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## Logics and system of urban actors in the governance of the operations for the precarious housing resorption in Algeria: Towards a participatory approach

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### Abstract

With the ambition of becoming a capital without slums, the city of Algiers has launched a veritable assault on the precarious habitat. However, since 2010, several demonstrations have broken out by the Slum-dwellers which testify to the failure in the governance of these operations. The obstruction of communication channels between local and central actors left the inhabitants with no choice but to provoke a riot. The objective of this work is to dissect the stages of implementation of these operations, through the analysis of governance and the system of urban actors set up by the Algerian government. We also carried out a study of the logics of urban actors in a precarious district in Algiers. This analysis allowed us to understand the social organization of the population, and the process of opinion-building in the face of the central policy of the State. Finally, as a hypothesis of our inductive approach, we sketched out a governance model for these operations in Algeria with a participatory approach, and responding to the issues identified during our research.

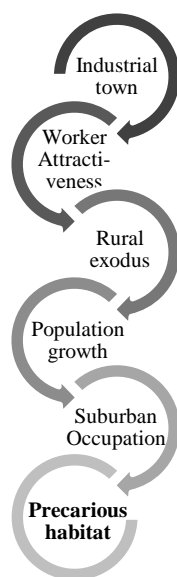
**Keywords:** Actors' logic; system of actors; precarious housing resorption; participatory approach; Algiers.

### 1. Introduction

This paper represents the synthesis of a research work that is part of a master of science. Our investigations have enabled us, through the study of a very important and topical phenomenon in the management of cities and urban governance, to address and identify some sensitive points concerning the logic and the system of urban actors in the implementation of operations for the precarious housing resorption in Algeria. First of all, we will address the phenomenon of urban slums in its entirety, based on a reading of international organizations reports. These documents have given us a good illustration of the scale and challenge that governments face in providing decent housing for local populations. The published figures are alarming, *"Slum dwellers make up 78.2% of the urban population of the least developed countries and a third of the world's urban dwellers"* [Translate by Author] (Davis, 2005, p.15).

The precarious housing is a phenomenon that has accompanied the industrial revolution since the 19th century. Lefebvre wrote that *"there is, historically, a violent clash between urban and industrial reality"* [Translate by Author] (Lefebvre, 1972, p.5). The incessant attraction of rural populations to industrial zones was widely publicized and promoted, through spots illustrating a better life in the outlying suburbs of the cities. As illustrated in Figure 1, this media coverage has led to very large migratory flows, including waves of foreign immigration (as is the case in France); to mobilize the workforce needed to operate the factories, and to find the urban ease and comfort promised to rural populations. Moreover, this phenomenon also occurs in times of war (and even afterwards), with the demolition of buildings and the flight of the population to safe and peaceful areas.

As a result, large cities are often surrounded on the outskirts by large areas of informal settlements, where the basic rules of hygiene and construction are not complied with. These areas of informal settlements, precarious housing, slums or shantytowns, illustrate a symbol of poor urban development, and generate major dysfunctions that often result in the emergence of social scourges, as an unconscious reaction to the social exclusion. These areas of precarious housing have long been considered as places of transition in order to be entitled to the city (Lefebvre, 1972), an almost systematic passage for the immigrant population to gradually integrate into urban life. But the temporary dimension, in the imagination of slum dwellers, has endured over the years and is one of the most important concerns of contemporary urban planning that governments around the world must address. Indeed, *"Poverty will continue to concentrate in cities if national and local governments do not address this policy dimension"* (Un-Habitat, 2003, p.32).



**Figure 1.** Genesis of the precarious housing phenomenon (Developed by Author)

## 2. Failure of the governance of PHR's operations in Algeria<sup>1</sup>

As part of the global trend, Algeria has decided to rid its cities of the slums that dot their urban landscapes. There is renewed interest in the program of the precarious housing resorption, under policy slogans that attempts to erase the legacy of the dark decade. To this end, the government has mobilized significant resources with colossal budgets to deal with the proliferation of precarious housing considered by the Algerian State as a harmful phenomenon to the urban and social cohesion of cities (MHUV<sup>2</sup>, 2005). However, from the beginning of the program “implementation of the precarious housing resorption”, we have observed numerous riots and demonstrations led by slum dwellers throughout the country, most often denouncing the failure of the public authorities to keep their promises regarding their resettlement.

