



## Urban sustainability challenges : Democracy and spatial injustices in Modern Tunisia

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### ABSTRACT

In this paper, the author addresses spatial injustices in Tunisia, and seeks to which extent social and territorial inequalities could hamper democracy. Many urban disparities and social anomies such as informal sector, terrorism, unemployment, and unsustainable development process threaten the vulnerable democracy transition in Tunisia.

The author described and analyzed urban planning process since independency to nowadays. He analyzed the successive economic development policy makings undertook by a mono-party Nation-State. The top down development policies implemented until nowadays entailed a big gap between coastal areas and inland. The former benefitted of its site across the sea shores and proximity to Tunis and former regime. Many factors fostered export industries and tourism activities. The latter were left behind due to their lack of resources and urban planning policy dominated by neo liberal capitalist development in favor of Tunis urban primacy and the littoral where concentrated most foreign and local investments.

Urban disparities and inequalities in Tunisia join in a networked society where local and global actors play a key role in economic, social, and urban development process in Tunisia. Tunisian society is a subsystem within a global system (Wallerstein, 2012), and what is happening is not conjunctural, but it is due to global social movements (Sassen 2007 ; Castells 2012 ; Braudel, 1992 ; Amin, 2003). Terrorism, pollution, and inequalities are not per se, but are the negative results of a myriad of factors : economic, politics, cultural, emotional, aesthetics, social and urban morphologies. Many economic, social, and political actors intervened and interconnected in public and private arenas and triggered those anomies.

Fair urban policies are expected to be achieved through a multilevel governance in order to implement the revolution objectives in Tunisia. Otherwise, a representative democracy only, won't fulfil the well-being expected by large Tunisian people. Sustainable urban governance requires a multi-scalar bottom-up and top-down policy-making. In Tunisia, after democratic transition success, the state should be revamped, and compensate its deficit. A sustainable urban planning implies a holistic policy framework involving private and public sectors, and civil society actors locally, regionally, and globally.

**Key Words** : Challenges /Democracy/ Injustices /Space/ Sustainable /Tunisia/ Urban

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## INTRODUCTION

After the successful elections (October, 26, 2014) Tunisia will be faced with a dilemma : how democratic process transition undertook by the quartet (UGTT, UTICA, OAT, and LTDH)<sup>1</sup> and civil society actors could be twinned with a sustainable urban development ? However, many factors (e.g., Terrorism, inequalities, and corruption), could undermine democratic process if we share some scholars theses that « inequalities undermine democracy » (Fraser 2007, Fainstain 2010, to cite but a few). The urban gap and social inequalities dating back to **preindependencyperiod**, are remarkably deepening despite the **Nation-state** successive efforts to implement social and urban development. Nevertheless, the development policies were-and continue to be **made in the mainstream of a global liberal capitalism**. The Nation-State weakened in the aftermath of December, 17th, 2010s and January, 14th, 2011 revolution. Youth unemployment had hugely grown, mainly amongst university graduates. Most of the populations living in the inland, and vulnerable social **groups** (i.e., women, poor, lower middle classes) become more and more excluded, impoverished. Moreover, terrorism acts occurred against security, military, opposition leaders. As a network of networks, this phenomenon is staggering in Tunisia in the urban vacuum, chaotic **spaces** (i.e., Chaambi<sup>2</sup>, desertic areas, popular quarters where it finds home and endorsement). The urban syndrome in Tunisia is the grassroots of this phenomenon. Our problematic is focusing on the urban hiatus as resilient to a democratic process. Elections are not sufficient to guarantee a steady democracy in Tunisia. How economic well-being could be achieved to sustain the ongoing democratic process in Tunisia, and vice versa ? In order to address this key question, we emit the following hypotheses :

**Urban disparities and** inequalities in Tunisia join in a networked society where local and global actors play a key role in economic, social, and urban development process. Tunisian society is a subsystem within a global **system** (Wallerstein, 2012), and what is happening is not conjunctural, but is due to global social movements (Sassen 2007), (Castells, 2012), (Braudel 1992), (Amin, 2003). Terrorism, pollution, inequalities are not per se, but are due to a plurality of factors : economic, politics, cultural, emotional, aesthetics, social and urban morphologies. Myriad of actors interfere in public and private arenas and trigger those anomalies.

Fair urban policies are expected to be achieved through a multilevel governance, in order to implement revolution objectives in Tunisia. Otherwise, a representative democracy only, won't fulfil the well-being expected by wide collapsed middle class and left behind people.

**Our method is theoretical** based on previous findings on the topic and theoretical and empirical studies led on the issue of Democracy and inequalities in Tunisia and elsewhere. The system, networked society, actors, strategies, opportunities, and socio-cultural contexts are, in our opinion, worth for better understanding Tunisia social changes. The multilevel governance approach<sup>3</sup> (Corfee- Morlot ; Jan Lamia Kamal Chaoui ; Michael G. donovan ; Ian Cochran ; Alexis Robert and Pierre-Jonathan ; Teasdale 2009 ; Henrik Enderlein ; Sonja Walti ; Michael Zurn 2010s ; Gonzelman 2008 ; Marks 1993 ; Hughes 1996 to name but a few) allows, **somehow**, to explain, more accurately, new participative urban policies as a prerequisite for a sustainable urban development.

We will conclude by detecting the main social and urban anomalies as problems of power relationships between rulers and ruled people which stem from a top down policy-making followed by authoritarian regimes. A bottom-up policy making could be relevant enough if twinned **within** accurate articulation and agencies within a multilevel urban governance process.

## BISECTORIAL ECONOMY and BEYOND?

Tunisian economy is still vulnerable due to its structural foundations. Inasmuch, Tunisia-as many other countries-is amongst a global network, the conception of two-tiered economy is not relevant enough to understand economy syndrome in Tunisia.

Since independency, six economic plans were implemented in order to guarantee well-being to all Tunisians. Despite the efficiencies achieved, this objective hasn't been reached. The first triennial plan along with liberal economic policies which since independency had been stressing on growth by saving and encouraging national private capital to contribute to the development effort deployed by the Nation-State. In fact, the first triennial economic plan focused on rural areas development by enhancing agriculture activities. In vain, rural development programs undertaken by Tunisian state failed to enhance agriculture sector.

During its first six economic development plans, Tunisia invested about the third of its GDP and saved the fifth of it which required a foreign indebtedness to about 30 per cent of the investments amounts, the local saving financed more than third about 70 per cent. The primary colonial economy gave way to an enriched economic structures.

<sup>1</sup> Quartet is a consensual coalition formed of civil society organizations: Labor Trade Unions (UGTT), Trade Unions of Industry, Trade, and Crafts (UTICA), Tunisian Lawyers Order (OAT), and Tunisian Human Rights Ligue constituted to endorse technocratic government in order to implement the roadmap leading to democratic elections by the end of 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Chaambi is the highest mountains in Kasserine governorate across Algerian borders where terrorists hide and act against State agents and smugglers make arms and goods trafficking between Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria.

<sup>3</sup> Multi-level governance initially described a "system of continuous negotiation among governments at several territorial tiers-supranational, national, regional and local" that was distinctive of EU structural policy (Marks 1993, Hooghe 1996)



Textile and leather (22%) and touristic industries emerged, 76 per cent, new resources developed oil (33 per cent) workers revenues (9 per cent) and about 86 per cent in 1990s among which textile and leather 22 per cent, mechanics and electrics 6 per cent, tourism 15 per cent and workers 10 per cent.

