

Change in Intervention Strategies on Spontaneous Permanent Housing in Algeria : From Carelessness to a Quickly Abandoned Participatory Development

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Abstract

The question of permanent spontaneous housing represents a major challenge not only in Algeria, but also in the world. A review of intervention policies on these non-regulatory constructions shows that the Algerian state has moved from policies of eradication to policies of integration and participation. This shift is driven by the recognition that spontaneous habitats were not a problem but a solution determined by low-income population when formal housing markets could not meet its demand. In Algeria, despite all the efforts made to contain the growth of urban informality, it continues to increase.

This paper aims to discuss the change in treatment of permanent spontaneous housing, from negligence and carelessness to participatory development approaches that are quickly abandoned. Currently, the state has returned to social policies aimed at providing decent housing to low-income populations. To reach this objective, the method of analysis chosen uses qualitative research techniques that favor surveys by interview with the officials responsible for the file. The results of this study show that intervention strategies on illegal habitat have ambivalent effects and that is why their success remains limited. Such a result is revealing the inefficiency of public actions. Responsibilities are shared between the management of local authorities and the low participation of the populations concerned with these actions. The leaders favored the political management of the file and not those recommended by the experts and professional actors mobilized.

Keywords: Housing policy, illegal settlements, intervention strategies, permanent spontaneous housing, participatory development.

INTRODUCTION

A planetary phenomenon, the proof is the multiplicity of names that the term covers from one country to another according to the conditions and standards of living, the values and the dominant social systems. The denominations are made in many terms: illicit, non-regulatory, illegal, clandestine, spontaneous... the definitions of spontaneous construction vary according to the diversity of studies and points of view of specialists and researchers in this field and according to the geographical regions. Organizations and researchers unanimously agreed that these establishments remain informal and unauthorized.

In the Algerian context, the habitat is said to be informal when it has not respected legal rules related to town planning and construction. Whether it is a question of building on state or private squatted land, in an informal subdivision without a town-planning certificate and without a subdivision permit. It is also informal when the building is built without a building permit. This is the definition adopted in this article.

Slums are the result of state's failure to provide adequate and affordable housing to the needy living in towns. Consequently, if we borrow from Deboulet (1994) its designation "the habitat of popular emanation" should not be perceived as a part of the housing crisis but rather as a solution developed by low-income populations in the conditions of limited economic resources and bureaucratic control. When neither the State nor the private sector could provide these inhabitants with the houses they needed, the latter used their limited means to provide themselves with this sub-integrated housing, the main characteristics of which were defined by Naciri (1980). This proves that the policy adopted by the State and the institutions responsible for managing and controlling housing production has been largely ineffective.

This article aims to study the change in strategies and policies for the treatment of unlawful permanent spontaneous settlements, focusing on the Algerian context from the post-independence era to the present day. The survey of the adopted policies encompasses both those dealing with causes and symptoms, a two-track approach as suggested by Payne (Payne, 2005, p.136). Policies targeting the causes are mainly discussed in the national policy of providing low-

cost social housing that can be financed by the needy living in towns, while those targeting the symptoms discuss the upgrading of existing informal housing and controlling its growth.

METHODS

This study analyzes the strategies of intervention on the spontaneous permanent habitats or houses in Algeria. Qualitative research was used to obtain data from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected by field observations, which helped to identify problems related to illicit housing. Secondary sources include official documents or publications, books, journals, newspaper articles, and internet researches. The main objectives of the study are to draw a clear picture of the changes in the policies and strategies adopted for the treatment of informal settlements in Algeria.

To understand the role of the State in policy-making and implementation in dealing with informal settlements, interviews were held with representatives of groups and stakeholders with good experience in improving informal settlements: housing and policy development in Algeria. This is the head of service of the urban planning department of the Wilaya¹ of Constantine², the head of service of the Communal³ Popular Assembly (CPA⁴) of Constantine and head of the Daira⁵. The interviews were conducted in the form of guided conversations.

The interview includes open-ended questions on policy and intervention strategies on illegal and informal settlement: explanation of government policies and legal support for the implementation of the treatment of informal settlements and the obstacles encountered.

