

THE "PLACE OF CAMELS" IN BECHAR, FROM THE RAHBA TO THE URBAN PUBLIC PLACE: USES AND SOCIAL POTENTIAL

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ABSTRACT

Public spaces respond to the need for citizens to meet, grant access to urban places, and are maintained by necessity. Indeed, without public spaces, cities cannot function. Their organization, then spatio-temporal evolution, bears witness to long historical periods marked by continuities, ruptures, reconfigurations and major changes.

In Saharan Algeria, the "camel square" in the town of Bechar is no exception. It corresponds to the Rahba, relayed on the great caravan routes, a place of barter, an imperative of oasis societies. Today, transformed into an urban public square, this relic has shifted from its historic commercial uses to a contemporary decorative function. This morphological transformation of the "camel square" is accompanied by a radical conversion of its vocation, which no longer seems to correspond to the new data of modern times. Always prominent, this mnemonic space becomes a place of questioning when its social function is neutralized.

This article explores the ins and outs of this transmutation through an interview survey. The results show that, despite its symbolic and landmark role in the city of Bechar, the "camel square" can no longer play its role as a place of urbanity, especially as its form can no longer be a place for living, especially since its form can no longer be adapted to the function it fulfils.

Keywords: Rahba; "place of camels"; Bechar; oasis space; experience; users.

INTRODUCTION

If the city, a melting pot of social relations, brings people together with their daily lives and dreams, encouraging encounters and exchanges, the oasis goes beyond local aspirations, since it is part of exchange mechanisms that respond to opportunities for links between geographically distant societies in this desertic space. "The intensity of long-distance relationships would often even seem to be proportional to physical isolation"[1] (Y. Cuillermou, 1993). The major trans-Saharan trade flows therefore perpetuated the oases, which in turn produced the towns. But in the 20th century, as a result of territorial dynamics that largely challenged the balance that had previously been established between man and his environment, "one can hesitate to recognize cities in the Sahara as rural and urban characters are so closely intertwined"[3] (R. Capot-Rey 1953).

Like these cities in the Algerian Sahara which "have taken the form of a city/oasis"[4] (M. Côte, 1998), Bechar city, the nodal point on the trans-Saharan route, illustrates this transformation process. "Obviously, public spaces have metamorphosed at the same time"[2] (Bassand. M & Al, 2001), the place of camels (a singular public space in the city of Bechar at that time) then moves from Rahba to the urban public space, in a break with the past. Today's public space seems to find it difficult to move from the old to the new, which calls into question social practices. To understand the causes and consequences of this mutation as well as the intrinsic consequences on the Rahba's experience, we have used interviews (the essential tool of our work) with users in addition to graphic documentation.

Before getting to the heart of the matter, it should be noted that "Place" and "Rahba" actually have a common semantics [5] (Biara, 2013 and Biara, 2014). Indeed, if the "place" meets urban needs, with the meaning of "large open space in an urban area"[6] (Larousse, 2002), the "Rahba" is synonymous with "grain market", an Arab attribution used in the Maghreb corresponding to any agricultural market place, which is located outside the doors of the oasis, because of its voluminous aspect and polluting activity [7]. (A. Raymond, 1985)

PROBLEM

The place of camels: from the oasis fining.....to the contemporary model

From its origins, the Bechar region, described as the gateway to southern Algeria, has proved to be a communications hub that has largely served the trade established between Sudan and the Maghreb capitals. Its first establishment, "the ksar" (traditional habitat of the Saharan space) towards which the caravan routes converged, played a role on a continental scale.

This vernacular production met both the requirements of an implacable environment and socio-cultural needs. It contained activities, codes, experiences ..., until the division of families into districts linked by Droubs (alleys). These usually led to the "Rahba" public space at the gates of the ksar (see photo 1): it was a vast space where caravanners gathered, rested and stayed. Relatively, the latter took the name "place of camels".



