

FROM SPATIAL POTENTIAL TO URBAN USE

A CONVERSION FRAMEWORK FOR THE BARDO URBAN PARK IN CONSTANTINE, ALGERIA

BOUSSETTI SANDRA¹ (BOUSSETTI.SANDRA@UNIV-OEB.DZ)¹

¹DEPARTMENT OF URBAN TECHNIQUE MANAGEMENT, LARBI BEN M'HIDI UNIVERSITY, OUM EL BOUAGHI, ALGERIA
ORCID: 0009-0001-1467-7675

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Abstract

Urban parks are commonly evaluated by what they contain rather than by the extent to which their resources become everyday practices. This study examines the Bardo urban park in Constantine, Algeria, where substantial spatial potential coexists with predominantly occasional use. It proposes the concept of conversion capacity: a place's ability to transform its resources into everyday practices through successive stages (awareness, visit, stay, return, regular use). Combining documentary analysis, field observation, GIS and an exploratory survey (250 respondents, June 2026, convenience sample), it shows that awareness is high (96%), but only 59% had visited and about 19% visit at least monthly. Access is dominated by private cars (72%); reported constraints concern safety (60%), parking (59%) and accessibility (45%). The chain narrows mainly after the first visit. The framework offers a way to read public-space practices and appropriation, and management orientations follow from the identified frictions; it remains exploratory.

Keywords: Urban Park; Conversion capacity; Spatial potential; Accessibility; Public space; Constantine ; Algeria.

1. Introduction

Urban parks are generally presented as spaces that bring together several dimensions of urban life: the presence of nature, relaxation, active transportation, leisure, and sociability. However, the physical existence of a park does not guarantee its use. Research on green spaces shows that proximity alone explains visitor numbers poorly; these also depend on actual accessibility, perceived quality, facilities, and safety (Giles-Corti et al., 2005; Wang et al., 2015; Veitch et al., 2021).

This observation shifts the focus of evaluation. It is no longer simply a matter of cataloging a park's resources, but of understanding the conditions under which these resources become practices. Current evaluation methods, however, remain centered on the existing stock: vegetated area, number of facilities, location. Research on the Bardo, for its part, focuses on the urban project, the site's attractiveness, and its ecological inventory (Djebli & Achouri, 2020; Djebli et al., 2021; Guerdouh & Naceur, 2022, 2025; Slimani & Saba, 2023). To our knowledge, the way in which the Bardo's resources are activated, or not, in everyday practices is not analyzed sequentially.

The reality on the ground, however, presents a stark contrast. Of 250 people surveyed in June 2026, 96% said they knew of the park, but only 59% reported having visited it, and among those, 68% came only a few times a year. A well-known, visible site with attractive landscapes is therefore only marginally integrated into urban routines. Explaining this discrepancy requires going beyond the traditional list of strengths and weaknesses to identify where the link between resource and use narrows, and why.

Although the study focuses on an urban park rather than on street art as a specific artistic

practice, it addresses a broader issue central to contemporary research on urban creativity: how the spatial configuration of public places enables, limits, and shapes everyday practices and forms of appropriation. Urban creativity is not restricted to formally programmed artistic interventions; it can also emerge through the ways in which residents and visitors occupy, experience, reinterpret, and combine the physical and social resources of public space. From this perspective, the Bardo urban park provides a relevant case for examining the relationship between spatial potential and actual urban practices. The proposed conversion framework therefore complements approaches that evaluate public space through its physical qualities by focusing on the transition from available spatial resources to lived use, repeated presence, and potential forms of appropriation (Mebirouk et al., 2005). This perspective also opens a connection between spatial design, everyday public-space practices, and the capacity of urban environments to support more diverse and active forms of urban experience.

The article's argument is that the integration of a park into the city depends less on the accumulation of its resources than on its capacity for conversion, that is, the ability of the place to convert its resources into practices through a series of stages (discovery, visit, stay, return, regular use), each of which can be hindered by specific frictions. Three propositions, testable with the available descriptive data, structure the analysis:

P1. The main loss of the chain occurs after the first visit: the practice is occasional rather than absent.

P2. The actual accessibility practiced is narrower than the geographical accessibility of the site: access is based on a dominant mode.

P3. The reported frictions are spread over several stages (before arrival, during stay), which excludes explanation by a single factor.

The contribution is threefold. It is conceptual: an operational definition of conversion capacity, linked to the distinction between resources and actual functionings and to the notion of conversion factors (Sen, 1985; Robeyns, 2005), transposed from the individual to the site. It is empirical: a quantified conversion funnel and a stage-by-stage friction mapping for a poorly documented Maghreb park. It is operational: management guidelines, each linked to a measured friction. The study is exploratory; its limitations are specified in section 7.

The rest of the article is organized into seven parts: theoretical framework (2), field (3), methods (4), results (5), discussion (6), limitations and perspectives (7), conclusion (8).

