

Vol 3 Issue 5 Feb 2014

Impact Factor : 2.1002 (UIF)

ISSN No : 2249-894X

*Monthly Multidisciplinary
Research Journal*

*Review Of
Research Journal*

Chief Editors

Ashok Yakkaldevi
A R Burla College, India

Flávio de São Pedro Filho
Federal University of Rondonia, Brazil

Ecaterina Patrascu
Spiru Haret University, Bucharest

Kamani Perera
Regional Centre For Strategic Studies,
Sri Lanka

Welcome to Review Of Research

RNI MAHMUL/2011/38595

ISSN No.2249-894X

Review Of Research Journal is a multidisciplinary research journal, published monthly in English, Hindi & Marathi Language. All research papers submitted to the journal will be double - blind peer reviewed referred by members of the editorial Board readers will include investigator in universities, research institutes government and industry with research interest in the general subjects.

Advisory Board

Flávio de São Pedro Filho Federal University of Rondonia, Brazil	Horia Patrascu Spiru Haret University, Bucharest, Romania	Mabel Miao Center for China and Globalization, China
Kamani Perera Regional Centre For Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka	Delia Serbescu Spiru Haret University, Bucharest, Romania	Ruth Wolf University Walla, Israel
Ecaterina Patrascu Spiru Haret University, Bucharest	Xiaohua Yang University of San Francisco, San Francisco	Jie Hao University of Sydney, Australia
Fabricio Moraes de Almeida Federal University of Rondonia, Brazil	Karina Xavier Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), USA	Pei-Shan Kao Andrea University of Essex, United Kingdom
Catalina Neculai University of Coventry, UK	May Hongmei Gao Kennesaw State University, USA	Loredana Bosca Spiru Haret University, Romania
Anna Maria Constantinovici AL. I. Cuza University, Romania	Marc Fetscherin Rollins College, USA	Ilie Pinte Spiru Haret University, Romania
Romona Mihaila Spiru Haret University, Romania	Liu Chen Beijing Foreign Studies University, China	
Mahdi Moharrampour Islamic Azad University buinzahra Branch, Qazvin, Iran	Nimita Khanna Director, Isara Institute of Management, New Delhi	Govind P. Shinde Bharati Vidyapeeth School of Distance Education Center, Navi Mumbai
Titus Pop PhD, Partium Christian University, Oradea, Romania	Salve R. N. Department of Sociology, Shivaji University, Kolhapur	Sonal Singh Vikram University, Ujjain
J. K. VIJAYAKUMAR King Abdullah University of Science & Technology, Saudi Arabia.	P. Malyadri Government Degree College, Tandur, A.P.	Jayashree Patil-Dake MBA Department of Badruka College Commerce and Arts Post Graduate Centre (BCCAPGC), Kachiguda, Hyderabad
George - Calin SERITAN Postdoctoral Researcher Faculty of Philosophy and Socio-Political Sciences Al. I. Cuza University, Iasi	S. D. Sindkhedkar PSGVP Mandal's Arts, Science and Commerce College, Shahada [M.S.]	Maj. Dr. S. Bakhtiar Choudhary Director, Hyderabad AP India.
REZA KAFIPOUR Shiraz University of Medical Sciences Shiraz, Iran	Anurag Misra DBS College, Kanpur	AR. SARAVANAKUMARALAGAPPA UNIVERSITY, KARAIKUDI, TN
Rajendra Shendge Director, B.C.U.D. Solapur University, Solapur	C. D. Balaji Panimalar Engineering College, Chennai	V.MAHALAKSHMI Dean, Panimalar Engineering College
	Bhavana vivek patole PhD, Elphinstone college mumbai-32	S.KANNAN Ph.D , Annamalai University
	Awadhesh Kumar Shirotriya Secretary, Play India Play (Trust), Meerut (U.P.)	Kanwar Dinesh Singh Dept.English, Government Postgraduate College , solan

More.....

Address:-Ashok Yakkaldevi 258/34, Raviwar Peth, Solapur - 413 005 Maharashtra, India
Cell : 9595 359 435, Ph No: 02172372010 Email: ayisrj@yahoo.in Website: www.isrj.net



TERRITORIAL AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN TUNISIA: Which Sustainable Urban Governance?

ABDESSELEM MAHMOUD

Associate Professor of Urban Sociology at National School of Architecture and Town Planning,
Carthage University, 16, Al-Qods Street, SidiBouSaïd, 2026, Tunis, Tunisia

Abstract:

In this paper, the author addresses the urban sustainable governance question through the lens of social and territorial transversal multi scalar approach. Which sustainable urban governance is relevant to overcome social and territorial inequalities? The author adopted for a methodology which consists in exposing the inventory of fixtures of urban changes in Tunisia in their synchronic situation and transversal levels. He studied urban changes at different territory levels (local and global), and in a diachronic way.

Territorial fragmentation in Tunisia is not a matter of a mere physical regional disparities, but they are, rather, geographical, political, social, and cultural ones. Since, the independency, the Nation-State undertook several developments plans entailing a deep gap between the Hinterland and the hinter world.

During the last four decades, economic, and social policies were dominated by the off-shore investments. The Law 1972 exonerated them from paying taxes during the first ten years of activities in Tunisia. The consequence was the development of the coastal areas and the exclusion of the hinterland.

Tunis Metropolis and the North-east monopolized most economic, social, and cultural projects. The acute poverty, and social exclusion in many left behind areas such as: Center West and South West of Tunisia entailed a growing uprising. Since 2008 in Gafsa, 2010, in Ben Gardane, many protests and clashes opposed protesters against local authorities. In December, 17th, 2010, when Mohamed Al Bouazizi, a young ambulant merchant, set himself on fire to protest against oppression and injustice. The protest widespread all over Tunisia, and crowds of protesters gathered in front of the Interior Ministry in Tunis and ousted the former president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in January, 14th, 2011.

Beyond the revolution, the successive transitional governments have been facing serious problems: unemployment of youngsters, unequal social and regional development. The Democratic transition is still adrift due to acute controversies, and lack of consensus hampering the implementation of a constitution that should guarantee full universal human rights and equal sustainable social and urban governance.

