

Qualitative problems related to housing (between present repercussions and future risks).

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Abstract: This paper aims to shed light on the significant qualitative problems associated with housing and housing policies witnessed in global and Algerian cities. These issues have become major obstacles for societies and have not received much attention from researchers in the field of social sciences. This prompted us to address some of these problems and attempt to highlight them through deep theoretical discussions about current housing-related issues, which seem inevitable and closely linked to cities, especially major cities. These issues include isolation and housing segregation, housing stigma and affordability challenges, and housing violence. Additionally, we sought to link all social aspects related to housing and housing policy, and the negative repercussions of these problems on society.

Keywords: Housing Policy, Affordability of Housing Costs, Housing Violence, Housing Segregation, Housing Stigma.

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- Introduction :

The housing transformations worldwide result from major demographic, social, and economic changes, along with technological advancements and social and political interventions. Housing has always been a direct expression of awareness of local construction techniques, available building materials, as well as local climatic and cultural conditions. Therefore, it is said that the society itself and its environmental conditions are producers of housing patterns, which usually lead to a high degree of continuity in architectural styles and representation.

Today, it is still possible to find old vernacular dwellings and somewhat homogeneous housing patterns. Studying them in the case of pre-industrial medieval settlements preserved in urban areas as well as in remote rural areas worldwide, where colonial influences were limited, and urban expansion did not entirely displace them due to the significance these settlements or neighborhoods hold in terms of important landmarks or ethnicities, such as in some regions in Algeria.

Through these descriptions, we may be able to propose some initial understanding of the meaning of housing as an archaeological artifact, a tool, and a series of relationships. When we have some understanding of how we live, we can then fully understand the shock and crisis that come with the loss of our housing environments. Therefore, in this work, we will delve into the deep concepts of housing and attempt to encompass it from all aspects, trying to understand the relationship between housing and society through its multiple uses. We will also try to shed light on the most important housing-related problems and policies in Algerian cities, where we have worked on capturing some topics shared by most countries in the world. We have attempted to research those problems that have become entrenched due to urban expansion, which has become inevitable for the city, and what housing policy could do is to try to regulate those neighborhoods and areas. However, the results of that policy were dismal for the residents of these neighborhoods because they were considered unimportant areas and were dealt with in a way that made them stressful residential areas for their inhabitants. This led to the spread of housing problems on a different level from the problems experienced by the housing sector in previous years, including housing segregation, housing stigma, affordability challenges, and housing violence. This work will serve as a critical reading of the housing reality experienced in Algeria.

1-Basic Concepts Definition:**1-1- The concept of "housing":**

according to Turner can be used as a noun, a verb, or an activity. While the noun form of is clearly associated with residential activities, it is also the place that is promoted, built, or used. Turner argues that the value of any material thing cannot be sought solely in its material characteristics, but the relationship between it and the user must be defined. Thus, this relationship is variable, and therefore its value will also change. The value of housing must be determined by the extent to which it satisfies or frustrates the needs of its users. In other words, if housing is regarded as functions for what it does in the lives of its users - for the roles played by housing operations in the history of their lives, and not just in their material qualities, then the material value of things and their production methods depend entirely on their highly variable uses. The value of housing is what it does for people, not what it is. (Burgess, 1978, p. 3).

In this context, we also find Gaston Bachelard, who defines housing as the expanded space that harbors, before anything else, values. It is full of emotions and memories that have significance in the inhabited space, the inhabited space that carries in its essence the idea of housing, which is our first world and the cradle of past living. Housing is not only one of the basic indicators of human beings, but it is also an indicator of the inhabitants' standard of living. Today, it is a local issue for housing to be comfortable, economical, and reasonably maintainable, in addition to being architecturally expressive and compatible with culture and the environment (Henilane, 2015, p. 39).

P.H. Chambart de Lauwe believes that housing should meet three basic needs: the need for sheltering the family, the need for comfort, which entails providing relaxation and recreational

facilities, and the need for ambition, which involves meeting cultural and psychological aspirations. With this idea, he expresses housing as an essential element for family and decent living (Drouazi, 2018, p. 23).

Adam Smith defines housing as a commodity to achieve fair distribution of goods necessary for life, which comes through equal division of land among all its inhabitants. In this way, it promotes the interest of society and grants means of domestic production (Smith, 1776, p. 8). Grimes & Orville, in their book "Housing for Low-Income Urban Families," explain that housing was primarily viewed as a material phenomenon, where housing policies focused on construction costs. However, in recent years, the costs and economic and social benefits of housing have received greater attention. Housing not only provides shelter for families but also serves as the center of their overall living environment, acting as a hub for economic activity, a symbol of achievement and social acceptance, and a factor in urban growth and income distribution. Housing meets a social need and meets the standards of profitable urban investment and construction quality (Orville F. Grimes, 1976, p. 4).

Ownership of housing is considered an important indicator of the achieved status, after education and profession. Homeownership appears to be a primary means through which wealth is transferred across generations. Owning a home can reasonably affect the opportunities of the next generation indirectly by influencing the physical, social, and institutional environment that children and young people are exposed to (Galster, Wessel, 2019, p. 5).

Moreover, housing has become a place for income-generating activities in many advanced economies. In other words, the home is not just a space for domestic life but also provides a material base where people earn their livelihood. "Home-based work" refers to any number of income-generating activities within the home, whether it's the homeowner storing goods sold online, a home studio for an artist, or using the home as a place for childcare and a trader who invests in stocks, or indeed any other informal or part-time worker. Hence, the dual use of the building to meet the needs of residents in a place both for living and for income-generating activities. Rapid developments have enabled work from home, which has become glaringly evident amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, turning housing into the headquarters of the employer and "working from home," aiding freelancers or small companies to continue operating from home (Doling, Arundel, 2022, p. 3).

1-2- Housing Policy:

The concept of housing policy has received various definitions from researchers who have attempted to encompass this complex concept. Abdul Raouf Abdulaziz Al-Jardawi defines housing policy as the management and directives of action in the field of housing through legislation and mechanisms adopted by the state, which harness the means and mechanisms of intervention to achieve the desired national political, economic, social, and urban objectives, as well as to respond to social demand in terms of the quality and pace of housing supply, without other economic and social sectors being neglected or overlooked due to this attention (Al-Jardawi, 1988, p. 11).

Milad Hanna sees housing policy as decisions and legislation issued by financial, administrative, and technical bodies aimed at establishing a tangible event, represented by the construction of new housing units or the expansion of an existing city or adjacent residential area, or a human community that provides shelter for a targeted group, i.e., benefiting from housing (Hanna, 1978, p. 141).

