

From Free Space to No-Man's-Land: Conjuncture of Formation and Transformation of an Urban Component. Case of El Khroub City in Algeria

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Abstract

Our object of study is the phenomenon of urban no-man's-land, which refers to all forms of empty, uninhabited, residual, and unoccupied spaces. This phenomenon is observed on several urban scales in the New urban housing areas across the city of El Khroub belonging to the urban area of the city of Constantine located in eastern Algeria. The objectives of this research are to examine this multi-dimensional phenomenon and to understand the dynamics and factors of the emergence of no man's land in cities through urban policies based on several approaches, methods, and tools. The historical and analytical approaches form the basis of the study. The survey method integrates the participation of citizens via non-participant observation techniques, as well as a multiple-choice questionnaire interview.

Key words: Urban no-man's-land; Urban policy; New urban housing areas (NUHA); Participation of the inhabitants.

INTRODUCTION

The production of urban space with all its characteristics, qualities, anomalies, and dysfunctions is correlated to several factors determined particularly by historical, economic, social, and legal data relating to public policies. But in sum, it is the political factor that has shaped the land and controlled the urban production of independent Algeria (CNES Report, 2004).

The harmful effects of the implementation of this policy, are perceptible today in the majority of Algerian cities, the signs of this crisis, are revealed under several contours: frightening rate of urbanization, housing crisis and multiplication of shantytowns and precarious housing, urban incoherence, and others without neglecting the hidden dimensions of the crisis which concern, in particular, the mismatch between living environment and lifestyle (Lakjaa, Carmes, & Noyer, 2014). Another form of urban incoherence is manifested by the appearance of large areas of no man's land.

Outside of the planned spaces, the no-man's-land space appears quite different, a blurred space, without any particular form of defined status. This uncontrolled space seems today unfit to fulfill the functions to which it was predestined. It does not belong to a precise framework of the city and escapes all its regulations and standards. From an urban and social point of view, it is a form of disorder and urban incoherence that only fragments the space and causes the ills that these NUHA's suffer today. Despite the negative image that has long been conveyed, the no-man's lands offer the possibility of establishing a process of internal production, and as they were the miraculous solution to alleviate all the urban ills caused by the traditional city, they are the lands of the future of the city today.

The no-man's-land space scatters in the majority of Algerian cities by concentrating on its NUHAs, a procedure similar to that of the French ZUPs and the model of large ensembles spread throughout the world. This space occupies in some cases more than 75% of the land base of the parcel, a direct consequence of the very low density of the built environment, which has not exceeded, in the majority of cases, the 30 homes per hectare. One of the intrinsic rules to address the issues of urban hygiene and comfort that have been at the heart of the grid of modern urbanism. In El Khroub, the second city in the ring bordering the city of Constantine, one of the major cities of eastern Algeria, the no-man's land occupies more than 33.5% of its land base, the equivalent of 171.25 ha.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

The present work aims to trace the genetic movement of no-man's-land spaces, identify them in their urban problems, and more particularly understand the relationship between urban policy in Algeria and its emergence based on two factors: rehousing operations and the neglect of the role of the inhabitants in the production process.

The object of study of the present research is elaborated from an observation of a concrete phenomenon, it is concerned to study the interrelation between the no-man's land as a spatial component and the set of historical circumstances that favored its genesis. The deductive causal method is adapted in this work, a method most often used to explain a dependent phenomenon from a set of independent phenomena.

Tools and Techniques

This research is based on two logics: the first is the study of the main architectural and urban planning theories that have favored the appearance of no-man's lands. The second concerns the academic and administrative documentation and that of urban planning instruments devoted to the study of urban policy in Algeria.

In order to understand the process of urban production in Algeria, and the representations of the inhabitants, we had recourse to certain specialists of the urban question, architects, planners, inhabitants, and users of the space.

Several tools appropriate to the study are employed including the survey via two techniques:

Non-Participant Observation

Observation is one of the main techniques of field investigation, it allows to elaborate qualitative samples to understand attitudes and behaviors (Angers, 1997). The objective of the observation in this research is to seize and index the phenomenon, to decipher and analyze its spatial characteristics, on the one hand, and to discover the practices such space, on the other hand.

To carry out this work of observation, a field journal was elaborated beforehand, and the whole of the facts to be observed are listed. The notes, in this case, took a free form (description) with a free system of taking photos.

A Directive Multiple-Choice Interview Questionnaire

Direct observation, the primary method in this research, appeared insufficient in time and space and did not allow the collection of all the information necessary for the completion of this work. Direct contact with the users seemed to us more than necessary by relying on a questionnaire by interview another way with which we tried not only to collect information but also to understand the phenomenon such as it is seen and felt by the real users of the space no man's land.

