

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE
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Clay Dolls / Poupées d'argile (2002)

Nouri Bouzid

OVERVIEW

Clay Dolls presents a critique of a Tunisian society that pretends to be open to modernity in the morning but which, at dusk, embraces modern slavery and child labor with all its strength. In this film, as in those that preceded it, Nouri Bouzid continues to flirt with the forbidden, at the risk of offending the sensibilities of the guardians of culture. The film won several awards. At the 2002 Namur International Festival of French-Speaking Film, *Clay Dolls* won the Golden Bayard for Best Francophone Film, and Hind Sabri (Rebeh) and Ahmed Hafiane (Omrane) won, respectively, the Golden Bayard for Best Actress and Best Actor. At the 2003 Fribourg International Film Festival, Nouri Bouzid won the Ecumenical Jury Award.

SYNOPSIS

In a small, poverty-stricken village of Tunisia, the villagers work in the pottery industry and struggled to earn a decent living. To survive, the villagers hire out the services of their young daughters as maids to the rich people of Tunis. Omrane, himself a former servant, has turned to the maid service business, placing young village girls in these families, promising the villagers that the honor of their daughters will not be sullied under his watch. However, it is not always that Omrane succeeds in keeping his promise. One of his protégés, Aïcha, has tasted the delights of city life and is causing him a lot of worries.

SCENES

Omrane is the middleman who finds the girls from villages to place with the families of Tunis. He arrives in the village in his tricycle and is crowded by children, who all dream of going to the city. It is payday for the families who have placed their daughters as maids in the care of Omrane. Omrane pays the parents of the girls. Omrane notices a nine-year-old girl in the crowd. Her name is Feddah, and he would like to take her with him. Feddah has an older sister, Nejma, whom her mother would like to place in service. The woman has camouflaged Nejma's protruding breasts under bandages to make her look young, but she has a hard time convincing Omrane. It is Feddah that Omrane wants, for the rich families of Tunis prefer malleable younger girls whom they can groom into submissive servants. Finally, Omrane and the mother agree on a price for the two sisters. Omrane checks the girls for lice, checks the older sister's teeth, and takes them both to Tunis in his tricycle. Omrane gives summary instructions to the girls. They must not allow themselves to be touched by any man, they must pretend to be sick, that is, to have their menstrual period, if the men insist, and on each of his visits they must report to him the treatment they receive. He places the elder sister in the family where Rebeh used to work. The woman in the family explains that Rebeh's disappearance has left a void in the family. She is alone, and her husband, who used to rush home after work, now comes home late and she hardly sees him, an insinuation that her husband has something to do with Rebeh's disappearance. Omrane takes the younger sister home with him until he can find a place for her to work. He puts her to bed and heads to the neighborhood bar.



Feddah goes to Tunis The next day, Feddah discovers Tunis from her balcony by standing on tiptoes. She sees the big fish market in the street and goes to wake Omrane, who takes her in his tricycle to find an employer. Feddah is placed in the home of "the Old Man," Baba Jâafar, Omrane's former employer whose debaucheries Omrane covered up. He is now confined to bed and rambles all day against his family, his servants, and especially Omrane, whom he accuses of robbing him of his building. The duty to bring him and empty his chamber pot falls on little Feddah. Baba Jâafar's wife, Amina, tells Feddah that her name sounds too peasant. She will be called



Selma, a city name. Amina tells Feddah that she will be taken to the hammam for a good bath to “change her skin and her clothes.” The little girl runs into the street after Omrane, begging him not to leave her alone but to take her to see Rebeh. Omrane scolds her and hands her over to the servant who has come down to fetch her and give her a new, clean look. Little Feddah, too, runs away from her employers and gets lost in the night of Tunis. On the sidewalk, the little girl draws a map and write a message that is a beacon for help: “Uncle Omrane, Rebeh, fish”—the two persons she knows and the commerce of the street where they live. Omrane finds Feddah waiting for him on the steps. She tells him that she left because she cannot do the job, there are walls everywhere, and her employers took her clay from her. Feddah tells Omrane that she misses Rebeh. He takes the little girl to the studio where Rebeh dances. The two girls are happy to see each other and kiss. Like Rebeh and Aziza before her, little Feddah is now a child of the city. She wanders in Tunis at night, giggling and singing, having ditched her clay dolls for a stuffed doll. Like the girls before her, she has entered a city from which one never returns to the village, neither physically nor psychologically.

