



Urban Actions And Social Repercussions: Bardo, From A Project To Modernize Constantine To An Urban Park

Amal Guerdouh LEVE Laboratory, institute of architecture and urbanism, University of Batna 1, Algeria, Mail: amal.guerdouh@univ-batna.dz.

Farida Naceur LAUTr Laboratory, institute of architecture and urbanism, University of Batna 1, Algeria.

Abstract:

This article addresses the question of the social repercussions of the transformation of Bardo, a popular district located in the city center of Constantine, which has been subject to effervescent urban actions between the "Constantine modernization project" advocated by public authorities in 2007 and the "urban park" advocated by specialists and urban stakeholders as part of the cultural event "Constantine, Capital of Arab Culture 2015". By highlighting the triptych: space conceived by public decision-makers, space designed and built by specialists, and the space lived by its users, our aim was to detect the repercussions of these urban actions on the daily lives and experiences of the relocated and neighboring populations. Our methodology is based on several research techniques including: documentary research, in situ observation, a sectorial survey and a household survey using semi-structured interviews. Among the results of this investigation: the improvement of the living environment, social dislocation, spatial appropriation, marginalization of local residents, etc.

Keywords: urban transformation, social repercussions, modernisation, urban park, Bardo, Constantine.

1. INTRODUCTION:

Under the pretext of metropolization, today's cities are in competition and have undergone profound spatial transformations in order to enhance their status, mitigate their dysfunctions and achieve sustainable urban development (Dinar et al., 2015; Oliveira, 2016; Aslan, Dünder, 2022). These transformations are mainly due to the implementation of architectural projects and urban regeneration, renewal or revitalization actions... etc. (Aslan, Dünder, 2022; Vološina et al, 2023) which have both positive and negative effects on the values of places already occupied and used.

In some situations, these changes lead to the improvement of living conditions and the environment for residents. However, in other cases, they result in increased inequalities, segregations, socio-spatial marginalization, and conflicts between the proximity and belonging interests claimed by the population and the objectives of metropolitanization.

(Viel et al., 2012; Guieysse, Rebour, 2014; Aslan, Dündar, 2022 ; Eckardt, AlSadaty, 2023). It is undoubtedly the question of the social repercussions of spatial transformations that will interest us in this exploration through a case study in Algeria.

Similar to its neighboring Maghreb countries (Morocco and Tunisia), Algeria, motivated by the end of the "Black Decade" and increased hydrocarbon revenues, has reconsidered the methods of producing its urban spaces in the past two decades. This has been achieved through the introduction of urban project as a mode of action on the city and a transformation process, with short, medium, and long-term effects, aimed at the development of new urban products. (Da Cunha, 2005; Avitabile, 2005). As a result, this new logic of spatial production (Ascher, 2001; Masbouni, 2001) was embodied in large-scale, emblematic projects that transformed the country's main cities (Algiers, Oran, Annaba and Constantine) into global metropolises in a context of competition and territorial attractiveness (Dris, 2002 ; Cattedra, 2010 ; Azzag, 2012, Kettaf, 2013 ; Sidi Boumedine, 2013 ; Yamani, Trache, 2020). However, the question of the social repercussions of these projects has been the subject of a minority of research (Cattedra, Legros, and Iraki, 2010; Signoles, 2014; Belguidoum et al., 2015), which have focused on several points, namely: the construction of new identities and representations of space, the upheaval in social practices and lifestyles, the emergence of new fractures due to the sense of belonging.

In line with this perspective, the object of our research is the city of Constantine, the capital of eastern Algeria, chosen for its potential and significance in the country, and which has undergone an effervescent spatial transformation since the 2000s. The persistence of this change can be seen in the city center, which has been depopulated and rid of degraded sites as part of the national policy of "Resorption of Precarious Housing (RHP)"; the emergence of the new city "Ali Mendjeli" on its outskirts, serving as an asset to accommodate relocated populations and alleviate the congestion of the parent city; the launch of the urban modernization project of the city in 2007, a comprehensive project overseen by high-level state authorities, containing pioneering and structuring projects for the enhancement of local potential and the upgrading of the city to address its urban dysfunctions and alarming landscape degradation (Cherrad et al., 2007).

However, our case study is "Bardo", a former precarious district engulfed in the heart of Constantine that was reinvested by the local authorities as part of Constantine's modernization to transform the existing shantytown into a central eco-district christened "viva-cité" (PMMC, 2007). The legitimization of "demolition-relocation" was reinforced by the context of the construction of the "Trans-Rhumel" viaduct, which overlooks the precarious neighborhoods of Bardo and "Avenue de Roumanie". Furthermore, this unique experience was not synonymous with "building on top of the city" (demolition-reconstruction), but rather, a conversion of the urban wasteland created after the eradication of the popular neighborhood and the massive relocation operations to the new city of "Ali Mendjeli" (2008-2010) into an "urban park" (2014-2022) as part of the international event "Constantine, Capital of Arab Culture 2015," challenging the former "flagship project" of modernization.