KEY WORDS:

Governance/ Inequality/ Social/ Sustainable/Tunisia/Urban.

STARTING POINT:

Territory is not per se. It is, in fact, physical and sociocultural construction. It is, in the same way, virtual, real, and intermingles with the land-user and designer representations. Indeed, the territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization are multi scalar processes. They should be approached in a transversal multidimensional view. The intermingling levels (ecological, social, economic, and symbolic) are relevant to better understand the urban process. Erik Swyngedouw pointed out in this issue:

« Scale (at whatever level) is not and can never be the starting point for socio spatial theory, the kernel of the problem is theorizing and understanding “process”, (Swyngedouw, 1997: 141)

1. INTRODUCTION:

The question of territorial and socio economic inequalities become more and more overriding in the political agenda, mainly because Tunisian revolution objectives are: freedom, dignity, and equality. The present national debate is over which kind of governance would fulfill the revolution purposes? Hence, the urban question is in the core of both global and local scales.

The former urban policies entailed the primacy of Tunis as a Metropolis. This one puts into orbit a conurbation of coalescing agglomerations to form small towns. As a locus of a centralized political power, Tunis developed beyond its neighborhood, mainly north and South East. The state development strategy fostered Tunis development by creating of it a turntable between Europe, Middle East, and Africa in order to attract investors by taxes heaven advantages. Because of the dependent development policy (1972, Law), the offshore economic sector developed to the detriment of the onshore one.

The key question under scrutiny here is to consider the territorial inequalities. In other words, which new urban governance could ensure a sustainable land planning? Our objective is to contribute to rethink the spatial order in Tunisia through the lens of multi scalar approach. Sustainable urban governance shouldn't be any more confined into the classic model of sustainability (Economic, Social, and Ecological). Inasmuch the kernel of the problem in Tunisia is how to succeed the achievement of a transitional democratic process in a country adrift economically, socially, and politically, urban governance is a key issue for the development sustainability.

After the weakening of the Nation-State, the urban process in Tunisia would it be furthermore subjugated to the network power (Castells, 2009) and to the Neo-liberal economy (Amin, 1970)? Tunisian revolution is it a chimera or “a revolution that wasn't”? (Hugh Roberts, 2013). Multi scalar urban sustainable governance in Tunisia would be necessarily tributary of the democratic transition process, and of the “glocal” transversal urban planning. Philippe Hamman argued: “Sustainable city is defined as a social dilemma: it involves some “urbanization local compromises.” (Hamman, 2012: 40)

First, we will expose the urban and socio economic policies undertaken by Nation-State in Tunisia. How governance was often so top down that it involved regional territorial and social disparities and inequalities?

Second, in the aftermath of the revolution, the Nation-State is threatened of collapse within a globalized world dominated by the liberal economy. The democratic transitional process is underway, but not without impediments which hamper economy and society. The protest movements of civil society and opposition parties are still fighting the specter of new religious dictatorship on the top of a secular state.

Third, Territorial fragmentation and partition in Tunisia is in fact a political and cultural construction and not a mere physical space. Since a long time, the middle age Tunisian sociologist Abdurrahmane Ibn Khaldun demonstrated how power (*Mulk*) and justice were the urban life foundations (Ibn Khaldun, 1969). Henri Lefebvre, (1968) Manuel Castells, (1979) highlighted the political dimension of urban life.

Fourth, modernization process achieved by the modern nation state guaranteed much legislation in favor of democratic free education, women rights, and republican state.

We will conclude that territorial inequalities in Tunisia are essentially social and political ones. The unequal urban growth in Tunisia was due to unfair policymaking based on autocracy, allegiance (Hibou, 2006) (Geisser and Camau, 2003) (Ben Romdane, 2011), and the monopoly of powers by one state party. The Tunisian revolution opened new skylines to an ongoing democracy process still under threat at both local and global scales.

Then, real sustainable urban governance could be possible in taking into account civil society movement. Only electoral legitimacy is not enough to implement the revolution objectives: Freedom, Dignity, and Equality. A local participative democracy is so compulsory to reach this target. However, Nation-State should be revamped and its role reaffirmed among networking powers.

2.TUNISIAN DEVELOPMENTS:AN OVERVIEW:

A quick overview of the urban question in Tunisia since the independencewitnessed a rapid plethoric urban growth. It is characterized by asynchrony and inequalities.



Figure 1: Tunisia territory Planning, 1996

<https://www.google.tn/search?q=tunisia+territory+planning+map+DGAT> retrieved on June 16th, 2013

Around a main city developed and coalesced a string of conurbations to constitute a metropolis (Tunis and its surroundings (Hammamet, Bizerte...)) Sousse and its neighborhood (Monastir, Mahdia...) Sfax and the southern towns (Gabès, Gafsa, Kebili, Medenine...); it is to notice that Sahel is characterized by a multiplicity of middle towns close to each other and put into orbit by the regional strategic city Sousse.

Some social movements and uprising were growing up in the hinterland (Dlala, 2010) where poverty rate, youth unemployment and repression were so acute that the former regime faced an angry population.

The main objectives of the Tunisian revolution are: freedom, dignity, and justice. Thanks to Facebook, and twitter, many young Tunisians in the diaspora overseas, and in the homeland succeeded to oust the former regime of Ben Ali.

Thanks to the diversity of its foreign exchanges, Tunisian economy was immune against recession. It avoided successfully the impacts of the global financial crisis(2008). Till 2010, Tunisia was ranked among the most growing economies in Africa. According to the recent international rankings, "Tunisia features among the best governed countries even though the Revolution highlighted strong grievances in all areas of governance."(African Bank of Development reports, 2012-2013). However, actually, the country is in very difficult economic situation. Inflation reached 10per cent,

International financial institutions (Standards and Poor's) downgraded Tunisia's rating of BB- in the long term and B in the short term. Local investments are oriented to real estate and consumption instead of productive projects requiring political stability through a democratic transition process.

