

Research article

Raoued's financial cluster project and the meaning of urban development in Tunis

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Abstract

The way of approaching and designing wetlands has evolved in Tunisia in recent decades. If the spatial planning policies of the 1970s and 1980s tried to preserve the ecosystems of the various water bodies of the capital, the motto of planners since the 1980s, is to use the banks of the plans of water for the benefit of urbanization. A policy that would come to meet land and financial needs defined as inevitable. The purpose of the article is therefore to question a possible renewal of temporalities of urban projects in Tunis following the adoption of principles related to the exploitation of wetlands. The study of Raoued's financial cluster project seeks to transform the image of the city and the production of a competitive territory. This study is such a rich object to understand not only the processes of territorial mobilization, but also the recent changes in territorial governance policy and the dysfunction of certain projects. It is a project that will allow us to understand the logic of the actors to transform the wetlands to integrate operations of high value of investment. Is it legitimate then to see if this is a real innovation of urban planning that can change the image of the city? And can we measure the territorial effects of such a project?

The importance of this text can be operated at two levels. In fact, with the absence of a clear and precise universal scientific definition of wetlands, it should be noted that, so far, very few scientific questions have studied projects located in the urban fabric of large urban areas.

Key words: Wetlands, Urban project, Urban manufacturing, Urban risk, Temporalities, Landscape, Vulnerability.

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1. Introduction

The evolution of the relationship between man and his territory has made it possible to identify the natural processes that characterize the interactions between water and society. Metaphorically, the time of nature is combined with the time of societies in complex and sometimes contradictory relationships" (Helga and Magalie, 2005).

In fact, the management of wetlands has been dictated either by agrarian practices or by flood risks, thus placing an obligation to apprehend wetlands through good management of various actors, some scientists or managers of the territories. However, the permanent and sometimes wild evolution of societies has put the future of the wetlands in question. The increasing spatial, which was accentuated around large cities, made it possible to consider its wetlands as a spatial setback of the city which can be used to regulate the contrasts of urban development. These are spaces that can accommodate mega-projects, advanced residential

areas on the water and even industrial areas, provided they find the necessary funding and the ideal design that does not dominate nature.

For Tunisia, the adoption of a development model based on openness to the outside world has required the preparation of large cities to be able to compete reflect the image of a country in full change. For Tunis, the capital, globalization has required the restructuring of its entire urban territory. The end of the 1980s saw a new relationship between Tunis and its water bodies. Indeed, Tunis knows brutal changes in wetlands by the introduction of major projects to create urban projects fueled by sustainable development. As a result, local urban manufacturing was supported by advertising, thus introducing a new tradition in the field of spatial plans, namely "territorial marketing". The will of the public authorities was dictated by an ambition to change the mental image of the city (Breux and Bherer, 2009) through political action (Rosemberg, 2000).

For Tunisia, the adoption of a development model based on openness to the outside world has required the preparation of large cities to be able to compete reflect the image of a country in full change. For Tunis, the capital, globalization has required the restructuring of its entire urban territory. The end of the 1980s saw a new relationship between Tunis and its water bodies. Indeed, Tunis knows brutal changes in wetlands by the introduction of major projects to create urban projects fueled by sustainable development. As a result, local urban manufacturing was supported by advertising, thus introducing a new tradition in the field of spatial plans, namely "territorial marketing". The will of the public authorities was dictated by an ambition to change the mental image of the city (Breux and Bherer, 2009) through political action (Rosemberg, 2000).

High-value investment projects involving the Crown's association with foreign investors. Is this a real innovation of urban planning that can change the image of the city? And can we measure the territorial effects of such a project? Questions that find its reasons to be especially when we know that the actors of the city have drawn a new trend of development that seeks to put the sensitive areas, mainly wet, for the benefit of major projects such is the case of the project financial pole of Raoued. At present, the projects of the Grand Tunis fuel confrontations and debates of different temporalities.

In this context of analysis, is it legitimate to question the relationship between the introduction of urban projects at the level of the Tunis wetlands and the reduction of urban risks? And if the ecosystems of water bodies will be conserved through a reduction in the balance of power between wetland uses?

The importance of this study can be operated at two levels. In fact, with the absence of a clear and precise universal scientific definition of wetlands, it should be noted that, so far, very few scientific questions have studied projects located in the urban fabric of large agglomerations.

2. Material and methods

2.1. Tunis in the light of globalization

2.1.1. The growing place of urban projects

Towards the end of the 1970s, the problems of urban development of the capital made it more difficult for the state to get out of its troubles and to think again about space so that it would be in permanent adequacy with the city. Changing needs of society. Various are the operations that have been conducted in governed to regulate the contrasts of urban development.