In Tunisia, the so-called « socialist » experience led by Ahmad ben Salah in sixties was, in fact, a state capitalism because it was shaped and molded by a Nation-State policy dependent of capitalist core. The following economic and social policies during nineties until nowadays are dependent to Neo-Liberal capitalism, to the financial monetary capital logic. Hence, development process in Tunisia stems from local structures characterized by a deep gap between a hinterworld of an off-shore industrial activities and a hinterland (Diala 2010s) underdeveloped and left behind by the successive governments who followed a top down policies.

The nation-State undertook many policy making in accordance with its near and foreign neighbourhood. Economic performances were achieved thanks to a wise enlightened politic leadership of Habib Bourguiba. Despite his lack of democracy, Bourguiba gained international trust which allowed economic development shaped by a set of development plans (e.g., 1st to 6th development plans). His reign from 1957 to 1986 was characterized by the implementation of six development plans (1961-1986). During the cooperativisation period the capitals fled to tourism where we favored « capitalism » instead of « socialism ».

In 1973, the first Master urban planning plan was undertaken by Town Planning Direction (Group Eight) along with the new liberal economic policy led by Hedi Nouira (Prime Minister Deputy at that time) in the aftermath of the State Capitalism failure in 1969. The subsidies abolition decision triggered revolts all over Tunisia (January, 3d, 1984). Remark, the subsidy funds had been created by decree since French protectorate, June 28 1945. It consisted to protect Tunisian households against cereal products high rising prices. Its objective by-passed the protection of households consumption power, it targeted also to guarantee the minimum wages for agricultors in difficulties. Afterwards, the subsidy funds encompassed more food needs (i.e., milk, meat, energy)

The well-being has been conceived in terms of GDP growth only. Then, we wonder why Tunisian and Egyptian economy growth were the best in the MENA and Africa though, uprisings sparked in both two countries. According to Joseph Stiglitz (Nobel Prize Economist), the well-being shouldn't be limited in GDP growth. It has also to take into consideration other dimensions (i.e., gender, health, education, governance). Otherwise, we still remain in the Keynesian and Fordist conceptions criticized in the sixties by many scholars as did Herbert Marcuse in his book entitled : « the one-dimensional man » (1964) considering the new consumption society as more repressive and alienating the human being, and so did Eric Fromm in America in talking about « Revolution of Hope ». For Stiglitz, the well-being calculation must take into account the followings : « Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth), health, education, personal activities including work, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, environment: present and future conditions, insecurity of an economics as well as physical nature. All these dimensions shape the people's well-being, and yet many of them are missed by conventional income measures (Stiglitz et al. 2009: 14-15)

In Tunisia, the new technocratic government had to say the truth that the budget lacks about 5.000 billions TND. In sum, the government would be constrained to adopt an austerity measures like abolition or reduction of food and energy subsidies and has recourse to indebtedness. Another difficult, but possible solution could be the revising of the taxation policy and fighting smuggling and informal commerce. The inflation rate is reaching 5 per cent rate. The gap between region is deepening. Social uprising are growing. The Libyan authorities made a decision to close the Ras Jedir gate in the the southern borders between Tunisia and Libya where many Tunisian families live of smuggling activities since long times. The same events of outrage continue in the centre west (Sidi Bou Zid, Kasserine, Kairouan) and nearby Tunisian Algerian borders where many people earn their lives by informal commerce. Some unexpected factors (i.e., terrorism, former regime remnants, mentalities) withstand to the ongoing democratic transition process in Tunisia.

Until 2013, Transitional Governments adopted expansionary fiscal and monetary policies to spur growth and employment. Deficit was about of 6 per cent, government expending exceeded revenues.

Moreover, the increasing informal commerce through Tunisian Libyan and Algerian borders entailed high inflation rates reaching Inflation 5.6%. The unemployment rate had also increased 18.9% comparing to the previous years. The first transitional governments increased public spending by increasing salaries and vouchsafing compensations to victims of former regime amongst General amnesty and reduced the level of taxation in order to attract and encourage local and foreign investors. Some private banks in difficulties were bailed out by government through central Bank. All these economic policy making didn't succeed to lift the Tunisian Economy.

### **ENERGY, the BURNING ISSUE !**

The energy issue is in the core of the sustainable development. Tunisia had nearly achieved an energy sufficiency in the beginning of the third millenium. However, since 2005, a growing lack of energy resources had been observed.

Tunisia has witnessed a decline in primary energy intensity by 27% with regard to 1990s which reflects again in energetic productivity. This decline has clearly accelerated from the year 2001, which urges us to wonder on the origin of this reduction. (Ben Hammamia et al. 2014 :) Industries, transports, and real estate consume the lion share of energy consumption in Tunisia. In fact, the energy intensity in the industrial sector has decreased by 28% in 2008 with regard to its level in 1990s since its ration of energy consumption has decreased. However, it





increased by 18 per cent in the transport sector in 2008. Energetic sector in Tunisia is closely correlated to fossil energies consumptions. The atmospheric pollution of the neighborhood stems from those materials combustion. The higher is the economic growth, the lesser is household's well-being improvement.

The primary energy consumption had swiftly increased by 2013(7947Ktoe) <sup>4</sup>. Mehdi Abid *et al.* **Highlighted**: « Given the dominance of industrial, transport and residential sectors in ultimate energy use, our descriptive as well as econometrical analyses will focus only on these three sectors. Moreover, we will consider that energy consumption depends only on the three basic components: oil, electricity, and natural gas because the other energy categories represent very small proportions and/or their consumption statistics are integrated in those of basic components. » (Abid and Maamer, 2012 :57)

However, well-being will not, henceforth, be measured only by economic growth. Healthcare, recreation, culture, freedom, security matter too much in the Human Development Index. As far as energy is concerned, it is in the core of Human development. In the growing information society, energy issue is very important. In a cybernetic approach of thinking, we find that the more we use information and knowledge in the daily life, the lesser we use physical **energies**(e.g., transportation means, household tasks, washing machines, electronic energies in day-to-day life activities). Moreover, the use of greenhouse gases in households, transportation, industries begot the overspread of the CO<sub>2</sub> within ecosystem. It has negative impacts on human being. It damages health, entails natural risks (i.e., Ozone depletion).

**Table 1 : Energy Resources in Tunisia**

<b>YEARS</b>	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2005	2006
<b>RESSOURCES</b>	13984	6171	5283	6777	6379	6785	6442
<b>CRUDE OIL</b>	5109	5293	4343	4037	3230	3479	333
<b>NATURAL GAS</b>	850	855	931	2720	3105	3264	3080
<b>HYDRAULIC AND WINDELECTRICITY</b>	25	23	9	20	44	42	29
<b>DEMAND</b>	3638	4307	5391	6192	6964	7314	7411
<b>OIL PRODUCTS</b>	2478	3442	3430	3724	3859	4017	4110
<b>NATURAL GAS</b>	1135	842	1952	2448	3043	3255	3272
<b>HYDRAULIC</b>	25	23	9	20	44	42	29

<sup>4</sup>Kilotonne of Oil Equivalent



AND WINDELECTRICITY							
COKE					18	0	0

### Primary Energy Demand and Resources evolution between 1987-2006(data in Ktep)

Tunisia has many renewable energy resources. The report also argued that VLS-PVPS (Very Large Scale Photo Voltaic Power Systems) are not only technically and commercially feasible, but represent one of the most promising solar energy solutions. In desartic regions(Kebili, Tataouine) in the Southof Tunisia many sustainable energies opportunities such as natural gas extraction and solar plants could be implemented. Tunisian State will soon undertake an partnership within an institutional and research framework. Local inputs are importantly available, but energy good governance has been lacking.