Rebeh seeks Omrane Rebeh has run away from her employers, and he does not know her whereabouts. Rebeh, who calls herself ‘daughter of the wind’, is being pursued by Riva, a hustler. She has also been boldly flirting with men in Tunis. She hears that Omrane is looking for her. She walks into the bar where he usually hangs out. The men in the bar are shocked to see a woman in their refuge and shout at her to get out.



Omrane angrily rushes her out of the bar and drives her to his home while she tries to cheer him up with a love song from the village. He proposes that together they go back to their old scam, that she run away from a different client each week, and that each week they pocket a new commission. She tells him that she will no longer work as a maid, sleep on cold floors and be harassed by men.

False confessions Rebeh confesses to Omrane that she fell for a mason across the street from the villa where she used to work. She fed him in the house when her employers were out and stole from her employers for him. He betrayed her by forcing himself on her, made her lose her virginity and fled to Libya with her money. Omrane becomes furious. He tells her that there is no mason, that her boss paid her to make up this story. He tells her to go to the police. She will not because she wants no scandal. He tells her to go ask her boss’ wife for reparation. Rebeh tells him that she pities his wife. Omrane wants to know if she is pregnant. She avoids the question and begs him to marry her, even for a week. He can divorce her after a week if he wants. She tells him that he can do it for her as he did it to cover the pregnancy of the maid of his old boss, who left him the apartment in which he lives now as a reward. Rebeh slips into Omrane’s bed, who prefers to return to the bar to drown his sorrow in alcohol.



Omrane humiliated Omrane comes home drunk. Rebeh opens the door for him and puts him to bed in the sofa. He complains that Rebeh’s friend, Riva, has humiliated him in the bar, and that he is a simple peasant who cannot stand humiliation. He is delirious and calls his mother to punish him. He asks Rebeh to forgive him. Omrane falls asleep and does not hear Rebeh telling him how handsome and clean he was in the village, how she dreamed of leaving with him, and how unfortunate it is that he destroyed himself so much. She kisses him and goes to bed.



Rebeh escapes confinement Rebeh wakes up and realizes that Omrane has gone out with the girl and locked her up. She swears furiously that nobody will imprison her. She decides to keep herself busy by putting Omrane’s apartment in order, rearranging the furniture, doing the dishes, and washing the floor and walls while singing and dancing. However, the dirt on the walls of Omrane’s apartment is very thick and difficult to remove. Then, the anger of the confinement comes back to her, and she starts to swear again. She climbs to the window of the apartment and escapes by jumping from the second floor.



Rebeh pregnant

Rebeh and her friend Aziza go to the amusement park and take pictures on the streets of Tunis. Rebeh confides in Aziza that she is pregnant. She returns to her old apartment and faces the harassment and blackmail of Riva, the hustler. Aziza helps Rebeh pick up her things and escape from Riva. Omrane looks for Rebeh in vain and returns to the bar, unhappy. The bartender consoles him and dances to cheer him up. Omrane learns from Rebeh's friends that she dances in a studio. Omrane thinks he has found a way for Rebeh to save face, to avoid humiliation. He asks her to marry the watchman of the building, the simple-minded Kaaboura. He tells her that Kaaboura is ready to accept the merchandise (her) and the defect that comes with it (her pregnancy). He is not very smart, and she might make him believe that she is still a virgin. Rebeh gets angry and insults Omrane. He slaps her. She leaves. He tries to hold her back in vain. Kaaboura confesses to Omrane that the piece he offers him is too big for his mouth.



CHARACTER ANALYSIS

Omrane Omrane is a conscientious man who tries to remain honest and to respect the word he gave to the parents of the girls he places in the families of Tunis to protect their offspring. His task is not easy, as shown by the difficulties that face him in the case of Rebeh. Rebeh's dilemma also becomes his own. Should he disregard his moral convictions and marry for convenience, in a fake marriage, a girl he really loves, that he would have loved to be his wife for real, even if it is only to save her?