So, between the "modernization project of a metropolis" advocated by the public authorities and the "urban park" advocated by specialists and urban stakeholders in favor of the daily life and experiences of the neighborhood residents, our research is based on the following questions: What urban actions have been taken for the spatial transformation of Bardo? And what are its social repercussions on the relocated populations and the surrounding residents?

2. METHODOLOGY:

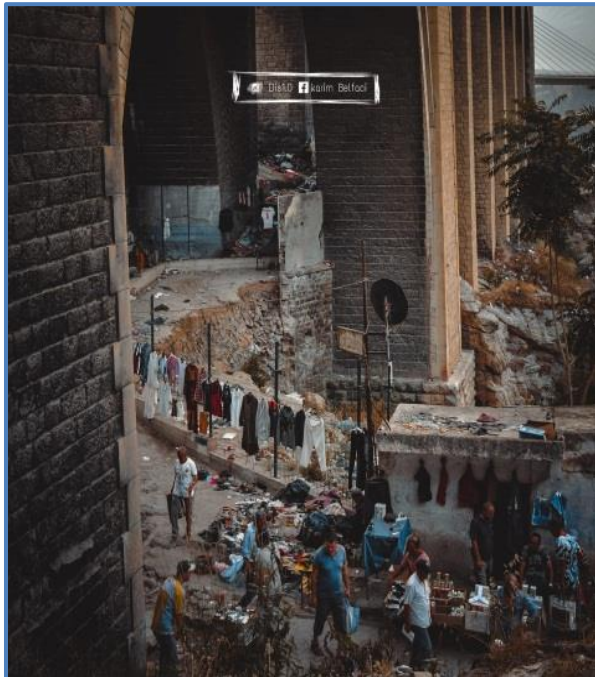
2-1 Study context: a picturesque but marginalized and degraded site

It was only after the French colonization in 1837 that Bardo began to develop around Ahmed Bye's stables, accommodating livestock and flea markets, the forage park, and its initial facilities: the barracks (1840), the Sidi Rached bridge (1912), the slaughterhouse (1940), stores, and the nursery. These conditions led to Bardo becoming an ideal location for the emergence of shantytowns along the Oued Rhumel due to the migratory flows caused by rural exodus in search of employment in the city.

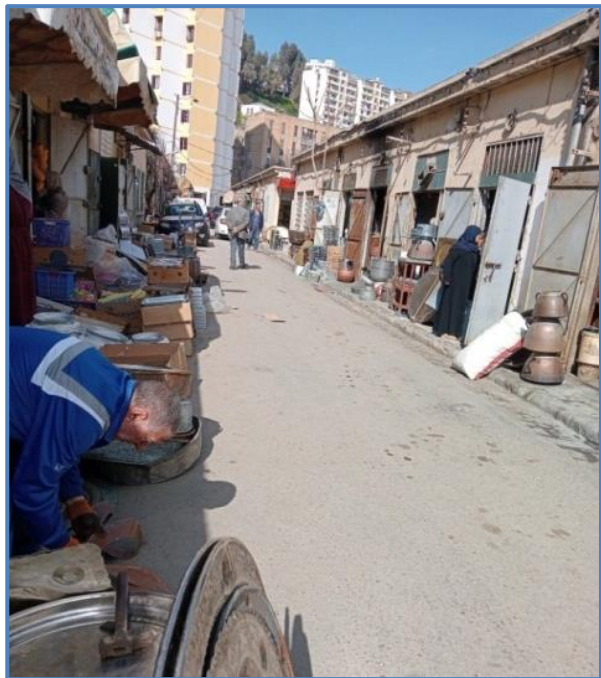
Since the country's independence in 1962, precarious housing continued to proliferate on the site. Subsequently, collective housing towers, a few individual residences, and essential urban amenities were developed. However, this popular neighborhood became a substantial urban component within the city, covering an area of 155 hectares. It takes the form of a mediation hinge zone in the town center, linking the historic Muslim town, the colonial town and the new urban extension zones. It is also characterized by the uniqueness and homogeneity of its population, estimated at 28,141 inhabitants (RGPH, 2008), making up a genuine community characterized by a rural way of life predicated on the principles of solidarity and mutual aid based on the kinship network.

Furthermore, the uniqueness of this neighborhood lies in its northern and southern boundaries, containing two distinctive markets known as "E-rrambli" (Backfill) that date back to the 1940s and preserve particular skills and a way of life. The first is the informal flea market, located below the Sidi Rached bridge and forming the old embankment. It is locally known as the "market under the bridge." At the bottom of Bardo, you'll find the second market on the new embankment, which houses 172 workshops. Here, the city's heritage is produced, and various commercial and artisanal activities take place, including coppersmithing, wool sales, milling and boring, haberdashery, hardware, mechanics, and more. This neighborhood is a symbol of the city's craftsmanship and is known worldwide as "the coppersmiths' quarter" due to the prevalence of this trade within it, forming a cluster (Figure 1).

