Littoralization and Urbanization

Tunisian scale

Co-Evolve4BG

Analysis of Threats and Enabling Factors for Sustainable Tourism at Pilot Scale

Littoralization and Urbanization

Tunisian scale

OVERVIEW

The present document was produced in the framework of **Co-Evolve4BG** project "*Co-evolution of coastal human activities & Med natural systems for sustainable tourism & Blue Growth in the Mediterranean*" in relation to Threats and Enabling Factors for maritime and coastal tourism development on a national scale" Co-funded by ENI CBC Med Program (Grant Agreement A_B.4.4_0075).

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REVIEW

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List of abbreviations

ETID	Enfidha-Tunisia Industrial District
ILA	Industrial Land Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
HLA	The Housing Land Agency
LIP	Land Intervention Perimeter
NDUPA	National Diploma in Urban Planning and Development
NSPP	National Spatial Planning Plan
RDP	Retail Development Plan
RN1	Road National N°1
SAP	Structural Adjustment Plan
SMIs	Small and Medium-Sized Industries
TGM	Tunis-La Goulette-La Marsa
TLA	Tourist Land Agency
TTHS	Tunisian Tourist Hotel Society

Abstract

The two economic sectors of industry and tourism with an extroverted nature have participated in the urbanization of the coast. The development of industrial and tourist zones through the zoning technique carried out by the three specialized land agencies: ILA[1], TLA[2] and HLA[3] created since 1973. It has contributed to the imbalance between the coast and the interior of Tunisia in terms of urbanization. Thus, the tourist and industrial zones established in the coastal cities have encouraged immigrants to settle in developed and even unregulated districts.

Through this study of the tourist areas evolution in relation to their supporting cities, it was noted their hybridization processes and their progressive merging with the urban fabric, perhaps even to the point of emerging from the tourist era. In the absence of an updated urban development plan which integrates the tourist area with the city, this hybridization takes place in a spontaneous way, according to the land opportunities and the actors at play.

1 Industrial Land Agency.
2 Tourist Land Agency.
3 Housing Land Agency.

I. Introduction

The Tunisian territory was forged by a society and a political power with a long centralizing tradition (Signoles, 2006). The regional imbalance in terms of urban hierarchy and development, which had its origins in the pre-colonial period, continued to grow after Tunisia's independence in 1956. The excessive centralization of the politico-administrative system and the different economic contexts contributed to territorial disharmony: macrocephaly of the capital and imbalance between the interior and the coast of the country.

The economic choices since the 1970s, through the development of extroverted economic sectors especially seaside tourism and exported industries, have contributed to the attractiveness of the coastline. This concentration of economic activities on the eastern coast explains its urbanization.

The tourist and industrial zones in Tunisia still rely on support cities. The latter have experienced an increase in the number of their inhabitants and subsequently extensions of their urban fabric.

In this report, it shall attempt to show the process of coastal urbanization under the effect of the economic activities development particularly in the tourist sector. Thus, it will pay particular attention to the selected tourist areas: Sousse, Monastir and Djerba.

II. Imbalance and coastalization of the Tunisian territory

II.1. Historicity of the Tunisian territory

As a state, Tunisia is "a territory, a space corresponding to the logic of the State, with its internal completeness and external borders" (LussaultandLevy, 2003), and is forged by a societal system constrained by varied political and economic contexts.

Tunisia has been presented, in most historical studies, as the most urbanized and meshed territory in North Africa. Phoenician trading posts and Punic cities were the first pieces on which Roman colonization designed the framework of the ancient Tunisia territory. In Roman times, urbanization and road networks developed along two axes, one coastal and the other inland, to structure a territory with a great agricultural vocation, "the granary of Rome" (Fig. 1). The main link between the two axes was created through the middle Tell, where the large cereal-growing areas extended (DGAT, 1996).

The Arab conquests, from the 7th century onwards, favored the appearance of a new territorial structure. In fact, "the foundation of Kairouan and the wide autonomy of the Aghlabid emirate in the 9th century made it possible to restructure the Ifriqiyan space around new urban centers: Kairouan and Tunis" (DGAT, 1996). Thus, the oasis cities prospered, at that time, to become real gates to the Sahara including Gabès, Tozeur and Gafsa, rallying points for caravanners, which experienced a great boom (Fig. 1).

The process of political centralization took its path in favor of Tunis City, from the 12th century, during the Hafside period, at the time when this city emerged as the capital at the expense of Kairouan. The Ottoman conquest, from 1574 onwards, enhanced the centralization of the political and administrative systems in Tunis. Moreover, the Husseinite state was able to build territorial unity independently of Istanbul. The roads of the "Mah'alla", the "camps of the Beys", roughly drew the lines of communication between the different economic regions as the only relations between the political power and the indigenous population. The command of the regions that the Beys and their "Mah'alla" oversaw could not have been done without the intermediary of the representatives of the tribes and "Caïdslezzma", to whom the tax revenues were leased. At that time, there were two 'Mah'alla'; one in the summer visiting the cereals-producing countries of the North (Ifriqiya) and one in the winter visiting the South (date country) via the center (DGAT, 1996).

Until the beginning of the 19th century, behind Tunis, there was a whole system of medium-sized towns and regional urban centers which organized the regional territories, internal and external trade: Kairouan and Sfax each were having 20,000 inhabitants, Tozeur and Gabès having each almost 15,000 inhabitants (DGAT, 1996). Thus, Beja and Kef continued to play their role as large regional or even national agricultural markets. These two cities had between 8,000 and 9,000 inhabitants. The Bousdira souk, near Beja, was among the annual rural markets around which the production territories were organized. It was a real annual fair which ensured a real flow of exchanges between the three major economic regions of Tunisia (DGAT, 1996).

According to 18th century sources, there existed an “economy of relations” between the three complementary regional production units. These inter-regional exchanges were carried out through a network of regular markets: in Bled “Friguia” which is the granary of Tunisia, in the Sahel which is an oil producer and in the South which is the date region.

In this medieval period, the regions themselves constituted territorial systems of balance. The city of Kairouan, as a commercial and craft center, was a striking example of complementarity between the city and its agricultural territory. Kairouan remained essentially a territory of cereal cultivation and semi-nomadic livestock breeding dominated by the Zlass.

At that time, the well-differentiated land tenure system (melk, beylical, makhzen, habbous) reflected the diversity of economic genres and implied specific social relationships. In its relationship to the land, the tribe generally materialized its unity through the possession of a common “Wat’an” territory shared between the fractions but defended in common.

In this medieval period, Tunisia experienced a certain balance between rural territories, especially tribal ones and the towns which were the places of trade and development of artisanal activities. However, the transformations of the economic system because of the opening to the Mediterranean and subsequently to trade with Europe, did not fail to result in a progression of coastal cities, especially ports, at the expense of inland conurbations (DGAT, 1996). Thus, the policy of the French protectorate (1881-1956) favored the coastal cities - most of them being port cities - by the installation of facilities and services. This was at the origin of the strengthening of the socio-economic and spatial imbalance in Tunisia. In fact, “it was during this period that the transition from the old to the new demographic regime took place and that a sustained economic growth was consolidated by the development of modern sectors in agriculture and industry, by material equipment and by a profound reorganization of the State and the administration”. The system of traditional agriculture and handicrafts has entered a crisis to the benefit of another extroverted economic system. Apart from the development of the mining sector, the interior of Tunisia has remained on the fringes of the new colonial economy. In fact, “it was during this period that the symptoms of underdevelopment appeared” (DGAT, 1996).

During the colonial period, the dichotomy between an urban and outward-looking coastline and a predominantly rural and poor interior was highlighted by several chroniclers and geographers, including Depois, in 1942.

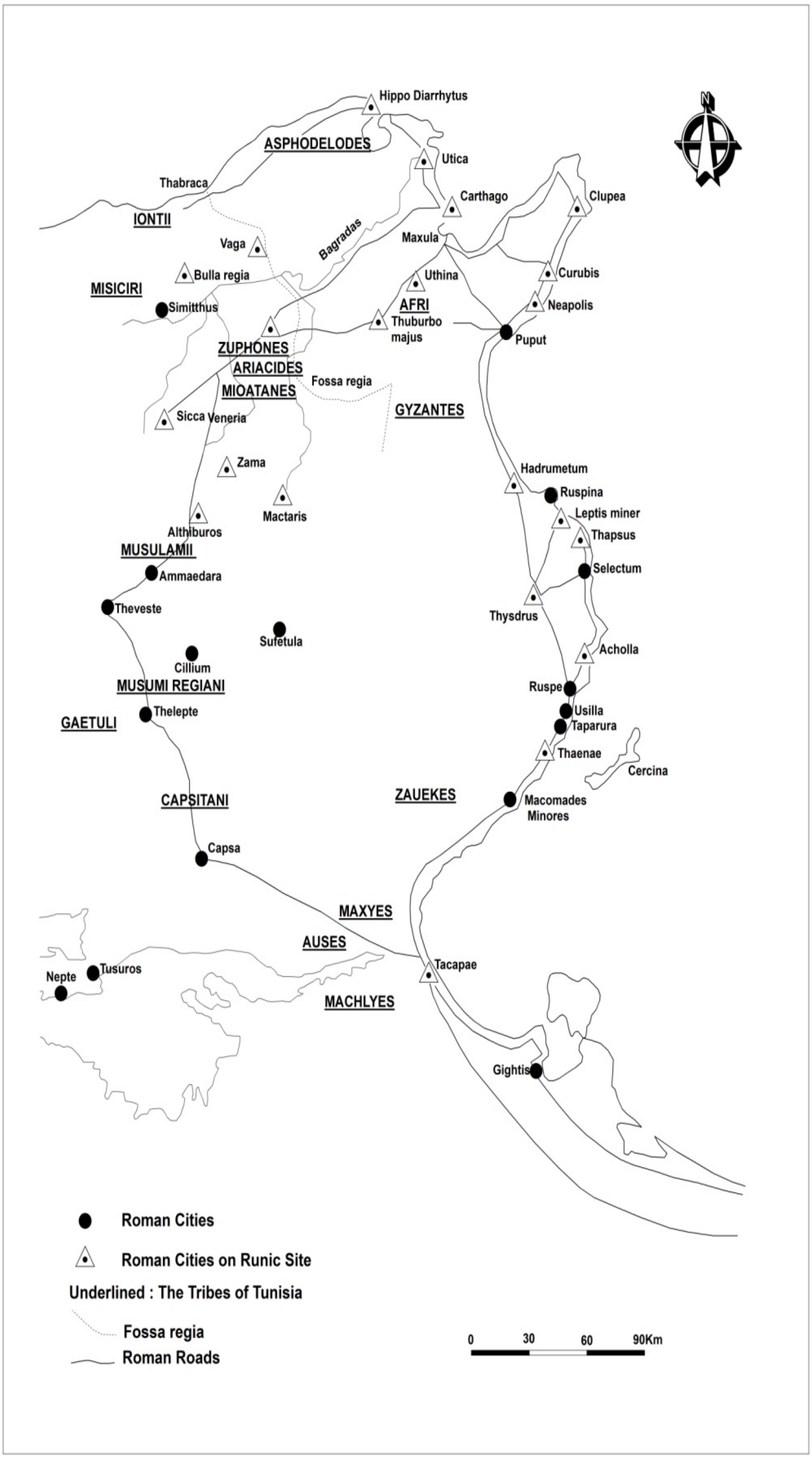

Figure 1. The organization of the Ifriqiya territory in Roman times (DGAT, 1996)

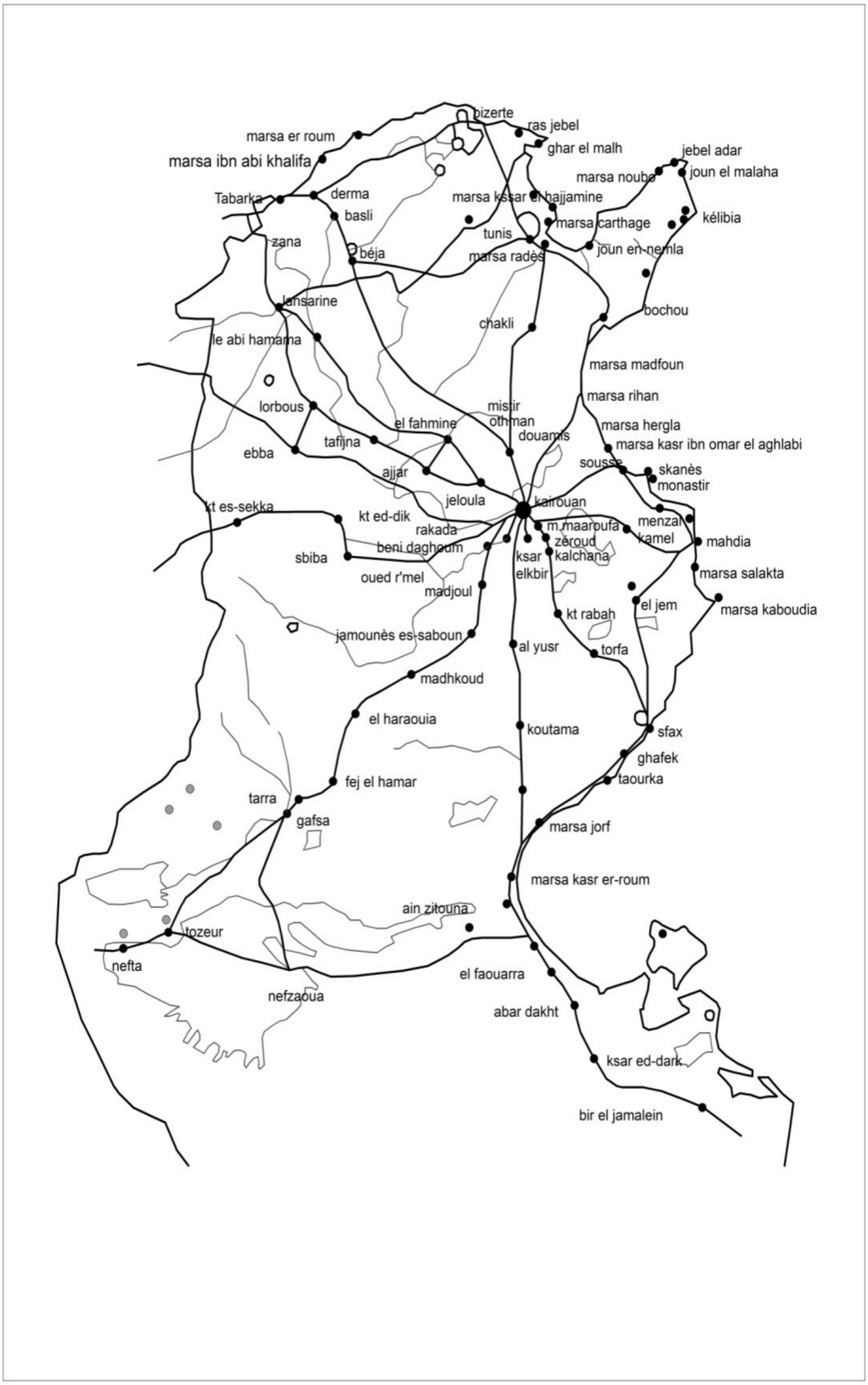

Figure 2. Ifriqiya's main communication routes in medieval times (DGAT, 1996)

II.2. Process of structuring the Tunisian territory

The economic policy of the French protectorate (1881-1956) favored above all the city-port coastline and their hinterland: Tunis, Sfax, Sousse, Bizerte, and Ferry-City (Menzel Bourguiba today), where the colonial occupation was strong, by the installation of equipment and services. These towns were linked to the Medjerda valley, the Grombalia plain, Cape Bon and the Gafsa phosphate basin by road and rail infrastructures to export agricultural and mining production (Signoles, 2006). The state of independence did not want to disrupt this spatial-economic system.

In addition to the infrastructures concentrated on the coast and the extroverted economic model, Tunisia inherited from France a centralized political system. After independence, the politico-administrative system was maintained hierarchical and concentrated in Tunis. At that time, the young state that emerged from the national liberation movement immediately tackled archaic tribal structures. “Nourished by a reformist and modernist ideology, the ruling elite embarked on the path of profound reforms around the theme of national unity. The abolished caudal regime gave way to a new division of the territory into governorates subdivided in turn into delegations all integrated into a system of centralized control” (DGAT, 1996).

The central state, the guarantor of national unity, emerged as the main actor in economic development and planning. The first president of independent Tunisia, Bourguiba, ‘the father of the nation’, saw that the unity of decision behind the ‘supreme leader’ who is ‘an enlightened leader’ is important in the face of ignorance. During Habib Bourguiba’s 30 years in power, the regime has never favored political pluralism and decentralization of power. Bourguiba’s priority was to spread schools throughout Tunisia to “have an educated generation that could discuss political affairs. The first elites of the independent state immersed themselves in the well-off regions since the protectorate; this is still in favor of Tunis and the coastal cities” (Hellal, 2015a).