The sampling is stratified random. The coded data are processed using SPSS software. The survey targeted three categories of population: children/adolescents up to 19 years old, adults between 19 and 60 years old, and elderly people over 60 years old (Figure 1)

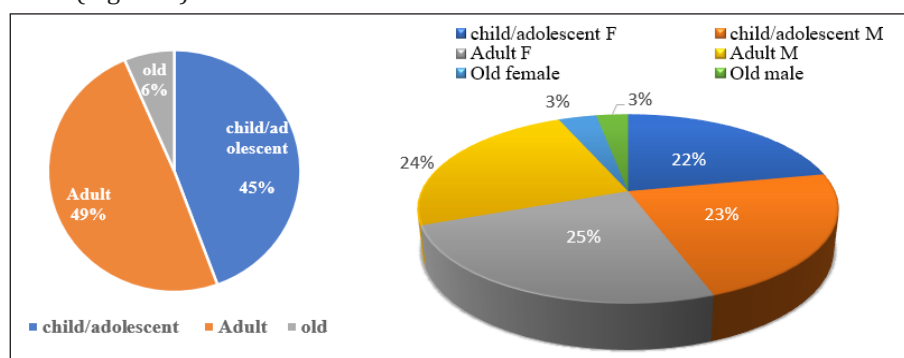


Figure 1. Distribution of the surveyed population by age and gender.

Sample Size

The observation and the work of seizure of the various practices and uses of the space no man's land are focused on the totality of the perimeter of the city of El Khroub, this work allowed us to locate the zones of concentration of the space no man's land which know an important social dynamic. Therefore, given the large area of the study perimeter exceeding 511 ha and its high demographic concentration, we chose to conduct our questionnaire by interviewing a few cities of the city (five NUHAs. According to the initial vocation of these NUHAs, we classify them into two categories (commercial and residential). We note that this classification is not intended to be comparative, but rather complementary. The

population of these NUHAs is estimated at 34 342 inhabitants (72.15% of the total population of the NUHAs in the city of El Khroub). This leads us to survey a sample of 342 people, which corresponds to a coverage rate of 1% (236 people from the first zone and 106 from the second).

DISCUSSIONS

Hemogeny of the Hygienic Imperative: Freeing the Soil of the Modern City

The diffusion of an urban model called modern or functional followed the urban disorder that characterized the European industrial cities, they are summarized in their inability to meet the requirements of the time (means of production and transportation especially) and hygienic problems (unhealthy housing, inadequate air, light, and space).

Based on the reports of doctors, many models and projects of urban intervention were proposed to alleviate all the ills from which these cities suffer. This work of utopians, researchers, and architects is a source of inspiration that has greatly influenced the work of modernists, including Le Corbusier. (Table 1) briefly presents the characteristics of these movements.

Table 1. The origin of modern urban planning thought via the works of the utopians(Choay, 1965), (Fishman, 1979), (Benevolo, 2004), (DeGasperin, 2011).

Movement / Model/ Urban intervention	Founder	Features That inspire the work of modernists
Saint Simon's Movement Simonian Movement	Saint-Simon	- Transformation of society based on industry, science, never on social considerations A work that put the 1st foundations of a new urbanistic vision.
The phalanstery	Charles Fourier	- The reorganization of the family - Revolutionary model in rupture with the old one - The integration of the countryside into the city - Rationalization and classification of places and activities.
The familistère	Jean-Baptiste Godin	- Promotes the notion of spatial proximity (schools and necessary facilities) - Favors the notion of recreation to ensure a place of tranquility for the inhabitants. - Hygienism: light, clarity, space and cleanliness
Garden city	Ebenezer Howard	- Prioritization of areas within the city - Hierarchization of traffic routes - A work that influences the majority of works and research of the 19th century
Industrial City	Tony Garnier	- Diversification of functions - Standardization of construction - The use of new materials, (reinforced concrete) - The introduction of green space as an insulating element
Hausmannian interventions	George Eugène Haussmann	- Aeration of the city through large openings. - Modernization of the city by : - The regulation of the facades. The creation of squares and public spaces.Renforcer la présence de la verdure en s'appuyant sur un système de classification des espaces selon leur localisation) - Pay particular attention to hygiene and cleanliness.

IldefonsoCerdá	Barcelona Extension	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Large breakthrough to air the city. - The creation of a building module (it is for the model of Cerda; set of 2 bars arranged according to 3 models in C, U, and parallel). - The creation of open, airy spaces in each block for gardens and recreation spaces.
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These punctual interventions if they succeeded in some cases to bring tangible solutions to the social and spatial ills of the city, the problem persisted elsewhere. As such, an international congress of modern architecture “CIAM”, was held in Athens and chaired by Le Corbusier to propose a doctrinal formulation called “The Charter of Athens”, for the purpose of defining the bases of modern urbanism said “functional”. These principles intersect and contribute directly or indirectly define the different characteristics of the space released (Table 2).

Table 2. Characteristics of the vacated space according to the Athens Charter (Corbusier, 1957; Panerai et al, 1997; Fishman, 1979).

