



Introduction

The fact that the State should be "a State of general interest" is an idea that has been failing in the depth of political representations and convictions of Tunisian citizens due to the absence of a real vision of economic and development plans expressing the sovereignty of the State considering its commitment to liberal logic that perpetuates injustice and inequality and which deepens the politics of marginalization and exclusion. This landscape has led to a series of disappointments and a wave of demonstrations initiated by certain segments of the population.

These representations were based on several reasons, including social ones. Indeed, the Tunisian State, which was elected as the supreme force, as the natural defender of the common good of individuals and equal opportunities, has not respected the rules of the game between social actors as regards respect for economic competition, equality in the face of the country's general burden and the subordination of all, including State leaders and officials, to the rule of law.


As a result, the Tunisian State has failed to reflect the duty of moral solidarity towards its citizens and has not been able to emerge from its crises and give vital sectors such as health, education and transport the importance they deserve.

Moreover, for economic reasons, the Tunisian State has not been an engine of development since it has not taken on heavy investments exceeding the capacity of private initiatives, has not developed infrastructure, has not trained the workforce and has not invested sufficiently in scientific research and development. Not to mention that during economic crises, the State has not been a natural refuge for its citizens, has not adopted measures to encourage projects that were encountering difficulties and has not supervised or even, it has sought to abandon vulnerable regions and sectors of activity in danger, which has aggravated their crises.

Moreover, and for political reasons, the State has not worked on the major issues that its citizens defended during the 2011 movement, such as social justice, the equitable distribution of national wealth, freedom, equality, and economic rights and has not been the rallying force of popular unity scattered before a people who suffer from social hardship and injustice.

All these beliefs refer to the hopes and expectations of citizens for the country's public policies that are ignored by leaders and officials, thus compromising their legitimacy in the political arena.

Moreover, these representations charged with spontaneous animosity several fringes of society towards the Tunisian State, hiding clichés such as that of the employee taking advantage of the State budget, of a police State, a system of heavy taxation on Tunisian individuals and institutions, thus creating a new landscape of political mapping, which takes us beyond traditional methods of protest towards a new logic



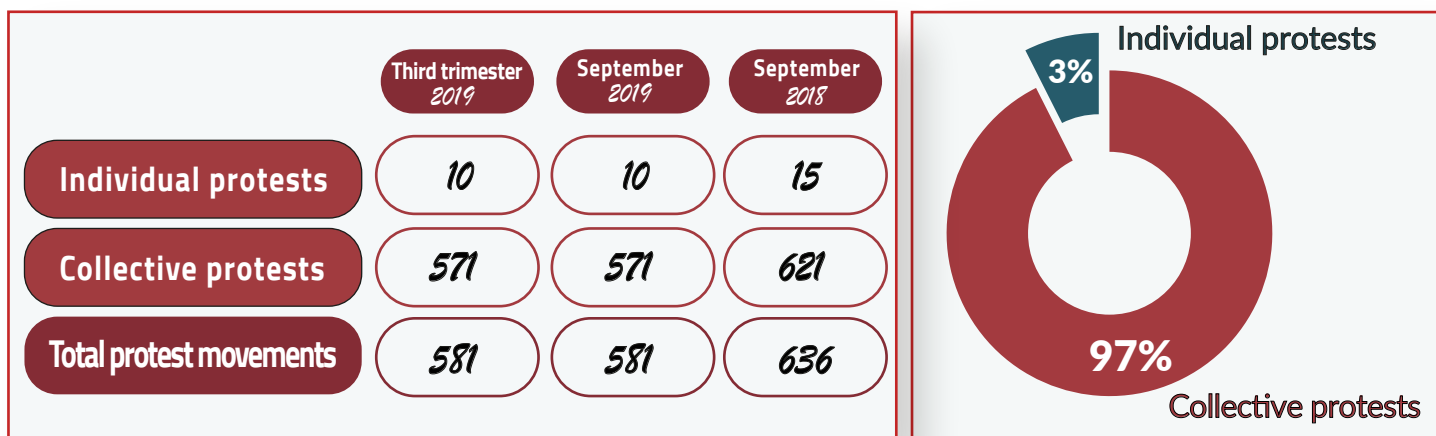
sanctioning political actors who are competing for the electoral stages, since there are those who boycotted the elections, those who sanctioned them from the political landscape and this has resulted in a chair of the Republic's presidency oscillating between two candidates, namely Kais Said and Nabil Karoui.

Protestant social movements in The Third Quarter of 2019

"The role of social movements, which aim to achieve the common interest or common objectives by working in areas outside existing institutions and frameworks, has been strengthened. ». Social movements attempt to achieve social and political change by defending current problems in a context of the powerlessness of political institutions and their inability to cope with specific forms of danger that threaten society.

Moreover, the involvement of protesters and rebellious social movements testifies to a form of non-contractual political participation imposed by individuals on these political institutions through new forms of collective, rejectionist and sometimes rebellious behavior. These forms can sometimes be more effective than contractual political participation, such as voting and others, and more cost-effective than relying on incompetent politicians and political systems, particularly with regard to major and urgent problems related to individuals' social life and their economic, social and political rights. In this way, these social movements become a central axis of civic culture and civil society and a real space for the renewal of democratic principles and practices.

The old but still relevant problems are the main trigger for the demonstrations, such as the thirst crisis and water shortage, as well as the deteriorated infrastructure, particularly with the start of the school year and the distress of many schools, especially in the isolated regions, the crisis in the health sector and the daily damage suffered by the Tunisian citizen, without forgetting the education crisis and the return of demonstrations and negotiations between the educational framework and the regulatory authority, as well as other problems in many economic sectors ranging from the postal sector, transport and other development, environmental and agricultural problems...



The monitoring team of the Tunisian Social Observatory recorded 739 protest actions, 28 suicides and attempted suicides in September 2019, bringing the number of protest movements to 1986 and the number of suicides and attempted suicides to 58 during the third quarter of the year. This is an increase of 217 protests compared to the same period in 2018, which recorded 1789 protests, an increase of about 70 protests per month.

