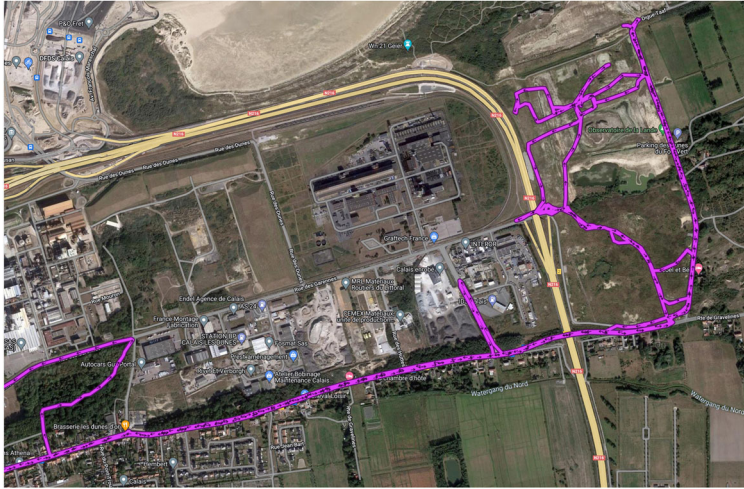
Figure 2
Screenshot captured by Liam Healy showing a GPS track recording the tandem's location in October 2016; a route that was later followed to produce the 2019 component of the film work discussed.

bordering practice in the eco-park that replaced the camp.[1] Practices and architectures associated with caring for the natures that make up the site are simultaneously a form of control over access to the space for people (especially refugees and migrants). In the second part, I relate this problem to design-research to consider how (speculative) design practitioners might engage with scales of control, and processes of becoming in and out of control by looking to the tandem bicycle that was used to make the film. I argue that the tandem has a built-in vulnerability because, in order for it to function as a research device, it relies on the coming together of two people that both simultaneously participate in scales of care and control (for each other, for the research, for safety and movement, and so on, that I will elaborate). I find that using research devices in this way provides ways to conduct speculative research with people in a space where what is possible (for example, who can move where) is being actively closed down by powerful actors (like police, border guards, and eco-parks). In doing so, I aim to outline a speculative design approach that is explicitly interested in provoking and manipulating forms of control, and conclude by suggesting some ways that this might be taken forward.

Fences and Fen Orchids

The first section I get to is where the main high street area would have been, where the Afghan café and Arianna Restaurant was. I manage to roughly follow the GPS path I recorded in the old camp; I think I get to the area of MSF tents and the orange shelters that we repaired, but it is very difficult to get a sense of bearing—almost all landmarks are gone, even the shape of the land is

different—where the 'buffer zone' dunes had been built, they now seem to be in a different place. (Field notes, June 2019)

A number of camps have been built by displaced people in and around Calais since the closure of a Red Cross-run reception center in Sangatte in 2011 (Agier, Bouagga, and Trépanier 2018). In late 2016, the largest and perhaps most well-known of these camps was evicted and destroyed by French authorities and repurposed as an eco-park. At its peak, shortly before this time, around 9000 displaced people lived in improvised shelters on the area of wasteland in the suburbs of Calais where the film was made. The camp was known as the Jungle, deriving its name from the Pashto "dzangel," roughly translating as "the forest" (Hicks and Mallet 2019, 2). Clearly the Jungle was not a forest in the typical sense of the word; rather, it was a disused rubbish dump that had previously been classified as dangerously contaminated with hazardous industrial substances under the Seveso III European Union Directive because of its proximity to a number of chemical factories (Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi 2017). Beginning in 2015, a large number of structures were built on this site, owing to the proximity of the Jules-Ferry government-run center that offered basic services such as toilets, showers, and mobile phone charging points to refugees in a former children's holiday center. The camp was largely self-built and was "tolerated" by local authorities until it was bulldozed. It was never recognized as an official refugee camp, meaning the camp did not receive the typical forms of aid from authorities such as UNHCR, so conditions were often unsafe and unsanitary. The camp attracted a great deal of interest (in terms of media, scholarship, and attention by architects and planners) owing to its self-built nature and residents' agency and ingenuity in constructing the camp as they saw fit, and in very challenging conditions; including building religious buildings, schools, shops, restaurants, and cafés.