Figure 1. Photo of Caravans / place of the camels,
Source: Former photographer in Bechar

This presentation, the result of long historical periods, was adapted to the needs of society and its relations with the territory, until the colonial order completely changed the logic of space production. From now on, colonial emblems were embodied in the spatial composition. These are regularity, the treatment of public space and inter-neighborhood connections. From the ksar, to the Saharan village: the growing centre becomes a European city with its streets and public places: "What strikes Colomb-Béchar are its multi-storey buildings, car traffic, people's business and economic activity. Colomb-Béchar, is a prefecture and an important garrison"[8] (A. Bernard, 1911).

Thus, the life of Bechar was hastily taken shape around its dynamic nucleus "the place of the camels", which transposed itself in place of weapon. Called Place Lutaud [9] (BENOIT, 1951), it serves strategically to the grouping of troops (see Photo No. 2) and symbolizes the conquering power of Ghent. [10] (B. & A. KHELIFA, 2003).



Figure 2. Photograph of the place Lutaud, Source: Former photographer at Bechar

At the independence of Algeria, the "place of camels", takes the name of "republic place", it freezes its morphology, and shapes a planting bypassing the central water jet. In the nineties, the public place associated new developments: decorative street furniture, kiosks, ground treatment (see photo 3).

Today, this space shows a great discrepancy between the image of the old spatial organization (which reflects the real image of the daily life of those we call the Saharans), and the theatre of current growth (which most often imports its models from the north of the country, far from adapting to the Saharan context) is quite noticeable. These spatial dynamics then reflect relevant transmutations that take place in Bechar's population centres, but also in the urban public square, both formally and in terms of intrinsic practices. This place sometimes seems abandoned, banished, and its social function is threatened.



Figure 3. Recent photograph of the place of the camels
Source: Former photographer at Bechar

Today, the social potential and uses of the place are in question:

Béchar thus inherits two traditions, the congregations of the vernacular fabric that carries traditional know-how and identity signs, including the famous "place of camels" (messenger of collective memory); and colonial urbanization with its order and emblems. The Europeanized city is structured around the public place, which becomes the centre of urban life, whereas in the past it was a spacious area on the periphery of the human settlement such as a filter.

The stay fades away as taxes are imposed, and bartering is replaced by monetary exchanges via a more organized trade, and thanks to the promotion of means of transshipment. The adaptation of modernism to Algeria in turn distorts the ancestral structure by staggering it around public spaces. This phenomenon generates an identity crisis. This is particularly apparent "in terms of the loss of social and community relations, the oasis lived a rational life insofar as he understood the components: his agriculture, his tools, his clothing..."[11] (J. Bisson and M. Jarir, 1986). Subsequently, between the place of the ksar: designed in perfect harmony with socio-cultural imperatives, and the current place controlled by the introduction of a transplant imported from the Western world; the transition did not take place without events. The place is a priori open to cultural confrontations between tradition, considered solid, and modernity, not adopted and shared by all.

Indeed, the Rahba, a necessity in oasis society, guides the functioning of an entire territory. It is a place of meeting, communication, gathering, rest, barter, market, stay, all in all a high place of the urban character, and a place where oasis people live. Today, as a place of history and memory, the "place of camels" is gradually losing its cardinal virtues. Notwithstanding the sense of place, spatial projection, historical significance, the place is dedicated to transit

par excellence (practice observed in the places), and offers a brand image through the green space that adorns it in this austere environment. Considering all this, The aim of this paper is to understand the reasons behind the dynamics of the camel site, and the subsequent repercussions on users.

METHODOLOGY

In this work, the interview survey will be applied as an exploratory study, with full awareness of the limitations and construction conditions of the survey, the circumstances that led to the creation of the data, which may have an influence, or even bias, on how we analyse the data.

And it is because qualitative results are expected that the variety of interviews will prevail over the number. We will therefore study characteristic components of the population [12] (R. QUIVY & LC. CAMPENHOUDT, 1988). The small number of people surveyed will not in any way affect the reliability of the conclusions to be drawn [13] (GHIGLIONE & MATALON, 1978). The proposed exploratory interview will allow subjects to freely and fully answer the questions. Something that will help us to remove ambiguity and deepen our knowledge in the heart of the matter" by speaking, man makes present what is kept by language. By speaking more than expressing "himself", man reveals the nature of things"[14] (Ch. Norberg-Schulz, 1985). The semi-directive interview would, however, be guided by the general theme regarding the dynamics of the "place of camels", and structured by the sub-themes: Form, Functions, Representations, and Temporalities.