Nature of collective social movements (Third trimester 2019)



Nature of collective social movements (September 2019)



























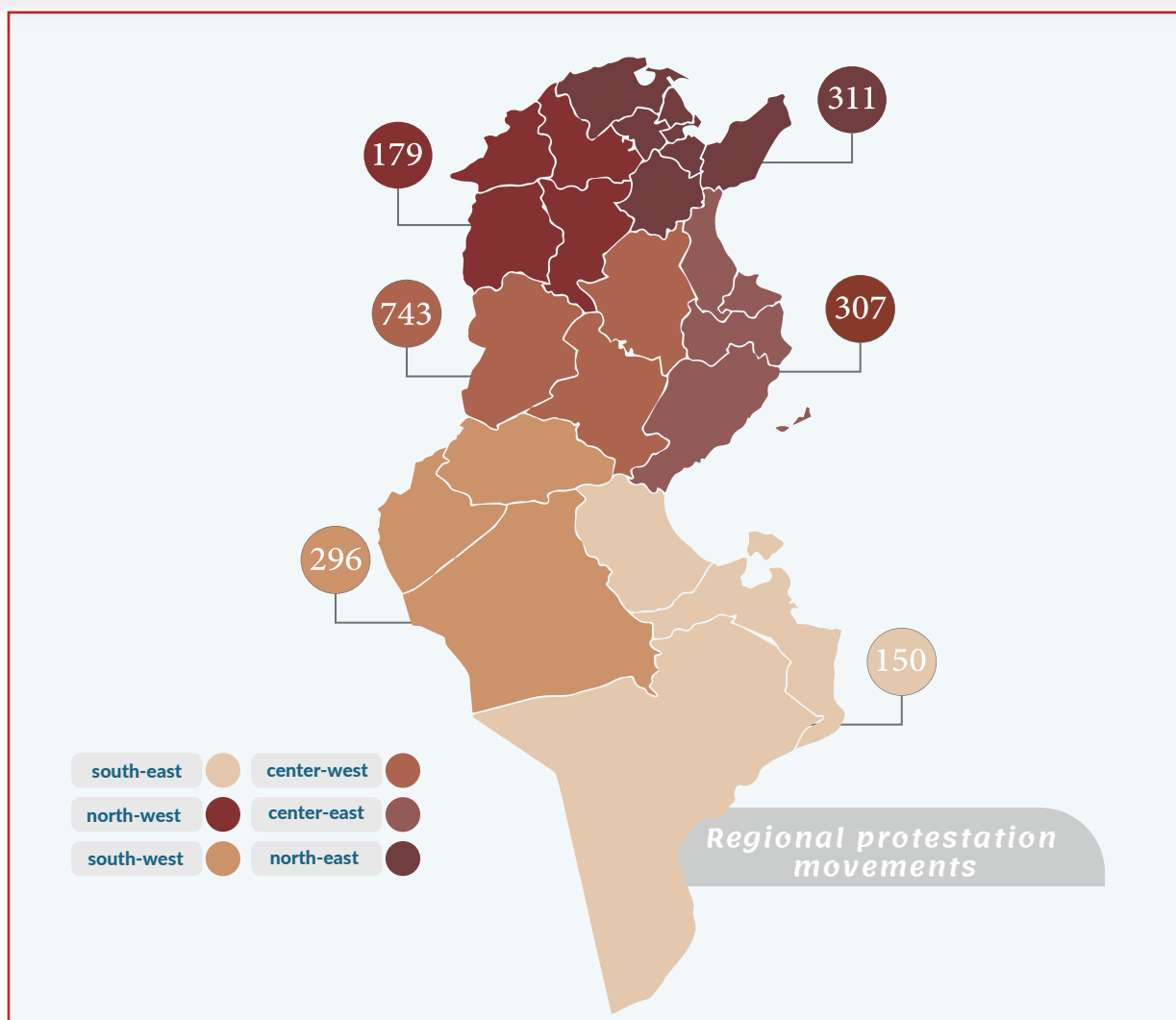
The mapping of demonstrations remains unchanged from previous months and years, as shown by the monthly and annual reports of the Tunisian Social Observatory. The governorate of Kairouan remains in first position with regard to movements as well as suicides and suicide attempts since this region alone recorded 58 acts of suicide and suicide attempts and 508 collective protest movements during the months of July, August and September of the year 2019.

The governorate of Gafsa comes second with 201 protests, followed by Sidi Bouzid with 162 protests and Sfax with 130 protests, Nabeul (123 protests), Sousse (121 protests) and Tataouine with 102 protests. The governorate of Ben Arous occupies the last place with 12 demonstrations throughout the quarter.

In the third quarter of 2019, 24% of the social movements observed were of a violent nature, which means that they contained a form of violence or a blockage in all forms of violence. A characteristic feature of the 477 demonstrations, 112 of which were recorded in Kairouan, followed by Gafsa (61 movements) and Nabeul (48 movements).

Geographical distribution of protests (Third trimester 2019)

Gouvernorat	Third Semester 2019	September 2019	Gouvernorat	Third Semester 2019	September 2019	Gouvernorat	Third Semester 2019	September 2019
 Bizerte	40	30	 Beja	43	14	 Kasserine	77	27
 Tunis	82	34	 Kef	27	6	 Sidi Bouzid	158	41
 Ariana	17	0	 Seliana	47	28	 Gabes	18	0
 Manouba	27	0	 Sousse	117	66	 Medenine	30	18
 Ben Arous	12	10	 Monastir	16	12	 Tataouine	102	47
 Zaghouan	13	4	 Mahdia	45	0	 Gafsa	201	63
 Nabeul	120	41	 Sfax	129	59	 Tozeur	28	16
 Jendouba	62	18	 Kairouan	508	177	 Kebili	67	28



During this quarter, the actors diversified and what emerges again qualitatively is a new category of protest actors emigrating during the month of July which is that of pilgrims, SONEDE employees and employees of the Tunisian post-offices. In addition, women have played an important role in the protest spaces, including workers from a textile company in Hbira and employees of a pharmaceutical laboratory in Barkas in the Kondar industrial zone.