Proud Omrane is a man proud of his rural culture, and proud of his work, which he carries out with scrupulousness. When Rebeh tells him that she has been raped by her employer and is pregnant, Omrane receives the news as a failure, a failure of the promise he made to her parents to protect their daughter's honor, a failure in his profession, and a betrayal of the principles that govern life in the rural area. From that moment on, all his efforts are devoted to "saving" Rebeh from disgrace. He proposes to go and beat up her aggressor; he proposes to denounce him to the police, to ask his wife for compensation. When Rebeh refuses for fear of creating a scandal, the ultimate solution he proposes to Rebeh, marriage with Kaaboura, the first man that crosses the threshold of his home, borders on the grotesque.

Conscientious Despite his unkempt appearance, Omrane is a man of principles. When he hires his girls, he promises their parents to take care of them and preserve their honor. He instructs his girls about how to avoid being victimized and insists that they report to him the treatment they receive from their employers. He goes to Rebeh's employer to find out exactly what happened to make her run away. And when the little Feddah runs away from her employer, he goes to ask them what they did to her to make her not want to stay with them anymore. To Rebeh, who was raped by her employer, he suggests that she denounce him to the police and demand reparation. He even wants to go and settle his account with the abusive employer, but Rebeh prefers to avoid the scandal. Omrane is always on the side of the girls he employs and wants to preserve them from dishonor, which is not always easy in a city that has gone astray.

Traditional Omrane is a traditionalist. He cannot stand the fact that Rebeh lost her virginity before marriage. He considers her a lost girl, a defective commodity even, for which he blames himself. His contortions to save Rebeh are ridiculous as they humiliate her. He proposes her in marriage to the watchman of his building, a simpleton, who at least has the presence of mind to recognize that Rebeh is too big a piece for him.

Riva Riva is the embodiment of the unscrupulous urban thug who lives off the exploitation of others. He wants to make Rebeh an instrument of his pimping and extortion business. She understands this early enough to escape his control with the help of her friend, Aziza.

Wicked Riva starts by offering money and perfume to Rebeh. His gifts are to lure the girl into his control. Once he has Rebeh's trust, he offers her the chance to go with him to work in the great palaces of the Gulf as a prostitute. But this is not Rebeh's cup of tea. He then proposes to her that she unjustly accuse someone of having raped her in order to collect some money by blackmail. She refuses, and he becomes menacing, threatening to expose the fact that she is no longer a virgin, sending her veiled messages, like a razor blade, indicating the tearing of her hymen that he could reveal to the public.

Violent One of Riva's methods of persuasion is violence. He becomes aggressive towards Rebeh when she refuses his proposals. He goes to the bar to insult and threaten Omrane, whom he accuses of having taken Rebeh away from him. And with one of his henchmen, they ambush Omrane one night and beat him violently.

Rebeh Rebeh is the rural victim of urban immorality. She arrives in Tunis at a very young age from her village in the depths of Tunisia, with moral principles barely embedded in her child's brain, and she was thrown amid unscrupulous families. Raped and impregnated by her employer, she is marginalized in a society that disingenuously espouses an antiquarian ethics of decency.

Free Rebeh places great value on her freedom. Locked up while she was asleep in the apartment of Omrane, who went out to find an employer for little Feddah, Rebeh swears that nobody will make her a prisoner. After taking care of the housework to distract herself from her confinement, Rebeh decides to escape through the window, jumping from the second floor. The job of a servant that requires working within four walls all day is not a job for Rebeh, who calls herself "daughter of the wind and air."

Lost Rebeh admits to herself that she is a lost girl. Pregnant before marriage, she knows that Tunisian society will only make a place for her in the world of the outcasts and the impure. In her despair, she asks Omrane, a man she is attracted to, and whom she knows is not indifferent to her, to marry her and save her from damnation. Omrane's hesitation, fueled by his loyalty to his pledge to look after her, leads Rebeh to consider the option of exile in a Gulf country. However, the ambiguous end of the film leaves us hopeful that there is still the possibility for a union between Rebeh and Omrane.

Feddah Little Feddah could not have known what she would be exposed to when her nine-year-old imagination built a dream world around the concept of the big city. Her dream turned into disillusionment only a few hours after arriving in Tunis. In her isolation and melancholy, her little clay ball brought from the village keeps her company.

Innocent When in her village, Feddah expresses the desire to go to Tunis with Omrane, it is with the innocent imagination of a child that she does so. An imagination that has built phantasmagoric dreams of a mysterious and wondrous place to be discovered. Very quickly, unfortunately, this innocence is shattered when, from her room, she overhears the conversation between Omrane and Rebeh, who does not know that there is a child in the next room.

