

Social movements in Tunisia and the nightmare of social inequalities: what should the state do to ensure its continuity?

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April 2022 report on social protests and mobility, suicide and suicide attempts



A kind of truce has begun to appear at the level of social protests since the beginning of this year. Based on the indicators we have collected; this truce does not stem from a comfortable situation that reflects a status of positive interaction with protesters' demands and a clear vision regarding the social file as much as it reflects the claimants' shift towards seeking an alternative to the state.

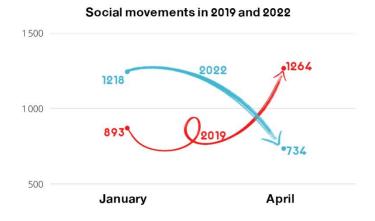
This truce is rather a kind of undeclared civil disobedience, which is alarming since the search for an alternative to state institutions means the birth of an alternative society with alternative features in which the parallel economy and organized crime prevail and which undoubtedly has no rule of law and has its own rules and traditions.

The Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights has emphasized, in its recent monthly reports, on the general state of distrust in the state, as citizens are no longer expecting anything from these institutions and have resorted to seeking alternatives. The Forum reiterates its warning about the intensification of this serious situation.

Among the indicators we have gathered to demonstrate the state of truce, which, as we stated, has become an undeclared state of civil disobedience, is the apparent decline in the pattern of protests compared to the period between the months of January and April, with a decrease of 39.7% even though it's an election year. There were approximately 1218 protest movements in the month of January and 734 protest movements in the month of April. These figures were

around 893 protest movements in January 2019 and around 1264 protest movements during April 2019, which represents an increase of 41%.

One may ask; what's the need to compare the figures of 2019 to those of 2022? Both are electoral



years, during which people's expectations and attempts of escalation are prevalent as the election date approaches. Protesters do all they can to communicate their demands and exert pressure for their messages to reach candidates, who in turn, would adopt the claims to achieve success in their electoral campaigns.

The decrease in the pattern of protest movements during the first four months of 2022, compared to the increase in the first four months of 2019, can be explained by the decline of citizens' expectations from state institutions due to the growing public financial crisis and the policy of exhaustion, non-interaction, criminalization and prosecutions adopted by many successive governments in the face of social mobility and protests. This decline undoubtedly reflects a decrease in the volume of these expectations, especially that the month of April has been an important protest landmark over recent years, as the pattern of protests in April 2017 increased by 54% compared to the month of January of the same year. This increase was also observed in the following year by nearly 47.5% and during 2019 by 41%. This coincided with the date of the general elections at the end of the year, an occasion during which social movements and citizen protests often put forward their demands so that the new Parliament and the new authorities would adopt these claims and prioritize it. The decline in the number of protests during the month of April 2022 reflects a decline of expectations from the political patterns of the December 2022 elections as well as the upcoming July 25 referendum.

While the number of protests declined in April 2020 by nearly 77% due to the month of April coinciding with the quarantine which was imposed by the authorities to avoid the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, the same month

witnessed a clear prominence in the volume of anarchic protests, as in those that tend to be violent, in the sense of disrupting the functioning of institutions and the interests of citizens, therefore, making the rate of anarchic protests approximately 100% in some regions. The tendency towards anarchy is often fuelled by collective and individual frustrations and a decline in the social actor's confidence in state institutions.

Anarchic protests were in the range of 30% in Sidi Bouzid, 27% in Medenine, 15% in Gafsa and 31% in Kasserine during April 2019 and reached 98% in Sidi Bouzid and Medenine, 92% in Gafsa and 96.7% in Kasserine during the month of April 2022. These areas are known as the leading regions with regards to the number of protests during the month of April.

The total rate of the anarchic protests recorded during the month of April reached 91.8%, as the total number was 734 protest movements recorded by the Observatory's monitoring unit.

A general climate that fuels disobedience

The political, economic, and social situations that characterized the month of April have not changed, as uncertainty over the Government's plan continues in relation to the social file, as well as its plan to emerge from the economic crisis and mitigate its impact on vulnerable and impoverished groups. Politically, the discourse is shifting towards a more fuelled rhetoric of violence and hatred, which often has major implications at the level of social security.

Politically: The political scene resembles what we witnessed during December 2010, the protests that continued until January 2011 and led to the fall of the regime and the escape of Ben Ali into exile in Saudi Arabia. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in reforming and constructing a wise political structure that can have an economic shadow and would ensure social prosperity. Rather, political transition was the building of a lame political democracy, which subsequently culminated in extraordinary measures taken by President Saied on the 25th of July 2021 due to the collapse of the economic and social situation and the shift of the political landscape towards verbal and physical violence under the dome of the Parliament. The situation seems to be moving again towards wasting the opportunity of reformation and salvation, as the current political discourse does

not present clear alternatives and visions to economic and social crises, but rather is moving again towards a hollow political construction with relation to the form of power, the voting method, and others.

Today's current climate is prominently political notwithstanding the deteriorating economic and social situations. If we add the dominant rhetoric in the public space to this situation, which is the rhetoric of violence, hatred, treason and hostility to freedoms, above all freedom of expression, the social situation is likely to witness new crises fuelled by political discourse knowing that religious extremism was the most prominent of the social crises which followed the 2011 scenario. Today, the situation foretells new crises that may arise due to new social phenomena, that tend to be violent and that translate into protests and reactions in the form of protests.

The hollow political construction of the post-revolutionary decade had exacerbated social vulnerability, increased poverty and unemployment, deepened inequality in development among regions and contributed to the deterioration of basic social services such as health and education services.

Economically and socially:

There is no clear vision on ways to escape the country's economic crisis, as, in the official discourse, there is a lack of seriousness in dealing with the country's most serious economic situation, and the Government of Najla Bouden does not have a clear vision regarding urgent solutions for salvation, as much as the suggested solutions appear to be a stopgap, as the main reliance remains on foreign borrowing and the response to international donors' unfair conditions, mainly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. No state of austerity has been declared in order to save public finances, move towards possible internal solutions such as fiscal justice and fiscal reform, stop the bleeding of corruption and tackle the parallel economy, which is worth about 65% of GDP. In other words, wealth has become accumulated in the parallel economy at a time when the State is plagued by a stifling financial crisis and Governments are not finding the way towards managing and emerging from the crisis. No intention was shown to reform the adopted development pattern, which proved its failure, inability to create employment opportunities and

wealth, and inability to achieve social justice, which was among the main demands called for by the protesters in December 2010 and January 2011.