Forms of protests		actors initiating the social movements	
Social media, protests	★★★★	Citizens, activists	★★★★
Media calls, sit-ins, road blocks, blocking administrative spaces, burnt tires	★★★	Employees, workers, unemployed, unemployed graduates, doctors, paramedical staff	★★★
Peaceful protests, strikes, march towards the capital	★★	Precarious workers, parents, security, agricultors	★★
Hunger strikes, petitions, administrative headquarters, civil disobedience, sewing mouths as a form of protest	★	Collective taxi drivers, fishermen	★

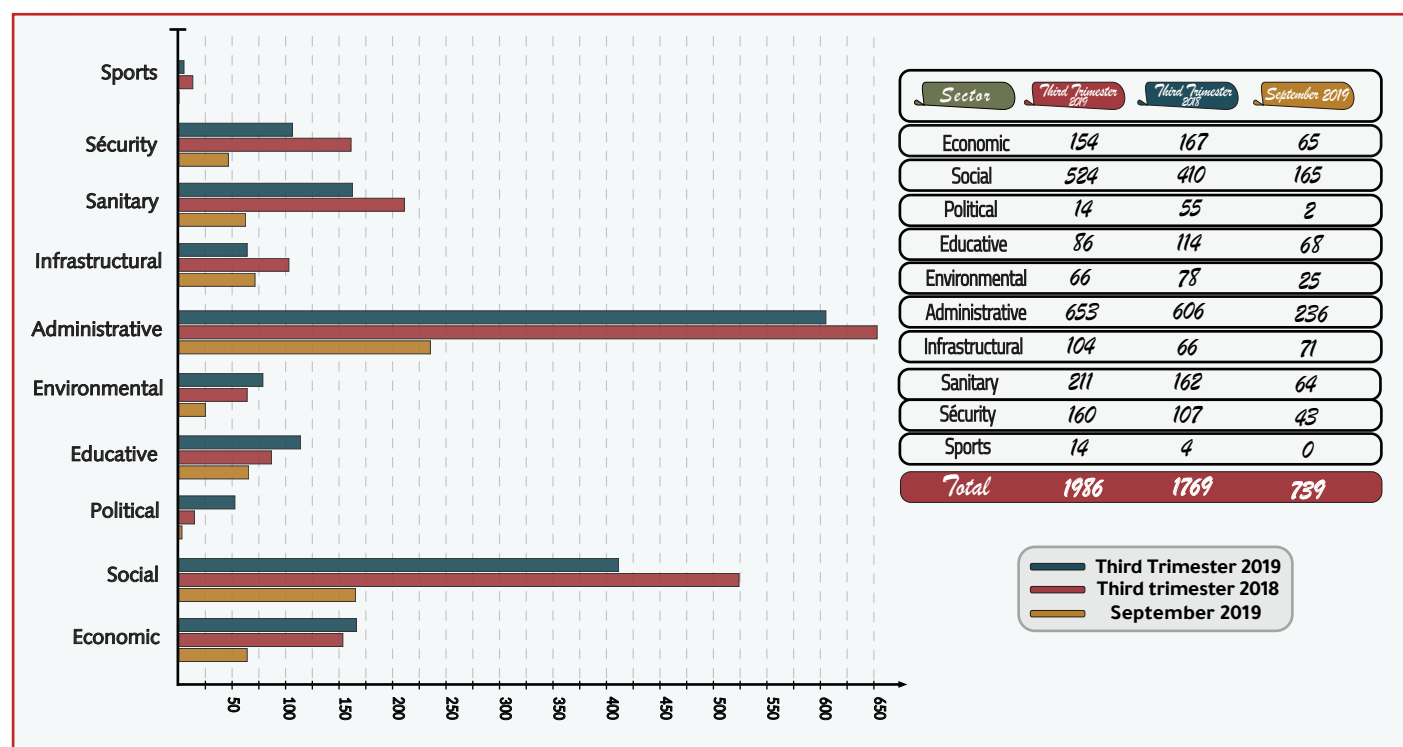
Indeed, the role of women has been predominant in the realization of social and political changes and as a serious actor in the struggle for economic and social rights, as their presence represents a transgression of the dominant, conservative, clan and patriarchal mentality as well as in the aspiration for emancipation and equality against inferiority and discrimination.

The social act represents a tool for the transfer of all modern, enlightening and revolutionary values and its significance is complete only if it is connected to conscious forces that descend into its public and effective arenas dealing with its problems and difficulties, uniting with all its facets and embracing its active, avant-garde, operational, human and civil feminist forces in order to integrate it into the general struggle for national and democratic liberation and social and economic empowerment.

Spaces of protests		subjects of protests	
Roads, public spaces, administrative headquarters	★★★★	Ministry, head of government, governmental organizations	★★★★
Professional spaces, governorates, SONEDE, STEG	★★★	Governorates, SONEDE,	★★★
Educational institutions, municipalities, delegations, bureaux, government organizations, hospitals	★★	Educational institutions, municipalities, delegations, hospitals	★★
Ministers, head of government	★	Judiciary authorities, security authorities	★

Protests Movements by Sector


Most of the claims concerned economic and social rights with 678 protest actions, compared to 577 during the same period in 2018.



The number of demonstrations against administrative and institutional services reached 653 in the third quarter of 2019 compared to 606 movements in the third quarter of 2018.

Demonstrations with educational, environmental and political demands decreased by approximately 28, 12 and 41 protest movements in accordance with the above-mentioned order.

Instant protests	Sector	Economic	Social	Political	Educative	Environ-mental	Adminis-trative	Religious	Infrastru-ctural	Sanitary	Security	Sports
	Third trimester	76	285	8	32	37	356	-	74	86	75	10
	September	29	88	1	21	16	154	-	54	25	24	0
Spontaneous protests	Sector	Economic	Social	Political	Educative	Environ-mental	Adminis-trative	Religious	Infrastru-ctural	Sanitary	Security	Sports
	Third trimester	29	129	4	17	11	126	-	15	59	40	2
	September	8	53	1	14	4	48	-	9	19	11	0
Violent protests	Sector	Economic	Social	Political	Educative	Environ-mental	Adminis-trative	Religious	Infrastru-ctural	Sanitary	Security	Sports
	Third trimester	49	110	2	37	18	171	-	15	66	45	5
	September	28	24	0	33	5	34	-	8	20	8	0



Demonstrations related to administrative services are the most violent and affect about half (171 protest movements) of all institutional protest movements, followed by economic and social protest movements, 149 of which were violent in nature or took place in an atmosphere of violence.

New forms of protest in the Tunisian context


The number of political parties now exceeds 200 in Tunisia, most of which are competing for political power, creating a dynamic in the partisan scene and a change in political mapping through the many electoral stages. We find parties that tend to the right and others to the left and struggle mainly around the centre and migrate there with the desire to position themselves politically.