Nostalgic Barely arrived in Tunis, this world of which her child's imagination dreamed, Feddah cries that she misses her mother. With the clay that she brought with her to Tunis in her bundle, little Feddah tries to recreate her life in the village by molding dolls which she crushes as soon as they are made, so that she can recreate them afterwards, like a bird in a cage that repeats the same jumps from one perch to another for lack of freedom.

THEMES

SOCIETY (Patriarchy-gender-child labor-class)

Patriarchy Although not explicitly expressed, the life of the maids is governed by the laws of patriarchy. One of the questions that often come up in the Tunisian patriarchal society is the role attributed to women in safeguarding family honor. They must remain pious and virgin until marriage in order not to dishonor their family. Omrane is, therefore, aware of his responsibility to protect these girls that he throws so early into the immoral jungle of the big cities, and he swears to their parents to see to it. However, the men's determination to defile the maids is as great as Omrane's determination to protect them. The confrontation between Omrane and Riva the hustler who wants to pimp Rebeh is illustrative of this determination of both parties. This does not matter, because Rebeh is no longer a virgin. On top of that, she is pregnant, which devastates Omrane, who will have to explain to the village that Rebeh is lost, and with her is lost the honor of her family, the worst thing that can happen. But there is still a way to save the honor. It is to marry her to a man. To any man, which Omrane desperately tries to do, but without success. Maybe he will be that man, because between Rebeh and him there is a repressed attraction.

Gender Omrane was himself a servant, and it would therefore be wrong to say that the servants are only girls. However, they are mostly, because traditional Tunisian society is a world that defines the role of the woman as that of servitude and the role of the man as that of dominance. Girls, by virtue of their gender, are raised from an early age to understand their role in the domestic space as that of caregivers, wives, and mothers. In this context, Omrane's trade is not shocking. Omrane places girls and even children as maids in town to clean the houses of rich families, to make their couscous, and to bring and empty their chamber pots. Feddah's feminine gender has predestined her to a life of servitude in which her illiteracy may confine her forever. Her other option is to vanish in the city, as she does at the end of the film, and be, like Rebeh before her, preyed on by unscrupulous males like Riva.

Child labor Feddah's nine little years do not shock those who intend to employ her. On the contrary, wealthy families prefer their servants to be young so that they can mold them in their own way, as one would do with clay: This is what the film's title so appropriately implies. It is revolting to see Feddah's mother propose her daughter for labor and Omrane running around trying to find her an employer. It is heartbreaking to see nine-year-old Feddah assigned the responsibility of cleaning the diapers of a dying, elderly man who has spent his life abusing women, when she should be learning to read and write or playing with children of her age. Omrane's response to this dilemma is simple: Either these children work in wealthy families who feed and clothe them, or they stay in the village and starve. It is an overly simplistic response, which absolves the government of its responsibility to protect the people, and more specifically the most vulnerable populations.

Class The distribution of roles between the female gender as subaltern and the male gender as powerful perpetuates the feminization of poverty and the masculinization of wealth. Omrane, once a servant himself, was able to emancipate himself from being a servant to become an independent entrepreneur who provides maids to rich families. For these female children employed as laborers in total indifference, as Rebeh's and Aziza's experiences show, such an emancipation is improbable. Omrane can aspire to be like Old Jaafar, his old master, while Rebeh can only aspire to tie herself to a man, in the best case, a rich man from the Gulf. And, thus, the class divide between men and women remains untouched. Even worse, the poor have no outlet for upward social mobility, whereas, the rich that exploit them a lower wage continue to improve their lives.

CRIME (Injustice-responsibility)

Injustice *Clay Dolls* is a film about a great social injustice, the exploitation of children, a heinous crime with disastrous personal and national consequences. Feddah is only nine years old. Her mother, who struggles to take care of her and her older sister, entrusts them to Omrane to work as maids in the rich families of Tunis, which, as Rebeh's case shows, often throws them into situations of abuse and psychological instability. Rebeh, who is the victim of this, and who herself arrived in Tunis at a very young age, blames Omrane for wanting to place a child as young as Feddah. And Omrane confronts her with a big dilemma: either she becomes a maid, or she starves in the village. Child labor, which poor families see as a solution to their poverty, feeds the spiral of hardship more than it solves the problem of poverty.

