

# A STUDY ON THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE CONSTANTINE METROPOLIS URBAN PROJECT

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**This paper explores the reasons why the implementation of the Constantine urban project failed, with a focus on management processes, using the cause and effect method. Pioneering urban projects in Algeria have been very difficult to implement. Our findings reflect enduring dilemmas concerning project management that is not backed by consistent political support, based on the case of the Constantine urban project. Data were collected using a number of tools including active observation, content analysis of project documents, two surveys intended for the project administration and Constantine's residents, and interviews with elected representatives and professionals directly involved in the project's development. Using a causes tree and an Ishikawa diagram in the data analysis, we identify the factors that have affected the implementation of the Constantine urban project. The findings of this research demonstrate that the factors with the greatest influence on the project fall within the areas of project management, stakeholder management, policy support, the democratic participatory process and regulation. These factors are the reason for the critical failure of the urban project in Constantine.**

**Key words:** urban project, Algeria, Constantine, causes and effects, governance, management.

## INTRODUCTION

A metropolis is an entity that dominates a surrounding territory, characterized by: economy (attractiveness, investments, wealth production), society (social composition and organization, metropolitan culture) (Merlin and Choay, 2010) and morphology (urban shape, demography) (Bourdin, 2014). The demographic dimension is formulated in terms of demographic attractiveness rather than the demographic load, since a Chinese agglomeration of roughly ten million inhabitants now qualifies as an average city.

In Algeria, a country that is rapidly developing in several areas, including urbanism, a metropolis is defined differently. It is "an urban area whose population totals at least 300,000 inhabitants and is intended for the development of international functions, in addition to regional and national functions" (3<sup>rd</sup> Article of Law 01/20, Journal officiel N°77, 15/12/2001, p. 16). According to this definition, Constantine is classified as a metropolis, and it is the legal capital of eastern Algeria. This city of 488,000 inhabitants enjoys

regional importance due to the presence of regional offices (economic and academic institutions, health equipment). Wanting to add to its value as a great metropolis, the city has attempted to renew its planning mechanisms through the Constantine Metropolis Modernization Project (PMMC) adopted in 2007.

This planning approach falls within the new Algerian urban planning system, which is an attempt to be strategic. Currently, urban planning in Algeria is in a critical phase, and commitment to a new strategic approach has become unavoidable if sustainable urban development is to be achieved. The introduction of this approach is in an embryonic phase, however, some projects, although not mature, are approaching this process and deserve to be explored and displayed as urban projects. The most important urban projects include the Algiers Urban Project, the modernization of Constantine (PMMC), the new cities of Sidi Abdallah, Ali Mendjli and others.

The PMMC is an interesting case study. Despite several strengths, its implementation has exhibited various difficulties. Some of the most serious problems include the non-involvement of inhabitants, difficulties in managing the strategies and visions of the actors, a lack of

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continuity, additional costs and delays in implementation, administrative problems and a failure to satisfy stakeholders.

This paper aims to assess the Algerian PMMC project. It analyzes the roots of the difficulties and failures through a critical and analytical approach which summarizes the project strategy and compares the project's original objectives and actual achievements using a causes tree and an Ishikawa diagram. These tools make it possible to explain the main causes of the failure of the urban project's implementation in the specific context of Algeria.

## BACKGROUND

### Old versus new: urban planning between the need for a strategic vision and a search for good urban governance

"There's nothing more logical than developing, approving and implementing a plan to make a city into what it should be" (Massiah and Tribillon, 1985). A city is a highly complex and poorly understood organ, and even advanced operational planning instruments, are not able to understand it as a phenomenon. Rigid and inflexible, these planning instruments have led to a regulatory and sterilize urbanism (functional urbanism) that is questioned by the *Neo Urbanism approach* (Ascher, 2001). This approach is intended to be forward-thinking and iterative (Ingallina, 2001), favouring quality rather than quantity and being flexible, responsive, and catered to the diversified needs of individualistic societies (Sidi Boumedine, 2013). Being contextual (Berezowska-Azzag, 2012), it brings together a multitude of skills for greater urban manufacturing (Masbouni, 2001; Hayot, 2000). It is reflexive and seeks to combine the actor's visions through consultation (Verdier, 2009; Claude, 2000), and it manages to strike a balance between the long- and short-term, as well as between public and private interests (Bourdin, 2014).

The strategic urban planning focuses on good urban governance that is defined as "a mode of government organized on the basis of a cooperation, a partnership, or a contract between a plurality of actors as well as public and private actors" (Ruano Borbalan and Wemaëre, 2004). Thus, governance is a system that binds public institutions, social actors and private organizations in a co-decision to make public action effective (Ascher, 2001). With the integration of good urban governance, an urban planning system functions through negotiation and compromise; it favors the contract over the law, and *ad hoc* solutions over the norm. The good urban governance system has been applied in several countries (Italy, France, Spain, Australia and others), using the urban project as an instrument.

The difficulty of the urban project lies in the intervention on the city, which is a complex phenomenon. Its implementation is often difficult and "reality cannot be always as exemplary as the approach which presided its conception" (Avitabile, 2005). According to the related literature (Chadoin *et al.*, 2000; Otaola, 2001; Ormazabal, 2001; Hayer, 2005; Popsu-Lille, 2008; Godier and Tapie, 2008, Firly and Gron, 2013), urban projects worldwide suffer from shared difficulties: the inability to ensure the continuity of political support; blind implementation; difficulties of implementation within the defined deadlines and budgets; the difficulty of acceptance;

involvement of the inhabitants and other actors; and so on. However, the search for reasons for the failure of urban projects must be specific to each context, since each project is unique.

