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**U. S. AID Mission to Tunisia**  
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**S O U T H E R N     S I L I A N A**

**Description and Problems of an  
Area Proposed for an  
AID-assisted Rural Development  
Project in Tunisia --**

**"Rural Development, Siliana"**

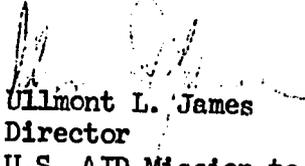
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**Tunis, April 1976**

## FOREWORD

A rural development project which addresses a specific area must be designed with a holistic appreciation of the people, institutions, geography, and history of that area. In short, it must reflect the legacies of the past, the realities of the present, and the opportunities and constraints that influence the course of future development. Such an analysis must take into account how the area to be addressed fits into the country as a whole. The structure of this analysis must correspond to the perspectives both of those within the area and those that look at it from the outside.

This paper was prepared, first, in support of a project paper (PP) for a rural development project which USAID/Tunisia proposes to undertake in support of, and in closest collaboration with, the Government of the Republic of Tunisia. Second, this paper is intended to serve as an orientation document for all those who in Tunisia or in the United States may come to be associated with the project -- as AID officials, specialists from other U.S. Government organizations, contractors, grantees, consultants, etc.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Foreword</u> .....	page	i
<u>Table of Contents</u> .....		ii
I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.....		1
Siliiana Province.....		3
1. The Project Area: Geographic Description.....		4
2. Human and Social Background.....		9
Ethnicity and Language.....		10
Religion.....		12
Tribes, Clans and Families.....		13
Sedentaries, Transhumants, and Nomads.....		15
Regional Loyalties and Sentiments.....		17
Out-Migration.....		19
3. Historical Setting.....		20
II. ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROJECT AREA.....		22
1. Antecedents and Evolution.....		23
2. Delegations and Delegates.....		26
3. Sectors and Sector Chiefs.....		28
4. The Province and The Governor.....		31
The Governor's Staff.....		34
Heads of Field Units.....		35
The Provincial Council.....		38
Municipalities.....		39
(Table).....		40A
Provincial Planning Commission.....		41
5. Decentralization.....		42

III. THE DEVELOPMENT MILIEU.....	page 45
1. The Party Structure.....	46
The Specialized Organizations.....	48
The Party as Participant in Decision-Making...	50
2. Rural Development.....	52
Organizing and Managing RD.....	55
RD at The Provincial Level.....	60
Coordination of RD Planning Studies.....	61
3. Women.....	62
4. The Rural Areas and The Media.....	65
IV. THE ECONOMIC MILIEU.....	68
1. Agriculture in The Project Area.....	69
Size of Farms.....	70
(Table).....	71
Parcelization.....	72
Land Use.....	73
Cultural Practices.....	74
Livestock.....	75
Credit.....	76
2. Marketing.....	78
3. Labor.....	80
4. Estimated Incomes.....	80
5. The Non-Agricultural Section.....	81

V. THE QUALITY OF LIFE.....	page 84
1. Habitation.....	87
2. Potable Water.....	88
3. Sanitation and Health.....	90
4. Health Delivery Services; Nutrition.....	91
5. Education.....	93
6. Energy.....	96
7. Communications.....	97
8. Transportation.....	98
9. Entertainment and Cultural Life.....	100
10. The Urban Environment.....	100
PRINCIPAL SUPPORTING DOCUMENTATION.....	105

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A map of the Makthar and Ruhia Delegations is tucked in, loose. Additional copies of this map, and other maps, are available from the U.S. AID Mission in Tunis.

## I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The project area consists of the two southern delegations of Siliana Province, the most-recently created (1974) of the eighteen provinces which make up Tunisia. This area was selected with a number of specific rural development criteria in mind. Among these is the fact that there are physical and human constraints to development which are also common to major zones in this general part of Tunisia.

Located in the central interior of the country, Siliana is one of three provinces which are neither maritime nor along the country's borders. Topographically, Siliana is part of the mountainous (Tell) region, and the project area itself is located astride the watershed line which hydrologically separates watershed areas flowing north or northeastward from those which drain southeastward. The broad characteristics of Tunisia's interior are best understood by contrasting it with the other two major regions of the country.

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NOTES: In most instances, two versions of significant geographic place names are given initially because usage varies among maps and other sources. Generally, the first version is the one commonly found in Tunisian materials written in French, and on maps based on the work of French cartographers (e.g., Kairouan). In parentheses when the name is first used is given the spelling which most closely corresponds to the transliteration of the generally-accepted Arabic spelling of the name (e.g., Qayarawan). The spelling for localities and geographic features of the project area mostly uses transliteration only, as does the spelling of Arabic terms or titles.

The major administrative divisions of the country are each called a wilayah in Arabic. In Tunisian usage, they are termed gouvernorat in French texts. Since wilayah translates well as "province", it is this term which is used in this paper. In Tunisian French usage, the adjective régional refers to provinces, and it is translated here into English as "provincial".

The maritime region stretches from the Algerian border eastward to Cap Bon, thence southward and southeastward to the Libyan border. The provinces that face the Mediterranean form several sub-regions, but have major common characteristics: They contain the five largest municipalities, the greatest semi-urban concentrations, the most of the country's industry (including nearly all of the tourism infrastructure), and serve as the principal growth axes. In spite of the existence of mountainous and salt-flat areas, this region also contains Tunisia's best agricultural land, produces most of its cereals, and its specialty crops of citrus, olives, and grapes. Last but not least, the maritime belt, with its old urban centers --- including Bizerte (Binzert), Tunis, Sousse (Soussah), Monastir (Munastir), and Sfax (Safaqis) --- provides the country with most of its intellectual, political, administrative, and economic leadership.

Gabes, (Gabis) and Medenine (Madaniyin) provinces face on the Mediterranean, however, they, along with inland Gafsa (Qafsa) province constitute a second region, i.e., a sub-Saharan zone with different economic, human, and geopolitical characteristics. The desert and salt-marshes in the latter zone combine to create relatively dense habitation patterns where sedentary living is possible. Gafsa (42,225 population), Gabes (40,585), and Medenine (15,826) are Tunisia's 9th, 12th, and 41st largest municipalities: This sub-Saharan zone is Tunisia's frontier in both the developmental and political sense. Oil and phosphates in the area provide important supports to the national economy. Lying between Algeria and Libya, the sub-Saharan zone also receives special attention

from the Government.

The interior region of which Siliana is part is segmented by mountain chains, which separate valleys and plains of varying width. Such resulting variegated topography is naturally accompanied by disparate economic and social conditions. Some valleys and plains are fertile, the near-equals of agricultural areas closer to the coast; while others are heavily eroded by the rivers (wadis) that traverse them, and in mountainous and in flat zones alike steppe-land is prevalent. Kairouan (Qayrawan) (54,546), Le Kef (Al Kaf) (27,939), and Kasserine (Qasrayn) (22,594) are the largest urban centers of this region; respectively they rank 6th, 18th, and 24th in population rank-order among the 155 communes (municipalities) in the country. Not only are urbanization rates low, but much of the population lives in isolated clusters of habitations.

#### Siliana Province

In size of population as well as in average per annum inter-census (1966-1975) rate of population growth (1 percent), Siliana Province ranked lowest of all provinces in the country. Municipal populations showed a somewhat greater growth --- at an average annual inter-census rate of 4.8 percent --- but this growth is offset by the fact that it is due, in part, to the creation of new municipal entities. Municipalities existing at the same time and prior to the 1966 census showed a growth rate, per annum, of only 3.7 percent, and even this growth is due in part to increases in the jurisdictional zones of municipalities.

In point of fact, the municipalities of Siliana --- they are the provincial capital which is called Siliana and the other six delegation

seats of Al Krib, Gaafuwr, Bu Aradah, Barguw (renamed recently from Roba'a-Siliana), Makthar, and Ruhia --- each have less than 7,000 resident population. They rank, among the 155 municipalities of the country, with those with the smaller populations.

Equally significant is the fact that only 15.7 percent of the Province's population live in municipalities, and that only 28.4 percent of the non-communal population inhabit small agglomerations, the balance of the non-communal population living in isolated households.

Four of Siliana Province's delegations, Al Krib, Gaafuwr, Bu Aradah, and Siliana Delegation contain agricultural zones which are the equals of the better lands in Beja (Bajah) and Le Kef provinces, and on the whole are endowed with better supplies of water. (Some authorities, in fact, say that the Al Krib plain has the best agricultural land in Tunisia). This part of the Province enjoys a standard of living and an economic base more like that of the northern maritime provinces. Barguw Delegation, which is more mountainous, presents less of an agricultural potential. The two southernmost Delegations, Makthar and Ruhia, offer severe constraints to agriculture.

#### 1. The Project Area: Geographic Description

The heart of the project area lies some 130 kilometers due west of the coastal city of Sousse and some 160 kilometers directly south of Cap Serrat on the northern Tunisian coast as the crow flies. Expressed in practical terms, it is about a two-hour drive from Tunis to the provincial capital of Siliana as the typical rural development officer

drives, another 40 minutes by road from there to Makthar, and thence to Ruhia still another 40 minutes --- all on paved roads.

The project area is defined as the two southernmost delegations of Siliana province, Makthar and Ruhia, which together cover 1443 square kilometers (557 square miles). They present a set of severe human and physical constraints to development: Dispersed and isolated population, hard to reach from the paved roads; lack of trained personnel for government services or for productive activities; traditional attitudes that isolate women from effective participation in the community or the economy; a low level of community mobilization which would be conducive to self-help projects; rugged terrain; poor soils which are heavily eroded and in some instances are saline; inadequate or uncertain potable water supplies; and inadequate physical infrastructure for governance, transportation, education, and health. Yet these two delegations and their approximately 60,000 people are not unique with regard to the foregoing constraints. There are at least a dozen delegation-sized areas in north-central Tunisia that also bear the burden of these characteristics, and thus face the same developmental problems. Moreover identical constraints affect negatively dozens of smaller-sized zones.

Makthar Delegation sits astride a mountainous belt, and the Delegation as a whole is at a considerable altitude. The western sectors of the Delegation (along the border with Le Kef province) are set in clusters of mountains with peaks which often exceed 1200 meters (3937 feet). The northeastern part of the Delegation consists largely of elements of the ridge line known as the Porsale, which are cut by

valleys and deep ravines. Both along the northern edge of the Delegation, and in the two southeastern sectors of Al Gariya and Al Fzuwl, elevations are somewhat lower --- in the 500-600 meter ranges. The northern pied-mong area extends northward to another range of peaks beyond which lies the Siliana plain. In the southeastern sectors a piedmont area begins which gradually descends down to the Kairouan maritime plains.

Makthar city is located close to a crest line at an altitude of 900 meters. It is near the watershed line that separates streams moving more or less northward from those running generally southward, and historically Makthar has benefitted from the access lanes that numerous intermittent streams and their eroded gullies provide. The paved roads emanating from Makthar follow natural pathways which men have used since before Roman times: The present road connections to Kissra and Kairouan eastward, to Le Sers (Al Sirs) and Le Kef northwestward, and to Siliana northeastward and to Ruhia in the southwest, all are laid out on routes long known to nomads, merchants, invaders and other travellers. Kissra, which is the project area's and the Delegation's second largest settlement, is lodged on a mountainside off one of these roads. If Makthar retained dominance because it was accessible, Kissra survived because it was removed from the principal passageways, and with its own ample spring of water could resist even in isolation.

The road from Makthar to Ruhia crosses a pass at about 1000 meters, then descends sharply into a piedmont area which in Ruhia Delegation is contained within the sectors of Al Msahla, Al Hariya, Ruhia, and parts of Hababsa. Here the steppeland slopes gently from less than

800 meters to about 600 meters. Ruhia --- its former name of Suq Al Thnayn ("Monday Market") is still recorded on large-scale maps --- lies at about 620 meters. The municipality of Ruhia adjoins the Delegation of Jadliyan of Kasserine Province. From Ruhia, the paved road that connects it with Makthar and with Le Kef to the north crosses into Kasserine southward towards Sbiba and Sbitla. From the latter the bulk of the mountains lie to the north, and one is well inside the steppelands of middle Tunisia.

Along either side of the paved road that passes through Ruhia is a flat steppe; the part that lies in the project area is probably the latter's largest flat area. This is the Al Hariya-Ruhia plain, which contains about 4000 hectares in the Delegation, and another 5000 hectares in Kasserine Province. The rest of Ruhia Delegation is hilly steppe-land, though there are several important mountains, notably Jabal Barbruw (1226 meters) and Jabal Bin Habbas (959 meters).

In Makthar, the mean high temperature is 25 degrees Celsius, the low 5 degrees Celsius (77 and 41 degrees Fahrenheit respectively); July and August are the hottest months. January is coldest. Frost occurs each winter; snow falls about every second winter; hail is a common phenomenon in winter time. Based on 1901-1960 records, average temperature in the project area is between 14 and 17 degrees Celsius (57-63 degrees Fahrenheit), the northern and elevated parts being colder. Rainfall, based on the same records, averaged based on the same records, averaged between 500 and 300 millimeters (19.7 - 11.8 inches) annually. The dryer reading obtains in the southeast of Ruhia Delegation, the

wetter records being recorded in the northern half of Makthar Delegation; in the Ruhia area, rainfall averages 322.5 millimeters (12.7 inches).

Though scores of wadis (rivers) are recorded on maps of the area, only five are significant enough to be mentioned. The Wadi Siliana rises near Makthar, and after crossing much of the province becomes a tributary of the Medjerda (Majardah) River in Beja province. Also near Makthar are the headwaters of the Wadi Marghalil which drains much of the southcentral and southeastern parts of that Delegation, then flows on into Kairouan Province to lose itself in the eastern end of its aretic basin. Because the Marghalil creates flooding in Kairouan, and AID-supported project in the 1960s provided studies of its behavior, recommended control works, and assisted in the necessary construction, within Makthar Delegation, of catchment dams which were less intended to serve local needs than to retard the flow of the water downstream. Another important aretic stream, the Nabana, rises near Kissra before curving towards Kairouan.

Several tributaries in Le Kef, Siliana and Kasserine provinces combine to form the important Wadi Al Hatab. One of these tributaries drains, at least during the wet season, the Al Hariyah-Ruhia plain; it is the Wadi Al Ruhia, also called the Wadi Al Malah ("Salt Creek"). Another is the Wadi Kuwky, which joins the Hatab near where the provinces of Siliana, Sidi Bou Zid and Kairouan meet. In winter the Hatab carries an important volume of water. Named the Zaruwd in its lower course, the river ends in the aretic Kairouan plain.

Considered in simple annual quantitative terms, the project area receives sufficient water for certain kinds of agriculture, but there still remain a number of constraints to general agricultural effectiveness. First, the character and slope of the soils of the area tends to limit the amount of water that is absorbed. Second, the annual rainfall in the area, as in all of Tunisia, occurs nearly exclusively in a seven-months period from October through April. The uneven precipitation profile accentuates the inability of the soils to retain sufficient amount of water, particularly during heavy rainfall, and, swells the many wadis into dangerously swift torrents for brief periods at a time. Erosion is severe, and poor drainage and sudden flows of creeks and rivers do much to damage roads and tracks. Local flooding is a problem for agriculture and transportation alike. Rainfall in Tunisia, moreover, tends to be cyclical in character over a period of years. The last high-precipitation year, 1969, took out a number of bridges in the area, at least two small dams, and is still remembered as a time of trial. But even in ordinary years, the rainy season significantly alters the terrain as wadis carry off chunks of soil --- some good, much bad --- and sometimes change their course altogether.

The project area is relatively windy. In summer time, winds carry a lot of dust, and occasionally, especially in Ruhia Delegation, sandstorms sweep in from the south.

## 2. Human and Social Background

Its rural character is one of the project area's main characteristics. Only 12.6 percent of the population of the two delegations live in the

two municipalities of Makthar and Ruhia. Only Makthar has the discernible characteristics of a "city" in terms of its roles and the diversities of its functions in relation to the area it serves. Both Ruhia and Kissra (the latter the second largest concentration of population, but not legally a municipality) are beginning --- but only beginning --- to exhibit some of these functional characteristics.