Responsibility The Tunisian government has dropped the ball with regard to its responsibility in child protection and education as well as in the development of rural areas. When one leaves the big city and travels inland, the contrast is striking. The rural area where the girls Omrane places in the city come from is an area completely forgotten by the government's development programs. There is no infrastructure, no schools, and the people are left to fend for themselves. This means that in a society that already affords very few rights to women, female children become the bread winners of the family. We see the fathers of the family collecting the money they get from the enslavement of their daughters, who should be sitting on school benches and playing with their classmates on school playgrounds. Here, the main victimizers are not so much the parents as the governments that lack the vision to improve conditions in rural areas. As the huge contrast between Tunis and the village of the maids illustrates, these governments confine development to the cities, leaving the countryside to shrink, thus, sacrificing much of the national human capital and creating a class of citizen materially and psychologically unfit for the state's aspiration of development. This situation of neglect of the rural population is typical of African rulers, who in their majority fight for power, even go to war for power, and who, once they have this power, do not understand their responsibilities towards the people.

RELATIONSHIPS (marriage, attraction, true love)

Friendship and marriage are conditioned by religious and social principles. The fear of sinfulness and transgression of societal norms keeps hanging on all relationships, asking them to conform or evanesce.

Marriage Marriage is for the Tunisian woman an obligatory passage towards legal recognition. An unmarried woman is not yet a full-grown woman, and a woman who loses her virginity before marriage, or worse, who becomes pregnant outside of marriage, is considered an impure and lost woman. This is the situation of Rebeh, who gets pregnant before marriage, and who hopes that Omrane will marry her and save her from damnation. He had done it before for an old acquaintance and maybe he can do it for her, too. Indeed, when Omrane's old boss, Baba Jâafar, impregnated one of his employees, Omrane married her in a sham marriage, not only to hide the employer's infidelity, but especially to save the servant from disgrace. Once recognized by society as married, even for a day, her loss of virginity can be justified, and the maid can give birth to her child in honor, even if this marriage was dissolved in the following hours. The main thing would be to prove that she was married and that her pregnancy was not the result of an ungodly affair. And her child can have a legal status and an identity, and not be subjected to social shunning. Thus, when all seems lost for the woman who loses her virginity before marriage, a sham marriage can restore her to society.

Attraction The attraction between Omrane and Rebeh is discernible. However, Rebeh's status, as a girl who has lost her virginity outside of marriage, makes their love impossible. Omrane almost flogs himself to avoid giving in to the temptation to love Rebeh. He tries to convince her to return to the village. He runs away from her to take refuge in the bar, in alcohol. He proposes her to the most despicable character he can find in order to convince himself that she is not worth it. He treats her as defective merchandise. And yet his body bubbles with the desire to love her, when in his delirium he asks her to sink her teeth into his flesh to punish him for his failures.

True love In this society where love is often put in the backburner in order to make room for the appearance of decency and respectability symbolized by marriage, too often loveless marriage, it is not uncommon to see people psychologically tortured and split between societal expectations and their innermost sentiment towards the other. Omrane can marry Rebeh to save her from dishonor. With Rebeh, however, this forgery sickens him. Omrane remains attached to the romantic idea of love as the coming together of two people who, on their freewill choose to look in the same direction, the idea of love as unstained by the pressure to rectify a mistake, to remove a social blemish. What Omrane wants from Rebeh is a true love, which a marriage of convenience would spoil. He prefers to torture himself rather than satisfy the demands of his heart. However, the filmmaker also tortures us when he leaves us hanging about the meaning of the last embrace that binds Omrane and Rebeh. Were they able to muster enough courage to overcome the religious and social prescriptions that in Tunisian society keep them apart even though they are so close?

PSYCHOLOGY (shock, sadness, alienation)

Shock For the maids who leave their village for Tunis, the change of environment comes as a shock. First, there is the wonder of discovering the Tunisian capital, its tall buildings, its wide avenues, and its market teeming with supplies and people. This wonder can be read in the eyes and words of Nejma and her younger sister, Feddah, when they enter Tunis on Omrane's tricycle. The following morning of her arrival in Tunis, Little Feddah stands on her toes on the balcony to investigate this new environment. She captures the smell of fish from the fish market below and registers it as the smell of Omrane's address.