Guidelines of the Athens Charter	Characteristics of the freed-up space
The development of the city and its possible extensions are the results of a work studied in advance.	Space is subject to normative data.
Interdependence / to the site	Typical man, typical needs so remove the particularities of spaces and users.
The uniformity, simplicity, and rationality of the space	
The separation between streets and houses	The shape, as well as the surface area of the freed spaces, is the result of the superposition of the road network and the built-up area.
Opening of the space and reconciliation of the man with the nature	<p>The freed-up space must meet the physical (sun, air, and light) and psychological needs of the human being, it allows the field of vision to be cleared, offers a panorama, and plays the role of an insulator against the noise of traffic routes.</p> <p>Green space and recreation are classified into 3 categories (vacancy space, neighborhood space, and green area around homes)</p>
Housing unit and verticality	Free up large spaces created primarily to serve clearly defined functions: to contain gardens, play/sports areas, and any community use buildings intimately attached to the home.

According to the guidelines of modern urbanism, free space is a fundamental component of articulation; first of all, it is an essential instrument that allowed the modernists to realize their ideals not only for hygiene but also to meet the different physical and psychological needs. It is necessary to remember that the liberation of space came as a consequence of directives such as the construction in height and the meeting of the facilities of proximity inside the housing units.

Transformation of the No-Man's-Land

This space, which should be provided with free space as a background of the city, is nowadays a problem. In this sense, the study of the mode of application of the urban model is useful to understand their reality and the conjunctures that contributed to their transformation from a space of articulation to an urban residue. Therefore, the study of the context of the application of this model in its country of origin (France) explains the situation. The analysis reveals that the data influencing the emergence of no-man's lands are grouped into four categories (Table 3).

Table 3. Context of the emergence of the no-man's land (Fishman, 1979; Corbusier, 1980; Flamand, 1989; Panerai et al, 1997; Merlin, 2012)

Economic data	Hygienic data
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The destruction of war - Housing crisis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Degraded sanitary conditions - Lack of sanitary facilities - Insufficient drinking water
Technical data	Social data
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New construction materials (steel, reinforced concrete, glass...) - Construction and assembly techniques (industrialization, prefabrication, standardization) - Means of production like the crane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The baby boom - Massive and rapid movement of the rural exodus

In addition, housing production has been financed and directed essentially by the State, one of the conditions for stability in the face of the housing crisis (Dufaux&Fourcaut, 2004). Except that this new model is imposed on citizens, limiting their role in urban production. The intersection of the above-mentioned factors has not allowed respecting all the guidelines of modern urbanism in the majority of housing projects as shown in the figure (figure 2).

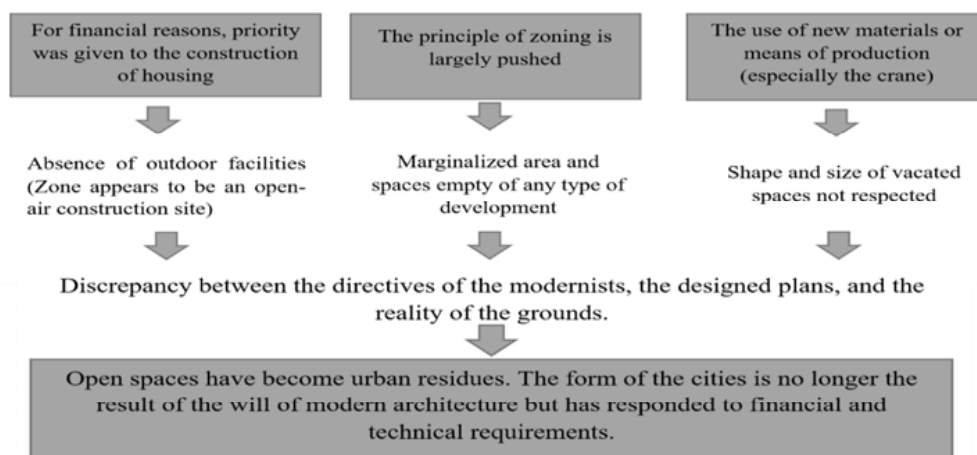


Figure 2. Non-compliance with guidelines in the implementation of large projects

No Mans Land : Genesis Conjuncture in the Algerian ZHUN (Case of The City of El Khroub)

Extent and repair

The city of El Khroub is located about twenty kilometers southeast of Constantine, it constitutes a contact zone between the North “the tell zone” and the South the high plains (Figure 3). In recent decades, the spatial development of the city has grown considerably, helped mainly by its relatively flat terrain and its extensive communication network. Today, EL Khroub is considered the second-largest urbanization pole and the most important satellite of Constantine, and it is on it that the mother city relies on.

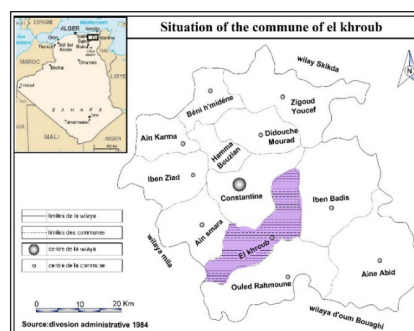


Figure 3. The administrative situation of the commune of EL Khroub.