These scenes of violence recorded since 2010, testify to a real malaise and lack of trust between the inhabitants who have been waiting for housing for several years and the public authorities who show no transparency or clear rules in the governance of these operations. As slum dwellers have no other civic means of making their voices heard, they find themselves forced to resort to violence, road blockades and the burning of car tires (Figure 2) to trigger debates and hearings with the relevant authorities. This leads us to ask the question: *if the Algerian government is committed to rehousing these populations, with the necessary means, why do these populations not stop expressing their discontent and annoyance through riots and violence<sup>3</sup>?*



**Figure 2.** Riots, 20/01/2014, Oued Ouchayah (Photo by Author)

## 3. Methodology and scientific approach

In order to be able to answer this generic question and provide rational explanations for this situation, our research was based on an inductive methodological approach with a socio-political dimension. The choice of this approach has two converging ramifications: on the one hand, the nature of the problem, which requires observations and interviews in the

<sup>1</sup>PHR: Precarious Housing Resorption

<sup>2</sup>MHUV: Ministry of Housing, Urbanism and the City [Translate by Author] (Ministère de l'habitat de l'urbanisme et de la ville)

<sup>3</sup>Through the collection of newspaper articles and interviews with inhabitants of the slum of Oued Ouchayah; for example the article in the daily newspaper *Liberté*, entitled "THE SUCCESSIVE REPORTS OF THE OPERATION WERE ANGRY, Relocation: riots in Oued Ouchayah"[Translate by Author] by Azzeddine BENSOUIAH, 21-10-2014. <http://www.liberte.dz/actualite/relogement-emeutes-a-oued-ouchayah-212678>

field. On the other hand, we postulate that the policy of slum clearance in Algeria and its implementation is far from the expectations of the inhabitants and that only a governance model based on a participatory approach could reduce the divisions between inhabitants and public authorities. The initial findings following the survey show us the misunderstanding between central and local actors, and point us towards incoherence and confusion in terms of actors' logics. To analyze this point, we have gone through a clear and elementary path which amounts to saying that: A study of the actors' logics should be established after the identification of the system of actors completed by the definition of the role and organization of each actor. These definitions should only take shape through the analysis of the implementation of re-housing operations. This implementation is obviously the result of a current strategy in this field. And in order to understand the context genesis of this strategy, we conducted investigations to trace the different policies of the Algerian governments in terms of housing and precarious housing resorption (Figure 3).

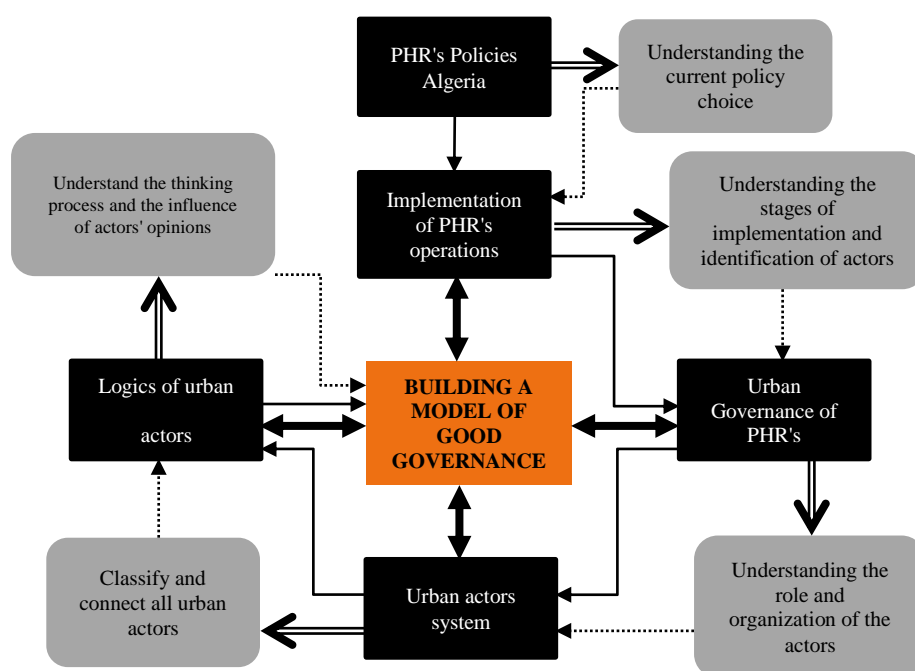


Figure 3. Research methodology (Developed by Author)

#### 4. Socialist Heritage and New Housing Strategy in Algeria

The flashback of the policies undertaken by the State to solve the crisis of the precarious housing, allowed us to affirm through its historical dimension, that it is a by-product of a socialist and oil-rent policy (Safar-Zitoun, 2012), the main phenomenon of which is the cantonment of the inhabitants in old dilapidated cities. In addition, the State monopoly is clearly apparent in the field of construction, including financing, management, project ownership and execution.

This policy represents the result of a continuous process of the socialist policy pursued by Algeria from independence until the end of the 1980s. Indeed, colonial segregationist housing policies, which were fought at the cost of long years of housing shortages and slums, will have been reactivated, virtually unchanged (Lalonde, 2010). Moreover, slumming has accelerated, particularly following the creation of industrial zones in the 1970s, the effect of which was materialized by a massive exodus of rural populations from the vicinity of factories; but also, the insecurity that characterized Algeria's black decade in the 1990s had an accelerating effect on this phenomenon. The evolution of the resorption policy remained linear until 1999, when a voluntarist policy was drawn up with the adoption of a new housing strategy which was to disengage the State from the construction of housing. Its role was to be limited to the financing of social housing for low-income households and the granting of aid for the construction or extension of rural housing in order to maintain populations in rural areas.