If during the first years of independence the national economy was the relay of the colonial economy, which was liberal, then from 1961 and under the leadership of Minister Ahmed Ben Salah, the Tunisian state engaged in the socialist economy. To achieve the consolidation of the internal market and to minimize the dangers resulting from an excessive concentration of the productive apparatus, especially in Tunis, the State put in place a strategy aimed at the promotion of industry through the creation of development “poles” introducing a new spatial dimension and a certain regional balance. This essentially involves the creation of the National Cellulose Company in Kasserine (1960), the Tunisian Sugar Company in Beja (1961), the Phosphate Processing Company NPK in Sfax (1963), the Tunisian Refining Company in Bizerte (1964), the El Fouladh Company in Menzel Bourguiba (1964) and the Chemical Complex in Gabès (Tizaoui, 2013).

In terms of agrarian restructuring in the 1960s, policies focused on the creation of service and production cooperatives. The liquidation of Habous land, the clarification of the status of collective tribal lands and the recuperation of land from colonization created the conditions for state intervention in the agrarian field. But the failure of this experiment changed the fate of these lands, which have since become tools of clientelism and bargaining in the hands of those in political power.

In the liberal context of the 1970s, the Tunisian state tried to make a transition from an economy of production and valorization of agricultural and mining products to a more industrial and service economy. Since then, the policy of openness adopted by Tunisia has favored exporting companies through advantages and tax exemptions. It has led to sustained industrial development with the creation of numerous small and medium-sized industries (SMIs), essentially in the coastal towns, further aggravating the imbalance between the coast and the interior of the country.

In terms of tourist development, during the 1970s, Tunisia wanted to specialize in seaside tourism and strengthen its position in the Mediterranean in this sector. However, the success of a tourist destination depends to a large extent on the motivations created by the large tour operators and on the trends of the moment, the Mediterranean product. At that time, it was urgent to respond to the massive demand for large capacity hotels located in tourist areas planned and equipped by the central State under the incentive of the World Bank.

In 1973, by adopting a sectorial development policy, the State created 3 agencies: TLA (the Tourist Land Agency), ILA (the Industrial Land Agency) and HLA (the Housing Land Agency). In 1976, the State provided these agencies with the legal and technical tools they needed to carry out their missions successfully: the expropriation law, the LIP (the Land Intervention Perimeter) and the RDP (the Retail Development Plan). The State's projection in terms of sectorial planning, especially for tourism and industry, has followed the demand of investors who naturally prefer urban conurbations located close to ports and airports (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). This policy has favored the development of a liberal economy, constituting the relay of the economy of Europe, the leading economic partner of Tunisia.

Since its independence, Tunisia has opted for a centralized planning of its economy. Already, up to the revolution of 14 January 2011, twelve economic and social development plans have been implemented. As for spatial planning, in the 1980s, the concern for territorial rebalancing was present in the strategic planning documents which naturally guide the five-year economic and social development plans. The main idea of the 1985 NSPP (National Spatial Planning Plan) was to ensure a certain East-West territorial balance, through the rebalancing of the urban network (Ajroud-Mrad, 2002).

After the political change of 1987, the PNAT of 1985, which mobilized energies for its implementation, was shelved. Moreover, in 1994, the promulgation of a new CATU favored the replacement of the 1985 PNAT by a SDAT (Master Plan for Territorial Development). According to the State's discourse, it was likewise impossible to reform the 1985 PNAT because the priorities in spatial planning had changed. In 1985, it was thought to be much more balanced between regions and to eliminate the rural exodus. Whereas in 1994, this idea appeared to be outdated since the growth of the large cities had moderated and the population had stabilized (Ajroud-Mrad, 2002). As a result, a new prospective document, the MPSP (Master Plan for Spatial Planning) of 1997 took over the NSPP (National Spatial Planning Plan) launched in 1985 and which was scheduled to be applied for 20 years.

Under the influence of the SAP (Structural Adjustment Plan) imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the 1997 initiated the strengthening of the role of the capital and coastal cities. They are alone capable of imposing themselves in a context of international competition and globalization to achieve a certain efficiency of state investment. This orientation has intensified the already existing imbalance between the coast and the interior of Tunisia, especially in terms of the urban system (*i.e.*, the macrocephaly of Tunis and the weakness of the medium-sized cities and the interior).

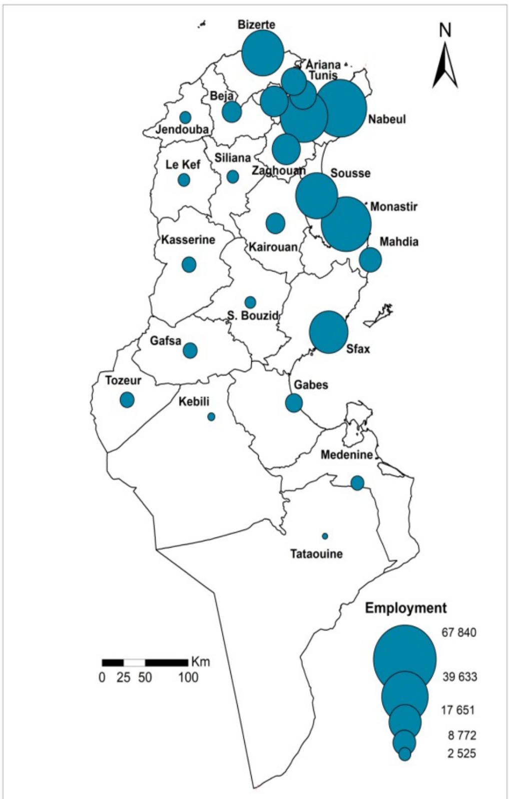

Figure 3. Geographic distribution of total industrial employment by governorate: August 2010 (Tizaoui, 2013)

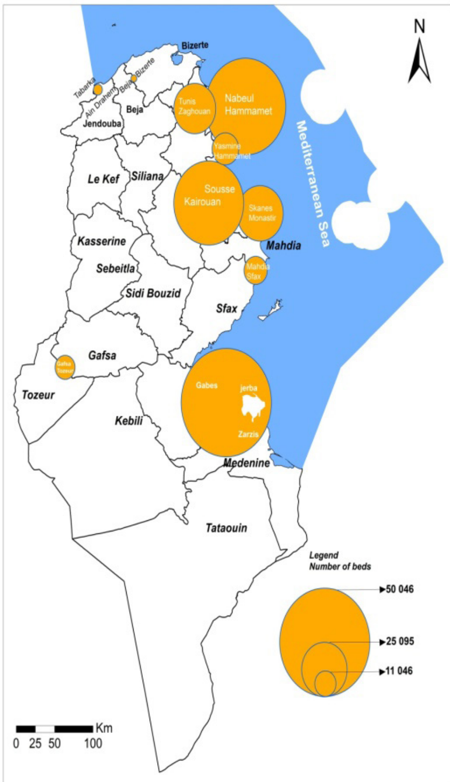

Figure 4. Geographical distribution by area of tourist beds in 2010 (Hellal, 2015b)

As for the Master Development Plans (MDP), particularly for urban agglomerations which set the fundamental guidelines for regional development at the regional level, their preparation remains dependent on a ministerial and central decision and their approval requires a decree which is always presidential. Thus, the municipal and regional councils do not have much room for maneuver and are content to give their opinions on projects decided at ministerial level and in engineering offices. Moreover, the regional councils are always chaired by the governors, who are representatives of the central government. Centralization which has been very much present in official discourse since the late 1980s has been vigorous and has been won by the de-concentration of the administrative system, which demonstrates a hesitation on the part of the political power to decentralize decision-making. The regionalization reform of 1989 led only to the inefficiency, or even marginalization, of the regional institution as a policy organ (Luchaire, 1998; Marcou, 1998).

Finally, the centralization of the State apparatus and the globalization context in the 1990s accentuated the development gap between the coast and the interior of Tunisia. This regional cleavage was one of the causes of the outbreak of the revolution of 14 January 2011.

II.3. Emergence of the coastal axis and the divide with inland Tunisia

II.3.1. Coastal axis

The coastal axis becomes an emerging structure when, on its various subsets, new activities generate flows, people, goods, capital, and orders develop. It therefore only exists from the moment when the liberalization of the economy favors a real revolution in communications and individual transport. Tunis is no longer the only outlet and the only supplier of semi-finished and finished products to the benefit of a coastal axis which brings new cities such as Sfax, Sousse and Nabeul to the spotlight. However, this axis is imperfect. It disintegrates towards the South, beyond Sfax: modernized and dynamic spaces are rarer there, far from each other and they are still too much like enclaves (Gabès, Djerba). Sfax functions almost exclusively in symbiosis with its immediate hinterland, which opens towards the west and not in the axial direction. The axis also includes long hiatuses: between Cape Bon and the Sahel of Sousse, between the social Sahel and the southern Sahel and between Mahdia and Sfax (Figs. 5 and 6).

Towards the North, the axial dynamic is limited by the mediocrity of the infrastructures, the economic difficulties of the Bizerte-Menzel Bourguiba complex and the crossing of very rural areas: the Bizertin Sahel clings to it with difficulty (Signoles, 2006).

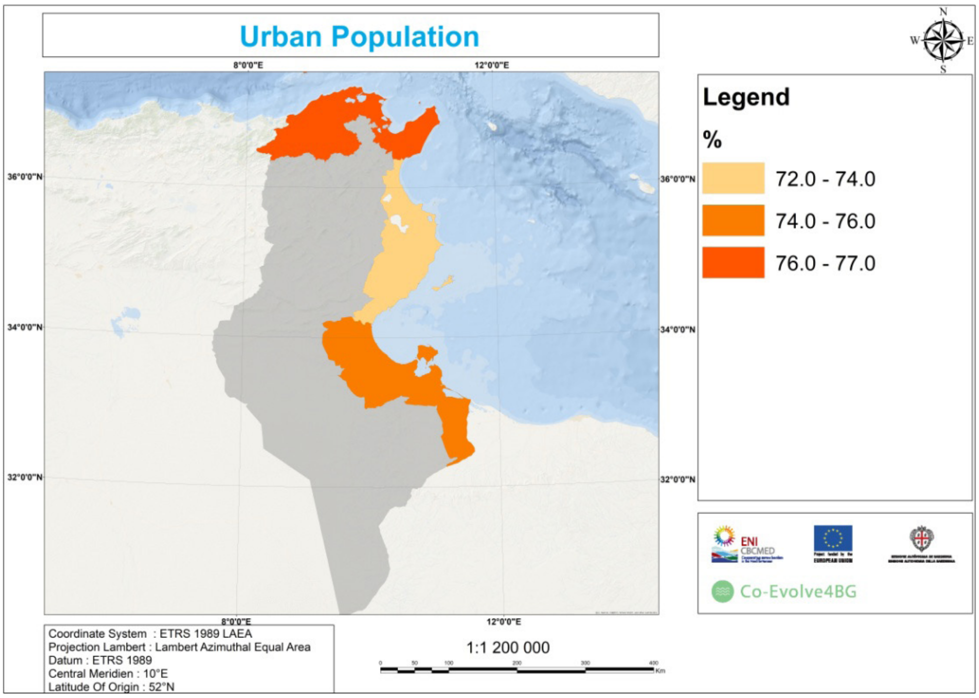

Figure 5. Regional urban population (North, East and South-East) growth in coastal Tunisia in 2019

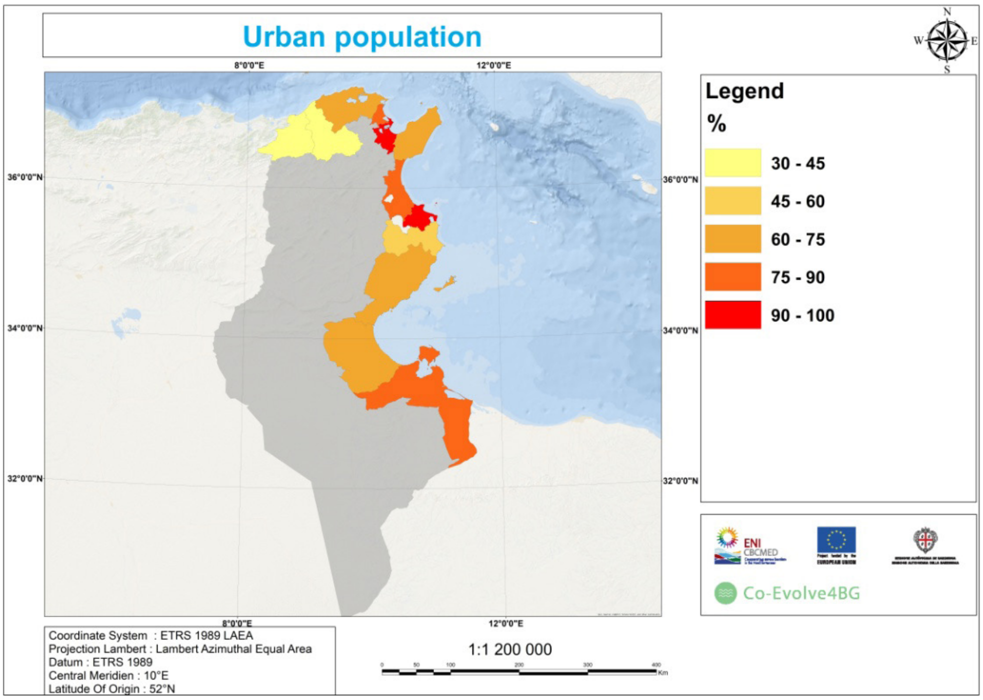

Figure 6. Urban population per coastal governorate in Tunisia in 2019

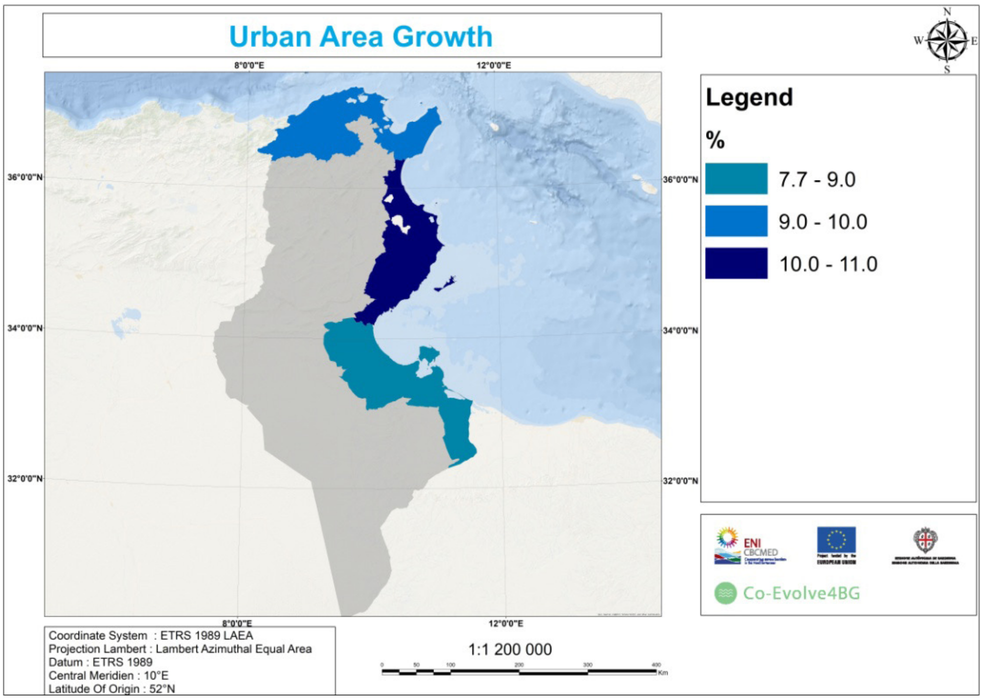

Figure 7. Regional urban area (North, East and South-East) growth in Tunisia in 2004–2014