The interview is organized (after identifying the informants) as follows:

- How do you find the "place of camels", (in your opinion what is positive or negative in this place)?
- Why do you frequent this square especially, (what attracts or on the contrary repels the place)?
- When do you frequent the square?
- What do you remember as a memory of the place of yesteryear?

The interviewee must answer the first three very general questions; the fourth invites the reply only from those who carry an ancient memory in the place, that they have heard their relatives tell the story. Specifically, only people who are native, or who have lived for a long time in the Bechar region, are able to answer this last question.

The interview was conducted according to the time frame: winter and summer, in the morning and evening, since the center of the place is only practiced occasionally, let us say at the end of the day especially. It also focused on subjects wandering in the area, or on subjects outside the perimeter, but only on subjects that were fully available. Just as their comfort was a sine qua non condition for the smooth running of the interview. With regard to sampling, accidental non-probability sampling was used, given the impossibility of identifying the entire population that frequents the camel square.

RESULTS

To facilitate the analysis of the data collected, the identification of the interviewee (kept anonymous) was limited to the purpose of the survey to mention: age, sex, occupation, and whether or not he or she is a native of the region. Thus, the coding of the persons questioned was as follows:

- Subject from the city of Béchar.....: SO1
- Subject residing in Béchar.....: SR1
- Subject in migration.....: SM1
- Tourist..... : ST1

Table1. Identification of interviewees Source: Author, 2017

	SO1	SO2	SO3	SO4	SO5	SO6	SO7	SO8	SR1	SR2	SR3	SM1	SM2	SM3	ST1	ST2	ST3
Age	50 years old	24 years old	38 years old	47 years old	20 years old	80 years old	50 years old	30 years old	42 years old	43 years old	47 years old	45 years old	28 years old	45 years old	21 years old	60 years old	42 years old
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
City of origin	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Bechar	Algier	Tizi Ouzou	Blida	Sikida	Médéa	Tizi Ouzou	Oran	Alger	Bejaia
Profession	Housewife	Without	Architect	Merchant	Student	Without	Liberal function	Civil servant	University teacher	Instituteur	Civil servant	Mason	In Service Military	Merchant	Intern	Retired	In research of employment

DIMENSIONS AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "PLACE OF CAMELS"

The interviews with the main actors of the space, showed some realities on the experience of the so-called "place of camels". The results obtained are based on the socio-cultural and geo-climatic aspects of the Bechar region. They made it possible to highlight specific dimensions in place of camels in relation to the variables "Form", "Function" and "User":

Concerning the USER

• Male precedence

The users of the marketplace define themselves differently on a daily basis. Nevertheless, their variety, as well as their geographical diversity, urban culture in Bechar seems to perceive in the public place, essentially male practices, almost without the presence of female activities. While supposed to be accessible to all, the place of camels is more likely to contribute to the strengthening of male identity, and its dominance in social relations in the city. In other words, it constitutes one of the "places where there is permanent competition between men whose aim is to produce and consolidate male identity and the privileges attached to it"[15] (D. Welzer-Lang, 2004).

Yet linked to new social structures, the contemporary city under the guise of modernity is functioning in a traditional way. It seems to adopt in its public spaces the same beliefs of the past, building male places (see photo 4). Over occupied by men, the place obviously excludes the female gender, and shapes legitimacy for exclusively male expression.



Figure 4. Photograph showing the strong masculine presence at the level of the place of the camels. Source: Former photographer at Bechar.

The "place of camels" in this case preserves obsolete principles, to cross-reference a system of differentiation between the object, men and women in these external places dedicated to diversity, and to grouping. It shows the difficulty of users to adapt to a modern context.



Figure 5. Exclusive male attendance of the place of camels in the colonial era. Source Author

• Insecurity at the expense of diversity

The city is this structure dedicated to maximizing social interaction, granting everyone access to many public spaces whose places "social life implies the development of traffic lanes and public spaces to allow everyone to go about their business and meet the partners of their choice"[16] (P. Claval, 1995). However, many people avoid the camel place by bypassing it, despite its potential. Probably, the insecurity of the place represents a threat, which causes this reluctance.