I follow the GPS track across the old camp towards Chemin des Dunes, the track is still sort of visible; it is more compacted and has grown up slightly less than the area around it, mostly with yellow flowers [that I later learn are fen orchids (or *liparis loeselii*); a yellow-leafed plant that grows in a combination of dry sand dunes, grassland, and marshes, classified as "vulnerable" in France and protected by national and European laws]. I'm taken aback by how quickly it has grown up in the sand. I get to where the Oromo area was and can see the small concrete structure half buried in the sand that we would climb over to get to the school and Sami and K's house. The Jules Ferry center is also gone, so I struggle to get any other reference points here. I remember there was another small concrete battery behind the Oromo school though, and this remains poking out of the sand. (Field notes, June 2019)

The most iconic architectures of the border in Calais are perhaps the tall, closely knitted steel wire fences and concrete walls that one encounters lining major roads, trainlines, the edges of the site of the former camp (Figure 3), truck parks and petrol stations (Figure 4). However, now that the site has been closed off and classified as a "Natura 2000 Habitat" nature reserve or "eco-park," plants, sand dunes, and ponds have been employed as another kind of bordering practice. The film presented alongside this article documents the processes of "re-wilding" that are taking place on the site of the former camp by juxtaposing a temporal shift of the same locations, capturing the forms of natural life (and associated architectures) that have replaced the shelters, roads, and shops that made up the camp. As I will go on to demonstrate, the designation and construction of an eco-park on a site such as this poses important questions concerning the different kinds of more-than-human (Whatmore 2006) life that are encouraged to flourish, and those that are excluded or removed (Rullman 2020).

Though the process of reclassifying the site as a nature reserve was planned before the camp emerged, original plans were subsequently altered to not only encourage forms of nature, but also with an explicit aim to exclude human life. Evidence of this is confirmed in a radio interview with the then-interior minister Bruno Le Roux, who explained that the task for landscaping this particular site was not only to re-introduce nature, but to make sure that no more camps would emerge (Vandeville 2017). In this way, nature—and, in particular, the plants that are introduced, have seeded and grown spontaneously, and that are protected and cared for—begin to be employed and participate in the European borderscape.[2] The newly excavated ponds prevent people from being

Figure 3
Fence separating the N216 motorway from the site of the former camp. Photo taken by Liam Healy in April 2017.

Figure 4
Concrete walls topped with barbed wire surrounding a truck stop a short distance from the former Jungle camp. Image taken by Liam Healy in June 2019.

able to camp or sleep in the now undulating and wet space. In this setting, forms of natural ecology are cultivated by state powers to erase and exclude displaced people, their histories, and practices for survival. "Conservation" is used to create new forms of the border that appear very different to typical walls and fences, but still play a role in enforcing the frontier. In this sense, nature is employed in what the UK government has called the construction of a "hostile environment" for migrants (Goodfellow 2019; May 2013). In 2019, in the camp-become-eco-park, the roads, shops, and shelters that I had encountered in 2016 (traces of which I found myself trying to locate myself while making the film) had been replaced with fen orchids and other flowers, thick scrub, a community of horses (Figure 5), artificially constructed sand dunes, various small ponds, boardwalks, and a bird-viewing hide (Figure 6). In addition to the forms of nature that are mobilized to restrict access and use,

Figure 5
One section of the site of the former camp now hosts a community of horses.
Image taken by Liam Healy in June 2019.

Figure 6
View from a bird viewing hide across the former camp looking towards the industrial region. Image taken by Liam Healy in June 2019.

these new architectures for experiencing and viewing the eco-park provide the regularly patrolling CRS police with vantage points (Figure 7) for surveilling the area.[3]

On my way to start filming I head to the old camp passing a CRS van on the way and park at Cafe du Dune to put the bike and cameras together. Another CRS van goes past me and I

Figure 7
A photograph of a group of CRS policemen walking up a boardwalk to the ele-
vated position on an abandoned bunker on the site of the former Jungle camp.
Image taken by Liam Healy in June 2019.

nervously carry on. This is probably a good sign: that they are
leaving after their shift. I get to the entrance and wait a few
minutes before going in. To begin with I'm extremely nervous but
gradually I'm hidden from the road by the dunes and feel more
comfortable. Yesterday I watched two vans of CRS climb up the
boardwalks to the battery to get a view across the site, so I keep
an eye on any vans coming past. (Field notes, June 2019)