Today, more than 33.5% of the city's surface area, the equivalent of 171.25 ha, appears as bare, unoccupied land. To facilitate the treatment of these spaces, it seems relevant to classify them according to their surface area by category, for this, we have resorted to the study of empty pockets carried out in 1995 by the ANAT where these no man's lands are classified into four categories (Figure 4).

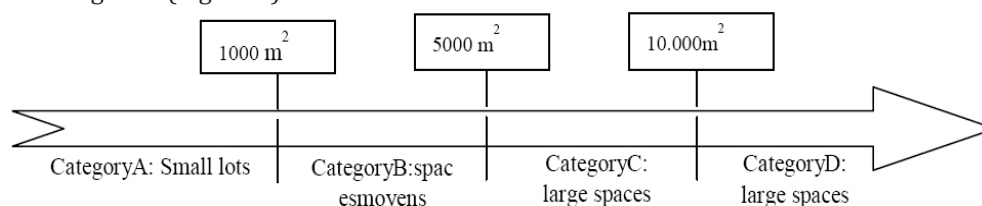


Figure 4. Classification of no-man's lands by area

In a detailed way, the surface of the spaces no man's land varies from the very small lots of land of 100 m²; even less; until the very vast spaces exceeding the 10 000 m² to reach the 90 000m² (9ha). The fieldwork and observation in various neighborhoods of El Khroub and supplemented by calculations made via plans and satellite photos updated the city of El Khroub have allowed us to identify more than 257 lots of no man's land exceeding the surface of 1000 m² in the city. The small lots of land located in residential areas, around and between collective dwellings pose the problem of their delimitation, which complicates the calculation of their number. (Figure 5) shows the hierarchy of these areas according to their size and the number of lots identified.

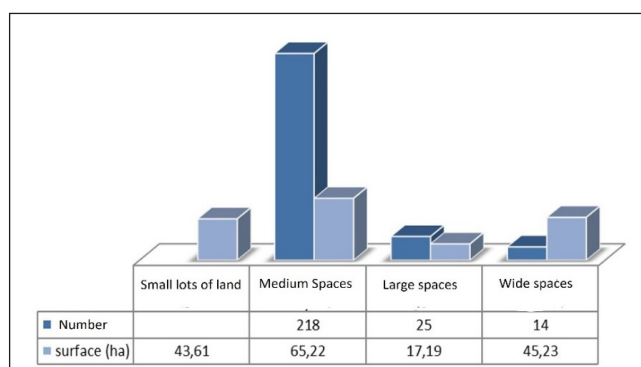


Figure 5. The hierarchy of no-man's lands according to their surface

Condition of Rehousing in the New Urban Housing Area of El Khroub: A Historical Retrospective of the Genesis and Evolution of the no-man's land

In order to curb the considerable demand for housing, the state has called for the import of new procedures of industrialization and prefabrication of the building, in a concern for speed and cost reduction. In this context, at the end of the 70s, El Khroub was heavily committed to meeting the needs not only of its population but also of the mother city. The anarchic establishment of housing complexes was done according to the availability of land. During only the first decade, its extension was spread over an area of 175 ha, where the collective in the form of NUHA had the lion's share, or 60% of the total area of extension, to reach a situation of relative saturation during the second decade, a situation similar to that of Constantine that it has relieved.

The NUHA procedure also provided in its program for the realization of projects that were to receive equipment and external facilities following a national grid of equipment and "according to the possibilities granted by the level of socio-economic development achieved and the medium and long-term objectives" (Zucchelli, 1983). The continuation will reveal important anomalies at the level of "plans of studies, of the servicing, of the maintenance... in front of the pressure, more and more increasing and constraining of the demand in housing, the programs of realization are limited to answer exclusively to this last" (Icheboudene, 2006).

In this context, priority has never been given to the development of outdoor spaces and assigned them a specific role and the majority of the first projects were received by occupying housing even before the completion of the work of servicing and installation of equipment (Bernou, 2018).

Subsequently, remedial operations affect the lack of roads, green spaces, playgrounds, and volunteer operations for the planting of trees.

Thus, with each new installation of housing in El Khroub, future no-man's lands emerge. It should be noted that the extent of this phenomenon has followed the evolution of the city, until the late 90s, the period marked by fairly limited attempts to occupy the empty pockets identified by a careful study conducted by the services of ANAT between 1995 and 1996. According to this study, more than 56 empty pockets were identified.