#### HOW to MEET the GROWING DEMAND of EERGY in TUNISIA?

Due to population growth and increasing affluence, the total electricity consumption as well as the per capita consumption in Tunisia have increased over the last decade.

In the year 2010s, electricity sales, by STEG(Electric and Gas Tunisian Company) increased by 6.2 per cent from 12,254 GWh in 2009 to 13,015 GWh in 2010. Peaks occurred during summer afternoons because of air conditioning overuse,which threatens the electricity supply capacity. Some experts speculate that by 2016, Tunisia will face severe shortages of electricity in the summer unless new power plants are constructed.

In addition, a cheap and stable supply of electricity is important to promote economic growth. After the revolution, cheap electricity plays an important role in jobs supplies. For example, STEG owns and operates nine wind farms in Tunisia. However, these turbines are not effectively used to their full potential because of their location wether faraway a suitable location where exists contantly wind supply, and more impotantly acroos urban settlement and hence disturb inhabitants of noises they cause.

As far as renewable energies are concerned in Tunisia,Hiroyuko Hito argued in this issue :

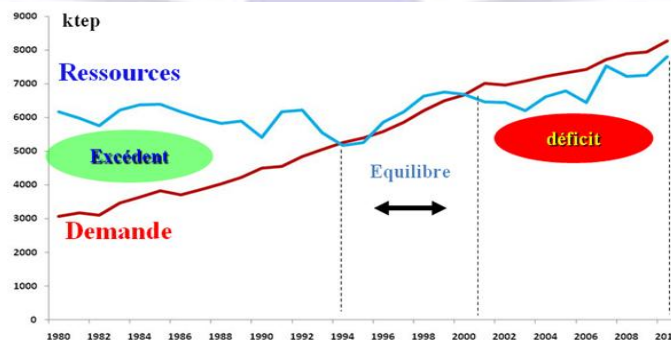
« The Tunisian government subsidies imported natural gas in order to make electricity costs low for end users. However, this puts financial pressure on the state's budget. The policy supports Algerian exporters and creates a dependency on these exports. Furthermore, electricity generated by other methods has to compete with subsidised gas prices. As a result, this provides a disincentive for installing one's own residential solar panels or investing in power plants. »(Hito,2013 :19)

New energy extraction entailed contreversies about their obvious negative impacts on environment. Some shale gas gisements were discovered in Kairouan Center of Tunisia, but civil society and public opinion opposed to its extraction.

Shale gas is a new kind of resource which became available due to improvements in extraction technology.We drill deep into the ground vertically (e.g. from1,500 to 6,000feet)5 and drill horizontally(1000 to 3000ft) by injecting cement in order to ovoid water leaking. Explosives are then fired into the well in order to allow shale gas extraction after removing water and sand due the fracturing. The plug in and the fracturing process is repeated in order to extract shale gas. However, because of potential environmental risks, some experts warn that drilling of shale gas introduces carcinogenic waste into the environment, and nearby water supplies. Therefore extraction of shale gas is banned in many countries, including but not limited to France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Argentina, South Africa, some parts of Australia, and the United States. Though in these latters, many deposits were drilled and supplied many job opportunities and replaced traditional energy resources (oil, coal).

Industrial, transport and residential sectors have the most share of energy consumption inTunisia. For example, in 2007, they represent about 83% of total energy consumption, while thetertiary and the agriculture sectors represent only 17%. The figure below witnesses the evolution of energyconsumption by end-use sector in Tunisia from 1980s to 2007.

Graphic 1 : Energy Resources in Tunisia



53000 ft = 914.4 m

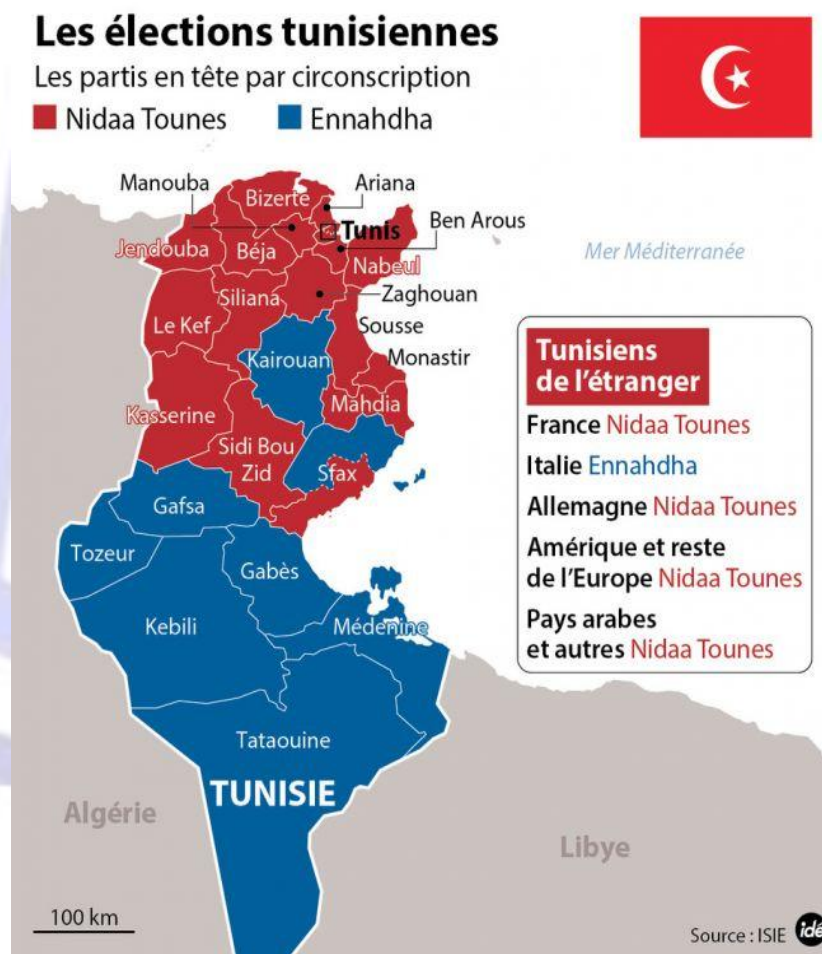
Tunisian economy relies mainly on agriculture, tourism and exportation industries. Few energy resources exist. Oil production has been shrinking remarkably since 1980s. According US Energy Information Data (EIA)<sup>6</sup>, oil production decreased to 67,000 barrels per day in 2012. Moreover, Tunisia consumed the double of its natural gas production (3.7 cubic meters) in 2012 according the same source. Nawara gas field in Gabes region is expected to supply an additional volume of 353 million cubic feet (10 million cubic meters) of gas per day after it goes into operation in 2016. It is obvious that energy sector matters too much in economic and urban growth in Tunisia.