### Strategic planning and the urban project in Algeria

Since joining the sustainable development movement in the 1990s, Algeria has formulated a juridical arsenal that supports sustainable development. However, this arsenal, combined with the enormous potential and resources of the country, cannot manage the urbanization crises encountered by Algerian cities (Rahmani, 1998; Berezowska-Azzag, 2012; Sidi Boumedine, 2013). A lack of clarity may appear in this arsenal, especially with regards to a lack of definition in action plans. This reveals incoherence and non-coordination between decision-making structures, operational structures and citizens. Thus, the urban planning instruments based on new planning reforms remain regulatory and conventional, and "they no longer meet the requirements of flexibility, temporal scalability and intersectoral complementarity which govern urban planning and management in a market economy" (Berezowska-Azzag, 2012). This problematic state, that is shared with the international context, calls for the emergence and establishment of non-rigid and strategic planning that is not sectorial but flexible and reversible in the implementation of urban projects.

The urban project is not recognized as an instrument of urban development and planning in Algeria. Indeed, this concept is only cited once in Algerian legislation (Article 37, Law n°90-29: urban planning and development), and since it is neither defined nor referenced, it remains merely a concept in the text.

Berezowska-Azzag (2012) demonstrates through the cases of the Great Urban Project of Algiers (GPU 1997), the Urban Coherence Scheme (SCU) and the Tafelait city project (Ghardaïa) that urban projects have been introduced in Algeria through aborted attempts, perseverance and repetition. However, Sidi Boumedine (2013) affirms, through the case of the Bab Ezzouar business district project, that urban planning in Algeria is still regulatory since it takes place at the level of the plot and not via urban projects. He thus deduces that the urban project is an operation mode engaged only through globalizing the same approach and associated discourse, whereas the real logic that prevails imposes itself in the notion of *project owner / islet / plot* (Sidi Boumedine, 2013). In confronting these two logics, we must note the very gradual introduction of urban projects in Algeria. Through these examples, the urban project introduces a new logic of organization and urban management. Thus, its role is to create a complete metamorphosis in the fabric of Algerian cities, connecting actors and processes formerly disconnected, thereby working toward sustainable urban development.

The difficulties associated with implementing the urban project approach in Algeria have been identified by several studies (Rahmani, 1998; Saidaoui, 2001; Guerni, 2008; Berezowska-Azzag, 2012; Sidi Boumedine, 2013). In order to establish the local context in Algeria regarding this implementation, we have summarized the causes of these difficulties in the following points:

- The non-adaptation of urban planning tools, such as the urban plan, to the existing complex urban context;
- A lack of clarity and consistency in legal measures. Indeed, every day we hear about new legal projects or laws which complement or question previous laws. This can be confusing and it makes their implementation difficult;
- The undefined and unclear status of cities, metropolises. Indeed, the failed attempt to define the status of the Governorate of Greater Algiers is a blatant example. The city is unstable in its affiliation to a ministry and has no fixed guardianship;
- Centralization in governance and decision-making. The autonomy of cities or metropolises is not certain and remains in a centralized logic through the monopoly of the project owner<sup>2</sup> and resistance to private initiatives;
- A lack of strategic, conceptual, operational and technical assistance for project management among urban planning stakeholders; and
- A lack of coordination between actors and sectors. There is a fragmented logic in urban planning in Algeria due to a lack of interactivity and communications between different sectors. The compartmentalization of actors, sectors and types of actions is contrary to the urban project approach, which is supposed to be participatory, interactive and horizontal and, as Djaafar Lesbet puts it, "how can we talk about urban planning while we are struck by the organigram syndrome?" (Sidi Boumedine, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Project owners in Algeria include ministries, provinces, municipalities and specific structures such as the EPA (public administrative establishment), and EPIC (public industrial and commercial institution) (décret N°14-320).

## THE CASE STUDY: THE CONSTANTINE URBAN PROJECT

### Constantine: The Metropolis between assets and challenges

Constantine, a city more than 20 centuries old, is the third largest and most rapidly urbanizing metropolis in Algeria. Its population will reach 1,131,859 inhabitants by 2025, according to projections by the National Office of Statistics. The development of satellite cities around Constantine has created "Greater Constantine", which influences an area of over 20 kilometres around it. "Constantine is a metropolis that has a number of properties that allow it to be located at the top of the urban hierarchy of the country" (Cherrad *et al.*, 2007). The city's assets can be presented as follows:

- Strategic location and dominant geographic position (Figure 1);
- a rich and diversified morphology of various cultures and stratified architectures (the city of bridges); and
- Pole of dominance, attractiveness and competitiveness (Figure 2).

This is just one side of reality. Constantine is a metropolis that faces a variety of problems and challenges. Urban studies on this city give an overview of these problems (Table 1), which have remained unchanged since the early 2000s.

In response to this crisis, a modernization project was introduced. Through this project the plan was that "the new dimension that the city must acquire will enable it to consolidate and definitively establish its metropolitan status" (Cherrad *et al.*, 2007).