This document explores two main axes:

- Origin and evolution of the spontaneous permanent housing in the Algerian context.
- The intervention strategies developed to improve the living environment and the living conditions of the inhabitants of informal settlements.

The results of these interviews will support the data in this article.

Stay of Play

Algeria is one of the most urbanized countries in the mediterranean region. Its urban population has grown from 30% in 1966 to 65% in 2008, according to the last census⁶, making more than two-thirds of its population urban. Urbanization has grown rapidly over the past few decades. This urban fact has led to the creation, on the peripheries of cities, of illicit neighborhoods. These non-regulatory training courses (Belguidoum, Mouaziz, 2010, p.104) have to deal with real urban problems of access to basic equipments and services.

Following the observation of territorial and social inequalities, the Algerian State has decided to increase its intervention with regard to these non-regulatory constructions. In order to improve the living conditions of the populations of these neighborhoods to support local socio-economic development, the Algerian State has launched strategies for the treatment of these establishments. What are these strategies?

Origin and Evolution of Permanent Housing in the Algerian Context

Spontaneous urbanization or parallel city (Benidir, 2007, p.156) emerged from the famine crisis that affected the world in 1929, and increased during the war of liberation following the displacement of populations fleeing the horrors of the war and continued its increase by a massive rural exodus. These populations fled the insecurity of the countryside⁷, seeking for employment, for a minimum of comfort offered in the big cities and thus enlarged many illicit sites.

¹The wilaya is a territorial collectivity of the State. It has legal personality and financial autonomy. It is also a decentralized administrative district of the State and constitutes as such, the space for the joint implementation of public policies and consultation between local authorities and the state. (Article 1, law n° 12-07 of February 21, 2012 relating to the wilaya).

²Constantine is a city in the north East of Algeria

³Communal :concerning a municipality, the latter the basic territorial collectivity of the state. It has legal personality and financial autonomy. It is created by law. Article 1, law n°. 11-10 of June 22, 2011 relating to the municipality.

⁴CPA : the communal popular assembly of the APC in the elected deliberative assembly of the municipality in Algeria

⁵The daïra is a subdivision of the wilaya (prefecture) in the Algerian territorial administration.

⁶The last census carried out in 2008. The new one, planned for 2018, has not been carried out.

⁷Colonialism's scorched earth policy

After 1962, Algeria inherited a housing deficit: only 10% of the Algerian population lived in adequate housing at the time of decolonization (UNO, 2011, p.6). Facing this situation, the colonial administration intervened through specific operations such as resettlement cities on the periphery of cities.

After the independence of Algeria in 1962, a massive industrialization created employment opportunities around major cities like Constantine. The rural exodus to the cities increased by 2.1 million people (Nait Saada, 2010, p.8). With the saturation of the vacant housing stock, many middle-class and low-income families had only the way of informal housing, which they raised on non-urbanizable land or agricultural land on the urban periphery.

An agrarian and urban land revolution took place following the nationalization of agricultural land in the countryside and around the cities. This made it possible in 1974 to promulgate Ordinance 74/26 in February 1974 to constitute urban land reserves. They are particularly important for cities that were beginning to show incapacities to integrate development projects and to offer the land bases necessary for housing programs. The impact of this agrarian revolution on the development of informal settlements in Algerian cities was significant (Boulahebel, 2005, p.2). Thus, the landowners had sold their land to individuals according to illegal procedures, in order to avoid their integration into the urbanization perimeter dedicated to the realization of industrial projects and equipment in all Algerian cities. This setting aside of the property, will be at the origin of subdivisions without a subdivision permit and then sales under private seal⁸, which has encouraged the proliferation of anarchic and illicit housing.

Moreover, the decline in oil revenues had led to an economic crisis in Algeria in 1986 (Hamamda, 2004, p.73), a sign of a failure of public authorities in all sectors, including the housing sector. The latter underwent a difficult evolution from 1988, while the needs continued to increase due to the demographic explosion that prevailed until 1985 (Sari, 1990, p.376). The proliferation of housing illegal activity continues in all urban centers.