Insufficient financial resources did not favor the demolition of spontaneous settlements and the rehabilitation of poor neighborhoods. To all this has been added a wild extension of a fabric that has the choice to spread only from north to south because of the existence of the water bodies to the east and west.

The legitimacy of producing and reproducing Tunisian space finds its reasons for being especially with the adoption of a new model of development based on openness to the outside world. It was therefore a vital need for the capital to restructure its urban space to be competitive and able to compete. It was therefore necessary to find the necessary funding to model the "will" of the State's own leaders on the "real". The influx of investment from the outside world has opened the possibilities of conquering new spaces that have been considered as sensitive areas that cannot be put to the benefit of urbanization. "After the urban explosion of the 1980s, which opened up new fronts of urbanization in the North, West and South of the agglomeration, the 1990s saw the expansion and spread of inside the new borders and around water bodies, lake of Tunis, but also sebkhet Ariana and Sijoumi "(AUGT, 1999).

For Tunis, it has consistently captured the largest share of the state program portfolio for urban projects. Raffaele Cattedra (2010) has already pointed out that most of them are strictly urban projects - and localized in this case in Tunis -; in the other littoral regions, the operations generally concern the construction of large integrated tourist resorts. In Tunis, the major projects listed by Chabbi should have a land base of more than 2,000 ha and require investments in the order of \$ 30 billion over 15 years. It is a new trend of urban development which is committed by the public authorities to promote Tunis to the rank of large Mediterranean cities. What is interesting to say is that this desire was supported by an important advertising slogan thus founding a new tradition based on the "territorial marketing" with dual internal destination to change the vision of the inhabitants vis-à-vis their city, and external to attract the outside world. It is an advertising iconographic production which provokes a whole game of glances on the city (Rosemberg, 2000). The preparation of "Tunis of the year 2000" was a major event marking the urban phenomenon of the 1990s. The advertising production was able to drain a large volume of foreign investment and it only remained to put Tunis on the road to a great project to transform the dream into a reality.

The cleanup of the banks of the North Lake of Tunis has allowed to gain more than 1600 hectares which can be put to the profit of the capital to solve the problems of urban development provided to produce a space which can have a kind of independence of the power exerted by the city of Tunis. The arrival of Saudis allowed the construction of the "project of the century" on the shores of the North Lake. In fact, according to the study of the development master plan of Greater Tunis, 1995-1996, the importance of the project can be operated through the will of the own designers who turns around the will to produce a whole new city. She says that although the lakefront development project includes green and recreational areas, it is a project to create a "new city". This is mainly the operation of the banks of the lake, which was desired by its promoters as a "new city" of 200,000 inhabitants with offices and shops.

The apparent success of the commercialization of the serviced lots of land gained from the sea (Hagui A., 2015) has fueled the debate on the integration of other water bodies into the urbanization process of the capital. It was then possible for the Tunisian administration to take advantage of this experience by transferring it to the southern shores of the lake. As already noted by Pierre-Arnaud Barthel (2003), the technical success put in place in the North Lake, based on the exchanges between the lake and the sea through the operation of a certain number of works, has given rise to adopting the same principle for the remediation of South Lake.

Going beyond the setting of the Lake of Tunis, another urban project appeared to transform the space of the governorate of Ariana. It is the project Sebkheth Ariana that comes to open, according to the company Sweco International (2000), the possibilities of achieving a urbanization of standing are excellent in many ways. The lands gained would give the possibility of modeling a landscape that is adapted to the reasons of its creation. The relationship to the aquatic element is an important asset, and the urbanization will benefit from a superb recreational infrastructure around the sebkha, along the coasts and access to the important Ariana regional center, and the Tunis center, via the subway.

It is therefore acceptable to speak of a real political project of urban planning which is being born and to transform the space of the capital. This is confirmed by the will of the public authorities to realize another urban project namely the financial center of the city of Raoued.

However, the sudden concentration of urban projects on sensitive areas of the capital has had multifaceted consequences, particularly in environmental terms. Indeed, the absence of a transparent land market favors land speculation by placing high-value investment activities at the most profitable locations and reinforces informal and illegal urban sprawl around projects. Is it then legitimate to see more closely and while taking the case of the project financial pole if the development projects of the capital serve to improve the well-being of the citizen by the production of a properly innovative action capable to change the image of the city, or are they simply doomed to satisfy the demands of private investors, national or external?