2. Theoretical framework: from resource to practice

2.1. What park research establishes, and what it leaves open

Research on urban parks has identified numerous determinants of use. Proximity alone is insufficient; perceived accessibility, quality, safety, and amenities all influence park attendance (Giles-Corti et al., 2005; Kim et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2015; Veitch et al., 2021). The layout of spaces and the opportunities for visitors to linger influence social interactions and appropriation (Peters et al., 2010; Moulay et al., 2017). The social value of a park stems from its uses and the meanings that residents attribute to it (Campbell et al., 2016), and its spatial characteristics influence the cultural services it provides (Wang et al., 2022). Quality is both a property of the site and an experience produced by use (Chen et al., 2024), including the experience of facilities (Xie et al., 2024). In Algerian cities, studies on the appropriation of public space (Mebirouk et al., 2005) and on outdoor comfort (Boussaidi et al., 2023) point to the importance of local conditions.

These studies describe determinants, often one by one. What remains to be formalized is their order: a potential visitor must first know the place, then reach it, then stay there comfortably, and finally return. Each condition can fail independently of the others. It is this logic of successive stages that the concept of conversion allows us to formulate.

2.2. Genealogy: resources, functionings and conversion factors

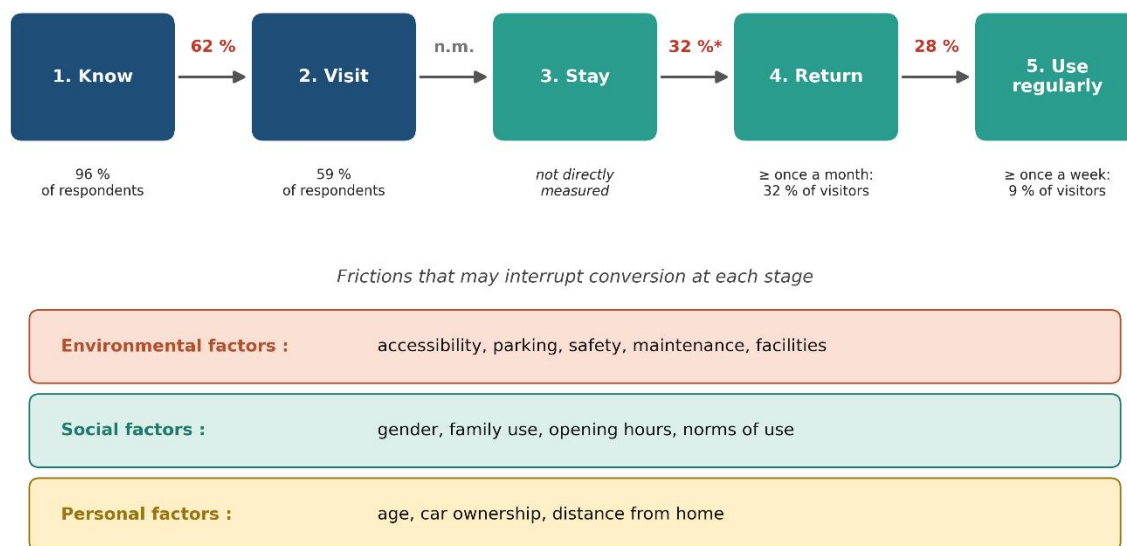
The capabilities approach distinguishes between the resources a person possesses and what they actually manage to do or be, the gap between the two being governed by personal, social, and environmental conversion factors (Sen, 1985, 1999; Robeyns, 2005). In geography, the notion of spatial capital similarly refers to the resources that space offers to actors and which are only valuable when mobilized (Lévy & Lussault, 2003).

We do not adopt the capabilities approach, which focuses on individual well-being, in its entirety. We retain two elements from it: the distinction between available resources and actual functionings, and the typology of conversion factors. The specific contribution of this article is to shift the focus from the individual to the place: what a park possesses (vegetation, pathways, facilities, location) becomes an effective practice only if environmental (access, parking, safety, maintenance), social (gender, family use, opening hours), and personal (age, car ownership, distance from residence) conditions allow it.

2.3. Operational definition of conversion capacity

A place's conversion capacity is its ability to transform its spatial resources into actual activities. Here, it is expressed by the conversion rates between five successive stages (Fig 1): becoming familiar with the park, visiting, staying there, returning, and using it regularly. At each stage, obstacles can interrupt the conversion; these fall under one of three categories of conversion factors. Conversion capacity is not a composite index: it is expressed by a series of rates and the location of these disruptions, and the chain is a framework for interpretation, not a proven causal model.

Figure 1
Conversion chain: from spatial resource to regular practice, and families of frictions.



Transition rates between stages (n = 250; 148 visitors). n.m.: not measured.
* Visit → at least monthly use (stages 2 → 4; "stay" is documented only through reported frictions).

Source: author's elaboration; field survey, June 2026.

Source(s): Author's elaboration, June 2026.

2.4. Spatial distribution: what the study covers

By spatial distribution, we mean how a park distributes activities, in space and time, among its components (internal distribution) and among the urban areas that feed into it (external distribution). The study documents the internal distribution through observation of functions and their relationships (section 5.4) and part of the external distribution through access methods and location (section 5.3). An analysis of visitor origin and service provision, which would complement this, was not carried out and remains a future consideration (section 7).