3.A DOUBLE SECTORIAL ECONOMY: ONSHORE/OFFSHORE:

Since the independency (1956), Tunisia adopted several development policies in the mainstream of the liberal capitalist economy. (Mahjoub, 2012), (Bedoui, 1996), (Signoles, 1985), and (Dlala, 2010). The modern nation-state undertook economic and social planning that fits its proximity to Europe, the privileged economic partner. Commercial changes with France are about 80 per cent.

The first triennial plan (1957-60s) was transitional. In sixties, economic and social planning had been implemented by Ahmad ben Salah, the head of the General Trade Union (UGTT) at that time (1958). He became a Minister of planning and tried to achieve a socialist policy by the collectivization. It was, in fact, a state's capitalism (Amin, 1970s), (Ben Romdhane, 2011)...

The second period (1970s-80s), Tunisian economy was opened on the offshore investment (Law n°72-38 in 27 April 1972). Foreign industrial companies benefitted of ten years taxes' exoneration. During that period, Tunisian economy grew and middle class developed. But, some uprising emerged in January, 26th, 1978 between the main Trade Unions Organization (UGTT) and the government led at that time by Hédi Nouria. The Trade Unions were allied with the ruling party Néo-Destour. However, they claimed their autonomy toward it afterwards.

The period of (1980s-1986) was full of turmoil (Insurrections January, 3d, 1984) and the weakening of Habib Bourguiba's regime. The economic, social and politic crisis (Ben Romdhane, 2011) led to the destitution of Bourguiba by his deputy Prime Minister Zine al Abidine ben Ali. The more openness to the global market entailed the emergence of a "capitalism of connivance" (Amin, 2012).

In fact, those legislations worked to the benefit of the ruling political class, the state party Néo-Destour, and afterward, the RCD (Constitutional Democratic Assembly) to the detriment of the rest of society. But, as stressed Joseph Stiglitz in this issue: "government, as we have seen, shapes market forces. But, so do societal norms. In many societies, those at the bottom consist disproportionately of groups that suffer, in one way or another, from discrimination." (Stiglitz, 2012:53).

In Tunisian society-as it exists in some other ones- the phenomena of obedience, and resignation under the ruler's authority were overspread among many powerlessness people. They felt obliged, by force of circumstance, to negotiate day-to-day interests with the ruling power (Ibn Khaldun, 1969) (Hibou, 2006) (Geisser and Camau, 2003) (Ben Romdhane, 2011). Those diffuse values of obedience and allegiance nourished the dictatorship or what we called "presidentialism" of the Ben Ali power. Pierre Bourdieu highlighted in this issue: "the language of authority never governs, without the collaboration of those it governs, without the help of the social mechanisms capable of producing this complicity based on misrecognition, which is the basis of all authority." (Bourdieu, 1991:113)

4.1. Tunisia economy beyond the revolution:

Since January, 14th, 2011, Tunisia has been experimenting difficult democratic transition process. It is still adrift, because of the economy slowdown, the unfinished drafting and redrafting of the new constitution, the growing uprisings claimed the end of this transitional period, which lasted more than it was promised by the ruling Troïka

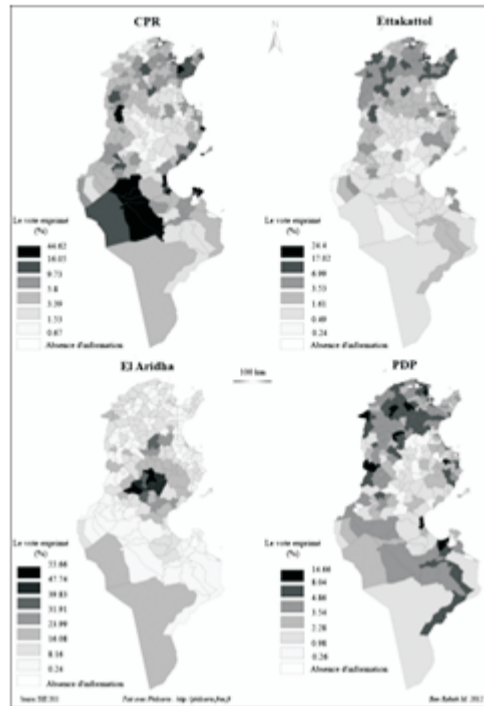


Figure 2: Elections Map

The first five winning parties in ANC

<http://espacepolitique.revues.org/2486> retrieved on Sunday, July, 28th, 2013 at 9:43

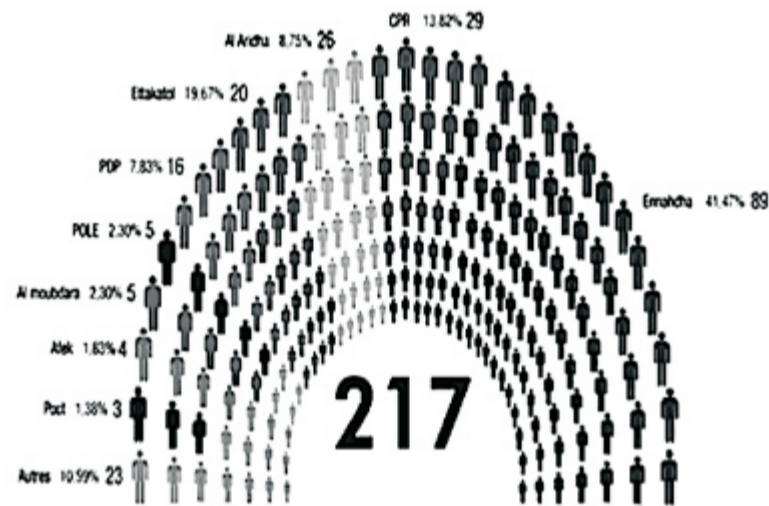


Figure 3: National Constituent Assembly

https://www.google.tn/search?q=national+constitutional+assembly+tunisia&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ei=01-YUtuFBvHB7AbpxoDgDg&ved=0CacQ_AUoAQ&biw=1361&bih=647 retrieved on Monday, August, 8th, 2013 at 9: 45

As seen above, the votes in October, 23th, 2011 elections, Ennahdha, the Islamist main ruling party won the majority of votes(89) in the ANC (National Constituent Assembly). Depressed of Ben Ali dictatorship, economic and social exclusion, most inhabitants in marginalized regions voted for Ennahdha candidates because they belong to Islamist party. Alas, many of Ennahdha voters' are now disappointed because it didn't fulfill its promises.