From 1990, a security exodus took over, where thousands of families had fled the villages towards the cities where illegal constructions were created, and a fall in the provision of social housing was exacerbated. The housing shortage had become critical.

After two difficult decades in economic, social and security terms, the induced effects of the “disengagement of the State” have been reflected in public affairs, in particular the chapter of social housing. We are witnessing a takeover of the situation by the State, thanks to the context of regained political stability. Housing programs have been launched throughout the country where financial aid has facilitated access for the middle classes. Just as the maintenance of social housing in development programs has made it possible to satisfy the demand of the lower classes. At the same time, financial aid for rural housing has been granted to stabilize the inhabitants in the countryside. As an example, figure 1 illustrates the location of many spontaneous neighborhoods in the city of Constantine occupying the periphery and going deep into the city center. (See figure 1)

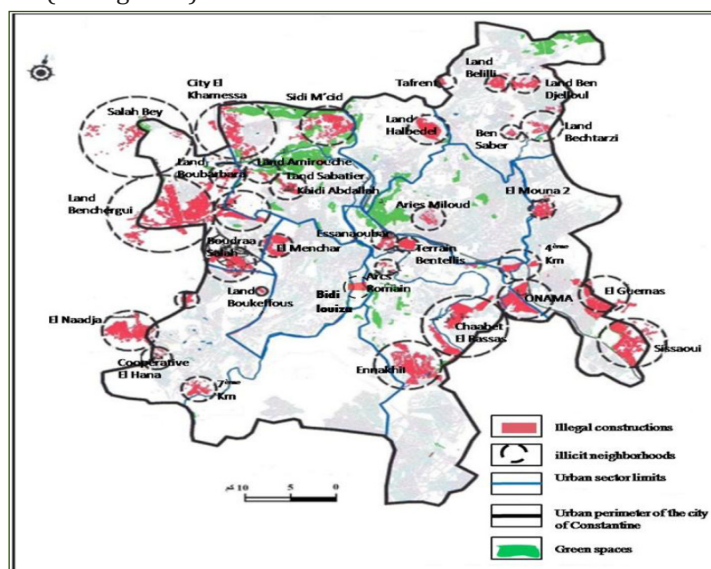


Figure 1. Location of permanent spontaneous neighborhoods hard in the city of Constantine

Source: (Hammoud, 2016) + Author treatment, 2022

⁸The sale of land is recorded by a deed made by public scribes to justify ownership.

Currently, despite the importance of housing production, the proportion of social housing remains insufficient (Bellal, 2009, p.109). In addition to this, informally employed low-income populations have been excluded from housing allocation mechanisms. These two situations perpetuate the proliferation of permanent, spontaneous housing.

Change in Treatment Strategies for Spontaneous Permanent Housing in Algeria

The policy for the treatment of permanent spontaneous housing in Algeria had defined a program of regularization from 1985. The policies initiated by the authorities of the State were abandoned during the events of insecurity; which contributed to the proliferation of illegal housing, given the lack of control, the priorities being to ensure the stability of the country. For this reason, the policy of the Algerian State was reformulated on several occasions by taking into consideration of new political, economic and social circumstances.

During the 1960's and despite the accelerated growth of permanent spontaneous housing, the Algerian State for one reason or another adopted an attitude of total carelessness of this issue. It was only in the 1980's that government policy began to take an interest in spontaneous areas when the dulcification of spontaneous habitat had gained momentum, presenting national and local authorities with a *fait accompli*.

First Strategy: Slums eradication

During the 1970's, the oppressive policy of bulldozing evictions prevailed. The official orientation of the State at that time was the eradication of slums created on land squatted by rural migrants by providing them with social housing, but the waiting times were very long. The adoption of the policy placed emphasized on land acquisition, and conventional housing projects.