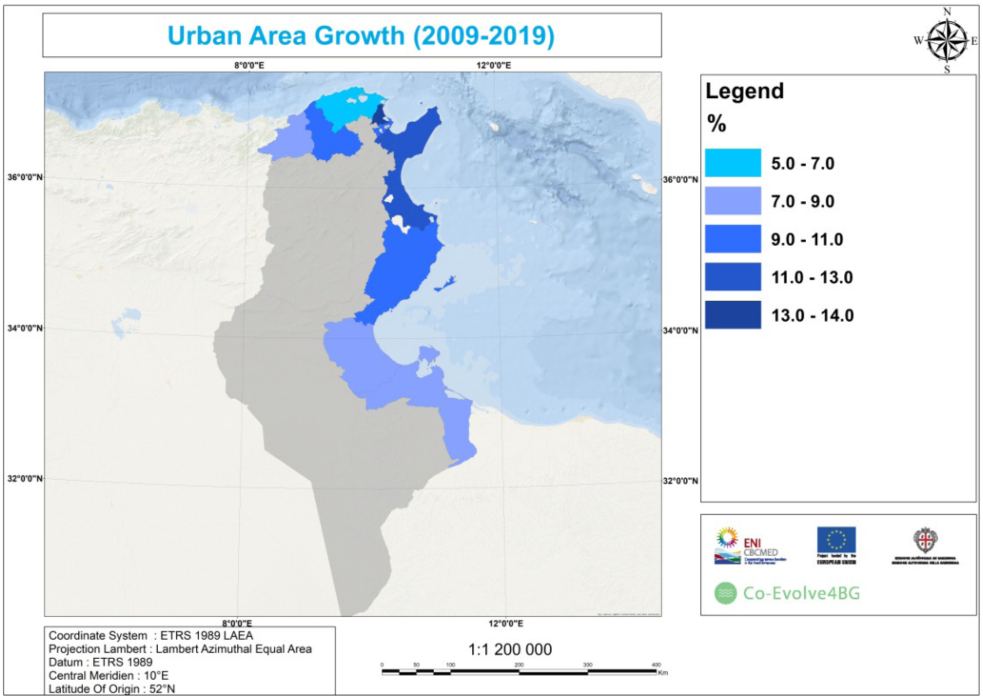

Figure 8. Urban area growth per coastal governorate in Tunisia in 2009–2019

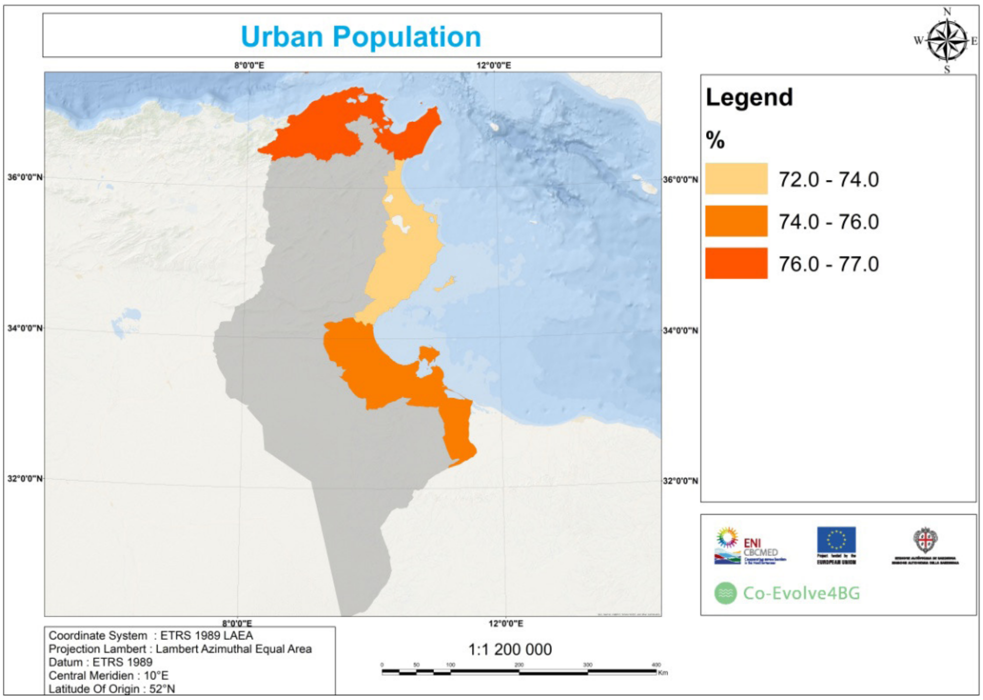

Figure 9. Regional population growth (North, East and South-East) in coastal Tunisia in 2019

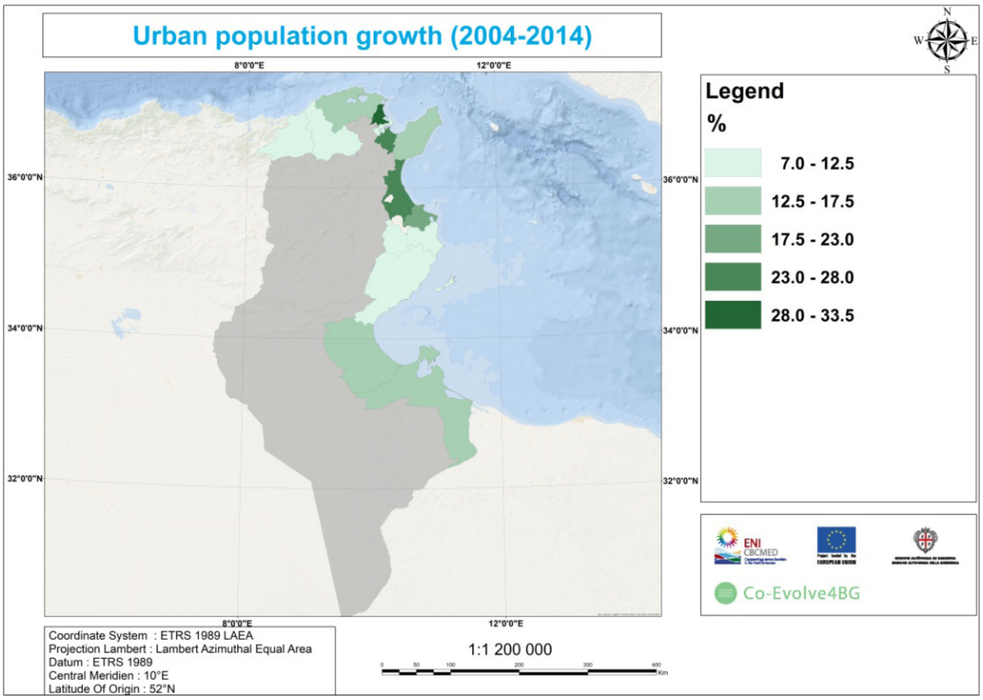

Figure 10. Population growth in coastal governorates of Tunisia in 2019

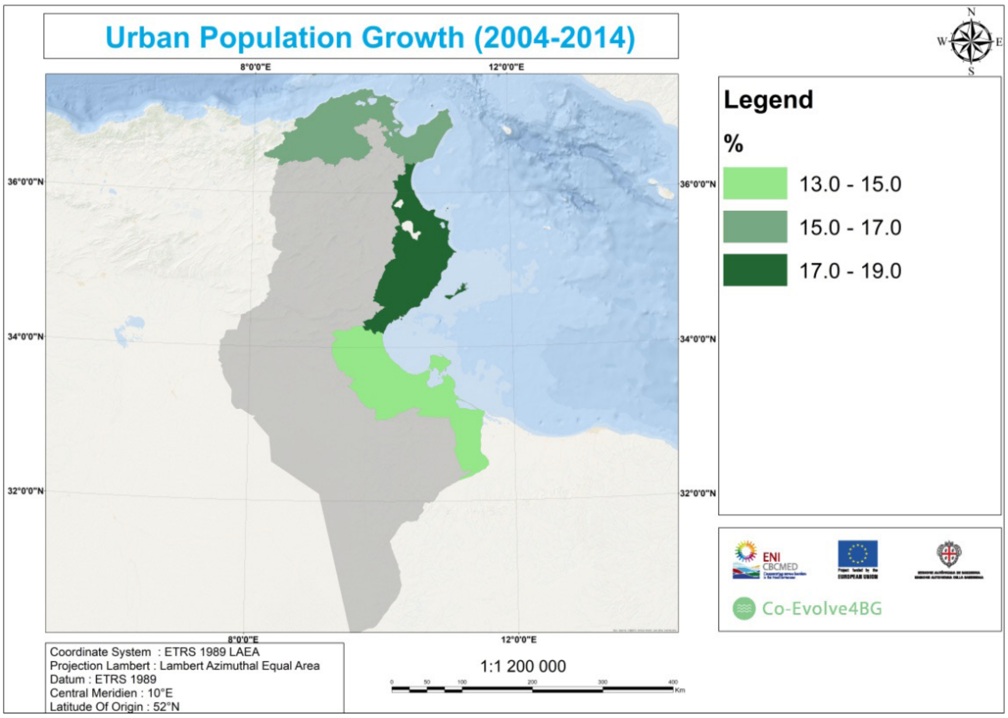

Figure 11. Regional urban population growth (North, east, South-East) in coastal Tunisia in 2004-2019

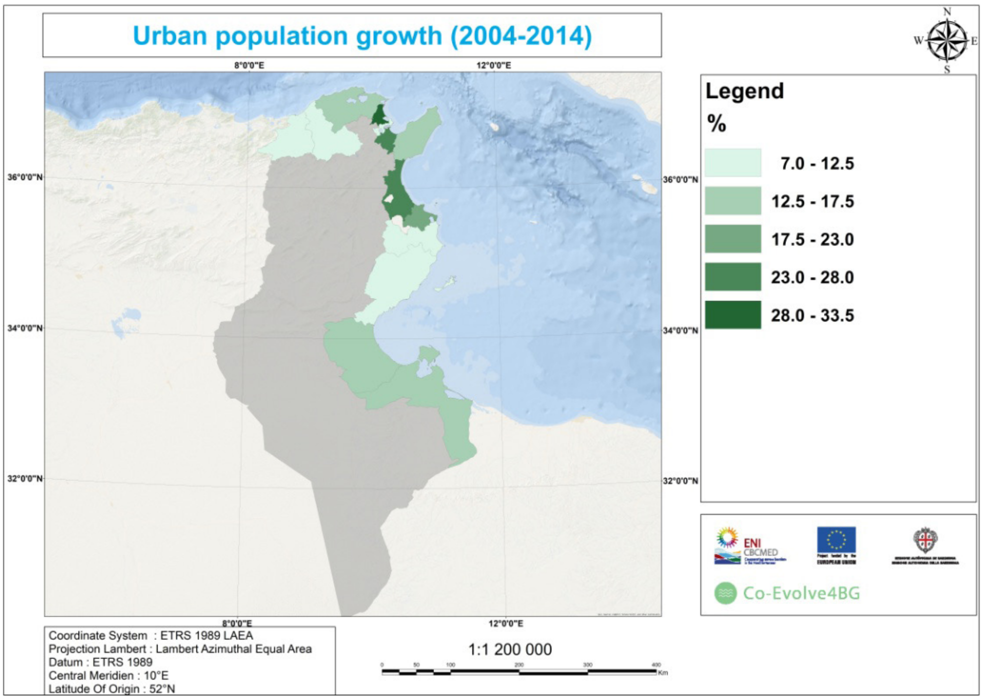

Figure 12. Urban population growth in coastal governorates of Tunisia in 2004–2014

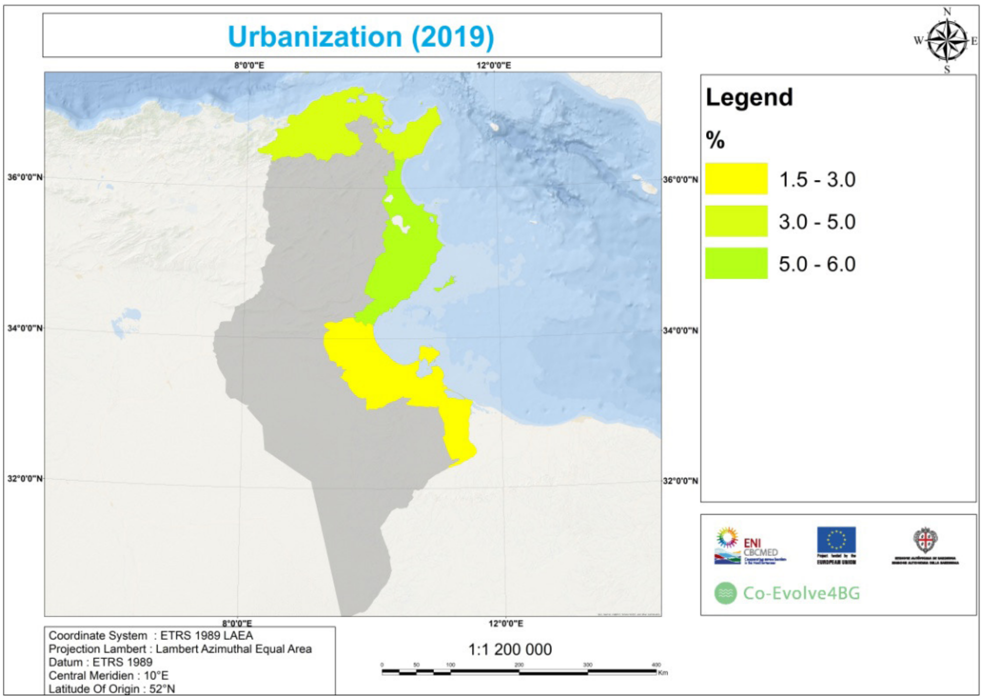

Figure 13. Regional urbanization (North, East, South-East) of coastal Tunisia in 2019

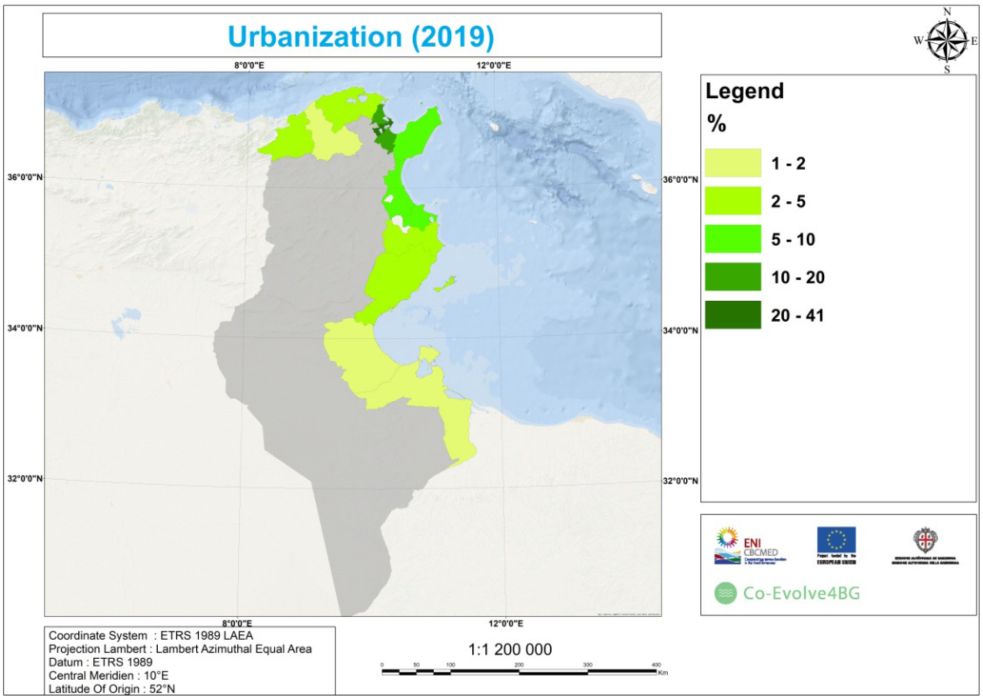

Figure 14. Urbanization of coastal governorates of Tunisia in 2019

II.3.2. Inner and southern Tunisia

In relation to this coastal axis, inland and southern Tunisia can be analyzed as a single sub-area. It is characterized by a systematic under-industrialization, an absence of large cities and a weakness of means, restricted trade flux and the absence of local resources. On the positive side, it is also the result of the State effort, its presence, the relative density of its framework and the beginning of the hierarchy of the urban network which is taking shape through public facilities. It is the Tunisia of State cities which are not driven by the same economic and financial forces. This peripheral Tunisia is not, however, totally homogeneous. The main gap opposes regions which are largely open to markets (plains and plateaus of the North-West, closely linked to Tunis) and others landlocked, traditional, and not very productive outside a few irrigated perimeters. To these a few districts were functioning as enclaves, some of them exporting (phosphate basin, mining areas on the Algerian border) while others were connected to international tourism (*e.g.*, Djerba, Tozeur).

But already, in the middle of the 1980s, the model of spatial organization which prevailed in inland and southern Tunisia showed signs of running out of steam. Or, more precisely, the apparent unity was fragmenting under the double effect of the relative reduction effort of the State which must measure its expenditure in a new context of globalization.

Through his analysis of urban growth and the economic base of cities, Belhedi(2019) demonstrated the presence of a coastal-internal dichotomy both demographic and functional.Inland cities showed a demographic loss due to emigration to the coastal cities over a long period, a population growth often lower than the national average and a negative migratory balance in most cases.