It is a set of organized standards adopted and imposed by the state, with its main objective being to develop means and mechanisms to intervene in the housing market and ensure overall balance between supply and demand while respecting specified price and quantity standards (Bourawi, 2014, p. 15).

2-Qualitative Housing Problems:

The post-welfare housing transition has led to the creation of conditions that are tested as qualitative housing problems primarily due to housing conditions resulting from government policies in many countries worldwide. What caught our attention is that these problems have become somewhat applicable to all countries, including both advanced and developing ones, including Algeria. They share negative repercussions on the lives of urban residents. This exacerbates the problem because in the past, previous policies were almost seen as programs that

were implemented as part of urban development. However, they turned out to be the result of a set of intractable problems. We will try to mention some of them in this work, relying on the logic of generalization.

2-1-Housing Violence:

Whether explicit or implicit, housing violence is one of the means through which the law operates worldwide. However, whether the law can be classified as violence depends on the context of its application and enforcement (Blomley, 2003, p. 130). Blomley also states:

"It is clear that we must be cautious about reducing everything to violence. We must distinguish between implicit violence inherent in everyday land ownership. For example, it is not the same as actual violence and assault. However, it is also necessary to uncover ways in which violence is not coded in our geographical areas. Perhaps an integral part of the foundation of daily life" (Blomley, 2003, p. 105).

Housing violence manifests in processes of evictions or threats of eviction. It is also linked to rising property and housing prices and the use of the law to demolish dwellings or obstruct legal reforms concerning housing documents or neighborhood upgrades and the provision of some public services. Additionally, one form of violence is the exploitation by property owners of laws and policies put in place to protect tenants (Baeten et al., 2017). For example, landlords may use government obligations as a justification to increase rents, assuming that low-income tenants can still afford their rents due to the lack of available housing, using the scarcity of housing as leverage against tenants. This contradicts the fact that public governmental institutions should ensure the right to work, housing, and education, and promote social care and social security, as well as favorable conditions for good health. Housing violence is a violation of individual rights in society in the presence of the law.

2-1-1- Shaping Housing Violence through Property Actions:

Worldwide, housing transition is socially selective and accumulates in poor neighborhoods and among individuals, families, and communities lacking social and economic capital to resist changes. Housing transition is closely linked to the issue of property regarding exclusion/inclusion processes and who has the right to make decisions about space usage. Property is not merely a matter of legal ownership documents but involves all relationships concerning property rights to land, apartments, commercial buildings, public spaces, or the process of political transition. Property rights manifest in specific homes, neighborhoods, and living experiences. Property violence is often seen as personal, objective, inevitable, and political (Blomley, 2016, p. 227). Property rights are complex and relate to land use, social order and power, and the political and ethical value/non-value of individuals. The situation differs between property owners or leaseholders without property documents, as they may be excluded from certain practices. Unregistered neighborhoods are more marginalized because housing-related actions, such as redevelopment and claims for housing-related rights like improvement and development, are not effectively delivered or disseminated in political awareness due to the lack of property recognition by the government perspective (Springer, 2013, p. 11).

2-1-2- Housing Violence and Urban Development:

The property actions discussed in the previous section occur in an urban context and are part of urban development. The terms "urban development" and "renewal" often endorse market logic and rational planning while also replacing discussions about rights or social justice in land use with "public interest." In the worst cases, this can lead to eviction, displacement, or resettlement of "landless individuals." Urban renewal can then be experienced as lethal to the homes of the vulnerable, a process where "the strong destroy the homes of the weak, which happen to obstruct institutional, political, or bureaucratic projects" (Porteous & Smith, p. 190).

Eviction processes are a form of housing violence due to various reasons such as rent delays and damages to properties that are part of urban development. Eviction is considered forced only if it's illegal, although eviction operations in the name of progress may be legal, they have severe consequences, leading to increased urbanization crisis, urban marginalization, social inequality, housing insecurity, and prolonged property conflicts (Zhang, 2017, p. 108).

Housing transition may involve strategies where residents are expected to prove their loyalty to the property owner. Property owners may exercise forms of covert violence or eviction of a

single family as a warning sign. The theatrical representation and dissemination of violence may scare residents and create reactions such as resistance or bargaining. These situations may change the practices of property owners, eviction enforcement agencies, or others who use their spatial power towards the weak (Arendt, 1970, p. 79).

2-1-3- Domestic violence (its forms and actions):

Turning to housing involves a legal and natural violence that occurs according to the law and can easily be considered part of "progress" or change or improvement. Therefore, violence may only become visible after it changes certain places or affects individual residents, or becomes effectively visible, as argued by Fraser. It is important to understand this type of persuasive violence that is difficult to recognize compared to criminal violence, military violence, or law enforcement authorities. Violence, therefore, should not only be reduced to something we can see, but there is a need for more sensitivity to understand its invisible or silent forms, the hidden forms of domestic violence that appear through measures that involve land seizure, event organization, campaigns, protest days, and demonstrations (for example, "Do not sell our homes," "Against violence," "Do not throw people into the streets," "Reduce home rent") (Nixon, 2011, p. 16). Therefore, we will try to highlight the different forms of domestic violence in the following table:

Table (1) : The subtle forms of post-welfare housing violence.

Form of violence	Definition	Examples from the research material
Invisible, normalized violence	Legal and invisible violence, which represents the "normal" state of affairs, are "natural as the air we breathe." They manifest unequal power dynamics and unequal life opportunities. This includes the impossibility of identifying responsibility and holding anyone accountable.	Development projects, "progress," renovations, rent increases, and eviction processes contribute to changing permanent tenant rights to short-term contracts. Justifying rent increases (for example, 30-63%) by housing allowances and renovations. This leads to the deterioration of housing conditions and the unavailability of affordable housing.
Slow violence	"It happens gradually and out of sight," and it is "violence of deferred destruction [...] not usually seen as violence." Violence can alter subjects slowly and extend to other people, groups, or generations.	The legal reforms and political decisions individuals or communities face can have consequences that extend for decades. "This is a psychological matter altogether, where people behave in different ways to appease it. [...] They believe they are living there at his mercy and do not want to lose."
Violence as conditions	"What increases the distance between possibility and action [...] between what could have been and what is."	Inadequate maintenance and its consequences (such as deteriorating roads, water leakage, and damaged water pipes); major sewage problems; excessive, luxurious, and unnecessary renovations; unstable housing conditions; threats of homelessness ("short-term contracts leave people in an unstable and uncertain situation"); uncertainty, stress, poverty, mental breakdowns, and suicide.