The situation tends to be further complicated by emergency solutions adopted by the Government of Najla Bouden in connection with the monthly adjustment of the price of fuel and the implications it has on prices considering that fuel is a major component of production in different sectors. Indeed, higher prices necessarily mean higher production costs and consequently adjusting prices when selling, i.e. higher prices and more collapse of citizens' purchasing power. The government also seems to have failed the management of the social file, as it didn't provide definitive solutions to all existing crises, whether by signing clear agreements, implementing previous ones, or opening a genuine debate with social movements. A truce is wagered with these movements by breaching them through loyalists and supporters, either for the purpose of appeasement or for the purpose of dismantling to avoid escalation. All the offered solutions are postponing and accumulating crises.

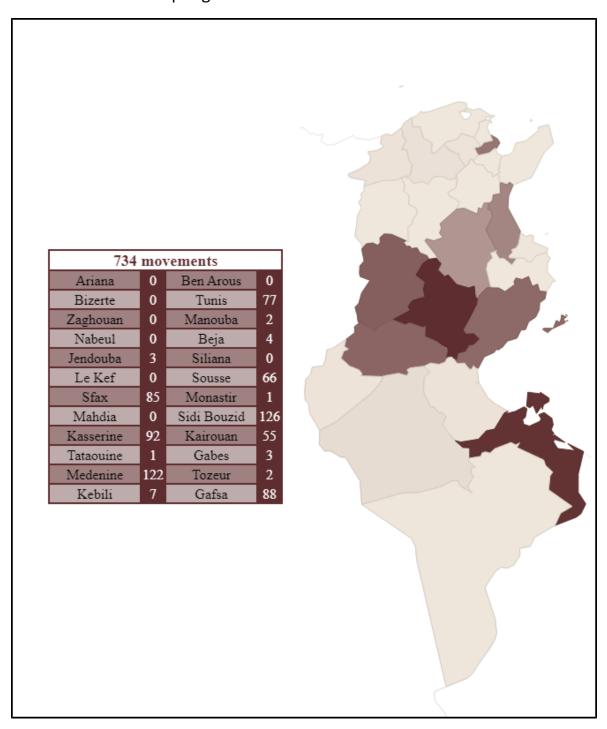
The month of April also witnessed the rise of inflation to 7.5%, as it was around 7.2% during the month of March. This increase is due to the soaring food prices during the month of Ramadan. In addition to rising prices, many essential food products such as flour, oil and sugar weren't available, and large campaigns, which were unsuccessful in rebalancing the markets; have been launched against monopolists and speculators.

This commercial confusion coincides with a global crisis and increased prices of essential items such as oil, wheat and corn due to the high price of fuel, the global trend towards the use of certain oils in energy production and the Russian-Ukrainian War, which has shaken the global grain market. All these crises have not yet been included in official discourses in Tunisia, as food sovereignty is not yet considered a top priority that requires urgent strategic measures to protect agricultural production and support farmers.

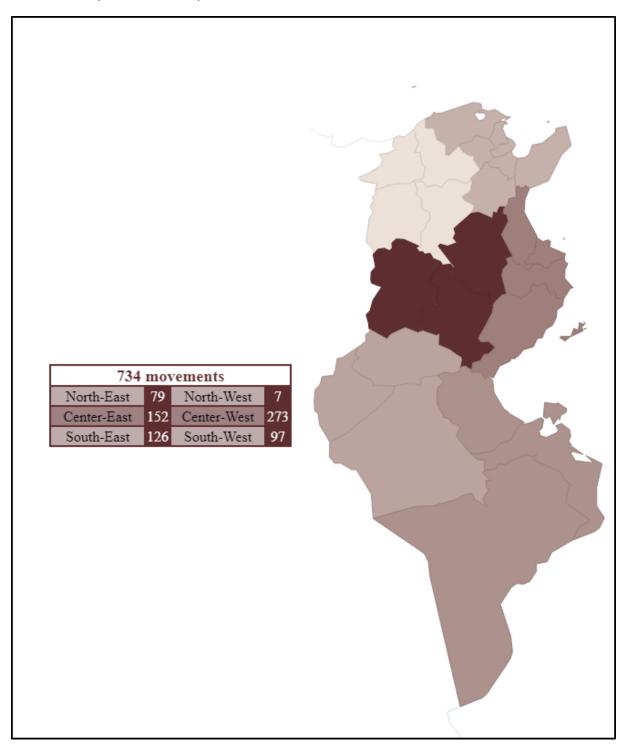
The Government also has not presented any urgent plan or clear vision regarding the protection of vulnerable classes from the continued collapse of purchasing power, knowing that the collapse of purchasing power now encompasses millions of Tunisians after the period of confinement and the decline of the middle class.

April protests:

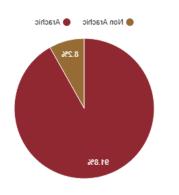
734 protest movements were observed over the month of April, 91% of which were anarchic movements that tended towards violence by disrupting institutions and disrupting citizens' interests.

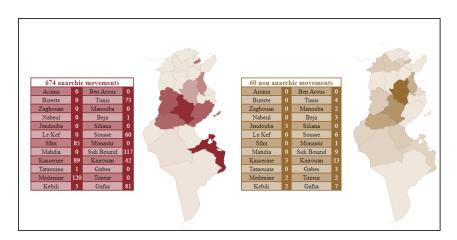


The protest map emerged in a state of remodelling, as Sidi Bouzid and Kasserine regained the lead in regions with the most protest movements with 228 protest movements, which is about 1/3 of the total protest movements observed. The governorate of Medenine also emerged as a protest-heavy area during the month of April with 122 protest movements, 98% of which were anarchic.



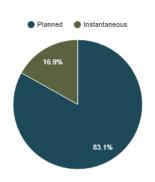
Then comes the Centre-West (Bouzid, Kasserine and Kairouan) in the forefront of areas with the most protests with 37% of the total registered protests, followed by the Centre-East (Sfax, Sousse and Monastir) as the second most protest-heavy area with 20.7% of the total protests observed. Sfax was in the lead for areas with the most protest movements, then the South-East region (Medenine, Gabes and Tataouine) with 126 protests which amounts to 17% of the total registered protests, then the South-West with 97 protest movements which is about 13% of total protests during the month of April, while protest movements in the North-West were limited to 4 protest movements in Beja and 3 in Jendouba.