In addition, political mobilization is an opportunity to work on solidarity, alliances, tactics and options. The election battle is the biggest test for political parties, as it reveals their ability to win supporters and is an important way to work on the practices

The political landscape in Tunisia is known to sometimes shrink and sometimes disperse due to the contexts of the emergence of parties and the diversity of the symbolic map (revolutionary parties - post-revolutionary parties...). Some of them have continued to exist and others have dissolved into the political landscape, despite their attempts to take power over electoral representativeness, they have suffered a symbolic blow represented by a "political trauma", in other words the constant pressure associated with the memory of an emotionally painful event.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, this symbolic strike of the lack of representation of citizens in the electoral stages reflects the magical appearance of a new representation of the concept of electoral representation that can have many repercussions, even on the elected official. Those who have not reached voting age, who have not turned out at the polls (who are not registered or who have abstained) and who have voted for their opponents remain a difficult phenomenon to decode in accordance with the laws of rational logic, even in pluralist democracies where there is a competitive electoral system. Just as the repercussions of this symbolic strike are positive, they can also be negative by the loss of its electoral potential.

In the eyes of candidates, voters have legitimate expectations and values of moral greatness, motivated by the desire for justice, freedom and solidarity, which they seek by electing their representatives during the electoral process. Each representative will therefore seek to acquire legitimacy, formulate his or her points of view through common political convictions, in order to gain a share of confidence and set up political programs close to their ambitions and capable of influencing and mobilizing them during their electoral campaign. All this has led social groups to resort to new forms of protest, such as electoral abstention in addition to previous forms of political participation, such as voting or elections.





This abstention from voting takes two forms: the first is a low level of social integration, the feeling of living in isolated areas and the feeling that they are foreign to social issues. The second can be a great interest in politics, abstention and refusal constitute a refusal to choose in terms of the electoral offer since they know and claim not to have found among the candidates the appropriate expression of their concerns and demands.


Indeed, abstention is a form of hostility towards political elites unable to change, a flight from inter-party rivalries and a denial of the exaggerated expectations of party mapping and the political system in force. It also shows excessive disappointments that are a kind of punishment for the political field and all its actors.

The punishment of social groups of political actors during the electoral process took two important forms: First, as punishment for a category of social actors to political actors, a group turned to the election of a candidate who was trying to replace the State, namely, Nabil Karoui. Regardless of its past, what counts is its work, through the exploitation of political money and through the role of protector of the most disadvantaged through the charitable activity of the "Khalil Tounes Association" through donations and campaigns to distribute aid kind-and-in-cash, not to mention tables in poor regions and districts.

He has also exploited charitable work to win political gains and transform them into electoral credit in a context of economic pressure and the incapacity of the political elites who came to power, not to mention the gap between the citizen and those in charge. A situation that has helped him make breakthroughs in the face of the decline of the traditional elite.

The second candidate, Kais Said, who is a different representation of the dominant and traditional political model, campaigned without festive or propagandist demonstrations and rejected the financial support of economic institutions and businessmen. He promised radical changes in the political system, breaking the centrality of power, fighting corruption and limiting the privileges of public servants. His election was a form of punishment for the system with all its propaganda and media outlets. Indeed, social groups have found in him a social depth resulting from his symbolic potential and his hostility to the current system, even in a gentle and peaceful way.

Kais Said's choice also reflects the university's bias, marginalized and excluded from the circles of political action and that this institution is an integral part of Tunisian society, carries its concerns and defends them through the organizations that contain it, whether they are student organizations, professors or workers. This bias reflects the bias of the university crisis, which the state has abandoned, particularly educated or unemployed voters with higher degrees.