**THE URBAN GAP in TUNISIA:**

Urban planning documents : PAU (Urban Spatial Planning), SDAT (Master plan of town and country planning), CU (Urbanism Code), PRAT (Regional Master Plan of Urban Planning)...didn't fulfil urban policy makings objectives. However, the territorial inequalities deepened sharply widened in Tunisia.

The results of the parliamentary elections held on Sunday, October, 26, 2014 draws a political map where the Islamist party is still popular in the areas of its main historic areas origins, and inland of the country. The central and southern western governorates feel excluded by the modern nation-state. Nidaa Tunis had the lion shares of votes in northern areas of Tunisia. Eventhough, in the center West, it shares quite equally votes with Ennahdha.

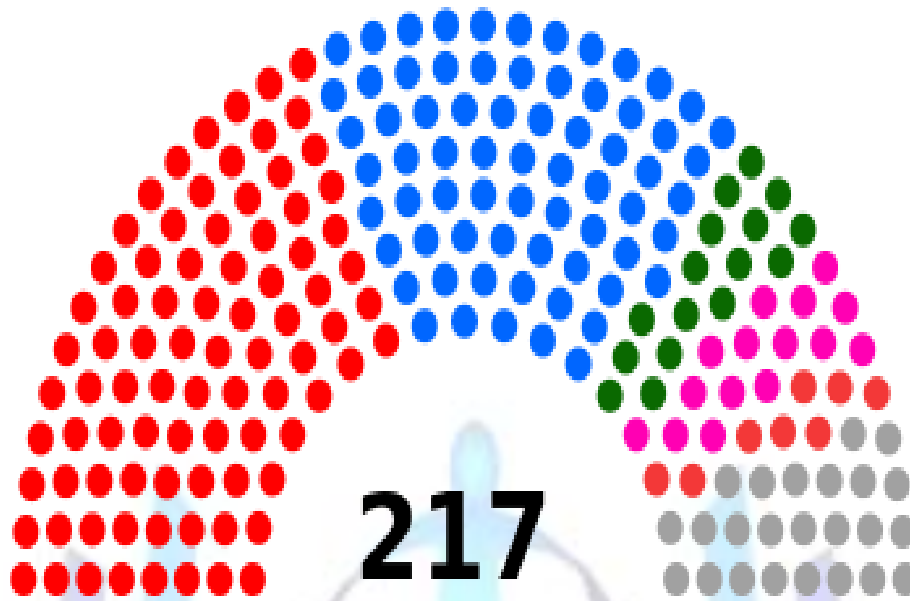
**Map1 : Political map in Tunisia, October, 2014**



As seen on the maps, the secular party Nidaa Tounes has the most shares of votes in northern areas of Tunisia. It shares votes with Islamist party in central Eastern and Western areas of Tunisia. But, the southern governorates are mostly represented by Ennahdha party. Many reasons are behind those results. In the North, an awareness arose among voters that Ennahdha didn't fulfill its promises. In the South, many Ennahdha leaders are issued from there, and there is somehow, a compassion and sympathy towards this party allegedly believed, « it fears God ». This sympathy to the Ennahdha could be explained also by some historic collective memory linked to the struggle against French protectorate, and the past political conflict between Habib Bourguiba and Salah Ben Youssef. Territorial inequalities play a key role in the present political map of Tunisia.

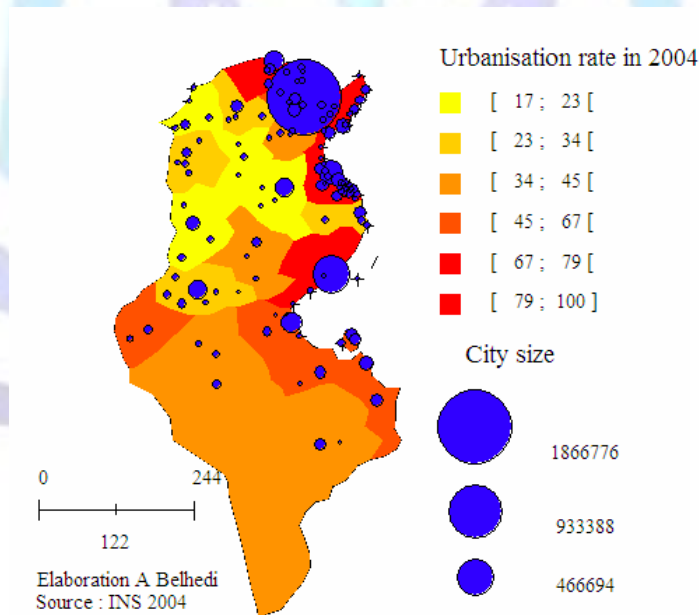
<sup>6</sup>International Energy Agency

Graphic 2 : Parliamentary Elections Results in Tunisia, October, 2014



- Nidaa Tounes: 85 seats
- Ennahda Movement: 69 seats
- Popular Front: 15 seats
- Free Patriotic Union: 16 seats
- Afek Tounes: 8 seats
- Others: 24 seats