3. The site: the Bardo within the urban structure of Constantine

3.1. Site position and transformation

The Bardo urban park is located in the central part of Constantine, within a strategically positioned urban area crossed by the Rhumel River, which connects it with transport infrastructure, residential areas, and heritage sites (Constantine Urban Planning and Construction Directorate [DUC], 2010; see Figs 2 and 3). The project forms part of the urban transformation undertaken in Constantine in preparation for the city's year as Capital of Arab Culture in 2015. The park's construction was initiated in 2013 as part of a broader program to

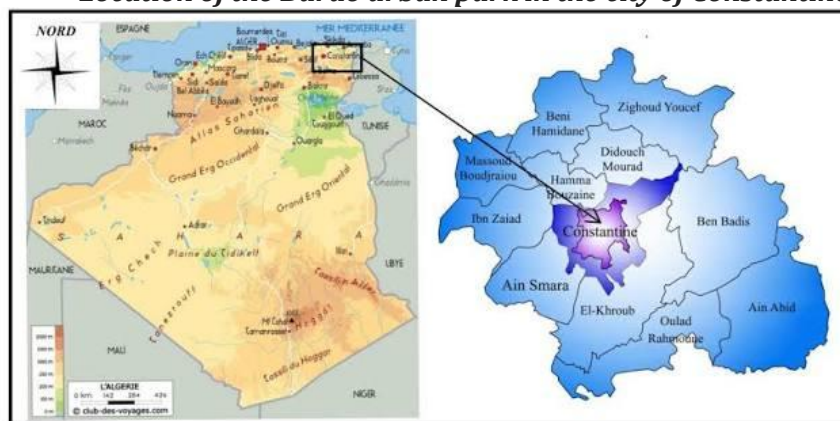
upgrade the city. The project covers approximately 65 ha (DUC, 2010), making it one of the largest urban green-space projects in central Constantine. A first 14-ha western section was opened to the public in July 2018.

The park subsequently underwent further development and changes to its program. Its official reopening in its current configuration took place in early July 2022, providing residents with a large recreational and naturalistic public space in the center of Constantine. Management and maintenance of the park's green spaces were assigned to EDEVCO, the municipal enterprise responsible for the maintenance and development of green spaces in Constantine. Previous documentation also identifies EDEVCO's involvement in the maintenance of green areas, water features, urban furniture, and related site-management activities.

This chronology matters for the present study because the park should not be considered simply as a completed green-space facility. Its development involved successive phases of implementation, opening, and reconfiguration. The study therefore examines not only the spatial resources provided by the park but also the extent to which these resources are translated into actual and recurrent public use.

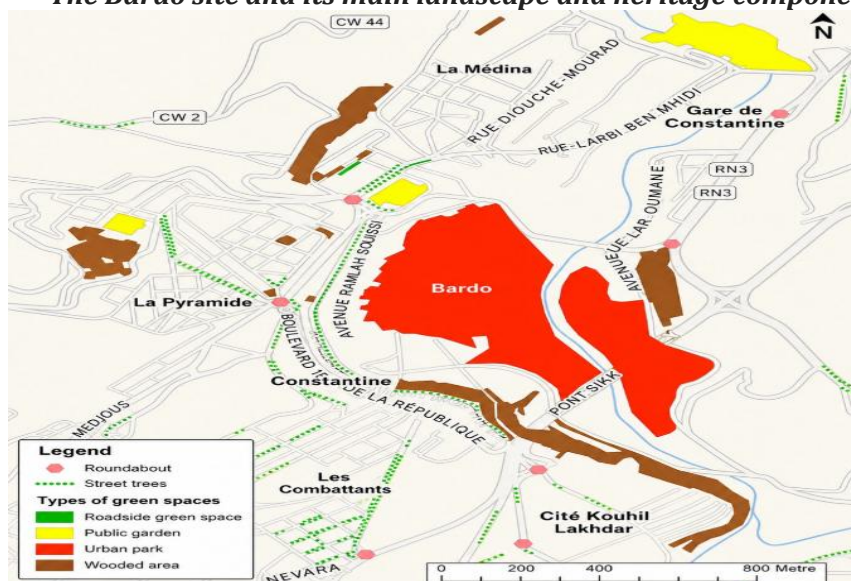
The park benefits from a central location and good accessibility, particularly via the surrounding roads: Sidi-Rached Bridge to the north, Zamouch Ali Avenue to the east, Rahmani Achour Avenue to the west and southwest, and M'djez Laghnem Bridge to the south. Access is organized as pedestrian access to the north and west, and vehicular access to the east, south, and west. Public transportation also serves the park; in the June 2026 survey, 19% of reported accesses were made by public transport.

Figure 2
Location of the Bardo urban park in the city of Constantine.



Source(s): DUC of Constantine (2010), supplemented by the author.

