

Harraga and Europe: the emotional geographies of undocumented migrants in Tunisian filmmaking

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Declarations of interest: none

Acknowledgments: Authors would like to indicate equal co-authorship. We are grateful to the participants of the online feedback session organised by project NORTIA on 7th July 2020 for their valuable comments. We also want to thank the four anonymous reviewers and the editor, who thoroughly engaged with our work. This research was supported by project “Visions and practices of geopolitics in the European Union and its neighborhood” (VISIONS) [grant number CSO2017-82622-P]; Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades, Spain. This article is within the framework of the PhD program Political Science, Public Policy and International Relations at UAB.

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Abstract: European concern over undocumented migration is conventionally told as a story of unwitting migrants risking their lives to reach the European shores to escape poverty and/or war. We are interested in further opening up and contributing to a more nuanced discussion of the multiple drivers behind migration through a focus on emotions. We do so by mapping out the emotional geographies of Tunisian *harraga* captured by five Tunisian filmmakers. Our visual analysis of the Tunisian *harraga* as transmitted by the documentaries and feature films reveals that the migrant's journey across the Mediterranean is motivated by a set of complex and contradictory emotions. Hopes for a better future in the form of individual and societal dignity are mixed up with fear of the dangers of the crossing and of bringing shame to the family. We find that the migrant's desire to up and leave their home country is propelled by the differential between the emotions tied to our-place and their-place.

Keywords: undocumented migration, Tunisia, Europe, emotional geographies, films

Undocumented migration making its way across the Mediterranean is conventionally told as a story of a 'humanitarian crisis', whereby unwitting migrants risk their lives to reach the European shores to escape poverty and/or war (for a lucid critique of such narratives, see de Genova, 2017; Mainwaring, 2016). Political and public debates have become fixated on these two predominant material rationales for migration, even if a growing number of scholars have laboured to provide a more nuanced account of the multiple drivers behind mobility (Carling and Schewel, 2018; Casas-Cortes et al., 2015; Giménez-Gómez, et al., 2019; Samer and Collyer, 2017). To shed further light on the variegated motives of migration, Carling and Schewel (2018) have theorised that such decisions are a function of an individual's aspiration as well as ability to migrate. Aspiration, or the "conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration", is held to be a combination of the migration environment (home country socio-political context) and psychosocial characteristics of an individual (*ibid.*: p. 946). In what follows, we are interested in unpacking the concept of aspirational drivers of mobility further, by focusing on emotions and imagined spatial realities.

We take the migrant to be a translocalised individual, who is embedded in local and global discourses and subject to regulatory policies and practices that, as a whole, shape the migrant's perception and field of action (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015; Pezzani and Heller, 2019; Stierl, 2021). However, we also sustain that the individual aspirations to migrate are never fully dominated nor controlled by such discourses, policies and practices (Mainwaring, 2016). This opens up space for emotions to come into play. Our discussion of the Tunisian case adds to an interdisciplinary corpus of critical literature on undocumented maritime migration by illustrating how emotions, as aspirational drivers of migration, are transmitted in popular culture (de Genova, 2017; Dickson, 2021; Giménez-Gómez, et al., 2019; Squire, 2020). In addition, we engage with the literature within political geography, which emphasise the capacity of geographical places to evoke affect and emotions (Anderson & Harrison, 2006; Bondi, 2005; Pile, 2010 and 2011) and speak to the 'emotional landscapes of daily life' of an individual (Thien, 2005: p. 453).

The steady outflow and fate of young Tunisian *harraga* – the colloquial word used in the Maghreb for undocumented migrants – have become a cause of deep social and political concern in the country since the 2011 Tunisian revolution (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017; M'charek, 2020; Sossi, 2013). Increasingly so, the alarmed families of those *harraga* missing at sea organise to demand information from both Tunisian and Italian authorities (*Missing at borders*, n/a; Sossi, 2013; Souiah, 2019; Tazzioli, 2018). They express growing concern about the European Union's and its various member states' migration policies and the fact that the Mediterranean Sea has progressively become "the world's deadliest border" (IOM, 2017). The social apprehension over

migrants and harsher EU border policies indicate a shifting emotional landscape in the country which is reflected in popular culture (e.g. music, TV-series or films).

We will explore these emotions through the prism of the burgeoning post-2011 Tunisian film industry. There are a number of locally-produced documentaries and fiction feature films which have explored the phenomenon of the migrant, the issue of Europe as a migration destination, and the detrimental effects of migration on the Tunisian society. Testimony to the socio-political salience of *harraga* is the country's substantial viewer-traffic to independent documentaries, such as *Brûle la mer*, 2014; *Est-ce ainsi que les hommes vivent?*, 2015, or *Weldek rajel*, 2016. Migration has also been the focus of a number of Tunisian fiction feature films such as *Corps étranger*, 2016; *Benzine*, 2017 and *Vent du nord*, 2017. Some directors have experimented with innovative aesthetic formats, thereby lending even heightened drama to the phenomenon of *harraga*, such as the allegorical silent film *Akher Wahed Fina* (2016) or the cinematic exploration in black and white in *Ahl el kahf* (2019).

The article is structured as follows. The first section outlines the background of the Tunisian *harraga* phenomenon. The second section presents the conceptual framework and some methodological explanations. The third section introduces the synopsis of the five selected films. The fourth section looks at the topology of the 'emotionally parched landscape' of Tunisia and Europe as the 'land of hope, freedom and disillusion' in the context of migration. A fifth and final section is focused on a discussion of the combination of various emotions held by *harraga* and their families which shape the decision to migrate.

THE EMERGENCE OF TUNISIAN HARRAGA AND EMOTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES

Tunisia has traditionally been a source and transit country for migration destined to Europe, given that the Italian shores can be reached by boat in just one day. However, the Tunisian migratory route was clamped down upon in 2004 when the regime under former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, at the behest of the EU, adopted legislation criminalising undocumented migration (Cassarino, 2014; IOM, 2017). The strict border controls were in place until the Tunisian Revolution in 2011, when the changeover in the country meant that Tunisian authorities were no longer capable to patrol the borders and impede the migratory outflow (M'charek, 2020). Tunisians heading for Europe have been on the rise since 2011 in an act which some observers have deemed to be a popular will to express their "newly conquered political freedom as a freedom of movement", thereby contributing to turning Tunisia into a "revolutionized space of migration" (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017: p. 2).¹

Seeing the past decade's reactivation of the Tunisian route to Europe, the EU reacted quickly to roll out its border-regime policies with Tunisia and neighbouring countries in order to contain undocumented migration. These have traditionally consisted in signing readmission agreements and reinforcing border controls in exchange for trade, economic cooperation, and development aid (Tazzioli, 2018; Zardo, 2020). The EU's approach has been described by civil society organisations as a negative conditionality scheme that puts an unfair burden on the Tunisian society (Johansson-Nogués and Rivera Escartin, 2020). Yet, the EU's externalisation of its migration policies has not always been meekly accepted by the Tunisian state (Cassarino, 2014; Dini and Giusa, 2020). Tunis has, for example, rejected playing host to EU planned 'disembarkation platforms' outside of EU territory, and the agreements encompassed in EU-Tunisia Mobility Partnership to regulate migration are yet to be finalised (Rivera Escartin, 2020).