Figure1. The markets for old and new "E-rrambli"



Source: Karim Belfaci, Summer 2022



Source: Amal Guerdouh, Mars 2023

Like informal settlements, Bardo has faced numerous problems that contribute to its weaknesses: a location situated on the banks of the Oued Rhumel, making it susceptible to landslides and flooding, an unattractive appearance characterized by a collection of dilapidated and precarious dwellings, deplorable living conditions, the degradation of the landscape and heritage elements. This poor and stigmatizing urban situation has given Bardo strongly negative connotations, such as a problematic neighborhood, impoverished urbanization, a sensitive and illicit zone, a poor and destitute population, high unemployment, youth delinquency, and criminality (Figure 2).

Figure 2. General view of Bardo before its debidonvillization



Source : Constantine Province, 2007

Despite being a "black spot" in the city's landscape, the Bardo site holds significant land, landscape, and heritage potential that makes it attractive. It boasts a strategic location and exceptional topography, urban wastelands to be reclaimed, and a historical and landscape heritage, including the Roman aqueduct, the Devil's Bridge, the Sidi Rached Bridge and its mausoleum, access to the Tourist Path, the naturalistic zone, gorges, and the Rhumel river. In short, Bardo is a place that is both emblematic and problematic, and represents the key to a future city based on environmental quality and landscape beauty (SFC, Mission 01, 2014). With this in mind, it was reinvested by the public authorities to the point of being the subject of intervention in various frameworks.

2-2 Methodology:

To achieve our objectives, our methodology is qualitative and based on several research techniques:

The documentary compilation: has allowed us to understand the different phases of the neighborhood's transformation and the urban actions taken on the site. This information is drawn from historical and administrative documents collected from various sources, including the Archives Center of the Constantine Province, the Directorate of Urban Planning, Architecture, and Construction (DUAC), the Directorate of the Environment, and the Land Conservation Agency.

On-site observation and direct investigation in the field: enabled us to take photographs and trace the changes and physical impacts of this transformation on the landscape and urban environment.

Sectoral surveys: aimed at obtaining in-depth information about the planned and executed interventions, involved semi-structured interviews conducted in person (face to face) with administrative organizations involved in the urban project in Bardo. These organizations include the Directorate of Urban Planning, Architecture, and Construction (DUAC), the Directorate of Public Works, the Directorate of Hydraulics, the Directorate of the Environment, and the Land Conservation Agency. Interviews were also conducted with various stakeholders in the Bardo Urban Park, including the SAU (project manager), EGR (construction company), and MEGA (park manager).

Household surveys: conducted in the wake of the strict COVID-19 lockdown, utilized information and communication technologies (ICT) as a method for remote research (phone calls and social media) to overcome difficulties in accessing information. This approach allowed us to hear from those who experienced this transformation on a daily basis, understand their perception and use of space, and grasp the values attributed or lost. As a result, some interviews were conducted remotely (via Messenger calls or phone), while the majority were conducted in person (in Bardo and the new city of Ali Mendjeli) between February 2021 and March 2023. The sample was selected by quota from the population of the Bardo neighborhood, which includes residents, relocated populations, and space users. All information collected from the interviews was recorded, and then transcribed using content analysis.

3. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

3-1 The spatial transformation of Bardo:

a) Bardo in Constantine's urban modernization project: an "eco-neighborhood" designed by decision-makers

Due to its uniqueness, the Bardo site drew the attention of local authorities as part of the modernization project for Constantine, which began in 2007 with the support of the former president of the republic. Initially, this city project was named the "President's Project for the Modernization of the Metropolis of Constantine" (PPMMC). It was later renamed "A Grand Project for the Modernization of a Regional Metropolis" (PMU, 2011) when the presidential label was removed to avoid potential political contestation due to the outbreak of the Arab Spring in public spaces (squares and streets) of neighboring countries as venues for expression and counter-power (Tunisia in December 2010, Egypt in January 2011, and Bahrain in February 2011).

For the urban renewal of Bardo, decision-makers have planned a futuristic city in Bardo, called "Viva-Cité", covering an area of 100 ha. The project will include: vertically-structured residential areas, luxury hotels, a business center in the form of a tower, cultural facilities, an arts, crafts, business and leisure park, plus green spaces, pedestrian areas, a permanent water feature (Rummel riverbed) and motorized, environmentally-friendly traffic (PPMMC, 2007). The aim of this urban intervention was to enhance the city's landscape, heritage and tourism and its identity, expand the city's central space, reconcile it with its Oued - a founding and structuring element - reorganize the city and create a brand image for the regional capital (Wilaya de Constantine, 2011). Thus, the explicit ambition and desired impact of this "flagship project" on the insertion environment goes beyond the simple production of a space (Max Raynaud, 2014).