Figure 3
The Bardo site and its main landscape and heritage components.



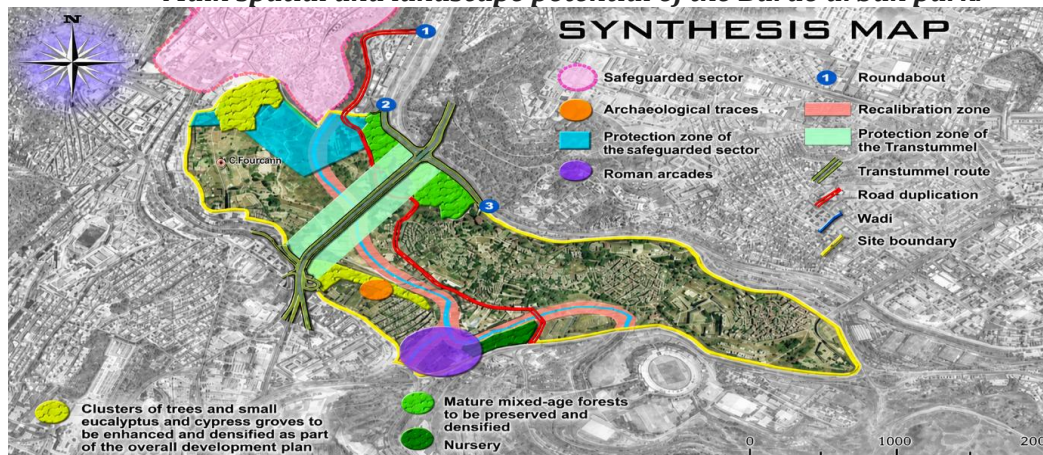
Source(s): DUC of Constantine (2010), supplemented by the author.

3.2. Spatial resources identified through observation

Observation and analysis of urban documents highlight four main resources. The open landscape, the feeling of spaciousness, and the visual connection to the surrounding landscape distinguish the site from more enclosed public spaces. The diversity of its components (vegetation, open spaces, pathways, rest areas, and amenities) offers multiple uses. The location gives the park the potential to connect with several sectors of the city. Finally, its multifunctionality allows for the combination of walking, rest, socializing, and leisure activities (Figs 4 and 5). These resources define the potential; the following section examines what becomes of it.

Figure 4

Main spatial and landscape potential of the Bardo urban park.



Source(s): Author's development based on urban documents, field observations and the DUC of Constantine (2010).

Figure 5

Spatial organization and main functions of the Bardo urban park.



Source(s): Author's development based on spatial data, field observations and the DUC of Constantine (2010).

4. Materials and methods

4.1. Approach and triangulation

The study combines four sources: (i) documentary and institutional analysis, (ii) direct observation of the park, (iii) spatial analysis using GIS, and (iv) a questionnaire survey. Their intersection compares the park as it is designed, as it is spatially connected to the city, and as it is used and perceived (Fig 6).

Figure 6
Methodological framework and analytical approach of the study.



Source(s): Author's elaboration, 2026.

4.2. Questionnaire survey

The survey was conducted in June 2026 with 250 people, through direct administration of the questionnaire in the park and in its surrounding public spaces and access areas. Respondents were recruited by convenience sampling, according to their availability at the time of the survey. This introduces a selection bias: the sample probably over-represents people who are already familiar with the site, which may lead to overestimating awareness and visitation. The questionnaire comprises five sections: knowledge of the park, visitor numbers, access methods, perceived advantages, and constraints; the full instrument is available from the author upon request. It is designed as an exploratory tool: its aim is to establish orders of magnitude and identify gaps in usage, not to estimate representative values for the population of Constantine.

Percentages are presented as rounded values. Awareness and overall visitation are calculated for the full sample of 250 respondents. Frequency of visitation is calculated among the 148 respondents (59.2% of the sample) who reported having visited the park. Perceived advantages, constraints, and access modes are calculated on the number of respondents answering each corresponding question; where multiple responses were permitted, percentages do not sum to 100%. This distinction makes it possible to differentiate awareness, past visits, and regular

attendance.

The sample allows the study to identify broad patterns of awareness, visitation, access, and perceived constraints. It does not allow population-level estimates.

For illustrative purposes, if the sample were simply random, at a 95% confidence level, the maximum margin of error would be approximately ± 6.2 points for the 250 respondents and ± 8.1 points for the 148 visitors. These values remain purely indicative, as the sample is not probabilistic. Consequently, small differences between percentages should be interpreted with caution; thus, 60% for safety and 59% for parking are considered comparable levels.

4.3. Spatial observation and reading

The on-site observation focused on pathways, green and open spaces, rest areas, facilities, atmosphere, and the relationships between the park's various functions. It allowed for the identification of functional diversity and the main breaks in spatial continuity. As no microclimatic measurements were taken, thermal comfort was not quantified.

GIS was used to represent the park's location, the organization of its components, and their relationships with access points and surrounding areas. This analysis remains descriptive and does not include isochrone analysis, population served, or geographic origin of visitors.