4.1.1 Economic and Social outlook:toward more inequalities:

The present economic situation of Tunisia is characterized by high inflation's rates, soaring food prizes, youth unemployment; mainly among university graduates. A big gap is deepening between hinterland and littoral regions.

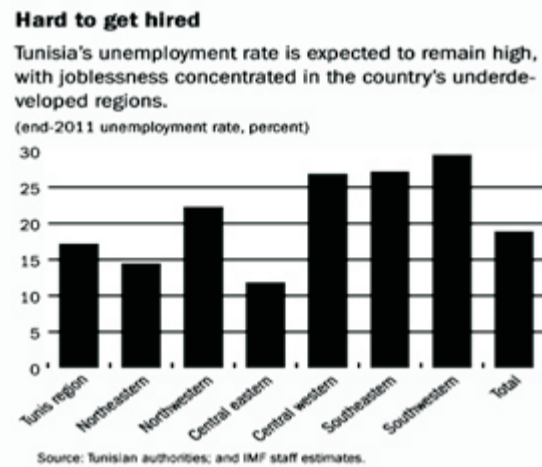


Figure 4: Youth Unemployment

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2012/car090512a.htm> retrieved on Tuesday, July 9th, 2013 at 11: 35

The recent statistic data witnesses high poverty indices mainly in the center West(Kasserine, SidiBouZid)where the revolution had sparked. The poverty rate is calculated by means of the Gini index according the Tunisian reality where poverty threshold is 2\$ per day. It varies through regions. The National Institute of Statistics provides a poverty rate of about 11.5%, which reaches about 29.4% in the Mid-West region. Ministry of social affairs published in May2011 its own poverty rate. It is calculated on the base of data from needy family and social programs beneficiaries.

It is to notice that poverty rate depends on the method used to calculate it and on local poverty parameters. Since, the Troïkahad a strangle hold on the National Institute of Statistics, the data are less credible. The Prime Minister Deputy stated that the economy growth's rate is estimated to reach 3% by the end of the year 2013. Though, experts in national economy(Dimassi, Saïdane, Joudi, Chérif, 2013)considered those estimates false.

According to them, Tunisian economy needs more social and political clarityand stability to recover. The real growth rate, according to EzzedineSaïdane(Economist), is 2% in the second term of 2013.

4.2.1 Territorial inequalities: governance and sustainability:

As seen above, the development policies in Tunisia were in favor of the coastal regions and entailed a deep gap between dual areas: hinterland versus hinter world. Moreover, two economic sectors: onshore versus offshore developed disproportionately.

In January, 2008,some social uprising and clashes occurred in the mine basin in Gafsa neighborhood towns. Though, they didn't overspread because of the weakening of opposition parties and the tough police repression exerted by the former regime. The Gafsa Phosphate Company announced the results of a recruitment competition. It was seen as a proof of injustice. Zemni Sami highlighted in this issue: "Despite the fact that the uprising had a relatively limited regional aspect, the movement was still a popular uprising in the true sense of the word."(Zemni, 2013: 129).

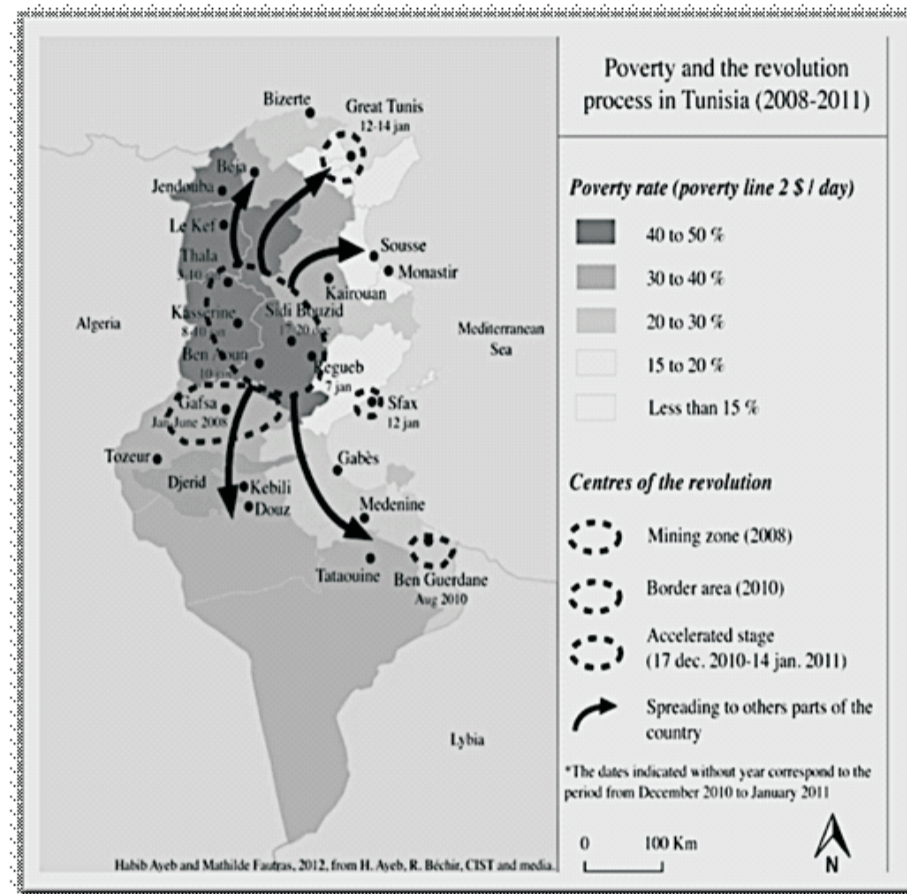


Figure 5: Tunisia Poverty rates

<https://www.google.tn/search?q=tunisia+poverty+rates+map> retrieved on Saturday, July, 13th 2013 at 16:35