Moreover, it is above all the governorate capitals, the industrial and tourist centers that recorded the highest growth rates (Belhedi, 2011). The analysis of the data between 2004 and 2014 confirmed the trend previously recorded with the coastal-interior dichotomy. Urban growth has continued the same trend with high rates on the coast. Nearly 10% (9.6%) of inland cities recorded a negative rate and 41.9% a rate below 1% against 4.7% and 18.1% on the coast, respectively. On the other hand, only 13.5% of the inland cities recorded a rate higher than 3% against 23.8% on the coast (INS, 2014).

The highest rates are observed on the coast with rates exceeding 5% (13/18), 12 cities out of 17 had a rate of 3-5% and 15 cities out of 25 had a rate of 2-3%. Conversely, the lowest rates are inland with a negative rate in 9 cities out of 14 and a rate of 0-1% in 31 cities out of 50. 60% of cities with a rate below the urban average are in the interior regions (INS, 2014).

According to Belhedi(2019), the analysis of the urban framework reveals the presence of four hierarchical levels from the basic level to the national level, subdivided into sub-levels according to the degree of equipment and supervision. A distinction was made between:

- The upper level, made up of the capital and two incomplete regional metropolises:
  - The capital Tunis constitutes both a national and regional metropolis with a real extensive urban network containing all the levels and encompassing the North-East and Mjez.
  - Incomplete regional metropolises which lack certain regional services and command incomplete urban systems: Sfax and Sousse.
- The regional level with 18 cities that can be divided into 3 sub-levels:
  - The regional centers (2 centers): Gabès and Bizerte.
  - The incomplete regional centers (9 centers): Kef, Monastir, Gafsa, Nabeul, Beja, Kairouan, Medenine, Jendouba and Kasserine.
  - Sub-regional centers (7 centers): Mahdia, Sidi Bouzid, Siliana, Zaghouan, Tozeur, Kébili and Tataouine.
- The local level with 43 centers divided into 3 sub-levels:
  - The over-equipped local centers (13 centers): Menzel Bourguiba, HoumetEssouk, Ksar Hellal, Tabarka, Mjez, Mateur, Grombalia, Hammamet, Moknine, Slimane, Zarziss, Msaken and Kélibia.
  - The local centers (17 centers): including Ben Guerdene, El Fahs, El Jem, Jemmal, Korba, Téboursouk, Sbeitla, Makthar, Métlaoui, Nafta, Chebba and Bou Salem.
- Under-equipped local centers (13 centers) such as Dahmani, Douz, Meknessy, Tejerouine, Jebeniana and Tala.
- The basic level with 144 centers divided into 3 sub-levels:
  - The elementary level (25 centers) with a rather administrative function with the chief towns of delegation: Regueb, Kalaat Senan, Oueslatia, Enfidha, Matmata, Sbikha and Ben Aoun.
  - Basic centers (90 centers).
  - The villages (29 centers) which are on the edge of urbanity.

The refinement of the administrative division since 1974 has enabled many centers to benefit from regional or local services and to form the basic network of the urban system. Private services have followed this general movement by strengthening the higher level of the hierarchy (Belhedi, 2019). Finally, the most advanced systems are to be found on the coast, especially around Tunis.

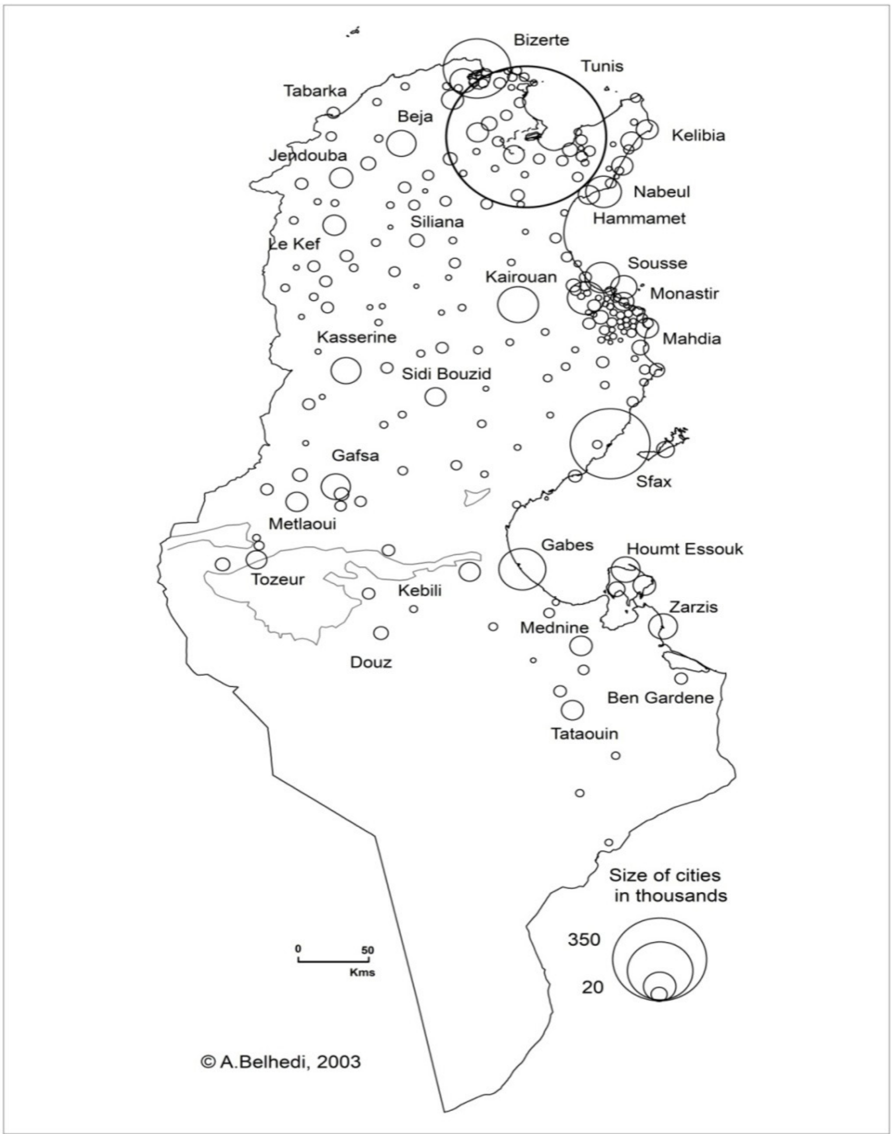

Figure 15. Size of cities in Tunisia, in 1999 (Belhedi, 2019)

III. Urbanization and coastal development

III.1. Globalization and Metropolization

Because of the globalization advent since the late 1980s, there has been, first and foremost, a trend towards strengthening the Tunisian pole and its organizational capacities. Even if its manifestations are not always easily identifiable, some of them are no less clear-cut:

- Convergence of energy networks and motorway infrastructure.
- Investments in port facilities to adapt to the new requirements of international maritime transport.
- Accelerated modernization of telecommunications systems.
- Preferential location of high added value industries as well as services and high-level services for companies and all the devices designed to promote investment.
- Multiplication and specialization of the banking system.
- Concentration of research centers and all the structures intended to encourage the modernization of companies.
- Multiple projects intended to “upgrade” the capital and to enhance its image, both to improve the “efficiency” of the city and to strengthen urban marketing policies through several urban projects, particularly around the northern lake of Tunis.

These transformations have been taking place in the now enlarged framework of a vast metropolitan area extending over almost the whole of North-East Tunisia. It is becoming obvious that at the time of globalization, it is through Tunis and, no doubt through Tunis alone, that Tunisia will ensure its articulation with the world system. The question of how it would have passed then the positive effects of this situation to the spatial system it dominated has been another matter (Signoles, 2006).

Secondly, the coastal axis has been strengthened, in terms of volumes and intensities of flows, of course. More so, no doubt, because of the multiplication of exchanges between the subsets and a newer phenomenon between the elements (cities) which make up each of them: a result, almost mechanical, due to both a multiplication of productive investments in more and more places and an increase in demand stimulated by household consumption. The consequence of this evolution is fundamental for the Sahel: since then, the Sahel has been participating very largely in the dynamics of the coastal axis, through multiple relays and not only, as was the case in the previous period, by being grafted on to it at the level of Sousse alone. But this axis has also been transformed: on the one hand, it launches a digitation all along the eastern coast of Cape Bon until it reaches Kélibia. On the other hand, towards the South, it benefited from the intensification of exchanges with Libya, the notable dynamics of the cities of the Tunisian South-East (Medenine, Tataouine, Ben Gardane) and the progress of the integration into the national space of two tourist areas of Djerba-Zarziss. Finally, this coastal axis has filled - or is in the process of filling some of its clearest gaps (Figs. 6-11).

The "rapprochement" which is taking place, thanks to the major tourist, airport, industrial and urban projects undertaken around Enfidha and Bouficha, between a metropolitan area of Tunis which, since then, have included Nabeul, Hammamet and an urban area of Sousse which reached, towards the North, the irrigated perimeter of Chatt Mariem, suggests, in a distant term, a stronger connection between these two areas. In this case, the "center" of the Tunisian spatial system would widen singularly, by "annexation" of a Sahel which, today an integrated periphery, would become tomorrow a sort of pericenter closely linked to Tunis. However, it is interesting to study these coastal urban compositions separately.

III.2. Evolution and organization of the Tunisian metropolis

Greater Tunis quadrupled its population between 1956, date of Tunisia's independence and 2014. The population increased from 560,000 to 2,643,695 in 2014. The earliest annual growth rate was 5.68% between 1936 and 1946, due to the economic crisis of the 1930s, which explains the large waves of migration from all over Tunisia to the capital. Then there was the rate of 3.17% recorded between 1969 and 1975 also because of the migration flows that took place between 1969 and 1975 due to changes in the political system: between 1961 and 1969 the institution of cooperativism was opted for with Minister Ahmed Ben Salah to change towards a liberal economy with Prime Minister Hédi Nouira. If the first policy contributed to the expulsion of rural populations from their agricultural land, then the second contributed to improving the attractiveness of the capital through the development of manufacturing industry in the 1970s.

The metropolis of Tunis, whose surface area increased considerably during the second half of the 20th century, now extends over several governorates: the governorate of Tunis is home to a minority of the population of the agglomeration, while the suburbs extend over the governorates of Ben Arous, Ariana and Mannouba. At the time of independence, the conurbation of Tunis occupies around 4,000 hectares. The urban extension that took place during the colonial period included the immediate environment of the medina, especially on the western side. These are the modern districts which were planned in checkerboard structures.

At the time, as far as Tunis is concerned, the main part of its fabric is still very tightly woven around its centre, which is double: the Medina and its two suburbs, Bab Souika in the North, and Bab Jedid in the South; the European city, between the Medina and the port, located at the bottom of Tunis Lake. Around this center, a disparate crown of districts rose: industrial space (Jebel Jelloud and Fathallah), belt of shantytowns (Saida Manoubia, Mellassine, Jebel Lahmar and Borgel), allotment for the middle class and first group of villas to the North (El Omrane, ex-Franceville; garden city of Belvedere, Mutuelleville, Notre-Dame, in the direction of Ariana, then still a market garden village) and to the North-West Le Bardo building to the South (Montfleury). However, this conurbation also includes outlying suburbs, linked to the center by rail (notably the TGM line: Tunis -La Goulette -La Marsa) and tramways, thus contributing to a strong fragmentation of the urbanized area since, between them and the central part of the conurbation, the continuity of the buildings is not guaranteed. On the northern coast, these more distant suburbs correspond to the four communes of La Goulette, Carthage, Sidi Bou Said and La Marsa. As a disparate mix of popular housing and luxury residences, their fabrics tend to weld together; to the south lay the housing estates of Megrine and Ben Arous, then, beyond, Rades, Ezzahra and Hammam-Lif. But all these suburbs then (in 1956) weighed barely a quarter of the total agglomerated population.

Today, the suburbs and outskirts to the North of the conurbation - including the northern coast - have continued to concentrate legal housing and the residence of the wealthy and middle classes. Following on from the El Menzah, El Manar and El Nasr operations undertaken by the public operator RLA (Residential Land Agency), the El Menzah I and II gardens would accommodate at least 80,000 inhabitants. The municipalities of the North coast have shown an exceptional demographic dynamism, mainly La Marsa, at the same time as vast tourist development program were projecting northwards beyond Gammarth and in Raoued, thus forcing urbanization to be transferred to the Ain Zaghouan zone (project for 45,000 inhabitants), located behind Carthage-La Marsa, between the operation of the Banks of the North Lake and the Sebkha Ariana.

To the west of the conurbation, spontaneous housing has developed at a very high speed, according to various processes: extension of the urbanization front of the Ettadhamen district; “colonization” of the Sidi Hacine-Séjoumi zone, where urban pressure resulting from the development of an “illegal” land market was extremely strong; sprawl of agricultural areas located further west; emergence of small illegal nuclei; and grafting of non-regulated neighborhoods on the small centers of Jedeida, Mornaguia and Oued Ellil. In the southern suburbs, the urban fabric is now joined by Ben Arous and Borj Cedria, via Rades, Ezzahra and Hammam Lif. Urbanization now includes the small town of Soliman at the gateway to Cape Bon. Some major operations undertaken by public promoters have contributed to the densification of these outskirts: the main ones are those of Medina Jdida, at the southern exit of Rades, on the RN1 (National Road 1) and El Mourouj.

During almost two decades after independence, the transformations of the Tunisian urban space were mainly carried out in two forms: the production of new residential districts located in the peripheries and in the central districts, the punctual transformation of the old fabrics by demolition of old constructions and the reconstruction of buildings generally offices. On the other hand, since about the beginning of the 1980s, there has been an increase in the number of large urban planning operations - the major projects - in various places in the metropolitan area as a new form of city manufacturing. This project-based urban planning is the result of a structural modification of the previous systems of action, since the project owners are no longer the State through the competent ministries or local authorities (municipalities), but the development companies which involved public and private national and foreign actors or private operators alone.

The State has engaged in urban operations to ensure the upgrading of the capital, mainly in the field of infrastructure and equipment (port, airport, expressways), to enable it to face the stakes and challenges of economic globalization and to attract more effectively the representations of large international companies in the priority orders of production or services. They then aimed at modifying the image of Tunis-capital, by breathing into it, through architectural and urban planning productions, a new modernity synonymous with a new urbanity, likely to act both on the representations of the inhabitants of the capital and on those of all Tunisians, at the same time as it should serve as a vector for marketing operations intended to seduce international economic players, congress organizers and tourists. The construction of this image has been carried out in relation to the production of new reference points for action (progress, modernity, sustainable development) which carried the obvious risk of producing "deculturized" spaces, without a well-established spatial identity, a sort of "commonplace" as it has been increasingly found throughout the world. The third characteristic of these operations is that they take place on a piecemeal basis, without ever being really integrated in advance in a global development document, such as the SDAGT (Master Development Plan for Greater Tunis). Moreover, most of them are conceived in the logic of the urban "fragment"; the planning parts concern more the structuring of the project territory than the links with the rest of the urban space, as is the example of the Lake Banks project (Fig. 16).

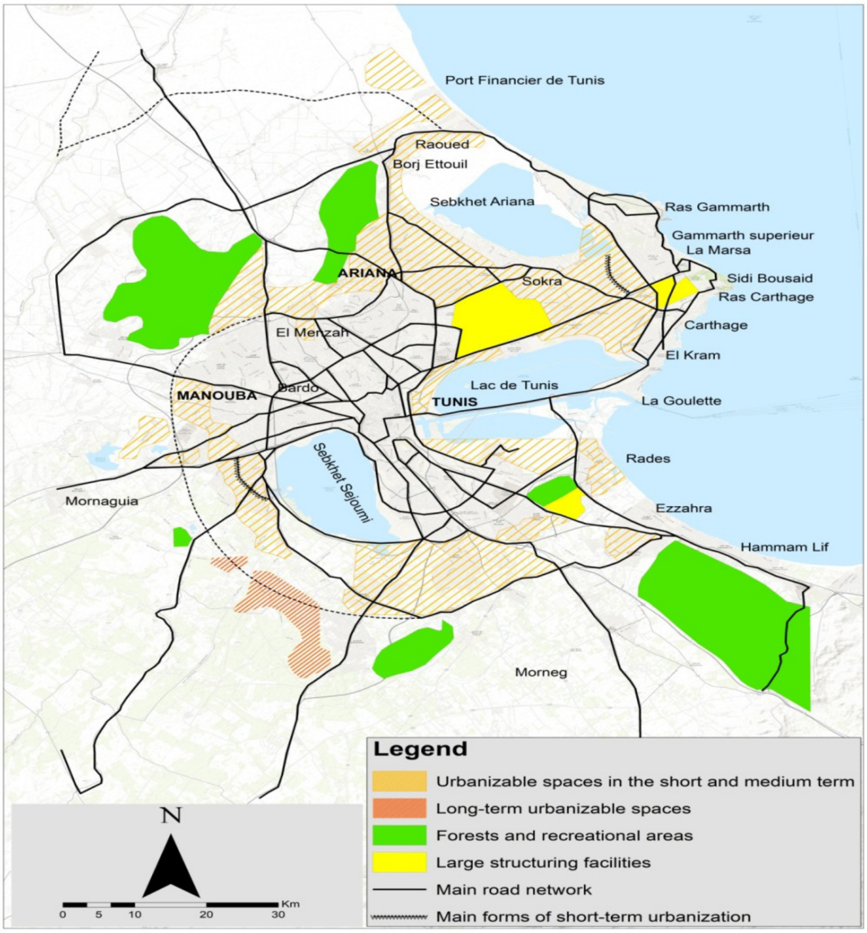

Figure 16. Urban extension of Greater Tunis (DGAT, 2010)

The development of Tunis, relying on its functions as a national metropolis, has also been achieved by the constant multiplication and strengthening of functions and facilities with a regional influence whose scope covers the entire North-East and a large part of North-West Tunisia. The intensity of relations was particularly strong between the first regional grouping and Tunis, because of their proximity, the density of communication infrastructures and the importance and diversity of economic activities, but also because it possesses a relatively dense and well-organized urban framework, dominated by the two urban groupings of Bizerte-Menzel Bourguiba in the North and Nabeul Hammamet in the South. Undertaken at the very beginning of the 1970s, the first study of the Tunisian territory development had identified this North-East as a space that could allow the capital to redistribute some of its activities to avoid their excessive concentration in the narrow site where it was confined. This North-East space redistribution has been undertaken by explicitly inserting the development of Tunis in a regional framework, by envisaging at the same time a significant improvement in the performance of Tunisian activities, a reduction in the dysfunctions of the urban space and a better structuring of a vast region with high potentialities.