¹ According to data from the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex), during the Arab uprisings and the Tunisian 'Dignity Revolution' of 2011, Italian authorities detected 28,047 irregular border crossings of Tunisian nationals. Since then, another approximate 20,000 additional Tunisians have left the country, with another migratory spike occurring in summer of 2020.

It is unclear that any of these regulatory policies have had more than a marginally deterring effect on those who seek to enter Europe. Seeing themselves unable to obtain the legal means to reach Europe, many young, less well-to-do, and unemployed Tunisians see no alternative to the clandestine *harga*.

The colloquial Arabic word *harga* (حرق), literally the ‘act of burning’, is used in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya as a synonym for migrating or, more precisely, “moving out of the Maghreb” (M’charek, 2020: p. 419).² ‘Burning the borders’ is a metaphor that underlines the idea of contesting the constraints that the Schengen system puts on the mobility rights of young and socially disadvantaged citizens from North Africa (di Maio, 2014; Fofana and Madigan, 2017; M’charek, 2020; Orlando, 2017).³ *Harga* also becomes an explicit action when migrants burn their passport before their journey across the Mediterranean, in order not to be identified and repatriated upon their arrival to Europe. The term thus refers to the action of migrating and the idea of doing so undocumented. In Tunisia, as elsewhere in North Africa, the *harga* is organised in groups, usually composed of *harraga* from the same village or neighbourhood. A *passeur* (smuggler) helps the group with the logistics of the crossing in exchange for a substantial sum of money. At times the logistics of the crossing is organised by fishermen looking to supplement their incomes in the precarious economic climate of Tunisia (Bisiaux and Jonville, 2019). The *harraga*, *passeurs* and fishermen are thus jointly contributing to the ‘migrantisation’ of the Tunisian society, as well as to a certain commodification of the *harga* (Garrelli and Tazzioli, 2017).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

To explore the multiple aspirational drivers of the Tunisian *harga*, as portrayed by five Tunisian filmmakers, we will employ emotional geographies as a heuristic device. Emotional geographies refer to the study of the emotions inherent to both bodies and places, i.e. the emotions, feelings and affect inherent to an individual, a group, and/or towards their environments (Bondi, 2005; Bondi et al., 2016). Emotional geographies thus explore the individual, social as well as “the spatial dimension of experience and the experiential dimension of a place” by ways of senses, feelings, and memories (Campos-Delgado, 2019: p. 4, see also Munt, 2012). The literature tells us that there are two key elements to emotional geographies: ‘affect’, and ‘emotions’. Affect refers to a pre-cognitive and pre-reflexive state of feeling, while emotions are considered cognitive and reflexive in their articulation (Anderson and Harrison, 2006; Pile, 2010 and 2011; Thien, 2005). We will here read affect-emotion as conceptually separable, yet not separate. Following Hutchison and Bleiker (2014: p. 502), we believe “affect and emotions can be seen as intrinsically linked, for affective states are subconscious factors that can frame and influence our more conscious emotional evaluations of the social world”. By reading affect and emotion conceptually separable yet deeply entangled, we can offer more complex accounts of the ways that affect-emotions tied to subjects and places circulate and are mediated through situated, corporeal encounters with the world.

To unpack the aspirational drivers behind migration we will consider (combinations of) feelings and emotions, such as ‘fear’, ‘hope’ or ‘dignity’, which may stimulate the series of actions that compose the migratory project. Building on Svašek (2010), our argument is that some affect-emotional processes about our-place and their-place, pull or repel individuals towards or away from the object of focus. As stimulants for action, affect and emotions (hereinafter emotions) are thus “not an afterthought or an add-on, but they are there right from the start, colouring everything

² *Harrag* (حراق) is the undocumented migrant, ‘the person who burns’, and *harraga* (حراقه) is its plural noun.

³ The socioeconomic dimension of the *harga* is delimited to the lower socioeconomic classes, as middle-class migrants opt to reach Europe with a tourist visa and in the safety of an airplane (Ghorbali, 2019).

we do, setting the parameters for what we remember and plan and making each situation into a situation of a specific kind” (Ringmar, 2018: p. 33). Emotion research has, however, also highlighted that “emotional processes are complex and often contradictory” (Svašek, 2010: p. 877), indicating that there is no direct causal link between a particular set of emotions and actions. Against the backdrop of material and other necessities, we posit that the migratory project is undertaken when the emotional differential between complementary and contradictory emotions favours migration. Moreover, emotion research also reveals that individually-held emotions can be reinforced or weakened through transpersonal interaction with the broader societal context (e.g. peers, popular culture or social movements such as *harraga* families; see Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014). We believe such emotional complexities and contradictions, as well as the potential for societal amplifications of emotions to be key to our analysis of the young *harrag*’s decision to migrate.

Finally, a word on methodology. Our methodological choice to focus primarily on cinematic representations of migrants is that they provide us with a thick intersubjective and culturally contextualised expression of distilled emotions. These emotions are widely circulated among the *harraga* and in the Tunisian society, hence establishing connection between the individual’s migratory project, their family, peers and the societal context. We have analysed five Tunisian films on the topic of *harga* and provide vignettes from each to illustrate our argument. However, we also draw on the work of scholars who have researched the phenomenon of the Tunisian *harraga* to complement our discussion of the emotional processes at work. The criteria behind our selection of the films obeys the logic of covering a wide variety of dimensions of the irregular crossing to Europe, as well as spanning different stylistic forms and genres within Tunisian film production. The five selected films are thus a representative sample of the output of the post-authoritarian Tunisian film industry and independent production on the topic of migration. Another criterion for selection was that they were readily accessible on the internet and hence aiming to attract the broadest possible audience from Tunisia and abroad, in particular from Francophone countries where migrant Tunisian communities are important.⁴ Both criteria were key for our inquiry into the circulation of emotions.