In the aftermath of Libyan revolution, many weapons were abandoned in the desert by Kaddafi regime. Islamists “jihadists” smuggled and used those arms in their war against Tunisian state. Some evidences confirm a close correlation between smuggling, informal commerce and terrorism (e.g. government Prime Minister's Statements). They had grown in some left behind areas (Centre West Chaambi mountains across Tunisia and Algeria borders), South West, North west, and poor districts in Tunis: Ettadhamen, Mnihla, SidiHsine... are the places where terrorists hide weapons in order to commit terrorist acts. They murdered opposition leaders: ChokriBelaïd, Patriotic Democratic Front Leader in February, 6th, 2013, and Mohamed Brahmî (Popular Movement Leader and representative in ANC in July, 25th, 2013, and army and police officers. In consequence, an acute political crisis is challenging democratic transition process in Tunisia. Sustainable urban governance is urging in order to achieve the right to the city as one of the Tunisian revolution main objectives.

Since 1970s, Tunisian state focused on economic and social development. All development programs (Regional Development Program (RDP), Integrated Regional Development Program (IRDP), Integrated Urban Development Program (IUDP), and solidarities programs: National Fund of Solidarity (NFS) or 26-26, 21-21... According to Amor Belhedi (Geographer): “All those programs processed as temporal palliatives to the spatial and social inequalities in Tunisia. They were, in fact, to the benefit of the wealthy areas and to the haves despite the positive endeavors of the modern state in order to struggle against poverty.” (Belhedi, 2012). The African Bank of Development explained regional disparities in Tunisia as follows:

“Regional disparities are caused by the concentration of economic activities in the 75% of non-agricultural jobs. The Tunis governorate, by itself, absorbed 23% of total employment offers in 2010 against only 4% for the south east, even though it represents 9% of the country population (Africa Development Group, 2012, p.27).

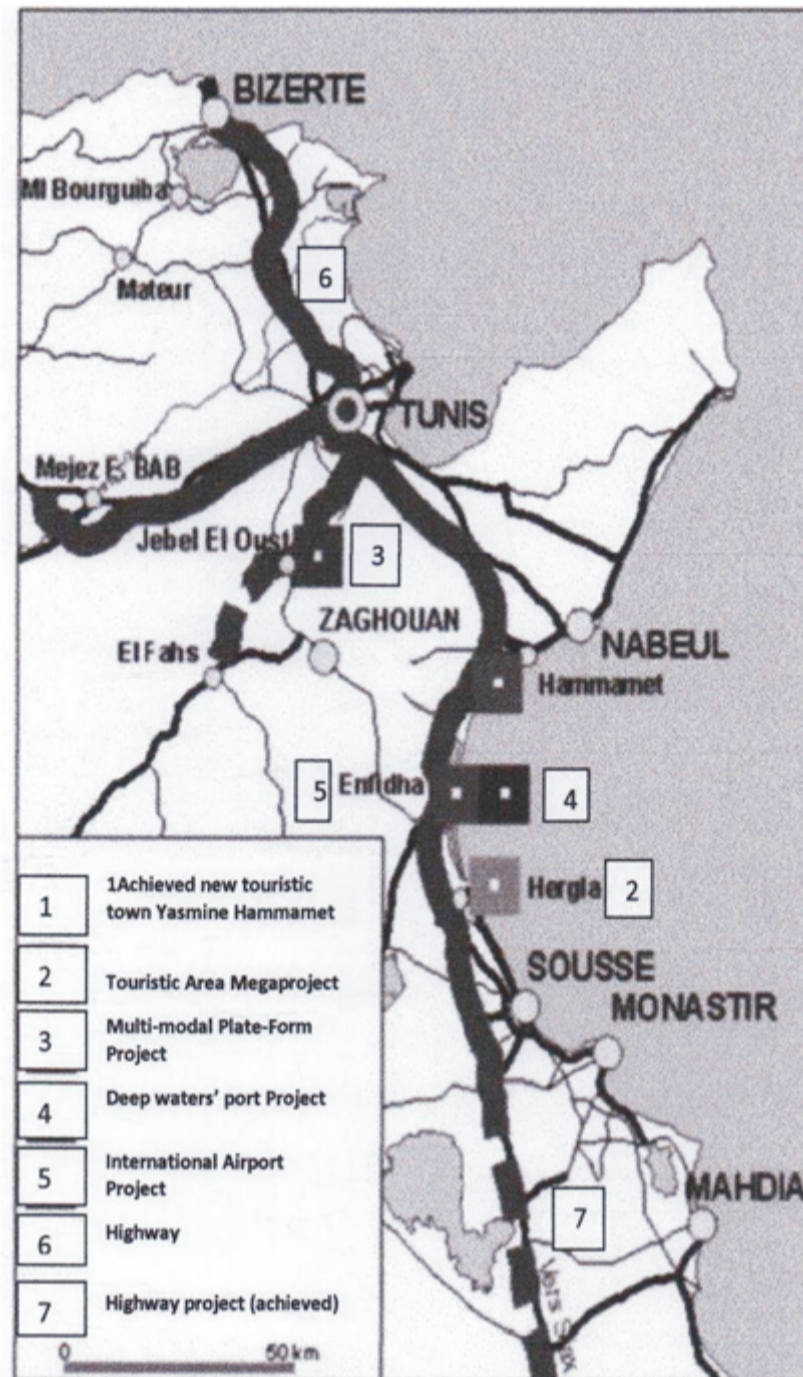


Figure 6: North East (Hinterworld)
Source :Dlala, 2007, P.82 en ligne

Agriculture, export industries and tourism constituted the main economic sectors. As AzzamMahjoub and ArthurBala(economists) highlighted: “The tourism sector - both emblematic and high on the agenda of Tunisian economy, with a track record of contributing almost \$ 2 billion in annual revenues and providing 300 000 direct and indirect jobs - is operating at only half of its capacity.”(Mahjoub and Bala,2012)