Clearly the construction of the new eco-park has taken a great deal
of design, planning, construction, and care to realize and landscape,
and this example demonstrates that a critical approach is required to
acknowledge when care practices overlap with forms of violence. In
the context of European immigration policy, Ticktin (2011, 2014) has

previously pointed out that taking care throws up complex ethical issues, for example in the ways humanitarian clauses around sickness and gendered forms of violence produce regimes and casualties of care. In feminist health care practices, Michelle Murphy (2015) has cautioned against equating care with positive feelings, arguing that scholars need to grapple with and unsettle the non-innocent histories of care politics. In other humanitarian literature, it is clear that care and control become somewhat inseparable in terms of who and what is excluded in certain care practices, for example in the ways that aid is distributed (Krause 2014). In the former camp, care and control also begin to coalesce, whereby caring for species such as horses, the rare and endangered fen orchid, and various migratory birds, such as snipes and sand martins, are the same set of bordering practices that control those not allowed to inhabit this space. This troubles Tronto and Fisher's (1994, 103) often-cited definition of care as:

> a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair *our* 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes *our* bodies, *our* selves, and *our* environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (emphasis added Tronto 1994, 103; quoting Fisher and Tronto 1990).

In the former camp, there remains a (cosmo)political question of whose world is being cared for, and whose worlds certain care practices exclude. While there have recently been an emerging and rich set of discussions around approaching care critically in design-research (e.g. Nordes' conference theme Who Cares?; Mattelmäki et al. 2019; Does Design Care … ? Workshop; Rodgers et al. 2017), there is an ongoing need to contribute to the troubling and unsettling of care in design-research that feminist scholars have called for (Lindström, Se, and Ståhl 2019; Pennington 2022).

Taking a Jungle and Making a Garden

Rebecca Solnit (2014), in her beautiful history of walking, describes the garden as having historically been concerned with forms of control or mastery over nature; to bend the natural world to "man's" will. Typically, this takes on an esthetic dimension (especially in French formal gardens), whereby certain vistas are realized and strung together into a kind of cinematic journey through a space designed to be encountered while walking on set paths. The former camp has also been transformed, through construction and excavation, to produce and frame certain vistas (for example the bird viewing hides and boardwalks, see Figure 7). As a tourist site, it has been made a destination for encountering and observing forms of nature. The Jungle is now a garden. However, though the new eco-park has an esthetic dimension, it is also a highly constrained site for people due

Figure 8
The former entrance to the camp. Image taken by Liam Healy in June 2019.

to the surrounding fencing and police surveillance (Figure 8). Here, mastery over nature takes on an additional political dimension to prevent particular presences or possibilities of human life on the site.

Importantly, my point here is not to re-enforce a normative, or anthropocentric, claim over the space. I do not mean to say that humans *should* take precedent over birds, plants, or horses, but rather to tune in to when this kind of care practice is employed by state powers as a form of control and erasure. Unlike other bordering tactics, the design and build of a garden seems to benefit from a resistance to criticism. When seen in comparison to public displays of violence by police, the construction of walls and fences, or the reinforcement of a hostile environment in bulldozing the camp, the construction of a garden is very different; it appears peaceful, perhaps "nice." Rather, I see this as participating in a two-pronged public relations exercise. On the one hand, there is the violent dispersal of the camp, and associated rhetoric around migrants, for example in the right-wing press. And on the other, a more "pleasant" approach—of gardening—perhaps deployed to appeal to a more moderate electorate. In the UK, the right-wing newspaper *The Sun* has gushingly described the former camp as a "lush nature reserve" (Jolly 2018); a striking shift in rhetoric when seen in contrast to previous reports on the site by the same newspaper (Ibrahim and Howarth 2016). Though this could be expected from this particular media outlet, it also seems difficult to argue against the eco-park because the term "nature" is suggestive of a time before politics. By thinking of the site as a garden, it instead becomes more apparent that it contains very particular forms of (and relations between) natures and humans that are the upshot of deliberate design (and therefore of course politics; Latour and Yaneva 2008). When seen in

a cosmopolitical sense, the design of this garden is anything but neutral. Given the above, it is extremely important to unpack how nature becomes instrumentalized in this kind of setting; to further constrain already marginalized people, and to create new forms of border. In the words of Stengers (2005, 994), I seek to "slow down reasoning and create an opportunity to arouse a slightly different awareness of the problems and situations mobilizing us."