The selected films allow us, in other words, to capture the diversity of the Tunisian filmmaking focused on migration (see also Abderrezak, 2016), while avoiding iteration in the expression and forms of the stories of the *harraga* which including further films into the present study would have entailed. Through the films, we encounter the migrants as a constellation of a complex set of ideas, images and feelings, about Tunisia and Europe. It is in such emotional topographies we find rich accounts of the aspirational drivers behind the Tunisian *harga* phenomenon. Our study of the emotional geography of *harraga* thereby allows us to access the “subjective dimension of migration as one of the reasons explaining the persistence of moments of autonomy of migration within ever more pervasive regimes of border and migration control” without extracting that subjective dimension from its societal context (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015: p. 85; see also Carling and Schewel, 2018; de Genova, 2017; Mainwaring, 2016). However, we also readily recognise the limits to our study. Emotions are historically, culturally and socially contingent. Hence the (combination of) emotions which stimulate the migratory project in Tunisia since 2011 are likely to be different compared to other temporal or geographical contexts. Moreover, by reproducing and mediating emotions, films contribute to shape the migratory context in which they are produced and hence they are inherently political devices (Schnettler and Raab, 2008).

We have employed visual analysis as our principal research method to explore the emotional geographies represented in the films. Visual methodologies are used in the context of a variety of semiotic resources e.g. photography, film, artwork, graffiti or advertising, to understand and interpret images (Rose, 2016). Researchers use such visual resources to shed light on the individual or social dimensions of meaning-making, as well as the latter’s circulation and

⁴ All films were filmed in Tunisian dialect, sometimes alternating it with French, and French subtitles were provided.

implications. The visual resources offer rich multidimensional data of the everyday worlds of the visual subjects, which allow us to access the meaning-in-use of emotions. In our analysis of the films, we reflect systematically on how the young *harraga*, their families and popular culture express feelings, affects, and emotions in public, either verbally (e.g. talking about emotions) or visually (e.g. displaying or signalling emotions). Our visual analysis is further informed by our critical engagement with geopolitics, which aims to elucidate on the connectedness between personal and spatial geographies of the marginalised and to provide thick descriptions of emotional states situated in time and space. Our analysis creates a ‘testimonial map’ (Ziemke 2012) of the Tunisian *harraga*’s physical and emotional journey across the Mediterranean.

SYNOPSIS OF SELECTED FILMS

In our selection of films, we have included two independent documentaries, both which focus on the most common profile of the *harga*, i.e. a young male, unemployed but with vocational training, from Tunis’ poorer suburbs or the more impoverished rural regions of Tunisia (Ghorbali, 2019). Both documentaries allow the first-hand account of the *harraga* to be heard in different moments of the *harga*. The first documentary *Is this how people live?* (Est-ce ainsi que les hommes vivent?) by Bassem Becha, a low-cost production filmed in 2015, was released on YouTube in 2020. *Is this how people live?* presents the testimonies of several young people from the coastal town of Hammam-Lif in Tunisia. The interviewees narrate their perceptions of the situation in post-2011 Tunisia, as well as their varied aspirations to either stay in the country or leave for Europe. The documentary is set against the emblematic backdrop of various locations symbolically tied to migration (e.g. a train station, a beach, the Boukornine mountain with views of the town and the Gulf of Tunis), which heightens the viewer’s sense of being invited into a defining moment of the *harraga*’s decision-making process on their migratory project and broader life choices.

The second documentary is *Your son is a man* (Weldek rajel, 2016), by director Heifel Ben Youssef, which focuses on the migratory experiences of several Tunisian *harraga* in France and Switzerland. It is an independent documentary structured around conversations with undocumented migrants on their reflections on their *harga*, both before the crossing as well as their experience once in Europe. The film covers a range of topics, such as economic precariousness, insecurity and deportation. These topics are connected with emotions of fear and trauma, due to the criminalisation of migrants, the impersonal and dehumanising bureaucratic procedures, and repatriation as a synonym for personal failure (Ghorbali, 2019).

In our study we have also included three fiction feature films, all three which give different perspectives on the *harga*. The three filmmakers are Tunisian of origin but have worked or studied in Europe. As many Tunisian film directors of their generation, they have experienced the migratory project personally (Abderrezak, 2016). Their personal and intimate knowledge of migration inevitably colours the work they produce (Rami Abdelmoula, 2020). *Petrol* (Benzine, 2017) is the debut feature film by female director Sarra Abidi and narrates the dramatized story about the parents of a young Tunisian (Ahmed) who has gone missing during his *harga*. The story plays out at the Tunisian-Libyan border, where the only source of income for many of its inhabitants involves illegal activities, such as smuggling petrol. When the parents discover that the son is missing, they adopt different strategies to cope with their situation of sorrow and uncertainty. The film thus explores some of the contradictory emotions behind *harga* and the resulting effects on the families of missing migrants. To reinforce the feeling of loneliness and despair of parents Salem and Halima, in their battle to find out what happened to their son, the film accompanies their story with imagery of vast, open, and windswept landscapes around their home village in southern Tunisia. The arid scenery thus creates a visual reinforcement of the barren emotional landscape which the *harga* phenomenon creates in its wake.

Wind of the North (Vent du nord, 2017), by director Walid Mattar, follows the lives of a fictional French and Tunisian worker. The storyline of the film seeks to establish the many parallelisms between the aging Herbé and the young Foued in terms of how they experience globalisation and borders, as well as imagine France and Tunisia. The two men never meet in the film. However, the storyline stresses how the lives of two complete strangers can still be closely interlinked through global forces and common aspirations for their life projects.

Finally, in *Foreign body* (Corps étranger, 2016), female director Raja Amari tells the intricate story of a young female *harrag* in France. Samia has to leave Tunisia out of fear for retaliations after she denounces her brother's radical Islamist activity to the local police. After having survived a shipwreck, she arrives in Lyon, where she finds a job with Leïla, a rich widow, who takes her under her wing, and starts dating Imed, a friend from Tunisia. The film gives interesting insights into the intersection of undocumented migration and gender. Women are a minority in the *harga*, a fact which is partially explained as a consequence of that meetings with *passeurs* and exchange of informal information about *harga* happens in places of Tunisian masculine socialisation, such as cafés, and hence out of bounds for women (Souiah., 2018). Gender-based violence is often a cause of the journey and a risk during and after the *harga* (Cortés Maisonave, 2019; Fofana and Madigan, 2017). Moreover, if they fail in their attempt, women *harraga* suffer a greater social stigma upon being returned to their home country than do their male counterparts.