Regularly taken up since then, these proposals have only been very particularly implemented by the public authorities. In truth, the rapid spread of the urban agglomeration and the effective loosening of many of its facilities and economic activities have led to the Tunisian metropolitan area beginning to move outside its regional framework in recent years. It is more the result of various opportunities (land ownership among others) and the strategies of the actors concerned than of a coordinated policy at the service of a clearly defined strategy. The overflow of the site is mainly due to urbanization, whether programmed or spontaneous. The fronts of urbanization which have been advancing rapidly on the southern coast (beyond Soliman), in the South (beyond El Mohamedia), in the West (beyond Mornaguia), in the North (including Sidi Thabet) and on the northern coast (towards the mouth of the Mejerda and Kalaat El Andalous) meet small towns. Sometimes, they are located some forty kilometers from the capital, which have been or are the receptacle of a high level of rural immigration. The improvement of regional transport systems, the low cost of housing, or the access to land have encouraged many of these immigrants to settle there by developing commuter migration with Tunis: Borj El Amri, Jedeida, Tébourba, El Bathan and Grombalia. The development of large industrial zones in these same cities, as well as the “illegal” installation of companies, places these small centers in the Tunisian productive space. Beyond this first ring of small towns, henceforth almost totally satellite-linked by Tunis, relations have been intense with the industrial cities of Bizerte (130,000 inhabitants), Menzel-Bourguiba and Mateur on the one hand, with Cape Bon and especially the first Tunisian tourist region which spreads from Korba to the South of Hammamet, passing through Nabeul, on the other hand. The multiplication of second homes of Tunisians in the orchards of Hammamet and the generalization of summer seaside holidays have been responsible for an intense traffic during the weekends between the capital and what tends to become its tourist annex.

The construction of the highway, first in the direction of Sousse, then more recently between Tunis and Bizerte, Tunis and Mejezel Bab, has considerably improved and accelerated the exchanges between the capital and its two industrial and tourist “annexes”. Moreover, the large Tunisian facilities (airport and port) are saturated. Projects for the creation of large-scale logistics platforms have nevertheless been formulated by the authors of the last National Master Plan (1997) to better ensure the goods exchange connections on a national scale and improve the links between the domestic and international transport system.

III.3. Characteristics of urbanization in the Cape Bon peninsula

III.3.1. Increased disparities in urban evolution

The analysis of the population development of Cape Bon shows a large urban disparity between the western and eastern part of the peninsula.

The high concentration of the urban population on the coast is especially noticeable on the eastern side of Cape Bon. From Beni Khiar in the South of the study area to Hammam Laghzaz in the North, there are no less than 10 communes occupying this eastern coastal strip out of a total of 16 communes with a total population of 190,339 inhabitants out of a total of 271,992 city dwellers, *i.e.*, 70%. This narrow coastal strip has been known for its agricultural, industrial, and residential potential since the 1960s.

Urban coalescence occurs when two or more towns which were separated at the beginning of the process by agricultural or even natural areas become connected to each other because of urban sprawl. The empty territories which separated them become filled in, giving way to an urban continuum. This phenomenon is a threat to the distinctive specificity of each urban entity and causes the green crowns which surrounded each city to disappear. These green crowns were nourishing and airy areas which were so appreciated for the quality of urban life and the landscape, and which produced the foodstuffs necessary to satisfy the needs of city dwellers for fresh products (vegetables, fruit, meat, and dairy products).

This new phenomenon of conurbation will have negative impacts such as:

- Longer distances and travel routes for people and goods, thus an over-consumption of energy products and increased carbon dioxide emissions.
- Disappearance of the green belts that used to feed the cities with various fresh products.
- The trivialization of landscapes and the loss of urban specificities.
- Problems of management, local governance, coherence of inter-municipal planning and urban development strategies.
- The deterioration of the quality of urban life and social cohesion.
- Congestion, travel, and urban transport problems.

The town of Beni Khiar is now attached to the two nearby towns of Dar Chaabane and Nabeul. In the coming years, the agricultural land that separated it from the city of Maamoura risks losing its vocation and becoming open land for construction, leading to coalescence between the two cities. The result is the creation of an urban region extending from the tourist area of Hammamet South to Maamoura, an area 30 km long and a few km wide, with a population that could reach 300,000 inhabitants in the year 2040.

The challenge of this evolution is to lead this urban region to be able to accompany it in its constitution and function in an intelligent, coherent, and efficient way. It was by managing to organize an inter-municipal functioning and the implementation of planning and development strategies considering the different elements of this complex system that is the conurbation of Nabeul-Hammamet.

This phenomenon is likely to be repeated in the medium term in the next forty to fifty years for the towns of Hammam Laghzaz, Kélibia, Azmour, Dar Allouche and Menzel Témime, which are separated by a few kilometers, and which will end up becoming another urban region but smaller and less important than the first one.

III.3.2. Characteristics of the urban framework of the Cape Bon sensitive areas

The regional urban system remains marked by two main characteristics:

- The primacy of the Nabeul-Hammamet conurbation.
- The predominance of small and medium-sized municipalities.

Coastalization driven by tourism: Today, the urban framework of Cape Bon is made up of a multitude of agglomerations and population groups of all sizes. Officially, 28 agglomerations are set up as municipalities, four of which are newly created according to the administrative division of 2016. Although it is not part of the scope of the study, the Nabeul-Hammamet conurbation cannot be overlooked in the study and the understanding of the urban structure of Cape Bon. Being the most important urban metropolis in the region, this one, despite its somewhat eccentric geographical situation in the south-west of the peninsula, largely conditions the physiognomy and the hierarchy of the urban structure.

The predominance of small and medium-sized conurbations: According to the census of 2014, urban agglomerations in sensitive areas are dominated by small and medium-sized towns. On the East coast, the urban network, although made up of small and medium-sized towns, is dominated by the city of Kélibia (46,850 inhabitants), as a local development pole, seconded by three other urban poles Korba, Menzel Témime and Soliman with 38,000 inhabitants each. In the middle of the urban hierarchy is the town of Beni Khiar with 21,626 inhabitants. They come a series of small urban centers: Hammam Laghzez, El Mida, Menzel Horr, Tazerka, Somaâ and Maamoura. On the West coast, the urban network is still embryonic and only the agglomeration of Soliman (38,000 inhabitants) and to a lesser extent Haouaria (9,500 inhabitants) deserve to be qualified as urban. Similarly, with reference to a functional typology, based on their capacity to structure space and their economic and socio-urban performance, these towns and agglomerations can be classified as follows:

- Autonomous centre cities: These are essentially the cities of Korba, Kélibia and Menzel Témime; cities with more than 40,000 inhabitants or which are located on the eastern coast. On the western coast, the city of Suleiman and to a lesser extent Haouaria as the only cities to enjoy a certain autonomy in services and employment. The employment-to-assets ratio of these cities is relatively balanced, and their level of equipment gives them a certain autonomy.
- Dependent cities (DGAT, 2010): These are essentially the cities of Hammam Laghazez, Tazerka, Maamoura, El Mida, Menzel Horr and Somaa on the eastern coast. They generally have basic tertiary services and, secondarily, modest infrastructure with a relatively dominant agricultural sector. Their area of influence is limited to a few neighboring Imadas.
- Towns or rural groupings: These are mainly rural agglomerations scattered throughout the study area and where the agricultural function is almost predominant. These towns and rural settlements have neither the infrastructure nor the functions that enable them to enjoy urban status and they polarize their regions only to a limited extent.

III.4. Urbanization in the Gulf of Hammamet

Enfidha, which is attached to the governorate of Sousse, is geographically located in the middle of the Gulf of Hammamet. This town, which was created by the French colonists at the beginning of the 20th century, dominates a region with a rural character. Its median situation between the centre and the North of Tunisia has favored the passage of several transport lines: National Road N°1 (NR1), the railway line N°1 and motorway. The abundance of state land has helped, since the 1990s, the realization of several projects of economic interest.

The strategic location of Enfidha, particularly between the North and center of Tunisia, has motivated the authorities to build the necessary infrastructure to further articulate the different Tunisian regions. At the beginning of the 1990s, the road infrastructure network of national interest was immediately improved in the Enfidha region by the construction of the Hammamet-Msaken highway. This A1 highway, which passes to the east of the city, connects the main towns of the governorate of Sousse via three interchanges, which serve Enfidha, Hergla and Sidi-Bou-Ali.

The transport infrastructure in the region of Enfidha is reinforced by the realization of the new airport which is 5 km away from the agglomeration of the same name. This new airport was initially built to serve the four tourist resorts projected at the bottom of the Gulf of Hammamet; only one of which is already completed, while the others (Salloum I and II and Hergla) are not yet developed (Fig. 17).

The site of the airport project is limited to the East by the shore of the Gulf of Hammamet, to the west by the A1 highway, to the North and South by agricultural land. In fact, this project was the fruit of a Tunisian-Turkish partnership, represented on the Turkish side by the company TAV. It was created by a decision of the deposed ex-president Ben Ali, without a prior strategic study. Its work began in June 2007, and it was inaugurated in October 2009. It was initially named “Enfidha-Zine El Abidine Ben Ali Airport”, but after the Tunisian revolution of 14 January 2011, it was renamed “Enfidha-Hammamet Airport”. It should be pointed out here that Enfidha International Airport has a 3,300-metre-long runway and covers 32 hangars. It has 18 mechanical gangways, an 85-metre-high control tower and a car park with space for 120 buses and 500 cars.

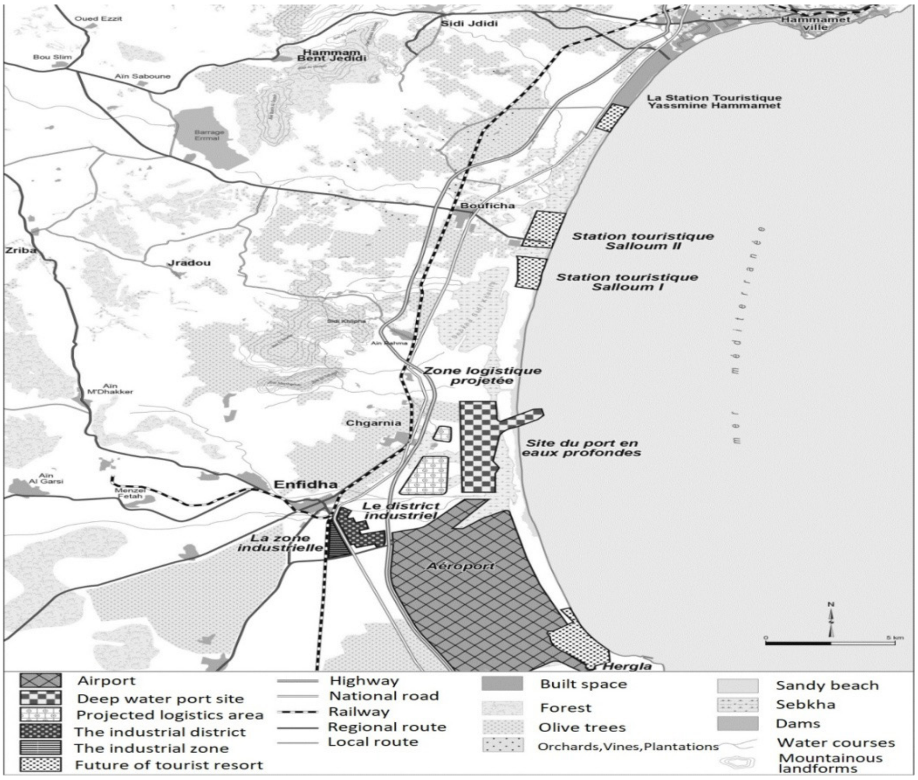

Figure 17. Projects carried out and planned in the surroundings of the Enfidha conurbation (Hellal, 2016)

Following the construction of this airport, the national authorities have planned other projects of economic importance in the territory of Enfidha that complement the first one. In fact, this national-scale facility has further improved the attractiveness of this territory.

<u>Future projects for the deep-water port and its logistics zone:</u> Thanks to its geographical position, Tunisia represents a strategic point in the Mediterranean basin in terms of maritime transport flows. In a context of globalization of trade, the Tunisian authorities have decided to seize this opportunity to create a deep-water port to accommodate the large, fast ships coming from Asia via the Suez Canal to Europe and then to America via the Strait of Gibraltar.

Through its strategic location in the middle of the national territory and at its coastal fringe, the Enfidha region is today a site selected to host this large-scale facility. It has confirmed itself as a privileged place in the globalization process to play the role of “a local anchorage or support point for global exchange”. Like Tunis, it is also proving to be “an interface between external polarities and internal regional dynamics at unequal speeds” (Dlala, 2010). This territory seems to have been chosen, since the earlier construction of the airport, to host an international transport platform. An attempt has been made to consolidate this interface through the construction of a deep-water port. Thus, the choice of this site in the center of the national territory is justified by the saturation of the two commercial ports of Sousse and Rades located on either side of the project site. Then, on the local level, this port could be completed with the Enfidha industrial zones, if this transport equipment would facilitate the export of their productions. Faced with this observation, the government decided to project the future deep-water port in Enfidha, which its technical studies began in 2009.

According to the feasibility studies carried out, the future deep-water port of Enfidha can capture between 15 and 25% of the trans-shipment market in the Mediterranean, depending on the reactivity of competing terminals in the region as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean. It will thus have a depth of 17 meters, capable of accommodating 80,000 tones vessels. The Tunisian State has already launched an international call for tenders to find a concessionaire capable of building and managing this port.

The possible creation of the deep-water port inspires the Tunisian authorities to create a logistics zone covering an area of 3 thousand hectares. This project will be developed in the vicinity of the future port to constitute together a platform of international scope with a surface area of about 500 ha in the first phase and about 2,000 ha in the final phase. In fact, several companies located in the region, especially in the Enfidha industrial zone or district, would find in this logistics area the means they need to get their goods to their destination without too much delay. The zone in question will be built according to international standards. In addition, it will be equipped with company headquarters and offices for logistics operations, parallel processing, rolling areas, goods storage, transit, collection, and distribution of goods.

Finally, the Enfidha logistics complex would be an essential component of a mega-project of a multimodal platform with several components: port, airport, motorway, and railway line. These large infrastructure projects can only improve the attractiveness of the region and subsequently increase its urban dynamics.

The Enfidha delegation benefits from two industrial areas located in the Enfidha administrative sector on either side of the NR1 and close to the railway line (Fig. 17). The strategic location of these industrial facilities in relation to the transport infrastructure facilitates the dissemination of their industrial products. The difference between these two industrial areas is that one is developed by a private developer, the Enfidha-Tunisia Industrial District (ETID) and the other (industrial zone) by a public player: the Industrial Land Agency (LAI).

The industrial district of Enfidha: The development of an industrial space under the concept of district is new in Tunisia. Moreover, historically this concept was put forward in 1890 by A. Marshall; it was unearthed and taken up by Becattini (1979) and other Italian authors in the 1980s. A Marshallian industrial district is distinguished by the fact that it is a space for small and medium-sized enterprises that can use their proximity to take advantage of economies of scale. It is thus “a space specialized in one or two industrial sectors. The specialization understood here as a technical and technological specialization, but also a specialization of the working population, in the sense that this labor force has a particular qualification likely to attract employers”. Therefore, it is a territorialized concept, which generates a certain territorial development.