Several parameters led to the failure of this strategy, we mention the opposition of migrants and their refusal to return to the regions from which they came, when the national authorities had decided to transfer them to their regions of origin, because they were too used to their way of life, preferring the neighborhood of cities. The strong demographic growth combined with the low production of housing is at the origin of the proliferation of spontaneous housing. Just as the demolition and re-housing operations are very costly and endless because every day thousands of new families settled in the slums and living in slums became the safest way to have social housing, they actually have a business. Because precarious housing is considered by the Algerian state as a phenomenon detrimental to the social cohesion of cities (MHUV⁹, 2005), eradication was indicated at that time.

Second Strategy: From eradication to integration

In the 1980's, incremental change began to occur to promote modernization approaches that minimized the social effects, economic and environmental impacts stemming from eviction as it maintained social relationships for better community cohesion. Therefore, the state considered informal urbanization as a social and political regulation (Semmoud, 2015, p.5). Thus, in 1985, a presidential decree n°85-212 of August 13, 1985¹⁰ initiated a new policy of regularization of permanent spontaneous housing, which consisted of integration with projects, and programs focused on land legalization, and technical upgrading through infrastructure improvements, and improved housing, for social and economic development. (See figure 2)

The terms and procedures for regularization related to two aspects: the identification of cases and the conditions for their management through the legal nature of the land, compliance with town-planning rules and construction standards, the site of location of the construction and its servicing. Constructions located on protected sites, easements and non-aedificandi lands as well as constructions that disfigured the environment or those that caused a security issues were excluded from this regularization.

At the beginning, this law came up against great unwillingness on the part of the inhabitants of illegal constructions to come forward and to compile regularization files. This can be explained by:

- The procedure is costly, particularly for inhabitants with precarious incomes, their inability to bear the required regularization costs or "the price of urbanity"

⁹MHUV : Ministry of Housing, Urban Planning and the City.

¹⁰Ordinance laying down, on a transitional basis, the rules for land use with a view to their preservation and protection. Official Journal n° 34-1985



Figure 2. Bidi Louiza district. This district regularized according to decree 85-212.

Source: Author, 2022

- Physical modernization is difficult given the compact urban form of these districts: narrow streets, slopes, etc.
- The lack of information for the inhabitants concerned vis-à-vis their irregular situation, they had been very suspicious and reluctant about any formalized action, preferring not to undertake anything for fear that a demolition operation would follow.
- The inhabitants are subject to an incalculable number of procedures.

This resulted in a limited number of requests for regularization compared to the large number of informal constructions throughout the national territory. Table 1 shows all the informal establishment files filed in 1986.(See table 1)

Table 1.Total regularization files for illegal constructions in 1986

Census of informal dwellings	333 573
files filed	170 474
files examined by the daïra committee	118 203
regularized files	95 585
buildings demolished or to be demolished	1 741
the number of associations created	560

Source : M.A.T.U.C¹¹1987 ; situation at 31.12.1986

Third strategy: From integration to participatory development

During the 1990's, with the emergence of new concepts of decentralization and privatization, the role of local authorities in the management and steering of urban development processes was expanded. The approach taken to deal with the problems of informal urbanization has shifted exclusively from the management of informal settlements to greater integration into city-wide policy and institutional reform programs, within the framework of a national housing policy. The focus was on infrastructure improvement, provision of social services and technical and physical restructuring of neighborhoods followed by regularization of property rights. This strategy is based on the logic stipulating the total or partial suppression of the informal sector that does not meet minimum living standards.

Steps to implement innovative operations conducted according to the financial capacities of the inhabitants to participate in the improvement of their housing (See figure 3 and figure 4). Thus, a project with a participatory dimension was initiated. On July 9, 1998, within the framework of the agreement signed with the World Bank, the Algerian State had launched a project for the suppression of precarious housing (RHP¹²). The World Bank participated in the project with a loan of 120 million US dollars (5,500 million Algerian dinars) representing 70% of the total cost, contribution of the State and the remaining 30%, was the responsibility of the beneficiaries. This program was dedicated to improve the living conditions of low-income households residing in precarious neighborhoods. In particular, it aimed to prevent the rise of such neighborhoods by building 15,000 housing units and providing pieces of building land accessible to disadvantaged families. (See table 2)

¹¹Ministry of spatial planning, Town planning and construction, former name of the current Ministry of housing, town planning and the city.