As designers (and scholars) begin to pay closer attention to care practices for more-than-human life, the example of the camp-become-garden demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the ways that these forms of life are entangled in political struggles, and how nature might be deployed by already powerful actors to further constrain and control. In this example, I have demonstrated that a form of care is enacted to serve a certain kind of politics, whereby choices to pay attention to specific forms of vulnerability (of birds, horses, and fen orchids) serve another kind of uncaring (or violent) politics. In the next section, I turn my attention towards the tandem bike that was used to make the film to consider a (speculative) design approach concerned with intervening in and stirring up (Haraway 2016) care and control, and how that might engage in politics and forms of vulnerability.

Tandeming in the Former Camp

Sami is piloting the tandem, I'm sitting on the back. He says he wants to show me something and steers towards town, then turning on to a small grassy footpath leading into some woods. 'This is the new Jungle' he tells me, pointing out where people have been sleeping and cooking. Sami and I became confident at riding together, weaving around trees and roots on a slippery, muddy surface, nimbly avoiding rocks. We're gone for some time but eventually loop back around and head back to the camp. Aware that this could be the last time that we see each other, we exchange hugs and say our goodbyes. We leave, and Sami and K go back to their shelters for their last night in Calais. (Field notes, October 2016)

Before the garden, and before the camp was cleared in November 2016, my colleague (Jimmy Loizeau) and I set out to explore how image-making practices might be co-produced between researchers and displaced people living in the Jungle camp. To do this, we designed, made, and deployed a tandem bicycle equipped with cameras and interview equipment (see Figure 9) in Calais. We aimed to use the bike to record an account of the lived experiences of displaced people in Calais, and the architectures that they had built, sometimes accompanied by us researchers, and often with whomever the bike happened to be passed on to.

The tandem was designed to disturb relations of control in the process of documenting the camp by riding with those that lived or worked in the camp (including displaced people, volunteers, and, on

Figure 9
The tandem leaned against a small sand dune on the edge of the camp. Image taken by Liam Healy in October 2016.

occasion, CRS police officers) as well as giving it over to groups of people to ride on their own. By doing so, the control of the bike shifted from person to person; from the researchers to our interlocutors. The two riders of the tandem also have different levels of control over the bike itself based on their positions on it. The rider in the front position (the pilot) controls the braking and steering, whereas the rider on the back (the stoker) has less control and can only decide whether to pedal or not, putting themselves in the position of being somewhat out of control. Figure 10 maps out four of several possibilities, shifting from a researcher piloting and documenting what is "out-there" (top-left), conducting an interview with a participant (top-right), to changing places and the researcher being piloted, and a participant deciding what to document, or perhaps reversing the interview (bottom row).

The tandem introduced shifting relationships of control between groups of people that come with extremely different experiences of control and vulnerability. Our experiences as researchers were clearly very different to our interlocutors, in a highly asymmetric setting, and with very different capabilities in what we were allowed to do by virtue of our citizenship (i.e. we could cross the border to the UK whereas those who had been illegalized in the camp could not). It is important to stress that the tandem clearly cannot solve the problem of these latent asymmetries, or make them equal, but when seen through a "macro" lens, highly local and specific experiences and relations of vulnerability, control, and care become shared between the pilot and stoker on the bike (e.g. a shared vulnerability of riding
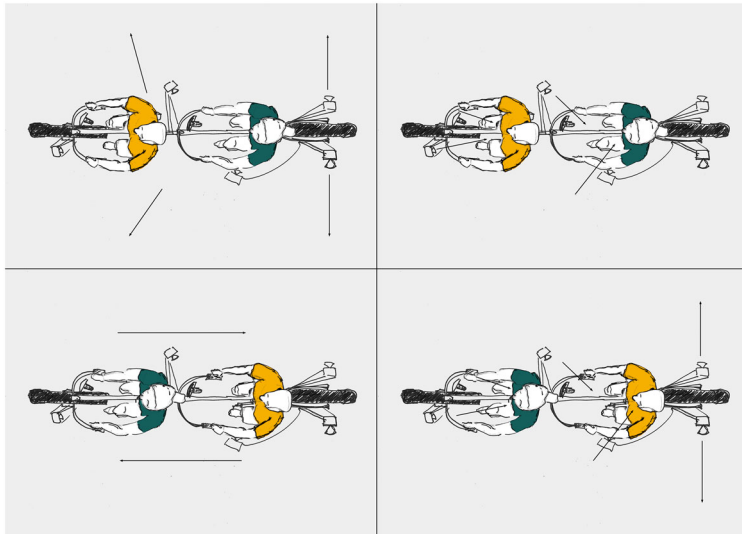
Figure 10
Diagram of different ways of using the tandem that we speculated on before taking the bike to Calais, including swapping positions and controlling of the recording equipment. Image produced in collaboration between Liam Healy and Jimmy Loizeau.