THE EMOTIONAL TOPOGRAHY OF THE HARGA

Tunisia: 'the Emotionally Parched Land'

When it comes to the depiction of post-2011 Tunisia, the *harraga* in all five films express the emotions of pride, betrayal and fear. These amalgamated emotions produce Tunisia as an emotionally parched land in which individual and collective self-worth, especially for the less well-to-do, has become difficult to achieve. The contradictory emotions of pride, betrayal and fear thus form the nucleus of the individual *harrag*'s aspiration to leave Tunisia. We will in continuation explore these emotions in more detail.

First, pride in the films is expressed through the *harraga*'s positive attribution to the achievements of the 2011 Tunisian revolution. The Tunisia of 2011 is seen as a moment when the country stood up against an unjust system and had the potential for coming into its own. Post-revolutionary Tunisia is narrated as "a country whose value is recognised right away", both in terms of democratic achievements and economic potential, as one young Tunisian migrant in the 2016 documentary *Your son is a man* puts it. Another *harrag* in the documentary goes on to affirm that he is very proud of his country because, under the new democratic regime, "Tunisia will remain free, and [...] nobody can come and abduct our country". All the *harraga* in the documentary coincide that the 2011 revolution was an act of national reinvention and even self-determination. The end to Ben Ali's rule is held as symbolically renewing the independence for the country, as the former regime was seen as a prolongation of French colonialism (see also M'charek, 2020). Pride furthermore stems from the *harraga*'s feeling of accomplishment, as many of them proclaim that they participated actively in the ousting of the former regime and/or their identification with the objectives of the revolution. In the 2015 documentary *Is this how people live?* a young man proudly states, "we made the revolution...", referring to all the young from Tunis poor suburbs. With pride over participation comes a sense of entitlement, and both *Your son is a man* and *Is this how people live?* reflect the *harraga*'s perception of that their contribution to the downfall of the former regime entails that they should have more say and influence over how the country is evolving in its aftermath. This same sentiment is also echoed in Tunisian rap music or Facebook groups (Salzbrunn et al., 2015).

Second, the documentaries also communicate a second strongly felt emotion among Tunisia's young: betrayal. The *harraga* express a sense of betrayal that, in part, stems from how the country's political elites have not been able or willing to make good on the objectives of the revolution which the people risked their lives for. In both *Is this how people live?* and *Your son is a man* it is clear that one of the main feelings articulated by the *harraga* is frustration over the Tunisian elite's failure to reform the economy, reign in on corruption and provide more job opportunities in the past decade. Such grave economic problems have been further compounded by neoliberal state policies, foreign debt service and high inflation (M'charek, 2020). One of the *harraga* in *Your son is a man* explains that his decision to leave the country was a result of his felt exasperation with the political elite's seeming lack of initiative to turn the economy around and failure to act in good faith to advance the public interest: "[w]hy did I make this call [to leave Tunisia in *harga*]? You grow up in this country, you find yourself on your own, without support, nobody to confide to, no shoulder to cry on. Everybody thinks only about himself. Every miller draws water to his own mill".

Another part to the emotion betrayal is the perception among *harraga* that some post-2011 Tunisian authorities remain unreformed, inattentive, and even abusive. In the documentaries *Your son is a man* and *Is this how people live?* the *harraga*'s negative perception of the Tunisian police force, in particular, is very clear (see also Ghorbali, 2019). This is a significant observation as police corruption and harassment was precisely the cause of Mohamed Bouazizi's desperate protest in 2010, which in turn sparked the Tunisian revolution. The post-authoritarian overturn of the country appears to have raised hope that the new political elite would act to eradicate such nefarious behaviour. However, a decade into the Tunisian transition it is clear that many dubious police practices are still present (Amnesty International, 2019). Abuse of authority is a common occurrence especially in the poorer neighbourhoods or communities. Some of the *harraga* in the documentary *Is this how people live?*, some who are very young, are traumatised by the mistreatments many have endured at the local Hammam-Lif police station, including physical violence and torture (see also Amnesty International, 2019). These fear and sufferings at the hand of the police, and the perception of the ideals of the Tunisian revolution being betrayed, prompts one young man in *Is this how people live?* who is thinking about leaving for Europe to rhetorically ask if "we ousted Ben Ali to be treated like *this*?". Betrayal and fear in the context of abusive authorities has also been picked up by other forms of Tunisian artistic expression. An example would be in rap music, where the home country is compared to a prison, sometimes even a morgue, and the feelings associated with it are grief, pain and sorrow (M'charek, 2020; Salzbrunn et al., 2015). The sentiment of being prisoners and overly policed extends to the streets, where the many young Tunisians feel trapped by the economic situation, insecure as they see themselves as victims of corrupt, abusive, and self-serving officials. They encounter both physical and symbolic walls which stand in their way for their escape from an arbitrary, emotionally-parched and political no-man's land (see also Souiah, 2018).

The fiction feature films portray the same political indignation of the direction of Tunisia and the detrimental effects of the socioeconomic situation and insecurity on the family and the local community as the above documentaries, but with added drama to make the individually and socially-felt emotions more poignant. In the fiction film *Wind of the North*, the Tunisian youth's perception of entrapment and being left to one's own devices by a largely unresponsive government is illustrated with images of boredom in a café, where the unemployed friends of one of the main characters, Foued, spend their days. Foued holds a job, but the working conditions are very poor, and he does not perceive himself as marginally much better off than his unemployed friends. *Wind of the North* also explores the alternatives to precarious employment in Tunisia. One example is the scene where Foued and a friend, Chiheb, are leaving a nightclub. Foued complains to his friend that he spent half of his salary on drinks. Chiheb replies that Foued works for a pittance, and that he would be better off if he 'got by' like Chiheb himself, implying petty theft and informal jobs. As to prove his point, Chiheb shows his friend a mobile phone he stole at the nightclub. The two friends view the theft as a welcome source of quick cash, as well as an act of social justice whereby a richer Tunisian's private possession is serving as a substitute for

(inexistent) governmental economic attention to Tunisia's poorer classes. The underlying social commentary of *Wind of the North* is that for socially disadvantaged youth there are few alternatives to unemployment or poor working conditions in today's Tunisia, other than either engaging in illegal activities or to migrate.