The source : (Rannila,2022,p9).

One of the most problematic aspects of invisible domestic violence is the impossibility of assigning responsibility, making it difficult to hold accountable those responsible individuals. Consequently, residents and activists in some countries have united to create a collective force that makes it challenging for property owners to carry out their actions. Activists note that the purpose of many of the actions they have taken was to develop strategies against private property owners, slow down renewal plans, and combat "racist housing policies".

Although each country differs somewhat in its housing policy, the precise features of housing violence are almost universally comprehensive in their characteristics based on the analysis provided in this section. This enables us to understand housing violence as a slow violence that evolves over time and place and eventually manifests in daily local contexts. The potential violent effects of transformation are not fully recognized until they begin to appear in individuals' lives or neighborhoods. The effects of slow violence should not be seen as a problem for the individual alone, but should be considered a broader societal issue related to the future of affordable and secure housing.

It becomes clear to us that community formations are impressive in creating collective strength and making problems visible. Individual stories of invisible and indirect violence transform into more visible, direct, and self-evident violence. When some victims and responsible individuals can be identified, violence becomes more understandable and realistic.

It can be said that there is a need to scrutinize how violence occurs in the name of urban development and housing change under the slogans of new policies in the context of urbanization. There seems to be a "double legitimacy," as Bloomi stated, for housing violence, where both urban development and the changing welfare state model are used as legal justifications for changes and project implementation. However, each time an attempt is made to conceal violence in situations that were previously public responsibility, what needs further addressing by sociologists and activists is how housing violence can evolve slowly and out of sight, and to pose more questions that keep up with the new developments in the field of housing and the urgent imperatives on urban society.

2-2- The ability to afford housing costs:

The ability to afford housing costs generally refers to the sustainability of housing costs in relation to social and economic circumstances, particularly income. The debate about the concept of affordability emerged in the late 19th century - in 1872, to be precise - with studies on poverty, rural and urban deviance concerning industrial cities. The importance of affordability issues has erupted several times, particularly concerning housing shortages (for example, with inflation in the early post-World War I period, the 1929 global crisis, and the end of World War II). In the prosperous thirty years following, it became central in the demands of political and labor movements and in public policies in many European, African, Asian countries, and the United States.

As societies progressed, homeownership patterns expanded, and housing policies evolved, the issue of affordability did not disappear but shifted focus to the weaker segments of society, gaining greater importance from sociologists than ever before. Today's research needs to deal with entirely different phenomena from the past because the issue of affordability has become more complex and multifaceted as a phenomenon and concept. Research on affordability is multidisciplinary, extending beyond housing studies to sociology, social policy, economics, and urban planning. It utilizes highly diverse analytical lenses and various perspectives and approaches. Affordability is not a fixed entity because the underlying mechanisms that affect it also change over time and according to contextual circumstances, constantly opening up to new viewpoints, interpretations, and approaches. Therefore, the discourse on housing affordability must at least include among its emerging dimensions, especially concerning its changing urban and spatial dimensions.

2-2-1- What is housing affordability? :

Housing affordability refers to the relationship between housing costs and income. Ideally, housing expenses should not exceed 30% of a household's income to ensure affordability for all. Various factors influence housing affordability, including the location and size of the property, local housing market prices, and transportation expenses, and all aspects related to home maintenance. Additionally, external factors such as household income play a significant role. Overall, housing affordability is a crucial consideration for anyone looking for a place to live and should be taken into account when choosing a place to buy or build a home (Coulombel, 2018, p. 5).

In recent years, there has been much debate about housing affordability - many argue that the definition has changed over time as housing costs and incomes have changed in different ways. For example, some economists suggest that housing costs have become increasingly expensive due to rising interest rates and stagnant wages, while others point out that housing remains affordable for low-income households in many parts of the world because of housing benefits and other

government programs that help make housing accessible to them. There are several methods for calculating housing affordability indicators, each with its advantages and disadvantages. Ultimately, it is up to policymakers and housing experts to determine the most beneficial approach for their specific context. Regardless of the chosen method, the affordability index provides a valuable tool for assessing the health of the housing market and helping guide future policy decisions.

-Why 30 percent? Implicit in using the 30 percent scale is the assumption that housing should have a special consideration in evaluating a household budget. There are at least two good reasons for this. Firstly, since housing is generally the largest expenditure for individual families, high housing costs make it difficult to afford other necessities. Additionally, research shows that securing housing always takes precedence over all other expenses (Gabriel & Painter, 2020, p. 6). The 30 percent scale initially derived from a 25 percent scale, derived from an old adage that one should allocate "a week's pay for a month's rent," which in turn was based on studies dating back to at least the late 19th century of what typical families spent on housing. The basic rule began to make its way into housing policy starting from the 1930s, there emerged a standard for determining the necessity and appropriate amount renters should pay for housing. This measure was later formalized by the Brooke Amendment to the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969, which established 25 percent as the standard payment for public housing. However, in the 1980s, as a cost-saving strategy, Congress raised this percentage to 30 percent across most programs. Since then, this 30 percent benchmark has remained the standard for evaluating housing affordability. (Molloy, 2020, p. 8).

In general, Defining housing affordability is a multifaceted task that hinges on various factors, including regional variations and shifts in economic policies. While some contend that housing affordability deteriorates with time, others believe it has remained relatively steady. Ultimately, the concept of housing affordability is subject to ongoing evolution, mirroring changes in economic and political landscapes.

2-2-2- Urban readings on housing affordability:

2-2-2-1- The "urban" dimensions of housing affordability:

In recent times, researchers have pointed to the crisis of affordability in urban areas or to urban housing affordability, referring to cities as a focal point for contemporary affordability crises. However, without explicitly dissecting "urban areas" and defining their precise differences and theoretical dimensions, what exactly does referring to the "urban" nature of affordability entail? Based on the data and perspectives provided by researchers such as Wetzstein, some possible interpretations suggest that the first dimension relates to the geography and land of the city. Since Engels' time (1872), housing issues have been primarily viewed as urban phenomena associated with urbanization driven by industrialization and housing shortages due to the increasing urban population over a century, leading to a new wave of housing shortages. The affordability crisis has affected various contexts in vastly different ways, with housing costs being much heavier in cities, especially in attractive and global cities, i.e., industrial cities. Thus, the primary dimension of the urban nature of "housing affordability" is the geographical dimension, namely the urban space, which distinguishes some areas (the most urban) by stronger density (Wetzstein, 2017, p3). It is important to consistently emphasize, in line with the "new wide-ranging political economy" as suggested by "Brenner", that when we speak of urban scope (local, municipal, urban, or regional depending on the context), it is not a fixed and unique scale for analysis and intervention to address housing affordability. We are aware of the multiplicity of phenomena (and policies) affecting affordability because it is a process involving multiple decisions at different levels (individual, institutional, regional, national, or global) in determining the effects related to urban-level housing affordability (Rebecca & Peverini, 2022, p8).