4.4. Interpretation

The results of the survey, observation, and GIS are compared using a triangulation approach. A quality identified in space is considered an effectively utilized resource only if it can be linked to access conditions, accommodation options, or observed or reported practices. Constraints reported by respondents are interpreted as potential disruptions in the chain, not as proven causes. No association tests are presented.

5. Results: a recognized potential, a practice that remains occasional

5.1. Clearly recognized spatial resources

Several qualities of the park are widely recognized. The openness and airy feel of the site are the most frequently cited asset (82%), followed by environmental quality (62.5%), location (56.6%), and size (52%) (Table 1). Since the differences between adjacent items (environmental quality, location, and size) fall within the indicative margin (section 4.2), these three assets are not ranked precisely relative to one another. These responses are consistent with observations of the site (section 3.2). They establish the existence of potential; they do not indicate whether it is being realized.

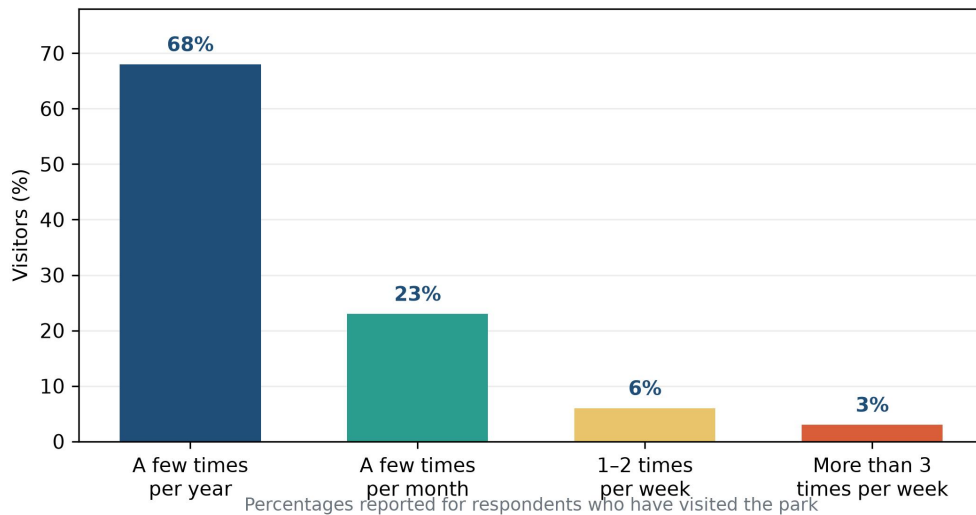
Table 1
Perceived strengths of the Bardo urban park

Perceived advantage	% of respondents
The site is open and airy.	82%
Environmental quality	62.5%
Strategic location	56.6%
Park area	52%

Source(s): Field survey, June 2026.

5.2. The funnel narrows after the first visit

Self-reported awareness of the park is very high (96%). The reported attendance rate is 59.2% (148/250), which is 36.8 points lower than the awareness rate. Among the 148 respondents who reported having visited the park, frequency of use was predominantly occasional: 68% reported visiting a few times per year and 23% a few times per month. More frequent use remained limited: 6% reported visiting once or twice per week and 3% more than three times per week (Fig 7). When the entire sample is considered, approximately 19% of respondents report visiting at least monthly and approximately 5% at least weekly.

Figure 7**Knowledge, attendance and frequency of reported visits to Bardo Park.**

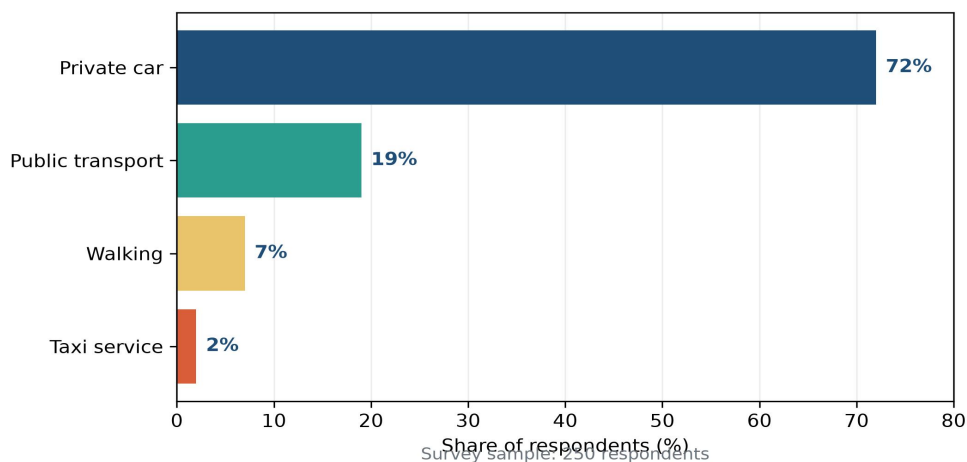
Source(s): Field survey, June 2026.