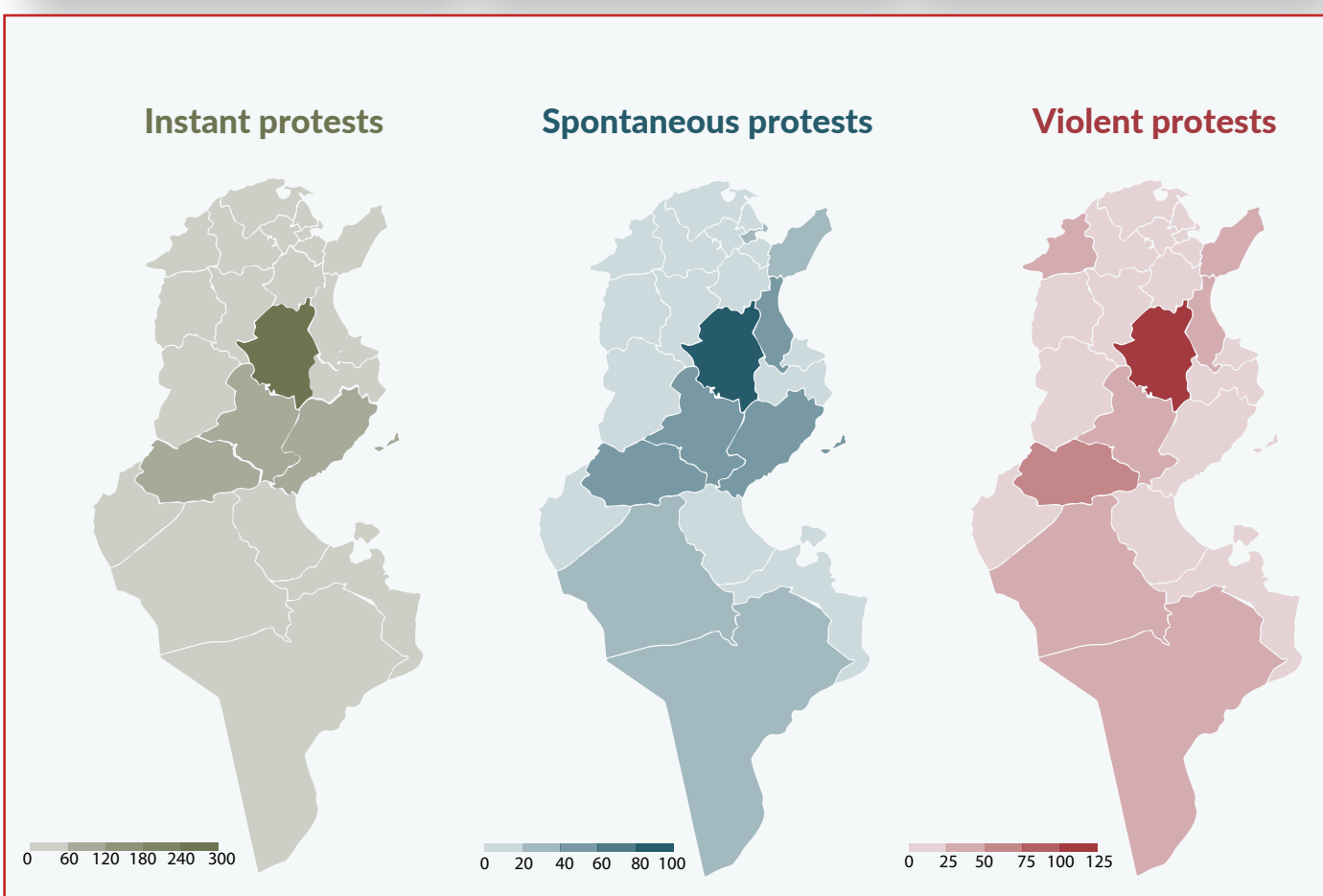


These civil practices are reactions that reflect a rupture with the State, hostility, an operation of exclusion and distortions practiced as well as the refusal to engage in dialogue with these social blocs. This constitutes a blow to the question of the representativeness or representative nature of Tunisian politicians.

"Representativeness is the ability of a person to mobilize around political pillars in order to legitimize their aspirations to speak on behalf of others." They have been representative of their lack of means of influence and political violence on society and of the fact that their theses lack concrete programs based on society's aspirations.

Geographical distribution of protests (Third trimester 2019)

Instant protests				Spontaneous protests				Violent protests			
Bizerte	19	Monastir	10	Bizerte	13	Monastir	6	Bizerte	8	Monastir	0
Tunis	45	Mahdia	18	Tunis	29	Mahdia	15	Tunis	8	Mahdia	12
Ariana	8	Sfax	63	Ariana	0	Sfax	42	Ariana	9	Sfax	24
Manouba	13	Kairouan	299	Manouba	9	Kairouan	97	Manouba	5	Kairouan	112
Ben Arous	7	Kasserine	38	Ben Arous	3	Kasserine	17	Ben Arous	2	Kasserine	22
Zaghouan	8	Sidi Bouzid	72	Zaghouan	5	Sidi Bouzid	58	Zaghouan	0	Sidi Bouzid	28
Nabeul	51	Gabes	12	Nabeul	23	Gabes	3	Nabeul	46	Gabes	3
Jendouba	30	Medenine	12	Jendouba	5	Medenine	12	Jendouba	27	Medenine	6
Beja	22	Tataouine	43	Beja	15	Tataouine	27	Beja	6	Tataouine	32
Kef	12	Gafsa	89	Kef	8	Gafsa	51	Kef	7	Gafsa	61
Seliana	24	Tozeur	13	Seliana	15	Tozeur	12	Seliana	8	Tozeur	3
Sousse	47	Kebili	24	Sousse	41	Kebili	24	Sousse	29	Kebili	19



Acts and attempts of suicide in May 2019

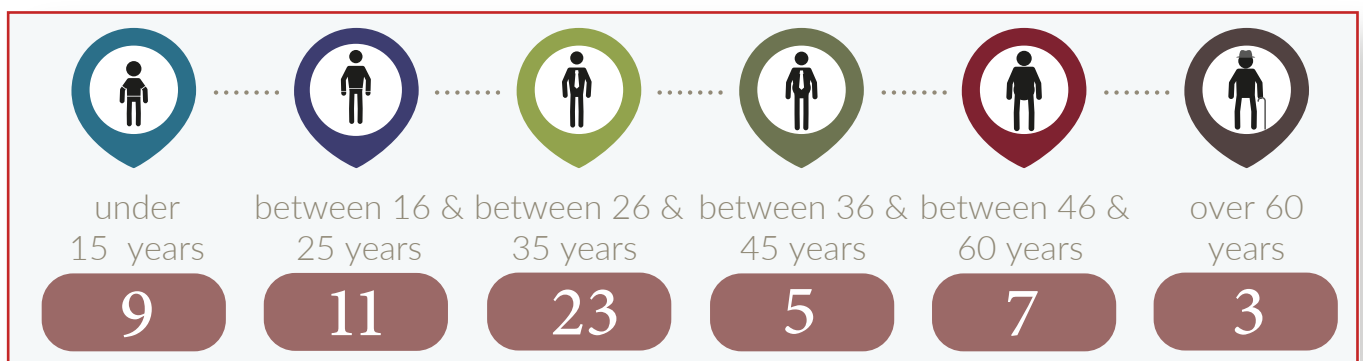
With regard to suicides and attempted suicides, 28 cases were recorded during the month of September 2019. About 57% of cases, records of suicides and attempts were by hanging followed by immolations with about 14%. The age group 16 to 35 years represents the highest suicide rate, accounting for about 55% of all observed cases.

Suicides and attempts of suicide by gender



With regard to the result for this third quarter of 2019, the 16-25 age group accounted for about 50% of all suicide victims (32 out of 58 victims). 81% of the victims were male and 19% were female.

Suicides and suicide attempts by age group



Suicide constitutes a self-sacrifice accompanied by a consciousness of living control and monitoring of societal institutions and thus becomes a carrier of a certain sense of confrontation of these institutions and this social reality, such as the interaction of individuals with this reality, which forms a bridge or passage that transmits death to society and takes three important forms:

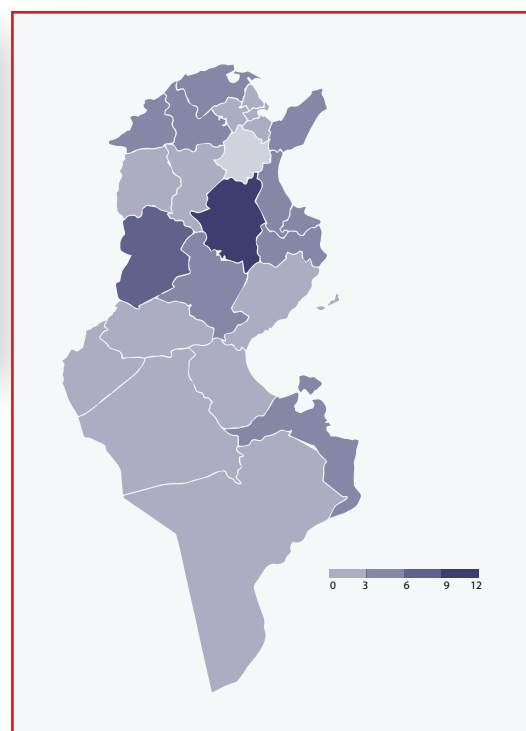
- To declare excellence with respect to that society that submits to this bitter reality
- To defend that society or to die for the good of that society
- Either a depressive death and therefore carries the meaning of surrender and can be impulsive in nature by taking two forms of death or punitive or revenge.