The second dimension relates to governance, as states have been partially reassessed and urban management has become a more important measure for state intervention. Efficiency in housing has also increasingly shifted to the urban level alongside housing affordability issues, with intervention shifting from the national level to the local (regional or urban) level. In this sense, we can interpret the urban dimension as referring to a certain level in the multilevel governance arrangement and to unprecedented roles and responsibilities of urban governments in responding to urban dynamics of contemporary housing crises. This point has been addressed in many global seminars, highlighting the specificity of housing issues in many countries at their local levels (Kazepov, 2005, p149).

The third dimension relates to the issue of urban citizenship and the emergence of social citizenship as well as the role of cities as building blocks for social integration strategies in social studies. In this sense, the attribute "urban" can indicate the fact that housing affordability is simultaneously affected by urban dynamics and determines the boundaries of social urbanity, being an essential condition for obtaining urban citizenship. These boundaries are inherently spatial, as access to urban opportunities largely depends on location, an issue that will be addressed in the next section.

The last dimension relates to culture, as urban life has become common and has formed since the 1970s in a "significant reflection" witnessed the attraction of middle-class individuals to city centers. These dynamics have intersected with the transition from an individual society to a post-individual one, with processes of deindustrialization and gradual professionalization of urban communities, and with successive waves of urban improvement and enhancement with the rise of the creative class and the renewal of interest in urban lifestyle and consumption habits. All these subsequent transformations have brought about changes in the housing market and urban policy objectives that have made cities more suitable (and affordable) for urban elites and their affiliated classes (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p5).

2-2-2-2- Urban poverty and the relationship between housing affordability and housing quality:

The urban housing affordability crisis has led to the emergence of a new demographic group facing economic hardship in cities, particularly impacting those with low to moderate incomes such as unemployed individuals, part-time workers, first-time renters, and buyers. Among these groups, migrants and youth are disproportionately affected. Factors like escalating urban housing prices and rents, the decline of social housing, and the privatization of public housing have worsened social and spatial inequalities in accessing housing, creating a greater reliance on wealth and capital. Additionally, there's a noted trend towards the creation of new socio-spatial divisions, particularly evident through intergenerational wealth transfers and housing assets. For young first-time buyers, access to banking services and inheritance, which are unevenly distributed, can significantly influence their ability to secure housing within cities for reasons such as work, education, and urban opportunities. Consequently, some may bear the burden of excessive costs and poor-quality housing conditions, while others may find themselves in untenable situations. (Galster & Wessel, 2019, p7).

In such dynamics, the trade-off between housing affordability and housing quality and location has been sharply articulated by Haffner in his article "Misunderstanding," which may be exacerbated by affordability assessments that do not account for quality and location. He stated, "If you consume less housing than necessary, this housing may appear affordable, yet it may not provide decent living conditions. This is an issue related to the quality, size, and location of housing." Renters, in particular, are disproportionately represented among low-income populations, youth, and migrants (Haffner & Hulse, 2021, p4).

2-2-2-3- The Spatial Dimensions of Housing Affordability and the resulting Spatial Social Impacts:

In the previous section, we delved into the urban aspect of housing affordability. Now, we shift our focus to the spatial dimension of this issue, aiming to construct a narrative around housing affordability driven by questions such as: What constitutes the spatial dimension of housing affordability and how can it be defined spatially? Where do affordability challenges manifest, and what are their spatial implications in urban settings? Moreover, who bears the brunt of these challenges?, For over a decade, Edward Soja (2009) has advocated for a clearer and more effective exploration of the spatial dimension of justice. He argues that this perspective should not be seen as a replacement for other forms of justice, but rather as a critical spatial lens that can enhance our understanding of housing affordability issues and their outcomes in urban contexts. By adopting this perspective, we can potentially uncover the underlying mechanisms behind these issues, enriching both experimental and theoretical research in the field. (Rebecca & Peverini, 2022, p15).

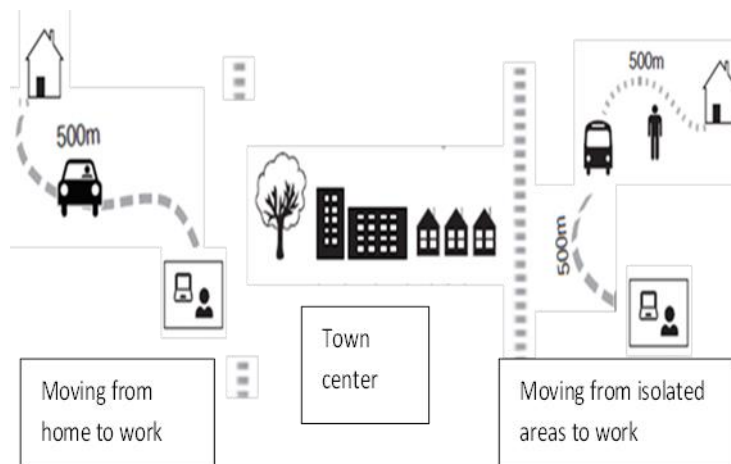
The first point is that housing affordability issues are inherently spatial, where housing and its value and the opportunities it produces are necessarily linked to location and space. In this sense, urban economics provides a useful conceptual and analytical material for separating the spatial dimension of affordability, especially the concept of urban land rent - the cash counterpart of urban land advantages - and the concept of "filtering." Wealthier households are located in better and

more expensive areas (gentrification), while poorer households live in cheaper areas. Therefore, housing affordability is not just a matter of ratios like cost/income or demand/supply; it is also a matter of housing provided and where and at what cost. Additionally, the spatial approach is crucial for understanding and separating its spatial impacts, which may extend beyond the urban scope and require precise and multi-scale conceptual and empirical methodologies (Bunting & Filion, 2004, p12).

2-2-2-4- Urbanization in Suburban Poverty and Disparities in Urban Geographic Affordability:

From the topics of "Housing Development in Europe," Marita Hafner formulated suburban poverty as one of the key spatial outcomes of the urban housing affordability crisis and related improvement processes. Dominant improvement processes and escalating pressure on housing costs (expanding from the urban center to previously considered unviable areas for redevelopment) have forced low-wage service workers to endure poor housing, long commutes, and harsh working conditions. Consequently, while central and attractive areas increasingly become inaccessible and unaffordable, other typically peripheral low-level areas have witnessed a stronger concentration of poverty. This is unlike the highly segregated housing patterns in American cities, where suburban elite presence has traditionally been a trend due to the suburban sprawl model heavily associated with Chicago's concentric development (Hochstenbah & Musterd, 2018, p14).