However, the different forms of state aid for direct access to property were determining factors in the creation of a vicious circuit. This contributes to an increase in the frequency of informal practices through the capture at source of scarce strategic assets, including social housing for speculative purposes (Lalonde, 2010). Indeed, the liberalization of the real estate market and the privatization of public housing meant that very little social housing was allocated to families who really needed it. Thus, these families find themselves increasingly marginalized and turn to informal practices hoping to improve their housing conditions or at least draw the attention of the authorities to their difficult living conditions.

According to an interview with the chief executive of the Algiers wilaya<sup>4</sup>, *"the rehousing operation of the slum dwellers of Oued Ouchayah has been delayed because of the last movement in the body of the walis<sup>5</sup>, as well as by the preparations for the start of the social year 2014-2015"*. This shows that this slum clearance policy is carried out without any real prospective diagnosis and changes according to the conjuncture and the actors of the moment. From a reproduction of colonial policy, to the fractious planning/management of the various urban sectors, to the significant consumption of public money in the mass production of housing and unsuitable processes; these are all characteristics that can generally explain the complex state of the situation and the difficulty of achieving positive results in terms of resettlement and precarious housing resorption.

### **5. Central exclusivity in the implementation of PHR's operations in Algiers**

The city of Algiers has long been characterized by an urban landscape unworthy of its status as national capital and international city. It has therefore set itself the ambitions of a brand image in order to become the first African capital without slums and a reference in terms of precarious housing resorption in the Mediterranean basin. To this end, it has equipped itself with urban planning instruments, a legal arsenal and the necessary institutional tools, to successfully fight the (re)housing battle. Indeed, this decision was taken after the publication of the RGPH<sup>6</sup> 2008, which was the trigger for this dynamic. This report was followed by a detailed diagnosis established during the revision of the PDAU<sup>7</sup> of Algiers from 2009. These studies have highlighted the extent of the phenomenon of slums in the Algerian periphery. Since then, a political will has emerged, initiated by the President of the Republic through his public speeches and the reports published by the Council of Ministers. The decisions taken with a view to the precarious housing resorption were limited to the construction of public rental housing. This policy was defined by the services of the Ministry of housing, urbanism and the city (MHUV), whose deconcentrated services (Housing Directorate) are responsible for its application in the field. Also, the delegated project ownership for the realization of public rental housing is attributed to the organization under the supervision of the Ministry, which is the OPGI<sup>8</sup> of Algiers. Similarly, the financing of projects is entrusted to the National Housing Fund (CNL<sup>9</sup>), a body under the supervision of the Ministry.

The processing of the files of subscribers to public rental housing is done three months before the project reception. Once the viability of the project is confirmed by the OPGI services, the wali appoints the members of the Daïra<sup>10</sup> Commission which will be in charge of the evaluation of the files. (Executive decree n° 08-142, setting the rules for allocating public rental housing). The operational phase of re-housing is also carried out by the wilaya services, in terms of logistics, with the mobilization of demolition equipment, removal trucks, transport buses and agents to help families move. These operations were made possible by mobilizing land through decrees to divert agricultural land, which was judged to be inefficient. In addition, a significant legal arsenal has been put in place to govern a legal framework for the implementation of these operations for the precarious housing resorption.

### **6. Centralized governance and system of actors top-down**

The implementation of the operations for precarious housing resorption in Algiers, allowed us to identify the different actors concerned by these operations, and through the analysis of governance, we established the role and functioning of each one. The drawing below represents the system of urban actors (Figure 4) and illustrates centralized governance. The role of local actors (elected officials, associations and inhabitants) is limited to the information transmission on the physical and social state of the slums. *"Participation in the direction of the involvement of civil society and the citizen does not seem to be a concern of the central authorities"* (Chabou-Othmani, 2015, p.3). We also note the noninvolvement of experts and researchers in the field of urban development and sociology.

Moreover, the governance of these operations, takes the form of a simple administrative management of the processing of subscribers' files, on the one hand, and in the realization of public rental housing on the other hand. As a result, the operability of the precarious housing resorption is often subject to delays in the achievement of housing, and also to disagreements and discontent every time the lists of beneficiaries are posted.

This political and administrative situation led by central government actors, without any social contribution, reinforces the failure in the governance of these operations, which often translates into demonstrations and street protests. These

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<sup>4</sup> The wilaya is an administrative division in Algeria, equivalent, depending on the state, to the department, region, canton or province.

<sup>5</sup> The wali is the governor of the wilaya.