These categories reproduce the frequency categories used in the questionnaire. The analysis therefore does not introduce an additional category for exactly three visits per week. The results indicate that occasional use is dominant, whereas weekly or more frequent use represents a relatively small proportion of reported visitors (9%).

The conversion rates are 62% between initial awareness and a visit, 32% between a visit and at least monthly participation, and 28% between this and weekly participation. In other words, out of 100 people who visited the park, approximately 32 come at least once a month and 9 at least once a week. The loss is therefore larger after the first visit (68% of visitors do not reach monthly use) than between awareness and the first visit (38%). These figures are self-reported and were collected during a single period of the year; they should be interpreted as approximate.

5.3. Practical accessibility dominated by the car

Private cars account for 72% of reported access modes, public transport 19%, walking 7%, and taxis 2% (Fig 8). Cars and taxis combined represent 74%. For a site located near the city center and residential areas (section 3.1), the proportion of walking is low. The proximity of the site to the center therefore does not appear to translate into diverse access practices. The survey does not allow us to distinguish between what relates to the nature of the trip (a family leisure outing, for example) and what relates to obstacles to access on foot or by public transport.

Figure 8**Reported modes of access to the Bardo urban park.**

Source(s): Field survey, June 2026

5.4. Actual functional diversity, partially activated complementarity

Observation reveals the coexistence of several functions: walking, resting, meeting, leisure, and internal movement. Green and open spaces support leisure activities; facilities, such as playgrounds and attractions, introduce specific activities (Fig 9). Functional diversity is therefore evident.

Figure 9
Observed atmospheres and uses: playground (a), planted pathway (b), attractions (c), viewpoint and path along the edge of the gorge (d), circular landscape feature (e).



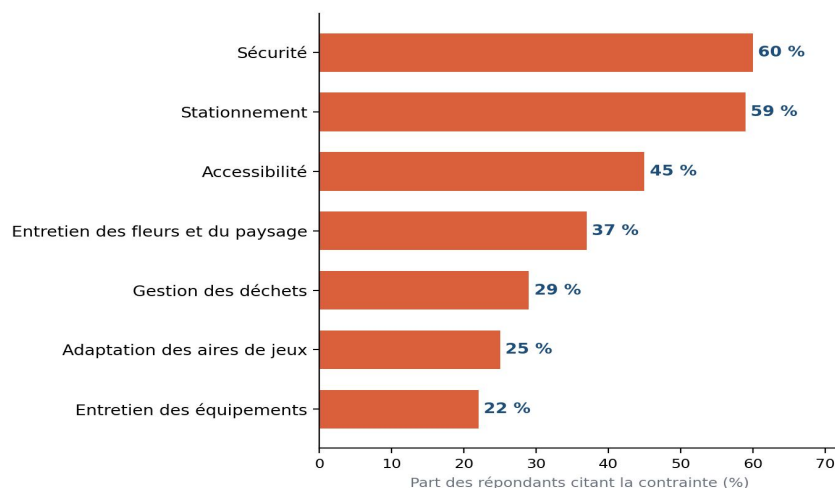
Source(s): Field observation, June 2026.

The complementarity is less clear-cut. It depends on relationships that observation can only characterize qualitatively: continuity of pathways, visibility between spaces, proximity between functions, and the quality of intermediate spaces. Diversity (the coexistence of different functions) must be distinguished from complementarity (their ability to form a coherent route). Without systematic counting by zone and time slot, we describe the complementarity as partially activated rather than measuring it.

5.5. Constraints as breaking points

The most frequently cited constraints are safety (60%) and parking (59%), at a comparable level, followed by accessibility (45%), flower and landscape maintenance (37%), waste management (29%), adaptation of playgrounds (25%) and equipment maintenance (22%) (Fig 10).

Figure 10
Main constraints affecting park use.



Source(s): Field survey, June 2026.

When considered in relation to the conversion chain, these constraints are divided into two phases (Table 2). Parking and accessibility act before arrival: they determine entry to the park. Safety, maintenance, and the adaptability of facilities act during the visit: they determine its duration and the desire to return. Almost all of the listed constraints fall under the category of environmental factors, in terms of the conditions of the location and its management. Social factors (gender, family use, time of day) and personal factors (age, car ownership, distance from residence) are not documented by the available data.

Table 2
Constraints declared according to the step of the chain

Stage	Constraint	%	Factor family
Before arrival (coming)	Parking	59	Environmental (provision, infrastructure)
Before arrival (coming)	Accessibility	45	Environmental (connections, entrances)
During the stay	Safety	60	Environmental and social (conditions, perception)
During the stay	Flower and landscape maintenance	37	Environmental (management)
During the stay	Waste management	29	Environmental (management)
During the stay	Adaptation of playgrounds	25	Environmental (facility provision)
During the stay	Equipment maintenance	22	Environmental (management)

Note: the percentages are those of Fig 10; the distribution by family is an interpretation by the author. Source(s): Author's elaboration based on field survey, June 2026.