Suicide can be seen as a warning signal for political and social institutions in Tunisia, expressing the existence of problems and deficiencies as well as a wide gap revealing the inability of social institutions to meet the needs of individuals and expressing the discriminatory act perpetrated by these institutions since they allow some to meet their needs and deprive others of those same needs. This allows us to understand that there is a gap in institutional engagement and that it reflects the problems encountered in terms of its objectives, functions, organizations and vision. This social phenomenon, suicide, comes from the disintegration of these social institutions which, at the same time, despite this destruction and powerlessness, try to place individuals under their domination and dependence. This phenomenon of suicide is strongly highlighted in times of severe economic crisis. Institutional societal control is no longer able to direct individual behavior and there is a sudden rearrangement of the social hierarchy. People move in an economic situation inferior to their previous situation and lose their gains or the other way around, namely, a sudden increase in power and wealth, upsetting the social hierarchy and upsetting it since no one knows what is possible and what are the demands realized and not realized and reveals a painful and critical approach among individuals that is suicide.

Suicides and attempts of suicide by governorate

Governorate	Bizerte	Tunis	Ariana	Manouba	Ben Arous	Zaghouan	Nabeul	Jendouba
Volume	4	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
Governorate	Beja	Le Kef	Seliana	Sousse	Monastir	Mahdia	Sfax	Kairouan
Volume	3	0	2	4	4	3	1	11
Governorate	Kasserine	Sidi bouzid	Gabes	Medenine	Tataouine	Gafsa	Tozeur	Kebili
Volume	7	4	0	3	1	2	1	0

Suicides of three people over 60 years of age and 9 children under 15 years of age have also been recorded in the last three months. In the order of governorates according to the cases and suicide attempts observed, Kairouan comes first with 11 cases, then Kasserine with 7 cases, then in parallel Sousse, Monastir, Jendouba, Bizerte and Sidi Bouzid with 4 cases.



Violence

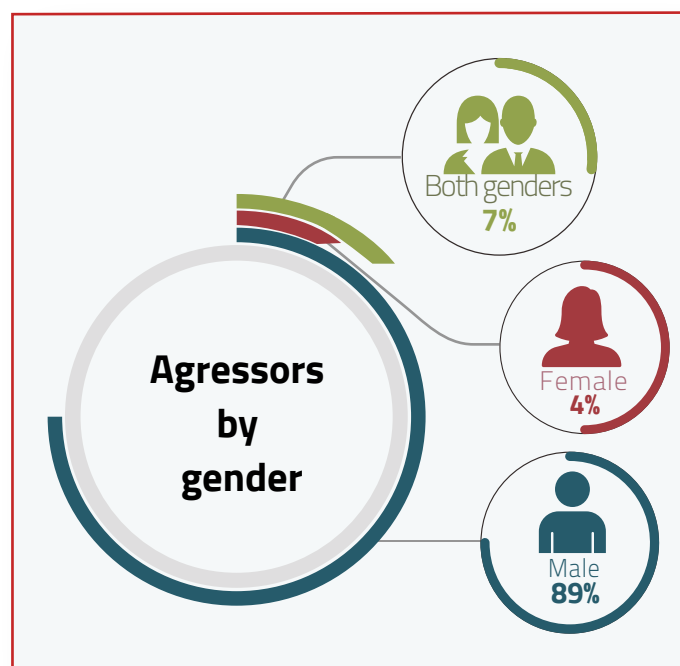
The observation results reveal that the last three months have not been an exception to the general pattern of violence, which is common to almost everyone at the same level. As in the distribution of recorded violence, we note that the proportion of violence in its collective form is often in the order of 60%. On the other hand, violence in the form of individual violence maintains the proportion of 40% of the monthly recorded.