<sup>6</sup> RGPH: General Census of Population and Housing [Translate by Author] (Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat)

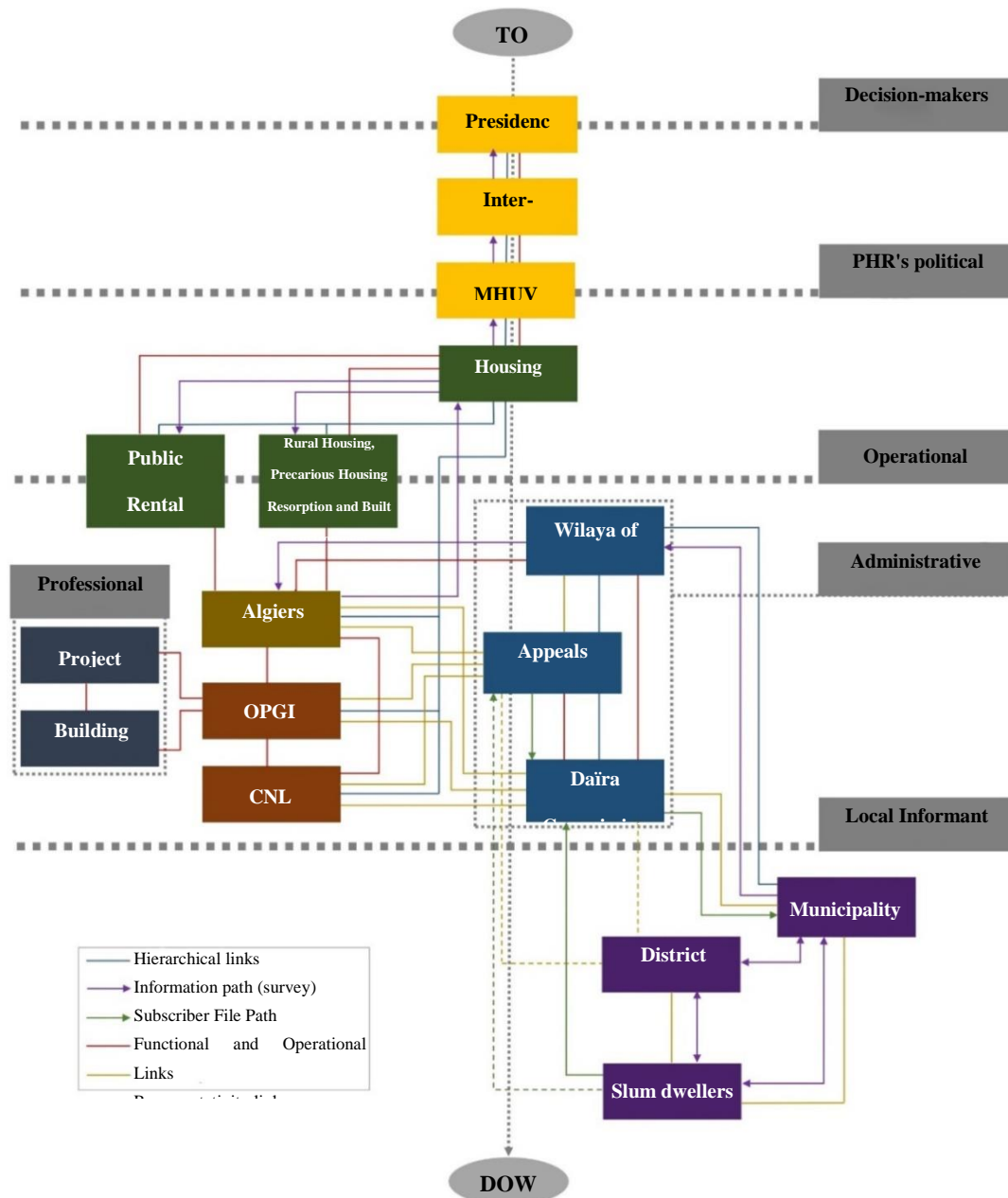
<sup>7</sup> PDAU: it is an Algerian instrument of urbanism called the Master Plan for Urban Planning. [Translate by Author] (Plan Directeur de l'Aménagement Urbain)

<sup>8</sup> OPGI: Office for real estate development and management [Translate by Author] (Office de promotion et de gestion immobilière)

<sup>9</sup> CNL: National Housing Fund [Translate by Author] (Caisse Nationale du Logement)

<sup>10</sup> Daïra: is a subdivision of the wilaya in the Algerian territorial administration

scenes of violence that Algeria has experienced since 2010<sup>11</sup> were, in our opinion, the result of the lack of inhabitants' involvement and the lack of consultation between them and the local and central authorities.