¹²Reduction of precarious housing



Figure 3. Halbadel district. This district benefited from the intervention of the R.H.P project

Source: Author, 2022



Figure 4. Informal construction in Halbadel Improvements made by the inhabitants...

Source: Author, 2022

Table 2. Interventions carried out within the framework of the R.H.P program until 30.06.2001

	Number of projects	Type of operation			Total
		Relocation	Restructuring	Backup websites	
Total	39	7 467	11 019	2 858	21 344

Source : KASMI, 2012

Criticism of this strategy highlighted certain obstacles:

- Non-compliance with the agreement financing plan (the documents did not conform to the established values).
- Delays in completing the operation (delivery of houses was not completed in its entirety)
- The withdrawal of the World Bank as well as the inability of the population to finance their housing, the 30% that they had to provide in order to assume part of the responsibility that these operations required.

These houses have become a new type of precarious housing, only in a more orderly and legal manner. The concern to get the population out of precariousness and the supply of social housing to households have encouraged new families to settle in the slums left by their previous occupants. Therefore, the phenomenon repeated itself. As a result, the program was abandoned, losing its participatory substance during its application in the field.

During the 2000s, the notion of «integration» evolved in term of the actions to be taken in an attempt to solve the problem of permanent spontaneous housing. The actions were oriented towards integration encompassing three fundamental aspects that are social, physical and legal integration by adopting specific programs to meet the needs of the community and promote social development.

Fourth Strategy: Diversification of Housing Supply

Suffering from a lack of housing, in 1999, the deficit was estimated at 3 million units and more than 350,000 families residing in slums (APS, 2018). To reduce them, the housing offer has been diversified according to the income of the beneficiaries. This was possible thanks to the colossal public funding that was planned for loans. The state had provided substantial housing loans with lower interest rates. Being the main source of financing, producer and supplier of housing alongside private real-estate developers whose financing is partially provided by state aid and the participation of beneficiaries. More than 3.6 million housing units have been built for an overall cost of 5788 billion dinars.

The Different Housing Offers are Available to Applicants

- Public rental housing program (PRH) financed entirely by State: intended for low-income citizens. 1,173,093 units are carried out, i.e. 32.33% of the total,
- Participatory public housing program (PPH) for home ownership aided by the State to own property: middle-income households are concerned, 452,661 carried out, i.e. 8.46%
- Rental sale housing program (RPH) : financed by the public treasury up to 75% of the total reimbursable cost in the form of monthly rents and for the remaining 25%, represent the personal contribution of the buyers. 528,161 are offered or 9.87%.
- Rural housing program (RHP): Households living in rural areas are eligible for financial aid from the State.
- For intermediate groups: the government grants direct financial aid from budgetary resources. The households concerned can borrow additional loans from banks in order to buy a house from public or private promoters. 246,498 promotional housing (PH) units realized, i.e. (4.60%).
- Self-built housing program (SH) 747,712 housing units are completed, i.e. (13.97%). (See table3)

Table 3.Housing production since 2000 by segment

Formula/ Year	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2014	2015-2019	2020	Total
Public rental housing	299 642	215 397	362 136	800 000	52 918	1 730 093
Participatory public housing	156 947	133 982	123 051	27 630	11 051	452 661
Rental sale housing	5 885	38 839	21 566	400 000	61 871	528 161
Rural habitat	202 240	404 043	589 720	400 000	49 292	1 645 295
Total public	664714	792261	1096473	1627630	175132	4356210
Promotional housing	56 959	31 188	27 955	7 147	123 249	246 498
Self-built housing	163 985	94 193	97 895	17 783	373 856	747 712
Total	885 658	917 642	1 222 323	1 652 560	672 237	5 350 420

Source : M.H.U.V, 2020

A critical reading of Table 3 shows that the share of social housing compared to other types of housing has been always the largest one. This is a real evidence that the State continues to support such housing for the benefit of modest social classes whose resources do not allow them to access property. At the same time, there is an increase in the supply of rental-purchase housing. This is explained by the increase in the value of financial aid paid to beneficiaries in line with the citizen's ability to obtain housing. As for promotional housing, it records the lowest percentage due to the lack of financing resources of the inhabitants and the unavailability of lands.