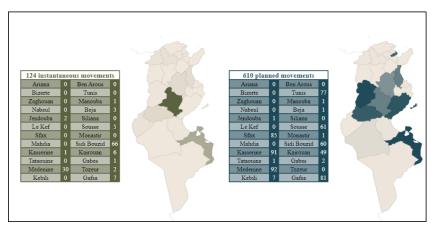




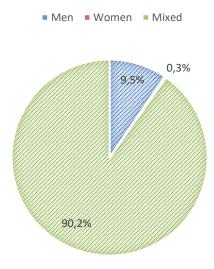
Demands and forms of protest:

The number of organized protests reached 610, about 83.1% of the total protests observed; nevertheless, a significant proportion of these organized protests — which are supposedly organized and structured but have accumulated a protest course and now have clear leadership — are sliding into anarchy. This is an indicator that confirms the decline in citizens' expectations of state institutions and of the political actor in general.

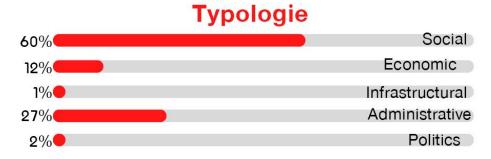




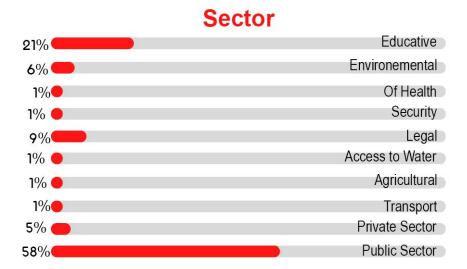
The majority (90.2%) of the protests were mixed, which means that both genders participated in the defence of legitimate demands of employment, development, improvement of basic services, improvement of living conditions and advancement of desired social justice, while 9.5% of protests were mainly led by men.



The protesters raised several demands, 72% of which were related to economic and social rights, notably the right to employment and workers' rights, including access to their wages, curbing violations of their rights and the right of access to water, and cessation of price increases, among other demands.



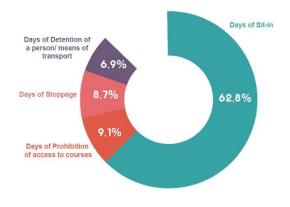
The public sector represented a major sector for protests with 58%, followed by the educational sector with 21%, then protests with a legal background with 9%, the environmental sector with 6% and the right to health, water and security with 1% for each sector.



Sit-ins also represented the most important form of protest observed with 62.8%, as the number of the sit-ins observed during the month of April reached 20, some of which continued during the month of April, while others were announced in the month of April. The number of observed sit-in days reached 461, in addition to more than 60 registered sit-ins at a rate of 64 sit-in days (8.7%).



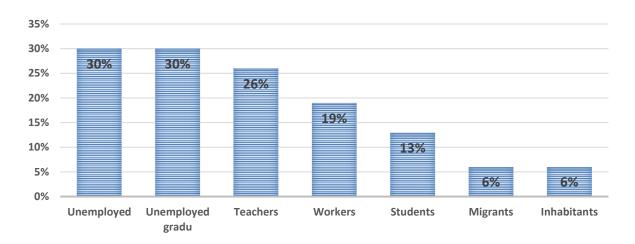
Among the types of protests that the demonstrators engaged in, 9.1% involved obstructing access to school courses and 6.9% of the total protests observed involved detaining people and materials, in addition to, protest rallies, closure of work spaces, issuing distress calls, blocking roads, issuing calls through media and social media platforms, etc.



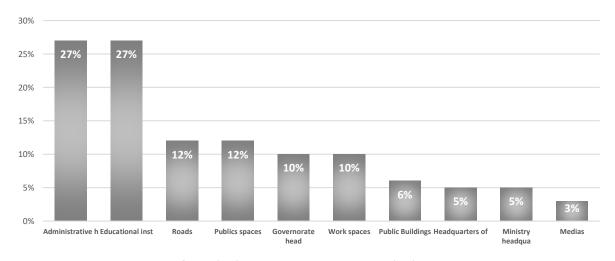
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Protest actors and spaces

The unemployed were major actors in these protests (30%), most of whom were unemployed graduates (216 protest movements out of 217 calling for employment), followed by teachers and professors (26%), workers (19%), students (13%), migrants (6%) and residents (6%). Farmers, employees, agricultural workers, urban construction workers, students, lawyers and other actors have also engaged in various protest movements in support to different demands.

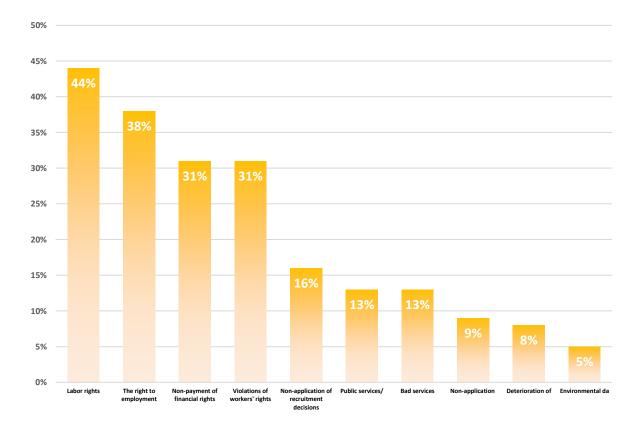


Protesters were present in various spaces of protest, with administrative headquarters as the most important space of protest (27%) alongside educational institutions (27%), roads and public spaces (12%), governorate headquarters (10%), work spaces (10%), the seat of sovereignty (6%) and ministries (5%).