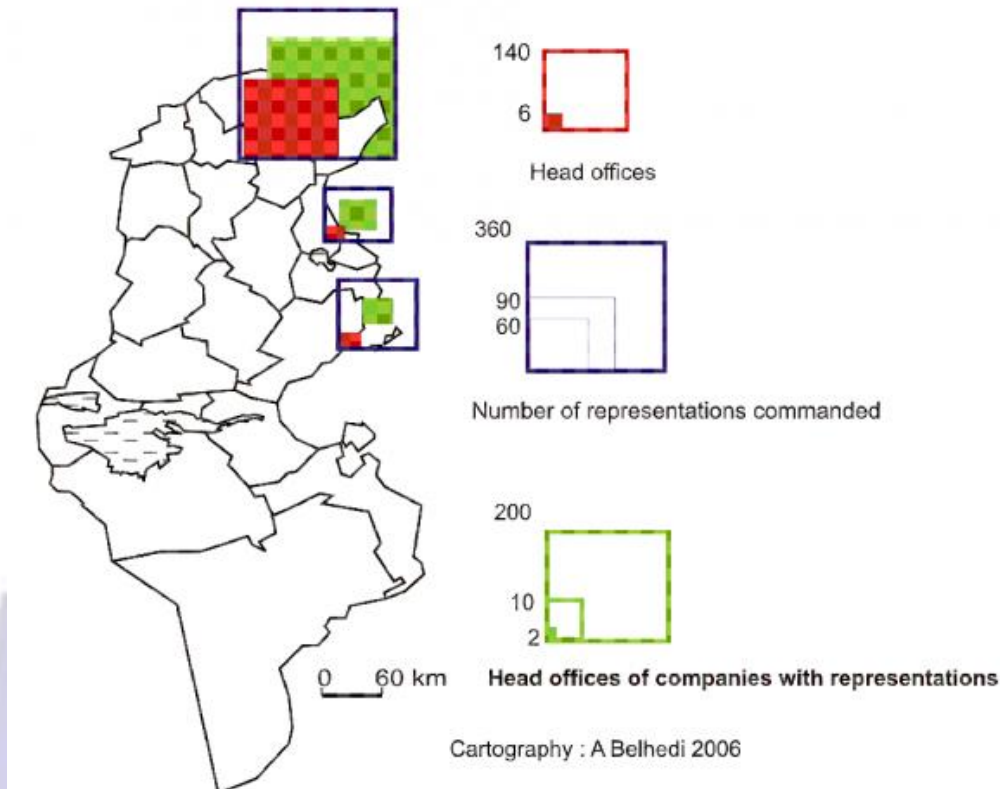
Map2 : Tunisia Urban Gap



In their studies on inequalities in Tunisia, Mohamed Kriaa, Zouhour Karray and Slim Driss argued that inequalities between regions and delegations in Tunisia are correlated to neo liberal openness policy making. In fact, the location of foreign companies settled thanks to 1972 law was an incentive to foreign development investment FDI may benefit relatively to hinterland disadvantaged areas. The authors, highlighted that « foreign companies may choose to settle in developed areas where exist accomodations and facilities. Then inequalities between delegations increased. » (Kriaa, Karray, 2011 :11)



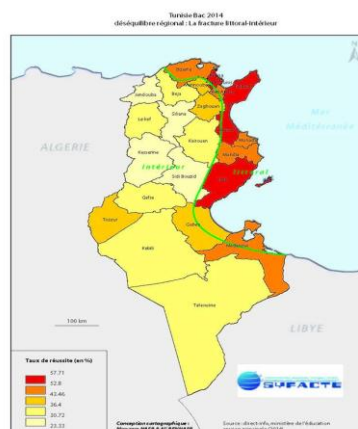
**Map3 : Companies Representations' locations in Tunisia**



The coastal areas benefitted of development policies. More than sixty per cent of investments are concentrated on littoral areas, mainly Tunis and North East and South East. The new technologies of information and communication, cosmetic, tourism and refined commerce (e.g., export industries, textile) are located in the Eastern littoral areas. (Belhedi2004). During important forum held in Tunisia in September, 2014 many investors from worldwide attended the forum and are committed to invest in Tunisia (i.e., Economic city in Enfidha nearby Sousse, financial harbour in Tunis to name but a few). Would those project be achieved in short-run ? They are planned to be implemented within three years, after elections(2014) in Tunisia. Those mega project would guarantee around 250.000 jobs opportunities. In fact, many resiliences exist which could hamper foreign investment in Tunisia(e.g. land planning documents, growing terrorism, governance).

In the same way, continuing to invest in the littoral would deepen more and more the territorial and social gaps between coastal areas and hinterland, and the urban syndrome would worsen furthermore. It seems that the same tendency consisting in doing city for profit persists instead of making « cities for people ». ((Marcuse, Peter, Mayer Margit et al, 2011)

**Map 4 : High School Diploma Success Rates**



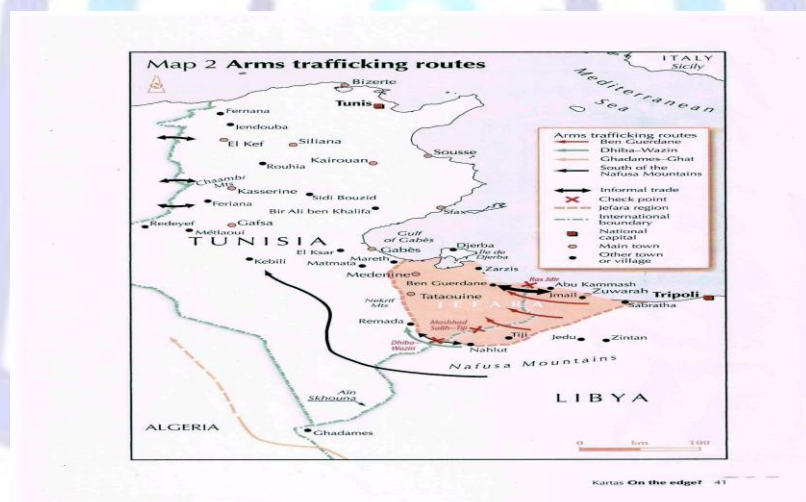


Sfax, the second city in Tunisia, considered allegedly as the south capital, and to be in vain the regional metropolis for the southern neighborhood. Though, many of its inhabitants emigrated to the capital Tunis and elsewhere in Tunisia and abroad. Many sfaxians are self-entrepreneurs. They invest in : Agriculture in Sidi Bou Zid governorate, in industrial and tertiary projects in north eastern regions. The city of Sfax composed of Medina, Bab Bhar « European core », the Jnens, the garden city(Ben Nasr2013). The city development witness several economic, social, and environmental biases(e.g. floods, transportation network, lack of infrastructures) the planned megaproject Taparura(2001) would extend the new city towards its eastern waterfronts and add about five hundreds hectares to the urban area on the seafronts. Since after the technocratic interim government Mehdi Jomaa decision to begin deepwater port and mega economic projects in Enfidha in North East of Tunisia, civil Society associations in Sfax gathered in front of municipality headquarter to claim the implementation of the planned megaproject Taparura7and urban development of Sfax. It is not, in our opinion a regionalism, but a competing between two main strategic cities (i.e., Sousse and Sfax) in the global urban development in the country, which is still in favor of north east coastal areas.

**Informal activities, and territorial hiatus :**

Since seventies, social movements were growing (January, 26, 1978) and in the eighties along with a culminate economic crisis (January, 3d, 1984) when the government decided to lift subsidies on foods ; the president Bourguiba at the begining of the end of his reign resiliated the government decision in order to apaise the people outrage. The miner basin movements (January, 2008) against recruitment by clientilism, obedience to the regime was led by bottom trade unions in Sfax Gafsa Company and in the West region of the country Gafsa. In Summer of 2010s, in the border town Ben Guerdane, the informal traders and unemployed youth of the region opposed to the authorities which decided to close the Ras Jeder Gate. It is the main means of living of many families in the area.

**Map5 : Arms Trafficking Routes in Tunisia**



The urban vacuum or what we can call « space of chaos »(Balandier 1988) characterizing South Eastern, south western, central western, and North western area is an area of poverty, social exclusion and marginalization due to previous development policies led by Nation-State. In the south East, Jeffara area(cf. map 5 below) is arid where rain fall doesn't exceed 200milimeters by year, pastoral activities(camels, livestock)is the most important livelihood in history, agriculture represents around 17.3 of useful agricultural land.(Boubakri and Nouri, 2009 :115). Many of the Jeffara inhabitants emigrate to north Tunisia(Tunis, mainly, to Libya or to Europe where they exert some activities traditionnally well known in the area Ftairi (doughnuts maker), bakery, Hammam (dried fruits seller).