together that I describe in the above field note). In addition to this, these relations do not stay the same, and could change many times (e.g. by swapping places, by moving into different spaces, and by directing the course of future research trajectories). Therefore, the experiences on and with the bike are the upshot of different experiences and relations of vulnerability among the camp's actors, the tandem's riders (refugees and volunteers living in the camp), at times the researchers (in unfamiliar territory, being taken on rides on the back of the bike), as well as the structures of camp itself (which were constantly changing and about to be destroyed).

What I want to point to here is the potential for an altered conception of speculative design objects to craft new kinds of relationships in the face of dominant forms of power (like the policing of the border, and the bulldozers that would eventually come to remove the camp) by designing with a sense of vulnerability. I mean altered in comparison to the ways speculative design objects are more typically understood and described as speculations by their designers (for example by Dunne and Raby 2014), towards an object that is designed to invite speculation by different users and the situations they find themselves in as a speculative research methodology (Savransky, Wilkie, and Rosengarten 2017).

In the field note at the beginning of this section, as Sami's passenger, I become out of control of my movements (and to an extent the direction of research). But this ceding of control and introducing a sense of vulnerability opens up the space for another set of possibilities and relations, that I argue can be conceptualized as practices

of care. First, Sami becomes enrolled in the project and seems to take on the role of a guide to areas of the town and camp that we would not have seen otherwise (it seems he cares about the research). Second, a shared practice of trust made simultaneously by looking after one's own, and one's passenger's safety, which involves both the pilot and stoker paying close attention to each other to remain upright and be able to move safely (which was not always the case!). Third, the ongoing relationships that were fostered during the research and which continued beyond the field work.[4] In this example, Sami and I co-produce a practice of moving together that involved a set of bodily relations mediated through the device, like the pedals turning in time, and the shared weight distribution to go around corners, and over potentially hazardous rocks and tree roots. Based on these three forms of relations that are fostered, the tandem also appears as somewhat fragile, and its outcome (i.e. ability to conduct research, stay upright, move, and not crash) is literally premised on a temporary stabilization and balance of control; of staying upright and not falling over.

Importantly, the relations that were fostered on the tandem were not set out in advance and were not strictly planned for; taking the bike to Calais was speculative, in that it was concerned with documenting a set of unknowns, or consequences. We knew that we wanted to explore ways for research (in our case we were interested in recording the site) to be done in dialogue with people, but were not sure how this would play out, especially because, as we found over multiple visits, elements of the camp (e.g. its structures and population) were in constant flux. Though the tandem was made to be used as a kind of "documentary machine" to produce images and interviews in the camp, the ways that it might do this were left open (though still within a set of parameters and expectations). I found that using it again in 2019 after the camp's demolition attuned me towards the practices and fluctuating forms of control and care that it participated in in 2016, of not only the production of images, but the other relations and possibilities that it invited, and that which it was restricted by.

On the right-hand side of the film (filmed in 2016), the riders change, and the bike follows the paths that either the pilot wishes to take, or if there is a conversation between riders, a consensus of where they both agree to go (and how fast). In doing so, the bike equipped with the cameras began to build a moving image of the camp and town's architectures (especially when it was ridden by residents who knew the camp's backroads and shortcuts well), and in many cases also provides a mini "portrait" of the riders; perhaps how daring or risky they are, conversations between them, or perhaps suggesting moments of excitement or joy based on the audible laughs of the bike's riders.