2.1.2. The wetlands of Tunis: places of confrontation and debate of different temporalities

Independent Tunisia has suffered a heavy urban legacy with a regional imbalance between the east and west of the country. The attempts to remodel the Tunisian space gave birth to a new spatial context testifying the appearance of the coastal axis as being the main beneficiary of the Tunisian planning action. During the 1970s and following the opening of the economy to the outside world, the state tried to minimize the distortion between the coast and the hinterland. It is a country that is preparing for international competition and it is no longer a question of allowing the space of Tunisia to evolve with such a disparity. It was interesting then to deploy efforts to highlight the so-called enclave regions by integrating them into a spatial planning program capable of evolving them out of impoverishment. The financial incapacity of the State to carry out such or such project has only strengthened the place of the big coastal cities with the impoverishment of the other cities.

For large Tunisian agglomerations, the choice to protect natural areas, mainly wet, from all forms of danger often seems to be of the first order. In fact, the hyperconcentration of urban activities and people in the big cities, so that it generated a consumption of space that far exceeds the national average, forced governments to find effective solutions for urban soils. In Tunis the situation is much more complicated compared to other coastal cities. In addition to its attractive power that was exercised over the entire national territory, the characteristics of its urban fabric do not favor the urban extension only from north to south because of the existence of water bodies that prohibit any extension form to the east or west. Towards the end of the 1970s, the cleanup of Lake Tunis, which was on the verge of eutrophication,

allowed the appearance of a whole fringe that can be used to regulate the contrasts of urban development. This idea has fueled conflictual tensions within the Tunisian administration (Hagui A., 2012) between an ecologist clan that foresaw the need to protect the ecosystems of water bodies because this new urbanization causes extreme destruction of biodiversity and a banalization of landscapes. The other clan is with a massive urbanization that can positively influence the national economy.

This conflictual situation, following the appearance of new features for the construction of the rectified banks of the North Lake of Tunis, leads directly to considerable upheavals of the spaces (Perrier-Cornet, 2002). With a space of strategic position opening on the Mediterranean and connecting the city to the sea, a conflict of use will surely affect the nature of the achievements after the development. It is here that Torre and Caron (2002) and Mollard and Torre (2004) have already focused attention on the effect of geographic proximity on nutrition from conflict and tension. In this context Monroy and Fournier (1997) have already shown that conflicts appear by performing a triggering event that intervenes to challenge the system or to bring out a new system. In fact, after more than 20 years of development, the shorelines of the lake are almost urbanized, the spatial breakdown of urban activities has constantly evolved and is affected by changes due to competition between activities to monopolize the most profitable places (Hagui A., 2015).

The apparent success of the development of the lake following the marketing of lots at imaginary prices leads us to question the degree of acceptability of this project by citizens? Or if the population is able to refuse the project and reject a particular program? In Tunis, as in the whole of the national territory, it is the State which appears as the main actor of large urban projects in association with foreign investors. The lack of citizen opinion can be explained by the absence of democracy and state corruption.

Towards the end of the 2000s, the North Lake development experience opened the doors to the possibilities of developing the southern part of the lake, the two Sebkhah d'Ariana and Sijoumi, and the development of the financial hub of Raoued on wetlands belonging to the domain of Sebkhah. The

territorialization of the urban space of the capital was carried out on wetlands and lagoon and dominates the nature and the landscape. The district of Tunis (1999), currently the AUGT (Greater Tunis Urban Planning Agency), has already pointed out that after the urban explosion of the 1980s, which opened new fronts of urbanization in the North, to the West and South of the agglomeration, the 1990s were those of the expansion and diffusion of operations within the new borders and around water bodies, Lake of Tunis, but also Sebkhah Ariana and Sebkhah Sijoumi .

The conflicting management of the North Lake development can be beneficial in the design of the development of the other water bodies so that this management can offer a fruitful entry for the application of the same logic of the other actors (Melé, 2004 Plante et al., 2006). Currently, the success of the North Lake development operation has given way to failure following the functional migration of activities (Hagui A. 2013). In fact, taking into account conflict situations that have governed the overall process of lake development is a major challenge for the sustainability of other ongoing projects (Vallega 1999, Dziedzicki 2001).

After the 2011 revolution, wetland planning projects face multiple conflicts of use. These are areas of strategic position where the conflicts of use are multiple (Bruckmeier, 2005) and where the state has been overwhelmed by popular social tensions that seek to apprehend the space according to their own needs. The experience already taken from the North Lake and the brutal transformation from one repulsive space to another of a huge multifunctionality with a development of new uses, nurtured this type of conflict of use.

Today, no working and coordination document has been drawn up between the various actors of wetland planning in the capital. As if each actor does his own duty without resorting to the other. This can be explained by the nature of the investments drained for the financing of the operations and by the international relations which sometimes even opposed each other.