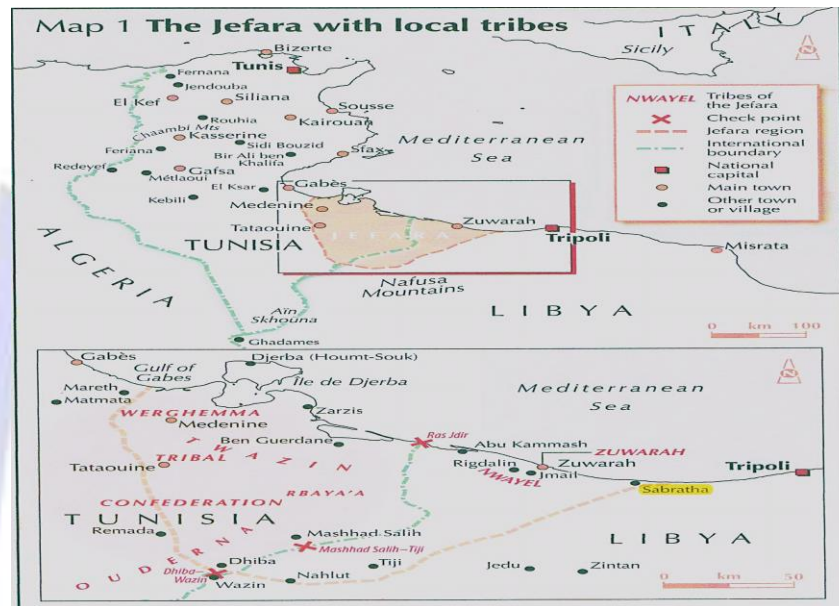
The former president Zine Al Abidine ben Ali made a deal with border tribes and smuggling barons, and turned a blind eye on informal exchanges between Libya and Tunisia. Most of borders' tribes cooperate with his regime and didn't allow any arm and drug trafficking. In their tours, informal commerce barons required that Ben Ali and Kaddafi relatives and families shouldn't interfere in their business. However, in 2010s, Ben Ali relatives influenced him to impose a tax on crossing border gate by informal traders in Ben Gardane. Therefore, this decision triggered uprising among local populations. Many clashes occurred against authorities.

In fact, local populations living across borders, and even in many towns and villages, are occupied by informal commerce whit about 42 per cent. Few barons became the richest, other intermediaries gain their livelihood

<sup>7</sup>Taparura is a megaproject planned in 2001 across Sfax city waterfronts, but it is still on stand-by due regime changes in Tunisia in the aftermath of the Revolution.

through informal commerce with Libya, and Algeria. We can locate those informal activities in a broader worldwide economic network (e.g., US and China commerce deals). The economic competitions between super powers in the world. Wholesalers in Libya import goods from China, India, Turkey and stock them in warehouses. Retailers from Ben Gardane and others buy those merchandises through money exchangers, cambists who provide Libyan currencies with interests. - Sometimes Banks make the operation. The benefits of this commerce are 50per cent or more when they are free custom taxes. There is often a connivance between traders and customs and border security agents to not pay customs fees. The driver of the trucks transporting imported goods earn a salary of between 300 to 1000 Tunisian Dinars by trip ;it depends on the quantity and values of the transported goods. The main border stations controls are: Jendouba and Kef governorates in the North West, Kasserine in the Center West, Bouchebka, Tozeur in the South West, Ras Jedir in Ben Gardane South East, Wasin, Mashhad Salih in Tataouine, South East of Tunisia.

**Map6 : Local Tribes South Eastern Tunisia**



The tribal relationships are still at work in economy, society, and communication networks. The important tribes are(Werghemma in Medenine and Zarzis, Twazins in Medenine and Ben Guerdane, Ouderna, Tataouine and Remada, Nwayel across Ben Guerdane on both sides of Libya and Tunisia). There is an interconnexion in kinship, economic exchanges, and cultural ones. Informal commerce had grown on the Tunisian borders with Libya, and Algeria.

Moreover, some evidences prove that smugglers and arm traffickers are in close connection with **terrorists**(i.e., official statements of security authorities). Close connivances exist sometimes between security forces, customers and smugglers. Since the nation-state had weakened in the aftermath of December 17, 2010s and 14 January, 2011 uprising, corruption practices arose. Some commercial traders are in odds with some custom and police agents and engage in arm trafficking from Libya and Algeria to supply terrorist groups networks in Tunisia and maghrebian neighbor countries. The united nation report confirmed those practices as follows :

« On the one hand, evidence from across Latin America suggests that these groups are often at odds with police and engage in a variety of **activities** that contribute to a deterioration of the rule of law in major cities. They may involve themselves in broader organized criminal activities and, as a result of their local legitimacy, can easily develop ties with corrupt State officials. Such groups can become involved in acts of communal violence in regions of Asia and Africa. On the other hand, police, especially in Africa, have found themselves in situations where it may make tactical sense to develop ongoing relationships with these groups » (UN Habitat, 2011)

In North western regions, informal activities are growing among local inoccupied population. In these areas, agriculture activities are the most important ones. Though, some problems of water costs, natural disasters (i.e., floods, wildfires)undermine development. There is a negative migratory balance between north eastern **governorates**(Le Kef, Jendouba, **Beja, and Siliana**). Youth unemployment is very high mainly among university graduates.

**Table2 : Youth Unemployment by Regions in Tunisia**

	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	15-29 years	30-34 years
Tunis District	52.8	52.2	31,9	36.7	18.5
North East	40.5	36.7	29.0	33.7	19.6
North West	50.0	43,8	37.2	41.5	19.6
Center East	22.0	25.1	22,4	23,3	12.1
Center West	61.7	63.2	52.4	57.9	31.8
South East	48.0	53.1	45.8	48.6	26.1
South West	60.2	60.5	53.8	56.5	24.8
General Total	43.6	41.8	34.5	38.2	19.0

Source:<http://i0.wp.com/www.thetunistimes.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/table2.png>

### EDUCATION ENROLMENT DISPARITIES:

Women unemployment reaches about 25.6% against 14.6% rate for men. On the higher education level, the more graduated women are, the most exposed to unemployment (43.5%) in comparison to men (20.9%) in the same year 2012. Rates vary by regions : south-west (54.5%), south-east (48.3%) and central-west (45.9%) of Tunisia. The total number of unemployed universities graduates was around 174,900 people in 2012. Their unemployment rate increased from 18.7% in 2007 to 23.3% in 2010 and 33.2% in 2012. « Masters graduates (with a master's degree or have successfully completed four years of university education) constitute 56.7% of total unemployed graduates in 2012. Their number has doubled in within five years from 46,100 in 2007 to 99200 in 2012. Official data reveal that school enrolment are higher for girls in secondary and higher education levels. Among 22 educational fields, 14 are hugely femal such as: social and human sciences, languages, Economy, Information, Law, agriculture, services. Girls are less represented in : ingenieuring diploma (29%), architecture (34,5%), veterinary **medecine**(35,9%), physicisme sciences (45,9%), informatics (47,4%), **mathematics**(Gribaa et Depaoli, 2014 :4) But, women remain vulnerable to more unemployment, poverty, health, and economic risks. School enrolment and success rates vary through regions and delegations.

This soaring unemployment rate is an obvious indicator of the critical financial situation of the country. As we demonstrated in our recent reseach on territorial inequalities in Tunisia (Mahmoud 2014), Nation-State failed to ensure a fair urban planning. In fact, the deep gap between littoral areas and mainland persists. But note thand eventhough in littoral areas of Tunisia, social inequalities exist between haves and **have-nots**(Boughzala, 2014, Karray, 2011).