**Figure 4.** Urban actors system for the operations of precarious housing resorption in the city of Algiers (Developed by Author)

<sup>11</sup>Since 2010 and until today, re-housing operations, which are part of the precarious housing resorption, have generated altercations between disgruntled inhabitants and the urban police. According to the inhabitants interviewed, the discontent is linked to problems with the regulatory procedures for obtaining housing and the exact census of the population in need of housing. Only the violent demonstration remains the means of making oneself heard and raising the social debate.

### **7. Oued Ouchayah, an emblematic example in Algiers**

The Oued Ouchayah district is located in the municipality of Bachdjerrah, which represents a veritable laboratory for various experiments conducted by urbanization policies since the 1950s. Indeed, its territory was urbanized during the 1970s, with the construction of several housing estates to accommodate the populations of the rural exodus, generated by the workers' attraction of the neighboring industrial zones such as Rouiba and Oued-Smar, initiated in the 1970s.

Among the districts occupied by these populations is Oued Ouchayah, composed essentially of the resettlement city of "Les Palmiers" (built in colonial times for the mobile guard of the French gendarmerie) squatted by the inhabitants despite its state of degradation, and the slum of Oued Ouchayah (among the first slums of Algiers).

This district was affected by operations of precarious housing resorption from 1950 to 2010. The summary of the story through the construction of a chronological frieze (Figure 5), allows us to visualize the different stages through which these multiple operations took place. This frieze was built after several interviews with the inhabitants, interviews with the local authorities, as well as consultation of archives and urban planning documents.

The most important operation of slum resorption was carried out in 1984 when half of the inhabitants of Oued Ouchayah were relocated, with the projection of the tunnel project, which was completed in 1991. Two other smaller operations took place in 1991 and 1997. Since then, no further operations have been scheduled. In addition, the state of conservation of the buildings in "Les Palmiers" city and the barracks in the slum of Oued Ouchayah has deteriorated significantly, particularly as a result of the 2003 earthquake.

The general image of the district presents a serious state of insalubrity, which has led the inhabitants to demonstrate the indifference of public authorities. These demonstrations turned into violent riots in 2010, following the broken promise of their rehousing. Then a second event took place in 2014, before the relocation to the city of "5 July 1962" in January 2015.

Even if the State was committed to rehousing the inhabitants of this district, they kept protesting, either their absence from the lists of annual programmes, or their exclusion from the lists of beneficiaries. Indeed, the strong tension between governors and governed clearly points to the existence of a conflict of logics between the central actors and the dwellers seeking housing. In order to deepen our analysis of these logics, we investigated the precarious district of Oued Ouchayah, whose inhabitants were the first to express their disagreement with the central policy in 2010.

1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Construction of the Oued Ouchayah slum, considered to be one of the most important in the city of Algiers</li> <li>- Rural exodus of populations, fleeing the harsh life of the countryside and the effects of the Algerian war</li> </ul>
1958	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resorption of the Oued Ouchayah slum and projection of structural equipments for the rehabilitation of the district</li> <li>- Construction of the city "Les Palmiers" for the French Gendarmerie's mobile guard officers</li> </ul>
1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Distribution of housing in the city "Les Palmiers" to families without a home after Algeria's independence</li> </ul>
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Second wave of rural exodus in search of employment in the industrial zones initiated by the socialist state</li> <li>- Occupation of the vacant apartments, cellars and outdoor spaces of the city "Les Palmiers"</li> </ul>
1984	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Operation to reduce the precarious housing in the city "Les Palmiers", 300 families have not been rehoused</li> <li>- Ineffectiveness of the operation after the immediate occupation of the apartments by the rehoused person relatives</li> </ul>
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Realization of the Oued Ouchayah tunnel, weakening the structure of the city "Les Palmiers"</li> <li>- Two small-scale resettlement operations in 1991 and 1997</li> <li>- Massive rural exodus of people fleeing the ravages of terrorism during the black decade</li> <li>- Occupation of the external spaces of the district as well as the banks and the forest of Oued Ouchayah</li> </ul>
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Planned restoration of the city "Les Palmiers" after the Boumerdes earthquake in May 2003</li> <li>- Drawer operations through cottages, giving residents the choice to stay or leave for a new home in the capital city</li> </ul>
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Census of families living in the precarious district of Oued Ouchayah and its inclusion in the wilaya programme for the precarious housing resorption</li> </ul>
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Authorities' promise of re-housing before the end of the year</li> <li>- Once the annual operation was over, the inhabitants went out for two days and closed the access to the Oued Ouchayah tunnel</li> <li>- Violence scenes between local youth and law enforcement agencies</li> <li>- Return to calm after new promises from the authorities</li> <li>-</li> </ul>
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Squatting of the slum-dwellers in OPGI housing of the Bachdjerrah municipality</li> <li>- Bad weather causing a landslide, the collapse of 7 shacks in the Oued Ouchayah slum, and the death of a young girl</li> <li>- Condition of the tunnel degraded due to infiltrations caused by the stagnation of rainwater in the city "Les Palmiers"</li> </ul>
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Earthquake in Bologhine, further weakens the structure of the city's buildings and that of the tunnel</li> <li>- Central promises of an imminent resettlement operation</li> <li>- The announcement of the cancellation of the operation by the public authorities, giving priority to a neighbouring precarious district</li> <li>- Riots and demonstration against the exclusion of slum dwellers from RPH's operations</li> </ul>
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Public authorities yield to the social pressure exerted by the inhabitants by disrupting car traffic at the Oued Ouchayah tunnel</li> <li>- <b>Demolition of the precarious habitations and rehousing of the dwellers of the city "Les Palmiers" as well as the slum of Oued Ouchayah, on 05/01/2015, towards the city of public rental housing "05 July 1962" in Larbaa, wilaya of Blida.</b></li> </ul>