In the screen on the left in the film (filmed in 2019), I am alone, and the bike doesn't seem to be being used as it was intended.

Partly because the bike was designed and made specifically for the camp, and the roads, architectures, and people that made up the space, in 2019, it does not work very well (or it cannot achieve its aims) without these specific conditions. Instead, it is being pushed and pulled through the sandy undergrowth by a lonely researcher. In many ways this reflects some of the problems of the tandem: that if it is judged against our earlier expectations of becoming an "activist device" for symmetrizing the process of image-making and storytelling, it does not appear to have worked very well, especially after the camp was removed. The decision to return to the site of the former camp in 2019 and document what the camp had become was to confront this, but in 2019 the bike has become different. It is no longer an interview machine, but a machine for retracing the past. This means the back position on the bike is now empty, and the possibility to foster the human–human relations the bike was designed for was no longer possible. Instead, while traversing the space with the bike in 2019, I am working to the constraints of those who previously used the bike to make the GPS track of the camp's history. The speculative possibility for fostering new relationships with humans is largely curtailed, and the act of re-tracing becomes a different form of speculation (on the part of the researcher) that is concerned with revealing what the site is now made up of.

The deployment of the tandem in 2016 instructed what I have previously called "a-firmative" speculation (Healy 2020, 109), which I argue suggests different modes of control and care from those expected in more typical forms of design work. There is not space in this short paper to unpack this in detail, but throughout the research in Calais I drew on (and critiqued) speculative and critical design (SCD) to develop a design practice that does not start with the position of "problem solving," but is involved in introducing new objects into a setting to invoke new possibilities as a process of research-through-design (Frayling 1994). By drawing on speculative philosophy, namely the work of Isabelle Stengers, this is what I have come to refer to as "caring for the possible" (Stengers and Bordeleau 2011, 12). Stengers describes caring for the possible as having a concern with how things can come to matter; taking a position to "learn to examine situations from the point of view of their possibilities, from that which they communicate with and that which they poison" (Stengers and Bordeleau 2011, 12).

Using a research device like this situates it in an unusual state for design objects, where rather than being sent out (or sold) into a particular world with a specific user or problem in mind, it is made up of a composition of the device joined with a design-researcher and a participant that seeks to stir up and shift control over the device and record what happens. In relation to speculative design, the notion of caring for the possible suggests a concern with what objects and people do, and how the use of design objects enact new possibilities. This is not the same as designing purely open-ended objects

(which is perhaps an "uncaring" practice), but instead concerns designing objects that have vulnerabilities pre-programmed or scripted (Akrich 1992) into them, which might (or might not) go on to suggest or enact new possibilities (and that we as researchers might learn from). This is also very different to how SCD typically thinks of care and control, which I have found is more closely aligned with protecting objects in highly controlled circumstances (for example museums and galleries), meaning they are rarely allowed to become vulnerable, or open to different possibilities. In the case of the tandem, this vulnerability relates to the ways it relies on a host of other actors to function (e.g. the riders and researchers rely on each other, and the tandem relies on the camp). This means it is not just an open-ended ambiguous device (like in design for manufacture), but one that has a vulnerability that is designed to create the conditions for relationships between participants and researchers in a form of verbal and physical dialogue and negotiation. These relations are not *a priori* natural or neutral facts; they need to be cared for and could go on to take on any number of qualities (of care, control, and so on) in specific, situated encounters.

By deploying the tandem in this way, it is possible to see how its composition (and use) is fragile, and premised on the specifics of that setting, including the people that lived there, its social and political relations, and the materiality of the space. The images and accounts the tandem captures are the upshot of a composition, negotiation, and the specifics of the setting it exists within. The tandem-riders' composition is in process, and though the device has some baked in prescriptions (i.e. that its design dictates certain uses), it is negotiated on during a ride. Through this deployment there is an active composition of object and subject, whereby the device's subsequent use (what Madeline Akrich calls "subscription" (1992, 262)) is done in conversation and play between the riders (who might be design-researchers, displaced people, police, and so on).