Average population density in the project area is 40 per km<sup>2</sup> (104 per square mile). It is generally highest in the sectors near Makthar and those that are most accessible; e.g. in Sayar sector it is 100 per km<sup>2</sup>; in Jmilat, it is only 14 per km<sup>2</sup>. Of the 86.4 percent of the population who are rural, most by far --- 69.3 percent for the project area; 65.1 percent for Makthar Delegation; 78.7 percent for Ruhia Delegation --- live in isolated dwellings. Of the 92 agglomerations in the project area, 83, or 90.2 percent, contain less than 250 resident population. In Makthar Delegation 91.5 percent of the agglomerations contain less than 250 persons (Makthar municipality and Kissra are not included in the calculation). The percentage for Ruhia Delegation is 85.7 (Ruhia municipality not included). Apart from the dispersed habitation patterns, a lack of mechanized transportation and any form of communication exacerbates the isolation of most of the population.

#### Ethnicity and Language

From the ethnolinguistic point of view, the project area now shares with the rest of the country the striking homogeneity which is Tunisia's. All of the population speaks Arabic, albeit with minor regional

dialectical variations. There may still be some older persons in Kissra with some residual knowledge of one or more Berber dialects, but for the purpose of communication this is of no significance (altogether in Tunisia, one authority reports, there are well under 50,000 Berber-speakers left, nearly all of them in the sub-Saharan zone of the country). Except in Makthar city, the zone around Makthar, and the Ruhia plain along the paved road, there was hardly any French "colon" or official presence, and all French residents have left the area. Though there were, until two or three decades ago, some small Jewish communities in the interior provinces, none have remained. Only about a dozen foreigners now reside temporarily in the project area, nearly all in Makthar as doctors, teachers, or other specialists.

Probably around 15-25 percent of males over 15 years of age, and around 5 percent of the females, are functionally literate in Arabic. The highest literacy rates would be obtained in Makthar.

It is principally in Makthar and Ruhia that a significant percentage of the population also has some knowledge of French. This ability is the product either of exposure to French settlers or officials, or of education. In the rural areas, it is the teacher who likely will be Francophone, for French is now taught throughout the educational system, even in the isolated primary schools of the area. Road markers, store signs, and other public notices are usually written in French and Arabic in Makthar, less frequently so in Ruhia. English is known to very few persons; it is taught, however, at the secondary school of Makthar.

The Arabic script used in Tunisia is the same as that used in other Arabic-speaking countries; like elsewhere in North Africa, a specially-punctuated character indicates the hard "g" which is used in Maghrebian pronunciation. "Arabic" numerals, however, are virtually always written in the French style, rather than in the Arabic script.

### Religion

Except for the few foreigners, the entire population of the project area is Muslim, in the Sunni tradition, and of the Malikite legal "school". The traditions of Islam are deeply embedded and form the matrix of the traditional way of life to which nearly the entire rural population adheres. Islam provides the norms of daily life and is the basis for most of the annual cycle of festivities. It also provides the patterns for the "rites de passage" of the individual --- from birth to circumcision of the male to marriage and burial.

In the rural areas, small mosques are usually associated with the shrines to deceased holy men. These serve at least as locales for prayer, and in some cases as sites of pilgrimage connected with the veneration held for the saint buried there, and provide as well the inspiration for intercessionary prayers on behalf of the pilgrim. Many of these shrines have given their names to localities in the project area. Here and there, an important shrine, such as the one to Sidi Marerheni a kilometer east of Ruhia, serves as zawiya to a formal or informal association of adherents --- a place of retreat as well as a pilgrimage.

Makthar, Kissra, and Ruhia each have at least one Jama'a --- a "Friday mosque" at which the normal weekly services are held. Even in this interior part of the country, the mu'azin now calls to prayer by using the loudspeakers installed at the manar's top.

Islam prohibits the raising of pigs and the eating of their flesh. Though pigs are raised for tourists and other foreigners elsewhere in Tunisia, none are now raised in the project area. The Muslim prohibition against alcohol is less strictly observed, and downtown Makthar boasts a licensed bar well frequented by a loyal clientele of local and other boozers. The sale of alcoholic beverages is one of the sources of municipal tax revenues. Ruhia delegation is "dry".

The cycle of the Muslim religious year affects the project area --- where sheep raising is an important economic base --- in a particular way. The requirement that every family slaughter a male sheep on the occasion of A'id Al Kabir is part of the calculations that a wise sheep-owner makes in planning for the size, composition and marketing of his herd.

#### Tribes, Clans and Families

The population of the project area still bears the important imprint of the tribal structure into which nomads and sedentaries alike were organized for hundreds of years, and well into this century. Names of tribes and sub-tribes, of lineages, clans and their subdivisions, have become attached to many geographic feature and localities within the project zone; distinct pieces of territory have been associated for many generations with particular kin groups. Most of the population

of the area knows the name of the tribal unit of which they are the offspring, but have lost knowledge of the inter-relationships among their own and other units.

The project area is nearly exactly identical with the territory principally occupied by the Ayar, a major tribe, with many subdivisions. To the southwest, in what now is the Sbiba-Sbitla-Kasserine area, their neighbors were the Majir. The Zlass occupied the mountains and steppes beyond the Wadi Hatab and the Wadi Kuwky. To the east, the older tribal elements of the Wassaltiya made their stronghold in the mountains. To the north of the project area, the A'awn occupied much of the balance of what now is Siliana province. Within Ruhia delegation, the Dabbish were a subtribe which, perhaps originally Majir, became associated with the Ayar.

Historically, tribal warfare was intermittent, and territorial encroachments -- for pastureland and water -- frequent. The Wassaltiya in particular were noted for their raids. Tribes also participated in more general upheavals. As late as the 1860s a major revolt occurred against the Bey of Tunis, led by a Majir who seized control over his own tribe as well as over the Ayar and others. Intertribal struggles, the collapse of the insurrection, the cruel repression which followed it, a famine in 1867 and epidemics of cholera and typhus reduced the power of the tribes; it did not prevent, however, some of them, including the Ayar, the Wassaltiya and the Zlass, to participate in the first major revolt against the French in 1881.

None of these tribal groups can clearly be said to be of Arab or Berber origins. All became admixed over the centuries as tribal sub-groups left one major grouping to attach themselves to another. The Ayar are said to be, like the Wassaltiya, principally Berber; the A'awn claim pure Arab descent; the Zlass are a grouping of diverse origins; the same is true of the Majir.

The significance of tribal attachments now is limited to the sentimental level for most Tunisians. For example, when choosing a family name to replace the patronymic, Tunisians often select a name reflecting a tribal or lineage origin (e.g., Acuni, Ayari).

The practical obsolescence of tribal attachments has not, however, reduced the continued importance of more immediate kin groups. While tribe as such has largely ceased to matter, the smaller clan (arsh), and within it the extended family, continues to play a role in rural social and political life.

#### Sedentaries, Transhumants, and Nomads

In most of the project area, a basic core of sedentaries has long existed, certainly for many generations. The pattern appears to have been that clans and extended families grouped their dwellings in such a manner as to have grazing grounds for their sheep and goats, and some land fertile enough to cultivate, in proximity to each other. Part of each kinship group assumed a transhumant way of life, leaving the area when seasonal or cyclical lack of rain forced them to take their flocks elsewhere.

The greater tribal frontiers, as indicated above, demarcated the overall areas within which tribal transhumance could take place relatively secure from challenge by a neighboring major tribal group. By and large, these tribal frontiers corresponded to natural boundaries such as a major waterway (e.g., the Wadi Hatab) or a major crestline of mountains.

At the same time, in periods of relative peace, nomads from the south came to, or traversed, the project area. One natural route leads from the south past Ruhia, then bifurcates - a northeasterly pathway leading towards Makthar and Siliana, a northwesterly one towards the Abba Ksuwr and Le Sers plain. Another route required passage of the Wadi Hatab where it is quite wide and treacherous in the high-water season (through Khanghat Zlass, "the pass of the Zlass"), then ascends to Makthar and beyond essentially along the present MC 77 road. A third passage through the mountains was from the southeasterly direction of Kairouan and Haffouz (Hafuwz), and followed the Wadi Marghalil past Kissra towards Makthar.

Nomads played a number of constructive, symbiotic roles in the life of the project area. They marketed animals; they bought surplus grain, or brought grain into the area which they had bought in the richer maritime areas. They also peddled small manufactured goods such as hand-tools not fabricated in the project area. Occasionally, nomads would sojourn for a few weeks to hire themselves out to work in the fields when hands were needed. In turn, the nomad could use the water points in the area, and graze his animals, and participate in the local marketing

system. There is reason to believe that this far north, their role in the local economy was less than vital. It is known, however, that as recently as two generations ago the project area still received the nomads' visitations, and even today occasionally small groups retrace the ancient trek and reenact the traditional roles.

#### Regional Loyalties and Sentiments

Tunisians hold marked regional ties of identification and loyalty. These help shape attitudes and some forms of behavior, but importantly do not lead to regional political separatism, or decrease the expanding sense of being Tunisian.

In the first instance, the population of the long-sedentarized maritime belt has a sense of being different from those of the interior of the country, and from the inland sub-Saharan areas, areas associated in their minds with non-sedentary tribal populations. The divisions go further, however. Within the maritime belt, some smaller areas, usually centered on a city town, obtain a sense of identity if not exclusiveness. Primarily, these affect social, educational, and organizational behavior, and in some cases include a tendency towards endogamy. Often cited as prime examples of regional loyalty and exclusiveness are those who live in, or hail from, the coastal area from Hammamet to Sfax, the "Sahil"; others are those of Tunis itself, and of other particular zones, like Djerba (Jirba). Their respective exclusiveness in turn has led to stereotypes. In a few cases, regional origin also influences the occupational patterns of men who have migrated from these areas to other urban or semi-urban areas; thus, for instance, Djerbans are believed to

have a talent for small commerce; when they leave their island for other parts of the country, they are believed, more often than not, to become owners of small grocery-stores, and statistical studies bear out that belief.

For these reasons and historical ones, including the early development of the educational infrastructure in the coastal zones, the public service of Tunisia contains a very high percent of officials who hail from the "Sahil" and from Tunis. A study published in 1969 shows that the provinces of Tunis, Sousse and Sfax alone (each of these then was larger than now, new provinces having been formed since) contributed 67.8 percent of the higher officials of public and semi-public economic administrations and institutions, though they accounted among them for only 35.5 percent of the population. The study foresaw a gradual shift away from the pre-eminence of Tunis as a source of senior officials, towards the Sahil in the first instance, the rest of the country in the second instance. The study concluded that though the rest of the country would gradually catch up, it would take a long time before it would supply the leadership commensurate with its share of the country's population. Incidentally, the 1969 study showed not a single official originating from within the project area, and only one from Siliana.

Since these administrators, technocrats, and political leaders direct the policies of the country, it is inevitable that their perspective on development reflects the objective difference between life in

the modernized capital and Sahilian zones and that in the underdeveloped interior. Characteristic of their areas of origin are well developed urban and village centers, complete with infrastructures accessible to the population concentrated there. (By way of contrast with the project area: In Sousse province, 70.5 percent of the population live in municipal areas. Of the rural population, only 42.0 percent live in isolated groups of dwellings.) To some extent, then, modernization as applied to Tunisia is perceived as applying the "Sahil formula" to those portions of the country which are not developing.

For the people of the project area, most of the senior officials and technical personnel with whom they have contact, or whom they know to be assigned to their area, are "outsiders". The differences of perspective, of horizon, and of educational attainment and orientation loom large, and in some cases may lead to a lack of communication and dialogue. Moreover, their isolation has given most of the population in the project area, if not a sense of cohesion, at least a sense of detachment from those other parts of Tunisia, about which they know, but which many have never seen. At the same time, that "outside" serves as a lure, and out-migration from the project area, considerable now, has been a continuing process for several decades.

#### Out-Migration

Population growth data for the project area since 1931 indicates a low growth in comparison to the national average. A relatively high death rate, both infant and adult, may be assumed, since the present lack of medical infrastructure in the area was even more severe in the past.

At the same time, there is little doubt that the project area has been subject to a rural exodus for many decades.

The project-area population grew annually by 1.2 percent from 1931 to 1936, and annually by 0.5 percent from 1936 to 1956. The population increased by 2.8 percent annually between 1956 and 1966. From 1966 to 1971, the population for the project area as a whole increased by only 0.4 percent annually, but only by 0.1 percent annually for the rural zones. From 1971 to 1975, annual growth of the project area population rose to 1.2 percent, but only to 0.8 percent for the rural population. These statistics do not disaggregate between rural out-migration and the natural evolution of the population. Relative to Siliana Province as a whole, however, the project area's population grew at a somewhat higher rate in the years 1966-75.

Statistical analysis of the May 1975 Census reflects net out-migration of males in nearly all parts of the two delegations: one may assume that this is what mostly underlies statistical discrepancies between males resident and females resident. At the same time, that rural exodus appears to be less for the project area than for the Province as a whole.

### 3. Historical Setting

The project area has a rich history which extends back into antiquity. The city of Makthar dates at least to the first century before the Christian era. At that time, it appears to have served as a fortified center to shield the southern approaches of the only entirely indigenous political entity ever formed within Tunisia, the kingdom of the Massylian Numidians, whose principal founder, early in the second

century B.C., was Massinissa. From then to the invasion of the Hillali tribes in the 11th Century, the city successively or in combination had a Roman, Libyo-Punic, Byzantine, and Muslim population and character. It appears to have been abandoned about 1052.

Its survival for all these centuries was based on its primacy among a score or so of settlements, the ruins of which, along with ruins of fortified outposts and smaller villages, abound throughout the project area. This was then a good agricultural area, enjoying a temperate climate, adequate water supplies, and capable of defending itself against nomadic and other raiders.

The modern city of Makthar was built amidst crude dwellings beginning in 1890. Some years earlier, following the establishment of the French Protectorate, a contrôleur civil had been sent out to what then was called Henshir Makthar to represent the French authorities. Makthar remained an administrative center throughout the Protectorate period.

During World War II, Allied and Axis units fought heavily in and around the project area as part of the 1942-1943 winter campaign for control of that whole part of Tunisia, and the access roads to Tunis.

During Tunisia's fight for independence, nationalists were active in the project area. Attacks on French troops were met with repression. Along the road that exits Makthar to the north is a cliff at the foot of which Tunisian nationalists were executed.

## II. ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROJECT AREA

Tunisia inherited its concepts of public administration and its administrative structures largely from the presence during the Protectorate of officials of Third-Republic France and of French settlers; from the pre-Protectorate patterns of the Beylic administration; and from Ottoman and other Muslim legacies. All, especially the French pattern and the example of Third- and Fourth-Republic metropolitan France itself, stressed the practical centralization of power at the top. Both the French and the Beylic pattern (the former in theory and practice, the latter in theory mainly) stressed the dominance -- political, economic, intellectual -- of the capital as the primate city of the entire realm. Since Tunisia achieved independence from France in 1955-1956, the fact that more than one sixth of the population has migrated to, or resides and works in the Tunis area in itself reinforces the earlier patterns. At the same time, the growth of other development axes along the coast, and an awareness that rigorous centralization is no longer necessary and can, moreover, be an obstacle to development, is beginning to alter policies concerning administrative processes and institutions.

The administrative structure, both territorial and functional (technical), is only one aspect of the total system of governance of Tunisia. The other is the Destourian Socialist (PSD), whose structure exists alongside the administrative mechanism all the way from the sector and municipal-ward level up to the Presidency of the Republic.

The two entities are distinct and separate in many ways, but tied to each other at various levels. If the administrative structure reflects the centralization of governance and essentially feeds from the top down, the party structure is meant to articulate popular demand from the bottom upward as is described below. The Destourian party structure reflects the populism and localism which also are a legacy of the past: their mainsprings come both from the tribal structures and from the traditions of the semi-autonomous (and often centrifugal) urban centers along the coast, cities like Sfax and Sousse.

#### 1. Antecedents and Evolution

Under the Protectorate, Makthar was the seat of a contrôleur civil whose area of jurisdiction, part of the région of Le Kef, included two "caidats" -- the caidat of the A'awn, essentially the present Siliana and Barguw delegations, and that of the Ayar, essentially identical with the project zone. In 1925, the caidat seat was moved from Kissra to Makthar. Each caidat was headed by a qa'id, nominally appointed by the Bey who selected them from leading families with French approval; he was the formal representative of the central government in his area, and vis-à-vis the tribes, and the link between the population and the French authorities. A qa'id received a percentage of the taxes he collected (in time, some were put on salary). His orders required the approval of the (Beylic) prime minister. The qa'id had jurisdiction over the "cheikhats" into which the caidat was subdivided.