The results are consistent with the three propositions. P1: The conversion rate is 62% between awareness and the first visit, but only 32% between the first visit and monthly use; the main drop-off therefore occurs after the first visit. P2: Cars and taxis account for 74% of access, while walking accounts for 7%, even though the site is close to the city center; accessibility in practice is more limited than the geographical accessibility. P3: Five of the seven constraints are present during the stay and two before the visit; no single-factor explanation holds. These interpretations remain descriptive: they establish neither causality nor association between variables.

6. Discussion

6.1. *Where the conversion is lost*

The key finding is the location of the loss. The Bardo is a well-known destination: more than half of respondents have visited it. However, it does not easily become a regular part of their routines: only a minority return regularly. This pattern is consistent with a destination effect (visiting a familiar place once or a few times) without it becoming a habit, but the survey does not allow us to demonstrate this. It shifts the management challenge: it is less important to make the park better known or more attractive at first glance than to reduce the obstacles that separate a visit from a repeat one.

6.2. *A destination park? An alternative interpretation to examine*

A competing interpretation must be considered. If the Bardo is a destination park serving the entire metropolitan area rather than a local one, its predominantly occasional use and dominant reliance on cars may be partly structural rather than reflecting deficiencies. The article does not offer a definitive answer by comparison with a benchmark; it examines the nature of the reported frictions. These are almost all related to the location and its management (parking, safety, maintenance, facilities) and are therefore potentially reducible. The dominant mode of access and one of the most frequently cited constraints may also be linked: cars (72%) and parking (59%). If the same people are affected, which only cross-referencing would confirm,

then dependence on the dominant mode would be accompanied by a vulnerability of that mode. A comparison with other North African or Mediterranean parks would allow for a calibration of usage rates.

6.3. *From stay to recurrence*

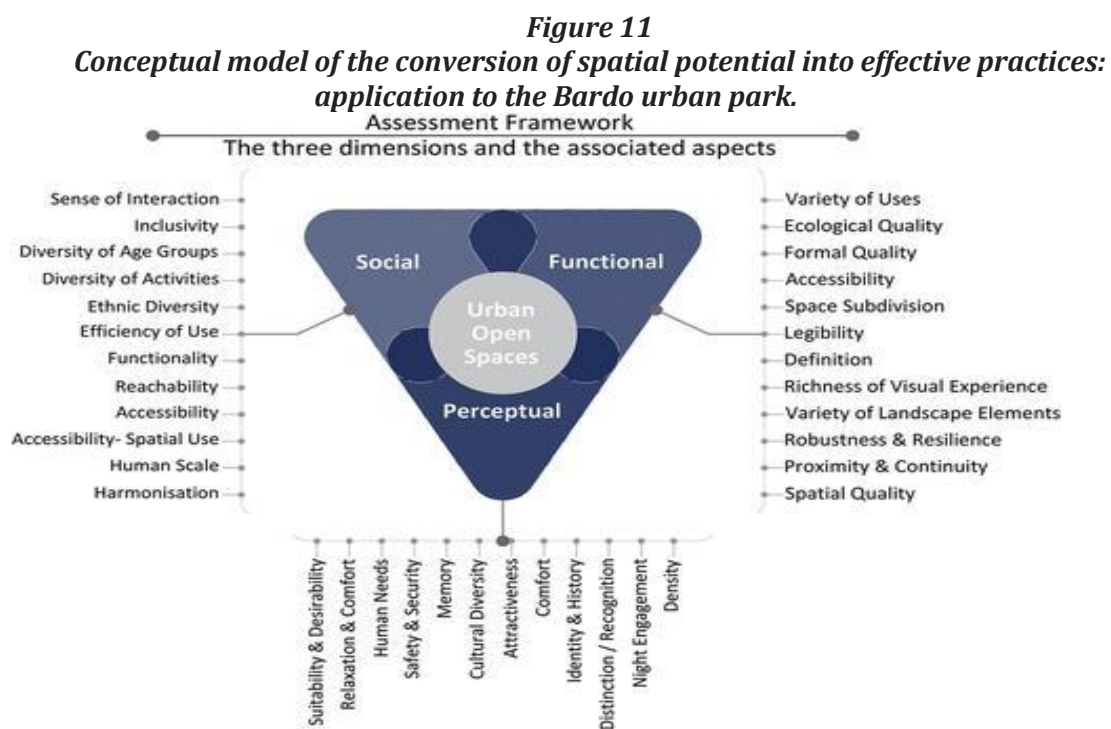
The “stay” stage is the least measured and the most fraught with friction: five of the seven constraints are at play. We hypothesize that the decision to return is formed during the stay, influenced by perceived safety, the state of the landscape, and the adequacy of the facilities. This hypothesis, consistent with research on the lived experience of parks (Chen et al., 2024) and on the experience of facilities (Xie et al., 2024), calls for data on the duration and content of stays, and on the association between perceived quality and frequency of visits.