According to Amor Belhedi(urban Geographer), “the actual and future challenges for Tunisia are the triple articulation of spatial scales: local/regional/national.”(Belhedi, 2012:224). The author explained

that four conditions contributed to the release of Tunisian revolution in the Center West:

“The poorest region, the less urbanized and underequipped.
 Where social structures are still tough(strong communitarian and familial bonds)
 Where the property status is of collective lands.
 The center-west migration sold increased during the period(1979-1984).During the last decades, it became the first extra-regional emigration(1999-2004) toward the littoral: illegal emigration, building workers, picking of olives, tourism or informal commerce.”(Belhedi,2012:225)

Territorial and social inequalities are not limited to Littoral versus Hinterland. They develop between metropolis and surrounding towns and agglomerations. They also increased within cities between haves and have-nots(Abdelkefi,1997),(Chabbi, 2012),(Belhedi,2012)(Mahmoud,2010)... Gender inequalities are also legible inthe modern Tunisian daily life.

5.1 Gender inequalities:

Soon after the independency, HabibBourguiba instituted (Personal Status Code)which guaranteed Tunisian women rights.

The Personal Status Code (Decreed in August, 13th1956) came into effect (January, 1st, 1957) guarantees fundamental rights to Tunisian women and children. Thanks to this legislation, Tunisian women acquired many civil rights: right of children custody guardianship, travel abroad without the consent of her father or husband, criminalizing rape and violence against women and children... Tunisian Democratic Women Association (ATFD) and some activists in civil society claimed the lift of reservation over CEDAW convention by Tunisian government. Then, In August 2011, the transitional government agreed about the principle to withdraw all reservations to the CEDAW. However, the withdrawal of Tunisia didn't figure in the treaty database.

	Gender	Value	Year
Life expectancy at birth(years)	Male	73	2009
Life expectancy at birth(years)	Female	77	2009
Singulate mean age at marriage	Male	30	1994
Singulate mean age at marriage	Female	27	1994

Figure7: Gender Inequality

Sources: <http://www.unicef.org/gender/files/Tunisia-Gender-Eqquality-Profile-2011.pdf> , retrieved on Friday, July, 5th 2013, at10:32

Despite the institutional rights acquired by Tunisian women, some segregations and inequalities persist. For example, in 2010s, the illiteracy rates were about 26.4% among girls and about 11.5% among boys. In higher education, more student girls frequent universities (61.6% in 2012). Moreover, in rural areas, healthcare access for women (gynecology) is still lacking. Given the economic crisis, girls have fewer chances to continue their studies. Many households prefer to give the priority to boys to be schooled.According to the World Bank data (2010s), the Ratio of female to male secondary enrollment (%) in Tunisia was as follows:

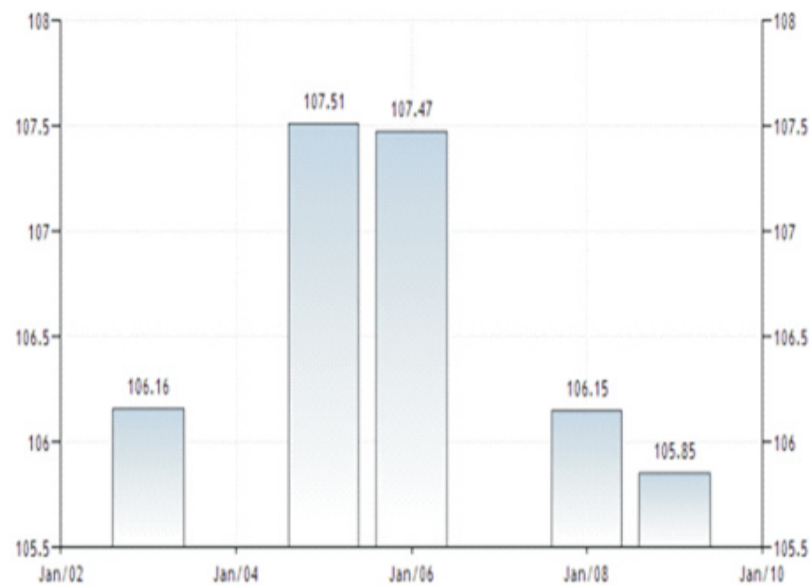


Figure 8: ratio of female to male secondary enrollment (%) in Tunisia

<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/tunisia/ratio-of-girls-to-boys-in-primary-and-secondary-education-percent-wb-data.html>retrieved on Wednesday, 13th, September, 2013 at 07:00

*N.B:*Ratio of female to male secondary enrollment is the percentage of girls to boys enrolled at secondary level in public and private schools.

As seen above, the girl school enrollment rates are higher compared with the boys' ones. Many boys leave schools by despair or by low social and cultural capital(Bourdieu,2001).Girls have fewer chances to find jobs and are often recruited in temporarily jobs with low wages.

In sum, thanks to relatively human development index(life expectancy, education, and income),Tunisian women participate in the public arena along with men. Public sphere overcome the dichotomy of public and private spaces. Childcare and household are not exclusively the duties of women. In most educated urban middle classes, men share them with women. Moreover, in politics, press, literature, and art, many women participate more and more in several political and cultural activities held outdoors. However,many women are still under 'patriarchal domination'.(Bourdieu, 2001)

They work outdoor in farming, collecting drinking water from public sources, in household, crafts...but many of them endure privation of schools because of poverty and discrimination. Traditional families treat girls as human being of a second degree. Discrimination in favor of boys is glaringly legible in the day-to-day life. As far as territory is concerned, women are less free access to land ownership than man. In 2008, the state decreed a law(no 2008-20, March, 4th 2008). It dedicates the right for mothers to have a housing. According, Democratic Tunisian Women Association, women rights are still lacking in day-to-day practices.