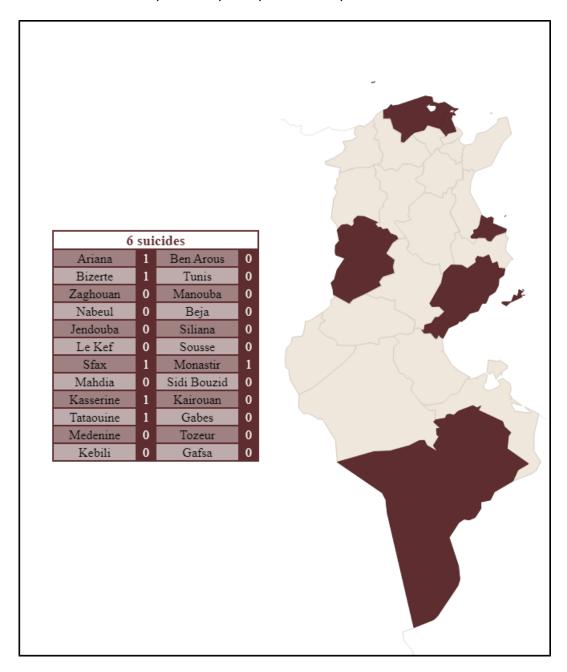
Protesters also used media platforms (3%) and social media networks (1%) to express their demands. Hospitals also represented a space of protest with 1%.

The right to employment was the most important motive for protest over the month of April, especially by those involved in Law No. 38, suspended by the President of the Republic, which stipulates the employment of those who have been unemployed for over 10 years, as demands for employment accounted for 38% of the total protests of the month of April. Public utility and the deterioration of its services represented a motive for protest, accounting for 13% of the total protests of the month of April. 5% of the April protests were against random dumpsters and environmental deterioration. It is noticeable that, despite the shortage of some essential food staples such as flour, oil and sugar and the soaring food prices, the protests related to these two motives did not exceed 1%. This mainly confirms the state of exhaustion, and the search for alternative solutions, as the citizens, due to economic exhaustion, are not protesting but are shifting towards the search for both individual and alternative solutions to solve such crises. This is also an indicator that confirms the complete decline in citizens' expectations from state institutions and thus the deepening gap between citizens and the State: a serious gap especially since the people are seeking alternatives. To the State alternatives mean individualism, economic support of parallel sector networks and others.



suicide and suicide attempts:

6 cases of suicide and attempts of suicide were recorded during the month of April, distributed at a rate of one case in each governorate, which are the governorates of Ariana, Bizerte, Sfax, Kasserine, Tataouine and Monastir.

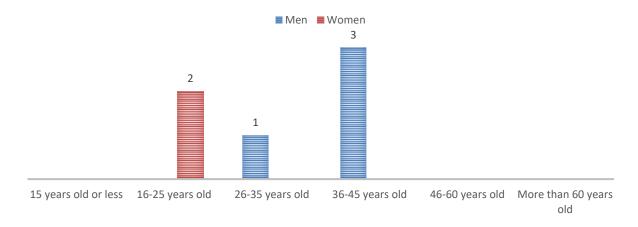


Women accounted for 33.3% of the total victims.

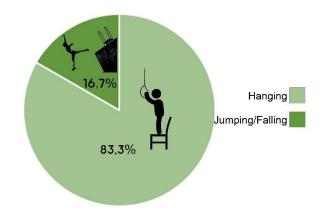
The age group of 36-45 years represented 50% of the cases observed, while the age group of 16-25 years accounted for 1/3 of the victims. The data related to these two age groups are important and reflect the difficult economic and social situation that the



country is experiencing, as suicide among youth (16-25 years) indicates the economic stalemate, marginalization and economic and social vulnerability which drives some of them to suicide. Suicide among adults (36-45 years) is also an indicator of the economic vulnerability of this group due to unemployment, fragile labor and the absence of any care or support that would prevent some of them from resorting to or attempting suicide.



Suicide by hanging was the most important form of suicide observed with 83.3%, noting that, during last March, this percentage was around 57.1% of the cases observed. Suicide and attempted suicide through jumping comes second in terms of means of suicide in the month of April with 16.7%.



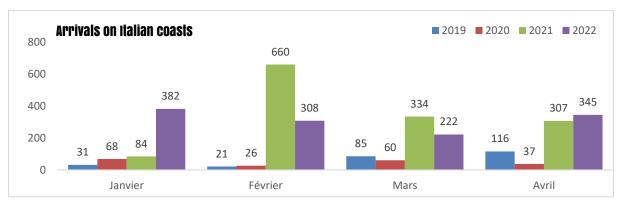
The total of suicide and attempted suicide cases recorded during the first trimester of the current year reached 33 cases, registering a slight decrease from the same period last year (36 cases) and a significant decrease of around 43% compared to the same period in the year 2020 (58 cases) according to our trimester report of March 2022.

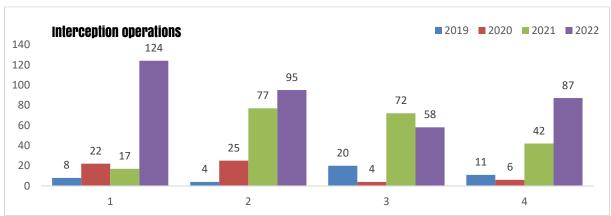
Despite these shocking figures, successive governments have failed to adopt any clear strategy to prevent suicide and to engage with the victims of suicide and their loved ones, taking into account that the act of suicide is particularly contagious, especially for the most vulnerable circles of the victim's entourage.

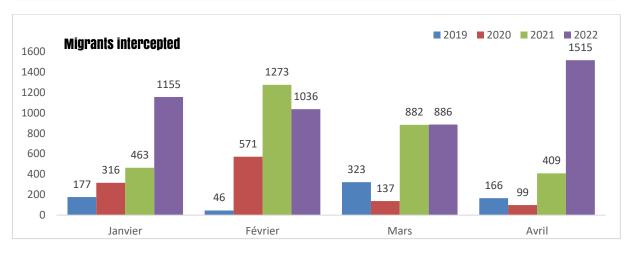
Irregular migration in April 2022



In comparison with the same period in 2018 - 2019 - 2020 - 2021



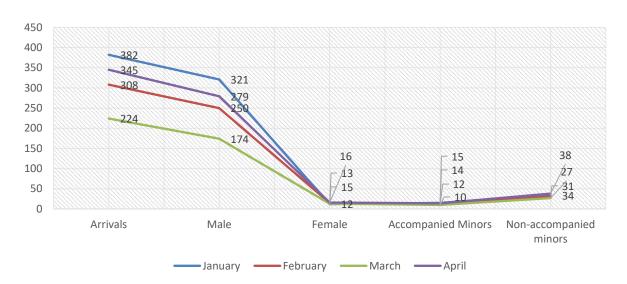




		2019			2020			2021			2022	
Month	Arrivals on Italian coasts	Interception operations	Migrants intercepted	Arrivals on Italian coast	Interception operations	Migrants intercepted	Arrivals on Italian coast	Interception operations	Migrants intercepted	Arrivals on Italian coast	Interception operations	Migrants intercepte d
January	31	8	177	68	22	316	84	17	463	382	124	1155
February	21	4	46	26	25	571	660	77	1273	308	95	1036
March	85	20	323	60	4	137	334	72	882	224	58	886
April	116	11	166	37	6	99	307	42	409	345	87	1515
Total	253	43	712	191	57	1123	1385	208	3027	1259	364	4592