We have, also, to address this phenonomenon in its complexity. In fact, many economic and social interconnexions could exist between hinterland and homeland of the country. An aimed urban justice couldn't be to the detriment of an area than another. Could we assert in this way that an urban network of Tunisia joins in a networked society characterized by urban nodes within 'globalized world cities'(Sassen 2013). Those rates witness that higheris the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1969), easier is the social ascension. Though, high degree diploma are not any more a passsport for the upward social mobility as it was the case in sixties and seventies. In the Center West of Tunisia, the highest rates of unemployment are amongst the university graduates. (e.g., Ezzouhour<sup>8</sup> quarter in Kasserine where many jobless youth are recruited by smugglers and terrorist groups). Those social anomies should be tackled as total phenomenon linked to the previus development policies in Tunisia.

Since 1980s, regionalisation has been a mere framework for different development plans (Belhedi, 2012). Only, since the fifth development plan that state undertook the regional dividing of the country to six or seven regions. In 1980s, poor people represented about 52 per cent of tunisian population. By 2000s, in urban areas, poverty rate (52%) was higher than in rural ones. Only, in 2005, the situation had reversed and the urban poverty rates decreased drastically by 3points (Sboui, 2012 :62)

The national schema of territory planning of 1985, 1998, and 2010s did reproduce the classical checkerboard in order to fix each region population. The National Schema of Territory Planning (NSTP) of 1998 resumed that of the 1985 highlighting the East-West cleavage of utilitarian, metropolitanian development of the country. Amor **Belhedi**(geographer) argued in this **issue**: « We should, also, highlight that the three National Schemas of Territory Planning were designed in periods of economic crises (1985, 1997-98, 2010s). The paradox is that planning targets only regulation but not sustainable urban planning. Some

<sup>8</sup> See Table2





institutions were created such as : General Commissionship of Regional Development and proceeded to the creation of credit cards of Regional Development Plan, and afterwards Regional Plan of Integrated Development and the several Regional Development Plans along with The Office of Development of the **North West(ODNW)**, and the Office of Development of the south (ODS) ; Office of Development of the Center **West(ODCW)**. »(Belhedi 2012). The monoparty State led by Habib Bouguiba, and presidentialist regime of Zine al Abidine ben Ali adopted atop-down economic, urban development which begot the spatial inequalities.

**Spatial Injustices and democratic transition challenges :**

There is slight difference between justice and equity. In sustainable development, every citizen has the right to meet his needs for a better life. Justice is recognizing people fundamental human rights to livelihood needs, recreation, education healthcare, civil and political rights to live free with dignity. Since those rights were violated under former regime, uprising had been growing in the West of Tunisia (e.g., Gafsa, 2008 ; East, Ben Guerdane, 2010 ; Sidi Bou Zid, December 17, 2010s) where land use planning witnesses many spatial disparities.

National Schema of Town Planning 1996 bet more on more equipped spaces Tunis-North East in order to resist to international competing, **and to globalization** challenges. Consequently, the costal area developed and the interior land was left behind. These urban planning policies were inscribed within the Structural Adjustment Plan (1986) encouraging privatization and the withdrawl of state from economic intervention after the end of welfare-state.

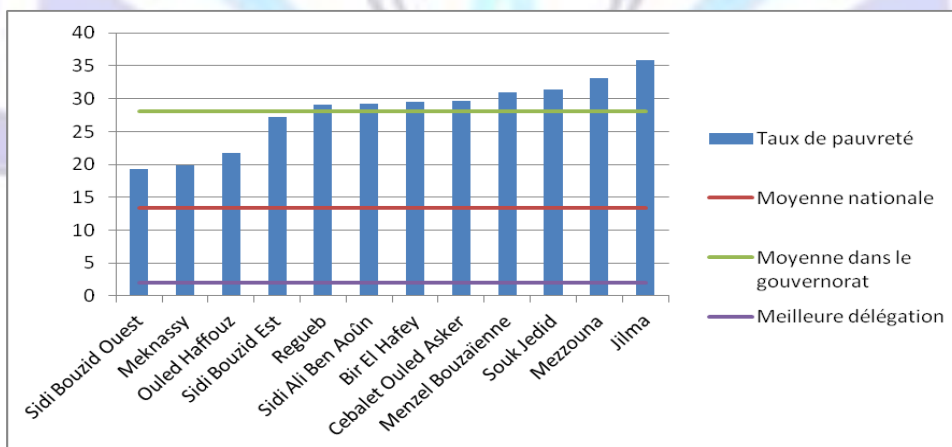
The lack of local resources in agriculture, in mining or energy made the following development policies relying on Libya, and essentially on French and European countries which are the privileged economic partners of Tunisia. Indeed, commercial exchanges with France are about 80 per cent. Moreover, United States is concerned by Tunisia given its location between North Africa and Middle East, and its neighborhood in South East with Libya where militia control the country and the main petroleum site resources exist.

Unlikely, United States and Europ are still facing the acute fallout of the global financial depression due to the crash of main banks that overspread worldwide. When there is a close link between Arab, North African and other worlwide economy, the impact of the capitalist neo liberal crisis is obviously real on the local Tunisian economy. In the last few decades, regional planning action were focused on water irrigation system and agrarian areas. The Ttunisian economy slow down and the shrinking of the middle classes level of living is not necessarily entailed by the Revolution which is never to be only « explainable only by Mohamed Bouazizi self immolation ». (Belhkoja 2012).

Can we assert that economic development could be reached regardless of politics ? What does development mean ? Does development **mean** growth ? The Human Development Index calculated by means of Gini index does never more confine HDI into economic growth. So far, we shall take into consideration other variables such as gender equality, school enrollment, healthcare, environment sustainability, governance, recreation, civil rights, transnational right to rights.

In post-revolutionary Tunisia is final drafting and approvment of the constitution enough to achieve the 17th December 2010s and January 14th, 2011 revolution's objectives ? Civil society activists fuelled social movements all over the country and ended by a consensus about the constitution of technocratic government. After the successful parliamentary elections, a new elected government has to deal with many development **problems**(e.g., inequality, poverty, social exclusion) mainly in the left behind areas.

**Graphic2 : Sidi Bouzid Poverty rates**



Source : Ministry of Development and Regional Planning of Tunisia, 2011

The **Troika** government stepped down under street civil society activism pressures, the new interim government led by a consensual Pime Minister deputy Mehdi Jomaa is trying to get the country out of the bottle neck within acute economic and social crisis context. The GDP shrinked remarkably in the dawn of the revolution (1.9% of