Furthermore, this project was visualized and shared on the digital public space (social media) by Iskan d'Art - an architectural firm - in 2008, under the title "Constantine, la renaissance, capitale de l'Est" (Constantine, the Renaissance, Capital of the East). The designers have the ambition to transform Constantine into a metropolis dedicated to comfort and modernity through the restoration of the Medina, the conversion of the Sidi Rached Bridge into a multifunctional center, the construction of three promenades, the reconfiguration of the Oued Rhumel riverbed, the construction of 25 glass towers, the pedestrianization of the city center, the development of luxury hotels and apartments, cultural facilities (convention center, museums, media library, theater, cinema, opera), and headquarters for various organizations and companies. (La Tribune du 23-12-2008). Although it faced strong criticism, the proposal for the future "downtown" was presented on-site by local authorities to reassure the public and gauge their reactions, which were in opposition to the idea of building towers and neglecting the demolition of the area already occupied by its residents. In this vision, local authorities appear to have received approval from the president of the republic, and they began preparing a strategy for the evacuation of Bardo as the initial segment in the well-known process of metropolitanization.

b) Bardo as part of "Constantine, Capital of Arab Culture 2015": an "urban park" advocated by specialists

Following the nomination of "Constantine, Capital of Arab Culture 2015" by ALESCO (December 2012), local authorities found a golden opportunity to review the allocation of the picturesque Bardo site and validate the actions¹ previously programmed on the reclaimed site.

Initially, the Bardo site was chosen to host a cultural center (Wilaya de Constantine, June 30, 2013). However, due to the unstable nature of the terrain, the risk of causing cost overruns and delays in the completion of the main projects for the cultural event, officials decided to relocate the cultural center from Bardo by fragmenting it into individual² projects and canceling the second phase of the slum clearance in Bardo due to the urgency of the situation. As a result, the process of metropolitanization appears to have left the Constantine stage, and the Bardo neighborhood is left halfway toward modernization.

Former Director of the Land Agency in Constantine and Chief of the Steering Committee for CCCA 2015 projects:

The cultural center was relocated to a site (across from the airport - Zouaghi) intended to become the official face of Constantine and another empty site overlooking the University of Constantine and the entire city of Constantine (behind the Marriott Hotel). The choice of these locations aimed to emphasize the southern axis connecting the city to the airport. (...)The decision to fragment the cluster was taken unilaterally by the Minister of Culture at a time when the post of wali (governor) had been vacant for 2 months, following the appointment of the ex-wali as Minister of Vocational Training. (...)The new head of the executive (installed in October 2013) decided to cancel the 2nd phase of the debidonvillization (Avenue de Roumanie) to avoid confrontations with their populations in a period of political crisis (Arab Spring). He prioritized the distribution of social housing due to the difficulty of managing the relocation, demolition, and expropriation of a large area (96 hectares) occupied by informal settlements. To this end, the urban renewal project for Bardo that was initially planned in the PMMC has fallen through (Interview conducted on 25-01-2022)

During her inspection visit to the city of Constantine, the Minister of Territorial Planning and Environment announced the creation of a large urban park on the urban wasteland of Bardo (as reported in the national press on Canal Algeria, December 5, 2013). Due to

¹ These include the urban park, recalibration of the Oueds Rhumel-Boumerzoug, rehabilitation and reinforcement of the Sidi Rached bridge, rehabilitation of the Hotel Cirta and Place Kerkeri, and construction of the Trans-Rhumel bridge.

² The large concert hall (Zenith type) and the exhibition pavilion (not yet completed) on the Ain El Bey plateau (Zouaghi), the library (former SAU headquarters) and the art and history museum in Bâb El Kantara (downtown), the conversion of the El Khalifa cultural center into a cultural palace/contemporary art museum after its rehabilitation.

the urgency of the situation, decision-makers requested the use of a "direct negotiation" procedure for the awarding of all CCCA 2015 projects.

As a result, the study of the "urban park" in Bardo was entrusted to the joint Algerian-Italian consortium SFC (SAU on the Algerian side and FG TECNOPOLO on the Italian side) (wilaya, October 2013). According to this consortium, the urban park of Bardo (SFC, 2014) consists of three zones (Figure 3):

1. The first zone: "Botanical Garden" (65 hectares) - A green space for the cultivation and emergence of various types of plants.
2. The second zone: "The Gorge Path" (2.2 kilometers) - Designed for relaxation and sports activities.
3. The third zone: "Waterfall Garden" (7 hectares) - Will house waterfalls with the extensive planting of trees.

Figure 3. The three zones of Bardo urban park



Source : Amal Guerdouh, based on SFC,2014

The project implementation task was assigned to an Algerian-Spanish consortium for a period of 12 months: The general company Rekima EGR (Algerian) for the construction of infrastructure and buildings, and the Spanish company EUROCASA for the botanical component. However, on the ground, only the first zone, named the "Botanical Garden," was completed after delays and changes to its initial program due to political, technical, and financial constraints, as mentioned by the project manager during a personal interview on March 7, 2021. After years of anticipation, the official opening of the urban park in Bardo took place at the beginning of July 2022, providing city residents with a recreational and attractive space within a naturalistic area in the heart of the city.