The month of April witnessed a significant rise in the number of migrants intercepted to reach 1515, an estimated 270% increase compared to April 2021. The number of interception operations also saw a 107% increase. What characterized the beginning of this year was the security grip on Tunisian coasts, as authorities successfully prevented the access of 4592 migrants to Italian coasts in the period between the 1st of January and the end of April, an increase of 51.7% compared to the same period in 2021. Authorities prevented 364 crossings, an increase of 75% compared to the same period last year. The number of arrivals on the Italian coasts reached 345 Tunisians over the month of April, a slight increase compared to April 2021, bringing the number of Tunisian arrivals to Italy to 1259, an estimated 9% decrease compared to the same period last year.

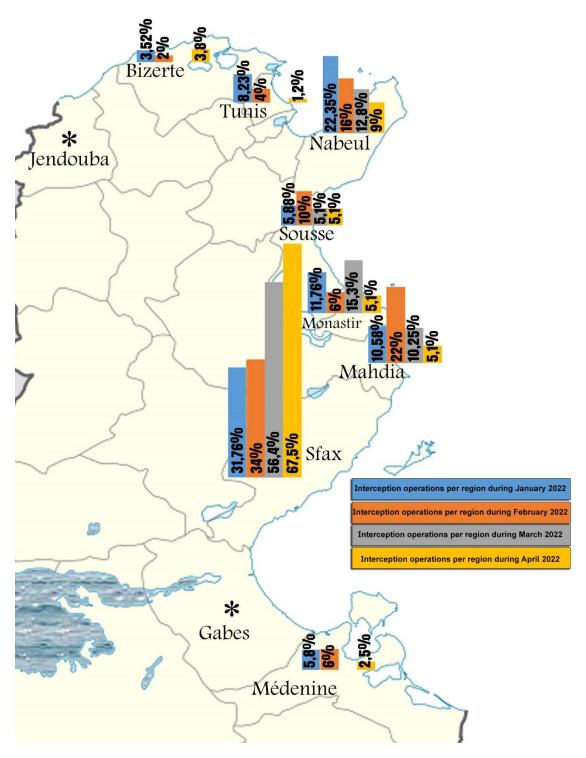
Breakdown of arrivals on Italian Coasts by month during April 2022



Month	Arrivals	Male	Female	Accompanied Minors	Non-accompanied minors		
January	382	321	12	15	34		
February	308	250	15	12	31		
March	224	174	13	10	27		
April	345	279	16	14	38		
Total	1259	1022	56	51	130		

The number of arrivals to Italy of all nationalities reached 10453 in the period between January 1st and the end of April, as Tunisians fell to third place with 16%, 12.7% of whom were minors.

Interception operations per region during April 2022

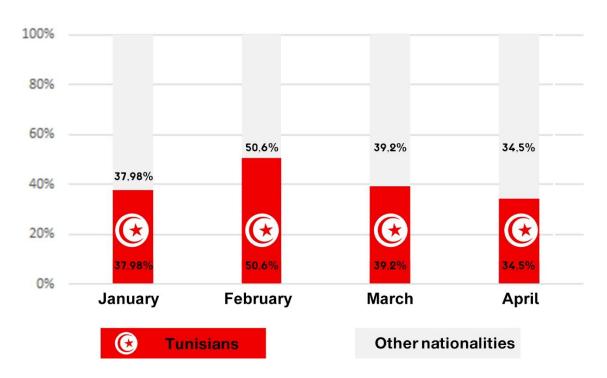


	Medenine	Gabes	Sfax	Mahdia	Monastir	Sousse	Nabeul	Tunis	Bizerte	Jendouba
January	5.88%	*	31.76%	10.58%	11.76%	5.88	22.35%	8.23%	3.52%	*
February	6%	*	34%	22%	6%	10%	16%	4%	2%	*
March	*	*	56.4%	10.25%	15.3%	5.1%	12.8%	*	*	*
April	2.5%	*	67.5%	5.1%	5.1%	5.1%	9%	1.2%	3.8%	*

This sign * does not mean that crossings do not happen in these regions, but the official data published in the communications did not contain any intercepted crossings in these regions

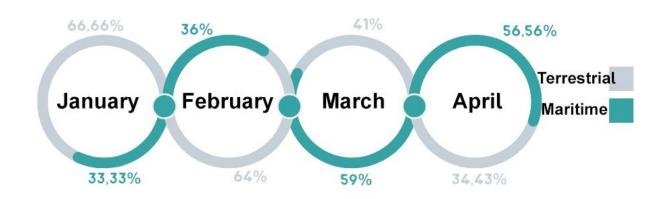
The region of Sfax accounted for 67.5% of total intercepted crossings during the month of April 2022, as migrant smuggling networks are intensively active in the region and self-regulated crossings are increasing exponentially.





Sub-Saharan migrants represented 65.5% of the total number of migrants who were intercepted. Migrants' desire to leave Tunisia due to escalating violations intersects with the intensified activity of migrant smuggling networks, especially that they adopted a network, composed of intermediaries to attract those who desire to migrate.