The District of Enfidha is an unprecedented project in Tunisia, as it is the only industrial space of this type that currently exists in Tunisia, which is being developed by a private developer, an Italian developer. The company’s objective is to develop a 200-hectare district according to European standards, close to the site selected for the deep-water port project and the new international airport in Enfidha. It is thus located to the south-east of Enfidha between the built-up area and the sea on the one hand, between the RN1 and the motorway on the other. Thus, it is only 1 km from the railway station. The southern entrance to the district is via the motorway junction, while the northern entrance is via a roundabout that integrates it with the RN1.

The land to be used for this project is flat. It is divided into four Phases: one has already been completed with 78 plots on a surface area of 50 ha located south of the installation site near the motorway toll plaza; the other three phases are only planned with 107 plots and occupy a surface area of 150 ha.

This district is currently being urbanized; lots of the first phase are already for sale and the first buildings have already been constructed. Thus, “this project is oriented towards the installation of international companies working in particular in the sector of mold production, plastic machining, electronic components, agro-industry, agro-mechanics and light mechanics” (DGAT, 2010). However, if one compares the project carried out with the “cluster” concept, then one can criticize the non-specialization of this “district” and its weak integration with the local economy if there is no tradition in these types of industry.

In the industrial district, one sees all the services necessary for industrial activities such as banks, interpreting services, offices, forwarding agents, customs and restaurants which will find a location in the center of life. For this purpose, the district develops a certain secondary centrality in relation to the center of the Enfidha agglomeration which contributes to a certain local urban development.

Enfidha Industrial Zone (AFI): The land of this industrial estate is bounded on the East by the RN1 and the industrial district of Enfidha, on the West by the railway, on the North by the town of Enfidha and on the South by agricultural land. The project falls within the framework of the planning of allotments reserved for industry under the responsibility of the LAI. It is a body with an industrial and commercial character, and which was created in 1973 and placed under the supervision of the Ministry in charge of industrial development in Tunisia. The area, which covers 137 ha, is divided into three tranches, two of which have already been completed and the third is planned.

<u>The future technological pole:</u> The central government has planned a new "technological pole", industrial space type, on the territory of the Enfidha delegation. According to law n°2001-50 of 3 May 2001 relating to companies in technological clusters as modified and completed by law n°2006-37 of 12 June 2006: the technological pole is "the space or the whole of the spaces integrated and fitted out to accommodate activities in the field of training, scientific and technological research. It is the fields of production and technological development on the other hand, in a determined specialty or a set of specialties, to promote the competitive capacity of the economy and to develop its technological components This is by the encouragement of technological innovations and the support of complementarily and integration between these activities within the framework of the national priorities".

The Enfidha Technology Pole project was approved on 20 January 2012. It will be carried out by the public contracting authority: "La Société du Pôle de Compétitivité de Sousse (SPCS)". The project site is bounded to the North by the bare land to be developed later, to the South by the toll area (for the motorway) at Enfidha level and its entrance and exit ramp, to the East by the A1 motorway and to the West by an existing and developed street which separates it from the DIET.

The land consists of a single rectangular plot of land with a surface area of 50 ha. It is intended to group together higher education, research, development, innovation activities, industrial service activities and activities to support innovative projects in the electronics, mechanics, and IT sectors.

The creation of industrial areas has a positive impact on employment. In the case of Enfidha, the industrial projects it hosts in its territory will offer new jobs. To this end, it needs to respond to a possible demand for housing with a substantial offer, which would find its place in the future urban expansion on its margins. Finally, the city is forced to adapt to the economic and social evolution of its territory.

IV. The impact of the tourism sector on urbanization

IV.1. Tourism and urbanization in Cape Bon

The governorate of Nabeul, situated in the North-East of Tunisia, is today home to a tourist mega-zone Nabeul-Hammamet. Although it is mainly made up of the two sub-areas of Nabeul and Hammamet, it also includes the units of the closest agglomerations of Korba and Maamoura, as well as the units of the most distant agglomerations, Haouaria and Kélibia. In 2019, it had 147 hotels that represent 16.78% of the number of hotels in Tunisia and 50,125 beds, that is 21.23% of the national capacity including a part of the capacity of Yasmine-Hammamet (20 of 44 units providing 8,919 beds for 17,588 tourists; TNTO, 2019). It is situated between Nabeul and Sousse and it is counted as an independent tourist region in the statistics of the TNTO. As a result, in terms of capacity, the Nabeul-Hammamet zone is in second position after that of Djerba-Zarziss which counted 53,079 beds in 2019.

The available capacity in Nabeul becomes more diversified during the last decade and it can list new categories of accommodation in addition of the classified Hotels.

Table 1. Capacity in beds by category in Cape Bon (TNTO, 2019)

	Hotels	Appart-Hotels	Guest Houses	Time share	Holidays resorts	Cottage	Others
Nabeul - Hammamet	26,850	566	64	597	2,136	62	935
Yasmine Hammamet (only the part belonging to Cape Bon)	8,004	598	0	178	0	0	139

However, it is important to highlight that the occupancy rate remains under 50% (38.4% in Nabeul-Hammamet and 48.2% in Yasmine Hammamet) which means that half of the beds is not well sold during most periods of the year, excepting August during which the occupancy rate can exceed 80%.

In 2019, Cape Bon has recorded more than 6 million overnights, 16% of them belonged to domestic market. The average stay was equal to 2.6 overnights per tourist exceeding the national average of 2.3.

The tourism sector has attracted investments of 21.6 million TND in 2019 divided between accommodation (20.9 million TND) and entertainment (0.7 million TND). In addition to hotels, around 84 restaurants and 2 golf courses called Citrus and Yasmine reinforce the tourism activity and participate to make the region more liveable (TNTO, 2019).

Before the development of the tourist sector, Nabeul, the most important regional town and the administrative capital, was surrounded by village agglomerations. It was "the only polarizing city in the region, if not the only real city" (Miossec, 1996). Over time, especially since the development of international mass tourism from the 1960s onwards, there has been a shift in the economic weight of Nabeul towards Hammamet.

The coastal strip which stretches from Hammamet South to Maamoura is entirely devoted to tourism and leisure activities, as well as to the development of high level second homes. Tourism and residential development have been responsible for the junction between the urban fabrics of the two conurbations of Nabeul and Hammamet. The urban conurbation Hammamet-Nabeul has been structured, as can be observed today, around the tourist function, which remains dominant. However, within this mega-zone, two sub-areas can be identified which have two different configurations.

The Nabeul sub-area developed between the city centre and the sea. The first hotels in Nabeul in the 1960s were El Yassmine (1966), Riyadh (1968) and Sun Holiday-Beach (1968), they were scattered along the coast without prior urban planning. They were built on the coast in a heterogeneous way in the vicinity of fishermen's houses and modest summer residences (Fig. 18). The 1975 development plan for the tourist zone extended this series of hotels to the North and South. Over time, a fusion occurred between the sub-area of Nabeul and the actual urban structure of the town. In this intermediate space, it comes with "a very heterogeneous urban fabric (residences, Nabeul fair, high school and sports complex). The perception of the tourist zone is, here, much less clear-cut and the impression comes to the visitor of a space which is dissolving and falling apart like a cattail" (Miossec, 1996).

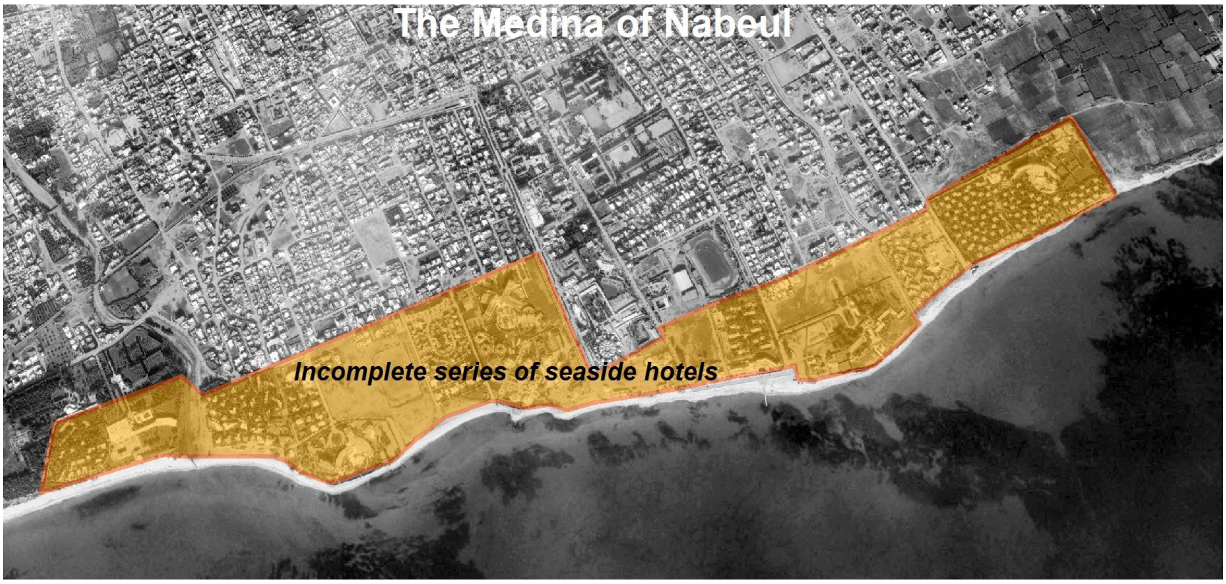

Figure 18. Development of the seaside hotel industry in relation to the city over the years (period?), Nabeul, Tunisia

The Hammamet sub-area, for its part, developed immediately on either side of the old centre of Hammamet (Fig. 19). Towards the South and off the gulf, the oldest hotels were established, first hotels of a double urban and tourist style (Residence-Hammamet and Yasmina); then further on, larger hotels and purely seaside resorts (Miramar, Fourati and les Orangers). This series of hotels stretches over kilometers, and, in their majority, they are waterfront type units served by a tourist road. This series is only interrupted by the Pupput archaeological site and by a complex structure of tourist and leisure facilities (restaurants, nightclubs, and shops) which develops more towards ManaretHammamet.

Between the two sub-areas of Nabeul and Hammamet, the urban void at the level of El Merazka is today almost filled, especially by hotels and second homes. The uninterrupted touristification over the last thirty years or so is reshaping the organization of the coastal plain of Hammamet-Nabeul. Even if today it is witnessing the merging of the two sub-areas into a single zone, the two tourist agglomerations of Nabeul and Hammamet present two slightly different products and two distinct spatial configurations: if in Nabeul the units occupy the coastal plain which separates the town from the sea and has favored seaside hotels functionally dependent on the town, in Hammamet, the hotels have been built in the orchards which extend on both sides of the medina, offering a seaside and holiday product.

In fact, long before Nabeul, Hammamet experienced the first signs of the development of mass tourism and this, since the middle of the 20th century, on the initiative of foreigners who appreciated the living environment of this town of rural origin. As early as 1957, a foreigner named Chartos brought Swedish tourists through an agency to a hotel that was quickly built with light materials. It was the “Miramar”, located in the south of the Hammamet agglomeration (Sethom, 1979). This hotel was later bought by the Tunisian State in 1959 and entrusted to the Société Hôtelière du TourismeTunisien (SHTT). This State Company was the spearhead of Tunisian tourism, including in the Hammamet-Nabeul area until the end of the 1980s; it built and managed the State hotels. It bears witness to the interventionism of the Tunisian State in the development of the tourist sector. Thus, the local and regional actors have played a role in the development of hotel activity through the institution of the Société du Cape Bon du Tourisme (created in the 1960s), dividends from the local population and subsidies from the governorate and the municipalities. At that time, the national private promoters are beginning to become involved in hotel promotion, including Chadli Fourati, who built the hotel bearing the name of his family “Fourati”, in 1960 in Hammamet.

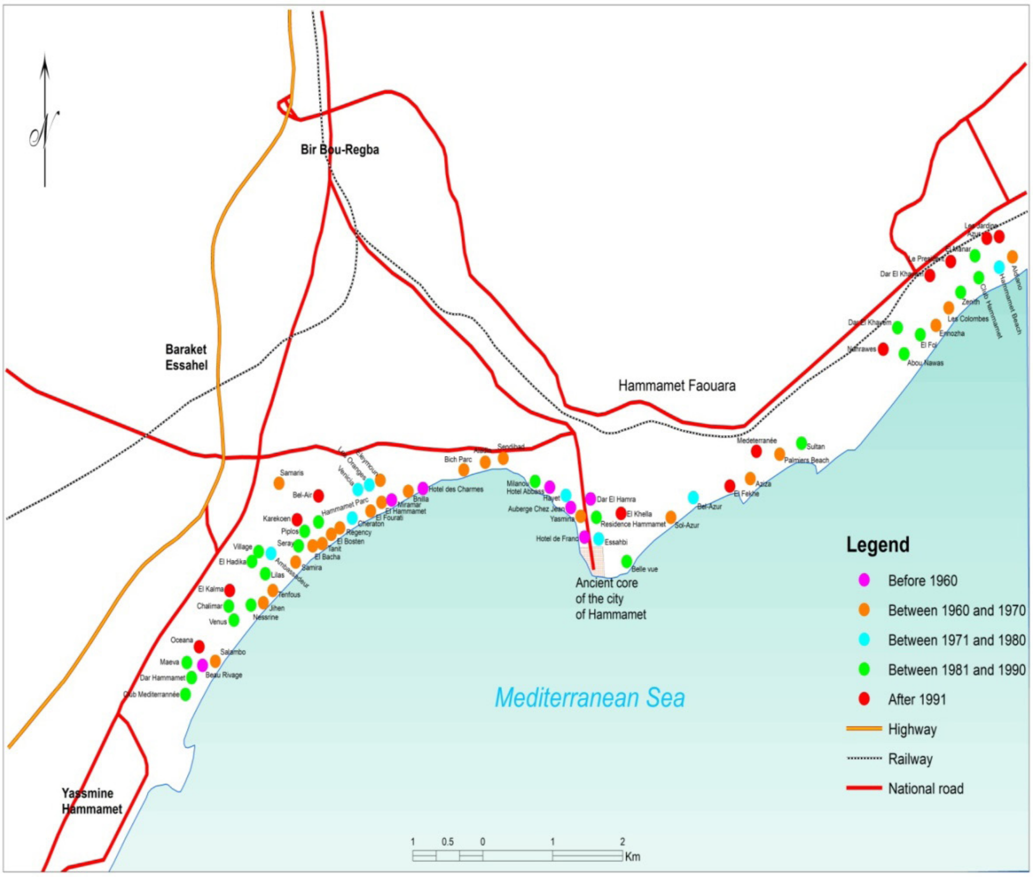

Figure 19. Location of the hotels in Hammamet and date of creation (Hellal, 2015b)

The efforts of the State and its national promoters are combined to further boost tourism development to meet the demand of tour operators. This is, without doubt, the context of mass tourism. Within a period of 10 years, between 1962 and 1972, hotel capacity experienced a real explosion and went from 548 beds to 16,079 beds, a multiplication by 28. However, it is a question of the realization of medium capacity hotel units, about 300 beds each. In 1972, the region occupied first place in terms of the number of beds (33.5%) and in terms of the number of hotel establishments (46). But the conurbation of Hammamet monopolized 10,091 beds at the same date against only 1,200 for Nabeul: 8 times more. Until then, the hotels that have set up there have done so without any planning. They are punctual hotel units that encroach on the dunes bordering the beaches, which will subsequently have consequences for the environment. Thus, the steamroller of the waves of hotel construction has submerged the ruins of ancient cities: Pupput in the case of Hammamet and Néapolis in the case of Nabeul.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Tunisian State decided to organize seaside hotels in tourist areas to rationalize the consumption of space and expenditure in terms of infrastructure. At that time, the objective was to meet the great European demand, especially where tourism had already shown some success (Miossec, 1996), as in the case of Nabeul and Hammamet. To this end, seven tourist areas were planned for the realization, including that of Nabeul-Hammamet.

To develop the planned zones, the State created the Tourist Land Agency (AFT) in 1973, to take over the development of the environment of the units already established outside the urban agglomeration on the one hand, to provide adequate infrastructures for the future units on the other hand. The development plan of the Nabeul-Hammamet tourist zone was approved on December 3, 1975, by decree n°848. The zoning technique gives impetus to the development of tourism in the region. It thus inaugurates a series of hotels located parallel to the shoreline and enclosed in supporting towns.