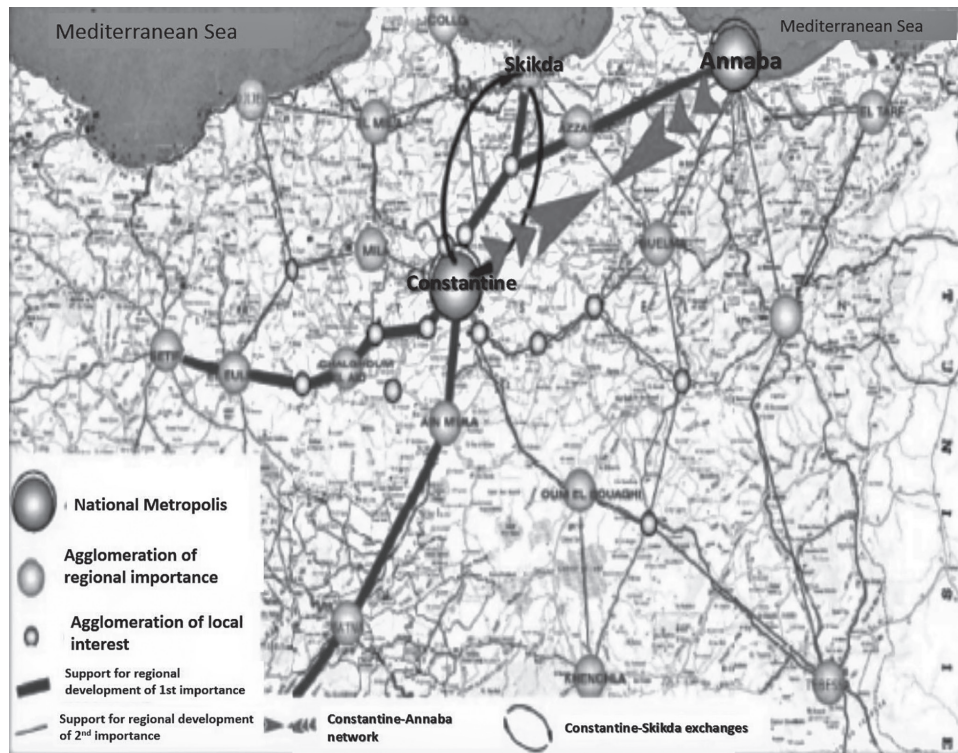


Figure 1. Constantine within the urban framework of eastern Algeria (Source: MATE, 2007: 119)

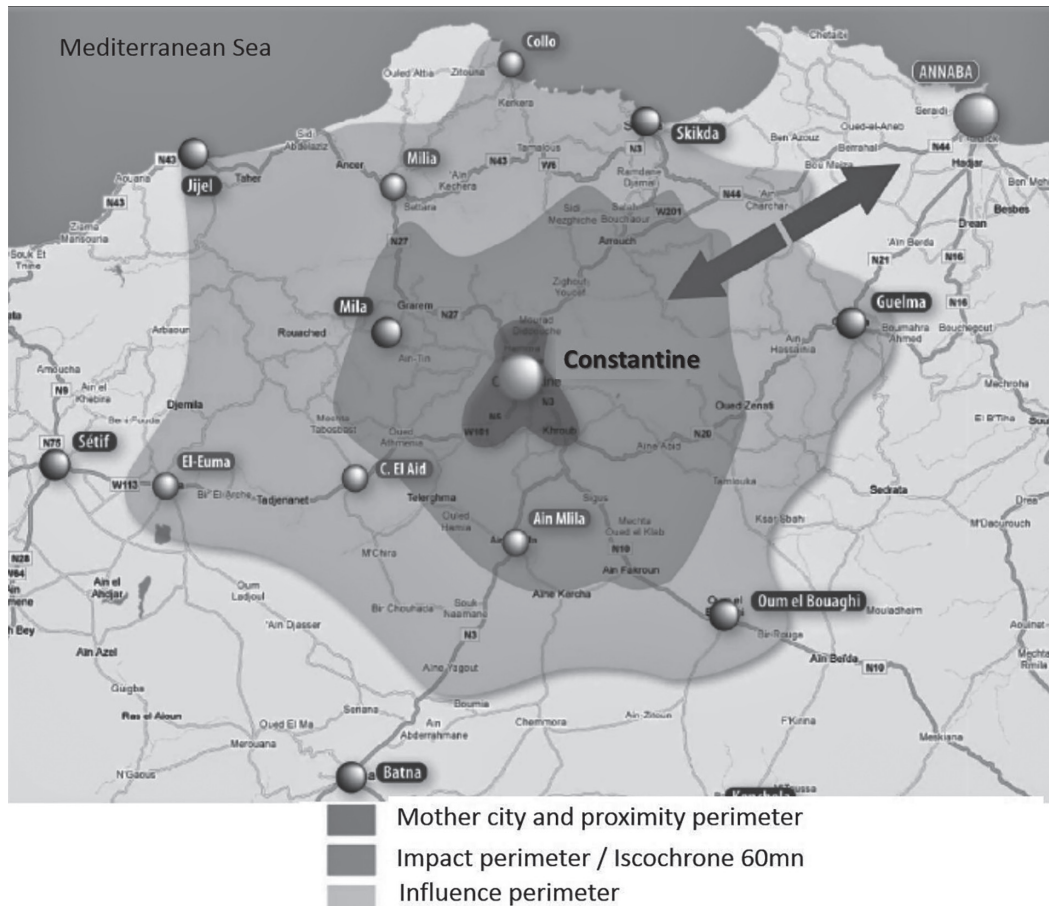


Figure 2. Constantine metropolitan area (Source: URBACO and EDR, 2008)