A shaykh was a tribal leader, representing his tribe vis-à-vis the government. Prior to 1881, the shaykh was elected by his tribe; after that year, he was picked by the government from among a list of candidates submitted by the tribal elders. A territorial subdivision of the cheikhat was called a section, headed by a kahiyah (assistant), who was paid by the government, while a shaykh received a percentage of taxes he collected. Both at the level of the région and of the caïdat, consultative councils existed; at the caïdat level, they were composed of representatives of the cheikhats. Altogether, at the end of the Protectorate, there were 37 caïdats and 19 contrôles civils.

The few municipalities which existed under the Protectorate were controlled by the French, though nominally under the direct jurisdiction of the (Beylic) Prime Minister. During the period of French rule, their number had risen gradually to 65. Makthar became a municipality in 1956, a few months after Tunisia's independence; Ruhia attained this status in 1957.

The territorial administration, which during the Protectorate was headed by the Délégué à la Résidence Générale (Deputy Resident-General), now is under the direct control of the Minister of the Interior; as a Tunisian entity, the ministry itself was created after independence. The ministry combines functions related to law and order with functions related to administration of the realm, much in the French pattern. The country now is divided into provinces, each called a wilayah in Arabic, a gouvernorat in French. Each is headed by a governor appointed by the President but responsible to the Minister of the Interior. Each

province, in turn, is divided into delegations (sing., mat'andiyah); they replace the earlier caidat. Delegations are subdivided into sectors (sing., mantagah in Arabic, secteur in French). They are the cheikhat renamed. Delegates and chiefs of sectors are appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Except for the municipal councillors and their president, there are no elected officials in the territorial administration.

Over the years, the numbers of provinces, delegations, and sectors have increased sharply, thus permitting territorial officials at these three levels to concentrate on smaller jurisdictional areas. Fourteen provinces were established following independence. The number dropped to thirteen for a short period, then rose gradually to eighteen. In 1965 there were 95 delegations, and the current number is around 137 (the number of delegations per province now ranges between 6 and 11). From 786 in 1940, the number of cheikhats had fallen to 743 by 1956. It has risen since independence. In May 1975, the number of sectors stood at 1,113.

The powers, functions and capacities of governors and their staffs, and of delegates and sector chiefs, were revised by law in June 1975.

Generally only the larger urban centers, as well as delegation seats regardless of size, are organized into municipalities (sing., baladiyah in Arabic, commune in French). At the time of independence, there were 65 municipalities. The number has risen to 112 in 1958, 136 in 1966, and 155 in 1975. In May 1975, 2.66 million persons resided in municipalities, or 47.5 percent of the total population of the country. Municipalities are created by decree of the Minister of the Interior, and

for different purposes are under his control, or that of the governor or the delegate.

## 2. Delegations and Delegates

The delegation is the lowest level of the territorial organization at which links exist with units of other ministries and agencies, and at which interagency governmental involvement can be obtained. It thus is a crucial level of governance when programs of development are planned or implemented. The delegate's function is defined by law as assisting the governor in the performance of his functions and administering the jurisdiction under his authority. The law also calls on the delegate to "activate, coordinate, and supervise, under the Governor's authority, the local field offices of the civilian governmental services."

Delegates are part of a career service, and are rotated periodically from delegation to delegation, or to positions at the ministry, or with municipalities. It is thus usual that a delegate does not hail from the delegation in which he serves, or even from the province. In the case of the project area, one delegate hails from the Sahil, the other from Le Kef province. Twenty-nine percent of the delegates currently assigned hold a college degree (licence or diplome); the two delegates in the project area are in this group.

The delegate has a small staff at the delegation seat. Important among them is the senior police officer, usually of the National Guard (Hars al-Watany, or Garde Nationale), who assists the delegate in his capacity as senior law enforcement official for the delegation. The

adequacy of delegates' staffs was questioned in the National Assembly during the December 1975 budget debates, and is now being studied; the question was raised as to whether delegates should not have, on their staffs, subject-matter specialists capable of dealing with developmental problems.

In the project area, the Delegates meet with their section chiefs at least once a week -- usually on market day in the delegation capital. They also visit the two other weekly markets in their respective delegations, using this visit for further meetings with sector chiefs and others. In a formal sense, delegates should make their contacts with other governmental agencies through the governor or his staff, i.e., through the territorial and inter-agency chain of command. In fact, working relationships are such that in the project area the Delegates have access to the field offices of technical ministries more or less directly.

Communication with and transportation into the rural zones are a serious operational problem for both Delegates in the project area. Within Ruhia Delegation, no telephone links exist between the Delegate's office and any point outside of Ruhia town. If he needs to contact one of his sector chiefs, the Delegate either must await the next meeting in Ruhia or send one of his National Guard by Landrover to bear a message. Within Makthar Delegation, telephone communications exist between the Delegate's office and Kissra only. A delegate does not have an official vehicle assigned to him as such. Travel into the interior away from

the paved roads is usually performed in a four-wheel drive vehicle of the National Guard or in one belonging to the ministries' or agencies' field offices.

The Delegate consults with the local PSD cell when a vacancy for sector chief arises. With approval of the cell and the delegation-level PSD committee, he forwards three nominations to the Governor, with his own recommendation. The Governor passes the selection on to the Minister of the Interior; appointments of sector chiefs are published as arretés of the Minister in the Official Journal.

### 3. Sectors and Sector Chiefs

The principal qualification for appointment as sector chief (omda), apart from functional literacy which is really needed to perform the job, is to be a long-term resident of the sector. The Ministry of the Interior now is seeking to improve the level of sector chiefs by insisting, wherever possible, that the candidate have at least six years of schooling. In the project area, where sixth-grade graduates are few and usually interested in other work, this poses a real problem at present.

There are currently 13 sectors in Makthar Delegation, and 6 in Ruhia Delegation (in addition to the two municipal areas). Before the splitting of Makthar Delegation into two, there were 13 sectors in the project area. The new sectors largely were formed by dividing existing ones.

The law states that the sector chief, "under the Delegate's authority", assists "the several administrative, judiciary and financial

agencies in the performance of their missions." He is the bottom man of the territorial administrative structure, the factotum of all ministries and agencies: his duties include responding to inquiries, making announcements, and taking actions that emanate from various ministries and are assigned to him through the delegate's office. (He even doubles as mailman in the project area, carrying the few items of mail that reach the nearest post office for rural addressees.) He responds to the demands of other agencies, but only rarely and indirectly can initiate actions.

The law gives the sector chief the character of a judicial police officer. Also he, like the Delegate and the Governor, is a legal registrar ("officier de l'Etat-civil") and as such records births, deaths, and marriages in his sector (his superiors rarely actually perform these tasks). Last but not least, the law states that "in addition" the sector chief has "the responsibility to preserve the interests of persons under their jurisdictions, to assist them in their dealing with the administration, and to guide their actions in accordance with laws and regulations in force."

The full nature of the role relationships of the sector chief is not fully known. It is evident that in addition to what the law states to be his functions, he has roles and powers that emanate from the past traditions of the tribal chieftain, the shaykh; in fact, in the rural areas, sector chiefs still are referred to and addressed as shaykh, not omda. He also is a local ombudsman of sort, feeding back to the delegate information about true conditions in his sector. Last but not least,

he is called upon, much in the manner of the shaykh, to arbitrate local disputes in an extra-judicial capacity.

For all of this, the omda receives currently fifty dinars per month, virtually no logistic support, and no rights to a pension. In the project area, his office is usually in his home or on his own terrain. He depends for transport on the National Guard, or whatever he can arrange for -- he has no vehicle assigned to him, and cannot afford a private car for which he can claim reimbursement for mileage. Relatively speaking, omdas appear to be drawn from among a better-off element of the rural population. Their workload does not permit them to work their own lands, and thus they must depend on the work of a kinsman or on their own means to supplement their income, which also has to cover their incidental expenses.

Appointment as omda appears usually to go to a man who has a good record as an active member of the sector's PSD cell. Sometimes a former secretary of the cell (an unpaid position) may be rewarded with an omda-ship. At the same time, traditional factors such as clan and extended family likely continue to play a role, just as they would within the party cell and other community endeavors. Such men are attracted by the psychic and moral rewards, and the status, of public service to their community; the salary is less than that of a young primary-school teacher, who, moreover, gets three months' vacation.

In rural sectors such as those of the project area, the omda deals with the dispersed population by developing particular relationships with

certain heads of extended families. There is a sub-stratum of local leadership that he taps. He cannot keep in touch with the whole community he serves, and there is no way that he can bring them all together for meetings.

Clearly the omda is a crucial link in the chain of officials and non-officials that affect rural development; he may well become even more important in the future. The working conditions as well as the qualifications of omdas are of current concern to the Ministry of the Interior, and were raised as an issue during the December 1975 budget debates in the National Assembly. Proposals put forth include higher educational requirements; more inservice training; giving them offices and means of transportation; and raising their salaries. Other proposals that have been made are to give omdas access to a retirement scheme; and to provide them with assistant omdas, as is now done in a few sectors. (Altogether, the number of omdas in early 1976 was stated to have risen to 1211 from 801 in 1973, including their assistants.)

#### 4. The Province and The Governor

If the delegation is the lowest level of the territorial organization of the country at which links exist with units of other ministries and agencies, or at which interagency involvement can be obtained, the province is now the lowest territorial units at which field offices of technical ministries and agencies are emplaced and function under the control of the territorial head.

Governors usually are appointed from among career public servants,

and as a rule are not assigned to serve in the province of their origin. The present Governor of Siliana is by training and experience an agricultural-education specialist. He hails from a coastal town of Jendouba province.

The governor (waly) is vested with the authority of the State, and represents the Government (i.e., the whole cabinet) in his province. Though placed under the hierarchic control of the Minister of the Interior, he is appointed by the President, and thus has a fullsome measure of status as the senior official in his portion of the national territory.

The law describes the Governor's powers in terms of several roles into which he is cast. He is "responsible for implementing national development policy at the provincial level. To this end, he studies and proposes to the Government appropriate measures for the economic and social advancement of his Province".

He "has authority over the personnel of the Government services that function in his Province . . . . He monitors the execution of all laws, regulations, and governmental decisions" and "coordinates and supervises under the authority of the ministries concerned the provincial services" of ministries and agencies. He, "or his representative, presides ex officio over all provincial commissions of concern to Government agencies".

To enable the governor to carry out this coordinative role, he is given a set of budgetary and other tools. Through ministerial decrees,

he receives delegations of powers from individual ministries. Funds that come from the budgets of different ministries and agencies are delegated (allocated) to him in the first instance; he then redelegates financial authority to the heads of field units of civilian governmental services in order to implement national projects. He also has important "personnel" powers. Assignments and transfers of the heads of ministerial and other field units in the province require his clearance. "Each year he sends directly to the Ministers concerned a general evaluative report on the official activities of heads of field units in the Province"; these efficiency reports are placed in the personnel files of these officials.

The governor's powers of coordination over the field agencies of ministries are restricted with respect to the functions of the Ministry of Justice, thus removing the courts from his control; of the Ministry of Finance, thus limiting his power with respect to the taxation and disbursement function; to educational matters over which the Ministry of National Education retains unabridged its national responsibilities; and to the functions of the Ministry of National Defense. He can, however, requisition units of the armed forces "if exceptional circumstances demand it", but requires prior authorization of the Cabinet.

The governor "is entrusted with the tutelage and administrative supervision of local public bodies. He represents the interests of the State within corporations, enterprises, and establishments receiving Government financial support and whose central offices are located in his Province. He is kept informed periodically of their activities."

"The heads of field units of agencies as well as those in charge of public and semi-public companies or entities must keep the Governor informed of all matters within their jurisdiction that may be of importance for the Province. Such agencies must send the Governor a copy of all substantive communications which they send to their central offices. The latter are to do the same for communications sent by them to their field units. In this respect, programmatic documents, implementation reports, as well as inspection reports must be transmitted to the Governor."

"The Governor ensures the overall administration of the Province and the maintenance of public order" under the authority of the Minister of the Interior.

Implementer of policy, administrator of ministerial field units, representative of the Government, manager of public entities and of public employees, maintainer of law and order, the governor has available to assist him both an immediate staff and the group of heads of field units.

#### The Governor's Staff

The governor's immediate deputy is the first delegate. His concerns include the political, social, and cultural affairs of the province, as well as civil protection. He coordinates the work of the territorial delegates, and handles relationships with national organisms and with the security services.

Handling administrative matters more particularly is the secretary-general of the province. Under the governor's authority, he monitors

the proper functioning of the province's administrative apparatus, especially in matters of finance and economics. He is charged with relations at the province level with the heads of field units of the several ministries and agencies.

With less than a year elapsed since the enactment of the new law on provincial organization and officials, provincial government has not yet fully taken shape along the new pattern. The June 1975 law eliminated the positions of "delegate for economic affairs" and "delegate for social affairs" which earlier had existed within the governor's immediate staff. In Siliana, a delegate for social affairs continues to function. In adjoining Kairouan Province, a position is maintained for a "delegate for rural development". In Siliana, the governor himself retains a strong role in matters of rural development. He has one delegate who acts as his assistant.

#### Heads of Field Units

Different ministries are represented in different ways at the province level in Siliana; uniform national patterns for provincial field offices of central ministries do not yet exist.

Unique among his peers is the provincial commissioner for agricultural development, who heads the Commissariat Régional de Développement Agricole (CRDA). The Ministry of Agriculture was the first technical ministry to establish a representation at each provincial level (1965). The CRDA has a territorial sub-division in Makthar. CRDA supervises all the activities of the several services of the Ministry of Agriculture in the province, including the autonomous agencies dealing with

particular agricultural crops or development schemes. Of the latter type in Siliana Province is the Office of Lakhmes, which controls not only the irrigated perimeter of that name in Siliana Delegation, but has been entrusted by the Province and the Ministry with responsibilities for other irrigated perimeters existing or to be established in the Province. Thus the Office of Lakhmes, headquartered in Siliana city, has a branch in Ruhia which assists with irrigated agriculture in the Ruhia plain. Because of office-space shortage in Siliana city, the Office de l'Élevage et des Paturages (OEP) (Livestock and Grazing) for the Province is still headquartered in Makthar.

The Ministry of Equipment (equivalent to Public Works in many respects) recently detached its field activities for Siliana Province from the Le Kef Division (arrondissement) to pair it with Kairouan Province in a division headquartered at Kairouan. At Siliana this division maintains a subdivision of the Ponts et Chaussées (highway department), and a subdivision for Habitat et Construction (housing and construction). The Ponts et Chaussées subdivision in Siliana in turn maintains a brigade in Makthar, which has responsibilities for the ministry-recognized roads in the project area. These are all the paved roads, plus the unpaved MC 77 which reaches from Makthar, in theory at least, the southern edge of Hababsa sector in Ruhia Delegation, and beyond this point to Hajab al Ayuwn. The other unpaved roads (pistes) in the province are the responsibility of the Génie Rural (Agricultural Engineering), which is supervised by the CRDA, but in 1973 responsibilities for maintenance of

rural pistes was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Equipment.

Other ministries are not yet represented organically at the provincial level in Siliana, which depends on province-level units in adjoining provinces. Health services for southern Siliana, for instance, still depend heavily on Le Kef.

For the maintenance of public order, the Governor is assisted both by National Police (Suret  Nationale) and the National Guard. The former has responsibility for the province capital and the Delegation of Siliana; the latter serves in the other delegations.

The official activities or services over which the Governor has influence or jurisdiction also include such public corporation as the Soci t  Tunisienne d'Electricit  et de Gaz (STEG), the national electric and gas company, and the Soci t  Nationale d'Exploitation et de Distribution des Eaux (SONEDE), the national water development and distribution corporation; the provincial transportation company, linked still to the provincial transportation company of Le Kef (Soci t  R gionale des Transports du Kef -- SRTK); and others, insofar as they are active in the Province.

Last but not least, the Governor's official family includes officials and representatives of the FSD and its specialized organization; these will be described below in Part III, The Development Milieu.

The governor also has responsibilities, as do delegates, with respect to local public bodies (collectivit s publiques locales). His most

important functions in this respect deal with the Provincial Council, but he is involved also with the functioning of the municipalities. Disparate as these two types of local-government organisms are, and different as are the Governor's involvement with each, legislation enacted during 1975 stresses the importance which the Government attaches to increasing the effectiveness of this level of governance. It is particularly with respect to their fiscal and budgetary roles that both types of local public bodies now have a similar status, for both now have access to a Joint Fund for Local Bodies (Fond Commun des Collectivités Locales), maintained by the Treasury, from which they can borrow.