Figure (1): the difference in the ease of movement between neighborhoods within the city and isolated areas.



The source : Prepared by the researcher.

The spatial concentration (of a social group) is not necessarily a problem in itself, but deepening social disparities and housing marginalization can lead to suburban poverty as a central result of the urban housing affordability crisis, leading to many unfair outcomes. As clearly demonstrated by Whitehead in her focus on the case of London, poverty trends in suburbs were particularly strong in this context, with severe consequences in terms of poverty transition and spatial mismatch (i.e., the spatial gap between living and working places). The strong protection of semi-urban areas (under the Green Belt law) has trapped the poor, who typically have fewer resources for mobility, behind the city, resulting in the enclosure effect and forming a controversial trade-off between 'green' environment and inaccessible infrastructure and housing, especially for low-wage workers living outside the city. Transportation costs are exorbitant for those living outside the inner-city areas who need to access central areas for their work (Whitehead, 1991, p6).

In this regard, there is a growing consensus that affordability measures should include both housing and transportation costs. For example, housing and 'transportation' costs should be considered in the form of affordability, as long and costly commutes are a significant source of social-place inequality between those living in well-serviced areas and those living outside. Also, in terms of access to urban opportunities, this may be a job-related issue, as mentioned, but it also concerns access to various amenities and facilities. Access to quality schools, green spaces, parks,

and healthcare centers, which are largely uneven and unaffordable, may pose a significant social and spatial barrier that filters who can and cannot access these places in the city, impacting lifestyle patterns, choices, and life trajectories (Livert Aquino & Gainza, 2014, p15).

2-3- Residential Segregation, Social Isolation, and the Issue of Housing Stigma: Example of France:

Social and spatial inequalities pose significant challenges to urban life. Presently, urban spaces mirror the consequences of social processes, shaped by their inherent nature and intensity. Conversely, these social processes are influenced by various factors, among which urban space plays a crucial role (Harvey, 1970, p47). Exploring the interaction between urban space and social processes stands as a pivotal inquiry in urban studies. To address this, it's imperative to acknowledge the city as both a physical and social entity, bridging urban theory and practice in tandem. (Hillier & Vaughan, 2007, p5).

Rising social inequality exacerbates the social exclusion of certain segments of society, depriving them of opportunities, resources, and the capacity to participate fully in community life. This exclusion is manifested through low engagement in the labor market, limited educational attainment, precarious housing situations in the housing market, minimal political involvement, and scant signs of social and cultural integration. Moreover, these social divisions manifest in spatial patterns, such as affluent individuals clustering in gated communities while impoverished populations reside in ghetto-like neighborhoods (Kazepov, 2011, p2). Essentially, place-based exclusion compounds spatial differentiation, heightening residential segregation and isolation within cities. Residents of segregated areas bear a stigma associated with the material conditions and cultural identity of these locales, further perpetuating social inequality and giving rise to various issues and conflicts within urban environments.

This prompted us to address these housing-related practices and provide insight into these concepts (isolation, residential segregation, stigma), further illustrating the implications of these processes with the example of the French state and the recent problems that have arisen, where residents of shadow areas have been subjected to all the aforementioned processes.

2-3-1- Residential Segregation from a Sociological Perspective:

Residential segregation is an urban problem with roots dating back to the 1920s, making it a prominent research topic in a wide range of theoretical and operational fields. However, approaches to understanding urban segregation vary according to geographical contexts and different disciplines, depending on their concepts, beliefs, and research methodologies. Social groups may seek segregation to enhance their social identity, as often seen with immigrant communities (voluntary segregation). Deliberate segregation against disadvantaged groups also occurs. Contexts of this issue vary from one country to another; European research focuses on social and racial differences, Latin America on class differences, Australian research on first and second-generation immigrants, while research in the United States focuses on racial segregation (Charalambous, 2011, p7). Nevertheless, there has been a noticeable shift from the micro-level segregation within households to a broader scale encompassing inner-city and suburban areas. Empirical evidence strongly suggests that spatial concentration plays a pivotal role in exacerbating exclusion, compounding the challenges and pressures faced by families and communities. Kintrea and Atkinson's research highlights the significant impact of the neighborhood's context on its outcomes, with spatial segregation posing heightened challenges when intertwined with intergenerational inequalities. Policies addressing racial segregation typically fall into two main categories: those directly targeting the reduction of segregation and those aimed at promoting broader integration. A key distinction between the approaches in the United States and Europe lies in their focus: American policymakers prioritize providing resources for individuals to move out of deprived neighborhoods, whereas European policymakers concentrate on enhancing the quality of life within these communities. (Kintrea & Atkinson, 2001, p10).

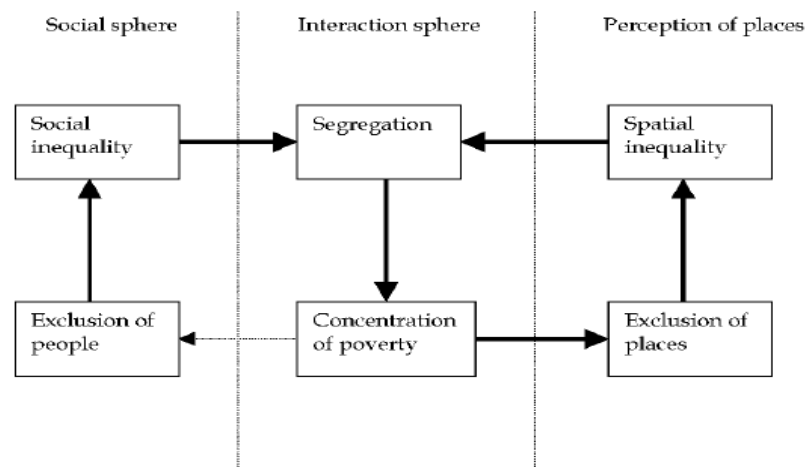
Often, three mechanisms are considered as causes of this phenomenon:

1. The spread of liberal ideas worldwide due to globalization has led to changes in the organizational models of urban policy and contributed to the liberalization of land markets.