3-1 The social repercussions of Bardo's spatial transformation:

The urban transformation of Bardo, from an inherited city to a fragmented agglomeration (Yamani, Trache, 2020), was planned in the PMMC (2007) and was based on the land area encompassing all the precarious and deteriorating neighborhoods in the city center. In reality, this transformation led to the metamorphosis of the intervention site and its population into two distinct parts: a liberated zone (Grand Bardo, 65 hectares), where its population was relocated to the new city of "Ali Mendjeli," and an unliberated zone (Avenue de Roumanie, 96 hectares) occupied by the local residents. This resulted in a range of consequences, some positive and some negative, affecting the daily lives and experiences of both the relocated population and the local residents.

a) Improving the living environment and reversing the status of residents:

The people displaced from Bardo have acquired a new residential situation that has affected their living environment. They came from a working-class neighborhood, with an anarchic urban fabric and a street grid made up of "Harra" (alleyways) and "Zenka" (dead ends), generating the intimacy of houses, solidarity and a sense of extended family that gives the neighborhood a sense of security. In the old neighborhood, each family's house was reduced to one or two dilapidated and precarious rooms, lacking all the necessary conditions for a decent life. However, in the new city of "Ali Mendjeli," these residents changed their way of living by moving into collective buildings organized according to a hierarchical layout: city - neighborhoods - neighborhood units - residential blocks - buildings (Côte, 2006), on the outskirts of the main city. In this regard, the relocated population occupied modern and comfortable housing, which included an expansion of domestic living space, access to running water, electricity, and natural gas, as well as improved sanitation. This has resulted in a sense of "residential stability/security" among the displaced residents (Ballout, 2014). Consequently, this improvement in the living environment necessitates the redefinition of a new way of dwelling, space appropriation, practices, and social connections.

Billel (35), relocated shopkeeper:

We used to live for free in the city center, but now you need money to get by. Life in Bardo was peaceful and easy, and we felt safe, while the new city is less comfortable and symbolizes social problems such as the informal economy,

violence, theft, assaults, drug issues, etc. (Interview conducted via messenger, January 19, 2022).

El Haj (3rd age), relocated:

Back in the day, it used to take just ten minutes to walk to the Bled (city center), and it was within arm's reach. Nowadays, you have to pay to go there, and it's tiring and expensive. We left everything in Bardo – our experiences, neighbors, and memories. But now, we have no choice but to adapt here, living in these "cages" (apartments) within "boxes" (buildings). (Interview conducted on January 18, 2022, in "Ali Mendjeli").

Furthermore, the status of the displaced residents (both homeowners and renters) was reversed. The renters from Bardo emerged as winners in this operation, as they gained access to affordable housing and became homeowners. On the other hand, the status of the relocated homeowners from Bardo was transformed into renters in the new city of "Ali Mendjeli," even though the rent was minimal. These urban actions were considered by the affected residents as "Hogra," a sentiment of frustration that signifies injustice, impunity, humiliation, and a form of symbolic violence perpetrated by the authorities against their own people (Safir, 2012; Souiah, 2012). These inhabitants felt aggrieved by urban speculation, which gave rise to various protests. In this context, the expressions of joy and satisfaction from the renters who became beneficiaries of housing were juxtaposed with reactions from the former property owners expressing their disappointment with the compensation prices, which were provided in the form of rent, on one hand, and with their new acquired status, on the other hand.

A rehoused tenant (48 years old):

I'm no longer in my father's property. We were relieved from the status of renters, and we became homeowners (...) Having a home was our dream; we're seeking stability." (Interview conducted on January 18, 2022, in "Ali Mendjeli").

A relocated homeowner (78 years old):

I used to own a two-storey house in the center of town, where the electricity bill was a token price, and I've become a tenant in a F3 apartment, I'm obliged to pay the rent and the high water and electricity bills, it's unfair. (Interview conducted on 18-01-2022 in the new town).

President of the Bardo Mosque Committee, Doctor of Law:

It's unfair to displace a homeowner with a multi-story house into a socially subsidized F2 or F3 apartment with minimal compensation that doesn't even allow for the purchase of a plot of land in the city. In several cases where the owner was a widow or widower, they did not receive housing, and the authorities forced them to choose one of their married sons to live with them, while all the tenants who were staying in their property became beneficiaries. This has caused psychological distress for them." (Interview conducted on June 5, 2022, in "Ali Mendjeli").

b) Social dislocation and spatial appropriation:

The territorial aversion of the displaced population, moving from a marginalized shantytown in the city center to a peripheral urban area, is synonymous with transitioning "from one marginalization to another" (Benlakhlef, Bergel, 2016). Frustrated frustrated relocatees expressed their disappointment during their interviews at the loss of their previous way of life in their old neighborhood with precarious comfort. Indeed, sadness and nostalgia were clearly visible on their faces. The sentiment of attachment to the neighborhood was expressed through various phrases: Bardo was "my faith," "my second mother," and "my heart." As for the feelings of pride and belonging to the place and neighborhood (Relph, 1976), these sentiments were evident in their expressions: Bardo was "my birthplace," "my childhood neighborhood," "I am bent el hai" (daughter of the neighborhood), or "ibn el makan" (son of the place). For them, the new city does not provide the expected living environment, and if they had the opportunity and the means to access housing in their old neighborhood with conditions identical to what they currently have in the new city, they would not hesitate to return there. In this regard, these residents have given the new city quite negative connotations: "the desert," "the neglected one," "Ali Frozen," and "Concrete City." Therefore, this urban uprooting has caused "a series of social and emotional ruptures" and has generated "territorial inequality" rather than equity, in the words of Rachid Sidi Boumedine (2015).