#### The Provincial Council

The Provincial Council derives from the conseil régional, a consultative body which functioned in each région during the Protectorate.

The Council (Conseil du Gouvernement) is made up of officials of the territorial administration and of representatives of the PSD and of its specialized organizations, of other organizations especially named to be represented, and of the presidents of the municipal syndicates (see below) functioning in the province. In addition, the Governor may invite to particular meetings administrative and technical officials of his staff or under his control, as well as additional representatives of the municipalities. The Governor is its presiding officer.

The Council has consultative and corporate functions. It gives its views on the provincial budget, on proposed programs or projects to be carried out in the province, and on other matters placed before it by the Governor.

The Council, as part of its corporate role, also can raise revenues for the provincial budget by setting rates and assessing local taxes specified by law as being within its purview. These include public lands, users' taxes on utilities of certain types, and leasing certain rights with respect to markets, parking privileges, etc.

The Council may issue calls for bids for goods and services to be provided to the Province, and may borrow money as a public corporation. Its finances are subject to review by the Governor, and by the Minister of the Interior.

Finally, the Council exercises certain managerial responsibilities for rural areas and agglomerations not included under the jurisdiction of municipalities. It sees to certain types of public works, such as water supply, public roads, sanitation; and of certain services, such as schools and health facilities. Thus, for most of the project area, the Siliana Provincial Council acts in lieu of a municipal authority.

The law provides that normally provincial councils shall meet for ten days in February, May, July and November. The Governor may call additional sessions.

### Municipalities

Established by decree of the Minister of the Interior, the municipality (commune) is a local public body which has legal personality (personnalité civile) and financial autonomy, and is entrusted with the management of municipal affairs. In the project area, only Makthar and Ruhia are municipalities. In the province, each delegation seat has

municipal status, thus giving the province a total of seven such bodies. Territorially and jurisdictionally, municipalities are within delegations, but outside of a sector.

The municipal council is elected by universal suffrage for a three-year term. Territorial officials and staffs, members of the judiciary, and certain others in whose case a conflict-of-interest might arise, are barred from being candidates for election. The council elects its own president, deputy, and vice-presidents.

The council can impose certain local taxes and rates, collect rents on public lands, and sell concessions for certain public services. It has its own budget. It can issue bids, and obtain loans. The president of the council can issue enactments (arretés) pertaining to the responsibilities of the municipality. The council also serves as a consultative body in matters of economic and social planning. In large municipal areas, the municipality may be subdivided into wards (arrondissements), each directed by a vice-president of the municipal council.

Delegates and the Governor have supervisory responsibilities over the functioning of the municipal council and especially over its finances. Normally, the delegate can approve the budget of municipalities when it does not exceed 75,000 dinars; the Governor approves budgets between that amount and 500,000 dinars. Budgets exceeding 500,000 dinars, or the budget of a municipality which had a deficit in the previous fiscal year, must be approved by the Ministers of the Interior and Finance.

Municipalities are encouraged to collaborate in matters of joint interest. Two or more municipalities (they need not be in the same

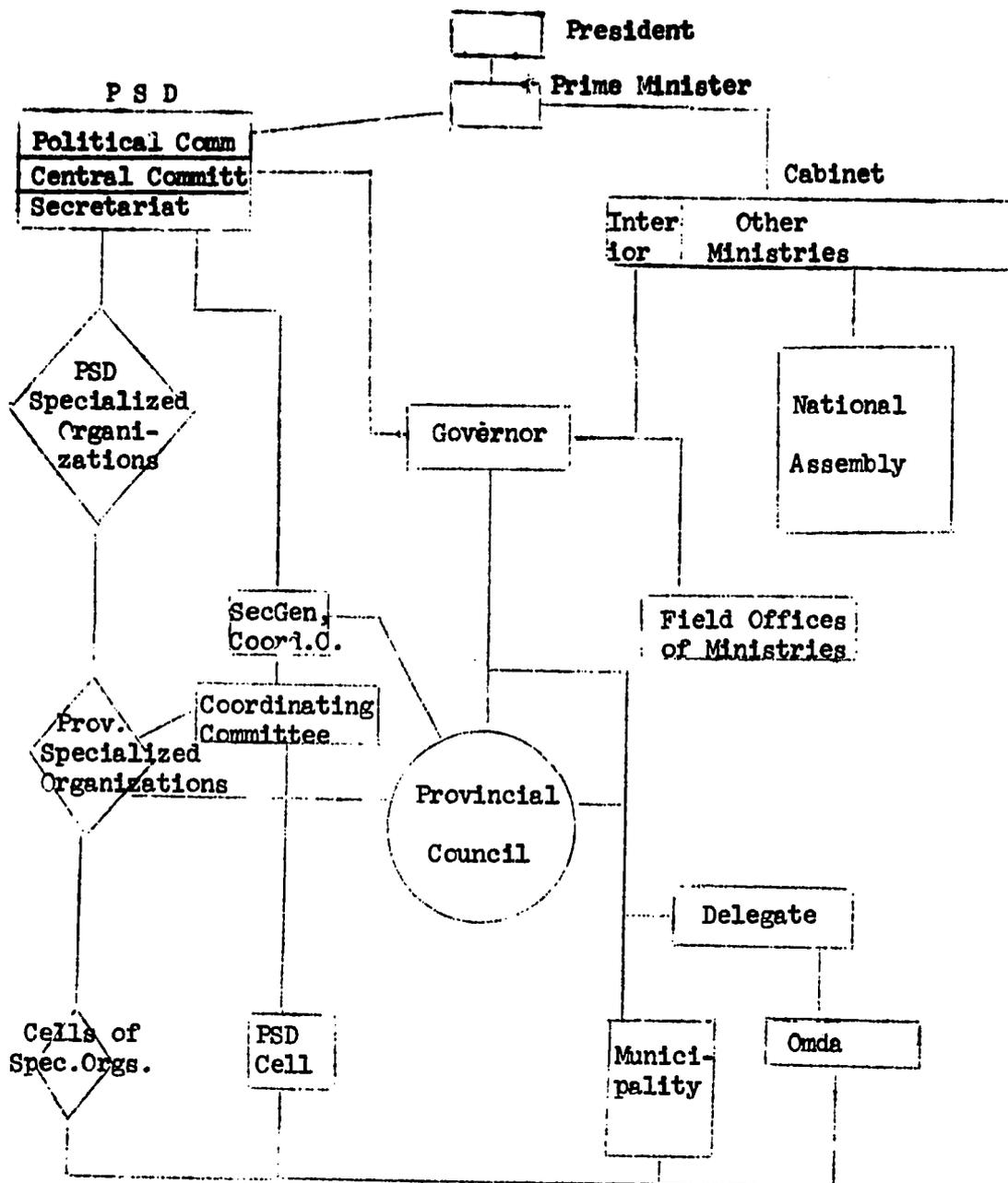


TABLE: Tunisia -- Articulation of the System of Governance at National, Provincial, and Local Levels.

province) may set up a municipal syndicate (Syndicat de Commune) with the approval of the Governor and of the Minister of the Interior. Syndicates are public corporations, which like their sponsoring municipalities have legal personality and financial autonomy. They are managed by a council chosen by the municipalities that own them. A provincial council may join a municipal syndicate, as can municipalities which were not among the founding ones. The Governor has certain supervisory functions over syndicates. The latter are represented on the Provincial Council, and may receive financial assistance from it, and from the Government, as well as from the participating municipalities. In 1965, Makthar and Ruhia, together with Siliana and six other municipalities then part of Le Kef Province, formed a syndicate. Altogether, only nine syndicates were stated to exist in 1975.

Municipalities are also encouraged to organize inter-municipal, local, provincial, and national conferences of a deliberative character.

#### Provincial Planning Commission

Within the framework of the preparation of the 1977-1981 Development Plan, the Minister of the Interior in April 1976 appointed for each province a provincial planning commission. It serves as a consultative body to national and sectoral planning commissions insofar as programs within and by the province are affected. For Siliana, the commission consists of 46 men and one woman, plus members of the PSD coordinating committee, unspecified by name or in number. Its senior member is the Governor. Other members are all the territorial delegates, the two

delegates on the Governor's immediate staff, members of the National Assembly from Siliana, representatives of technical ministries and agencies at the Siliana and higher levels; representatives of PSD specialized organizations; and of STEG and SONEDE.

#### 5. Decentralization

A continuing theme which emerges from the interaction between the administrative structure and the Party structure is the issue of decentralization.

Involved in the debate is the geographic distribution of the administrative structure, the extent to which it shall decentralize its powers to reach the population even at grass-roots levels and to draw on that population for support. The matter is raised in relation to the national developmental effort --- the planning of programs and their implementation. The issue has arisen from time to time since the early 1960s. In the winter of 1975-76, it again has come to the force.

In the mid-sixties, the 1965-68 Development Plan sought to change territorial delegations into "regional development units" (unités régionales de développement); i.e., to change the nature of the delegation into a unit more competent to deal with development problems, and to emphasize their developmental roles.

In the current context, decentralization has come to take on a number of different meanings. For some advocates, and for some ministries, it means installing at the provincial level, or even at the delegation level, technical competence adequate to take on many develop-

mental and technical tasks now carried on from above or directed from a higher administrative level. For others it means more simply to consult "the field" more than is being done at present. For still others, it means to break down combinations of provinces handled out of one field offices, into two or three, thus making for a smaller span of service out of any one field office.

Still others raise, in the current debate, proposals to group provinces into larger units. One variant of such an approach was re-stated in January 1976 by the Minister of Agriculture, who spoke of dividing the country into five agricultural super-regions, corresponding to geographic and agricultural zones; the present provinces do not constitute such zones. In fact, many ministries and agencies now group provinces, in one way or another for one purpose or another, such as the manner in which they emplace field offices to serve provinces. For instance, the National Institute of Statistics of the Ministry of Plan aggregated provinces into six regions when it presented the initial summary results of the May 1975 census. It is not clear whether proponents of super-regions would establish a new layer of governance between the capital and the province, or whether the aggregation proposed would be reflected only in the administration of certain technical services, operated as a super field-office endowed with technical staffs to back-stop those placed at the provincial level.

The issue was discussed during debates in the National Assembly in December 1975. At that time, the Minister of the Interior stressed

that decentralization as reflected in the present territorial organization of the country is a well-established policy, and that any move towards the creation of super-regions would not be made without much reflection.

One factor to be reckoned with in this debate is a simple human one. The smaller and more remote the locality, the harder it is to obtain staffs willing to relocate there. For officials or technicians who hail, say, from Monastir or Bizerte -- let alone Tunis -- taking up an assignment in a small delegation seat or even in a province capital in the interior of the country, is a formidable prospect. Life is dull, conditions are primitive, and the hardship on the wife and children is considerable. Moreover, in a highly centralized administrative structure such as Tunisia's, a government official assigned to a distant point feels far away from where the action is, and where he thinks his next promotion will come from. Some officials resolve the problem by commuting daily across provincial lines, at great expense to themselves and (undoubtedly) at a cost to their efficiency. Others eschew assignments away from their familiar environment. The Government has not espoused a policy of forced placement or obligatory rotation of its personnel. It does try to provide some incentives, such as official lodgings. In spite of this, it is hard to obtain good people to fill posts in the less-developed regions.

### III. THE DEVELOPMENT MILIEU

The development milieu of the project area is shaped and affected by a variety of factors, forces, contests, and collaborative relationships. First among these is the interaction, within the Tunisian system of governance, between the administrative structure, described above, and the other structure, that of the Party and its specialized organizations. Others include the residual cohesion of communities and settlements which retain an awareness of their kinship, and of their non-kinship with others; the felt needs of the population, which in the project area, because of lack of literacy and education, is not always able to express them in realistic terms, yet is able to confront officialdom with its demands; the enormous needs of the area in relation to the resources in funds and in trained personnel which the Government is capable of allocating; the profound division of the population into a fairly-well organized society of men and a nearly-totally unorganized society of women; and the effects on planning and implementation of programs of the continuing debate, at the middle and high levels of the twin structures of governance, between concepts and requirements of administrative/technocratic centralization and populist decentralization.

As the sole political party, the PSD mobilizes the Tunisian population and articulates their demands. The administrative and the technical services of the Government are large and all pervasive in their impact on the economy. The role of the Party appears to be to balance the administrative apparatus with a parallel structure. While the

administrative and technical services, together with economic units which they manage (for instance, in the form of state farms or farms functioning on state lands), provide employment to several hundred-thousand Tunisians, the Party enlists the voluntary services of the population. Membership is selective, and requires the demonstrated readiness of the individual to place his time at the disposal of the organized community, and of the Party's many cells, councils committees, and commissions where he can collaborate with the PSD and with the administrative and technical structures. The Party is willing to train him in one or another of its leadership seminars or courses. The PSD strives to be a mass party, capable of articulating the views of many who otherwise would be left without means to express their ideas and invest their energies in the common good, and ready to provide them with the necessary "encadrement". While the administrative structure rules, the Party reigns and guides; party organisms appear to be placed in a better innovative posture than is the bureaucracy, subject as the latter is to the rationales of sound administration and objective technology.

#### 1. The Party Structure

The PSD has been structured since 1958 to encompass fully the same territorial and vertical span as that which the administrative structure encompasses. The Party's specialized organizations likewise strive to have not only national, but also provincial and sub-provincial units in which to mobilize their members.

Each sector has a party cell (khaliyah), and some have more than one:

in Ruhia Delegation, for instance, there are eight cells --- one for the town, two in Hababsa sector, and one each in the remaining five sectors. The onda heads the cell, the secretary runs it. Apart from territorial cells, professional cells exist in some places to articulate the better-educated or specialized membership; Makthar, for instance, has a professional cell.

At the delegation level, a coordinating committee exists representing the cells. The delegate heads the PSD organization at this level. The secretary of the delegation's coordinating committee is entrusted with party affairs on a day-to-day basis.

At the provincial level, the Governor (since 1963) heads the PSD structure. The Secretary-General of the Coordinating Committee of the Province is the senior official directly responsible for party affairs. The Coordinating Committee is elected every two years by delegates from all the party cells in the Province, who can choose from among more candidates than there are seats on the committee.

At the national level, nearly half of the members of the Cabinet are members of the Party's Political Committee, which is its most select steering group; and most are members of the National Assembly, in which other senior party officials also hold seats, including the heads of most PSD specialized organizations.

At the highest level, the President of the Republic is the President of the PSD, the Prime Minister its Secretary-General. The party is managed by its Director, who also is a deputy minister (ministre délégué) to the Prime Minister, and three assistant directors;

the Director and two of the assistant-directors are members of the National Assembly, the third is a member of the Economic and Social Council, a consultative body to the Government.

Compared to the administrative and technical structure, the PSD has a very small administrative apparatus of its own. In 1965-66, two estimates of its size gave as almost 400 the number of the Party's permanent staff, and as less than 70 the number of its paid senior officials (including 18 assigned to the specialized organizations). The smallness of the permanent or full-time staffs is made possible because nearly all members of committees of cells, coordinating committees, and specialized party bodies are fully-employed, often in positions within the government administration or the technical services. For instance, the secretary of the coordinating committee for Ruhia Delegation also is the President of the Ruhia Municipality as well as a leader of the PSD's agriculturalists' organization. The Secretary-General of the Province-level coordinating committee is always a full-time employee of the Party.

#### The Specialized Organizations

Within the context of the PSD, membership organizations exist which represent particularized interests of those engaged in agriculture, of women, of industrial workers, of industrialists, and of youth and students.

The National Union of Agriculturalists (Union Nationale des Agriculteurs) (UNA) is headed by a member of the Political Committee of the PSD who also has a seat in the National Assembly. Among the members are large farmers who are employers of agricultural labor as well as some

small farmers. In theory, the UNA has membership cells in every sector. In fact, such cells exist both in Ruhia and in Makthar Delegations. The organization was founded in 1955, and reorganized in 1970. Since 1975, there are indications that the UNA is seeking a more active operational role for itself in certain aspects of large- and small-scale agriculture, additional to its role as a spokesman and consultative organization. At the province level, the UNA is constituted as the Provincial Union of Agriculturalists.