As a result, the area of no-man's-land has been reduced remarkably, as shown in Figure 6:

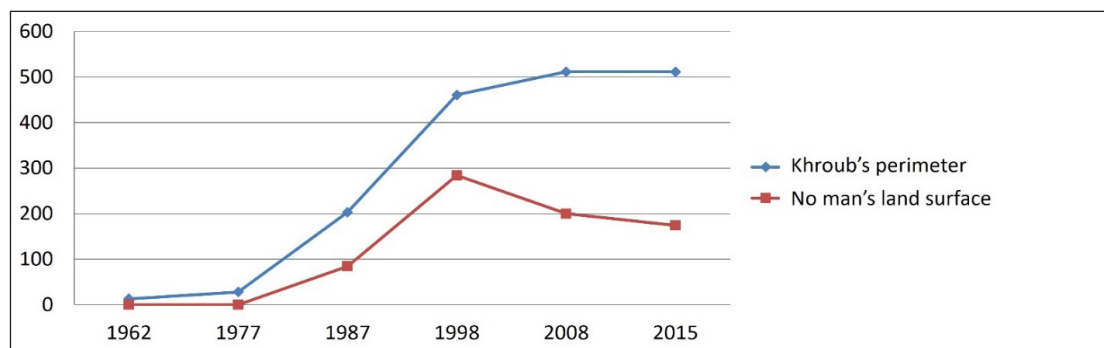


Figure 6. Evolution of the city of El Khroub and its no-man's lands

The interventions in favor of this policy tended to equip the new urban housing areas but certain pockets have been diverted from their intended use. Generally, the land reserves dedicated to the realization of proximity equipment or development in playgrounds or others have welcomed small housing projects of about 50, 80, and 200 dwellings.

Treatment and Characteristics of No-Man's-Land In UNHA

Legal Status: Persistent Legislative Confusion

The status of the no-man's lands scattered in the NUHAs constitutes municipal property (according to Ordinance 74-26 of February 20th, 1974, on communal land reserves, which consists of municipalizing all the land located within the urban perimeters of the settlements). According to articles 16 and 17 of the law on public property, only public gardens and parks are included in the public domain. However, according to article 18, and more particularly "unallocated bare land, property of the municipality" (Article 18, law 29-03) are included in the private domain of the municipality, as they are spaces of private status but of collective use.

The law 90-29 relating to the development and urbanism of December 01st, 1990, presents in its second chapter, article 20, a certain classification of the not built spaces in the urbanized sectors namely: the spaces of prospect, the emprises of equipment and activity, the green spaces and the free surfaces.

The initial role of these spaces remains imprecise, they are intended "for the service of these agglomerated constructions" (Article 20, law 90-29).

- According to the same law, and more particularly its article 31, the land use plan (POS), one of the decisive instruments of land use planning in Algeria, is the only document that must set out in detail the rights of land use. Examination of this article shows that the unbuilt space is not even mentioned and between these freed spaces (article 20), one of the essential components of the urban sector, and the public and green spaces whose delimitation and location are entrusted to the POS according to (article 31), a certain amount of confusion arises. Their treatment, status, and function are totally neglected.

Insufficient Studies and the Reality of Mass Plans

The study of unbuilt spaces that have become no-man's-land in Algerian ZHUNs is little presented in official or university documents. One of these documents that deal with this question with much more technical and informative data is the work by Zucchelli Alberto, an introduction to operational urban planning and urban composition. This document deals in a rather exhaustive way with the organization and structuring of the residential space in Algeria while identifying the different systems that compose it. One of these systems, which interests us most, is the consumption of land by the residential function, including the no-man's-lands named by the author as unbuilt space or free space. This document presents the modalities, rules, and general norms that frame their creation and development, a decisive element that

will condition the density of housing and more particularly the net residential density. In the same context, the author presents a certain hierarchy of residential unbuilt spaces, or accessory open spaces (Figure 7).

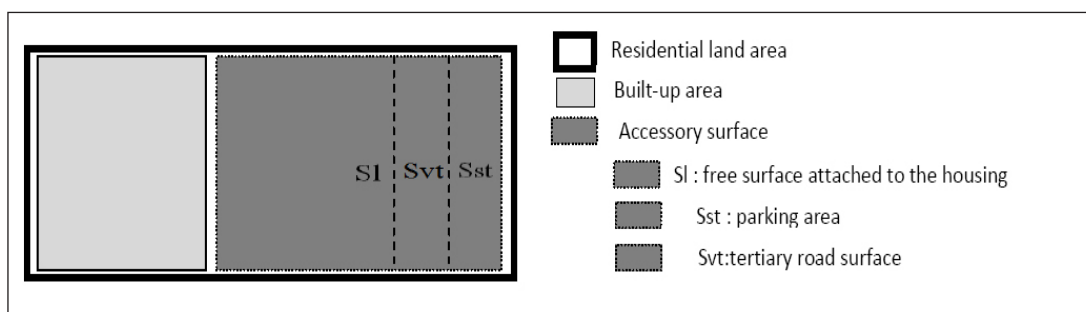


Figure 7. Diagram showing residential space consumed by land

The accessory open space, in this case, must include three components:

- 1- An open area attached to the dwelling, consisting mainly of a playground, and open areas between buildings (must ensure proper sunlight, protection from disturbing vis-à-vis, accommodate some type of public space)
- 2- Parking place which should be calculated according to the rate of motorization
- 3- Tertiary access roads to the houses

In the execution files of the NUHAs, the surfaces of the external space are classified and fixed in the data sheets (development file): free space 12 m²; parking 1.75 green space 1.5 m²; play space 2 m².