2. Real estate prices have become crucial mechanisms for allocating and determining residential locations within urban areas, thus reinforcing the importance of income inequality in urban spatial allocation.
3. Privatization of urban services exacerbates inequality in access to public services and communal facilities, as well as the quality of these services (Sassen, 1991, p168).

However, these mechanisms are predominantly found in large or global cities, which are significant production sites for a wide range of specialized services required for administrative and control functions. At the same time, they are major destinations for immigrants. The most important reason for immigrants to settle in global cities is that the specific economy of these cities generates high-level specialized jobs and low-wage jobs. Due to this peculiar occupational structure, global cities are "dual cities," attracting or dividing on social bases (Sassen, 1991, p171). Another perspective is that post-industrial society requires more highly educated workers, leading to continuous development in the labor market. The problem arises from the emergence of a potential underclass consisting of individuals living in inner cities with very poor education that does not match the increasing qualifications demanded by the economy. These individuals face the problem of living in cities where the employment they qualify for has decreased, leading to spatial mismatch as well (Shulman & Wilson, 1987, p3). Andersen stated that there are internal and external processes of exclusion within the city. External processes change the population composition and capital flow to the neighborhood as a result of interaction between neighborhoods and the rest of the city. Internal processes change residents' living conditions, the image of the neighborhood, and its attractiveness due to the interaction between internal conditions. One possible explanation is that the poor are generally more neglectful of their surroundings, meaning that residents may become accustomed to lower quality in their environment, eventually changing their behavior and reducing their concern for the environment. This can create a self-perpetuating process that accelerates the negative consequences of exclusion and increases the segregation gap with other areas of the city (Andersen, 2002, p4).

Figure (2): Model of the connection between segregation and deprived neighborhoods



The source : (Anderson, 2002, p4)

"Franzén" The argument posits that segregation creates hierarchical distinctions between at least two groups. Within the urban context, segregation encompasses both spatial and social divisions, entailing separation not only between individuals but also between activities and functions. Thus, social categories and behaviors are not solely social phenomena but also possess spatial dimensions, necessitating an exploration of how the physical layout of the city interacts with its social dynamics. (Franzén, 2009, p2). A simplified way to describe the city is to see it as composed of different overlapping layers: a structural layer consisting of streets, buildings, public places, and green spaces, along with a social layer that includes people and various types of cultural, historical, and social facts (Legeby, 2010, p37).

Residential segregation extends beyond mere spatial division; it represents a condition of socio-spatial exclusion and isolation among different social groups. This form of segregation

manifests in various domains such as the labor market, education system, healthcare facilities, transportation networks, and notably within the housing market. Social segregation encompasses divisions based on race, religion, class, and ethnicity within urban settings. Conversely, spatial segregation refers specifically to the residential separation of groups within the broader population (Van Kempen & Şule Özüekren, 1998, p10).

To fully grasp urban segregation, it's essential to adopt a nuanced perspective that recognizes the reciprocal relationship between society and its built environment. This approach enriches our understanding by acknowledging that societal dynamics imprint themselves on urban landscapes, while simultaneously acknowledging that these surroundings influence the construction and perpetuation of societal divisions. (Legeby, 2011, p3).

2-3-2- Housing Stigma as a Social Problem:

The aim of this element is to provide a new and innovative perspective on the experiences and social processes of stigma regarding housing and neighborhoods, as applied to individuals living in collective housing estates, institutional housing, impoverished neighborhoods, or informal settlements, as well as those who are homeless, migrants, and displaced groups. Typically, residents of so-called "poor" or "shadow" neighborhoods, suburbs, and other marginalized locations suffer from various forms of stigmatization. This may include cultural stigma, material and symbolic exclusion from public places and institutions, intense surveillance by biased and criminalizing police, material neglect, as well as exposure to violence, crime, chaos, and environmental hazards. People in marginalized neighborhoods face personal and collective stigma from others based on being perceived as uneducated, lazy, dirty, immoral, criminal, or outsiders to the city. The stigma associated with housing rarely stems from personal familiarity and deep understanding but often arises from stereotypical images and false descriptions propagated in the media, popular culture, and the continuous vilification faced by residents of these areas. These residential neighborhoods may have enough potential to explode onto other areas. Given the significance and novelty of the topic, we wanted to address it in this section of the research on housing issues and problems.

2-3-2-1-Housing Stigma:

In this section, we aim to highlight that housing and stigma are complex phenomena that are difficult to define and apply accurately in scientific research. Here, we address the topic of housing and regional stigma through a brief discussion of stigma in general. "Pescosolido and Martin" provide a useful definition of stigma in a comprehensive article: stigma is the mark, status, or condition subject to devaluation; stigma is the social process by which the mark affects the lives of those who bear it (Pescosolido and Martin, 2015, p. 91).

The term "stigma" encompasses both a noun and a verb, with distinct connotations. As a noun, stigma denotes a negative attribute attached to specific individuals, places, or things. Conversely, as a verb, stigma refers to the social process whereby individuals face adverse consequences due to their association with a particular condition. This process encompasses actions such as labeling, stereotyping, discrimination, exclusion, and segregation, among others.

Stigma is deeply rooted in cultural beliefs but is also contingent upon power dynamics and social structures. It emerges when certain individuals possess the authority to impose definitions and treatments upon others by virtue of their privileged access to material and non-material resources. Interestingly, stigma can transcend direct association, affecting not only individuals directly linked to stigmatized entities but also those who are not themselves bearers of the stigma.

For instance, if a young person attends a school situated in a neighborhood stigmatized by issues like theft and crime, they may be unfairly labeled with these characteristics by their peers. This labeling can significantly impact the trajectory of their entire life, illustrating the pervasive nature and far-reaching effects of stigma. (Horgan, 2020, p. 9).

The concept of "public stigma" targets those who engage in stigmatizing others based on negative perceptions and interpretations. Here, the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral aspects of stigma and labeling are examined together. The second type of stigma, "self-stigma," aims to conceptualize the social and psychological effects of stigma. Thirdly, "associative stigma" can be defined as social and psychological reactions towards individuals associated with a stigmatized person (such as family and friends) as well as people's reactions to their association with someone stigmatized. Finally, "structural stigma" refers to how institutions and societal ideologies legitimize

and reinforce the status of the stigmatized individual or group. This classification is useful as it distinguishes between actors and key components that define stigma as a social problem and subject of academic analysis (Bos, et al, 2013, p. 2).