**Figure 5.** Timeline summarizing the inhabitants' story of the Oued Ouchayah district (Developed by Author. Based on interviews conducted with the inhabitants of the district).

#### 8. Actors' logics between central technocracy and social assistance

The story of the rehousing of the precarious district's inhabitants once again highlights the failure in the governance of the operations. We deconstructed the causes of this failure through a social analysis of the logics of local actors through the semi-directive interview and a survey through the interview on the logics of central actors, to highlight the faulty links in the influence of the actors' opinions that we materialized in an analysis matrix. In our survey, we used three main qualitative data collection tools: Participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, and language analysis. We therefore chose to carry out a quota sampling, representing the different social and intergenerational categories (age, sex, occupational level) of our case study (Table 1).

**Table 1.** The sampling of interviewees

Sexe		Age		Intellectual level	
female	17	≤ 18	2	unemployed	5
		18 ≤ 30	13	student	6
		30 ≤ 50	12	trader	10
male	18	≥ 50	8	official	7
				framework	4
				elected and committee	3
	35		35		35

The interviews took place in three phases, in the slum houses, during the 2014 demonstrations that we attended, and a final series of interviews that took place when the inhabitants moved out. This technique was applied in order to approach the subjects in the different situations of the operation, in order to identify all the actors' logics through the different fields of analysis. In addition to these semi-structured interviews, we will combine the survey technique of "think aloud" (Dollinger, 1999) in order to understand the reasoning and thinking process of the individuals interviewed. We have therefore asked the respondents to propose an alternative to the PHR operations management system. The objective of this analysis is to unravel the logics of urban actors and to push them to reveal their thought processes (Leighton, 2017) and their opinion on the current situation. The analysis of its data was aimed at comparing the passages of the interviews with each other and then reclassifying them without taking into account their chronological order but according to a logical order. In order to detect the relationships and strong links that emerged through the multiple in-depth readings of the interviews. The data processing obtained from this socio-political survey has enabled us to identify and categorize as follows:

- Logics of the central actors:
- Tactical logic of social peacekeeping
- Socialist logic of rent distribution
- Liberal logic of gentrification
- Technocratic logic of PHR's Policy Making
- Logics of local actors:
- Logic of representativity and transmission of information
- Activist logic of solidarity and social pressure
- Logic of the poor's frustration
- Assistance Logic and social expectation
- Opportunistic profit logic

For example, the technocratic logic of the definition of PHR policies appears in the fact that local actors (local elected officials, civil society and inhabitants) are not included at all in the implementation of operations, *"the operations of resorption of precarious housing are heavy and complex processes ... even the specialists sometimes find it difficult to grasp all the aspects"*, according to the services of the housing department of Algiers<sup>12</sup>. Indeed, the definition of policies, strategies and planning is done at the highest level of government, at the Ministry of Housing, Urbanism and the City, which is *"traditionally controlled by the body of engineers and architects"* [Translate by Author] (Safar-Zitoun, 2011, p.3). The Assistance Logic and social expectation, was really obvious after the field observation<sup>13</sup> and the interviews conducted with the inhabitants, who argued that, although they could afford to rent a house and get out of the slum, they considered that *"Housing is our right as Algerians, the state has been promising us housing since the 1980s, so we are going to wait until the authorities honour their words"*<sup>14</sup>, according to a family man from the Oued Ouchayah slum. Even the cleaning of the precarious district for the improvement of the inhabitants' living conditions is considered by a young man from the district as *"the work of the services of the municipality and the cleaning agents ... they are paid for it"*<sup>15</sup>. These forms of discourse and categories of social logics are, in our opinion, specific to the Algerian case. The state, through its socialist oil rent logic of distribution, has made everyone wait for its "share of the cake"!

<sup>12</sup> Interview conducted with the services of the Housing Directorate of Algiers on 15/01/2016 by Author.

<sup>13</sup> Signs of a certain level of comfort, cars, barrack interiors.

<sup>14</sup> Semi-directive interview conducted on 21/04/2016 by Author.