Fig. 1: The North Lake Project in Tunis (SPLT, 1990)

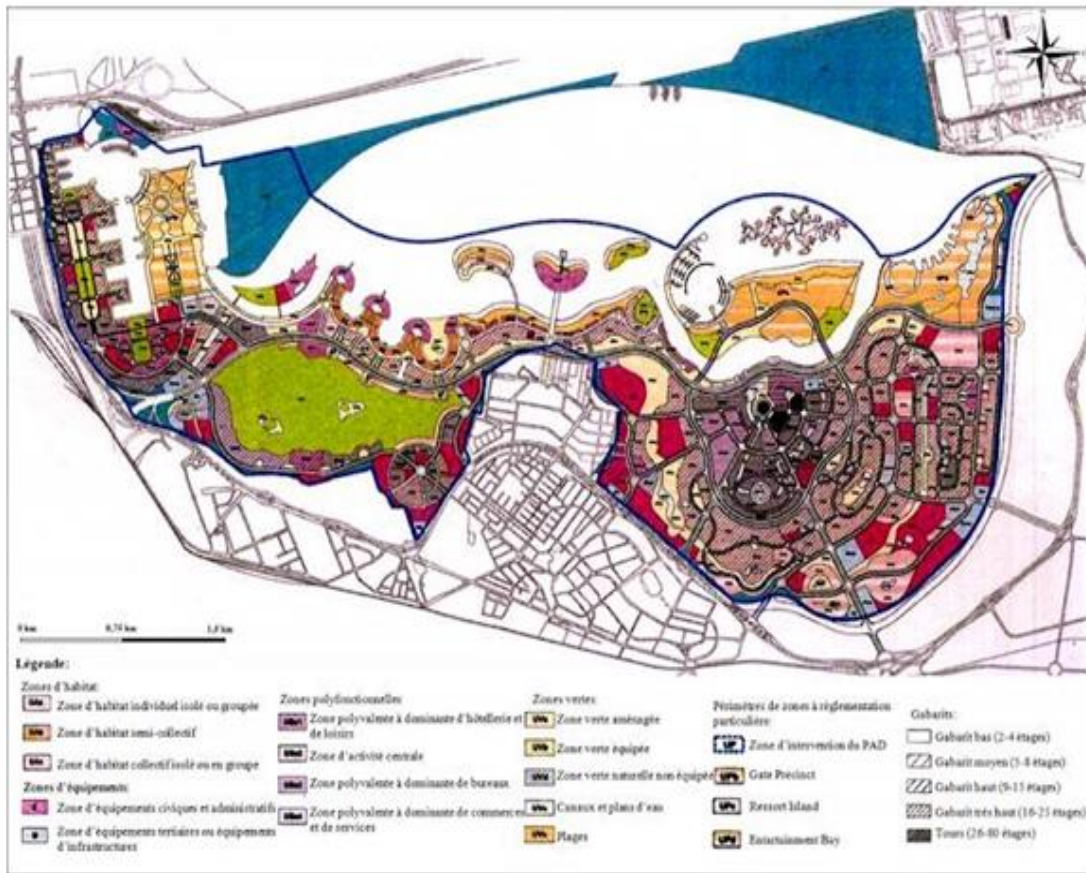


Fig. 2: The South Lake Project in Tunis (SEPTS, 2000)

In this context, Torre A. et al. (2006) emphasized that local coordination is not exclusive of conflictuality: whereas economic theory tends to oppose coordination to conflict, and that local dynamics concern, indeed, multidimensional processes, socio-demographic, economic, even symbolic, which generate tensions or conflicts.

2. The Raoued financial cluster project: a typical example of sustainable urban projects

Today, the Tunisian capital is experiencing a brutal transformation of its urban space especially in sensitive areas. These are urban projects with strong investment values that have emerged in order to change the spatial discourse of the city with its territory by the integration of a new technique, at the level of the development action, based on durability. It is an urbanistic turn (Emelianoff, 2007) that leads directly to a conversion of urban action by a paradigmatic change in public policies. This conversion can be considered as an iterative process crossing multiple temporal scales, the results of which are assessed in the long term (Sandra Mallet and Zanetti, 2015).

The analysis of sustainability in relation to urban projects often seems absent in the scientific literature, which requires comparing the temporalities of urban projects in order to identify their development dimensions through the exercises of democracy. Are they projects of integration or exclusion of the population? An interrogation that can only be studied through the temporalities of the project which are, according to the study made by the University of Lausanne on sustainable development in relation to urban projects (2004), often strongly influenced by political temporalities and the temporalities of the consultation. This puts the urban project between two types of effectiveness of devices namely planning and realization of spaces by public actors on the one hand, and consultation with users on the other hand.