A relocated resident of Avenue de Roumanie (29), unemployed:

Our old neighborhoods are irreplaceable because there's nothing missing at their level other than decent housing, we have all the amenities, the forest, the green spaces for play. Everything was close to us, and if they chose me between the housing in the new town and Romania, I'll probably choose my neighborhood, even with its precarious comfort. (Interview conducted via Messenger, on 29-03-2021).

However, the spaces in the new city were appropriated differently by their occupants. These individuals have left their mark and adapted their living environment through interventions in their inhabited space, using practices or codes (Segaud et al., 2003). The symbolic appropriation (Courbebaisse, 2021) of the new urban environment was expressed through the projection of an emotional and social element (the name of the neighborhood of origin, Bardo) onto the physical space of the new city. In the neighborhood unit (UV01) of the first district, where the majority of the relocated population from Bardo has resided since 2003, when I asked the question: "Where do the relocated residents from Bardo live???" The same response was repeated: "All these buildings are Bardo," "I live in the Bardo buildings."

In front of the big post office, we noticed the character of the big family and the sociability between the neighbors. They have fun together playing chess, dominoes or the traditional game of "kherbga", and tell me about the memories they share in common. The place has also witnessed the setting up of small businesses by the unemployed, such as selling

mobile phones, jewelry, euro conversions, etc. These residents consider the post office their place of refuge. These residents consider the post office their favorite place to gather and relax, especially in the afternoons.

On the ground floor of a building in the same neighborhood (UV 01), there is an office of the OPGI (Office of Housing Promotion and Management) named "OPGI Bardo." After investigation, it was observed that all the relocated residents from this popular neighborhood are registered in this office, as confirmed by the office's agents. So, when taking the bus from "Ain Smara" to the new city of "Ali Mendjeli," it was surprising to hear the conductor announce a bus stop called "Bardo," located at UV 02 (the farm). After our investigation, we confirmed that the residents at this location are also relocated individuals from the Bardo neighborhood. So, this symbolic appropriation, expressed through the projection of a content (population) onto a container (the naming of an urban area and its buildings, an office, and a bus stop), is a "territorializing act" that reflects the creation of a territory and a personality. It proudly assumes the shantytown identity (Lakehal, 2013) and a way of being in the world and participating in it (Serfaty-Garzon, 2002; Besse, 2013).

c) Marginalization of residents and Exclusion of the dislocated:

Among the negative consequences of this social mutation, socio-spatial marginalization (Jean-Marie Ballout, 2015) of the residents who live a few steps from the city center. This ignorance leads to a feeling of disappointment among residents who are neither informed nor involved in the programming of a project in their living environment. However, the latter leads to a lack of interest in the actions that affect their urban environment, and reflects the inhabitants' loss of awareness of their right to participate in the various projects that refer to them. When the question was posed: "Are you satisfied with the project currently underway in your neighborhood?" The responses collected were clearly marked by its negative effects: "I'm not interested in this project," "I don't even know what it's about," "Why bother? I know my opinion won't be taken into consideration." This process of defection expresses the disengagement and disappropriation of the population, even if they remain in the neighborhood, based on their ignorance, disappointment and disinterest (Belkaid, Alili, 2020; Ghaffari et al., 2021). Indeed, this social marginalization has manifested itself in collective protests and mobilizations, such as occupying public spaces, cutting off roads, sending correspondence to officials and expressing their views to the press.

On the other hand, this proactive action of relocation was a reason for the social exclusion of a significant portion of the residents of Bardo, who lost their sources of income and places of work after the demolition of the neighborhood and its commercial spaces, as well as the closure of the haberdashery market (in February 2023) on the old "E-rrambli", which had been one of the city's heritage elements inherited from the colonial era for 120 years and a source of income for many families classified as "zawaliya" (miserable).

A retired shopkeeper (78 years old): "After the demolition of my garage (business premises), I couldn't find another source of income, and I can't afford

to buy another one. I am currently living on my retirement pension, even though it is low." (Interview conducted on January 18, 2022, in "Ali Mendjeli").

A shopkeeper at the "E-rrambli" market:

"We are here to support families and open homes. We wanted to meet with the governor to explain that according to his desire to make this place touristy, we are producing to the best of our abilities. But where will you put us? We are competent, there are intellectuals, doctors, we have all (...) here, people practice metalwork. Please, let us keep this market to work. This governor has a negative perception of this market, even though we only sell haberdashery items that are needed by zawaliya (Extract from the report conducted by Fouzia Amrani and broadcast on Channel TV السابعة, on March 12, 2023).

Furthermore, this exclusion has encouraged the proliferation of informal activities (such as informal trade and car guarding) in the public space of the new city as an attempt to "reconstitute the territory" (Benlakhlef, Bergel, 2016) in compensation for those lost in the shantytown. On their part, some unemployed individuals have taken advantage of the souks to "make a living" through deviant activities. Some undocumented taxi service providers from Bardo, settled in (UV01), explained their situation: "We lost our informal business; we don't have the money to go to the "E-rrambli". We improvise here to have an income." Therefore, this "survival strategy" (Dinar, 2015) reflects the adaptation of this category, which has transitioned from a status of "marginal, legalized to legally informal" (Prenant, 2002).