In the fiction film *Petrol*, this same choice – underemployment or illegal activities versus migration – is also the main storyline. Salem, the father of a missing *harrag*, takes the role of the hero who tries to uphold truth in a Tunisia, which in the film is portrayed as a lawless country, by taking justice into his own hands. We see him dusting off his old gun with the intention to avenge the son, only to find himself unsure against whom to exact revenge. The fiction film shows how Salem goes through the motions of quarrelling with *panseurs* and petrol smugglers and blaming them for the disappearance of his son. The film concludes on the point where the father finally reaches the insight that they are not responsible for Ahmed's *harga*, even if they all helped him or knew about it. Rather, Salem realises that Ahmed tried to cross the Mediterranean due to not having any other viable and licit job alternative open to him, but the economically precarious and illegal petrol smuggling. One smuggler sums it up for the desperate father in terms of the son's equally desperate choices: "he burns the border, or he burns himself here!", in allusion to Bouazizi's desperate self-immolation in 2010.

The *harraga*'s vision of today's Tunisia is thus of a fragmented or stagnant country, which years after the Tunisian Revolution has yet to fulfil many of the 2011 protesters' basic demands. There is a sense that the revolution has been diverted, lost or abandoned. The emotional contradiction inherent in the simultaneous pride, betrayal and fear the *harraga* feel for their home country is thus powerful. The contradiction spurs a decision to stay or to leave for Tunisia's young, illustrated well from the following vignette. In the documentary *Is this how people live?*, a young man, exasperated by the country's situation, is shown climbing to the top of a hill which overlooks Hammam-Lif. On the hilltop there is a Tunisian flag that has been shredded by the harsh winds. He explains that the lack of opportunities and corruption are forcing many young Tunisians to either have to choose the broken Tunisian flag (symbolising the post-2011 Tunisia) or the Islamic State flag, in reference to the substantial amount of Tunisian 'foreign fighters' who, for a period, left for Syria to fight alongside ISIS/Daesh. But, unlike politicians, the young man argues, the youth still have a sense of national pride and they will not defraud the country or the spirit of the Tunisian revolution. As if to reaffirm his words, the young man is shown in the documentary replacing the old, tattered Tunisian flag with a brand-new one in symbolic support for the country. "We know how to differentiate between the system, which is against us, and the nation", he affirms. For some Tunisians, like the young man in the documentary, there is thus a necessity to return to the streets in an exercise of their democratic rights to demand dignity and 'save' the country and the spirit of the Tunisian revolution from the elite and from abusive authorities. The Tunisian fiction films also provide examples of how some Tunisian young decide to stay and fight for a better future at home. The film *Petrol*, for example, shows a scene in which young smugglers one day decide to block a road to demand regional economic investment from the government and legal job opportunities.

In sum, the emotional geographies of the young towards 'our-place-Tunisia' are wrought with the contradiction between pride, betrayal and fear (Bondi, 2005 and Bondi, et al. 2016). For most *harraga*, however, the spatial dimension of experience (Campos-Delgado, 2019) with the post-revolutionary Tunisian landscape tends towards the negative. Tunisia hence becomes an emotionally parched land, where the incentive to stay is low. The return to the revolutionary spirit and the deep socioeconomic reforms the country need are perceived as too difficult to resolve in the short to medium term. Hence, some of the young perceive they cannot wait any longer. Such emotions, reinforced by transpersonal interaction with the Tunisian context (e.g. family, friends and societal context), thus function as a repellent away from our-place and a stimulant for migration (Carling and Schewel, 2018; Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014; Svašek, 2010).

Europe: A Land of Hope and Freedom (and Disillusion)

In our selection of Tunisian films, Europe becomes a foil for the home country. Europe is hailed by the *harraga* as a “land of hope and freedom” in sharp contrast to the current situation in Tunisia (Souiah, 2018). However, Europe is not only a land of promise in the Tunisian popular culture. Europe also stands for the emotions of disillusion and fear, whether in the form of acute poverty, racism, loneliness, shame over deportation or even death, in the *harraga*’s encounter with European borders, society and/or authorities. We will now unpack these amalgamated, but contradictory, emotions which the *harraga* hold of Europe.

First, as a part of the amalgamated land-of-hope-and-freedom emotion, the *harraga* in Tunisian films often express an idea of Europe as the promised land in terms of possibilities for obtaining a good job and steady income. However, the wishful expectation of life in Europe is attenuated by the stark reality of the eurozone economic stagnation in the last decade – compounded more recently by all-European covid-19 economic contraction – restrictions on labour migration and racism. Bouali, in the documentary *Your son is a man* focusing on the lives of young male *harraga* in France and Switzerland, states that it is difficult to survive in Europe and that you cannot find a job even if you have a degree. Another interviewee in the same documentary expresses disappointment with his new European host country: “I find myself living in a country that does not fit in the image I had of it”. In Europe, undocumented migrants frequently face a precarious situation: unemployment, bosses that do not pay them and irregular jobs. That is to say, conditions which are reminiscent to their prior experience in their home country. Sometimes the only way to make money for *harraga* in Europe is petty theft or drug dealing (see Supplementary Information [SI] 1). A *harrag* interviewed in the documentary states that: “I would stop doing [drug dealing] if I had the choice. If I find someone who can give me a job and pay me what I deserve. But since I am an illegal migrant, they take advantage of me [...]. I would rather take risks than being abused [at a regular job]”. All these experiences undermine the emotion of a European land-of-hope-and-freedom. As another migrant puts it: “Europe is no longer a gold mine”. This well-known trope is also echoed in rap music and other expressions of popular culture in Tunisia and Maghreb (Orlando, 2018; Salzbrunn et al., 2015).

The fiction film *Wind of the North* offers a visual representation of the topic of hope and disillusion with its two parallel stories of Herbé, the unemployed middle-aged French worker, and Foued, the young Tunisian who finally chooses *harga* over staying in a Tunisia which offers him little in terms of personal satisfaction. The young *harrag* has just reached France and we see him standing on top of a hill contemplating the fireworks of the French National Day of 14 of July with great joy. Foued is moved by this vision as he takes it as a sign of hope and a bright new beginning, a chance to embody another life. However, Foued’s imagination of Europe as a land of hope is contrasted in the film with Herbé’s bitter disillusion. In the opening scenes of the film, we see the French worker and his family are also watching 14 of July fireworks, but at an earlier moment of time. Herbé criticises the fireworks, as in his opinion they are not equally impressive as other years. In his case, the cutbacks on fireworks symbolically represent the decline on Europe’s post-war social contract, deindustrialisation and pauperisation of living standards of the working class in France and Europe in the aftermath of the eurozone crisis. Foued’s expectant outlook on Europe as a land of hope is thus juxtaposed with Herbé’s bitterness and dire prospects about the future of Europe.