For Tunis the reterritorialization of sensitive areas is one of the major innovations in the field of development. This action, sought by the public authorities, was fueled by the beginning of the 2000s by a new trend of building unique spaces strongly tinged with sustainable development and capable of playing a prominent role in the national economy. The case of the Raoued financial center project proves this trend of development.

For this project, the objective was well defined to develop 523 hectares to accommodate a financial and commercial center, a golf course with a residential component, a marina and a marina, a shopping center, a residential area and leisure on the beach, airy apartments in the center between the golf course and the beach and a university center including a technology park (The Magrebin Economist, 2017). This development approach reflects the desire to build a space that will have to be able to escape the power exercised by the city of Tunis (Hagui, 2015).

A true integrated city supported by an advertising slogan to justify the operation and commercialize the serviced land. The institutional framework then became a basic element of the territorial marketing of the project and thus raises the question of the perception of this titanic work with the citizens so that the advertising campaigns provoke a game of glances on the city (Chelzen and Pech, 2011).

It is a project that comes at a time when space consumption in Greater Tunis has far exceeded supply. For the governorate of Ariana and Raoued delegation, this savage consumption has continued to destroy the agricultural space until the illegal constructions have invaded areas considered as public hydraulic domain. In fact, to protect the desired image produced by the project of the financial center, the State has entrusted the AFH (residential land agency) to create a whole area of land intervention along the project with an area of 1500 hectares.

What is interesting to say is that Raoued saw the emergence of the idea of creating the financial pole in 2008 with a global cost of 6.5 billion Tunisian dinars (the equivalent of almost 3 billion US dollars) even before approval of its first development plan. The latter was approved by Decree No. 2010-3271 of December 21, 2010. At this level and to speak only of Raoued's financial pole project, is it about the temporalities of the project that may jeopardize its realization?

A question that seeks to relate the desired development of the Raoued urban project with the problems that can be raised. In other words, putting sustainability as a driving force that fully globalizes the project can put it at risk and expose risks even in peripheral areas. For Theys and Emelianoff (2001), the dangers of presenting sustainable development as a globalizing element of the project may mask problems and sometimes even make them seem insurmountable.

Table 1: The stages of the Raoued Financial Center project (Tunis Bay Project Company, 2000)

	Hectares	m ² covered	
First step	220	1,462	financial, commercial spaces, residential, medical and entertainment
Second step	122	1,750	residential, hospitable spaces, the marina and other services
Third step	121	1,550	trade, housing and services
Fourth step	60	693	luxury villas, shops and restaurants services

**Fig. 3:** Raoued's financial cluster project (The Maghreb Economist, 2017)**Table 2:** Evolution of the price of m² in Raoued

	1990	2000	2008	2010	2018
the price of m ²	5	35	50	100	300

For the financial center, the price of m² serviced land to accommodate collective residences varies between 3500 dt and 4500 dt. For individual residences, the price of a villa reaches up to 2 million dt (the equivalent of 700 thousand euros)

Table 3: Socio-demographic characteristics of Raoued's population (National Institute of Statistics, 2014)

	2004	2014	Growth rate
Number of housing	17.499	36.380	10.7%
Number of households	14.276	27.574	9.3
Number of population	60.896	106.414	7.47

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Anthropogenic modification of Tunis wetlands: opportunity or crisis

Located between the coastal zone and the terrestrial zone, the capital's wetlands can be considered as an area of influence characterized by a socio-economic infatuation reflecting a high human concentration in relatively limited areas. In fact, the choice of an anthropogenic modification of the banks of the water plans of the capital was dictated not only by a need to protect its ecosystems from any form of illegal extension, but also by finding the commodities of economic and social development by introducing a new tradition in the field of spatial planning, based on the "territorial marketing" dual internal destination to change the vision of the inhabitants vis-à-vis their city, and external to attract the outside world. It is an advertising iconographic production which provokes a whole game of glances on the city (Rosemberg, 2000). Moreover, they are urban projects that try to produce the desired image of the city, they try to change the mental image of the city (Breux and Bherer, 2009) and especially when we include the political action (Rosemberg, 2000).