Table 1. The Constantine crises (Source: Lahlouh, 2012; Cherrad et al., 2007)

Social	Economic	Environmental	Urban
Social segregation and a lower standard of living Insecurity and delinquency unemployment	Loss of economic metropolis status Economic crisis	Environmental Pollution A lack of green spaces	Massive urbanization of agricultural land Spatial disparities A congested and extensive urban centre Illegal settlements Degradation of the living and built environment Privatization of public spaces Landslide risks Transportation crises

### The Project for the Modernization of the Metropolis of Constantine (PMMC)

#### Presentation

The Constantine Metropolis Modernization Project (PMMC) is a strategy to redefine the city, with the aim of it being recognized it as a metropolis with all the relevant attributes. It enforces consistency and coordination between various city structuring projects while providing visibility that enables strategic planning.

The PMMC actions will impact the entire metropolitan area (Figure 3) with a variety of projects including: a cable car, tramway, the Transrhmel Bridge, the Bardo Viva City, luxury hotels, Pole University, rehabilitation of the old town, The Zenith and others. Its objectives are:

- Improving living conditions;
- Revitalizing economic development and boosting competitiveness;
- Revalorizing Constantine’s image (attractiveness);
- Modernization through equipment;
- Social equity and participation of citizens;
- Meeting economic and social needs and resolving urban crises; and
- Consistency between specific actions.

The PMMC implicitly and explicitly upholds the following principles:

- Long-term strategic goals that will be realized gradually and progressively;

- Consistency between internal and external actions;
- Good governance with involvement, participation and interaction between all actors; and
- Local, national and international partnership.

**The current state of the PMMC: a problematic situation**

The PMMC is characterized by:

- Ambiguities in the programme itself: various changes and hesitation surrounding the project types;
- Delays in its realization;
- Disappearance of the initial project strategy;
- A loss of political support following the end of the mandate of the wali initiator of the project, resulting in the project becoming an orphan (Mr. Boussof, Vice-President of the Popular Assembly of Wilaya, interviewed on 07/05/2014); and
- Non-adherence of stakeholders to the project.

The project strategy was intended to be the solution to the crisis affecting the metropolis. However, the gap between the great strategic ambitions leading to the project's formation and the project's fate upon its implementation reveals a failure to achieve the set objectives. It is necessary to ask why this occurred. We thus investigate the causes of this failure.

**METHOD**

In project management, we often anticipate, prevent, plan and monitor, but we also search for solutions to problems. Several research methods are considered, including a causes study, which not only helps reveal solutions but also facilitates future risk prevention. The cause and effect method is used

in several domains to understand the sources of a problem (De Saeger, 2015). This method is applied more often in the fields of computer science, medicine, and security. However, as an approach widely used in the industrial world, its use in town planning has been rare. Indeed, we chose this method based on an increase in the transposition of practices between management studies and urban management, but also due to its simplicity and efficiency as a decision-making tool. Knowing that the research of causes is the main objective of our study, this method does not contribute to the question of reliability. It is more about the internal validity of the findings related to the question of causality (Bryman, 2012). The external validity of the findings regarding their generalization beyond the specific research context remains a research perspective. This cause-and-effect method uses a number of tools, of which the best known include the causes tree and the Ishikawa diagram.

Our cause analysis began with an observation of facts consolidated with several techniques and synthesized through individual reflection and brainstorming; the techniques are:

- Content analysis of project documents, contracts, programme reviews, and the press (local and national newspapers). Quantitative and qualitative data were collected in order to better retrace the phasing and interactions of the facts, knowing that some documents (contract, programme review, press and project reports) describe the causes of the failure;
- A survey in the departments in charge of implementing PMMC. This survey allowed us to ask questions about the causes on the non-achievement of the project objectives in order to go back to the origin of the failure;