The National Union of Tunisian Women (Union National des Femmes Tunisiennes) (UNFT) was created in 1958 by President Bourguiba. It is headed by a woman who appears to be the highest-ranking woman in the PSD organization; she also is a member of the PSD's Central Committee and is one of 4 women to have a seat among the 112 members of the National Assembly. The UNFT is both a consultative and an operational organization. By specifically addressing the needs of women and the increase of their role in national political and economic life, the UNFT seeks to accelerate the emancipation of women and the enhancement of their equality with men. As an operational organization, it shares with certain governmental technical services (such as those of the Ministry of Social Affairs) responsibilities for the training of girls and the informal education of women in matters of home-economics, crafts, health, etc. In the project area, it maintains about half-a-dozen training centers at which young girls who do not attend school are apprenticed in rug-weaving, knitting, and related skills. The UNFT employs female monitors (monitrices) for these activities. The organization's Tunis-

level leadership is seeking ways of diversifying and increasing the UNFT's capability in the conduct of its operational programs.

The National Union of Tunisian Workers (Union Générale de Travailleurs Tunisiens) (UGTT) is essentially a labor organization, and dates back to the decade before Tunisia's independence. Its secretary-general is a member of the National Assembly, as is the President of the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce, and Crafts (Union Tunisienne de l'Industrie, du Commerce, et de l'Artisanat) (UTICA), essentially an organization to promote industrial interests. There also is the National Union of Tunisian Students (Union Générale des Etudiants Tunisiens) (UGET), and a Destourian youth movement (Jeunesse Destourienne). UGTT, UTICA, and UGET are not yet prominent in the two delegations of the project area. There is some interest in organizing units of the youth movement.

#### The Party as Participant in Decision-Making

At the level of the Province the PSD plays a role as immediate collaborator of the administrative structure in planning and decision-making. The Provincial Council is, in fact, the only organism of the territorial administration in which, by law, administration and Party are united into an operational decision-making as well as policy-setting entity. Its presiding officer, the Governor, is ipso facto a member of the PSD's Central Committee.

The Council is made up of the members of the provincial coordinating committee of the Party, of a representative each of the UNAT, the UNFT, the UGTT, and the UTICA, as well as the presidents of municipal syndicates active in the Province. While members of the administrative

apparatus of the province may be invited to particular sessions, the council is more a means of expressing the Party's mandate than that of the administration.

At the national level, little is known of the interplay between the Cabinet, the National Assembly and its commissions, the Economic and Social Council, and the governing committees of the party. The PSD maintains, in addition to its Political Committee and its Central Committee, technical committees which address specific subjects.

The national level of the PSD and members from the grass-roots level meet during the frequent visits of high officials of party and administration to the provinces and the delegations. President, Prime Minister, Cabinet and sub-cabinet officials regularly make trips during which they meet with officials, party leaders, and PSD members even in small localities. These trips --- at least those undertaken by the more important officials --- are well announced in advance, and much planned for in the communities to be visited. They are occasions during which the official is briefed, makes speeches, and inaugurates facilities -- a dam, a school, a family planning center, a dispensary, a party or administration building. During these visits, citizens, especially those organized into party cells, and party activists, can "lobby" for relief from a locally-felt need, in person or by presenting a petition. If both the administrative structure and the PSD apparatus have failed to respond favorably to a local demand, the visit by a prominent administration-cum-party leader offers a last resort for obtaining a beneficent decision.

## 2. Rural Development

A whole set of Government of Tunisia policies converge to lend importance to rural development. Probably highest in priority is the need felt by administrators, technocrats and party officials alike to reduce if not eliminate the rural exodus; as one geographer has observed, "a drift to the north-east is a basic characteristic of Tunisia, and the government's task in attempting to offset this process is no easy one."

Administrators worry about the effects of urban crowding and unemployment in the coastal areas; technocrats are concerned about the depletion of the rural manpower pool needed for agriculture; and the party is aware that since the brightest and the best usually are those that leave rural areas first, social and political mobilization in the country is impeded through rural out-migration. These sets of concerns are verbalized time and time again from the highest levels of governance down.

So are matters of equity. There is real concern about the significant differences in income and well-being between the richer and poorer areas of the country, as there is about the fact that a larger portion of the population still is illiterate, and deprived of services and amenities in health, education, utilities, etc. The concern stems from the socialist and liberal ideology which is that of the PSD, as well as from older traditions of social democracy and equalitarianism rooted in the European and the Muslim heritage. In short, the political leadership of the country wants to see brought to completion a process of liberation and socio-economic revolution of which the recovery of national

sovereignty in 1956 was an early event.

Most everyone agrees that to keep the rural population in place, a whole set of their needs must be met; more incomes, which generally mean improvements in agriculture as it is practiced in the different rural areas; the promotion of other employment opportunities, such as small industries; better housing and amenities; the provision of improved services in education and health; and greater accessibility both in and out of the areas of settlement, which are desirable for their own sake as well as to serve to achieve the meeting of the other needs. Moreover, in a country in which administrative decision-making is highly centralized, and in which nearly every aspect of production and of service is managed or performed by government or by semi-public agencies, little now gets done at the rural level unless the environment is appropriate to the needs of these better-educated and usually urbanized professionals, both for working trips and to fill positions there.

Views differ as to the strategies and methodologies to be applied. For some - mainly in the Tunis-level agricultural establishment - rural development is essentially agricultural: it is an effort to invest in the development of as yet untapped but fertile cultivable areas to yield more food, and to organize the rural population for greater productivity. This view would restrict rural development to the areas of the country in which lands are better than marginal, and where limited national resources would bring the best returns on investment. And because the small and untrained farmer would be an inefficient user of agricultural

inputs -- land, water, others -- he would be grouped with others like him into production units run by qualified professional staffs. The contrary view, more populist and less institutionalized, is held by those who view with some suspicion increasing enlistments into organized agricultural production units, and place a value on keeping the small farmer in place on his own or someone else's land, even if it is marginal and of little interest to the exponents of production maximization. They place a positive value of avoiding the shift of population, and of keeping the small and marginal satisfied where he lives.

Similar differences exist in relation to housing, educational, and health services. In areas of dispersed population, some Tunisian planners argue, it makes little sense to diffuse resources and bring services to mini-settlements; better to regroup the population into new and large settlements, centrally-planned and constructed and endowed with all the desired service infrastructure. Once regrouped, such population acquire a capacity for self-development with a minimum of governmental intervention; the latter can be restricted to technical studies. This view was espoused by, among others, the Minister of Plan at the time of this writing. The Minister of Equipment also has been quoted as favoring the use of housing and other physical service infrastructure as the lever with which to begin rural development. On a technocratic and economic level these approaches, at least at first glance, make sense. They fail, however, to take into account the reluctance of traditional people to leave their tribal lands, and to commingle with others in large agglomerations. There

are illustrations which show just how reluctant isolated populations in central Tunisia are to being relocated, unless the process is of their own choosing.

Only the shortage of resources acts as an argument against the building of access roads to isolated areas. Both population and officialdom want more roads, and roads figure importantly in the wishes that are expressed by simple citizens, and as projects undertaken by the Government. Isolated populations are not only deprived of access to services, both those available in town and those which can be brought to them if access exists; they also are at the mercy of traders who can buy their produce for a pittance by offering to come into an area of difficult accessibility and take it away. The market-road idea is rapidly catching on, and every provincial council in the interior central part of Tunisia includes them in its programs.

Individual government and technical agencies and officials keep the debate about the methodology of rural development alive. So far, no formal Government-wide consensus has yet emerged. So far, there is no national rural development program in Tunisia which lends consistency or coherence to an expression of a national RD strategy.

#### Organizing and Managing RD

Tunisia does not have a rural development ministry or agency. In a sense every ministry is involved in RD, and by being everyone's baby it is a program without a home. Nor is rural development taught as a professional subject either in one or another part of the university-system, or at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, the national staff college

attached to the Prime Ministry, or anywhere else.

A decree promulgated by the Prime Minister in June 1973 established a rural and provincial development program. The decree addresses "the existing provincial work-programs, programs of rural development and of employment-generation, as well as all other development efforts to be undertaken on the provincial level within the framework of the national plan for economic and social development." It provided for a National Commission chaired by the Prime Minister, and composed of the Ministers of the Interior, of Finance, of Plan, of Agriculture, of Public Works and Housing, and of Social Affairs. On the provincial level, it provided for provincial rural development commissions chaired by the governor, and consisting of the secretary-general of the PSD coordinating committee, field officers of the various ministries represented on the national commission, representatives of the Party's specialized organizations, and the provincial comptroller. It is not clear how much of this decree's provisions have in fact been implemented. No meetings of the National Commission have been reported in the press in the last year at least; at the province level, at least in the Siliana, the Provincial Council appears to be carrying out the purposes of the decree. Although a number of sectoral commissions have been formed or re-established for purposes of planning the next Five-Year Plan, no announcement has been made of a rural development sectoral commission.

Within the Ministry of the Interior, a Directorate-General of Provincial Administration guides and controls the manner in which governors handle administrative, political, economic, social, and cultural

affairs, and monitors the implementation of provincial development programs. Its directorate of economic affairs is particularly concerned with economic, social, and provincial development matters. This is where RD is lodged within this Ministry; exact roles, however, are not clear at this time.

The PSD has a rural development commission of its own which meets from time to time under the chairmanship of the Minister of the Interior. Rural development was one of the subjects on the agenda of the meeting early in January 1976 of the PSD's Political Committee; this meeting may have been a follow-up to the December 25, 1975 cabinet meeting at which RD also was discussed on the basis of a report by the Minister of Plan.

Given the diffusion of responsibility for RD, it is not surprising that procedures relating to its operations and budgetting are still in a state of flux. A circular from the Prime Minister to all cabinet officers and governors dated April 18, 1974, redefined rules to be applied to the implementation of RD in that year, and to planning of RD activities in 1975. It has not been updated, yet is still considered as a guideline. That circular stressed that the direct responsibility for RD programs lies with provincial officials and particularly with the governors, who are entrusted with designing, launching and implementing such programs. It encouraged governors to create a small rural development office attached to their staffs. It urged inter-agency collaboration in implementing RD projects at the provincial level, all while keeping the governor in

charge of the effort. The circular decried existing rigidities in the planning and budgetting of RD provincial programs, and provides some relief by easing procedures, including those that apply to open bidding on purchases of goods and services. The circular also instituted direct allocation of funds to governors to be used to finance provincial RD activities.

The Ministry of Plan has appeared in an important managerial role with respect to rural development programs. It does so in the context of its planning function for provincial activities in general, as well as in the light of its special responsibilities for the preparation of the next five-year plan. Within the Ministry of Plan, a Directorate of Provincial Planning collates the provincial RD plans and budgets, helps with their review, and can at its discretion give additional resources to certain provinces whose schemes deserve further support.

As expressed by the Ministry of Plan, the objectives of the RD program are to brake rural exodus by creating employment in rural areas and providing basic infrastructure for the improvement of the quality of life. To further these objectives, three types of actions are espoused:

1. Occupational training, adapted to the needs of different regions. Subjects include agriculture and fisheries; rug-weaving, weaving, and crafts; building trades, carpentry, mechanics, and electrical work; and hotel- and tourist-related trades.

2. Accompanying these training programs, interventions are planned to provide working capital and equipment (distribution of livestock, agro-supplies, pumps for wells, fishing craft, etc.).

3. Organizational activities which promote the formation of small enterprises which would employ persons (including females) trained under the program.

The Ministry of Plan distinguishes between three types of RD programs for the purpose of its resources-allocation process:

A. RD funds uniformly allocated to all provinces. For 1976, the amount allocated to each province is 800,000 dinars.

B. Special projects for the most-deprived areas in each province. These projects seek to develop zones in which a particular economic activity, pregnant with employment-generation potential, can be built up.

C. A special development program for the Provinces of Jendouba, Le Kef, Kasserine, Gafsa and Medenine. These seek to implant new economic activity, especially in industry and tourism, in areas of the country's interior, which need strengthening in relation to the coastal areas.

As of the Fall of 1975, the Ministry of Plan had tentatively allocated 130 million dinars for the RD program for the next Five-Year Plan period (1977-1981). Some of its officials also expressed an awareness that procedures used since 1973 and 1974, when RD as a funding rubric first was introduced (as a result of the above-mentioned decree and circular) one important lesson had been derived from experience: mini-interventions do not pay off. In the first two-three years of RD, one type of RD practice was to give away two sheep here, a cow there, to needy farmers. Thus, in 1973 and 1974, 690 head of sheep were given to needy farmers in Makthar Delegation, and 500 sheep and 20 head of cattle to farmers in Ruhia Delegation. This practice did not show lasting benefits, and it has been abandoned.

RD at The Provincial Level

While diffusion of responsibility for RD at the national level continues unabated, RD has become an important function at the provincial and sub-provincial levels of governance. Of all the Government's programs, it is the most decentralized in reality, both in planning and in implementation.

Primarily it is dealt with by the Governor, the Secretary-General of the PSD Coordinating Committee, and in the context of the Provincial Council and its constituent organizations. Here the interplay between the administration and the party, between formal policies and local needs and wishes, is flexible, and permits the allocation of funds based on a number of pragmatic criteria. Though formal national guidelines and policies serve as powerful arguments which cannot be ignored and which must be used to rationalize and explain to higher levels, local initiatives appear to play the dominant role in shaping a province's RD expenditures. Since resources are limited, Governor and Council alike must find a way to be responsive, with limited means, to demands that emanate from many towns and sectors in the province and which sometimes have the support of one or another personality at the national level, perhaps someone who retains kinship ties to a locality in the province.

It is at the province level and lower ones that what appears as an investment for an infrastructure (which can be justified on sound administrative grounds) becomes translated into so many jobs for so many unemployed men for so many days. That piece of road, that dispensary, that irrigation channel, all may bear their technical rationales; for many

job-hungry in the area affected, they are made up of so many man-days at 700 millimes per man (a continuation of the earlier US-aided Food for Work program).

In addition to the standar allocation for provincial RD and other funds clearly assigned by the Ministry of Plan under the RD rubric, projects are financed at the province level which, though part of ministerial budgets and programs, also are tagged as "rural development". Here the control which the Governor has over ministerial funds and programs in his jurisdiction comes into play, as does the Provincial Council's power to devise programs and projects. In this manner, a new school or dispensary, or anything else, can be and often is identified as "RD" even though it is part of the "normal" developmental effort of one or another national agency.

#### Coordination of RD Planning Studies

At time of writing, the Ministry of Plan has just begun to use the device of an Interdepartmental Commission on Studies (Commission Inter-départementale d'Etudes) to pass on proposed technical studies and surveys preliminary to regional or rural development projects. The commission is coordinated by the Ministry of Plan, and consists of representatives of the Ministries of Equipment, Transport and Communications, National Economy, and Agriculture, as well as from the electricity and gas corporation (STEG), the water corporation (SONEDE), the handicrafts office (Office Nationale de l'Artisanat), the National Center for Agricultural Studies (CNEA), and the National Center for Industrial Studies (CNEI).

### 3. Women

Two societies coexist in the project area. The society of men is organized, makes and implements the decisions, and staffs both structures of governance. Political and economic affairs are firmly in its hands; nearly all that has been described in preceding sections applies to or involves only men. The society of women is not organized except in the few places where small UNFT cells are active. No woman holds administrative office in the territorial administration. With one exception, the only women who in the project area or at the province level participate in PSD or mixed administration-Party organisms do so as UNFT representatives or officials. (The exception is the sole female member of the Siliana Provincial Planning Commission -- a social affairs official.) Neither the Makthar nor the Ruhia municipal council have female members. At the cell level, in the rural sectors, individual women rarely if ever attend meetings. Overwhelmingly, women in the project area are still bound by traditional constraints which restrict them to the home and its environs, except for trips on which they are accompanied by one of their menfolk. If the cultural distance between the men of the project area and their brothers in Tunis and other parts of urbanized Tunisia is great, the cultural distance the women of the project area and their emancipated sisters in the urbanized area is enormous.

The contribution of women to the economy is considerable, yet nearly entirely non-monetized, and remains within the household. Apart from the normal span of duties concerned with child-rearing and house-keeping,

duties in which daughters help out, much of their time each day is spent drawing and carrying water. Going to the well or spring, waiting their turn, and hauling it back -- sometimes a distance of more than 3 kilometers -- is a heavy and time-consuming effort which women and children (mainly girls) perform. Its only reward is that this is the major occasion when the woman leaves her home, and can meet socially with her peers. One can estimate that for some women, water drawing and hauling consumes three to four hours of each day of the year.