For Tunis, the introduction of major projects for the realization of huge urban projects on wetlands is justified by a desire to promote the capital to the rank of major Mediterranean cities. In fact, the drainage of a large volume of investments coming from the outside world expresses well the success of the marketing of the desired image produced on its marshy spaces. At the same time, the sudden concentration of large projects on wetlands will surely reinforce the natural risks associated with floods (Pottier, 1998; Meur-Férec et al., 2004; Morhange et al., 2007; Maret et al., 2008; Vinet, 2010; Chauveau et al., 2011; Douvinet et al., 2011; Mercier, 2012; Duvat et al., 2012; Moulin et al., 2013).

The development would come here to meet only land and financial needs defined as unavoidable. It is true that globalization and the development of tools and experiences in the field of spatial planning have made it possible, at the level of developed countries, to overcome the conflict between risk management and construction in flood zones and this by the introduction of a new concept namely resilience. Dournel et al., (2015) have already mentioned the importance of resilience at the level of action to develop in flood zones. They noted that this concept is intended to qualify a crude use of defense structures and the

absorption of disturbance effects associated with flooding.

For developing countries, building urban projects on wetlands and at risk of floods remains a difficult task due to the lack of experts in the field and the lack of funding. The management of wetlands, moreover it causes a destruction of the biodiversity and the trivialization of the landscapes, wetland management can place people at great risk and danger in the absence of a policy of prevention and resilience.

In Tunisia, the idea of artificializing wetlands has not ceased to appear at the level of the opinions of the various officials of the State especially towards the end of the 1970s. It is at this time that the problems of urban development have only increased the burdens of a country that has been hit hard by an economic crisis and financial incapacity. The influx of investment from the outside world has opened the possibilities of conquering new spaces that have been considered as sensitive areas that cannot be put to the benefit of urbanization. After the urban explosion of the 1980s, which opened up new fronts of urbanization in the North, West and South of the agglomeration, the 1990s saw the expansion and spread of inside the new borders and around water bodies, Lake Tunis, but also sebkhet Ariana and Sijoumi (AUGT, 1999).

For Tunis, it has captured the most important part of the portfolio of state programs. What is interesting to say is that this desire was supported by an important advertising slogan thus founding a new tradition based on the "territorial marketing" with dual internal destination to change the vision of the inhabitants of their cities, and externally to attract the outside world (Hagui, 2018). It is an advertising iconographic production which provokes a whole game of glances on the city (Rosemberg, 2000).

Major urban projects and the meaning of local urban manufacturing

Studying the relationship between man and wetlands is a necessary exercise that is generally ancient. It is an exercise that is anchored in the project of geography and essentially returns to the manufacture of geographical space and landscapes (Dardel, 1952; Sorre, 1943-1952; Pinchemel et al., 1988; Brunet 2001; Berque 1990; Yann Raison 2002; Fernand Verger 1983). It is also a new exercise that echoes another discipline such as urban planning, anthropology (Lizet 2015; Roué, 2014; Richard, 2006), sociology (Kalaora, 2010; Picon, 2010; Jean and Hervé, 2014), history (Guilbaud, 2014; Derex, 2001; Beck, 2006).

The American school has continued to fuel this question from the beginning of the twentieth century and through studies and research of various scientists such as Franz Boas (1858-1942) or Edward Sapir (1917-1938) for the only purpose to understand the relationship between man and the environment. As a result, this school - culture and personality - to present the interest of the human and social sciences for the apprehension of the relationship between nature and culture. The French school has taken the path of the American school to bring culture to nature in understanding the relationship between the environment and human institutions (Marcel Mauss, 1950).

The development of wetlands is then a very important action in developed countries also testifies to an early interest of human and social sciences in the definition of the relationship between man and nature while respecting the ecological and landscape side.

For developing countries, it is a development that refers to occupying or investing places at different scales to transform them up to sometimes degrade. Whether it is a residential development, tourist or industrial, whether it is an urban extension, the actors of the mutation of the wetlands are various going from officials of the State to the inhabitants. These wetlands are strongly affected by the agricultural abandonment. At the same time, they are threatened by territorial, industrial or agricultural developments that jeopardize their existence (Derex J.-M, 2006).

In Tunis, the current vogue of urban projects on clean swamp spaces is justified mainly by a desire to pursue growth while preserving the balance at best. It is an urbanistic challenge even though the agglomeration of Tunis was almost 1/5 of the population and considers, according to the study of the master plan of Greater Tunis, as the first center of production and consumption.

The arrival of the Saudi investors allowed to adopt a conception of the development of 1300 ha on the north banks of Lake Tunis. Successful commercialization has led to massive destruction of the lake's immediate environment by introducing massive urbanization in order to realize the maximum possible benefits. Nature no longer counts the volume of gains realized. The apparent success of operation North Lake put the Emirates on the path of the Saudis for the construction of the project Sama Dubai on the shores of the South Lake. It is a pioneering operation of 1057 ha to settle almost 108146 inhabitants and create 100000 jobs. The Lake's ecosystem has been dramatically transformed to acquire new urban activities and become a place of

complete competition to capture the most profitable places.