The tension produced by the imagination of Europe as both a land of hope and disillusionment can cause conflicts or misunderstanding between the *harraga* living in Europe and their families in Tunisia. An important issue is the social pressure that is put on them. Young migrants are expected to return to the home country with money and with an enhanced social status. The title of the documentary, *Your son is a man*, makes reference to the expectation that the *harrag* has to be successful, to become a ‘man’ (adult) in the process, and economically provide for the family back home. In the documentary one young Tunisian affirms that his decision to go to Europe was based on seeing how the community positively greeted some neighbours coming back to visit

Tunisia with presents and monetary gifts for the family. The image of the successful migrant who returns to the village during summer in his new car is common in the imagination of migration conveyed in the cinema of the Maghreb and Southern Europe alike. Such family- or community expectations frequently puts *harraga* in the situation of being unwilling to return to the home country, despite enduring bad experiences in Europe, as they feel ashamed of not having found means to provide for the family back home. They do not want to face the community's disappointment over that they have symbolically failed to 'become a man'. The same sense of personal fiasco is suffered in case of deportation (see also Ghorbali, 2019). For Malik, in the documentary *Your son is a man*, the *harraga* have a dual fear, the deadly journey across the Mediterranean and the fear of not delivering on the high expectations at home, as: "if you succeed everybody is kind since they have this fantasy of the French national registration number. But if you fail just try to go back home!" (SI 2). In the sub-text of going-to-Europe as a status marker, is again the question of dignity. It is seen as the duty of the *harrag* to become a success in Europe, not only to provide economic means and expensive gifts for the family, but the success entails having proven their self-worth and obtained personal dignity, which is in turn transferrable to the family and the wider community back home.

The various films also express hope and disillusion in the area of physical security. The testimonies in the documentary *Your son is a man* often relate the first months after the crossing as a traumatic experience, especially those who were detained upon the arrival: "I reached Italy on a little boat, I lived hell like everyone else, the centres, the *carabinieri* [...] eat this, eat that". Afterwards, the little support they find usually comes from other Tunisian migrants and sometimes relatives that migrated before them. Nevertheless, during years, *harraga* must live with fear of the European police as they remain undocumented for a long time, hold informal jobs, and sometimes earn money by undertaking illicit activities. The *harraga* are very often scared of being fined, or worse, being arrested and deported from Europe (see Ghorbali, 2019). Bouali, who works dancing in thSoue street near Trocadéro in Paris, compares the attitude of the police in the two countries in *Your son is a man*. While he states that the French police treat him more cordially than Tunisian police, he is still wary of that in Paris they do not allow him to perform and sometimes they seize the material or issue fines. Arbi, in the same documentary, sometimes helps a friend who tries to earn some money selling hamburgers from his car at night. While one attends the customers, the other serves as a lookout for the police. Other times, Arbi sells marijuana in the streets of Paris to supplement his income. The young Tunisian interviewees in *Your son is a man* also discuss how the feeling of being at risk due to the legal status and the nature of the irregular jobs they have become even more acute after the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks. "As if it was not hard enough this had to happen", Bouali affirms. They are fearful that police and French people will blame them for the attacks: "[n]ow, as soon as they know you're Arab they get scared of you. If you want to put some music, they'll think the loudspeaker is a bomb. [...] If I put music, I'll be shot to death by the police". The perception of insecurity thus makes the *harraga* live in a state of constant fear and alarm, with consequences for their physical and psychological health. Finally, the fear of being caught by the police and deported back to Tunisia is perhaps the ultimate dread which looms over the every-day-life of *harraga* and contributes to their perception of insecurity. As Casas-Cortes et al. (2015: p. 84) have argued, the threat of deportation of some but not all undocumented migrants is "performative in that it disciplines the un-deported majority by investing illegalised migrants with the fear of being deported". As summarised by Boubakri, a young migrant living in Geneva in *Your son is a man*, "as long as you are an illegal migrant you will always have this anguish of living in a cage". Ironically then, in music and cinema, the same metaphorical 'cage' is used both to describe the situation in Tunisia as well as the situation *harraga* experience in Europe (Salzbrunn et al., 2015).

The Tunisian fiction films also narrate the cultural shock of the *harraga* when Europe does not live up to their expectation of being a land of hope in the form of a safe space. For Samia in *Foreign body*, Europe appears as the only possibility to escape insecurity after denouncing the brother for being part of a radical Islamist group. However, the *harga* turns out to be a first of many encounters with insecurity connected with Europe (see also Munt, 2012). Samia's boat sinks

when they are about to reach the shore and several of her companions die. We see the young female *harraga* in a dramatic set of scenes struggling to get to the beach, while others are not able to make it. After moments of distress, where the suffering and anxiety of the drowning men are shown with full detail, there is a moment of calm during what the camera pans over the personal belongings of the migrants at the bottom of the sea: e.g. passports, a shoe or pictures of the family (see SI 3).⁵ The film later goes on to detail how insecurity follows Samia in supposedly ‘safe’ Europe. Samia’s sensation of insecurity is very well transmitted in the film as we see her constantly looking behind her when walking alone at night in the old, narrow streets of Lyon, always fearful of the friends of her brother and, later on, of Imed, who threatens Samia after their breakup (see SI 4). Leïla takes the initiative to denounce Imed to the French police for gender-based violence against Samia and he is eventually deported to Tunisia. The momentary sentiment of security Samia experiences as a result, however, soon proves to be illusory. Imed is presumed lost at sea when trying to reach France for a second time. The irony is not lost on the viewer, that the decision of Leïla to protect Samia caused the maximum insecurity for Imed, when the latter’s insistence on returning to Europe ends in his tragic death.