In 1982, the hotel capacity of the Hammamet-Nabeul zone was evaluated at 24,183 beds, whereas in 1992, there were 36,582 beds and in 2002, the figure climbed to 44458 beds. However, in 2015, the hotel capacity dropped to 41,078 beds spread over 115 establishments. This drop in hotel capacity is explained by the closure of several hotels under the effect of the tourist crisis from which the tourist area of Hammamet-Nabeul, as indeed all the areas of Tunisia, has been suffering. It should be remembered that this crisis is due to the failure to adapt the tourist offer in this area in relation to the evolution of demand and to the political and security situation in Tunisia which was discussed in the first chapter.

The tourist zone is a place inherited from the context of mass tourism, linked to the “Fordism” of the tourist offer in the 1970s. The trajectory of this tourist area is attributable, to some extent, to the effects of the life cycle of tourist areas (Butler, 1980). In view of its attendance crisis, it is situated at the end of the tourist cycle. Here, the quasi-series of large capacity hotels, lined up parallel to the shoreline, no longer attract the European clientele, who are looking for places with strong territorial identities and full of originality to offer themselves a change of scenery and a “new tourist experience”. Today, it is a new stage marked by the decline of this mass tourism and by increased competition between destinations and, consequently, the invention of new places and the reconversion of old ones to satisfy a new and increasingly segmented demand.

IV.2. Tourism and urbanization in Sousse

Since the 1960s, the city of Sousse has experienced an evolution of mass tourism. At that time the tourist units were scattered, and their environments lacked infrastructure. It is for this reason that the Tunisian State decreed Sousse, in 1975, as a priority tourist zone (ZTP). The consultancy firm proceeded to the planning of the tourist zone. In the hotel lots, the floor area, the density, the volume index, and the number of floors is specified. It has divided the area into 3 sub-areas:

- A first zone which is already in the process of urbanization extends from the city of Sousse (Casino of Boujaafer) to the wadi Hammam.
- A second zone, going from the wadi Hammam to the road of the agricultural high school.
- A 3rd sub-area from the road to the agricultural college in Hergla.

In 1975, in the first zone, the theme was to restructure "a posteriori" a whole anarchically pre-constituted development situation, in which the continuous linear development of hotel facilities on the seafront predominates. The development actions were planned in Italconsult 1975 (Hamrouni, 2014).

In the second zone, it is an extension of the hotel zone, which gives a series of block hotels of the foot-in-the-water type served by the tourist route. This alignment of hotels is only interrupted by the tourist resort El Kantaoui, which marks a new leisure centrality in relation to the city center of Sousse (Fig. 20).

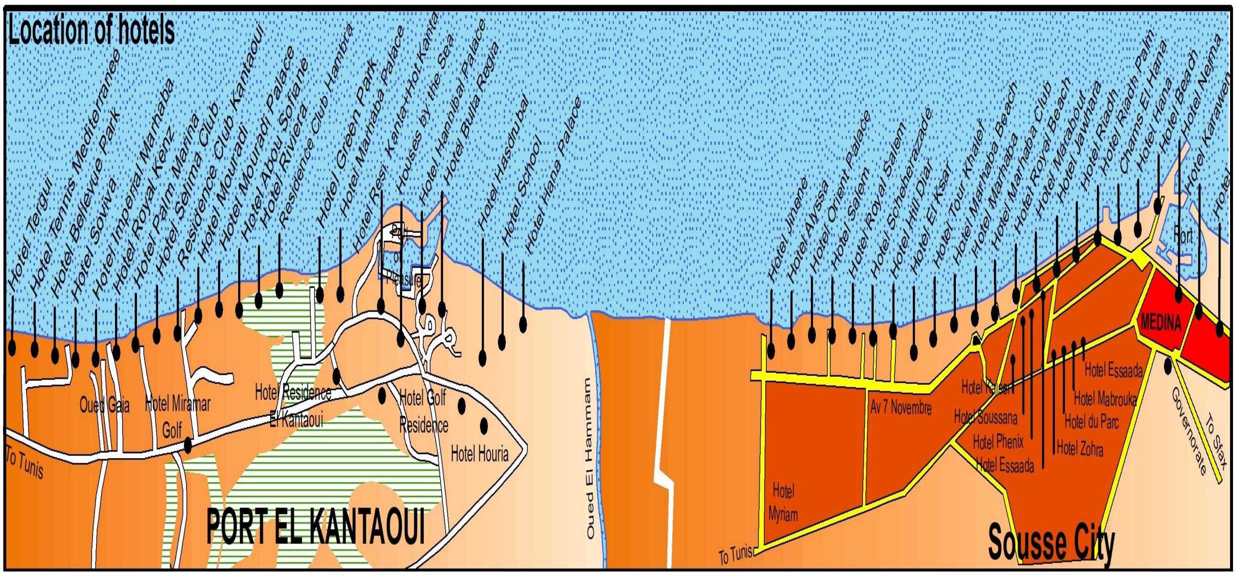

Figure 20. Map of the tourist area of Sousse (TNTO, 2019)

El Kantaoui was the first grandiose project in terms of tourist development in Tunisia (13600 beds). It "was intended as an innovation in terms of tourist development, in contrast to the "concrete walls" of the previous period" (Lamine, 1998). Organized around a marina, the resort consists of hotel units, apart-hotels, restaurants, shops, sports grounds, a golf course and a luxurious residential area.

It was the first time in the history of Tunisian tourism development that a mixed company was the project owner who holds the thread of all operations. The overall design was thus as follows: a main developer, the SEDSN (Société d'Etudes et de Développement Sousse-Nord) buys all the land, for which the land control and the realization of the primary infrastructures are the responsibility of the State which is also building a hotel school (training hotel; Miossec, 1996). In fact, the homogeneity of the whole resort under a single developer and manager favors internal integration: a complementarity between the different facilities of the resort which facilitates its marketing and functionality: 320 plots intended for villas. The wealth of accommodation on offer "favors a mix of styles and clienteles that converge towards a strong point of animation, the port, inserted in a green setting, which will allow the SEDSN to promote, with accuracy, the first garden port in the Mediterranean (...)" (Miossec, 1996). Moreover, the location of the El Kantaoui project in an urban environment and the realization of the necessary infrastructures explain the good functionality and external integration of the station.

According to the Tunisian National Tourism Office (TNTO, 2019), Sousse recorded 5.8 million overnights which led to an occupancy of 47.6%. This rate reached a pick of 98.2% in August and high levels in the summer season. In Sousse there are 121 hotels (97 in Sousse city and 24 in Yasmine Hammamet). Thus, the region is ranked at the third place regarding available capacity with 48,747 beds (39,863 beds in Sousse city and 10683 in Yasmine Hammamet). The classified Hotels represent more than 91% of the tourist accommodation.

Table 2. Capacity in beds by category in the governorate of Sousse (TNTO, 2019)

	Hotels	Appart-Hotels	Guest Houses	Time share	Holidays resorts	Cottage	Others
Sousse	44,593	2,844	20	100	120	0	170

During the last year, tourism has attracted around 6 million TND of investments, divided between accommodation (3.9 million TND) and entertainment (2.08 million TND).

The evolution of the tourist area has generated a great urban dynamism, especially in its southern part closest to the city of Sousse itself. The urban sprawl which takes place without following the regulations has contributed to the appearance of spontaneous popular districts, especially around Oued Blibène. Faced with this observation, neighborhoods have been created on regulated housing estates in the North towards Hammam Sousse and the Khezama neighborhood (Hamrouni, 2014).

It should be noted that the administrative perimeter of the commune which was created in 1884 by the protectorate did not change until 1945. On the other hand, after independence, the administrative perimeter of the commune was changed four times in 1959, 1962, 1965 and 1976. Thus, the surface area of the commune changed four times. Whereas before independence, in 1881, it was 29 ha, in 1959 it grew to 990 ha and in 1976 it reached 3,884 ha.

The development plan which was approved on 10 January 1976 was revised on 14 December 1988 by decree n°88-89 and its 2nd revision was carried out on 6 October 2008 by decree n°08-3173. The latter is the last revision to date.

IV.3. The evolution of the tourist sector in Monastir

The city of Monastir is the capital of the governorate of the same name. It is in the center-east of Tunisia and in the heart of the Sahel. It is 160 km from Tunis. It occupies a coastal site surrounded by the sea on three sides and by the Sebkha on the western side. The northern coasts of this peninsula are particularly sandy. This is where the seaside tourist area of Skanes-Monastir has developed.

Since 1959, with the creation of the Tunisian Tourist Hotel Society (TTHS), whose role is the creation and management of state hotels, tourism has taken an exceptional place in the priorities of the State. Until 1965, this company, which took up its headquarters in the former residence of Gaïd de Monastir, built 15 hotels throughout Tunisia including five in Monastir itself, which occupied 50% of the land of the said company. In Monastir, except for the "Esplanade" hotel, which was grafted to the old city centre, the first hotel units of the SHTT were exclusively seaside resorts and installed in a specific manner on the northern coast of the city at Skanes: these include the "Palmiers", the "Skanes-Palace" and the "Tanit". As a result, these state-owned hotels, as well as the "Club Mediterraneo", all built in the 1960s, were turning their backs on the town of Monastir.

In the 1960s, the State decided to make tourism one of the pillars of the country's economy. The government created several industrial units related to the tourist sector, such as "Skanes-Meuble" in Monastir, which provided the initial furniture for these hotel units. This industrial unit has provided 740 direct jobs. Similarly, a textile factory has been created there which has the role of supplying all types of fabrics, mainly for hotels and which has provided 925 direct jobs. Then, in 1965, the Monastir Livestock Company was created to provide meat for the hotel units, which until the end of the 1960s had 2518 beds. The integration of the hotel units with the industrial and agricultural sectors has favored a certain local development.

The achievements of the hotel units were accompanied by the development of tourist entertainment structures: a discotheque called the "Caves", which was the first nightclub located outside the hotels and the "Tower of Heart" juxtaposed to the port of the city, in addition to the restaurant "La Malaise" located on the almost island of Lostania and the Moorish café located in Skanes. On the other hand, the "sound and light" shows organized around the Ribat during the summer evenings encourage a certain amount of night-time cultural entertainment in the town centre. These attractions, which are linked to the city and at the same time to the hotels, have welcomed tourists and locals alike thanks to a certain sociability and an extraordinary intermingling of two populations.

From an urban planning point of view, the 1960s were marked by two important events. The first was the inauguration of the Habib Bourguiba airport northwest of Monastir in 1968, followed by the modernization of the town center. Thus, at the end of the 1960s, a large part of the old core was replaced by a modern urban structure as well as an administrative district located outside the medina. The Ribats and the Great Mosque, which are part of the medina, were safeguarded as historical monuments of identity importance for the city. However, despite this, the major renewal of the city center has not been without effect on the authenticity of the Medina, which has been largely disfigured by the creation of a new urban structure between the Grand Ribat and the Great Mosque and the rest of the Medinal fabric. If, in Tunisia, the medina has always been an amenity of the seaside area, it must be acknowledged that in Monastir the old core has lost much of its authenticity to the detriment of the tourist attraction (Hellal, 2015).

It should be remembered that, in 1973, the State created the TLA to develop the programmed areas. In Monastir, this agency has developed the environment of units already established outside the city and has provided adequate infrastructures for future units within the framework of zone development. This zone is made up of two sub-zones: that of Monastir, located at the extreme East of the city, juxtaposed to the city on one side and to the beach of Karraya on the other and the second which extends far from the city from Skanes to the wadi Hamdoun parallel to the northern coastal line (Fig. 21).

In the 1970s, this area hosted 7 hotel units, mostly club hotels, with a total capacity of 5,762 beds, on large areas of farmland. At the same time, during the 1970s, the modern city hosted a belt of large sports, university, and hospital facilities, located around the old nucleus. These urban and tourist investments and the decision to make Monastir a capital (governorate) in 1974 influenced the urban evolution of the city. In fact, all these achievements have contributed to the creation of the modern city that Bourguiba wanted, which has provided a certain quality of life for Monastirians and tourists alike. In the context of the 1980s, besides the multiple inaugurations of hotel units in the Skanes area, there were two new projects which contributed to the change of the structure of the tourist area in favor of a better integrated tourist product. These were the realization of the Marina project in 1985 and the opening of the "Flamingo" golf course in 1988.

The marina project is in the north-east of the city. This integrated mini-station project is grafted onto the perimeter of the former core of Monastir which constitutes a kind of reconciliation between tourism and the town center. All around, a part has also been created which integrates residences, a "Regency" hotel, and a strip of entertainment facilities (bars, café, and restaurants) as well as commercial activities (bazaars and shops).

As for the Flamingo Golf Course project, it is in the south-west, in the middle of the olive groves of Monastir. It covers an area of 88 hectares and has 36 obstacles. In addition, it includes a clubhouse with a bar and café, a restaurant, and a sports shop.

In the 1990s, in addition to the construction of new hotel units such as the Golden-Beach, Rosa-Beach and Thalassa Hotel, Monastir saw the construction of a second golf course; the Palm Links. It is in the north-east of the tourist area, next to the racecourse. It includes a golf course, a clubhouse, and a golf school. It has 15 courses of average length over 5,000 m with 23 holes. In the same decade, when the tourist sector began to show some weaknesses, after the first Gulf War, the golf course was partly converted into a residential program to improve its profitability. It was precisely at that time that is witnessed the incursion of residential projects in the Monastir area, which had previously been almost exclusively reserved for hotel activities.

In 2019, Monastir hosted 596,721 tourists, most of them were Europeans. However, during the previous years, the number of domestic tourists was growing fast.

Monastir offers 47 Hotels providing a capacity of 21,517 beds which represents only 9.1% of the national available accommodation's capacity. This region recorded a poor occupancy in 2019 (15.8%) while the sector is showing a very good performance in the same year. The number of overnights has exceeded 36 million and the average length of stay was equal to three overnights which is better than the national one.

The city of Monastir also provides a golf course. Despite the low level of achievement for this product (only 2,814 green fees in 2019), it is seen as an important component in the tourist supply because it targets mainly German and Danish clientele.

In 2019, the sector in this area attracted 15.6 million TND of investments, most of them were related to accommodation projects. In this context of the development of residential projects towards and in the tourist area, it is possible to affirm that the "hybridization" of this space was formerly dominated by the hotel industry. This is taking place through two "integrated" projects, which integrate, in addition to residences of different types, notably animation and leisure facilities, as well as developing two new centralities within the tourist zone. It is reinforced by the presence of the international airport "Monastir Habib Bourguiba" which registered 78,879 passengers in 2019 according to the Civil Aviation and airports Office (OACA, 2020).

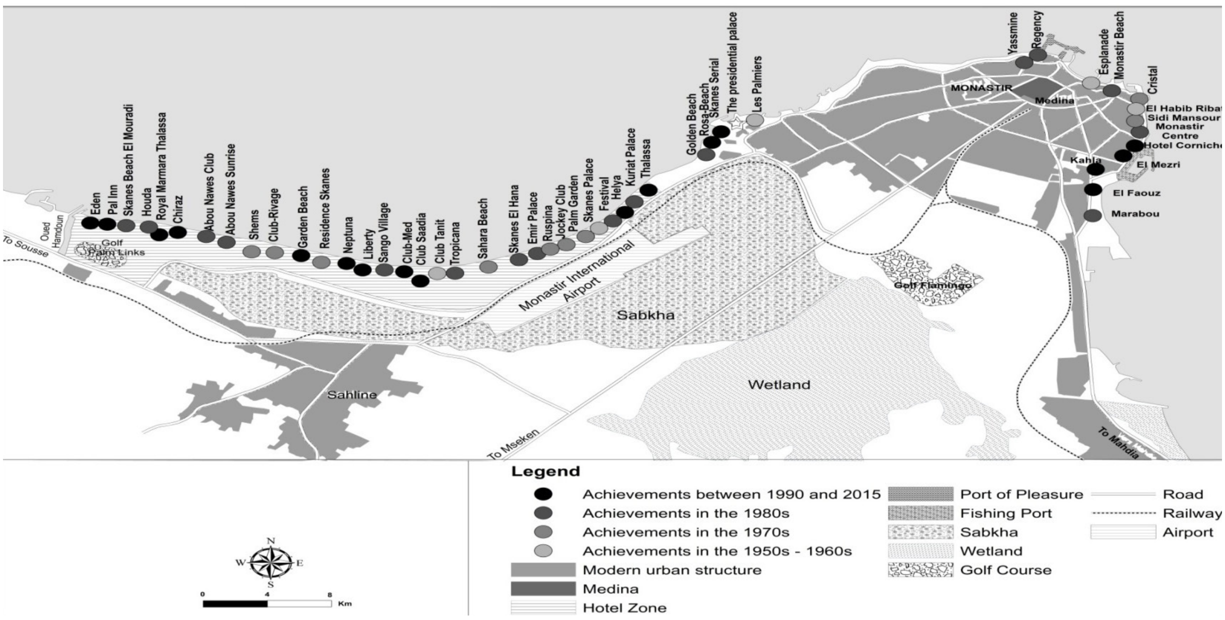

Figure 21. Evolution of hotel activity in Monastir (Hellal, 2021)

Table 3. International arrivals by origins in Monastir (TNTO, 2019)

	Europeans	North Africans	North Americans	Middle east	Other Non-residents	Diaspora	Residents in Tunisia
Monastir	331,159	41,610	418	684	8,590	5,432	208,828

Table 4. Capacity in beds by category in Monastir (TNTO, 2019)

	Hotels	Appart-Hotels	Guest Houses	Time share	Holidays resorts	Cottage	Others
Monastir	21,061	226	12	0	0	0	20

IV.4. Development of Mahdia tourism sector

In Mahdia, the hotel business developed mainly in the 1990s and 2000s. Most hotels are located on the seafront, in the "feet in the water" style. They are a series of hotels parallel to the shoreline. The product is focused on seaside hotels (26 hotels in 2019) and sometimes annexed to thalassotherapy centers, which developed there especially during the 1990s. In 2019, the several Spa and Thalasso centers in Mahdia recorded 17,367 guests. This zone conception of tourist places only responds very little to today's new tourist demands, which are more sensitive to places of otherness and strong identity, favoring encounters with the indigenous population and new human experiences (UNWTO, 2016). In fact, in 2019, Mahdia hosted 246,992 tourists, most of them were Europeans (63.2%). Compared to Monastir, the region is showing a low performance.