For Tunis the reterritorialization of sensitive areas is one of the major innovations in the field of development. This action, sought by the public authorities, was fueled by the beginning of the 2000s by a new trend of building spaces strongly tinged with sustainable development and can have a prominent role in the national economy. The case of the Raoued financial center project is a clear demonstration of this development trend. For this project, the objective was well defined to develop 523 hectares to accommodate a financial and commercial center, a golf course with a residential component, a marina, a shopping center, a residential and recreational area on the beach, airy apartments in the center between the golf course and the beach and a university center including a technology park (The Magrebin Economist, 2017), and to create almost 16,000 jobs. This development approach reflects the desire to build a space that will have to be able to escape the power exercised by the city of Tunis (Hagui, 2015)

Another urban project appeared to transform the space of the the Ariana governorate. This is the Sebkheth Ariana project that comes to open. According to the company Sweco International (2000), the possibilities of achieving urbanization of standing are excellent in many ways. The lands gained would give the possibility of modeling a landscape that is adapted to the reasons of its creation. The relationship to the aquatic element is an important asset, and the urbanization will benefit from a superb recreational infrastructure around the sebkha, along the coasts and access to the important Ariana regional center, and the Tunis center, via the subway ". It is a project that will transform the marshlands of the Sebkheth to give rise to a whole new city known as the "Medina of the rose".

3.2. The financial center and its peripheral space: the destruction of the desired image

It is no longer a question of talking about Raoued's financial cluster project without talking about technological development in the field of wetland management and exploitation of wetlands. Risks that may occur due to the nature of the exploited soils may be acceptable in the event that they are very small compared to the expected social and economic benefits (Veyret Y., 2003). The Tunisian experience drawn by other urban projects projected on the shores of the water bodies, shows that it is a selective action par excellence putting the new projected urbanizations for the benefit of the well-to-do social classes.

The middle and poor classes are then far from being in the center of interest of the state and foreign investors. They are therefore operations dedicated to meeting the needs of foreigners.

To know the impact of this combination on the destruction of peripheral spaces, or even lagoon, in relation to the financial cluster project and to release the responsibility of the main actors of the project vis-à-vis this destruction, the present work seeks to clear the choice of inhabitants to settle in sensitive areas at risk of flooding. Knowing the risk is more than enough to question planning policies (Veyret, 2003).

Our approach consists in establishing a semi-directive interview addressed to the inhabitants of the area surrounding Raoued's financial cluster project in order to focus the discourse around the project and its impact. In fact, before the appearance of the idea of realizing a financial center in Raoued, the price of m² was around 35 dt. After 2008, prices rose remarkably to reach 300 dt in the areas closest to the financial pole project (see table n°2). What is interesting to say is that during the early 2000s, Raoued was considered a haven for the middle class and even disadvantaged. The implementation of a large-scale operation will surely influence the price of m², which, for its part, has progressed in a remarkable way while feeding exclusion mechanisms to make sensitive areas and ban a place of meeting the disadvantaged population.

In 2004, a flood protection study was carried out by the Department of Equipment, Housing and Territorial Planning (MEHAT) Department of Urban Water Resources (DHU) to minimize the damage. Floods in sensitive areas. However, illegal constructions have continued to spread everywhere and especially around large projects in lagoon environments. For our case study, the number of homes and households was almost doubled with growth rates of 10.7 and 9.3% respectively and for the period 2004-2014.

The study of protection against floods in the north and east of Greater Tunis that was made in 2009 by the African Development Bank explains this evolution of construction in flood zones. For it, the 2004 study did not cover the entire perimeter requiring protection, especially the area of planned megaprojects".

Between 2008 and 2014, and with the aim of protecting the Raoued's financial cluster project, the State defined a whole area of land intervention around the project. This policy has once again reinforced the exclusion mechanisms of the underprivileged segments and classes of low financial capacity by encouraging them to take up lots in areas at risk of flooding and in the heart of wetlands. State risk management often seems

to be lacking, and construction in wet zones can cause significant damage to homes and damage the safety of their occupants (Cherrioux, 2003).