A young person relocated from Bardo (34 years old):

Unemployed individuals have no other place to earn their living than the souk or informal activities. We just want to work to make a living because without work, we can't do anything, we can't even afford a tea or coffee. How do you expect young people not to turn to theft and delinquency? (Interview conducted on June 5, 2022, in "Ali Mendjeli").

4. CONCLUSIONS :

In conclusion, the case study of the urban project of Bardo reflects the awareness of the local authorities regarding the historical and landscape heritage contained within this neighborhood. It also demonstrates the ambition of the government and practitioners who undoubtedly aim to enhance the site by reconstituting the landscape, transforming the space, and altering the identity of the place.

On the other hand, the spatial transformation of Bardo from a "modernization project" into an "urban park" had more negative social repercussions than positive ones. These included the improvement of the living environment, reversing the status of residents, social dislocation, spatial appropriation, marginalization of residents and exclusion of the relocated.

However, this socio-spatial mutation is the result of state action to the detriment of the neighborhood's population and their aspirations. This gives us an opportunity to draw the attention of decision-makers and urban specialists to the following issues to take into account the participation of the population in the programming of urban operations that affect their environment, because the combination of this factor with political will can offer ideal solutions for the success of the future project and avoid all conflicts.

In the end, this work offers an opportunity to open up new avenues of reflection on citizen participation in the spatial transformation and production of the future living environment, in other words: it's time to think about making the city with its citizens in a process of negotiation, co-design and co-construction.

5. REFERENCES:

1. ASCHER F. 2001 .les nouveaux principes de l'urbanisme, Ed. L'Aube, France, 102 pages.
2. ASLAN, M., DÜNDAR, M. 2022. Ecological and environmental effects of urban transformation: An example in Turkey. *Heritage and Sustainable Development*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp.77-86.
3. AVITABILE, A. 2005. la mise en scène du projet urbain -pour une structuration des démarches-. Paris, Harmattan.
4. BALLOUT, J.M. 2014. Territorialisation par « ville nouvelle » au Maghreb. Regard croisé sur les projets d'Ali Mendjeli (Constantine) et de Tamansourt (Marrakech)», Thèse de doctorat en géographie et aménagement de l'espace, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III.
5. BALLOUT, J.M. 2015. Villes nouvelles et urbanités émergentes dans les périphéries de Constantine et Marrakech. *L'Année du Maghreb*.
6. BELGUIDOUM, S., CATTEDRA, R., IRAKI, A. 2015. Villes et urbanités au Maghreb. *L'Année du Maghreb*, 12 | 2015, [En ligne le 04 juin 2015].
7. BELKAID, E., ALILI, A. 2020. Les déterminants de la participation citoyenne en Algérie- Exemple de la ville de Tlemcen. *Management international / International Management / Gestión Internacional*, 24 (3), pp 150-162.
8. BENLAKHLEF, B., BERGEL, P. 2016. Relogement des quartiers informels et conflits pour l'espace public : Le cas de la nouvelle ville d'Ali Mendjeli (Constantine, Algérie). *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, N°28.
9. BEREZOWSKA, AZZAG, E. 2012. *Projet Urbain, Guide méthodologique : Comprendre la démarche du projet urbain*, Alger, éditions synergie (collection urbanisme), volume 2, 387 pages.
10. BERGEL P., BENLAKHLEF B. 2014. Qui se soucie des habitants ? Modernisation urbaine et délogements de quartiers informels : Le cas de Constantine (Algérie). In: DESPONDS, D., AUCLAIR, E., BERGEL, P., BERTUCCI, M.M., *Les habitants : acteurs de la rénovation urbaine ?*, pp 197-215, Presses universitaires de Rennes, Collection "Géographie sociale".
11. BESSE, J.M. 2013. *Habiter un monde à mon image*, Paris, Flammarion, 250 pages.