When we compare rural students with urban ones, we deduce that rural students have fewer chances to attend preschool and benefit of supplemental courses, to read textbooks or receive scholar help from their parents.

CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS:

Tunisia must implement a new constitution about which many controversies occurred between secularists and Islamist ruling party. The first draft was full of loopholes. It was mentioned and interpreted as a constitution drafted in favor of a new authoritarianism.

As a political question, the urban development should be dealt with by means of clear institutions mentioned in the new constitution. The last Egyptian movement taught us that only election legitimacy is not sufficient to respond to people aspirations. The local democratic governance (bottom-up) is a basic condition to a fair urban and social democracy. The top-down governance should back and supervise the development projects such as social well fair, and town planning ones in adopting a policy emanating from

TERRITORIAL AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN TUNISIA: Which Sustainable Urban Governance?

the bottom to the top and vice versa. It will, surely, depend on which political elite and its sustainable development view. Sustainable fair territorial governance is possible in mid and long terms. It is still depending on the success of the ongoing and challenging transitional democratic process.

SUSTAINABLE URBAN GOVERNANCE ALTERNATIVES:

Pay more attention to the ecological dimension of development in transversal approach where all confused disciplines are involved.

Address the urban syndrome both locally and globally: The global heat or gas emission... doesn't concern only developed industrial societies. The climate change is, also, affecting daily life at local scale.

Review the urban planning documents decreed from top-down. In the absence of transparency, and fairness in the transitional debate, the country would veer towards a new dictatorship.

Democracy is compulsory for better urban governance. Participatory democracy involving several urban actors, civil society in accordance with the universal civil rights values allow the new generations to have their right to the city.

Regionalization is necessary in order to integrate and promote the left behind territorial and social areas. In this process, cities themselves constitute economic, social, political forces in down-up-down governance taking into account the relatively independent civil society and public sphere.

Terrorism becomes a real threat in Tunisia. Security is prior to reestablish the state authority over the country after revolution. In fact, sustainable urban governance should result on the achievement of the revolution objectives: freedom, employment, and justice.

NOTES:

Tunisia: located in North Africa with a territory of almost 165,000 square kilometers (64,000 sq mi) land, 1,300 kilometers (810 mi) of coastline. Population Estimates are 10 822 693 in 2013.

Tunisia revolution sparked in December, 17th, 2010 when a young ambulant merchant Mohamed Bouazizi set himself in fire to protest against woman security agent in his native poor region SidiBouZid in the mid-west of Tunisia. Ever since, protests overspread all over the country and thousands of protests gathered in front of Interior Ministry at Habib Bourguiba Avenue. The ousted President Zine El Abidine ben Ali fled the country on January, 14th, 2011.

Troïka: The three ruling parties which won the elections. It encompasses: the main governing party Ennahdha, (Islamist Party), CPR (Congress for the Republic), Ettakattol: (Democratic Forum for Labor and Liberties). The three parties constitute the first governing coalition since the free elections in October, 23, 2011.

AridhaChaabia: Popular Petition Party formed in March, 7th 2011 by the Mustakillah TV Channel Dr. Mohamed Hashmi Hamdi. It is closely linked to the Party of Progressive Conservatives. It has been officially registered as a political party.

Destour: means in Arabic constitution, the name of the political party, constituted in 1934-1964. Its leader was Habib Bourguiba the former president until November 6th, 1987. The Destour member led the struggle against French colonial protectorate and become afterward the Socialist Destourian Party in 1964.

R.C.D: (Constitutional Democratic Assembly): In 1987, the former President Zine al Abidine ben Ali got to office after a white coup against Habib Bourguiba and formed the R.C.D which ruled the country during 23 years. Just after January, 14th, 2011, the R.C.D was dissolved.

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Tunisia ratified (CEDAW) convention. In August, 2011, the Tunisian Council of Ministers adopted a draft decree to withdraw all reservations to the CEDAW. In 27 October 2011, the withdrawal of Tunisia's reservations has not been published in the treaty database.

GII: Gender Inequality Index: reproductive health measured by maternal mortality. Tunisian women benefitted from the birth planning policy (abortion authorized). Empowerment is developed since the revolution (there were electoral lists based on equal shares between females and males in ANC. Education is measured by the school attainment for both girls and boys. each gender and attainment at secondary and

higher education by each gender. As far as economic situation is concerned for women, the labor market is more accessible to males than females(see above).

Mulk: Arabic term which means sovereignty and kingdom. IbnKhalidun used it to explain the power system and dynamics in North African societies.IbnKhalidun identified three types of political systems: The Caliphate, mulksiyasi(political) and mulktabi'i(natural).