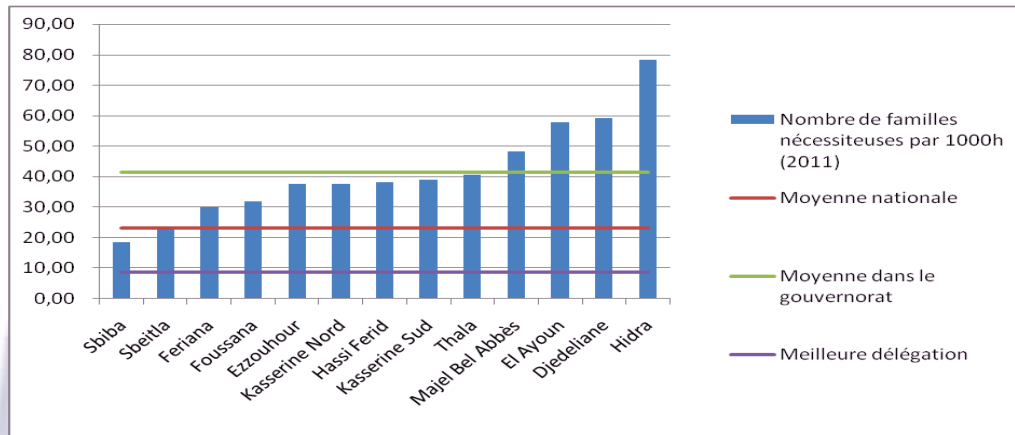
<sup>9</sup>Troika: the former ruling three main parties (Ennahdha: islamiste Party, CPR: Congress for the Republic, and ETTAKOTTEL: Union for Labor and Liberties: Socio Democratic party)



GDP in 2011). Some more unexpected relative growth by 3.6% in 2012. However this rate has slowed down to 2.6% since phosphate and manufactures diminished their productivity and energy, and agriculture products sectors have decreased. Unemployment rates diminished slightly from 16.7 per cent in 2012 to 15.3% at the end of 2013. However, it is still above the pre revolution level of 13%.

The main strategy of the technocratic interim government was to restore security, lift economic growth, and achieve the elections by the end of 2014. However, the growth rate wouldn't exceed 2.8 by the end of 2014 which means only 0.8 growth inasmuch, one point growth ensures, in principle, 15000 new additional job opportunities. Unemployment among young graduates, remains, nevertheless, at a particularly worrisome level (34%, or one out of three), due to a widening gap between their abilities and the needs of businesses. Based on the results of the National Survey on Population and Employment<sup>10</sup> for the fourth quarter 2013, the number of unemployed people stood at 609.9 thousand of the total active population, estimated at 3,978.6 thousand

**Graphic 3 : Kasserine governorate families in need**



Source: Ministry of Regional Development and Planning of Tunisia, (2011)

The unemployment rate is higher for women 21.9 % and 12.8 % for men according the recent estimates in the third quarter of 2013. The number of unemployed graduates of higher education is estimated at 242.3 thousand in the fourth quarter of 2013, which corresponds to an unemployment rate of 31.9 %, against 33.5 % in the third quarter of 2013. In February 2014, after having culminated at 6.3% one year earlier. The new financial law has been approved after many controversies among representatives in the ANC<sup>11</sup>. « In early 2014, both reserves and the currency recovered somewhat, on account of increased confidence after, the resolution of the political crisis. » (World Bank, 2014)

**The terrorists** acts committed by Jihadists against : opposition political Leaders (e.g., Lotfi Naqdh, Chokri Belaïd, Mohamed Brahmi), and Tunisian army and security agents entailed economic and political turmoils. Amira Kaddour and Zmami Mourad (economists) concluded that there is no positive correlation between economic growth and terrorist acts. However, the study results highlight the negative effect of political events and terrorists acts on stock market volatility. (Kaddour and Zmami, 2011)

As far as statistics in measurement of economic performance and social **progress** are concerned, Joseph Stiglitz pointed out :

« When there are large changes in inequality (more generally a change in income distribution) gross domestic product (GDP) or any other aggregate computed per capita may not provide an accurate assessment of the situation in which most people find themselves. If inequality increases enough relative to the increase in average per capital GDP, most people can be worse off even though average income is increasing » (Stiglitz, 2009 : 8).

Notwithstanding the new economic measures, some geostrategic and anthropological factors played a key role in the economic worsening situation. Tunisia cultural structures remain at works in resilience to Nation-State hegemony. Communities, kinship mainly in hinterland, are still important whenever, previous economic and social planning policies didn't succeed to achieve nor local development, nor fix people to their lands. Many of young people find themselves constrained to emigrate to Coastal cities or abroad (i.e., Libya, Europe). The emigration remittances and formal commerce returns constitute the main people incomes in those areas.

#### CONCLUSION REMARKS:

<sup>10</sup> National Institute of Statistics, Tunisia 2013

<sup>11</sup> ANC: National Constituent Assembly elected in October, 23, 2011 to draft a new constitution



Sustainable urban development in post-revolutionary Tunisia is facing myriad of challenges. Spatial and territorial inequalities could hamper democratic transition process. Many social, economic, and cultural aleas such as terrorism, informal activities, ecological syndrome constitute resiliences to sustainable urban governance implementation. Previous urban development policies undertook since independency entailed a deep gap between coastal regions and hinterland. As a subsystem within a global economic system, Tunisian economy and society developed amongst a liberal and new liberal economics, and bisectorial economy of formal and informal sectors is not conceivable in a mere dual approach. Both sectors blur and interfere within a networked world economy that transcends national edges to interconnect with global urban **nodes**(i.e., New York, Tokyo, and London) and megapolises in Europe, America, Middle East, and China).

The top down policy makings followed by Tunisian State since independency deepened instead of reducing inequalities, they entailed economic, urban gaps and spatial inequalities

In order to mitigate those spatial and social **disparities, and** injustices, Tunisian State had put in place some urban planning institution framework that benefitted-economic world competitiveness obliged- more to littoral areas. The decreed parcelling out **documents**(e.g., Urbanism Code, Urban Planning Plans and Schemas of Urban Planning Master Plans) were conceived and achieved through top-down policy makings. Poverty and social exclusion were so acute in the central areas of th country (i.e., Sidi Bou Zid, **and Kasserine**) that uprising had grown since 2008 and begot the December, 17, 2010, and January, 14, 2011 revolution. Eventhough, the quartet and civil society succeeded to draft a new democratic constitution and fair democratic election, social and territorial inequalities persist between coastal and interior areas and between towns, rural areas, and between The better-off and the less well-off. Middle classes downsized to the lowest level of their living standing. Hence, those urban and social biases could hamper democratic process. The growing smuggling traffiks linked to the rise of terrorist acts targetting new nation-state are serious challenges against democratic process and economic recovery in Tunisia. New elected rulers have to achieve people expectations by ensuring security, and implementing a new sustainable urban planning in accordance with Tunisia revolution objectives (i.e, freedom, dignity and justice).

Energy sectors matter too much in econmic development of Tunisia. The country lacks energy resources, and has many renewable energy opportunities. However, those resources exploitation depend on good governance in this very sensible sector depending on national and supra national stakeholders that are competing in this issue. Energy intensity exploitation and seeking for new renewable ones are in the core of a sustainable social and territorial development. This development strategy requires that social and urban actors rely on local democracy strategies based on their social and cultural contexts ;a bottom up policy making shouldn't deny the top down state role in public spendings and fair taxations policies. The new ruling majority government of the main civic and modernist party Nidaa Tounes<sup>12</sup>has to rule the country, not alone, and according a multilevel governance for a sustainable urban planning with fairness, accountability and justice.

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<sup>12</sup>*Nidaa Tounes* is the first winning party in the Tunisian parliamentary elections held in Tunisia on Sunday, October 26, 2014. This party was formed after the first National Constituent Assembly (October, 23, 2011). It is composed of four main political pillars : Former Ruling Party Democratic Constitutional RallyRCD, Independent, center Leftists, and Syndicalists





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