Women also engage in traditional crafts within the home and family setting. They spin wool, card, and weave; they produce such items as blankets (sing., klim) and thin rugs (sing., marguwm). They sew their own, as well as at least the outer garments worn by their men and children (e.g., the type of cloak called gashabiyah).

In the towns, women buy in stores, or send the children. Except for some few women in the two delegation seats, they go to the market (suq) neither to sell nor to buy; market days are male affairs, with few exceptions. Men from the rural areas do all the family's buying at the suqs; they even buy the materials their wives will use to make their dresses. The small grocery-cum-general stores (sing., hanuwt) which function in the rural areas are hardly ever patronized by women, especially since they double, in the isolated areas, as male gathering places.

The degree to which women participate in agriculture depends on individual sub-groups within the project zone. In zones where livestock is important, women as well as men may herd the sheep, even on remote pastures. This comparative permissiveness appears to be a legacy of

transhumance (it is an oft-encountered phenomenon in North Africa and West and Central Asia that as the population sedentarizes, women are increasingly restricted). In zones in which cereals or tree-cultures are important, women are less active in agriculture, except at harvest-time, when they provide auxilliary labor.

In the non-municipal parts of the project area, the only women who work for money are midwives and the monitors of the several UNFT centers, and the girls who are apprenticed there. The girls receive a small stipend during the period in which they attend the centers to learn weaving and knitting. Their monitors draw salaries from the UNFT and the Ministry of Social Affairs. Perhaps a dozen or so other women occupy modern sub-professional positions in Makthar and Ruhia. They are nurses and midwives at the Makthar hospital, secretaries and teachers.

It would be wrong to say that the traditional isolation of women in the area is entirely imposed by men. Women no doubt share to a large extent in the acceptance of the social norms that constrain their roles. On the other hand, there is little doubt that women would be more receptive, at first, to an alteration of these roles than would be their menfolk. In this area of widespread male unemployment and underemployment, the traditional allocation of roles makes most women more than fully employed (albeit in non-remunerated roles) while the men are left free to while their time away in casual social settings.

Tradition combines with lack of accessibility of most of the rural areas of the two delegations to circumscribe the ability of women to

reach and partake of educational and health services, or to participate in UNFT cell activities. Total primary school enrollment in the area is low even for boys -- perhaps lower than 50 percent in some sectors. The number of girls attending primary school is only a fraction of that of the boys; in the school year 1974-75, for instance, Ruhia Delegation counted 1,380 primary students, of which only 337 (24 percent) were girls. At time of writing, the Siliana-wide percentage of girls in schools is less than 34 percent. Contributing to low female school enrollment are the inter-related factors that girls are kept busy helping their mothers, and that -- so several informants have told us -- girls who are literate fetch a lower bride-price than illiterate ones. The opportunity cost of sending a girl to school thus is high. In contrast, a girl who attends a UNFT handicraft center receives a stipend of about five dinars a month, and, literate or not, learns a craft which, the parents are told, may lead to fulltime employment or self-employment later.

In the project area, the only hospital facility is at Makthar. It is on Monday, when the suq is held, that the most rural women show up for health care; their husbands take them along for market-day and combine commercial transactions with getting the wife looked after.

#### 4. The Rural Areas and The Media

Party, Government and non-official media have over the last year increased their coverage of development in the rural areas. L'Action and Al Sabah (respectively the PSD's French-language and Arabic dailies), La Presse, and increasingly Le Temps, as well as the PSD's weekly magazine, Dialogue, report provincial news on a regular basis. Mostly they

focus on the activities of provincial party and administrative officials and provincial councils in relation to the planning of programs and the construction of physical infrastructure; but meetings of cadres, seminars and training courses also receive coverage. The most significant and "in-depth" reporting occurs in connection with the visits to a province of a senior PRD or administrative official from Tunis. L'Action and La Presse have given rural development coverage by means of background articles, and occasionally, editorials. Thus L'Action of March 20, 1976, called it a "newborn" program, yet already a "factor for stabilization". A January 8, 1976, editorial in the same paper stressed the role of local officials and party cadres in RD programs. By and large, the maritime provinces get better coverage than do those of the interior; on the other hand, Siliana is the only province to be the object of a special article in Dialogue (#21, January 1975). And, when the Tunisian television service (RTT) began a series dealing with individual provinces some months ago, the first such program featured Siliana. Le Temps of April 1, 1976, gave Siliana a special spread, which included a question-and-answer interview with its Governor.

What is likely the first Tunisian novel dealing with contemporary problems of the rural environment, and the vicissitudes of social change in the interior, was published in the fall of 1975 (Aicha Chaïbi, Rached, Tunis: Maison Tunisienne d'Édition, 1975). It is the story of lad from an isolated community in the interior, an area much like Siliana, Le Kef, or Kasserine. By dint of effort and egotism, and with the help of

protectors and friends in the village and the city, he manages to rise and, at the end of the book, is named governor of his unnamed province. The novel describes the squalor of village life, and the psychological price which modernization exacts of those who seek to free themselves of traditional patterns. Rached, the hero-villain, emerges at the top of the heap a broken man. The book is noteworthy for a number of reasons, among them the deep pessimism with which it views both rural and urban Tunisia.

#### IV. THE ECONOMIC MILIEU

Economic activity in the project area is essentially agricultural in character, very close to the subsistence level. The trade and commercial services available in Makthar, Ruhia and Kissra serve principally the inhabitants of these "urban" centers and a relatively small surrounding rural population.

The bulk of the rural population in the project area, especially those in the isolated areas chosen as the initial target zones, live to a large extent outside the money economy.

Many men are unemployed; most are underemployed. Though they take to market animals (including donkeys and other draft animals) and some vegetables, they also fairly often sell or trade them on the farm, either to neighbors or to dealers. During occasional trips to the market or at the few small country stores (sing., hanuwt) scattered through the area, they purchase a small number of essential and luxury items. Essentials include edible oil, soap, candles, small tools, razor blades, matches ; luxuries include cigarettes, cloth, kerosene lamps, used or new clothing, and some canned foods, like condensed milk, sardines, and harissa, the widely-used hot-pepper paste.

However, for the most part it appears that the population thinks of the urban centers of the project zone, and the nearest ones located outside it, primarily as the places where public services are available, as centers of governance and of commerce.

Public services either actually or theoretically available in the towns include social services; commercial services such as the provision

of agricultural inputs, credits, marketing, etc; or services indirectly related to economic activity, such as agricultural extension services. Unfortunately, these systems of delivery are not reaching the vast majority of farmers in the project area, in part because of lack of access, both ways, between these "service centers" and the rural zones.

Agriculture is the economic activity which constitutes the starting point for this project, especially for the initial phase.

#### 1. Agriculture in the Project Area

As described early in Part I: General Description, there are considerable differences in soils, climate, and water quality and availability within the project zones. These do not appear significantly to have resulted in concomitant differences in the kind and scale of agriculture conducted within the region. It thus is possible to generalize about the present state of agriculture within the project area. In-depth studies and experimentation may well demonstrate that greater diversification and specialization adapted to the special conditions of the region will result in a better return to the farmer and greater total agricultural production.

### Size of Farms

There are hardly any large farms in the project area, especially taking into account the quality of the land contained therein. Of 80 farms in the "Survey"\* only 4 contained over 50 hectares, and, if rangeland and forest are excluded, only one had more than 50 hectares of cultivable land (119 hectares). Over 80% of the farms surveyed contained less than 20 hectares of arable land, and these very small farms occupied over half of the total arable land (see Table

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\* Note: The "Survey" referred to here in text was an agricultural baseline survey conducted in May/June 1975. The results were published under the title Enquete Agricole de Base 1975 (Nord de la Tunisie); see section 7 of the list of supporting documentation at the end of this paper.

Since the data summarization from this survey was available only at the province level, the 223 survey samples located within the project area were hand tabulated. These samples fell within only 11 of the 19 sectors making up the rural areas of Makthar and Ruhia delegations.

Of the 223 samples, 80 consisted of plots with a resident, thus permitting the collection of the full range of data requested by the survey questionnaire. These 80 households represent 0.94% of the 8,573 rural households in the project area. The 1,782 hectares operated by these 80 households represent 2.0% of the agricultural land in the project area. The survey-takers were able visually to classify land use on those sample plots without residents (survey data on land use is available for all 223 samples), representing 3.6% of the agricultural land area of the project zone.

Both the limited number of samples, and the fact that their selection was designed to be representative on a regional basis (larger even than the province) rather than for the much smaller project zone, render the margin of possible statistical error in the results large. Nevertheless, the very striking consistency among the results of the various samples (i.e., generally small deviations from the average) and comparisons with other sources of information encourage us to believe that the survey data give a reasonably accurate picture of the nature of agriculture at the individual farm level in the project area. In any case, they are the only data of this kind available.

TABLE

<u>Farm Size</u>	<u>Total Farm Area</u>				<u>Cultivable Land</u>			
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Area (ha.)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Area (ha.)</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Under 5 ha.</u>	9	11.3	26.8	1.5	11	13.8	32.1	2.8
<u>5-9.9 ha.</u>	26	32.5	181.3	10.2	32	40.0	224.5	19.6
<u>10-19.9 ha.</u>	23	28.7	321.0	18.0	23	28.7	340.5	29.7
<u>20-49.9 ha.</u>	18	22.5	520.0	29.2	13	16.3	430.3	37.5
<u>Over 50 ha.</u>	4	5.0	732.5	41.1	1	1.2	119.0	10.4
<u>TOTAL:</u> *=====	80	100.0	1,781.6	100.0	80	100.0	1,146.4	100.0

Source: Tabulation of data of May-June 1975 survey questionnaires used in the preparation of Enquête Agricole de Base 1975 (Nord de la Tunisie).

These percentages deal with the total size of units operated by the same farmer manager, not with land ownership patterns. Relatively little is known about ownership, which should be the subject of further study, though estimates exist. There appears to be a considerable amount of land rental taking place in the area; the rentor generally is a small farmer. There are no known cases of large landowners systematically renting out land to small peasants, sharecroppers or any similar arrangement.

#### Parcelization

Small as most of the farms in the project area are, most of them are broken up into a number of parcels separated from one another. This obviously greatly complicates the farmer's task. It also reduces the amount of actually useable land, since, no matter what the method of demarcating boundaries, land is taken away from productive use, and cumulatively the amount can be significant.

Out of the 80 sample farms described above, only a quarter were made up of a single unit, and 9 were made up of 8 parcels each. The average number of parcels per farm was 3.7. As might be expected, the number of parcels per farm grew according to the size of the farm, going from an average of 1.7 parcels per farm for farms under 5 hectares to 4.25 parcels for farms over 50 hectares. The average parcel size ranged from 1.8 hectares for farms under 5 hectares up to 8.5 hectares for farms between 20 and 50 hectares. (Those over 50 hectares are not representative because of the large proportion of rangeland contained therein.)

Land Use

In spite of doubts about its suitability for this purpose, the project area is above all cereals country. Nearly half (46.6%) of the arable land is planted to durum wheat, and an additional 19.1% is in barley, which in this region is utilized for human consumption. If one deducts the 24% of land left in fallow, then 86.4% of all land under cultivation is planted to cereals.

About 10% of the land under cultivation is planted to olive trees. However, unlike cereals, which are found throughout the region, olive plantings are much more spotty. Unlike those in the major olive-producing areas of coastal Tunisia, these plantings are generally in very small groves -- often less than one hectare in size and virtually never over 10 hectares. They are also frequently interplanted with barley, as are the few orchards of fruit trees. The real extent of the latter are difficult to determine with any exactitude, since for survey purposes they were lumped in the same category with cactus opuntia, the fruit of which, "prickly pears", are consumed locally as well as marketed (in 1975, a prickly pear sold for 40 millimes in the large cities).

As can be seen by totalling up the percentages for the crops already mentioned, little else is grown. Forage -- even the traditional oats and vetch -- is nearly non-existent. Small patches of vegetables are grown in the few irrigated zones, including the Shusha-Wadi-Kuwky area of Hababsa sector.

Some 30% of total farmland in the project area is range, of poor quality. There are, however, very noticeable differences among the

different sectors of the area, ranging from virtually none in Rubia sector, to others like Al Fdhuwl and Jamilat, where probably well over half of farmland is range.

The 10-30% (depending on definition) of land that is forest is scattered in only a few zones, one of the most important being in the Kissra sector.

### Cultural Practices

Some mechanization has been introduced into the area. Over 100 tractors and about 20 combines are used, and their owners do some custom land preparation and harvesting for their neighbors. For the most part, however, plows are animal-drawn (donkeys, mules, and some few camels in the southern sectors), seed is broadcast, cutting is done with a scythe or sickle, and threshing is accomplished by driving animals in a circle over the grain. (The small size of plots alone limits the practical extent of mechanization of these activities in most cases.)

Little more than 15% of wheat is planted with high-yield varieties, and these are nearly all found very close to Makthar town (i.e., within easy reach of the extension services of the Office of Cereals (Office des Céréales) (OCT). An additional, and probably somewhat larger, number of farmers obtains cleaned seed of traditional varieties from the OCT. Some of these same farmers also obtain fertilizer and herbicides from the OCT. The vast majority of farmers in the project zone, however, use a part of the previous year's crop for seed, weed their fields by hand, and then only when they see this as needed as a source of animal feed, and rely

on a system of fallow rotation to restore soil fertility. So ingrained is the fallow system, that the farmer with under 5 hectares of land (who obviously can least afford to leave any part of it idle) has as large a percentage of his cereal land in fallow as do the larger farmers.

While there have been complaints about the unavailability of improved seeds, of fertilizers, and of herbicides, it is likely that it is exacerbated by a lack of demand for these inputs, thus creating a vicious circle that results in a stagnant, traditional agriculture.

### Livestock

Over 80% of farmers in the project area possess some kind of livestock. The percentage of farmers owning different types of livestock are: cattle, 46%; goats, 53%; sheep, 60%, and horses, donkeys and/or mules, 58%. Possession of several different kinds of livestock is frequent. There seems to be very little difference in the percentage of farmers having livestock depending upon farm size; i.e., those under 5 hectares are as apt to have animals as are larger ones. Almost without exception, animals are of local breeds, even on the larger farms.

Nearly two-thirds of farms with livestock had no rangeland, and raised no forage as such. This means that the animals were largely dependent upon the weeds on fallow land and the stubble of cereals fields for their nourishment. In addition, but to an unknown extent, some farmers may have access to communal rangeland, pay for the use of privately or state-owned rangeland. The Forest Directorate (Direction des Forets) opens up selected parcels of its lands for grazing for certain periods; the monthly

fee currently charged is 200 millimes per head per month. Some of the larger expanses of private range appear to be part of farms with relatively few animals of their own. In a pinch, livestock are fed on cactus. At certain times of the year, the lack of water for animals may be a serious problem.

Veterinary prophylaxis furnished by the Ministry of Agriculture in the project area appears to be provided only during vaccination campaigns. Occasionally Ministry personnel come into the area to inoculate livestock. Given the communication problems in this area of dispersed population, many farmers are not alerted in advance to the place, day and time of the inoculators' visit, and miss out on having their livestock "shot". Transportation problems compound the matter both for inoculators and farmers.

All of these factors contribute to the fact that in 1974-1975 the mortality rate for lambs, for example, was 21% for the Province of Siliana (data for the project area alone are not available) as compared to 5% in Bizerte and to an average of 13.6% for the 7 northern provinces.

Approximately half of the farms have chickens, generally in very small numbers. Some ducks are raised here and there. Some households raise rabbits. There is very little apiculture in the project area.

#### Credit

There are five formal sources of agricultural credit in the project area. Probably as many as 20% of farmers receive credit from one of these sources, each of which is quite different from the others.

Erratum to page 76, first line:

fee currently charged is 100 millimes per head per month during drought periods; it is free at other times.

The National Bank of Tunisia (Banque Nationale de Tunisie)(BNT) is the official, state-owned agricultural bank, and it appears to reach the greatest number of farmers. Its principal operations have traditionally been in the area of medium-to-long term loans to relatively large farmers who were able to present land mortgages or other suitable guarantees. But it has been much criticized for this tendency, and there has been some recent improvement in the direction of serving smaller farmers, especially through special funds set up for this purpose with the assistance of foreign donors, including AID.

The second source of credit is the Local Mutual Credit Fund (Caisse Locale de Crédit Mutuel) (CLCM), a sort of agricultural credit union supplying credit only to members. Like many of the CLCMs throughout the country, the one in Makthar has suffered from problems of management and loan collection, to the point that it is presently an insignificant source of credit.