Sadness After the moment of wonder comes the feeling of isolation and sadness and confinement. Just a few hours after arriving in Tunis, the big city her little nine-year-old imagination dreamed of, Feddah starts feeling cramped. Feddah is starting to feel cramped. The room in which Omrane installs her is far from the one she shared with her sister, and certainly her mother, in her village. There, there were gaps in the walls, which let filter the moonlight and the song of the crickets. Here, it is a closed and dark room that frightens her. And to reassure herself, the little Feddah takes out of her bundle a piece of clay that she brought from the village and shapes dolls that she destroys just after having formed them, to frantically start the process again, like a caged birds.

Alienation On her very first night in the city, little Feddah, so excited at first to discover Tunis, regrets having left her village and its wide, free spaces, where neither laughter, nor childish mischief, nor splashing in the wet clay of the pottery factories are forbidden. She confides in Rebeh that she misses her mother. Gradually, however, as in the case of Rebeh and all those maids who, once in Tunis, refuse to return to the village, lack gives way to habit, and alienation becomes total. Rebeh has no intention of seeing her mother or her village again, and she tells this to Omrane, who intends to take her back there. As for little Feddah, she no longer cries for her mother. Instead, singing the song of "the girl of the air and the wind" that Rebeh taught her, she now walks the streets of Tunis, as if taking over from Rebeh. Indeed, except for Omrane, who travels between Tunis and the village in search of new girls, no one returns from Tunis, because the apprehensions and feelings of loss on the first days always end up giving way to total alienation, to total psychological rupture from village life.

Masculine FLAWS (pride-anger, fear)

Pride-anger Omrane is a man of pastoral pride. His conception of masculinity comes from his rural upbringing, which places great importance on a man's virility, on his ability to control his wife/wives, so that they do not humiliate him by their fickle nature. When Riva the hustler, who covets Rebeh, calls Omrane a cuckolded man of dubious virility, we see Omrane at his most violent. First he throws in Riva's face, and in front of all the bar's customers, a truth that he was secretly protecting because he knew Riva's mother: that Riva is a bastard child, which creates a violent reaction in Riva, to which Omrane also responds by throwing himself on him. When he returns home after this altercation with Riva, it is an intoxicated Omrane, depressed, more neglected than ever, who complains to Rebeh that his pride has been hurt, that he has been humiliated and assaulted because of her. He asks to be punished for having disappointed the ideal of masculinity, and he falls asleep delirious, calling his mother for help.

Fear In a masculinist society such as the Tunisian, the insults that Omrane and Riva hurl at each other trigger panic, the fear of being blacklisted as non-men. Both children born of no recognizable father, bastard children, more likely from an unvirtuous mother, and men dishonored by an unvirtuous woman, cuckolded men, are not worthy of society's respect. In the Tunisian society, a child born out of wedlock, of an unknown father, as Omrane suggests is Riva's case, has no identity and no right to inheritance. A child like that bears his mother's name and is subject to shunning at school and in the professional sphere. By making public Riva's condition, Omrane reveals brings out Riva's greatest anxiety, the fear of being marginalized.

PAST (memory)

Memory In *Clay dolls*, memory is a source of healing. It's the moment people return to when life becomes oppressive. For Rebeh, it is the songs of the village that she sings in her confinement, that she sings with Aziza to give herself hope when the horizon seems gloomy, or that she advises little Feddah to hum when she misses her mother. Memory for Rebeh is also a time, when, in the village, Omrane was beautiful and clean; a time that triggered in her sentiments of love and the desire to go with him to Tunis. For little Feddah, memory is the clay that takes her back to her village and to her mother, the clay that her little feet knead, that her little hands mold into beautiful dolls, the clay that covers her body and her face in the wide rural spaces where work is more play than toil. And this clay, this memory, she brought in her bundle and covers her body and face with it when isolation weighs too heavily on her fragile, nine-year-old shoulders.

QUESTIONS

1. What does the title of the film *Clay Dolls* suggest to you?
2. How does child labor contribute to the erosion of society on the familial and national levels?
3. What should be the state's responsibility in solving the problem of child labor?
4. How do you see the future of relations between Omrane and Rebeh?
5. Imagine and describe the future of Feddah in Tunis in the next ten years.