Though the tandem can only do certain things, in the above, the question of what the tandem device captures (images, conversation) was mediated by the composition of Sami and me. In this co-operative practice, control over the use and context of the device is negotiated, and the response-ability (Haraway 2007, 70) over the process of composing (who the user, designer, or researcher is) fluctuates. What I propose in doing this is a form of speculative design that is explicitly interested in shifting patterns of control, and designing to care for the possible in sites where possibilities (e.g. who can move where) are being closed down in multiple ways: by fences and fen orchids, by powerful actors like police and border guards, and, as some have argued, by humanitarians and designers (Keshavarz 2020). Once again, these relations of care should not be thought of in a normative sense; as being innocent, solving problems, or as intrinsically "good." Instead, they must be treated to the same

cosmopolitical problematization argued for in part one, where the question of whose or what's worlds are being cared for is taken seriously. Seen in this light, care for the possible remains open to the possibility that relations are not, or cannot be, universally "good," but that it matters which relations and practices are enacted and encouraged, which is clearly extremely difficult and fraught for a design practice that is specifically concerned with becoming out of control.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have looked to a film produced between 2016 and 2019 to reflect on and trouble relations of care and control in the former Jungle refugee camp in Calais. By doing so, I made two arguments. First, that the construction of an eco-park (or what I called a garden) serves to control the space of the former camp and exclude certain people. Here "care" practices related to the preservation of fen orchids and migratory birds are enacted to serve a set of hostile politics and, in doing so, become a form of bordering. In tuning into this problematic dichotomy, I went on to argue that speculative design can foster practices and artefacts that intentionally unsettle control and care. I argued that drawing on Stengers' notion of "caring for the possible" (Stengers and Bordeleau 2011, 12) involves designing objects *with* vulnerability so that we can invite speculative agency and learn to examine how things come to matter. In spaces such as the Jungle camp, it is especially urgent to develop new, more egalitarian relationships to the speculative because what is deemed possible is actively being closed down and controlled by powerful actors like police and border guards. Importantly, I do not suggest that this method generally, or the tandem I described specifically, solves the problem of control and bordering in this setting (or indeed anywhere else), or do I mean to suggest a normative version of care that is uncritically "good" or innocent. Rather, deploying research devices that have been designed to exhibit vulnerability suggests some ways to problematize care in these places, and to thicken the ways care is thought of in design discourses beyond normative assumptions of inherent "goods." Though it exceeds the scope of this article, I also want to suggest that a thickening of care points to ways for designers and others involved in forms of planning and organization (perhaps landscape architects tasked with designing new eco-parks) to invite speculative agency by proactively designing with care, control, and vulnerability as a kind of "medium." Relatedly, I contend that by doing so, practitioners (and, again, others associated with design) might develop ways to tune into the problematics and multiplicities of care, not least where care (for plants, birds, and horses) is simultaneously regulation and control (over certain humans).

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Ethics

This research was carried out with approval from the Department of Ethics at Goldsmiths, University of London. Interlocutors have been anonymized with pseudonyms and gave informed consent to take part in the research, which was obtained both verbally during the field work and through written agreement.

Notes

1. I use nature in scare quotes here to point to an understanding of the term as intrinsically tied to human activity, as suggested by, among others, Timothy Morton (2009).
2. I have drawn on the concept of the "borderscape" from geography and migration studies (Brambilla, Laine, and Bocchi 2016; Dell'agnese and Amilhat Szary 2015) to express the spatial and conceptual complexity of the border; not as a static entity (a line), or a single space, but one that is fluid and shifting, established and variously enacted by both humans and non-humans in multiple ways.
3. The CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité) are the branch of the French police most often employed to deal with crowd and riot control. In Calais, the police have been regularly accused of violence against refugees, and police violence was (and still is) regularly reported as a state tactic for dealing with both displaced people living in Calais (Meadows 2019; Refugee Info Bus 2019) and, to a lesser extent, volunteers working with refugees (Vigny 2018).
4. Many of the relations fostered on the bike in 2016 have continued and morphed into friendships. Of course, some relationships have fizzled out, and one in particular has ended tragically. I choose not to analyze these ongoing relationships any further here, partly because I feel some have exceeded "the research" (I don't want to analyze friendships academically), and because some are too upsetting to address (and again I don't feel comfortable approaching them from an academic position).

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