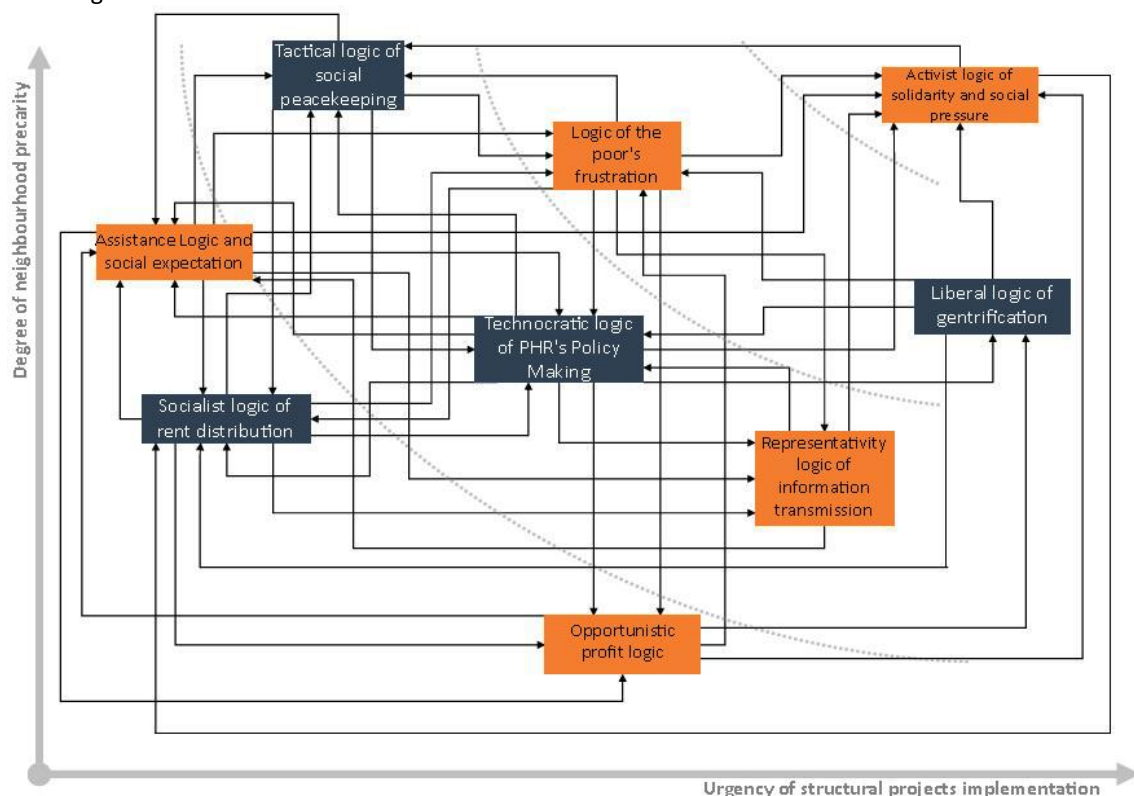
<sup>15</sup> Semi-directive interview conducted on 25/04/2016 by Author.



The confrontation between these categories allowed us to schematize the links of opinion influence (Figure 6). Three of them, which have an influence on certain actors' logics or which are at the origin of other logics, have been identified; thus accentuating the governance failure of the PHR operations in the Oued Ouchayah district.

In our view, these are the logics of actors on which we must act in order to improve operations implementation, and proceed to the construction of a model of good governance for PHR projects in Algeria. These three logics are:

- Technocratic logic of PHR Policy Making
- Assistance Logic and social expectation
- Socialist logic of rent distribution



**Figure 6.** Influence matrix of the actors' opinion in the resorption of the precarious district of Oued Ouchayah (Developed by Author)

## 9. Towards a participatory governance approach

We'll say: At the issue of this modest research, we tried to build a good governance model for the operations of precarious housing resorption in Algeria, which remains to be tested and verified in further research. In this way, and with the aim of proposing a common antagonist to the 3 identified actors' logics, we postulate that the progressive integration of a participative approach would lead to a governance model inclusive of all urban actors concerned by these operations. We are then obliged to present some notions of citizen participation to be able to confront the theoretical hypothesis with reality, therefore with the logics of central and local urban actors. This theoretical feedback allowed us to identify three essential concepts that we divided into three phases (short, medium and long term). These are: the awareness and *recognition of the pluralism of actors* (Navez-Bouchanine, 2007), *the decentralization of public action*, and finally, we analyzed examples in order to deepen our knowledge of *citizen participation in transversal governance*.