REFERENCES

- 1.African Development Bank, Measuring poverty, inequality, and Polarization in Tunisia2000-2010<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Mesusia%202000-2010.PD> Retrieved on Thursday,18, 2013 at 7:3
- 2.Amin, S.(1970s). The Maghreb in the modern World,Penguin, 256 pages (1966), l'Economie du Maghreb, volumes 1-2,Éditions de Minuit
- 3.Bedoui, A. (1996).StructuralAdjustment and its Impact on the Tunisian Economy <http://www.ismea.org/inesdev/BEDOU1.htm>retrieved in September,8th, 2013,at 11 :34
- 4.Belhedi, A. (2013). La fracture territoriale, Tunis: Wassiti Editions,262pages
- 5.Ben Romdhane, M. (2011). Tunisie Etat, Economie et Société: ressources politiques, Légitimation, régulation Sociale, Tunis : Sud Editions, 310pages
- 6.Bourdieu, P. (2001). Masculine Domination, California : StanfordUniversityPress,- 133 pages
- 7.Castells, M. (2009).Communication and power, London: Oxford University Press,590pages
- 8.Chabbi, M. (2012). L'Urbain en Tunisie, Tunis : Nirvana, 1 juil. 2012 - 220 pages
- 9.Dlala, H. et al. (2010).Mondialisation et Changement Urbain,Manouba: UniversityPressCenter, 309 pages
- 10.« Métropolisation et recomposition territoriale du Nord-Est tunisien »,Cybergeog : European Journal of Geography [En ligne], Environnement, Nature, Paysage, document 410, mis en ligne le 03 décembre 2007, retrieved on Thursday, September,26th, 2013, <http://cybergeog.revues.org/13863> ; DOI : 10.4000/cybergeog.13863
- 11.Euromed Program: Gender equality (2006) European Community http://eeas.europa.eu/euromed/publications/gender_en.pdf retrieved on Monday, August, 5th, 2013 at 17:45
- 12.Gana, N. et al, (2013). The Making of the Tunisian Revolution, Contexts, Architects, Prospects, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 340pages
- 13.GASTINEAU, B. Les facteurs de la déscolarisation en milieu rural tunisien :l'exemple de laKhroumirie et d'El-Faouar http://www.cicred.org/Eng/Seminars/Details/Seminars/education/ACTES/Com_Gastineau.pdfretrieved on Thursday, August, 22, 2013 at 16:31
- 14.Hamman, PH. (2012), Sociologie Urbaine et développement durable, Bruxelles : Editions De Boeck Université, 199pages
- 15.Hibou, B. (2011) The force of Obedience the political Economy of Repression in Tunis: Polity Press, 380pages
- 16.Hugh, R. (2013), The Revolution that wasn't, IN: London Review of Books, Vol. 35 No. 17 · 12 September 2013online article <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n17/hugh-roberts/the-revolution-that-wasnt>retrieved onTuesday, August,13th, 2013 at 06: 39
- 18.Human development Report(2013), The rise of the South, Tunisia: human Progress in aDiverse World http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2013_EN_complete.pdf retrieved on Sunday, August, 18th, 2013 at 10:45
- 19.IbnKhalidûn, A. (1969) An Introduction to History, Trans. From Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, edited and abridged by N.J. Dawood, Bollingen Series, West Sunex: Princeton University Press, 465p
- 20.Mahmoud, A. (1995), Mécanismes d'exclusion et d'inclusion sociales dans les villes arabes, In: Ruralité Urbanité et Exclusion Sociale, Cahiers du Centre d'Etude et de Recherche Economiques et Sociales, Série sociologique, N° 24, pp.215-234
- 21.Mahmoud, A. (2003). Espace Virtuel, déterritorialisation: impact des nouvelles technologiessur les pratiques spatiales en Tunisie du Sud, Tunis, In: Sciences Humaines et Sociales et Nouvelles Technologies, Actes du Colloque (Tunis 30-31 mai/1er Juin 2002, Cahiers duCentre d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et sociales, Hors-série N°1, pp.23-38
- 22.(2013). Tunis Architecture and Town Planning from past to future, Manouba : Centre de Publication Universitaire,216pages

TERRITORIAL AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN TUNISIA: Which Sustainable Urban Governance?

23. Mitral, André et al. (2003). Centrifugal and centripetal forces around Tunis Metropolis: contractors of Industrial Location, IN: "Revue d'Economie Régionale et Urbaine, 2 (2003) 267-290"
24. <http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/49/44/57/PDF/RERU-2003.pdf>, retrieved on Thursday, September, 5th, 2013 at 21:34
25. National Institute of Statistics, Tunisia www.ins.nat.tn/, retrieved on Friday, August, 2nd, 2013 at 10:45
26. Saïdane, E. (2013). Interview In: Le Maghreb Newspaper, Wednesday, July 24, 2013, n° 585, Tunis, Tunisia.
27. Signoles, P. (1985). *l'Espace Tunisien: capital et Etat-Région*, vol 1 et 2 centre d'Etudes et de recherches URBAMA-France, Laboratoire URBAMA, Institut de Géographie, 1041 pages
28. Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Minneapolis: ed. University of Minnesota Press, 29 Mars 2010 - 256 pages
29. Stieglitz, E. J. (2012). *The Price of Inequality*, London: Penguin Group, 414p
30. Swyngedouw, E. (1997). "Neither Global nor local: "Glocalization" and the politics of scale", Cox Kevin (ed.), *Spaces of Globalization*, New York: Guilford Press, pp. 137-166.
31. Tunisia Overview, 2013, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tunisia/overview> updated April 2013, retrieved on Thursday, May, 9th, 2013 at 10:50
32. Tunisia: Economic and Social Challenges beyond the Revolution, (2011)
33. http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/North%20Africa%20Quarterly%20Analytical%20Anglais%20ok_North%20Africa%20Quarterly%20Analytical.pdf accessed, February, 12th, 2012 at 8:20
34. UNICEF, (2011). *The State of the World's Children. Life expectancy and economic indicators from The World Bank, Data Catalog*, <http://data.worldbank.org/>, retrieved in June 2011, Marriage data from UNPD, World Marriage Data 2008, www.un.org/esa/population/



ABDESSELEM MAHMOUD

Associate Professor of Urban Sociology at National School of Architecture and Town Planning, Carthage University, 16, Al-Qods Street, SidiBouSaïd, 2026, Tunis, Tunisia

Publish Research Article International Level Multidisciplinary Research Journal For All Subjects

Dear Sir/Mam,

We invite unpublished research paper.Summary of Research Project,Theses,Books and Books Review of publication,you will be pleased to know that our journals are

Associated and Indexed,India

- ★ International Scientific Journal Consortium Scientific
- ★ OPEN J-GATE

Associated and Indexed,USA

- DOAJ
- EBSCO
- Crossref DOI
- Index Copernicus
- Publication Index
- Academic Journal Database
- Contemporary Research Index
- Academic Paper Databse
- Digital Journals Database
- Current Index to Scholarly Journals
- Elite Scientific Journal Archive
- Directory Of Academic Resources
- Scholar Journal Index
- Recent Science Index
- Scientific Resources Database

Review Of Research Journal
258/34 Raviwar Peth Solapur-413005,Maharashtra
Contact-9595359435
E-Mail-ayisrj@yahoo.in/ayisrj2011@gmail.com
Website : www.isrj.net