"President's Housing" Program Substantial Support

During the period 2001 - 2019, Algeria carried out five development programs:

- 1- Economic recovery program for the period 2001-2004,
- 2- Complementary development support program during the period 2005-2009,
- 3- Five-year development program for the period 2010-2014,
- 4- Economic development program for consolidation over the period 2015-2019.
- 5- Algeria has chosen a new type of development for the period 2016-2030, development programs have benefited from

the granting of large budgets intended for the advancement of the national economy to improve the lives of citizens and reduce poverty.

Program 2001-2004: The 2000's is characterized by a policy of making up for the deficits recorded in past years, mobilizing considerable resources, in particular with the five-year plan 2000-2004 known by the construction of 1,730,093 housing units. What distinguishes this period in the sector of housing is the emergence of a new formula known as the rent-purchase formula.

Program 2005-2009: During this period, 1,045,000 dwellings were delivered, including 58% of urban dwellings and 42% of rural dwellings. 275,000 rural dwellings, 275,000 SPH, 120,000 PRH and 80,000 rental-purchase dwellings. The occupancy rate per dwelling fell from 7.30 person/dwelling in 1998 to 6.40 in 2008¹³.

Program 2010-2014: This program came for the construction of two million housing units. It is divided as follows; more than 500,000 public rental units and 500,000 of the promotional type and 300,000 are allocated to inhabitants of precarious and informal neighborhoods and 700,000 in the context of rural housing. The intention of the State is clear; that of eliminating the housing crisis through the financial envelopes that it allocates for each project of one million housing units, since the five-year plan (2010-2014) allocated 3,700 billion dinars to housing programs.

Program 2015-2019: During this period, the demand expressed is estimated at 1,226,178 housing units. To this end, the production of housing continued with the objective of reducing the crisis and the total eradication of slums. This program came for the construction of 1.6 million housing units, including 800,000 social rental-housing units intended for low-income families. Middle-income households have benefited from 400,000 rental-purchase housing units and the remaining 400,000 housing units are intended for middle-income rural households to stabilize rural populations in the countryside. At the end of 2019, the national housing stock reached a total of 9.9 million dwellings. Thus, the occupancy rate per dwelling rose to 4.14 people/dwelling. According to the Minister of housing town planning and the city a program of one million twenty thousand housing units has been registered (APS, 2021)¹⁴ of which:

- 218,801 housing units were under new programs registered;
- 667,727 housing units were in the process of being completed;
- 199,753 housing units completed;
- 371,721 had not yet been launched and 231;
- 577houses distributed until March 31, 2021.

Fifth Strategy: Physical and Legal Integration and Law 15-08

Despite the housing problem being taken care of by a large quantity produced, the phenomenon of spontaneous housing continues to arise acutely. In parallel with all the efforts made and to remedy the phenomenon, in July 2008, law 15-08¹⁵ relating to the rules of completion and compliance of constructions was promulgated to better control the quality of constructions and the safety of citizens. The completion of constructions according to architectural and urban standards in order to improve the image of the cities and to offer the inhabitants of these districts a better living environment.

Not all the buildings concerned by this law have complied with the laws governing construction; as a result, they are subject to the verification of conformity that the legislator has limited to four situations:

- Constructions having a building permit and not completed on July 20, 2008.
- Constructions with a building permit but not in accordance with the building permits issued.
- Completed constructions, carried out without a building permit.
- Unfinished constructions carried out without a building permit.

While constructions erected on land exposed to natural hazards or agricultural or forestland or located in protected areas such as tourist expansion areas and historical monuments and all non-aedificandi areas will not be regularized and will be demolished.

¹³Data from the national statistics office ONS

¹⁴Alegria press service, 10/05/2021 11.

¹⁵Relating to the achievement of building compliance and their completion in an attempt to improve the urban, architectural and technical quality of the built environment (MHUV, 2015).