12. « Cahiers de charges: étude d'aménagement du site Bardo », DUC de Constantine, 2010.
13. CATTEDRA, R. 2010. Chapitre I. Les grands projets urbains à la conquête des périphéries. Les Cahiers d'EMAM, N° 19, pp 58-72.
14. CATTEDRA, R., LEGROS, O., IRAKI, A. 2010. Introduction: Territoires et politiques dans les périphéries des grandes villes du Maghreb. Les Cahiers d'EMAM [Online], 19 | 2010, [en ligne depuis le 10 Février 2012]
15. CHERRAD, S. E., CHERABI, A., SAHRAOUI, B., BOULEDROUA, A. 2007. Projet de modernisation de la métropole constantinoise (PMMC). Wilaya de Constantine, 117 pages.
16. « Constantine 2015, capitale de culture arabe : dossier Bardo », Wilaya de Constantine, 30 juin 2013.
17. COTE, M. 2006. Constantine - cité antique et ville nouvelle-, Constantine, Média-Plus, 122 pages.
18. COURBEBAILLISSE, A. 2021. Appropriations habitantes dans les espaces intermédiaires des grands ensembles toulousains. Projets de paysage [En ligne], 24 | 2021.
19. DA CUNHA, A. 2005. Enjeux du développement urbain durable: transformations urbaines, gestion des ressources et gouvernance. PPUR presses polytechniques, p157-158.
20. DINAR, H., CHAUDHRY, W., CHAUDHRY, A. Gh., ZEESHAN, M. 2015. Transformation and retention: a case study of hunzuketz in Islamabad. Pakistan Association of Anthropology, Sci.int. (Lahore), 27(1), pp 741-743.
21. DRIS, N. 2002. Projet urbain et espace public à Alger. De la ville programmée à la ville revendiquée. In: CARRIERE, J.P., Villes et projets urbains en Méditerranée, Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, pp 111-121.
22. ECKARDT, F., ALSADATY, A. 2023. Urban Heritage in Transformation: Physical and Non-Physical Dimensions of Changing Contexts. Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183-7635), Volume 8, Issue 1, pp 1- 4.
23. FG Tecnopolo, SAU, 2014. Parc urbain Bardo (Etude et réalisation), Mission 1: état des lieux. direction de l'environnement de Constantine.
24. FG Tecnopolo, SAU, 2014. Parc urbain Bardo (Etude et réalisation), Mission 2 : élaboration d'un avant-projet sommaire ». direction de l'environnement de Constantine.
25. GHAFARI, L., KLEIN, J.L., HAMDOUCH, A. 2021. Le droit au quartier et l'acceptation sociale de la gentrification: Les cas de deux processus de transformation urbaine à Nantes et Montréal. Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Volume 30, Issue 1, pp 16-29.
26. GUIEYSSE, J.A., REBOUR, Th. 2014. Crise, métropolisation et aménagement. Cybergeog: European Journal of Geography [Online], Current issues, Ville et capitalisme.
27. KETTAF, F. 2013. La fabrique des espaces publics : conceptions, formes et usages des places d'Oran (Algérie). Thèse de doctorat en géographie et aménagement de l'espace, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III.

28. LAKEHAL, A. 2013. La fabrication plurielle de centralités dans la périphérie de Constantine : le cas de la Ville nouvelle Ali Mendjeli. Thèse de doctorat en géographie, Université François-Rabelais, Tours.
29. MASBOUNGI, A. 2001. Fabriquer la ville. Outils et méthodes : les aménageurs proposent. La Documentation française, Paris, pp 43-50.
30. MAX RAYNAUD, M. 2014. Design urbain et grands projets : politique publique ou politique privée. In: HUBERT, M., LEWIS, P., MAX RAYNAUD, M., Les Grands Projets Urbains : Territoires, Acteurs et Stratégies, PUM (presses de l'université de Montréal), 403 pages.
31. OLIVEIRA, V. 2016. Urban morphology: An introduction to the study of the physical form of cities. Springer, Switzerland, 192 pages.
32. PRENANT, A. 2002. L'informel en Algérie. Cahiers du GREMAMO, N° 17, pp 71-93.
33. RELPH, E. 1976. Place and Placelessness, London: Pion Limited.
34. SAFIR, N. 2012. La jeunesse algérienne : un profond et durable malaise. Confluences Méditerranée, 2 (81), 153-161
35. SEGAUD, M., BRUN, J., DRIANT, J.C. 2003. Dictionnaire de l'habitat et du logement, Paris, Armand Colin, 451 pages.
36. SERFATY-GARZON, P. 2002. L'Appropriation. In: SEGAUD, M., BRUN, J., DRIANT, J.C., Dictionnaire critique de l'habitat et du logement, Paris, Armand Colin, pp 27-30.
37. SIDI BOUMEDINE, R. 2015. Des pôles urbains ?, Vies de Villes, N°22, Mai 2015, Alger, p. 190.
38. SIDI BOUMEDINE, R. 2013. Echec des instruments ou instruments de l'échec ?, Alger, édition les alternatives urbaines, 227 pages.
39. SIGNOLES, P. 2014. Territoires et politiques dans les périphéries des grandes villes du Maghreb, Paris, Karthala, 535 pages.
40. SOUIAH, F. 2012. Les harraga algériens. Migrations, 5, (143), 105-120.
41. « Un grand projet de modernisation urbaine d'une capitale régionale », Wilaya de Constantine, 2011.
42. VIEL, L., LIZARRALDE, G., MAHERZI, F. A., THOMAS-MARET, I. 2012. L'influence des parties prenantes dans les grands projets urbains. Cybergeog: European Journal of Geography.
43. VOLOŠINA, M., TAURENE, E., ŠKIŃKIŠ, P. 2023. Towards Liveability in Historic Centres: Challenges and Enablers of Transformation in Two Latvian Towns. Cogitatio, Urban Planning, Volume 8, Issue 1.
44. YAMANI, L., TRACHE, S. M. 2020. Contournement des instruments d'urbanisme dans l'urbanisation de l'agglomération mostaganémoise (Algérie). Cybergeog: European Journal of Geography, Regional and Urban Planning, document 943, [En ligne depuis le 12 Mai 2020].