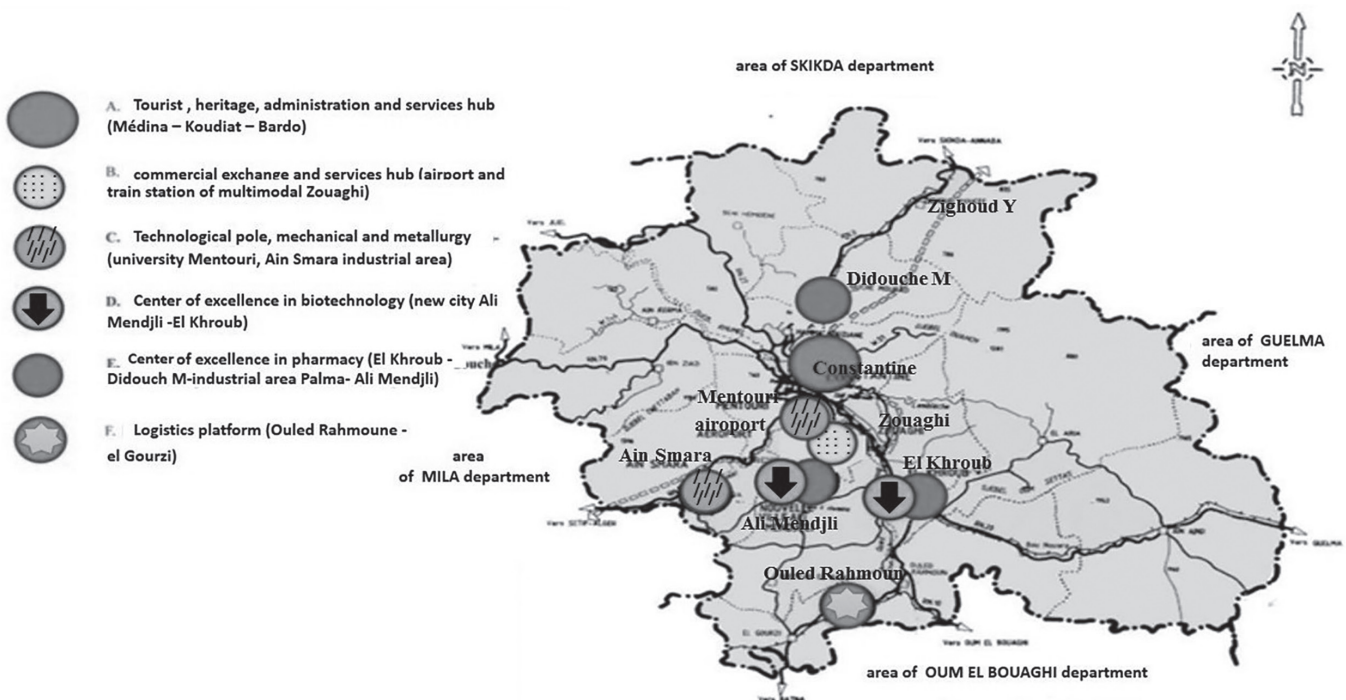


Figure 3. Geographic positioning of PMMC elements (Source: Wilaya de Constantine, 2011. with the author's translation and modifications)

- A survey, delivered as a self-administered field questionnaire, of 300 inhabitants regarding their involvement in the PMMC and their satisfaction with regard to its objectives and achievements. These inhabitants belong to different age classes and statuses, thus we can measure satisfaction at various levels to detect the causes of their dissatisfaction; and
- Interviews with elected representatives and professional experts in urbanism directly involved in project development. They were asked about the causes of the failure, in order to benefit from their experience and expertise and see their logic compared to the other results obtained.

The causes tree: it is imperative to reconstruct a causal chain to understand a problem, because “a problem rarely has a single cause, it is frequently the result of a chain of causality” (Terrier, 2012). A causes tree is a chronological visualization tool of malfunctions and causality. Thus, for the development of the causes tree in our case of study, we reconstructed a causal chain going back to the origins of each cause.

The Ishikawa diagram: Unlike the causes tree, which focuses on the concatenation of causes, the Ishikawa diagram shows possible causes of a problem while defining their effects. In turn, it identifies ways to address a problem (Terrier, 2012). Once identified, the causes are analyzed in light of the law of 5 M (material, labour, equipment (machinery or equipment), the method, and environment (context)). They were extended to 6 M to 7 M; which involves the management and financial environments (Innovation Information, 2003).

## RESULTS: THE PMMC ACCORDING TO THE CAUSES TREE AND ISHIKAWA DIAGRAM

### The definition of the central problem

To elaborate the causes tree and an Ishikawa diagram, we must first define the central problem and the most obvious first causes that constitute the first level in the construction of the causes tree.

The first level causes are detailed as follows:

Central problem	First level causes
Current state of PMMC (defined previously)	Non-achievement of objectives Actor disappointment and dissatisfaction Additional costs and delayed results Disappearance of project strategies

Non-achievement of objectives: The PMMC objective to make Constantine a nationally and internationally ranked modern city has not fully been met (except the transportation sector that has evolved via three projects: Cable car, tramway, the Transrhmel Bridge, improvements in the attractiveness of hotels and the eradication of shantytowns<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Based on an interview with Ms. M.H. Meggueddem, the President of the Investment Committee and Employment Opportunities APW held in December of 2015.

The following economic, social, and environmental issues have been neglected:

- Conflicts resulting from achievements (struggles to relocate the citizens, protests against disorganized projects);
- Living conditions remaining the same, especially in regard to the built environment;
- The decline of Constantine demographic development (the city’s average annual growth rate was 4.06% from 1966-1977, 2.8% in 1987 and 0.41% in 1998, arriving at a negative rate of 0.7% in 2008) (Cherrad, 2005) and a loss of attractiveness<sup>4</sup>;
- The inconsistency of certain actions and an unclear vision for the city’s development;
- The non-realization of social fairness due to hasty and unplanned relocations; and
- The non-realization of citizen participation at every level. According to the survey on 300 citizens, the inhabitants remain as uninformed spectators (Figure 4). Indeed, 76.7% (230 people out of 300) did not know about the PMMC and its content. In addition, the survey confirms that the inhabitants were not involved in the project (Figure 5), even if they showed their willingness to be involved (Figure 6).

Actor disappointment and dissatisfaction characterized by indifference and occasional anger or protests, derives mainly from feelings of exclusion (Mouhoubi and Sassi Boudemagh, 2015), but also from delays in achievement and disorganized construction site nuisances.

In this context, according to the surveys, the majority (90%) of respondents are not satisfied with the results of the PMMC (Figure 7), and only 6.7 % show their satisfaction with the achievements reached in the transportation sector. The results of the interviews with elected officials and experts also support this finding. Indeed, they believe that the PMMC has not achieved its objectives.