This study addressed the issue of open space with purely technical standards and rules that are generalized in the majority of NUHA studies. This has contributed to the genesis of spaces frozen from their initial substances. The reality of the mass plans and plots of land shows how rigid these norms are, they neglect all the rules of art and embellishment, a series of questions deserve to be asked in this regard:

- What is the precise use of this so-called free space (12 m² per inhabitant)
- What are the details of the development of the freed spaces, especially those for play (the only specification determined in the studies of the NUHA)
- What are the specificities of the landscaped green spaces (typologies of plants...)
- What is the status of use of the freed spaces (public, semi-public, common, private...).

To all this, we can add that the majority of these studies are not respected during the realization of the majority of NUHA projects. And for “national design offices and particularly those specializing in urban planning, the quality of the work presented to local authorities is variable, often disconnected from reality. The standardization of the approach to urban development master plans does not seem to obey any qualitative reference and thus gives an impression of unfinished work...” (Bendjelid, Brule, & Fontaine, 2004).

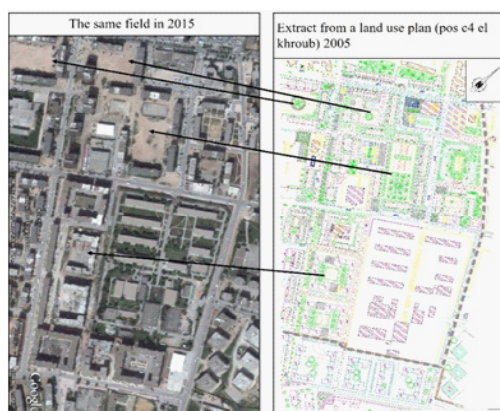


Figure 8. Comparison between a 2005 POS and the 2015 field reality

The examination of some POS of El Khroub shows that the majority of the no-man's-land spaces know in many cases of assignments but most often, they do not see the day. It shows an important gap between what has been programmed and what has been realized (Figure 8).

Space Unfit to Contain the Social Life of the Inhabitants

From one day to the next, following a very accelerated rehousing process, the NUHAs is occupied by a hundred or so inhabitants who share neither the same culture of origin nor the same socio-cultural level. (Naceur& Farhi, 2003).

The exterior spaces appeared from their conception as real no man's land and in their turn present a different scheme to that of the public spaces of the traditional city.

The ambiguity of their status and function, the gigantic size of their surface in some cases, and especially the absence of limits and precise meanings of space are the main factors that condemn their appropriation and make the operations of their management a very difficult task, even impossible in some cases. The strangeness of their urban form and its spatial characteristics contribute in large part to their transformation from a fundamental urban component to a no-man's land. In this respect, Philippe Dehan and BéatriceJullien, show that these spaces induce "undoubtedly a shift between our reading of these spaces and that of the time" (Dehan& Julien, 1997),

The NUHA procedure has given rise to a "collective habitat without collective life or activity" (Icheboudene, 2006), and the no-man's-land spaces that have been freed up to have generated a rupture between the space as a support for social activities and the inhabitants. A rupture that has prohibited the development of healthy social relations within these new areas, and which has not allowed the maintenance of the microcosm of social fabrics that compose them. The dysfunctions are diverse: social conflict, non-belonging, feeling of refusal and abundance, isolation, lack of contact, insecurity, dirtiness, and alteration of the visual and aesthetic quality of the cities. (Naceur&Frahi, 2003).

In this context, a study to understand the relationship between the existence of large areas of no man's land and the feeling of satisfaction of the inhabitants was carried out (a survey conducted among 342 inhabitants). The main objective of this study is to evaluate the influence of the existence of these spaces on the degree of satisfaction of the inhabitants. Three essential steps were followed to address this issue:

1- Evaluation of the general perception and degree of satisfaction of the inhabitants in their city without citing the reasons for their feelings. As shown in figure 9.

2- Understand the reasons for their feelings, especially dissatisfaction: this involves questioning the different reasons that can explain their points of view, and identifying the link between the no-man's-land spaces and the level of satisfaction of the inhabitants with their city. In this context, three evaluation criteria were identified

- The presence of facilities.
 - The safety of the area,
 - The quality of the outdoor facilities and more particularly of the no-man's-land areas.
- 3- To directly evaluate the satisfaction of the inhabitants with the no-man's-land areas.