The confrontation of this knowledge with the logics of the actors allowed us to visualize a hypothetical scenario (Figure 7), of the progressive introduction of participatory approach to improve the implementation of operations for the precarious housing resorption in Algeria. It is also a proposal to make general recommendations for the introduction of the "urban workshops"<sup>16</sup> concept in this kind of social operations. Indeed, the specific problems of the studied district as well as all the slums of the capital must be discussed and debated until the emergence of a consensus between inhabitants and authorities. Mediation is also required, through qualified mediating actors with the right vision that will

<sup>16</sup>These urban workshops represent a platform for citizen participation in the governance of the operations for the precarious housing resorption, the main results and recommendations of which will be implemented at the intermunicipal (short term), municipal (medium term) and neighborhood or project (long term) scales.

allow the eradication of all slums. This necessarily involves an iterative and exchange process, taking care not to sacrifice the rights of society's marginalized dwellers.

Urban actors' logic in the Oued Ouchayah precarious district		Hypothetical behaviors of the urban actors' logics in the face of a progressive implementation of a participatory approach process		
		Short term <i>Recognition of the pluralism of actors</i>	Medium term <i>The decentralization of public action</i>	Long term <i>Citizen participation in transversal governance</i>
Logics of central urban actors	Tactical logic of social peacekeeping	Real reconciliation through political and social discourse	Credibility of political discourse for the gain of social trust	Full transparency in political and social discourse
	Socialist logic of rent distribution	Partial abandonment of rentier urbanization	Partial support for the right to housing	Diversification of resources for financing social housing projects
	Liberal logic of gentrification	partial rupture with gentrification through the systematic resettlement	Integration of the concept of precarious housing upgrading in the urban policy	citizens' choice for the precarious housing resorption strategy
	Technocratic logic of PHR's Policy Making	Pedagogical training of local actors (elected officials, civil society and inhabitants)	Decentralization of PHR policy definition to the local level	Central regulation of PHR operations: evaluation, improvement
Logics of local urban actors	Representativity logic of information transmission	Redefining the place of the municipality in PHR operations	Inclusion of civil society and inhabitants in PHR operations	Participatory Democracy and Citizen Power in PHR Policy Definition
	Activist logic of solidarity and social pressure	Social pedagogical education and training in the exercise of citizenship	Involvement of citizens in the definition of PHR policy	Transversal and inclusive concertation of all urban actors in PHR operations
	Logic of the poor's frustration	Public assistance to the poor population in the realization of their right to housing	Improving the social and economic living environment and combating unemployment	autonomous realisation of the right to housing and introduction of the bank loan
	Assistance Logic and social expectation	identification of poor populations and contribution of the middle class	Implementation of a flexible financial arrangement mechanism and adaptable to different cases	empowerment of citizens for the realization of their right to housing
	Opportunistic profit logic	Thorough investigation of exceedances and immediate sanction under the Act	Establishment of anti-corruption mechanisms within the administration	Introduction of the "citizen jury" concept in the monitoring and detection of excesses

Figure 7. Synthesis table of the hypothetical scenario (Developed by Author)

## 10. Conclusions

It goes without saying that demonstrations of discontent by slum dwellers are still going on. Such events are also observed and perpetuated by the newly re-housed in the cities of public rental housing. We are in front of a radical action of new housing production and delocalization without worrying about the socio-spatial effects of this type of intervention. Without dwelling on the examples explored (Morocco and India), the analysis demonstrated a willingness to rethink the role of the State, and the place of citizens, in developing countries seeking to apply participatory democracy. The notions of social project management, financial arrangements and empowerment are the main derivatives of citizen participation, which not only adapts the project to the needs, means or imaginations of the population, but can also serve as a catalyst for positive individual and community dynamics on the spot. And those, while encouraging a transversal communication of knowledge within communities suffering from exclusion. Thereby, citizen participation facilitates the inhabitants' resourcefulness, while creating a propitious climate of work and collaboration between the State, public services and slum dwellers. However, the intersection between social policy and urban policy has shown, as the situation in Algeria suggests, that the involvement of inhabitants in the slum resorption process is a long and difficult path. As Navez Bouchanine<sup>17</sup> (2007) shows, the "formal" participation of the inhabitants can lead to further blockages. She explains that the inhabitants may also have other ambitions (acquisition of social assistance), or be manipulated by central actors with the aim of diverting housing attributions.

Finally, we note that in Algeria, very little has been done in terms of research into adapted and non-radical solutions. The action of cleaning is nowadays, more and more discarded throughout the world. As a result of this research, we affirm that the solution lies in an action of slums integration in the urban dynamics by the improvement of these territories at the urban and architectural level, without having to displace the populations; through the implementation of an adapted citizen participation mechanism. This requires an iterative approach, involving sociologists, town planners and central actors in the elaboration of a specific model for Algerian inhabitants/citizens, thus guaranteeing their inclusion and the preservation of the poor population's rights.

<sup>17</sup>The work of Navez Bouchanine Françoise is based on various works devoted to the issue of "social project management", with a participatory observation of the author at certain phases of the evaluating policies work and the implementation progress of the Cities without Slums program in Morocco.

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