Another result was noted by the analysis of the qualitative results during the survey, namely that the trust between the elected officials and the citizens is very weak. The citizens do not believe that their opinion is valued, for them, “they are only inhabitants”. The inhabitants are therefore unaware of their importance and potential as instruments of change in the city.

Additional costs and delayed results that characterize Constantine’s projects: The most popular expressions in the national press are “Constantine dreams of obtaining its projects” (La Nouvelle République 09/03/2010), “the city of suspended projects” (l’Expression 28/07/2010) and others.

Indeed, the majority of PMMC projects have delays in implementation:

- The tramway was to be operational in 2010, but it was commissioned in July 2013;
- The multimodal station, which was to be ready at the same time as the tram, is also under construction;

<sup>4</sup> Based on an interview with Ms. M.H. Meggueddem.

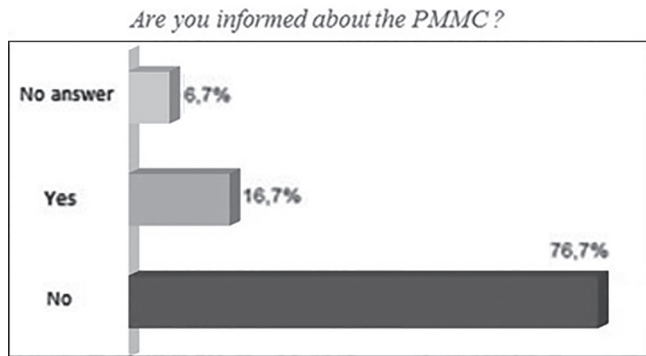


Figure 4. Result of the survey on 300 citizens regarding the project mediatization

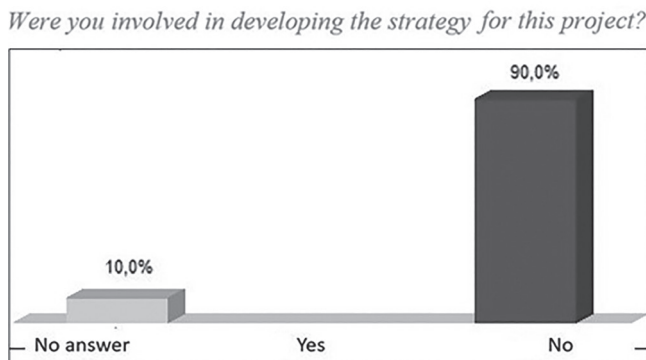


Figure 5. Result of the survey on 300 citizens regarding citizen involvement

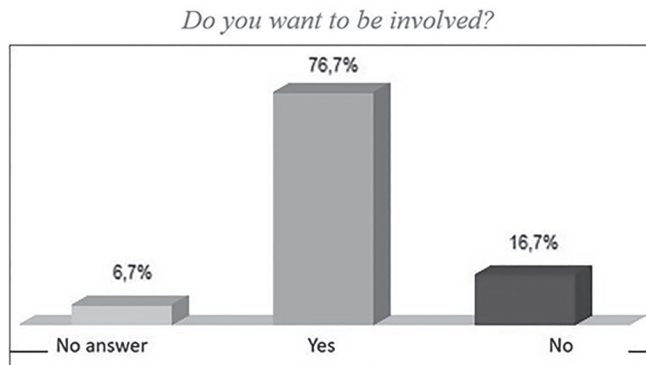


Figure 6. Result of the survey on 300 citizens regarding whether the citizens want to be involved in the project

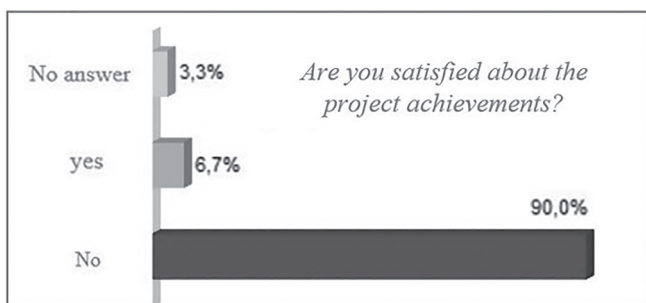


Figure 7. Result of the survey on 300 citizens regarding their satisfaction about the project achievements

- The university campus, which was to be fully open to student in the academic year of 2013/2014, is still under construction;
- Urban improvement operations within the scope of the 2010-2014 programme are not yet completed. Indeed, by 2014 (the end of programme deadline), only 51% of operations had been completed (according to the Committee on Spatial Planning and Urban Planning at the Popular Assembly of the Wilaya of Constantine, April 2014);
- Project Bardo is considered an undefined dream that repeatedly changes shape in Bardo Viva City, little Dubai, US Park. It still has not taken its final form; and
- Regarding the rehabilitation of older buildings, operations have not yet begun, and other projects have been aborted or suspended due to opposition from inhabitants.

Whoever says “delays” also denotes “recosting”. Indeed, several PMMC projects (if not all of them) have been re-evaluated financially (e.g., the tram, for which the costs rose from 17.1 to 48.4 billion DA).

Disappearance of project strategies. With the changes that the city of Constantine has undergone, the PMMC strategy is no longer mentioned in its planning policies, and a certain eclipsing of the project is noteworthy. The PMMC is referred to as “a deceased child”<sup>5</sup>.

These results demonstrate that the project is not a success, because it has not fulfilled its objectives in terms of cost, quality, delivery and stakeholder satisfaction that constitute the most critical success factors in a project according to Pinto and Slevin (1988), thereby making it a failure.