The violence that reigns in the centre of the place at late hours is neither unusual nor specific to the place of camels. It "is as old as life in society... no territory is free of it; no historical period is free of it. » [17] (S.MEDHAR, 2009). According to this author, the overabundance of male workers molded in an antagonistic environment risks, being sequestered in an order that their development at the risk of violence. This practice is encouraged by "the

disappearance of the responsible authority: institutions and families no longer seem to offer the benchmarks of the past, nor the security guarantees that made them legitimate and strong. (...) These great socializing apparatuses are in breakdown, in crisis"[17] (S. MEDHAR, 2009)

The excesses, violence and marginalization, essentially tragic at night, are now the rule in this place. The resulting insecurity subsequently undermines people's ability to delay. Having become a space of conflict, or even intolerance of the acts of others, the place alters the imperative diversity of exchanges, diversity, and cultural mixing.

- **Diversity that compromises urbanity**

The city dwellers live next to the place, to conduct the business of daily life. They exploit the intrinsic, but in different forms: here, a particularized enjoyment of the surrounding offers; there, a gathering around a storyteller; elsewhere, individualized pleasures of contemplation or relaxation; in the center of the rather relaxed vagrants; and passers-by who meet a little everywhere in the place, but without exchanging. In addition to this avoidance of others, the whole thing is avoided by the use of the center of the square as a security measure. It is then, instead of gathering, that place seems to separate and sometimes even repel. The different groups multiply, and replace each other episodically, producing a "density" on the premises, but without being in contact with each other. Is this a sociability of distance learning? The public space is first and foremost a place where "sharing" and "living together" are conceived in the interest of all. However, the diversity banished under the seal of insecurity would undoubtedly question the concepts inherent in diversity and urbanity.

Indeed, between those who cross, wander, distract themselves, this "diversity" (a notorious virtue, considered as a fundamental urban quality [1] (M. BASSAND, & AL, 2001)), which one would think reinforces the "urban mix", is rather reduced in the place of camels. "We cannot therefore speak of true diversity within the urban community, if the friction between the different categories is not possible"[1] (M. BASSAND, & AL, 2001) If the public space is socially open, peremptorily based on the relationships between the people who use it, can we speak of urbanity in this space, formerly the place of urbanity par excellence. LEVY, referring to WIRTH's work, sees the latter as "the combination of density + diversity (the maximum of different "social things" in the minimum extent)"[18] (LEVY, 1999). The urban character is certainly a more than imperative question "a city without urbanity erases any link with its occupants", but the question of places is increasingly crucial for cohabitation. The quality of these places is a very fundamental human condition.

Roles assigned instead

- **Memory of the site, despite the excessive use of the historical model**

Historically, the "place of camels" has proved its ingenuity in meeting the pressing needs of oasis people and people in migration. Today, it still persists in the urban environment, even if it is molded in a new form, even if it takes on new functions. It lasts forever in the idealism of professionals away from the old tradition, but as a label: a messenger of collective memory and a melting pot of enduring human values. As a label that is constantly "adjusted until it meets most cultural, physical and maintenance requirements "[19] (A. REPORT, 1972: p5).

Nevertheless, the shape of the square persists with the passage of time, since the morphological decorum is immobile in relation to the urban structure that dictates it. On the other hand, the architecture that is combined with it, the daily life that is played out there, the functions that take place there and that determine the atmosphere in situ and the rank of the place in the city, are all subject to change. The history of the place remains engraved in the memory of the inhabitants, and contributes to the development of the identity of the city. Even the name "place des camels", which gratifies the place, takes precedence over new and successive designations, wanting to erase the past. It reinforces the symbolism of the place, and revisits the history of the place.