cases of violence

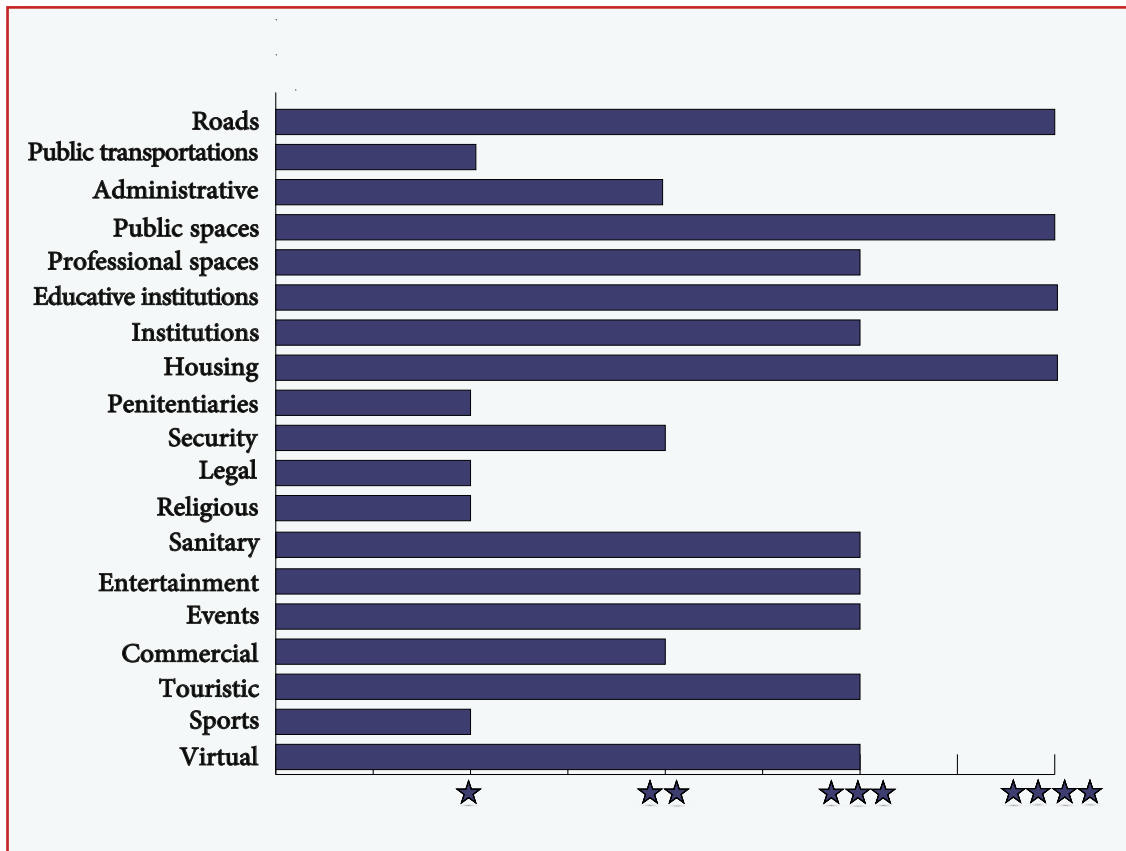


The proportion of violence perpetrated by men is much higher than that of women or mixed and often occurs in public spaces such as recreational spaces, on roads or even in virtual spaces. The proportion of different forms of violence has increased, particularly that related to impulsivity, and here we take as an example what happened in the city of El Matweya when a stranger attacked the car of a member of ATIDE in Gabes, deliberately puncturing both wheels with a knife or the example of criminal violence in Kairouan, when a person hit a student during a robbery with a razor blade on the neck causing him a deep wound in the course of his school. Not to mention what happened in El Yasminette, governorate of Ben Arous, when a five-year-old girl was brutally raped by individuals aged 13 to 15.

Agressors by gender



Intensity of violence by space



Violence is a social phenomenon linked to several individual cultural factors and to the process of socialization where the social environment greatly influences the emergence of this phenomenon. The result is patterns of behavior imposed on individuals and "manifested in different forms in human societies: the form of crime and delinquency (emotional, political...), State violence (repression, torture, segregation) and its most common form, such as quarrels and conflicts between individuals and hidden acts of violence (domestic violence, rape, child abuse).

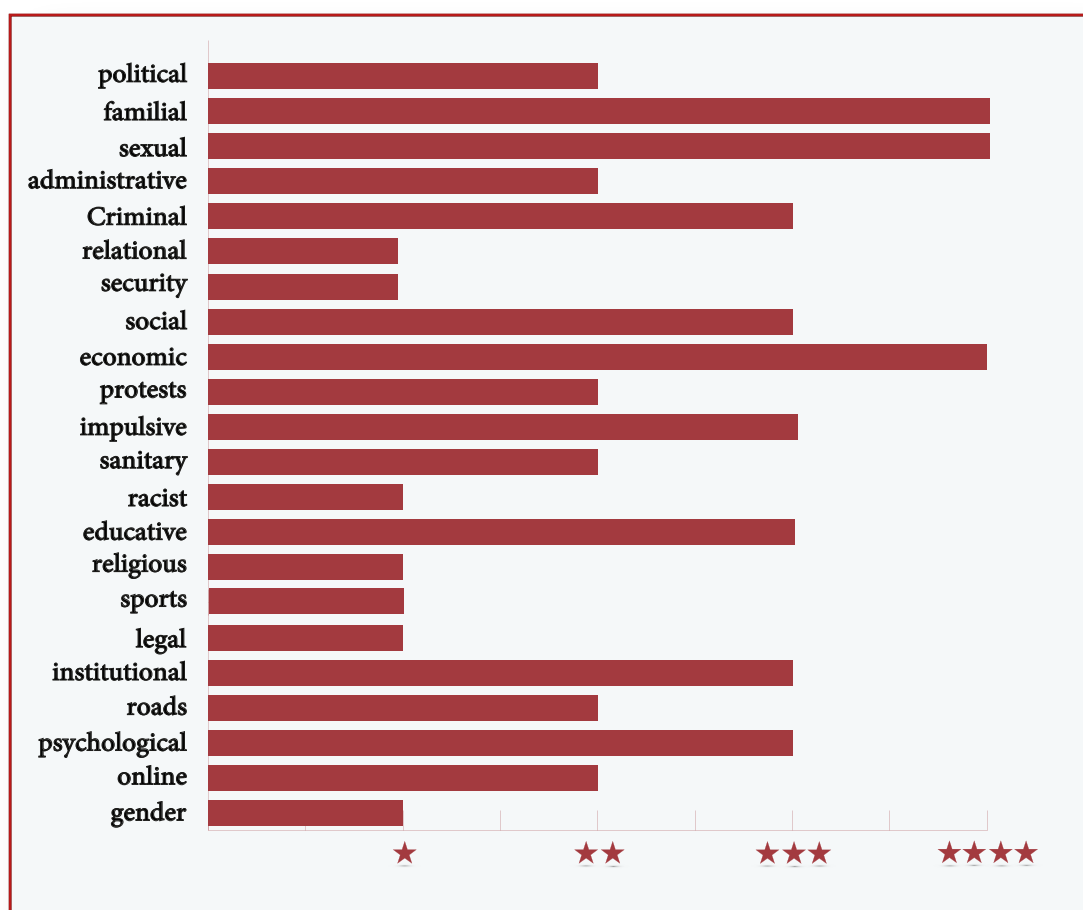
"Each society is as violent as force is not the object of systematic and legitimate practices" as a result of moments of institutional change confronted with the practices of individuals and groups claiming the protection of their acquired rights or enshrining their new rights and objectives through organized violence within groups and exercised over these institutions. These social practices spread, on the one hand, when there is loss of control or consciousness in some individuals or in incomplete societal groups, it can be described as irrational behavior and, on the other hand, a source of authority that can transmit the weakest to the will of those who threaten them and constitutes in a first state an explosion with regressive effect.