#### From the causes tree to Ishikawa diagram

The causes study begins first by identifying the basic causes for the immediate causes level and then searches for the causes of each element in each level in a tree construction logic. The causes (Figure 8) were mainly identified by observation and reflection, reading and the use of documents, interviews (specifically with experts, politicians and individuals from the local administration who listed some causes) and investigations. The logical sequence of these causes is made by a reflection linking the various levels of cause.

Based on listing the various causes through the construction of the causes tree we ranked them according to the rule of 5M/7M families in order to establish the Ishikawa diagram. We established the causes families according to the causes domains that are on the list and classified them after reflection and analysis. There is no element (cause) that belongs to the family of the Machine, so we eliminated it. This is how we set the following cause families:

- The Manpower and actors family groups all problems relating to a lack of mastery of the implications and interactions between actors and their competence and organization;
- The Material and financial means family groups any problem related to the non-mobilization of resources;

<sup>5</sup> This expression was borrowed from Professor S.E. Cherrad, during our interview on 23/11/2014.

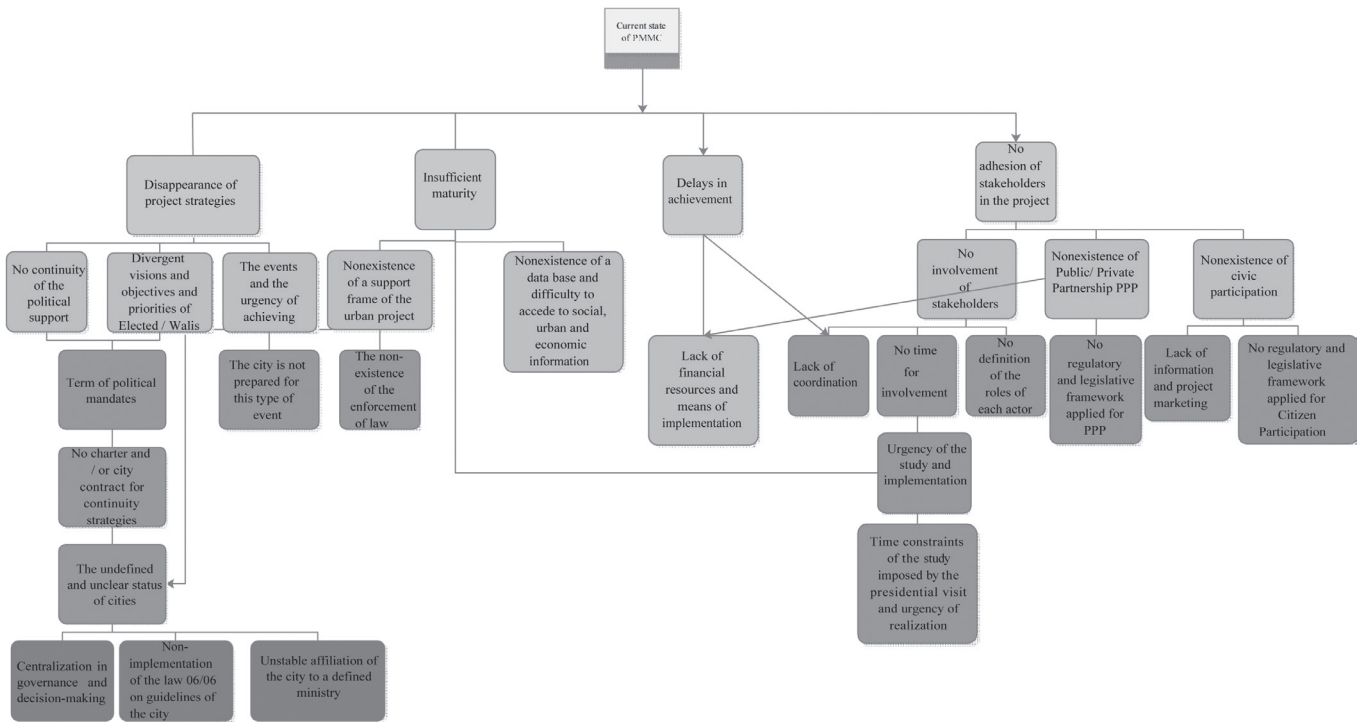


Figure 8. The causes tree for the PMMC (Source: Authors based on content analysis, interviews with experts and surveys)