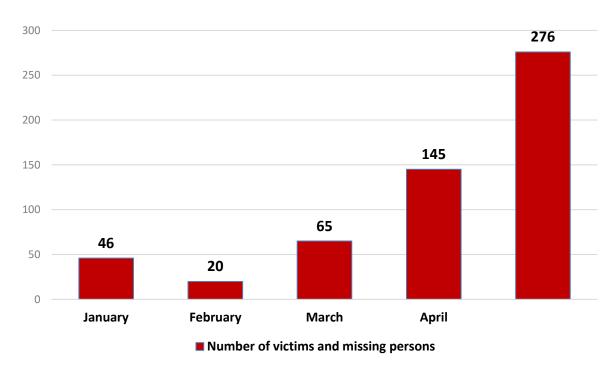
Allocation of interception operations during April 2022



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Based on the available data, intercepted maritime crossing operations accounted for 65.56%, while intercepted terrestrial operations represented 34.43%.





April 2022 is the month of death on the Tunisian coasts, as we have recorded more than 145 victims and missing persons, bringing the number of missing persons and victims to 276. The rise in the number of deaths on Tunisian shores is a natural result of the approaches focused solely on prevention without relying on more humane approaches that mobilize material, human and logistical capabilities.

The Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights reiterates its call to the Tunisian authorities to make an effective practical commitment to saving the lives of migrants in Tunisian territorial waters through the launch of a proactive maritime assistance and rescue mechanism aimed at saving lives and integrating all structures and interventionists along the Tunisian territorial waters, and the need to establish a permanent framework to inform and search for missing persons at sea and taking care of their families. Tunisian municipalities, particularly those on the coastline, are also called upon to prepare local emergency plans to deal with incidents of drowning as a result of irregular

migration, which will ensure that adequate burial spots are in place and provided for in appropriate conditions.

Forced deportations Italy

		Number of deportations towards Tunisia	Percentage
Since 1 January	37	20	54%

The processes of observation in this theme are based on reports from the Italian National Guarantor Foundation, which provides periodic reports on mass forced deportations. 37 flights have reached Tunisia to deport migrants from Italy since January 1st 2022 until the end of April, representing 54% of the total flights that Italy has organized to deport migrants.

Forced deportations from Germany

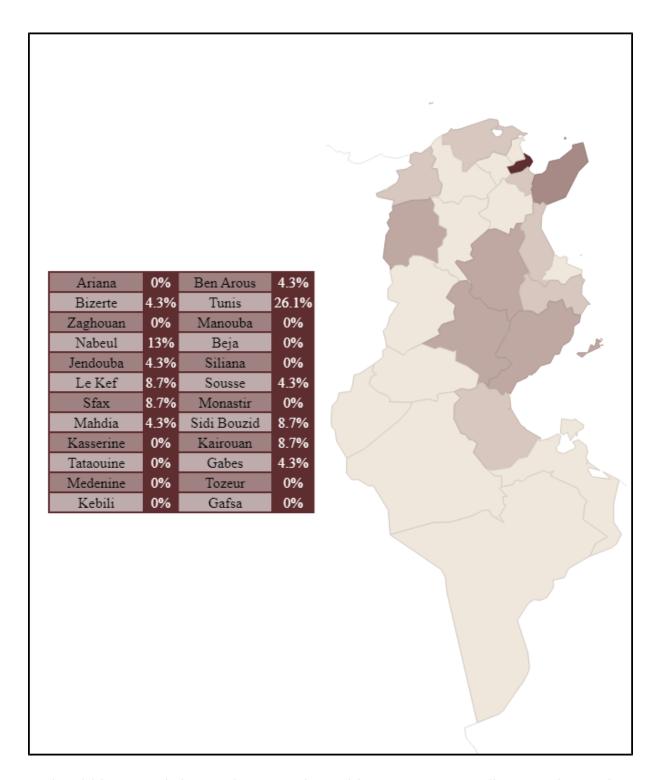
Date	Airport of departure
19 January	Leipzig
9 February	Leipzig
16 March	Leipzig
30 March	Frankfurt
13 April	Leipzig

⁵ flights have arrived from Germany since January 1st to deport Tunisian irregular migrants collectively and forcibly.

April 2022 Violence Report

The month of April witnessed a clear development in the level of violence. It has turned to its most extreme forms on several occasions, especially in sports spaces. Violence in stadiums and between fans was not absent from any of the games held during the month and was not limited to football stadiums, but expanded to enclosed halls and handball matches. The relative truce that characterized the month of Ramadan and was well-known by the Tunisian street in connection to social protest movements, did not have the same impact on the phenomenon of violence during the month of April. But rather the violent behaviour and emotional reactions have become the most important mechanisms of interaction between individuals in both private and personal spaces.

In the absence of any intention to dismantle or diagnose the phenomenon of violence, or even to pay attention to the social issues and problems that violence is motivated and driven by, the Tunisian Social Observatory predicts that the prevalence of the phenomenon of violence will continue, as it will not slow down as long as its social, economic, psychological and cultural causes and motivations are still existent. With all the attempts to control it inside Tunisian stadiums, it most likely will not retreat unless it is dealt with in a comprehensive approach that takes into account the story behind the case of Omar Abidi's death and making it one of its main points.

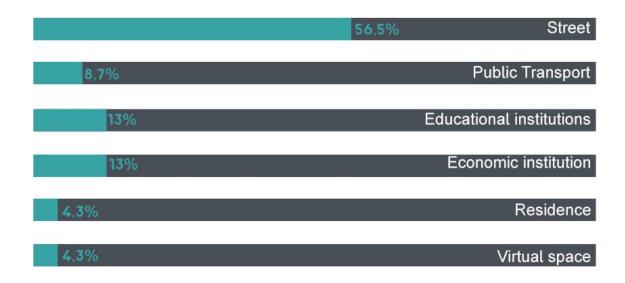


It should be noted that violence in the public space, especially in stadiums, has marked a paradigm shift in its public manifestations, as it tended towards organization and recorded engagement from all sports fans despite the differences of sports teams who came together through the "Learn to Swim" campaign, raising the demand to follow up on the security officers accused in the death case of Club Africain supporter Omar Abidi. This trend led to the

growth in the form of protest violence, which amounted to about 4.3% of violence recorded this month.