The other three credit sources are non-financial institutions, providing credit in kind as part of their extension activities. The OCT is the longest and best established of the three. It provides seeds, fertilizers, and herbicides to be repaid from the year's harvest. It is likely that many farmers do not view this arrangement in terms of its being a "credit". The Office of Lakhmes, which is responsible for extension activities within the irrigation perimeters of Siliana Province, hence also in the Ruhia Plain, and the Office de l'Élevage et des Pâturages (OEP) (Livestock and Grazing) have only become active in the area within

the last couple of years, and, therefore, have been insignificant as credit sources up to now.

## 2. Marketing

Agricultural production in the project area exceeds family needs by very little, and little is available to enter into the marketing system serving a wider area. This is not to say, however, that there is not a considerable amount of trading taking place within the area itself.

If one accepts the norm, utilized in the May 1975 study done on Le Kef Province by a Tunisia-Netherlands project, of an average annual per family requirement of 15 quintals of wheat for self consumption plus seed, then even in a good crop year such as 1975 over half of the wheat produced would be required just for the rural inhabitants of the zone. Moreover, this norm would also indicate, given the typical cropping pattern described earlier, that only a farm of close to 10 hectares would produce enough wheat to supply a family's own needs for wheat. This implies that about one-third of the farmers must acquire some additional wheat from others with somewhat more land. There is evidence that a considerable amount of this trading takes place directly between neighbors. (Little is known about the means of payment -- whether in cash, in kind, with an animal for example, or in labor.) In addition, some cereals are traded in the weekly markets, and those farmers who obtain seed and other inputs from OCT presumably sell at least part of their excess production to OCT, which legally is the only authorized buyer. The OCT has no buying stations outside the towns of the project area.

Apart from the annual ritual slaughter of a young ram on A'id Al Kabir, the religious feast day (this occasion alone could absorb about half of the male lambs born in the area), little is known about consumption of animal products -- meat, milk, cheese, eggs -- in the area. Hence little is known about the extent of marketable livestock production. From observation, however, considerable numbers of edible as well as draft animals are traded in the weekly markets, and there is also evidence of sales taking place at the farm level.

Available data seem to indicate a per capita production of about 1.5 kilograms of wool annually, but very little of this enters into commercial channels from the project area. The UNFT centers of the project area, for instance, are supplied with wool thread by UNFT from outside of the area, and do not consume "local" wool. More widely sold are sheep and other animal skins, which merchants buy unprocessed.

Weekly markets are held at four points in the project area: Makthar (Monday); Kissra (Saturday), Hababsa (Saturday); Ruhia (Sunday). Neighboring markets also related to the project area marketing system are Siliana (Thursday) and Sbiba (in Kasserine province) (Thursday and Friday). Some of the itinerant merchants who sell at sugs in the project area complete their circuits at Siliana or Sbiba.

The total value of goods sold at the project area's markets is not known. Certain rights with respect to markets are auctioned by provincial councils or municipalities. The Siliana Provincial Council and municipalities sell rights to collect charges for parking, weighing, measur-

ing, registration, and on sale of meat and skins at markets under their control.

### 3. Labor

Virtually all farms in the area are worked solely with family labor; less than 4% of farms included in the survey mentioned earlier had permanent hired workers. The average number of family workers per farm is 2.2, divided 1.7 male and 0.5 female. The definition used for qualifying family workers was a person at least 10 years old who worked an average of over 2 hours per day. This obviously leaves a good deal of room for underemployment. The underemployment factor is also evidenced by the fact that the average number of workers per farm is nearly identical for each size category of farm from under 5 hectares up to 50 hectares; only for farms over 50 hectares does it increase.

Some measure of the degree of underemployment can be obtained by applying to a typical farm of the zone the norms for farm labor requirements utilized in a 1972 agricultural employment study. Such a calculation indicates an underemployment rate of over 50% for the area as a whole. For one thing, because of the nature of agriculture and the climate in the area, most men are nearly completely idle for about five months of the year. A reduction in child labor, for instance through increased school enrollment, may reduce this underemployment rate.

### 4. Estimated Incomes

Studies carried out in connection with the Tunisian-Netherlands study of Le Kef indicate that the net profit obtained under soil and other

growing conditions of the type found in the project zone run about TD 13 to 15 per hectare. This means that at least 15 hectares would be required to produce a monetized net income equal to the minimum agricultural wage or one equal to a per capita income of TD 35, which is well below what is considered the poverty threshold in Tunisia. Yet over half of the farms in the project area are smaller than 15 hectares.

It is interesting to note that according to this study a majority of the farmer's profit comes from livestock rather than from cereals and other crops, and that, the smaller the farm, the greater is the relative importance of the livestock contribution.

A substantial number of farmers included in the survey indicated that they worked part-time off their farm. It is not known, however, to what extent this outside employment was on other farms or on government-sponsored employment-generating projects, e.g., in forest-maintenance, or what amount of income might be generated by such employment.

A further source of family revenue coming into the area are the remittances sent by migrants from the region to more prosperous areas of Tunis or abroad to their families left behind in Siliana.

##### 5. The Non-Agricultural Sector

In comparison to the agricultural sector of the project zone, non-agricultural activities are negligible outside of the three towns of the project area.

Makthar, and to a much lesser degree Kissra and Ruhia, have some small craft and service activities. They are referred to in Part V,

The Quality of Life, 10: The Urban Environment. Here and there in the rural zones, one or another service is performed occasionally on a monetized basis; for instance, the repair of vehicles. Mostly the non-agricultural activities consist of handicrafts, and these too to a very limited extent: spinning, weaving, and sewing. These skills are exercised by women, and engaged in almost exclusively for family use. Some attempts have been made to train and equip women to produce rugs for sale, but thus far these have not resulted in any significant amount of commercial activity.

Tourism has become one of Tunisia's most important service industries, but the project area sees nearly none of it. Makthar's archeological site and small museum attract a small number of individual visitors (most of them, probably, residents of Tunisia) but few tourist busloads. For one thing, the site so-far is only very partially excavated; once its excavation is completed, it may well come to rival the more-frequented sites such as Dugga or Sbitla. A just-completed road project provides a new connection from the paved road to the center of Kissra, so that tourist busses can now reach the picturesque town. At time of writing, it remains to be seen whether they will come.

Two defunct industrial activities deserve mention because there may be potential for their resuscitation. One is the lead and zinc mine of Skarna, in Masahla sector of Ruhia Delegation. The mine was exploited between 1918 and 1948, and again briefly between 1970 and 1972. According to the sector chief of the area, the latest abandonment had to do with

the high cost of transportation of the ore out of the area, though the unpaved road between the mine and the paved Makthar-Ruhia road is well maintained. The other is the distillation of rosemary extract. The herb, named locally klil, grows wild over large stretches. Some years ago, a small distillery in Ruhia Delegation functioned to extract the herb's essential oil. The distillery was closed "by the Government", according to one informant, because of legal difficulties over the manufacture of a pharmaceutical product -- the oil is used for patent medicines -- without appropriate license. The rusty equipment still stands as a reminder that this might be a source of some employment and money.

A brickyard at Makthar is now being revived. There is good clay in this zone, as there is in many others in the project area. Indeed, with much clay and lots of rock, there may be a potential for some manufacturing of building materials (e.g., brick and tile) in a few places. Even if only undertaken on a modest scale for consumption within southern Siliana, this too may generate employment, and could improve habitations.

## V. THE QUALITY OF LIFE

The quality of life in most of the project area remains as it has for several generations. That is, the people of the former caïdat of Makthar are aware that theirs is an area that has much less of the kind of things with which that other Tunisia, in the capital area and along the coast, is endowed. The Franchmen have gone; officials who are Tunisian have replaced them; some of the very houses and buildings that served the French as homes and offices now are used by administrators of the Republic. The area has for decades been one of out-migration. Rural exodus continues at a rate somewhat lower than the natural rate of population increase.

According to one recent study, some 73 percent of heads of households are landowners, but 94 percent of the farm units are smaller than 40 hectares, and remittances from husbands, brothers, sons, and other kinsmen who work elsewhere continue to constitute an important monetized element of the local economy. A few cooperatives were established in the 1960s in the project area and collapsed in 1969. All in all, neither their establishment nor their collapse appears to have damaged the social fabric lastingly, in part because of the residual effects of the social organization provided by a tribal system until two or three generations ago. This organization, now heavily eroded, is being replaced by a sense of community based on the Party's ability to mobilize individuals. Like many populations dispersed in relatively-inaccessible terrain, the men of the project area's interior display a whimsical anomie when faced with government. But there is no hostility. There is no violence or fear

of violence, even in areas of very sparse settlement. The occasional cruise of the National Guard Landrover is hardly more than symbolic.

The men of the area, especially the younger ones, realize that now the options open to them are still limited. They can stay put, continuing the way of life which so far has earned them little by way of economic and other rewards. They can leave and seek jobs elsewhere, scratching for a living as unskilled workers in the increasingly tight labor-markets of the large urban areas. The two other options require training - and training and schooling are hard to come by especially for those beyond the primary-school age, and even the younger ones. With training, one obtains a chance for a better job away in the cities, or at least in Makhtar, Siliana, or the centers of the interior. The truly-ambitious father seeks for his sons an even higher goal: a primary-school education leading to successful entry to the next level, thence to higher education; and a career in that other Tunisia. Neither of the latter two options involve staying in the project area. If one comes back with an education, it is to visit one's kin, or as one of those government officials or technicians who arrives in town in a Mercedes or at least a Peugeot to transact some business with local officials, then quickly departs.

The men of the area want money. Their agricultural income now does not suffice, especially since much of their production is not monetized. Though working on road or forest or other projects is hard, it brings in money with which to narrow the deficit from which most households suffer, and repay the indebtedness to the hanuwt-owner (grocer).

Jobs, in turn, require accessibility out of and into the area. If one has a traversable road, and some manner of transport, one can accept employment elsewhere without being cut off from one's family, and without discontinuing to work one's own land. Last but not least, the men of the area want education for their children: a primary school accessible and properly staffed and housed, with a reasonable promise that the path onward to secondary school will be open.

For all of this, the men of the village look to the administrative structures and the PSD: the capacity to initiate change is not found in the rural populations; and theirs is a perception and posture of dependency. What exists is a willingness to be told, and a readiness to follow the initiatives and the instructions that reach them from above, from town and city. Some quotes from a book about a village in southwestern Tunisia may well describe the project area too:

"..... Again, one finds this recourse to government, this passivity vis-a-vis the state, so characteristic of a region in which the great overall initiatives came from the urban centers following the break-up of the large nomadic and mutinous tribes: 'Let this government give us the tools and let it send us engineers', or 'It's up to Bourguiba to tell us what he wants, he knows it all, and we'll do it', or again, 'as far as all of this is concerned, it's hard to talk about it if the governor doesn't come and tell us - here's what is to be done, here are the seeds, the stones, the cement, the money, the machines'.

" ..... Everyone knows that independence opened up the possible without bringing the practical means of transforming the standard of living. Those in power think about it, no doubt; but without having at their disposal the means needed to bring about the development they have heralded, they cannot admit without going back on their word that independence does not inevitably bring development. The village is doubly condemned to sit out the delay: one delay is real, official; the other is implicit and results from the undisclosed incapacity to keep all the promises made verbally. The 'We, the Tunisians' which independence invented remains in suspended animation, and with it, the village. (Jean Duvignaud, Chebika, 1968, pages 332, 350-51).

#### 1. Habitation

Most of the rural population lives in dwellings which in one or two rooms contain at least one nuclear family, typically of 5.9 persons in Ruhia, 5.8 in Makthar delegations. In many parts of the project area, houses are constructed of locally-available stone; their thick walls consist of semi-shaped rock piled without cement, with just a trace of mud to close the cracks. Where rock is unavailable in large quantities, houses are built of mud bricks reinforced with stone or wood. Roofs are of stone or mud, supported by wooden beams. Individual buildings are often grouped, and the compound, enclosed by a wall or a cactus hedge, usually has space for animals under a thatch-covered awning. Extended families live in clusters. If the husband leaves to find work in town, his wife and children may move in with other relatives until he comes.

back or until they join him. In many sectors, houses exceed households; the family has been relocated with kin, or a better house has been built. There are 167 more dwellings than households in Makthar Delegation, 118 in Ruhia.

In a few of places in the project area, the Government has constructed modern housing units. They consist of one large room, a separate kitchen, and a separate privy, all enclosed with a shoulder-height wall, but back-to-back or side-by-side with other such units. They are not popular, because they gave inadequate privacy by local tastes, and because their thin cement-block walls do not keep out the summer-heat or the winter-cold as do the traditional structures. Though available gratis, some such units have no takers.

## 2. Potable Water

In nearly all of the project area, water for domestic use is in critical shortage. An inordinate amount of effort and time is devoted to hauling water from the few watering points to dispersed homes, often up-hill from the water point. And in a few instances in which water exists in sufficient quantities close to human habitation (e.g., the village of Kissra) inadequate physical infrastructure surrounding the spring or well render the water dangerous to human health. Sufficient community interest exists in the improvement of water supplies. Such improvement can go a long way to freeing people -- mainly women and children, mainly girls among the latter -- from the chores associated with hauling water and making it possible for them to use their time for alternative purposes, non-monetized or remunerated, including . . .

schooling.

Under these conditions, per capita use of water is very low. In most of the project area, it may be only one to one-and-a-half liters per day per person, exclusive of irrigation and the watering of animals. This contrasts with a daily per capita use of 110 liters now reported for the Tunis area, and a 70 liters per day average for Tunisia as a whole.

SONEDE, the national water corporation, is responsible for the development of water supplies to communities not smaller than 500 population. In Makthar and Ruhia Delegations, only the two delegation seats, and Kissra and Sand Al Haddad (Al Qara's sector) thus qualify. Elsewhere, water development for domestic use is the responsibility of the Génie Rural, which has a "floor" of 50 inhabitants for settlements for which it will seek to develop water supplies.

Makthar and Ruhia have municipal water installations and delivery systems, but not every house is on-tap. Kissra is watered by a group of springs near the top of the hill onto which the village is grafted. The supply of water is adequate for present consumption levels, and SONEDE is to make a feasibility study on piping water into homes. This would relieve the present health problem - the use of the springs' surrounding pools for laundering, cleaning sheep's guts, washing raw wool, etc. Also adequately supplied with "domestic" water are major parts of the Al Hariyah-Ruhia plain, where wells are emplaced close to habitations.

### 3. Sanitation and Health

In the modern sense of the term, sanitation levels are very low in the rural parts of the projected area. Though no data exists, the assumption may be made that infant mortality rates are high, and that with low levels of hygiene enteric and skin infections likely are endemic, as may be tuberculosis and venereal diseases. The best that can be said is that since the great cholera epidemic which decimated the population of the Kissra area as well as of adjoining parts of central Tunisia in 1849-50, and outbreaks of cholera and typhus in the 1860s, cataclysmic epidemics have not hit the project area. Likely the dispersal of the population now reduces the spread of some infectious diseases.

Many houses in Makthar have modern sanitary facilities. However, even in hostelryes and government buildings, maintenance of modern plumbing is not always adequate, and the very sophistication of a water-using toilets becomes a health hazard when the plumbing doesn't function properly. Ruhia is less well-equipped.

In the country-side, even privies of the humblest design are rare. The low rural population density, combined with the smallness of settlements, somewhat reduces the dangers inherent in the widespread use of the great outdoors for defecation by humans and animals alike. The very low per capita water consumption makes it impossible for most rural persons to wash their bodies or their clothing except on rare occasions. In summertime, the dry heat of the area may counteract some health liabilities to some extent. At the same time, at some periods of the year,

flies are a health problem in both rural and urban areas.

Perhaps the greatest threat to health is the unsanitary condition of most rural water points. Here animals share the humans' source of water, and may contaminate it. Even if the water is clean and safe, the vessels used to carry it to the home may not be. Little is known about sanitary conditions inside the rural home, where humans and animals live in close proximity. The transmission of parasites from animals to man is a real health danger -- for instance, echinococcus granulosus (hydatid disease) which "is a major health threat" in rural Tunisia.

#### 4. Health Delivery Services; Nutrition

The slim health physical infrastructure and the scarcity of medically-trained personnel in the project area reinforces the general orientation of the medical establishment in Tunisia towards the curative approach to health-service delivery. The system provides the project area only with sporadic inoculation campaigns, and a minimum of health education for children attending school. Apart from these, preventive efforts are absent. The most important target groups for preventive health education, women and children, are the hardest to reach.