Table 5. International arrivals by origins in Mahdia (TNTO, 2019)

	Europeans	North Africans	North Americans	Middle east	Other Non residents	Diaspora	Residents in Tunisia
Mahdia	156,002	3,914	334	270	8,695	10,017	67,760

Despite the great potential of the agglomeration in terms of crafts and historical and archaeological heritage, here the product of cultural tourism remains very little developed. The main motivation of the tourist clientele who stay in Mahdia is the seaside. The cultural attractions, especially the Medina of Mahdia, attract very few tourists from the seaside area of Mahdia or other similar areas in the surrounding area (Sousse and Monastir).

According to a PhD student, Chourouk ALOUI, who defended a thesis for a NDUPA (National Diploma in Urban Planning and Development) in June 2018, under the title

"The tourist cluster of the city of Mahdia: between territorial competitiveness and tourist attractiveness", the tourist zone of Mahdia covers an area of 200 ha and extends linearly over 6 km of beach. It is linked to the old centre of Mahdia by a tourist road: the Corniche Road. It extends to the north of the urban agglomeration and to the east of the Hiboun district. Apart from the Corniche sector, the rest of the area is organized in 2 strips. The first is made up of a series of hotels which are organized parallel to the shoreline (Fig. 22). It offers an accommodation capacity of 9,939 beds (*i.e.,* 4.2% of the national capacity) but the occupancy rate didn't exceed 32.5% in 2019. Most beds are coming from classic hotels (9,890 beds) and some guest houses recently opened. Besides, the region of Mahdia recorded 1.6 million overnights in 2019 (TNTO, 2019). The golf of Mahdia welcomed 2,814 guests whereas the spa and Thalasso centers received 17,367 customers in the same year. Unfortunately, the supply chain contains only five ranked restaurants.

The beach hotels of the "feet in the water" type occupy small areas in relation to the gardens that surround them. They have entrance gates on the side of the tourist road. To the west of this traffic road, there is a polyfunctional area stretching all along it. On the ground floor there are cafes, tea rooms, restaurants, shops, and other services needed by tourists and passengers. It favors a certain urban atmosphere and a certain mix (between the native population and tourists), especially reinforced by the relative distance from the city center. The floors of these buildings lined up in the poly-functional area, mostly house furnished flats for weekly or daily rentals.

This multifunctional zone is only a buffer zone from the tourist route; otherwise just behind it, there are a growing number of multi-story residences and apartment-hotels. From the outset, it is in the hinterland of this zone that the destiny of the tourist area is taking shape, which is now saturated in its current perimeter. Moreover, in this tourist area, public spaces such as landscaped green areas are rare. Thus, apart from the tiny golf course located in the heart of the tourist area, there are no other equipped green areas.

Also, in terms of facilities, the promenade or "Corniche" marks a buffer between the "BorjErras" Medina and the tourist area. Apart from the Medina, it is the only place where tourists can walk past the locals. This crossroad, punctuated by palm trees, favors the development of services: coffee, restaurants, retail shops and everything that day and evening strollers need. However, despite this urban link, the tourist area is still perceived as being isolated from the city center, which explains the seasonality of its functioning that in turn remains very dependent on security and political events.

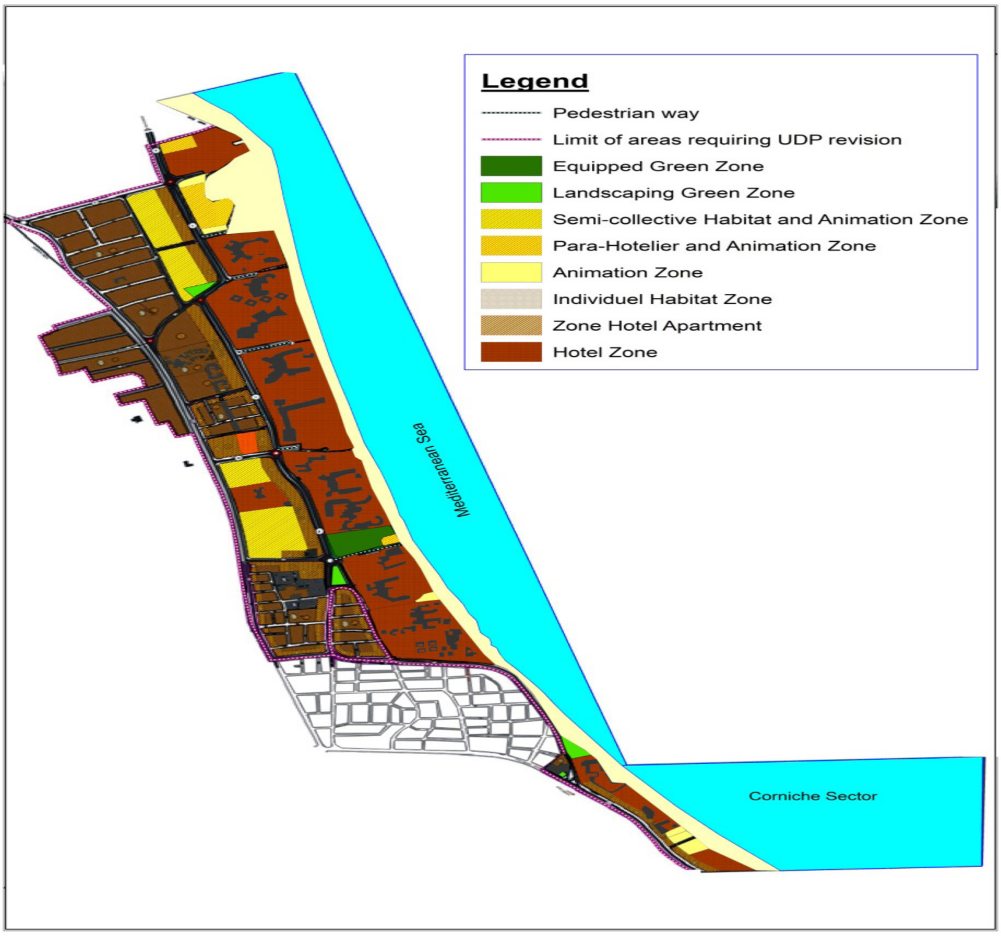

Figure 22. Land use in the perimeter of the tourist zone of Mahdia (Aloui, 2018)

IV.5. Tourism and urbanization on Djerba Island

Bourgou and Kassah(2008) consider the Funduks as the first hotel establishments in Djerba. These establishments were intended to accommodate foreigners passing through for whatever reason they came to Djerba for: traders, civil servants, craftsmen, fishermen, missionaries, and others. These Funduks, whose number was about twenty, were concentrated in the agglomeration of HoumetEssouk. They are traditional 2-storey structures with a patio that served at the same time as an inn for travelers, a shop for goods and a stable for transport animals.

The location of these Funduks in the old urban center, HoumetEssouk, reflected its multiple functions as the administrative capital, fishing port and commercial center for the whole island. At least in modern times, urbanization was grafted onto this old core before the disruption of the socio-economic system through the development of mass tourism.

The first modern hotel dates to the early 1930s. It had only 25 rooms and was paradoxically called “the grand hotel”.

The entry on the scene of an international tourist actor would give a new dynamic to tourism and it its current character of a seaside tourism oriented towards a large clientele; the "Club Med" which is a holiday village. It was the 4th establishment of this chain in Djerba in 1954. It has just taken its place in the chain of this club in the Mediterranean basin after those of the Balearic Islands in Spain, Elba Island in Italy, and Corfu in Greece.

The Club Med in Djerba consisted of tents and rudimentary huts. It represented the beginning of international mass tourism on the island. Since then, tourism in Djerba was born as an extroverted sector turned towards the satisfaction of the needs and expectations of a European clientele. The main attractions that fascinated these European elites were the landscapes, the beaches, and the immutable lifestyles. To these resources, it must add a major asset for Djerba which is its insular character.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the role of the state of independence was primordial in the development and establishment of a modern infrastructure (hotels, roads, drinking water supply, electricity, telephone network and sewage station) in addition to encouraging private investment.

After the Club Med, El Jazira was the first tourist promoter to set up a hotel on the eastern coast of the island. The El Jazira hotel was built very close to the beach and at the expense of the coastal dune. It is the first attack on the fragile ecosystem of the coastline. The beach quickly deteriorated, and the waves attacked the hotel establishment. Thus, since that time several hotels have been built on Sebkhas.

Since the 1960s, when mass seaside tourism developed, the supply of tourist accommodations has continued to increase at a steady rate. In 1967, the tourist accommodation capacity in the south-east of which Djerba is part, which takes up most of the capacity, was 3349 beds equivalent to 18% of the accommodation capacity in the whole of Tunisia. Thus, the realizations between 1962 and 1971 exceeded 6,000 beds distributed among 20 hotels. In 1973, Djerba Island had already about 7,500 beds. Ten years later, the capacity had risen to 8,650 beds. Thus, the offer of accommodation has diversified: hotels of different standards, boarding houses, flat hotels, holiday villages and unclassified hotels.

In 2003, the tourist region Djerba-Zarziss-Gabès totaled 49,317 beds, with a 22% share of the national capacity. In 2018, the tourist region had a capacity of 53,263 beds, with a share of 22.4% of the national total.

In 2019, the capacity reached 53,079 beds provided by 144 hotels (representing 22.5% share of national capacity). So, the capacity is slowly evolving reflecting some supply saturation. This is confirmed by the average occupancy rate of 55.8%. However, it should highlight that the occupancy could reach 97% in August and on some days, hotels fall into stop sale and/or overbooking situations. For this reason, the accommodation is reinforced during this decade by some guest houses and Appart-hotels.

Table 6. Capacity in beds by category in Djerba (TNTO, 2019)

	Hotels	Appart-Hotels	Guest Houses	Time share	Holidays resorts	Cottage	Others
Djerba	49,675	957	30	0	1831	10	576

In Djerba, most of these hotels are located on the eastern coast and are under the jurisdiction of the delegation of Midoun. The tourist establishments occupy the entire seafront over a length of about 30 km. Thus, the whole island is influenced by the expansion of the tourist sector which generated 7.41 million TND as direct investments;most of them were related to accommodation's infrastructure. Besides, the international airport of Djerba is an important key player to boost tourism expansion. In 2019, it recorded more than 1 million passengers via 7,635 arrivals.

The demand reveals three main outbound markets: European (59.7%), North African (17.1%) and domestic market (21.49%). The eastern coastline, which used to be "the territory of emptiness", is now at the heart of the island's spatial system. On the other hand, the center of the island is marginalized even "sacrificed" to the new tourist zone. Thus, the island space, which is cramped and fragile, is the object of tension, covetousness, and sometimes irreversible damage.

In his doctoral thesis, Dribek (2013)clearly showed that the human action linked to the establishment of tourist activity in Djerba, as well as the specific natural data of the islands, are gradually undermining the balance of the natural coastal environment. Due to coastal erosion, the beach of the El Jazira hotel has disappeared. Thus, between the Sirène and Dar Midoun hotels, the beautiful beaches have started to deteriorate. Then, between the Club Med Djerba la Fidèle, the retreat of the beach is important, and the outcrops are visible.

In front of these attacks from the sea, initiatives are however taken. These are most often defensive works by accumulating large blocks on the foreshore or creating groins and riprap. However, in addition to their unsightly aspects, these works constitute an additional threat by accentuating erosion phenomena.

The border dunes that characterize the Djerbian landscape play a very important role in the natural balance of the island. Their destruction is one of the most important causes of beach erosion. This erosion has accelerated due to the densification of the implantation of hotel units in the immediate vicinity of the coast.

As far as the whole island territory is concerned, in addition to the saturation of the tourist area, the interior of the island has suffered from the effects of the urban fabric extension. The high demand for building materials has led to wild and illegal exploitation of sand and stone. Similarly, these areas have been invaded by uncontrolled dumping.

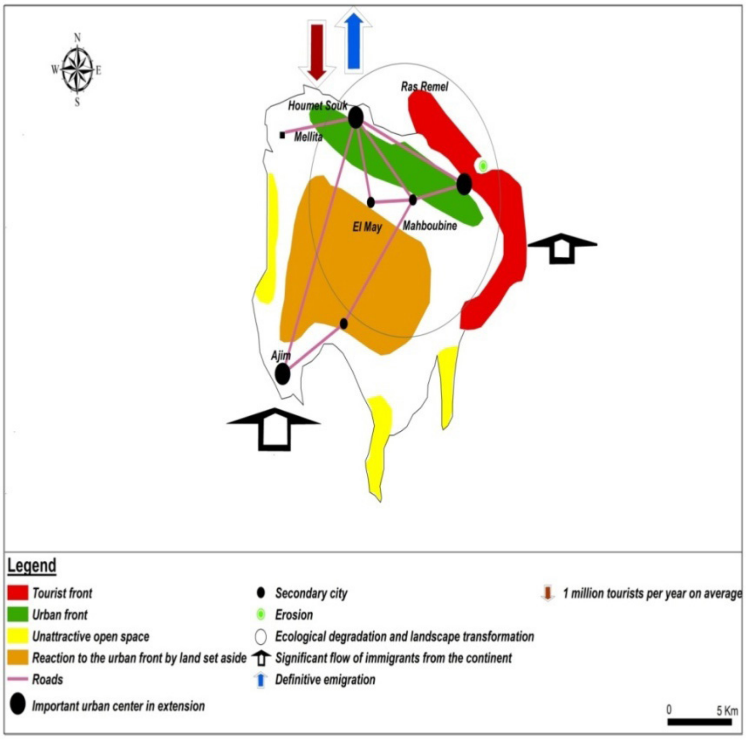

Figure 23. Conflicts of use in the Djerba island territory (Dribek, 2013)

V. Conclusions

Until the beginning of the 19th century, Tunisia had a balanced territorial system which was structured around regions with complementary economic activities: agriculture, crafts and trade. The opening up to the Mediterranean economy and French colonization overthrew the existing economic system, which led to a territorial imbalance in Tunisia in terms of infrastructure and services. The State of independence maintained a hierarchical political and economic system, and, under the influence of donors, it constituted an economy that relayed that of the Western World.

In Tunisia, they will show very early on (early 1970s) to integrate the country, through the opening of its economy and the call for foreign direct investment, contributed to the coastalization of urbanity which had already begun since the French protectorate, which in turn relied on the port cities.

At the same time as the development of industry on the coast, mass tourism has also developed. The seaside tourist offers in Tunisia, which started with a few punctual hotel units parallel to the shoreline, has gone through several concepts of tourist development to meet the demand of the tour operators who are their main customers. Since the 1970s, integrated zones and resorts have been developed.

The two economic sectors: industry and tourism with an extroverted nature have participated in the urbanization of the coast. The development of industrial and tourist zones through the zoning technique carried out by the three specialized land agencies: THA, TLA and HLA created since 1973 has contributed to the imbalance between the coast and the interior of Tunisia in terms of urbanization. Thus, the tourist and industrial zones established in the coastal cities have encouraged immigrants to settle in developed or rather unregulated districts.

Through this study of the evolution of tourist areas in relation to their supporting cities, their processes of hybridization and progressive merging with the urban fabric, perhaps even to the point of emerging from the tourist era. In the absence, in most cases, of an updated urban development plan which integrates the tourist area with the city, this hybridization takes place in a spontaneous way according to the land opportunities and the actors at play.

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