Once the operation is finished, it gives right to the attribution of an act of regularization through:

- The building permit as a means of regularization,
- The completion permit: document necessary to complete the construction of a building before being able to use it,
- The certificate of conformity, which is an administrative act through which the regularization of any completed construction, is done; it is an authorization to live,
- This operation failed for the following reasons:
 - The regularization procedure is costly and most of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods do not have the means,
 - The regularization procedure is very long since the completion of the construction work and the exterior appearance of the house must be completed.
 - For fear that their homes will be demolished; the inhabitants of illicit neighborhoods do not want to join.
 - Most of the citizens who submitted files to verify the conformity of their constructions have still not received any answers.

For these reasons, the decision makers postponed the deadline several times from August 2012 to August 2013, then to August 2016 and finally to August 2019.

On 29/12/2011 out of 100,000 files, only 3,000 files were processed, i.e., 22 files per municipality in 3 years; on 04/28/2012 out of 151,509 files filed while the Daira commissions had processed 78,518, or 51 files per municipality¹⁶. The urban landscape disfigured by unfinished constructions proves the ineffectiveness of this law after more than ten years of its promulgation. Then the regularization must be global. (See figure 5)



Figure 5. Informal constructions in Constantine. The appearance of an unfinished urban site in the periphery
Source: Author, 2022

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Unregulated urbanization is a reality that many developing countries face. Despite all the efforts made to control its growth, establishments of popular creation are born and develop regularly. In the Algerian context, national and local authorities have developed different strategies in the face of the very persistent phenomenon of illegal, informal, spontaneous housing. The national policy towards informal settlements initially neglected the “Let it be”¹⁷ phenomenon. Then a change of strategy, there were the evictions and demolitions of precarious housing and the passage through transit sites that lasted years or even decades for a possible transfer to social housing. These long waiting times had encouraged the inhabitants to proceed with the improvement of their homes and improve their living conditions to make viable permanent housing.

¹⁶statistics disseminated by the Ministry of Housing, Town Planning and the City as an assessment of the application of this law.

¹⁷“Let it be” is a concept imported from political economy that values the non-intervention of the state in the economic system.

From the total eradication of all that is informal and non-regulatory, to the law of physical and legal integration with the help of a text in number 85-01 of August 13, 1985, to the reduction of precarious housing RHP in 1998. Then there was Law 15-08 setting the rules for compliance of constructions and their completion in order to provide residents with conditions of stability. This law also aims to put an end to illegal and unfinished housing in order to improve the image of the city.

The policies and strategies in Algeria are marked by the actions of the State as the main actor of regulation, management of urbanization and the production of housing by various formulas. This role is done to the disadvantage of local actors who display an inability to intervene effectively in central choices.

Despite the production of formal decent housing at the rate of one million housing units per year, it has not been able to meet the strong demand from medium and low-income families. Thus, the proliferation of spontaneous permanent housing continues.

The results of this study show a relative failure of state intervention strategies in dealing with unregulated urbanization. Being sector-based, these strategies change according to the provision of services, on-site redevelopment operations and the re-housing of residents. The common causes of the success of the treatment operations implemented by the Algerian State are the political will and the availability of funds. Once one of these two causes fails, operations stop. In addition, not only is the proportion of the needy who benefit from social housing relatively low, other social categories benefit greatly from it, such as the beneficiaries of several dwellings, speculators, well-to-do people who do not qualify for social housing too. All these malicious procedures on the part of citizens and certain managers are prolonging the housing crisis and defeating the great efforts made by the State.

It is recommended to define new, more effective and more pragmatic strategies to achieve the objectives set and anticipate any future developments. Good management of costs and deadlines as well as rational management of land, which is becoming increasingly rare, are the technical ingredients to have first. To ensure the control of urban growth and put an end to the phenomenon of illegal housing, which disfigures cities, it would be better to establish a support strategy offering technical and financial assistance in order to encourage the production of well-made self-built housing for low-income citizens. Not all of these solutions can succeed without urban governance based on a sharing of roles and partnership between actors.

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