- **A ceremony of offers, but dissatisfaction with needs**

The Rahba (a place of barter, exchange, regrouping, stay, impromptu encounters and social mixing) once ensured the link between migratory mobility and sociability. But after this era of splendor, it escaped the historical model. Delivered all over the place to political and cultural forces, it plunges into a perpetual transformation "during a long evolution: some of the changes that constitute it only appear, others have lost their meaning." [20] (Bertrand and Litowski, 1984). This meeting place has been transformed into a city space that manifests an urban mentality. It reconfigures other uses that give it a different meaning. In addition to the role of a landmark in the city, it proposes a concentration of flows and an arsenal of administrative and commercial activities at the level of the walls. It offers the choices of disappearing anonymously, identifying with a group, meeting strangers, or brushing against otherness. Despite this, nostalgia for traditional forms of urban mixing, the relationships they allowed, the reproduction of the city according to a single model, is not appropriate. We no longer find the place, as the beating heart of the urban area, and/or as a multifunctional place with qualities of urbanity and social cohesion. Today, the elements of this public space are confined to disparate parentheses. Here, one group is captivated by the words of a flea seller, elsewhere, another organizes itself around a table to have a coffee ... If most of them do not split up to sit and spy on passers-by, or take a breath of fresh air, it would inevitably be to move around the place, targeting the services that crown it.

And it is thanks to its confluent spatial position in the urban environment that the place makes mobility a predominant symptom. This not only sanitizes it, but also contributes to its integration into the urban structure.

The place displays a ceremonial codified by the practices of those who take part in it (since it is avoided by most city dwellers). And it requires renewed staging, since it is subject to practices that repeat, substitute, subtract, overlap or add up on a daily basis. But they remain far from attracting crowds: the centre of the place is most often abandoned (see Photo 6), in search of "a constant power of attraction on the psychology of individuals which, in addition to satisfying needs" is based on "diversity, the new, the unexpected, as factors of rebalancing or stimulating their personal existence"[21] (A. ZUCCHELLI, 1983).

In relation to this decorum, the elderly people originating from the city show a mnemonic concern, the concern that the old image and the traditional urbanity risk jeopardizing it.



Figure 6. The center of the place seldom frequented, source Author

A durable conformation according to functional concerns

It is above all from the form that a place has its character. Because over time, its names may change, its activities may change, new atmospheres may be created; nevertheless, the architectural form of the place remains constant. Indeed, after having undergone successive alterations of the ancestral model in its own way, the plan form of the colonial place (which blurs the traces of the past through its urban writing, and its architectural language) seems to be the most significant, since it represents a fixed and invariable ornament. Nevertheless, it represents the crucible of an experience that sometimes changes on a daily basis and sometimes over time.

In addition, its centrality carries a strategic formulation of the division of urban space, see figure 1. It allows it to distribute, organize and promote the development of the divergent road network. Consequently, the place gathers, separates, acts as a door or airlock (it delays in order to impose the choice of the route to be taken).



Figure 7. Situation Map of the place, established by Austria on the basis of the map: "Update of the plan of the city of Bechar", made by URBAT Bechar, scale: 1/25000e

Through this configuration, the place builds a strong point in the organization of perceptions, which inevitably influence the practice of space. This presentation is in fact in line with ZUCCHELLI's opinion "the term centre or central space identifies a place that is both an element of spatial and visual reference and a privileged point for exchanges between individuals." [21] (A. Zucchelli, 1983). At the same time, the boundaries of the place contribute significantly to the animation of the site. It is the activities (shops, and services) that they house that involve regular dynamics. As for the developments (green spaces, urban furniture...), they are content to constitute the decorum, since a priori, they corrupt, according to the citizens, the use for which they have been shaped. It is really these nooks and crannies, especially the trees that obstruct the view inwards, that encourage the formation of small marginal groups. Eventually, the mass is kept at a distance, bypassing the square. The organizational gestures of the space thus reveal ample functionalist concerns.