The Ishikawa Diagram PMMC

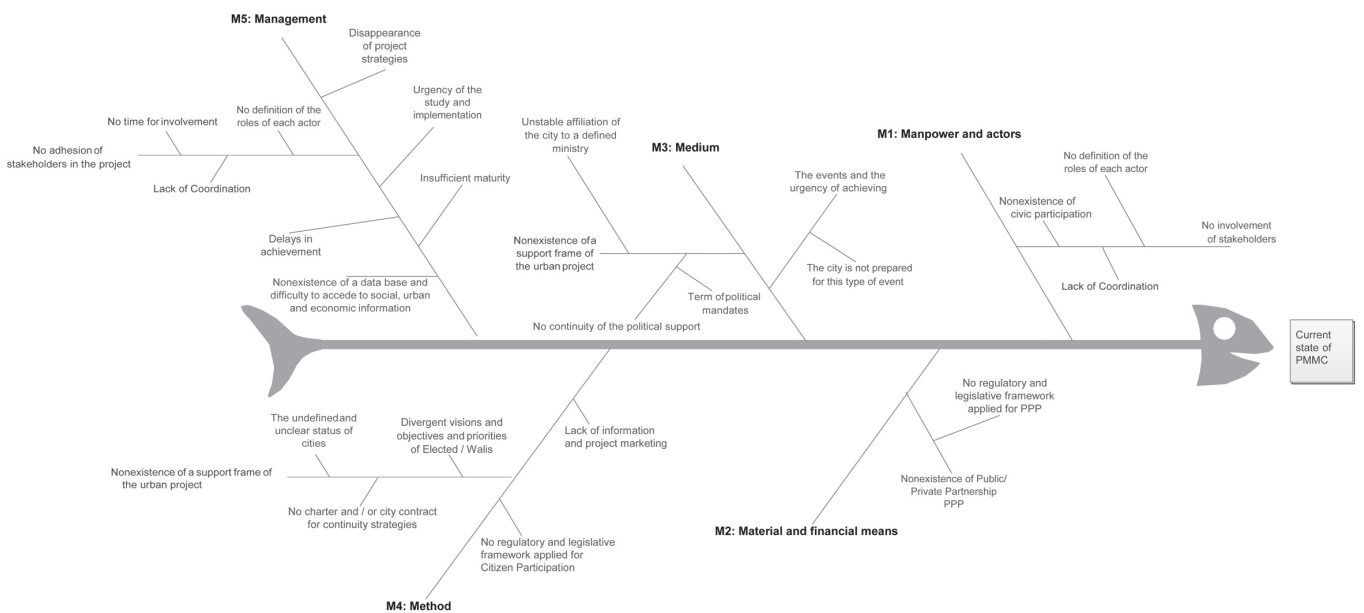


Figure 9. The Ishikawa diagram for the PMMC (Source: Authors)

- As urban projects develop in complex environments (cities), the Medium family groups all problems arising from the environment in which a project is applied;
- Urban project implementation methods differ from one context to another depending on the ways they are managed and the tools applied. Thus, the Method family groups problems related to the methods and procedures used in project implementation; and

- The Management family groups problems arising within the framework of management and their integration into a project's process.

As a result, we created the Ishikawa diagram shown in Figure 9.

Through the two representations of the causes of failure, we deduce that the most influential and numerous causes belong to the Management and Method family, which



consolidated the hypothesis that good management and governance affect the success of the project.

Root causes are more related to the strategic level of the decision making, knowing that in the urban project, actions, actors and decisions are interconnected. Therefore, the treatment of the project failure should deal with those causes and not only the treatment of the first level causes which then becomes a symptomatic treatment rather than a resolution of the problem.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our explanatory approach, based on the context analysis through investigations and interviews, prompted us to go back to various branches of the causes tree. The branches range from the observable facts on the ground to strategic methods applied under legislative regulation and urban management. The main failure causes of the PMMC can be discussed as follows:

### Failure to adapt the country's regulatory context to the urban project implementation

Algeria needs to open up to less rigid and more strategic planning methods by reforming its legal arsenal with a view to setting up urban projects.

### Failure of PMMC project mastery

The urban project mastery, which is a coalition of project actors working collaboratively toward a common objective (Tsiomis and Ziegler, 2007), was not built and consolidated around the PMMC. This led to a slower rhythm in the procedure's management and failure to mobilize resources. The use of project mastery assistance and upgrading training are then preferred solutions.

### Lack of political support and change in the urban vision and strategy

Continuous political support allows for sustainable and refined strategy. The PMMC is characterized by a change in political support that has induced a change of vision and objectives during the realization phase.

In addition, with the advent of the 2015 Constantine Capital of Arab Culture event, the modernization strategy was put aside to make way for urgent preparations for the event. Regarding the international context, at the origins of urban projects are often found in large events (examples: the Lyon urban project with the event of European culture capital in 2004, the modernization of Lyon that came from the video game capital event in 1999 and from the festival of lights of 2006). In the case of Constantine, it is an anachronism. The positive side is that the event served as a driving force for mitigating delays in the PMMC. The example of the Barcelona urban project and the 1992 Olympic Games is very similar.

### Insufficient maturity

The project exhibits insufficient maturity due to the urgency of studying and launching the project imposed by urban crisis and by political pressure.

### Lack of stakeholder involvement

Urban actors were not involved in the project. From inhabitants to those involved in the advanced stages, the

management of stakeholders was a failure, with neither citizen participation nor partnership being set up.

These discussions lead us to talk about the introduction of management in the field of planning and governance. Here there are several criticisms based on the fact that management models cannot be directly transposed because of the differences between private organizations and public ones (Sager and Sørensen, 2011; Hounounou, 2011). In addition to this is the fact that politics intervenes in public projects, and when politics is involved, we often move away from the rationality of management.

However, our findings and discussions support the fact that management is one of the key factors in the success of urban projects. This management cannot be applied if the strategic vision guided by the authorities is not clearly defined and facilitated by regulation that allows flexibility, implication and coordination, which are elements that constitute the good urban governance. These two dimensions constitute the major failure factors of the urban project approach in Algerian context. Our case study supports this finding. Thus, the search for a real resolution of the problem rather than the establishment of symptomatic treatment related to superficial causes without going plate depth is essential. This requires considerable effort and political support, with interventions at strategic levels to obtain better results at operational levels.

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Received October 2017; accepted in revised form June 2019.