6.4. *Conversion factors: what the data do and do not say*

Sen’s (1985, 1999) framework suggests that conversion should not be reduced solely to the conditions of the location. The data document the environmental context. They say nothing about social and personal factors, which are nevertheless likely to be structuring elements in the context studied: gender and perceived safety, family use, peak usage times, and car ownership. These are hypotheses to be tested, not established facts. Their absence is the main limitation in interpreting frictions, because the same constraint (safety, for example) can have a very different impact on different groups of people.

6.5. *Contribution and scope of the concept*

Compared to accessibility studies, conversion capacity is not limited to access: it links access to stay and repeat visits. Compared to the capabilities approach, it operates at the site level and lends itself to simple indicators (transition rates). Compared to the traditional strengths and weaknesses analysis, it prioritizes friction points along a chain and indicates at which stage action is needed. It is testable in principle (Figure 11): comparing parks would show whether the stage at which the loss occurs varies and whether it corresponds to the identified frictions; a park where the loss lies upstream (awareness, access) would call for other interventions. However, it is neither a validated index nor a predictive model, and no threshold is proposed: its value will be established by comparing several parks and by statistical cross-tabulations on larger samples.



Source(s): Author’s elaboration, 2026.

6.6. Management guidelines

The guidelines below are each linked to a measured friction point and a step in the chain (Table 3). They are based on a general principle: address access and visitor conditions before adding facilities or green spaces, since the resources already exist and are recognized. These are proposals to be validated with the park managers; the stakeholders and timeline are not specified here.

Table 3
Management guidelines related to measured frictions

Friction (result)	Stage	Orientation	Monitoring indicator
Parking (59%), accessibility (45%), car dependency (72%)	Arrival	Address access before adding equipment: readability and security of entrances, pedestrian and public transport connections, parking management	Modal share of access; parking saturation during peak hours
Safety (60%)	Stay	Lighting, human presence and surveillance at entrances and in high-use areas, visibility of pathways	Percentage of respondents citing safety; late-day traffic
Landscape maintenance (37%), waste (29%)	Stay	Maintenance and waste-collection plan by sector, with a frequency adapted to usage	Status grid by sector, updated periodically
Play areas (25%), equipment (22%)	Stay	Adapt and maintain existing equipment before creating new equipment	Usage observed by equipment
Low recurrent use (only 32% of visitors come at least monthly)	Return	Periodic observation of usage patterns (season, day, time, sector) to guide adjustments	Share of visitors attending at least monthly, from one survey to the next

Source(s): Author's elaboration based on survey results.

7. Limitations and perspectives

Several limitations must be considered when interpreting the results. The study focuses on a single park and a limited observation period, specifically the month of June, which does not allow for generalization of the results to all urban parks or for assessing seasonal variations in park use. The sample is not considered statistically representative of the population of Constantine, and the reported practices are based on respondents' answers rather than direct behavioral measurements. The results remain primarily descriptive: no association tests or explanatory models were used. The identified frictions should therefore be interpreted as possible spatial disruptions or constraints, and not as established causal relationships. Furthermore, the reasons why some respondents had never visited the park were not analyzed. GIS is used here as a tool for spatial analysis and representation, not as a causal modeling tool. Finally, the proposed concept constitutes an analytical framework intended to structure the interpretation of the relationship between spatial potential and urban practices; it does not constitute a validated composite index. The identity and adaptation over time dimensions discussed in previous work on the Bardo project (Guerdouh & Naceur, 2025) were not directly measured in this study and are therefore not used as empirical results.

Six perspectives emerge from this:

- cross-reference the frequency of visits with the mode of access, age, gender and residence (association tests, confidence intervals);
- ask non-visitors about the reasons for their non-attendance, a crucial piece of information for upstream conversion;
- analyze service using GIS (isochrones on foot and by car, population served, distance to

- stops) and map the origin of visitors, to document the external spatial distribution;
- implement systematic observation (counts by area, time slot, day and season) to measure the complementarity of functions;
- compare the transition rates between several parks to calibrate the concept and discuss the thresholds; and
- document the social (gender, family use, schedules) and personal (age, motorization) factors of the conversion.

8. Conclusion

Bardo Park is known by almost everyone (96%), visited by a majority (59%), but frequented regularly by a minority: approximately 19% of respondents come at least once a month and about 5% at least once a week. Viewed as a conversion chain, this situation locates the main loss after the first visit rather than at the beginning of the chain.

The reported frictions are distributed both before arrival (parking, accessibility, car dependency) and during the stay (safety, maintenance, equipment adaptation). They almost all stem from the conditions of the location and its management, and are therefore potentially reducible: this is the operational meaning of the concept of conversion capacity, which makes it possible to link each orientation to an identified disruption rather than adding resources to an already recognized potential.

The article's contribution lies in transposing the notion of conversion factors from the individual to the place, expressing it as stage-to-stage transition rates, and applying it to a poorly documented Maghreb park. This contribution remains exploratory: a single park, a single time period, and self-reported data. Its consolidation will require statistical analysis, surveys of non-visitors, an analysis of the park's catchment area, and comparisons between parks.

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