Climate impacts

- **Adaptation or response to climate constraints in the Sahara**

It is because aridity is so hard to live with, that man in the Sahara has had to seek solutions and means to adapt to it and protect him against the rigors of the climate. The ancestral populations living in this hot and arid desert have learned to master these exceptionally harsh conditions and to forge their know-how to build according to the climate, thanks to an understanding of their natural environment. Although the forms of adaptation, and the responses to it, differ from one country to another, the inhabitants have enjoyed conditions, a decent and comfortable living environment. The ksour, including the one in Bechar, testified, unlike the city of today, to the public spaces used comfortably whatever the season of the year in this arid environment. This achievement is assumed to be achieved through:

- Conformations of the urban fabric that reflect: compactness, density, orientation, and confined street space in a maze. In this case, they favor shading outside the houses. The outdoor spaces are therefore decently passable
- The woven relationship between the fabric (ksar), the water (wadi), and the natural element (palm grove), as a result of which a subtle filtering of climatic factors is ensured. In this way, the hardness of the climate is reduced.
- The play of volumes of the buildings, whose three-dimensional aspect alternates light and darkness in outdoor public spaces (shaded covered passages, episodically ventilated).

This integration into the environment and climate has proliferated for centuries, which is nowadays sought after, in fact: "thermal comfort".

- **The know-how of disinherited elders**

The scholarly discourse conjugated by ancient fabrics in the Sahara seems to be dissipating with the chronology of time. Nowadays, southern cities such as Bechar are content to transpose the models inherent in the north of the country. This omits traditional know-how, and the genius of the Ksourian man who has adapted to the climate to create a built environment that perpetuates teachings with cardinal virtues.

At a time when population growth and urban expansion are preponderant, space professionals seem increasingly neglecting tradition, they are more concerned about thermal comfort, especially in deserted public spaces during hot weather. This is the case of the "place of camels": a legendary space, long elected as the place of urbanity par excellence, today in danger, due in part to austere climatic conditions.

The outdoor space has always represented a place of passage, with ephemeral frequentation, often neglected to the detriment of the indoor space. However, it is in this external environment that man is subject to climatic constraints [20] (B. LEVY, 2008). He cannot practice it without a sense of comfort. The user

needs a microclimate, a certain climatic comfort that allows him an easy practice of space; whereas the place of camels is prescribed in a too spacious conformation, can be well ventilated, but excessively exposed to the sun. This is why it makes this environment (external space) hard to live with.

- **Green space despite everything**

The aridity of the environment encourages vegetation cover only sporadically, and only for a few rare species. Nevertheless, the “place of camels” clearly boasts green surfaces, which are only exploited visually because they are sequestered and inaccessible.

Behind this heterogeneous and poorly organized urban green space lies a crisis in the number of species that can be adapted to the harsh conditions of the region.



Figure 8. Highlighting the greening of the square, source Author.

CONCLUSION:

The "Rahba" place model underlying the Saharan oasis reflects society in its habits and customs, adjusted to the conditions of time and place. It is administered in a specific organization, which maintains complex causal relationships in a network of very distant territories. As a stage in the caravan journey in the era of trade, the Rahba does not give too much importance to the formal aspect; it focuses above all on the use and intensity of social and economic life, even less on a given morphology. Its interest is that it plays the role of an extra muros market, open to all at the crossroads.

These cardinal virtues of the Rahba, including the place of camels, were very quickly altered during colonization. In Bechar precisely, the Europeanized

fabric superimposes its public space on that of its ancestors, then seeks to build a balance of masses and volumes, by being located in the very centre of the city. The desire to do urban, with considerations of a different kind in response to the demands of the new society, leads to harmful consequences for the development of the social and economic relations undertaken in the past. Then "Long-term, these forms quickly escape the conditions of their creation, from products they become constraints or even causes"[22] (D. Manguin, Ph. Panerai, 2009)

Despite the avatars, the "place of camels" remains a spatial constant, but no longer meets the needs of citizens. Probably that is, because it has not been placed in the local cultural context. It refers to societies of different civilizations, and serves as a basis for distinct, even antagonistic, social practices. The many post-colonial attempts at aestheticization have shaped a place that favors the insecurity of its users: "the absence of appropriable spaces (individually or in small groups) aggravates these difficulties by creating vandalism and aggressiveness in the face of anonymity of spaces"[22] (Manguin and Panerai, 2009). At the same time, the arid climate reinforces the discomfort, even the neglect of the square.