Violence is a violation of existing legal and ethical norms and a violation of the idea of social order. It expresses a social anomie, a violation of norms and is sometimes associated with the growing individualism of our society linked to weak social ties and the inability to integrate socially leading to segregation, linked to the problem of domination and exercised when Man is deprived of humanity. Many people insist on practicing it through extortion, which is usually the most physically powerful person's own in order to break the resistance of his opponents, leading to hostile relations and great chaos and contributing to the dissolution of society.

Monitoring during this third quarter of 2019 made it possible to highlight the phenomenon of verbal violence, in particular violence by word of mouth, which represents a moral inconvenience and harassment of people. In addition, collective violence dominates individual violence.

The figures indicate that the family space, the household, is the setting that has experienced the greatest number of acts of violence of all kinds, monopolizing 45% of the acts of violence observed in July, 30% of the acts of violence recorded in August and 25% of the acts of violence recorded in September. The increase in educational violence, which coincides with the return to school and the beginning of the school year, was around 7.5% during the month of September.

Forms of violence



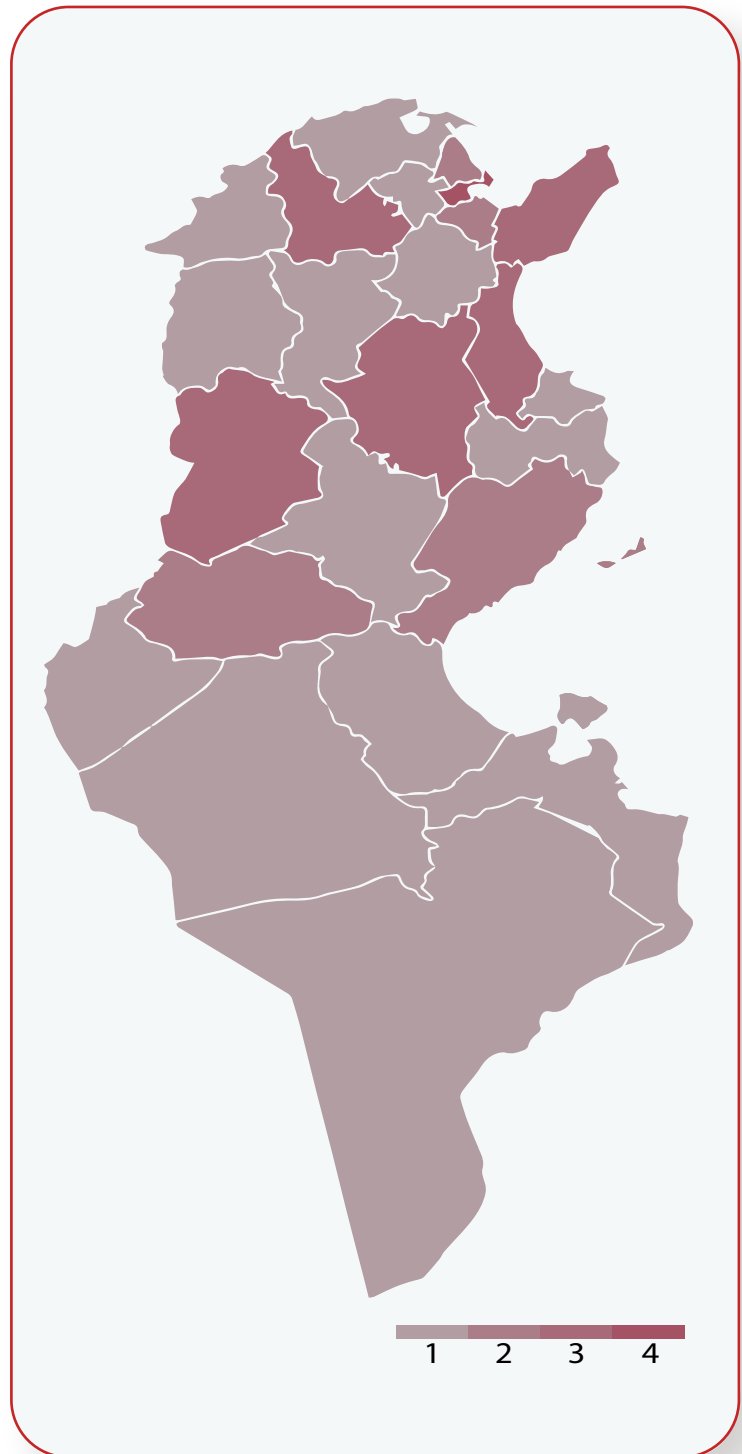
Violence by governorate

The governorates and districts of Greater Tunis have had the highest rate of violence in the past three months, with only 23% of cases recorded in July, August and September.

The governorates of Kairouan and Kasserine are in second place, with proportions that sometimes rise and sometimes fall. For example, in August, the governorate of Kairouan recorded 16.67% of the recorded violence, while in September the rate was about 7.35%.

In addition, the rate of violence recorded in Kasserine during the month of August was around 1.67%, increasing during September to 10.29%. The governorate of Sousse also has a relatively high level of violence, with 13.24% of the violence recorded in September compared to 10% of the violence recorded in August, whereas it was 20% in July.

The cases of violence reported by the Tunisian Social Observatory team include the various governorates of the Republic and the recorded events are often the subject of debate among national and local public opinion, particularly if they are associated with heinous crimes, domestic violence, violence against children or sexual violence.





Conclusion

What can be retained during this third quarter of 2019 are these new forms of protest through electoral behavior punishing the political class as a movement of escalation and democratic protest reflecting the political violence exercised by political actors of the Tunisian state on these marginalized groups of political action and development. This can lead in the coming period to a widespread revolt, which particularly affects many groups in society, especially if the statements of the new political actors who will be elected are bankrupt and the possibility that their programs will not involve the social needs of marginalized groups will be a trigger for the burning spaces that will not shrink from the completion of social and political change in order to wrest economic and social rights from them.

The context of this third quarter of 2019 was characterized, in particular, by the continuity of the thirst crisis and infrastructure, health, education, transport and agriculture, in which the administrative, social and health sector emerged through collective forms of protest. This quarter has been full of suicides and violence, which has resulted in a real disintegration of the institutions of society and its inability to contain the Tunisian citizen by expressing its inability to find radical solutions to this social reality because of the solutions postponed or invested through the race of the electoral stages.