The curative infrastructure is slightly better. The provincial hospital in Makthar (it is more important than the one in Siliana) has 40 beds. It has one Tunisian doctor, one foreign doctor, a pediatrician from Le Kef who comes one day per week, and one intern. (The Tunisian doctor also is the president of Makthar's municipal council, and a member of the Provincial Planning Commission). It has several midwives (one is considered outstanding), and nurses. There are three dispen-

saries, and one maternal-child health (PMI) center; one additional dispensary, at Jamilat, is planned. The Makthar intern now visits Ruhia's dispensary 4 days a week and Kissra's dispensary 2 days a week.

Family planning is conducted at the PMI (Protection Maternelle-Infantile), and by mobile teams that come to the project area from Le Kef. Family planning is just getting a start in the project area. Success, as far as officialdom is concerned, is measured by the number of tubal ligations. For women in Ruhia Delegation, 31 ligations were performed in 1973, 44 in 1974. Acceptance of less drastic means appears still to be low.

There is no institutionalized nutrition service. Nutritional levels in the area are adequate only in the sense that there is no evidence of major ill-nourishment. Cereals predominate in the diet. Vegetables are not available for part of the year. It is likely that most of the population is not receiving a well-balanced diet, especially insofar as protein-intake is concerned. Meats eaten include mutton, poultry, beef, rabbit, and camel, probably in that order of importance; but meat is a luxury food that few can afford regularly.

There is one pharmacy in Makthar. None exists in Ruhia, but there is a pharmacy in Sbiba, some 15 kilometers to the south. These sell a wide range of ethical drugs and patent medicines. The main pharmacy in Makthar also sells an impressive assortment of baby foods imported or manufactured in Tunisia under licence and foreign brand names. Its purchasers, the pharmacist reports, includes not only people from Makthar but also rurals who come to the sug across the street from his store.

Suqs and hanuwts also sell varieties of traditional, mostly herbal, medicines.

The use of tobacco is widespread, even in the rural areas; it is used mostly as cigarettes, with some water-pipes encountered occasionally. There is no data on the use of narcotic drugs. Characteristic of the central areas of Tunisia is the consumption of a heavy syrupy tea, boiled on a small charcoal stove for hours on end. It is prepared with mint and sugar, and its heavy concentration gives it a narcotic effect.

#### 5. Education

There are some 30-35 primary schools in the project area, with some 7,500 students, of which 24 percent are girls and some 150 teachers. Schools are inadequate in number, insufficient in classroom space and other facilities, and grossly overcrowded in spite of the low enrollment rate, especially of girls. Most primary schools operate on a shift basis. Judged by the indicator of how many students pass the critical test that gives access to secondary education, the quality of the instruction is very low. In part this is because of high rates of absenteeism and truancy (many fathers realize the weakness of the local school and do not take it seriously), in part because of the lack of reinforcement between home environment and school, and in part because the project area does not attract high-caliber teaching staffs.

A high school is planned for Ruhia for 1977. In the meantime, the relatively few students who make it to secondary levels, from this and Makthar Delegations, attend the Lycée Technique Mixte in Makthar, a co-educational institution with dormitory facilities; a lycée technique

is essentially an academic secondary school with a technical speciality, in this case mechanical arts, attached to the standard curriculum. The lycée counts 1,423 students, of whom 520 are from the projected area; there are 189 girls in the lycée. Among the faculty are three U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers who teach English.

The number of students from the project area currently in higher educational institutions is not known; in 1975, some 15 students from Ruhia Delegation were said to be studying at the University.

A small training center at Al Hariyah has an enrollment of some 30 boys who are taught basic farming skills related to the needs of irrigated agriculture practices in the Al Hariyah-Ruhia plain. The center receives support from the provincial RD budget as well as from a Tunisian private voluntary organization, ASDEAR (Association pour le Développement et l'Animation Rurale). The boys are either dropouts from primary grades, or never attended a formal school at all. Their one teacher is on loan from the Sidi Bu Ruwiss Agricultural Training Center (Centre de Formation Professionnelle Agricole). Sidi Bu Ruwiss itself is located in Al Krib Delegation. It is one of the chain of similar centers run by the Ministry of Agriculture's Directorate of Scientific Research and Agricultural Staffs. Its two-year post-primary curriculum devotes the first year to general agricultural practices, the second year to mechanized "grandes cultures" (i.e., large cereal cultures) with a "minor" in livestock. The curriculum emphasizes practical work, not theory. It currently has about 190 students, all boys in the age of 14 to 16, of whom about 70 percent come from Siliana

province . To be admitted, a lad must have completed primary school and be the son of an agriculturalist. Only about 7 percent return to their family farm after graduation; about 60 percent are employed by government or by public enterprises in some agriculture-related work; the balance find jobs in other governmental agencies, like the police. One of the ondas in Ruhia Delegation is a Sidi Bu Ruwiss graduate.

The only other opportunities for non-formal vocational learning are the UNFT centers. Their primary mission is to teach handicrafts, like rug-weaving. In other words, they formalize training in skills already taught in many homes by mothers to their daughters, and prepare trainees to use these skills on items not just for home consumption, but apt to be marketed (with significant mark-up) through UNFT or National Office of Handicrafts (Office Nationale de l'Artisanat) channels. The centers now do not prepare girls to exercise new roles, rather they expand somewhat on traditional roles. Most of the girls in the project area who attend these centers (there are perhaps some 120-150 such trainees in the project zone) either are primary school drop-outs or never attended school; only a few of the trainees are barely literate. Most monitors (monitrices) exercise a range of roles far in excess of that of vocational teachers; either officially or unofficially, most manage to insert some literacy training into their center's program. Some also play roles as social workers at least within the society of women, roles that also cast them into teachers of various skills. (At the Tunis level, the UNFT may soon begin the design of a broader-based training program for such monitors).

## 6. Energy

The project area now is a low consumer of fuels. Energy for agriculture and transport comes mainly from animal traction. Nearly all of the two delegations are located just above the "camel line" - north of which donkeys and mules are the prime draft and transport animals, and south of which camels are the main beasts of burden (Kairouan, Sbiba, and Kasserine appear to be "points" on that line). The approximately 100 tractors in the project area is certainly less-than-proportional number of the approximately 1,400 tractors in Siliana province. The number of passenger cars and other vehicles owned in the area is very low.

Gasoline and diesel fuel are distributed through sub-stations in Makthar and Ruhia only; each has two such facilities. There are no other commercial "gas" outlets in the delegations. Drums of fuel must be trucked in by individuals or by groups of users. Kerosene (it is used for lighting) and candles are sold in the rural areas through general stores.

Charcoal and some coal is available in town and in the hanawt. Both, however, are scarce and expensive. Some use is made of dried cactus (cactus opuntia) and other growths as fuel. There also is poaching of wood in the forests maintained by the Direction des Forêts; some of this wood is turned into charcoal.

Only portions of the project area are covered by the national electric grid of STEG: Makthar and its immediate environments, Ruhia and parts of the Al Hariyah-Ruhia plain. A project is underway to electrify Kissra.

Altogether, about 9,000 persons in Makthar Delegation, about 3,500 in Ruhia Delegation, are covered at least theoretically by the electric grid; in fact, only 800 individuals are STEG clients. In other words, more than two-thirds of the project area's population, and in higher proportion of them in Ruhia Delegation, live in the pre-electric age. In 1974, users in the project area formed 8 percent of the households.

#### 7. Communications

Telephone exchanges exist for Makthar, Kissra and Ruhia. According to the nation-wide 1974 telephone directory, telephones were distributed as follows: Makthar Delegation - 47, of which 2 in Kissra, the balance in Makthar town; Ruhia Delegation - 14, all in Ruhia town. Nearly half of these 62 phones were emplaced with official or service-delivery institutions or establishments. There also were public telephone booths in the three localities, 8 in Makthar, 1 each in Kissra and Ruhia. Currently there are a total of 77 telephone hook-ups in the project area.

The quality of telephone service remains very low. Even connections between Makthar and Ruhia are slow and poor. Connections between the area and Tunis, so important for the transaction of public and commercial business, may take hours to arrange, and once arranged, the low quality of voice-transmission sometimes make conversation just about impossible.

Post-offices exist in Makthar, Ruhia, and Kissra. As a rule mail service is quite efficient. A letter mailed in the project area may take no more than two days to reach a Tunis addressee. Telegraphic service is handled through the post-offices.

## 8. Transportation

Makthar is the bus hub of the project area, with direct or indirect service to major cities. Three busses each day connect Tunis with Makthar via Siliana; depending on whether they are express or local, they take between three and five hours, and a one-way ticket costs 800 millimes. Busses link Makthar also with Kairouan, Kasserine, Sbiba, Sbitla, Le Kef, and other points. Ruhia lies on the route from Makthar southward. Kissra is served by the Makthar to Kairouan route. Busses by and large are comfortable but crowded with passengers and goods. Most of the population in the projects area outside the two delegation seats face a major and continual problem in getting to Makthar or Ruhia. However, by comparison, once there, access to the rest of the country is readily arranged.

Inter-urban taxi-cabs, called louages in Tunisian French, also operate in and through the project area's paved roads.

The only scheduled passenger service that now exists in the rural parts of the project area in a recently-established "bus" run, connecting Ruhia via Sbiba and the MC 85 with Hababsa. It is operated by the Le Kef - Siliana provincial bus company (SRTK) four days a week, using a Landrover. On Mondays the same vehicle makes a round-trip between Hababsa and Makthar.

Needless to say, animal transport is the main means of getting about for most of the population. There are very few private cars. At the same time, a few better-off farmers use their tractors as passenger vehicles, carrying persons either on the tractor or in a trailer. The tractor, in a sense, is the poor man's Landrover. It doubles for production and

transport, and is an all-terrain, all-year vehicle which out-performs the small car which might be affordable, but would be unusable in the roadless parts of the project area.

Trucking is controlled and licensed by the Government and by state corporations. In March 1976, this control was relaxed to permit owners of private trucks with a useful load of less than 1,230 kilograms (2,712 pounds) to haul freight for hire; those with vehicles with a useful load exceeding 1,230 kilograms but less than 3,000 kilograms (6,614 pounds) who already are licensed to haul their own agricultural products may now do so for hire without further authorization. Rates to be applied are those already set by the Ministry of Transport and Communications for truckers. This liberalization likely will profit owners of small private trucks in the project area, and, for those parts of the project area close to roads that are passable ease the problem faced in the project area of getting access to markets.

The major paved road of the project area is the GP 12, which comes south-eastward from Le Sers to Makthar, then continues past Kissra to Haffouz and Kairouan. At about the Makthar delegation border, it is met by the GP 4 coming south-westward from Siliana; the GP 4 continues to where it meets the MC 71 which links Le Kef first with Ruhia, then with Sbiba, and continues southward to the GP 13, the important road between Kasserine and Sfax. The only other registered road (route classée) in the project area is the unpaved and eroded MC 77, linking Makthar with Hababsa and then, in theory, with Hajab Al Ayuwn.

### 9. Entertainment and Cultural Life

There are no commercial movie-houses in the project area. A few television sets exist where there is electricity. Transistor radios are owned by many. At the PSD building (Maison du Peuple) in Makthar, a cinema club shows movies about once a week.

Makthar has an important archeological site, only partially excavated, and a small museum which displays stelae, artifacts, and statuary not removed to the Bardo Museum in Tunis. In 1975, a small library was established at Makthar. Also at Makthar, a festival dedicated to its past (le Festival de Mactaris) was held in June 1975, and is to be repeated annually.

Life in Ruhia is less exciting. The Siliana Provincial Union of Agriculturalists (the province-level UNA) held a conference in Ruhia early in March 1976 to discuss provincial agricultural problems, including the needs of farmers for seed, fertilizer, and herbicides. For the fall of 1976, a festival dedicated to traditional horsemanship is planned.

### 10. The Urban Environment

In 1936, 731 people (of whom 61 were Europeans) made Makthar their home. Now, with a population present of 6913 and a population resident of 6068, the city has grown about nine-fold in 40 years.

Downtown Makthar consists of some twenty-five blocks neatly laid out along paved streets; it could be a small French village. The downtown area combines commercial sites and residential dwellings; it is, in fact, a residential area which has been degraded. This area includes the large compound of the former contrôleur civil, which now serves

both as the Delegation seat and as the Delegate's residence; and a law court. It also contains two unappealing hotels, and the inter-city bus station. Uphill to the south and east is the large newer area of town, with one impressive and one smaller mosque, city hall, the Maison du Peuple, and the suq. Here too are newer shops, some automotive repair establishments, a large group of new villas, the apartment building owned by the Banque Nationale de Tunisie (about 20 apartments), the Lycée, and the hospital; streets are unpaved. This area in turn is surrounded by traditional dwellings of a rural character, which extend beyond a gully in the direction of Kissra and Siliana. Makthar has a municipal park, some open spaces that could become parks, and from much of the city a view of the northern approaches to the crest on which much of the city sits.

Makthar has a number of specialized stores. Apart from the pharmacy and mechanics' shops already mentioned, there are: a watch-repair shop; a bookstore and stationer; a photography store; tailors; dry-goods-stores; and several cafés. Its Maison du Peuple offers space which can be utilized for diverse purpose.

Ruhia is flat. Its few paved streets encompass some eight blocks of diverse structures, including the Delegation office and the mosque. Several new buildings are underway, including a Maison du Peuple. Also within the municipal confines are some six or eight former colon houses strung along the main road. There are few stores of any kind.

Kissra is something else again. Nearly all structures are of stone, and most streets are paved in Roman fashion. The settlement clearly

dates back to Roman days, and though the houses have no doubt been rebuilt many times over, with cannibalized Roman stones and lintels, essentially the village has the appearance that many others must have had when this was an outpost of the Latinized Mediterranean. Houses are crowded together, and on the steep hill are tiered above and into each other. There are four small mosques and one shrine, and a carpentry shop, a few larger, and some 13 little general stores, and one café. Its village-center complex complex includes the omda's office, the UNFT center, and some additional rooms which serve for meetings and for primary nursery school. This also is where the mobile family-planning team comes calling, as does the doctor.

In short, the urban environment still needs much attention if Makthar and Ruhia are to serve the roles of delegation seats, for which especially Ruhia is under-endowed. Tunisian regional planning concepts include a certain symmetry among delegations and delegation seats. Thus medium and long-range plans include not only a lycée, but additional infrastructure for Ruhia: an integrative regional development concept which would maintain if not accentuate the present primacy of Makthar over Ruhia would run counter to these concepts.

As indicated elsewhere in this document, an improvement of the urban infrastructure is a sine-qua-non of the staffing which development (including rural development) requires: unless forced to by circumstance or government fiat, a trained technician or administrator is not prone to take himself and his family to settle in Makthar, less so in Ruhia. Yet without these staffs, very little of a lasting nature can be

institutionalized in the project zone. The forces that create rural exodus also work also work as disincentives to in-movement, even for a short visit. Ruhia, for instance, has no hotel. Makthar's two hostelries are sub-standard by Tunisian criteria -- if compared, for instance, with two or three old hostelries in Le Kef, or the two in Sbitla. This also prevents the area from benefitting from the tourist trade. A proposal to capitalize on Kissra's scenic location and pituresque character by building an inn there was advanced around 1970 by the then Minister of Tourism, but was never pursued. Ruhia has one or two cafés, but no hotel or restaurant. Makthar has one restaurant, but it is unattractive in many respects, and closed on Fridays altogether.

In the regional hierarchy of urban centers, Makthar's weaknesses are emphasized by the underdevelopment of Siliana. In many respects, the provincial capital is less equipped than Makthar; for instance, it has no hotel since the "Relais d'Hannibal" shut down some years ago. In short, the city-bred middle-level Tunisian official, and certainly those who do not depend solely on their per-diem for a night's lodging, do not sleep in Siliana, or Makthar, or Ruhia: if they must travel to this area, they spend the night and thus create jobs in Le Kef, or Sbitla, or Kasserine, or even Kairouan.

In the project area, the links between the development of the rural zones that are the bulk of the problem and that of the two delegation seats, let alone the province capital, are potentially strong -- in the classic manner which theoreticians of regional development

would expound. A rural development project in this area cannot isolate the problems of Makthar and Rubia from the rest of the two delegations - neither in administrative, nor in economic, nor in social, nor in "quality of life" terms.

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