It is also the film *Foreign body* which most overtly grapples with the entangled and contradictory emotions of Europe as a land of hope-and-freedom as well as disillusion. The title of the film – *Foreign body* -- refers to a medical term that designs an object which is inside the human body, but does not belong to it, and hence it is the body’s natural reaction either to neutralise or to expel it. The idea works as a metaphor to describe the situation of *harraga*, who live in Europe but are excluded from a hostile society which would like to see the migrants deported from the societal body. But also, and paradoxically, the repulsion of these foreign bodies goes in hand with attraction. First, because the economies of the EU countries are in part dependent on the cheap, undocumented, labour force of *harraga* (like Imed and Samia), creating a distinct complicity between employer and migrants based on need and benefit (see also Cortés Maisonave, 2019; Fofana and Madigan, 2017). The undocumented migrant thus perceives him/herself as (partially) accepted as a worker (hope), while suffering all the precariousness and emotional strain from not being accepted as full member of host society, for want of residence and work permits or for linguistic-cultural obstacles difficult to overcome (disillusion).

Finally, the attraction-repulsion for the foreign body can also be felt within the migrant community itself, an allure which is potentially reinforced by the perceived hostility of the surrounding European context. Samia experiences the attraction-repulsion of foreign bodies at Imed’s flat in Lyon, which he shares with other Tunisians. When the protagonist Samia arrives in Europe, she feels divested from her family, the Tunisian society and its social conventions for failing her at home. However, Samia realises that all the things that she was leaving behind in Tunisia catches up with her even in Europe, making her feel first indignation and then anger. The flatmates are very pious, while Samia is not. The men thus treat Samia as a foreign body within their flat’s microcosmos for her alleged lack of regard for religion and for not wanting to wear the *hijab* (the Muslim headscarf). Moreover, as Samia’s lone female body inserts itself in an otherwise male household, she faces her flatmates expectations to cook and clean for all of them, and in general behave as according to the orientalist, hyper-visualised stereotypes of a Tunisian woman. The flat in Lyon thus becomes a symbolic microcosm of the composite emotions of the Tunisian ‘cage-prison’ which Samia was physically and psychologically fleeing from.

In sum, the *harraga*’s emotional geographies towards ‘their-place-Europe’ are thus, similar to the perceptions towards their own home country, not without inherent contradictions (Bondi, 2005; Bondi, et al. 2016). The *harraga*’s expectations of prosperity and freedom awaiting in Europe is mixed with fear of insecurity and deportation. The spatial dimension of emotional experience with Europe is thus ambiguous, where at once it represents the potential for obtaining the personal and social self-worth that *harraga* desire, and the distinct risk of the migrant simply ending up

⁵ For insightful academic accounts of the *harraga*’s experiences while crossing the Mediterranean, see Mainwaring, 2016; M’charek, 2020; Souiah, 2018; Tazzioli and Walters, 2016.

trapped in a new ‘cage’ (Campos-Delgado, 2019; Stierl, 2021; Svašek, 2010). The film vignettes, however, make clear that even knowing the hardships of the journey as well as the risks and likely disillusion which awaits, the Europe-as-a-land-of-hope-freedom-and-disillusion trope exerts a distinct emotional pull for the Tunisian young migrants. A pull which is heightened by the expectations of the *harraga*’s families and social context (Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014; Svašek, 2010).

THE EMOTIONAL DRIVERS BEHIND THE HARGA?

The drivers behind the *harga* for young, less-well-to-do Tunisians, as portrayed in the Tunisian films explored here, are as we have seen multifaceted and an amalgam of a number of emotions connected with post-2011 Tunisia and with Europe. The emotions depicted in the films are very often incongruous, even conflicting and it is only the resultant emotional differential between Tunisia and Europe which accounts for why some Tunisian young decide to stay in the country while others to risk their lives on their way to Europe. We also note that the emotional differential which acts as the aspirational driver for the migratory project, not only stems from the individual *harrag*’s emotional geography, but also from family-, peer-, and societal circulation of emotions about the *harga* (Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014). In continuation, we will explore the two predominant features of the *harraga*’s emotional geography which are, as we have seen, the meta-emotions of fear and hope. The discussion is structured to enable the exploration of each such meta-emotions, both in terms of the individual *harrag* as well as the broader societal context.

First, the meta-emotion ‘fear’ at the *level of the individual* is, as we have seen, is expressed as fear of betrayal and insecurity in Tunisia and fear of crossing of the Mediterranean. The fear is also articulated as concern over insecurity once in Europe and/or of deportation. The fear of the *harrag* is thus contradictory, as s/he is at once afraid of staying as well as leaving. Such an emotional contradiction for the individual may be productive and hence generative of action, or become paralysing and so invite inaction (Carling and Schewel, 2018; Casas-Cortés et al., 2015; Giménez-Gómez, et al., 2019; Samer and Collyer, 2017). We identify the emotional differential favouring *harga* here as located in the combination of the individual’s emotions in interplay with those experienced by family, friends or expressed by popular culture. The collective emotions surrounding ‘fear’ circulated at the *level of the societal context* in this case thus acts as a stimulant for migration. In the five Tunisian films we have explored all appear to be aware of that burning the borders can be deadly for those who try. The risks are amply commented on in popular culture. However, the collective outlook for Tunisia, whether held at the level of the family or the society as a whole, is sombre in terms of its short to medium term socioeconomic prospects. Many less-well-to-do families, while cognisant of the risks inherent to the journey, still encourage their young to cross the Mediterranean as nothing good appears to await them in Tunisia in the near future. The collective pessimism, also circulated through music, TV, graffiti, or films, appear to amplify the fear of staying. The Tunisian young have thus so far been encouraged by attitudes at the societal level to face their fears and cross the Mediterranean, as some would hold that “it is better to die than to be a living dead man” in contemporary Tunisia (cited M’charek, 2020: 421). Moreover, in the documentary *Is this how people live?* the alternative options open to the Tunisian young who have ambitions to escape the Tunisian ‘prison’ or ‘morgue’ are equally dangerous. One of the interviewees starkly expresses the idea that, rather than staying in Tunisia, “we prefer to cross the sea and risk our life or go to Libya to take up arms [and die in the battlefield]”. For others, the escape was for some time to join ISIS-Daesh, a fact which caused Tunisia to be among the largest emitters of foreign fighters headed for Syria. This confirms findings from anthropological studies which find that the young *harraga* are aware of the risks of ‘gambling one’s life’ outside their home country, but they prefer it to becoming a ‘burnt life’ at home, that is “a life without name, without legitimacy; a life of enclosure in physical, genealogical and cultural spaces perceived as uninhabitable” (Pandolfo, 2007: p. 333).