From Goffman's perspective, stigma is the negative moral judgment associated with people and their partners based on physical, collective, or personality-related attributes or behaviors. Goffman's introduction of stigma as a topic of social concern has inspired a wide range of research on various forms of social stigma related to issues such as racial poverty, mental illness, sexuality, disability, sanitation work, and housing stigma. Research on multi-faceted stigma today has generated a diverse array of concepts and models rooted in both social constructionist and critical theories of social inequality, which can be observed regarding the issue of housing and regional stigma (Goffman, 1963, p. 6).

2-3-2-2-Housing and Spatial Stigma:

The interest of stigma scholars has expanded to include places and neighborhoods, especially those inhabited by poor minority populations in urban areas. Additionally, pioneering research on comparative stigma has been conducted in various locations worldwide. From a theoretical perspective, "Wacquant" relies on Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power to study the construction and deconstruction of social groups and spaces from a top-down perspective. In addition to focusing on the production and institutionalization of stigma, "Wacquant" presents claims about the negative social, material, and emotional effects of pervasive stigma associated with the built environment. He argues that internal spatial stigma leads to decreased mutual solidarity, increased social fragmentation, reduced institutional support, and diminished economic opportunities (Wacquant, et al, 2014, p. 4).

Most current research on spatial stigma does not distinguish between stigma applied to neighborhoods, types of housing, and forms of ownership. However, making such distinctions is increasingly important for expanding and enhancing this area of research in the future. While housing occupies a prominent place in the literature on regional stigma, focusing on those living in public or social housing projects owned and managed by municipal government bodies, as well as other forms of ownership, are also stigmatized. For example, "barrios" or "poor neighborhoods," and in some contexts, even privately rented homes and apartments. All forms of housing stigma are associated with poor neighborhoods and/or regions, requiring a deeper understanding of the intersection of housing and region with more general aspects of the stigmatization process (Vassenden & Lie, 2013, p. 14).

In this context, theoretical work by "Horgan" has taken significant steps in this direction, demonstrating that housing stigma is not homogenous or unidirectional. Therefore, general theory should consider the relationships between dwelling and resident, dwelling and neighborhood, as well as various types of housing and ownership. The characteristics of the surroundings can exacerbate housing-related stigma (internal stigma), but they may also sometimes reduce or even overcome it. Despite some research efforts, further examination and deeper understanding of such issues are necessary. Addressing other thinly covered topics in the literature may require new investigations into housing and regional stigma in urban areas among middle-class and high-income groups. In general, housing and spatial stigma represent a rapidly growing, diverse, and ongoing research field, allowing advanced sociological theories and adjacent disciplines to delve into the intricacies of housing stigma and attempt to grasp its complexities (Horgan, 2020, p. 13).

2-3-3-The repercussions of segregation, housing isolation, and spatial stigma, a case study of France:

After discussing the aforementioned issues of housing isolation, segregation, and spatial stigma related to housing, it was necessary to reinforce our previous points with a real-life example from our perspective, which refers to a sociological analysis. We see this analysis as crucial both academically and due to the importance of the topic. This analysis involves projecting the previous problems onto the recent tragic events that occurred in France by suburban residents in several French cities. In this analysis, we rely on some news channels including BBC and France 24 for events related to the killing of a teenage boy of Algerian descent by the French police. This boy lived in an area inhabited by immigrants from African countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, where these areas are known for social segregation due to the discriminatory policies practiced towards them, such as isolation and social separation. This led to them being described as

intruders in France or with other derogatory terms due to their miserable social conditions, such as criminals and outcasts. These areas bore the burden of stigma, leading to their exclusion and marginalization, preventing them from engaging in many practices within French society.

- French suburbs as victims of isolation and spatial stigma:

The discussion about French suburbs begins with the mass migration processes they experienced. France has witnessed two major migration periods since the end of World War II, particularly during the so-called years of prosperity when the number of factories increased, prompting the government to encourage foreign labor migration. However, after some years, the French government faced several crises and at times decided to completely close its borders. The industrial age was the key for many migrants to reach France, but in the 1950s, industrialization declined, leading to unemployment among migrants who settled in the suburbs of cities. Subsequently, massive housing complexes were built to accommodate them. Then, the country faced the crisis of urban planning in the 1970s, exacerbating the problem of French suburbs, especially with the continuous increase in the number of immigrants. The number rose from 1.7 million people in 1946 to over 3.5 million people by 1990.

Picture(1): Pictures of immigrant neighborhoods on the outskirts of French cities.



Source: <https://www.google.com/>

François Mitterrand, the President of France in the 1980s and 1990s, was actually the first president to be deeply concerned about the immigrant crisis and the suburbs. Criticisms escalated regarding the handling of these issues, leading to his famous statement: "The immigrants did not come alone, they were brought by trucks and boats because France needed labor in mines, car manufacturing, and public works, as well as all the polluting industries rejected by the French." With this statement, Mitterrand clarified that the problem was not easily solvable, which indeed reflected the reality at that time, especially after the end of the Algerian War. The population in France increased significantly, leading to the construction of entire neighborhoods without any urban planning. Over the years, these neighborhoods became complex and isolated from more developed areas. The residents often suffered, leading to the formation of racially diverse and highly chaotic French suburbs.

The French suburbs are spread across more than 3,300 municipalities throughout France, with a population of about 20 million people according to the French Institute of Statistics (INSEE). Initially, these isolated areas did not cause significant concern among the French and the authorities, especially since left-wing governments always tried to strengthen ties with them. However, in 2005, with the rise of right-wing politician Nicolas Sarkozy to power in France, the situation changed dramatically. The focus on the suburbs significantly decreased, especially as the immigrant population in these areas reached over 80%. Many French people who lived there moved out, opting for more developed areas that attracted attention. Since Sarkozy came to power, the French government has worked on renovating some residential properties in the suburbs and establishing associations in various areas. However, there was no attention given to securing job opportunities or

training for young people or establishing small factories in these areas, which increased their economic suffering. The French society began to view them stereotypically, even the French residents who lived in those neighborhoods.

These developments led to increasing anger and tension among the residents of the French suburbs, especially those around the capital, Paris, which became overcrowded and difficult to find job opportunities in. Consequently, isolated and marginalized areas turned into charged and vigilant zones, contributing to the unrest witnessed in French protests. These protests cannot be easily stopped due to the randomness in their construction and details, as well as the pent-up anger of the residents, who are stigmatized by wealthier French people, political entities, and far-right parties. In these situations, the inhabitants of the suburbs, mostly youth, form coalitions to respond to authority, but often, these reactions manifest in various forms of violence.