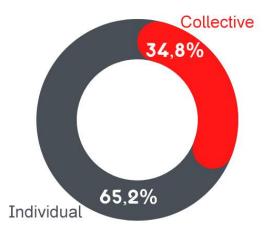


What can be alerted to by the observation recorded during the month of April, is that educational violence has taken a more severe form in educational spaces and their external surroundings, as a number of cases of educational violence have been recorded this month, including one where a student stabbed his friend after a fight broke out between them, another one where a student proceeded to mutilate his classmate's face after she refused to talk to him and a third where a student attacked and beat up the principal of the institute. Spaces of educational institutions were the setting of 13% of the violence included in the observation sample which consists of all the data published in daily and weekly newspapers, websites, radio and television sites and a number of social media pages.



As per usual, the month of Ramadan represented a time frame for growing impulsive violence. The street was its most important space, as it recorded 56% of the level of violence that the month of April 2022 has witnessed.

Violence in the public space, muggings, theft and criminal violence, maintained the first place in the level of violence recorded



during the month of April, as it reached 78.3% of the total violence observed. The case of the death of the 18–year-old girl after a mugging in the southern suburban train station which led to her falling under the wheels of the train and her immediate death in the most gruesome incident of all time.

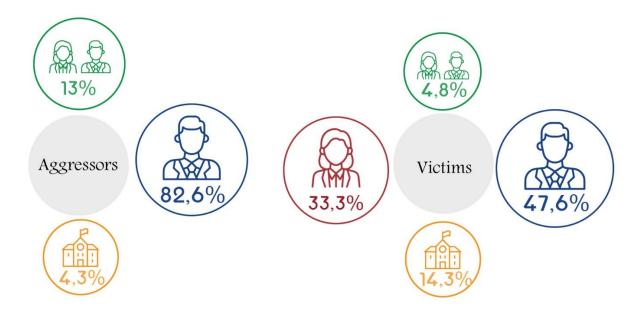
In the same context, it is worth noting that the violence recorded during the month of April was characterized by a change in its actors, especially in terms of age, where there has been increased involvement from children and young people, the group that was the victim of marginalization, dropping out of school and the economic crisis and its absence from various governmental, educational, cultural and social programs, opting towards visibility through a more extreme and violent behaviour.

Public transportation accounted for 8.7% of violence, at a time when institutions of economic production accounted for 13%, while the share of domestic violence recorded during the month of Ramadan was 4.3% of the total violence observed.

It can be said that the high rate of violence in all its forms has had a clear impact on changing the features of the public sphere, which is no longer a general framework for coexistence but rather a space for verbal and moral violence and was largely overshadowed by problems of environmental and physical violence.

In a paradigm shift, the month of April witnessed a noticeable increase in the rate of individual violence, which represented 65.2% of the total violence observed, while collective violence was within 34.8%.

The percentages of the victims of violence converge in terms of gender, as men were the victims in 47.6% of violence observed, while women accounted for 33.3%. Women were active and responsible for 13% of the total violence observed, while men were responsible for 82.6%.



The Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights and the Tunisian Social Observatory, once again draw attention to the danger of the continued spread of the phenomenon of violence in its various forms. It is considered to be gradually becoming one of the most important and dangerous elements that are threatening the peace, stability and coexistence of Tunisians among themselves, and it is necessary to accelerate the search for their dismantling, diagnosis, examination and treatment.

Conclusion

All indicators confirm that a new social "landscape" has begun to form and is the result of the ongoing political crisis in the country, as the transformation that has begun to emerge in social protests confirms the state of distrust in the political actor's ability to change, thereby shifting citizens towards the search for alternatives, mainly individualism, and moving towards networks of interests and lobbying networks, a situation that by all accounts cannot meet the requirements of a just society and the rule of law.

This transformed social situation can cast a shadow over the upcoming electoral stations by the time of the elections, and according to the April indicators, it does not appear to be a solution for citizens. This is likely to emerge in an upcoming spontaneous boycott of the July 25th referendum and the upcoming parliamentary elections on December 17. The political and social compass can only be readjusted by rebuilding the bonds of trust between the political actor and the social actor through a clear, transparent and realistic discourse with an accurate diagnosis of the country's situation.

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Monitoring Methodology of Irregular Migration:

The data registered in this report represent the extent to which the Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights has been able to collect information from various sources, through available means. The statistics remain incomplete and non-detailed and may not fully reflect reality. However, in the absence of detailed and updated information from the Tunisian authorities (Number of crossings — number of crossers — distribution by age group and gender — identification of their origins — social status — number of missing persons...) the following report may contribute to a clearer understanding of migration dynamics and its highlighting shifts.

Aborted Crossings: The press releases of the Ministry of Interior, as well as the statements of the spokesman of the National Guard on different platforms, do not usually contain thorough data (gender, age, origin of irregular migrants).

Irregular migrants who made it to the European coasts: Numerous structures produce statistics about irregular arrivals to Europe such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Migration Organization, the Ministries of Interior of the European States, and the European Coastal Control Agency.

The given figures remain approximate and in need of continuous update based on the statistics delivered by official authorities and civic structures, which may publish subsequent reports. The figures present studies about the evolution and the changes in the dynamics of irregular migration.

The invisible numbers:

The invisible numbers reflect the number of migrants arriving in Europe irregularly in undetected ways without being detected by local authorities and global organizations. No track is found of these numbers in the statistics despite their seriousness. These numbers vary as they depend on various migration trafficking networks, following diverse strategies. The figures also include the departures from the Tunisian coast that managed to evade strict border controls. Unreported failed operations are also included.

Social movements in Tunisia and the nightmare of social inequalities: what should the state do to ensure its continuity?

Tunisian social movements have always been a means of imposing popular politics on the existing system, as an exercise of collective reaction that enshrines the right to express the rejection of certain situations or to claim rights in a non-violent and peaceful manner. These movements appeared before January 2011 through the events in the mining basin since 2008 and the movements of the coastal textile workers at the beginning of the millennium and other grassroots movements that had been formed to reflect the rejection of the government's choices that had proven unsuccessful on several occasions. However, these movements appear as an integrated system of collective protest since the beginning of the last decade, innovations have emerged in the popular movement that have contributed to the formation of social movements as a result of the political, economic and social changes that have occurred in the overall situation of the country and that have damaged the democratic process and disrupted its pace. With the expansion of the cycle of human rights violations affecting a large number of social groups, these movements were formed, bringing together construction workers, unemployed researchers, unemployed graduates, textile workers, the injured of the revolution and others. The many protest mechanisms they have adopted include sit-ins, protests, and hunger strikes, which clearly reflects the Authority's inability to develop a clear strategy to meet the demands of this category.

social movements: what are they, and what are their demands?