Second, we now turn our attention to the meta-emotion ‘hope’. Through the Tunisian films we have seen that the migrant at *the individual level* holds out distinct hope that Tunisia’s future will be better than its current day. While awaiting that future, the *harraga* turn to Europe as the location for hope in the short term. The hope for both personal vindication as well as for the community at home thus constitutes another part of the emotional differential which explain the aspirational drivers of the *harrag*. Hope is a strong emotional driver behind the migratory project, which frequently trumps other emotions (e.g. fear) which may be linked to the same (Carling and Schewel, 2018; Casas-Cortes et al., 2015; Giménez-Gómez, et al., 2019). The act of *harga* or burning the borders is, as noted, a symbolic act on multiple levels. The act of boarding a rickety vessel (*fluka, patera, barque...*) to reach the shores of Europe is hailed as a critical juncture in the lives of young *harraga* as well as in the eyes of the community. The *harga* is deemed a rite of passage for the *harrag*, i.e. the ‘burning borders’ between childhood and adulthood. It separates the allegedly brave from the dithering, the economically successful from the unsuccessful. It marks the difference in terms of becoming someone in the eyes of the community, as opposed to a supposed no one. It is a question of choosing between self-redemption in Europe or humiliation in Tunisia. Such emotions favouring the migration are amplified at *the level of the societal context*. For the family the *harrag*’s success will not only contribute with additional household income, but also provide the status in the local community that having a son or daughter working in Europe lends the family. The individual *harrag*’s quest for hope and dignity is thus magnified by the family’s desire for collective hope and dignity in their local context (Hutchison and Bleiker, 2014).. The search for hope and dignity is also reinforced by popular culture, as the latter attribute new traits to the migrants, making them different from those who have chosen not to make the journey. Many popular cultural expressions, whether music, graffiti, TV or films, often depict *harraga* as heroic in their quest to cross the Mediterranean and as agents of their own lives for escaping the Tunisian ‘prison’ or ‘cage’ in search of dignity (Salzbrunn et al., 2015; Souiah, 2018). The symbolism of the *harga* is thus strong, referring as it does to the *harraga*’s displacement from one spatial reality (Tunisia) to another (European), by overcoming (‘burning’) the obstacle which the Mediterranean Sea represents. The sea border, albeit physical, loses its significance as a politically constructed spatial demarcation and takes on an almost magical quality as a figurative personal and societal rite of passage in the Tunisian popular culture.

In sum, the five films depict the *harga* as extension on the 2011 Tunisian revolution, i.e. the symbolic act of defiance against political authorities, whether in Tunisia or Europe, and motivated by the aspiration to overcome fear and regain hope for the society as a whole. However, we also note that the emotional topography of the *harga* at the collective level is not without its own contradictions. *Petrol*, the story of parents Salem and Halima to a young missing *harrag*, give a glimpse into individual and collective sorrow and anger over that individual self-worth cannot be provided for the Tunisian young at home. Fictional parents Salem and Halima, together with their real-world homologues, experience the grief over losing a loved one, as well as resentment towards the Tunisian society’s inability to reform and retain the *harraga* at home (see also Sossi, 2013; Souiah, 2019; *Missing at the Border*, undated). Moreover, Salem and Halima’s search justice for their son mirrors the frustrating struggle that many families of missing *harraga* go through in their quest for dignity in terms of obtaining an adequate response from the part of relevant authorities in a country immersed in political transition. *Petrol* thus highlights the emotional conundrum which many Tunisian families of missing migrants suffer. The loss of the family member also means the feeling of even greater loss of societal pride in contemporary Tunisia

CONCLUSIONS

Our study of Tunisian films on the *harga* highlights that mobility as a human activity is characterised by aspirations, in part driven by emotions. Our visual analysis of the five selected Tunisian films reveals the multifaceted emotional geography of young undocumented migrants, that find themselves either on the verge of leaving the country or have already left. Through our analysis we have been able to explore the socio-political salience of certain emotions, both at the individual and the collective level, which provide the contextual backdrop for the decision to migrate. We identified and unpacked two sets of amalgamated emotions of particular relevance for shedding light on our study of aspirational drivers behind the *harga*: Tunisia as an emotionally-parched-land and Europe as a land-of-hope,-freedom-and-disillusion. Our findings point to that the Tunisian *harraga*'s aspirations behind their migratory project are multidimensional, informed by a set of complex and frequently contradictory emotions of hope and fear, held both at the level of the individual migrants as well as at the level of the family, peers and society. Our exploration of the emotional geography of the Tunisian *harraga* is thus helpful in terms of understanding the amalgamated, yet fragmented, emotive-filled visions of the individual and community about real and imagined spatialities. Our study points to that the migrant's desire to up and leave their home country is propelled by the differential between the emotions tied to our-place and their-place, which ends up shaping the decision-making process of the *harraga* over whether to stay or leave.

Aside providing insights into the emotional topography of the Tunisian *harga* as depicted by our selection Tunisian films, we believe that our findings modestly contribute to the broader literature on emotions. Emotion research has tended to focus on either embodied emotions at the level of the individual or the prospects for collectively-held trans- or disembodied emotions at the societal and/or state-level.⁶ The argument, much simplified, has been that in order to analyse the emotions of the individual, the societal/state level has to be bracketed, and vice versa. Our findings point to that both levels need to be taken into account when we try to understand the link between emotions and practices, behaviour or action. An emotion held at the individual level, may be reinforced or weakened by a collective sentiment. Our exploration of the Tunisian *harga* thus reveals the important role of society has in terms of circulating ideas and connecting the diffuse emotions of the spatialised self of the migrant into more coherent context, which in the end determines (in)action. We also believe that society can, at times, be the source of an emotion which an individual come to hold. The decision of whether to 'burn the border' or become a 'burnt life' at home in Tunisia, and all the emotions tied to such a decision, may come about by messages transmitted by popular culture and instilled in the individual already from a young age. The societal circulation of collective emotions can thus play a decisive function in terms of prompting emotions which determine (in)action of the individual. Further studies of the role of independent channels of popular culture – such as music, films and other open access material – to find out more about the emotional geography of the socially disadvantaged is crucial to our mind, as many other means of communication, in Tunisia and elsewhere, are dominated by the emotional geography of the domestic or international politico-economic elite.

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⁶ For an overview of these debates, see Special Issue of International Theory (2014) vol. 6, issue 3.

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