After the death of a teenager in one of the French suburbs in Paris, the whole world witnessed the scale of confrontations and vandalism that erupted in various French cities. The government could never fully control the situation in the suburbs, which was evident when the Yellow Vests movement erupted in 2018. With each protest, the suburbs leave their mark, leading to the perception that the residents of these areas are inherently rebellious or violent. However, deliberate governmental neglect in segregating and isolating them, along with stigmatization by some media channels as not belonging to French society and being emotionally excluded, has led them to this state. Moreover, most of them are immigrants, and French people openly give themselves the privilege to mock, stigmatize, and belittle them in their own neighborhoods.

2-4- The housing and sociology and the problem of the 'dependent variable,' an example of Algeria:

In this concise element, we hope to present the role of sociology in the field of housing and urbanism and to emphasize the importance of the social aspect and its integration into all urban practices. We draw attention to the continuous need to work with its multiple dimensions, which have negative repercussions if neglected in housing policies, representing the role of the dependent variable that represents housing problems in many societies and countries, including Algeria.

2-4-1- Linking the Social with the Material:

According to the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, space is understood as a social and material product. He also states that space is a social product, shaped through the interaction between perceived, imagined, and lived spaces (Lefebvre, 1991, p68). Harvey asserts that cities and urban areas are not simply formed through social processes but actively shape them, suggesting that urban life amalgamates both material and social aspects that cannot be separated as long as the human element is present. Thus, the social city is one side of the material city, bringing it into existence and operating within the constraints it imposes. Therefore, it is essential to understand how housing schemes in cities express social ideas and how spatial formation impacts urban life.

Hiller argues that the spatial social environment is deficient because the heterogeneous urban environment does not accurately reflect the regional nature of different types of settlements. He believes that the problem of linking social goals with urban form partly stems from the absence of any social dialogue between social theorists and built environment specialists (Hiller & Vaughan, 2007, p20).

Harvey emphasizes that to understand space, we must consider its complex impact on behavior, mediated through cognitive processes. One benefit of developing this spatial perspective is its potential to integrate geographical and social planning, which is applicable to housing and housing policies in cities because housing directly influences social relations within urban space. According to Franzén, the built environment in social studies of everyday life in cities is rarely systematically highlighted, leaving much unsaid about the mutual relationship between urban form and social life. He argues that it is evident that housing is significant in daily life, yet in most historical and social studies of daily life, the impact of the built environment is not clearly described (Franzén, 2001, p7).

This sheds light on the connection between the social city and the material city, where the social dimension is closely linked with housing and public city policy. It is imperative to further understand the social consequences of morphological housing models. The starting point for such exploration lies in recognizing housing as more than just a neutral background for material

existence in the city. Therefore, attention must be drawn to urban life as it represents a vital aspect missing in residential neighborhood studies, housing programs, housing policies, and research into dependent variables resulting from the mutual reflection between individuals' nature and the housing provided to them, representing a new lifestyle for them. The aim of highlighting the social dimensions of linking urban spatial life with urban form is to verify the relationship between housing and social and spatial practices and how the formation of urban form relates to social life. This chapter investigates how the built housing environment is specifically considered in social research and studies and its attributed impact on social life, which may, in turn, affect the residential environment in the city, as the city fundamentally consists of two things: a material subsystem consisting of buildings connected by streets, roads, and infrastructure; and a human subsystem consisting of movement, interaction, and activity.

2-4-2- Housing and the Crisis of Social Dimension: The Case of Algeria:

In Algeria, a significant number of collective housing units, such as towers and boxes, were constructed by colonial France. Algeria followed the same pattern after independence to meet the increasing demand for housing. The new model created a distinction between the inhabitant and the imposed living space, especially concerning social housing. According to Radia Benali's study, general living conditions in Algeria have significantly changed in recent years due to social housing, leading to alterations in social and familial patterns. The traditional family structure collapsed under the pressure of new family models due to spatial separation, communal ownership, and mutual family assistance. This disruption led to changes in social norms, resulting in individualized family forms, particularly in reassigning tasks traditionally performed collectively by family groups, such as childcare, and questioning gender roles (Benali, 2009, p45).

According to Pierre Bourdieu, Algerian society in the pre-colonial period was characterized by a shared foundation in family structure: attachment to the past, ancestors, and traditions, with roles and responsibilities passed down from one generation to the next. This stability in social structures, despite gender diversity and lifestyle variations, allows for identifying the characteristics of the traditional Algerian family: large, paternal, patrilineal, and undivided (Bourdieu, 1958, p84). However, suitable housing tends to become a symbol of discomfort and decay in Algerian social housing, with occupants facing daily constraints and constant dissatisfaction, according to studies conducted by researchers such as Safar, Boudiba, Zerqa, and Marhum (Safar, Boudiba, Zerqa, Marhum).

Algerian social housing tends to become a symbol of discomfort and decay for its occupants, who face daily constraints and constant dissatisfaction. The collective housing complexes built since independence and commissioned by the state in recent decades reproduce the same housing designs. The neglect of the social dimension and the focus on the economic and quantitative aspects have completely dominated the projects imposed on the population. Sixty years have passed since the first attempts to adapt housing, especially social housing, to local characteristics, yet there is no systematic development indicating a consideration for the diverse lifestyles of Algerian society. It seems that Algerian design offices, with their executive directors trained mostly in foreign countries, have not contributed to changing the prevailing classification or adapting foreign housing programs to suit the characteristics of Algerian society.

In Algeria, the housing crisis reflects a "developmental crisis," as evidenced by rapid urbanization and social crises. Disruptions in the residents' lifestyles and social representations have identified new needs. Due to the neglect of the social dimension, society suffers from an urban identity crisis that has permeated its social identity. Algerian society witnesses new behaviors and multiple issues within cities, such as the occupation of public spaces due to the narrowness of living spaces, changes in social relationships, increased neighborly conflicts due to social mixing, identity and status loss, and the spread of crime due to poverty, especially in major cities. These differences are often viewed as threats and conflicts. Housing plays a significant role in generating urban life, heterogeneity, and urban characteristics. Neglecting the social dimension of housing threatens the vitality and diversity of urban life.

- Conclusion:

In conclusion, after what we have achieved in this work, we assert that there is a compelling relationship that necessitates political organization of the housing sector. Organizing housing leads to organizing society, which in turn leads to an urban system. Housing is a common subject across all sectors, serving as a focal point where political, economic, social, and cultural debates intersect. Generally, housing represents urban life in the urban community. The fundamental point is that housing, at a partial level, is the place where social formation, reconstruction, stability, and behavioral patterns are established daily. Housing is the social adhesive that binds the community together. In policy analysis language, it is a key concept at the intermediate level that connects the individual world to the societal world, embodying both material and spiritual entities simultaneously.

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