The American sociologist Herbert Bloomer says that "the social movement is that collective effort to change the character of stable social relations in a particular society. According to him: "social movements are collective projects aimed at creating a new order of life based on a sense of dissatisfaction with the dominant model and the desire for a new format". In Tunisia, the general situation of the country following the events of January 14 led to the emergence of new actors

¹ https://arabprf.com/?p=2243

who acquired a symbolic authority with the ability to be accountable, to exert pressure and to be attentive to the weakness of the development choices of successive governments, this was the rebirth of so-called social movements. Despite the many demands they made, such as employment, improvement of working conditions and the elimination of precarious employment, they responded to the common demand to reject the country's public policies and to demand the adoption of new options and strategies in which the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are respected.

Governments that do not respond to requests: the problem of the continuity of the State!

Sit-ins and strikes by representatives of social movements in most regions of the republic have put pressure on the government, forcing it to come to the negotiating table. The aim is to find practical solutions that will put an end to the violations of some basic rights of citizens such as their right to a decent life, to work and to work in decent conditions. Meetings were held with most of the sit-ins, which ended with agreements and minutes, but remained unimplemented and did not lead to positive change, as the actual implementation of the declaration was completely absent.

With the unrest and strife of the last decade that led to the alternation of power by many governments, as well as the dismissal of positions at the regional and central levels, the conclusion of agreements is often linked to the prevailing political or circumstantial conditions in which the agreement was signed. This raises the problem of the absence of the principle of continuity of the state in dealing with the demands of the protesters and its inability to build a clear strategy to fulfill its commitments to them, which has prompted many people who depend on pressure to provide better living conditions than those that exist. Therefore, these social movements are seen as forces of pressure for reform, progress and the creation of a new reality based on a different model of principles and policies, beyond the contradictions and disparities that society is experiencing today.

Urban site workers: Is the crisis coming to an end?

The file of the site workers is one of the incendiary social files that arises in Tunisia since 2011 and remains so until today. Despite their protests, no solution

has yet been found with the government, leading to the elimination of fragile forms of employment and guaranteeing this category of workers' rights, especially between 45 and 55 years. Since the signing of an agreement with the General Union of Tunisian Labor (UGTT) with the



Government on October 20, 2020 to solve the problem of workers in construction and assign 31 thousand of them to a public service from the age of 45 years in annual installments, and the obligation to leave voluntarily for those aged 45 to 55 years was also provided for a departure allowance of about 20 thousand dinars, while continuing to benefit from the health coverage From sitins and threats of suicide to individual suicides, the uninterrupted movements explode, in order to implement the law No. 27 of 2021 on the regulation of the general status of state employees, local groups and public institutions with administrative character of June 21, 2021. In fact, the latter provides an exceptional formula for the regularization of this category of workers in construction.

Jamal Zamouri, spokesman for urban Protests of the site workers between 45 and 55 years, believes that the current crisis of urban construction workers reflects the contradiction of the state between its commitments and what is applied on the ground, noting the lack of continuity of the role of the state, which has not put an end to the precariousness of work of this group.



Researchers and the crisis of scientific research

Since 2019, the movement of researchers began in the form of sit-ins, marches, and protest rallies. Their basic demands were to find urgent solutions for the unemployed researchers by opening the competitions in public universities in a

proportion that meets and covers their number. It is also necessary, to advocate the establishment of strategic plans for PhDs who have suffered many years of unemployment and develop a long-term practical strategy for PhDs by reforming the laws and establishing a culture of scientific research in the public and private sectors. Since April 2019, a number of meetings have been held with state representatives, including advisors, the head of government and deputies. It was agreed to introduce a law to concentrate scientific research structures in all ministries. However, with the change of government members and the political volatility of the country in this period, neither the agreements reached, nor the minutes were observed to announce the entry into a strike punctuated by anarchic hunger strikes of many strikers since June 20, 2020.



According to Manel Salmi, unemployed doctor, researcher in chemistry since 2017 and engineer in chemistry since 2006, the irresponsible treatment of the state of the case of doctoral researchers has prevented the implementation of agreements reached on more than one occasion. Today's unemployed do not deal with the state but with dispersed groups working in narrow frameworks that



respond to their political interests by pursuing a short-term approach to this issue. Furthermore, they lack a clear global vision that addresses the real demands of doctors.

She reports a lack of confidence in the government, which due to procrastination methods, has not achieved any significant results, like the 2021 transfer agreement: 3000 doctors over 3 years, which was a positive step in this issue, provided that the same number is allocated each year due to the high number of unemployed, she says. Although this agreement does not radically solve the problem, it has not been implemented either and the state has not fulfilled its promises to the doctors. She affirms the realization of their continued mobility and their insistence on maintaining their right to operate and to pressure the state to meet all their demands.

Unemployed people from poor families and their movements to resolve fragile situations

The movements of the unemployed poor families were not different from other movements of the members of the coordination of social movements to extort the right to employment and to ensure their human dignity. The series of movements started more than 6 years ago to include



individual and collective hunger strikes and sit-ins in front of ministries, regional and central administrations. Hadi Ltifi, 39 years old, member of the National Coordination of Social Movements, emphasizes that the failure of the policy carried out by successive governments in recent years has completely missed the active role of the state, most of which were based on unfulfilled promises that did not aim to change the status of thousands of unemployed. He emphasizes the need for the state to fulfill its previous commitments in order to ensure the principle of state continuity, which he believes seemed to be absent due to the policy of disavowal.

Are social issues under the control of political conflicts!

The political conflicts in Tunisia have not stopped since 2011 and with them the socio-economic battle that continues and with it the issue of employment, which has been its main driver. In this context, Abdelhak Basdouri, member of the coordination of social movements, says that the stages that followed the events of January 2011 were marked by the emergence of political alliances following the conflict over power from all political backgrounds. This situation has made

many social issues through this conflict and has made the exercise of power existing a kind of social corruption that it pays to win electoral votes or electoral base, that it is assumed the social issues should be resolved away from political wrangling and social movements should be exploited in order to settle political scores, as he said. He also explained that the adoption of the principle of cross remuneration only aims to establish the distinction and dispersion, which further confirms the provoked absence of the role of the State by the political actors that have succeeded each other.