Photo 1: Peripheral extensions in flood zones (Hagui A., 2019)

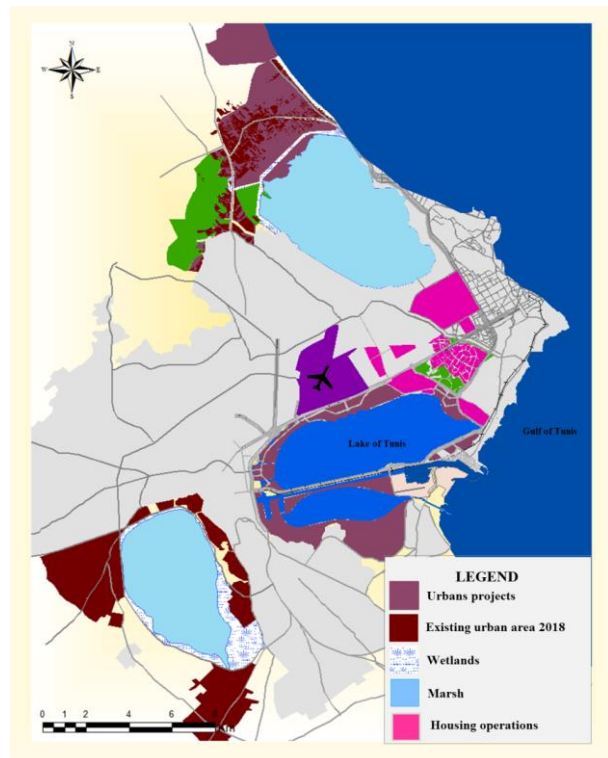
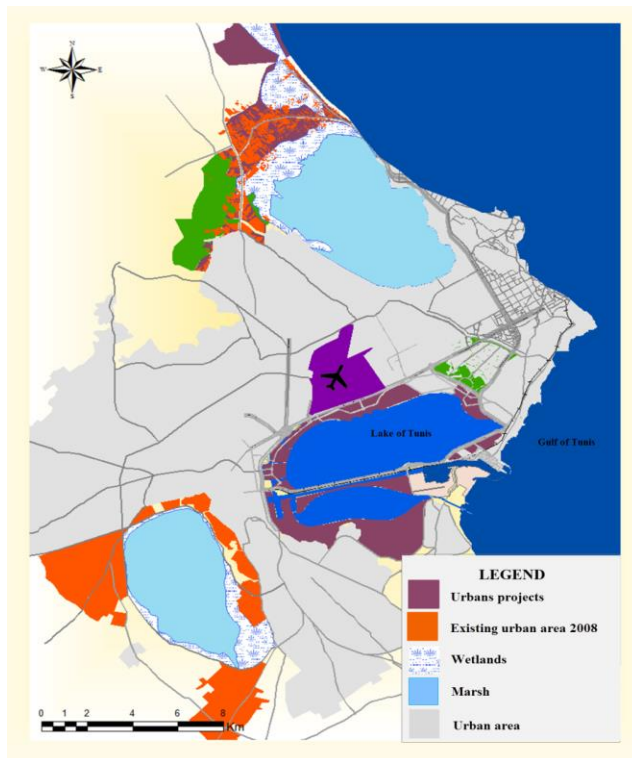


Photo 2: The massive destruction of peripheral areas of the financial cluster project from Raoued (Hagui A., 2019)

Conclusion

In Tunisia, the notion of an urban project in a sensitive area seduces local actors and foreign investors as the principle of exploitation of the banks of the lagoons agrees with enormous benefits following an increased evolution of the demand. However, the successful development of lagoon spaces often amounts to a public policy that seeks to support action by introducing "territorial marketing" through communication and advertising. Risk communication is often absent. For Sylvain Dournel et al (2015), communication to the public about risks remains marginal or non-existent.

When public authorities indicate their desire to inform the public about the risks of construction in sensitive, mainly humid areas, the only studies carried out have excluded the peripheral areas of large urban projects exposed on the shores of large bodies of water. It is a kind of dilution of the information on the risks which is accentuated the more one approaches the inhabitants. For the Raoued financial cluster project, the wetlands that juxtapose it are almost urbanized and inhabited by a population most often disadvantaged. Is it possible to see a major urban project fueled by wild urbanization



and at risk of flooding? It is true that at the social level, its peripheral areas have been able to absorb a large part of the housing demand, but on the human level its extensions can have an influence on the hazards and the parameters of the vulnerability. In the same way, on the economic level, this diluted communication policy and its peripheral repercussions can reduce the desired profitability of the urban project.

In order to ensure the well-being of the group through an innovative intervention that generates sustainable development, spatial planning calls for territorial coherence, which in turn involves coordination and collaboration between the various actors involved. local. The case of the capital is typical in understanding this combination. Although it is not yet a legal document, the implementation of SCoT can be beneficial for the sustainability of projects and the reduction of urban risks.

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