However, the public space is this environment in which the user brushes against social otherness, confronts the temporal elements of seasons and hours, and rubs against spatial objects in terms of shapes, dimensions, textures, and colors. So how much even the user's behavior at the level of the place depends on its character, it remains largely linked, or forged by the environment that shapes it. This interactive reasoning partly attributes responsibility for the deployment of the use of actors to the architecture of the place. Architecture defines a restricted and rigid framework in the place of camels that reduces the choices of use, all the more destroyed by security constraints.

All in all, the results of the survey on the experience of camel square users confirm that the square can no longer play its role as a place of urbanity, and that the form can no longer be adapted to the function it fulfils. The results reveal that this dynamic of the place can be palpable in the Form and the Function, as well as in the User; without forgetting the local bioclimatic Constraints that influence the practice of space. With regard to these variables, the survey highlights the constants and changes in the place of camels as summarized in the tables below (2,3,4).

In relation to the user:

Table 2: The dynamics retained in relation to the user of the camel place. Source Author

user	Category	Mutating		Persistence		Reason of mutating	Result
		Tradition	New form	Uses & customs	New aspect		
	Geographical variety	The intensity of social relations		Co-presence with co-existence	Co-presence with individualism	Society in transition	Diversity that compromises urbanity
	Social category	Space open to all	Selective appropriation	-		Insecurity of the premises + type of development	Insecurity at the expense of diversity
	Gender gendered	Male exclusivity	Duality: male/female gender	Masculinity of the public space		Society in transition	Male precedence

In relation to the Formal aspect:

Table 3: The dynamics retained in relation to the formal aspect of the camel place. Source Author

Form	Aspect		Mutating		Persistence		Reason of mutating	Result
			Tradition	New form	Uses & customs	New aspect		
	Position in the urban environment		Periphery	Centrality	-		Urbanization	Centrality in the urban structure
	Conformation	Plane shape	Random	Geometrics	Monumentality		Urbanization	Formal and functional inadequacy
		Development	Non-existent	Geometrics			Urbanization	Wise planning for the practice of space
	Architecture		-	Wall construction	-		Urbanization	Ambiguity in the writing of the walls

In relation to the Function:

Table 4: The dynamics retained in relation to the function of the camel place. Source Author

	Type	Mutating		Persistence		Reason of mutating	Result
		Tradition	New form	Uses & customs	New aspect		
Function	Passage	The scale		In a territory	In the city	Urbanization+ peril of trans-Saharan trade	Transit by excellence
	Trade	The scale		In a territory	In the city	Urbanization+ peril of trans-Saharan trade	Trade, a permanent culture
		Form		In an open area in the open air	Sub-local shelter around the square		
		Type of activity		-		Modernization + the necessities of contemporary life	
	Reference element	The scale		In a territory	In the city	Urbanization+ peril of trans-Saharan trade	City landmark and label
	Mnemonic element	-	Memory of the place	-		Changing modes of life	Memory of the place and excess to the historical model

These tables summarize the results of the interviews as follows:

- The emphasis on the original cultural landmarks that once governed the public place and that may have persisted under a new aspect.
- The highlighting of new elements that the place knows in this era, whether they are adopted by the public or not.

We have retained the following concepts:

- The user
 - Male precedence.
 - Insecurity at the expense of diversity.
 - Diversity that compromises urbanity.
- Functions
 - Memory of the place, and excess to the historical model.
 - Transit par excellence, and Traffic Node.
 - Trade a permanent culture.
 - Reference point, and city label.
- Form
 - Centrality in the urban structure.
 - Ambiguity in the writing of the walls.
 - Wise planning for the practice of space.
 - Formal and functional inadequacy.

- Bioclimatic conditioning of urban space
 - The know-how of disinherited elders.
 - Adaptation or response to climatic constraints in the desert.
- The quest for peaceful relaxation spaces in a comfortable climate.

Notwithstanding this place remains an exception, through the symbolic role it conveys (a role recognized by the community) "Finding the central and historical place of a city or neighborhood is part of those meaningful experiences that allow the individual to find himself, to find his place in his life as in his city"[23] (B. LEVY, 2008); but also by his role as a landmark in the city.

It is also a specific site, due to the prominent spatial configuration it outlines within the urban fabric, as well as its value as a surrounding commercial center that generates a little bit of daily activity on the periphery.

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