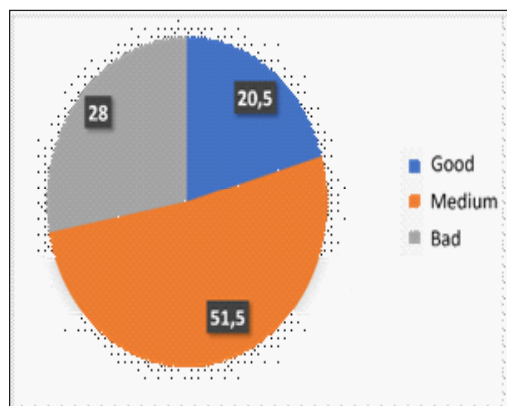


Figure 9. Perception of surveyed areas

Satisfaction with the general state of the housing estates is similar overall in the different areas surveyed, despite the notable difference between their vocations: 52% of respondents said they were moderately satisfied with the state of their housing estates. In some areas, especially in the South, and during the interviews, many people stated that their housing estates have improved in recent years, but that they are still insufficient to meet their needs. Indeed, more than 12.65% justify their dissatisfaction with the lack and absence in some cases of equipment and services. In sum, the majority of people, that is to say, more than 32% of the inhabitants, justify their feeling by the insufficiency of the external arrangements and the quality of the no man's land (Figure 10).

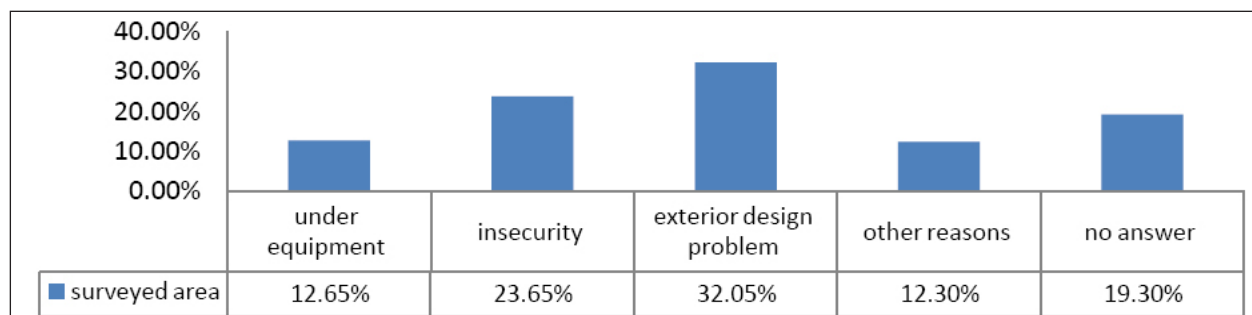


Figure 10. Justification of residents' dissatisfaction with the state of their city.

As a third step, we asked a direct question to understand essentially the impact of the quality of no-man's-land spaces on the degree of dissatisfaction with their proximity space in particular (no-man's-land space). Drawing attention to this issue and directing respondents to these spaces changed responses in a noticeable way. In this case, the degree of dissatisfaction is very important compared to the first results, more than 80% attested their feeling of dissatisfaction. This rate illustrates that these spaces do not meet their needs or aspirations (Figure 11).

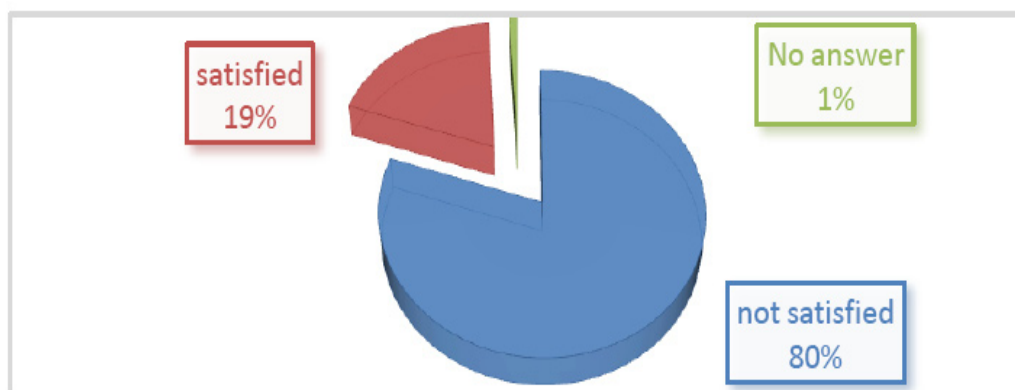


Figure 11. Level of satisfaction with the condition of outdoor spaces

The Inhabitant: A Passive Actor

The construction of NUHAs is a mission that was entrusted to the state alone. The housing crisis and the living conditions during the period of construction of this urban model contributed to redefining the role of the State and giving legitimacy to its intervention by creating new construction policies. While this sector was not a priority for the public authorities during the first decades of independent Algeria, the urban question was no longer left to chance, and thus became a responsibility of the state and a requirement of the time.

The predominance of public financing of social housing has greatly strengthened the role of certain specialized public bodies, such as the Office de Promotion et de Gestion Immobilière(OPGI), the Algerian Real Estate Company (CIA), and the National Housing Fund (CNL).

The neglect of the role of the inhabitants in the whole process of making the urban model at the intersection of several other factors has contributed to the transformation of the open space into a real no-man's land. The first results of the survey carried out (non-participant observation and questionnaire interview) showed relatively high rates of use of no man's land, (figure 12,13; 14 and 15) illustrating some types of practices of no man's land.



Figure 12. Building's foot was converted into a commercial extension.



Figure 13. City of 900 dwellings; a no man's land where urban practices and other rural practices intermingle.



Figure 14. Children play in the urban courtyard of their buildings



Figure 15. Space is used as a commercial extension and for parking vehicles.

While the in-depth analysis of the data shows that traffic reigns in most cases and this has led us to question the real rates of use of no-man's-land spaces if we consider this practice as an obligatory and natural fact and especially a direct consequence of the illogical layouts of the tertiary roads.

(Figure 16) shows the share of traffic in the different space practices of each category, which reveals the truth about the real uses of no-man's land. According to this data, some categories use the space initially to move around, such as women, whose traffic accounts for more than 41% of their practices. On the other hand, the urban courtyards are initially dominated by children (boys) and adolescents, where traffic in their case presents 9%.

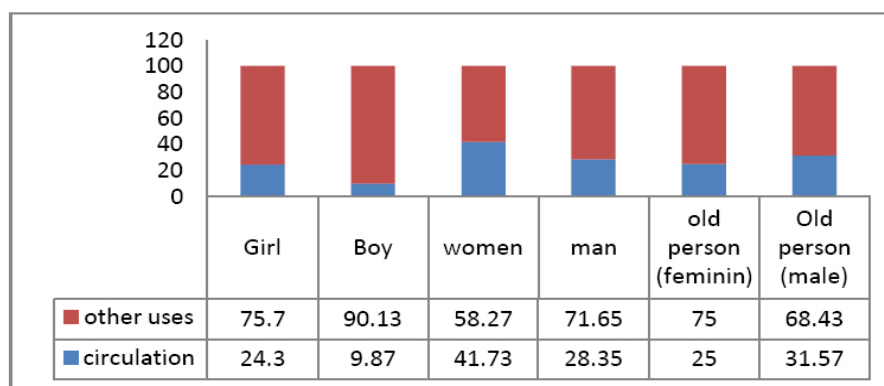


Figure 16. The share of traffic in no-man's-land practices

CONCLUSION

The requirements and the brutal transformations induced by the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century have generated deep mutations in the economic, social, and spatial structures of the traditional city. This contributed to breaking the old model by interventions of adaptation of the city to the new requirements of the time. This so-called modern or functional approach provides pragmatic answers to the problems posed in the old model, but it contributes to fragmenting the city. The residence becomes the most important element, an area inseparable from the complementary services for which vast spaces near the dwellings are devoted.

Spaces are initially diffused for hygienic reasons, to guarantee the quota of air, light, and sun necessary not only for each home but also to meet the various physical and psychological needs.

The reality on the ground is far from being the only result of the application of the precepts of modern urbanism. It results from the conjunction of several factors; the relatively fragile economic and social context of their implementation, the development of new means of production and assembly, and the use of new building materials and tools that favor quantity over quality. It is in this context that the freed spaces of the modern city have been transformed into no-man's lands.

Indeed, the application of this urban model in Algeria in the form of NUHAs, a procedure similar to that of the French ZUPs, illustrates this case perfectly, they were the first response to the need for the extension of large cities.

Des espaces initialement diffusés pour des raisons hygiéniques, pour garantir le quota d'air, de lumière et de soleil nécessaire non seulement à chaque habitation mais aussi pour répondre aux différents besoins physiques et psychologiques.

La réalité du terrain est loin d'être le seul résultat de l'application des préceptes de l'urbanisme moderne. Elle résulte de la conjonction de plusieurs facteurs : le contexte économique et social relativement fragile de leur mise en œuvre, le développement de nouveaux moyens de production et d'assemblage, l'utilisation de nouveaux matériaux et outils de construction qui privilégient la quantité à la qualité. C'est dans ce contexte que les espaces libérés de la ville moderne se sont transformés en no man's land.

En effet, l'application de ce modèle urbain en Algérie sous la forme de NUHA, une procédure similaire à celle des ZUP françaises, illustre parfaitement ce cas de figure, elles ont été la première réponse aux besoins d'extension des grandes villes.

This urban planning choice has generated 171 ha of no-man's lands equivalent to more than 33% of the city's surface area. Spread over 257 plots of land, the surface area of which varies between 1000 m² and 9 ha. These no-man's lands are mainly concentrated in the NUHA.

The reading of the conjuncture of the production of the urban space in Algeria and more particularly in EL Khroub shows to what point the deficiency of the followed policy contributed to the appearance of the spaces no man's lands, but the social dimension and more particularly that related to the representations of the inhabitants show that the feeling of refusal and not belonging related to the neglect of their role as actor and not only a simple consumer justifies this state of abundant.

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