Survey on Social Mediation in Slum Resorption Projects in Morocco

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Abstract

The following article presents the results of a survey carried out on two projects under the programme "Cities without slums" (VSB) located respectively in "Madinat Errahma" and "Essalam Ahl Loghlam". It seeks to explore the views and representations of programme beneficiaries on the integration of communication and social mediation in conflict resolution and the success of such projects.

Action oriented, the survey tried to present the situation of the beneficiary population, its expectations and aspirations, the contribution of social mediation in the resolution of conflicts during the relocation operation by the social mediators, the administrations concerned, the project owner and the beneficiaries with a view to proposing recommendations to improve the slum upgrading process.

In addition to this, we first presented the background and main questions of the survey, and then we approached the views of the beneficiary population on the programme and, at the end, improvement of the processes of social mediation in the resorption of slums.

Keywords: slum, social mediation, Cities without Slums programme,

Introduction

In a context of social and spatial changes characterized by an extraordinary increase in urbanization, the city of Morocco has acquired a particular interest among the population and is particularly attractive due to the decent quality of life it offers, the economic power it has and the availability of local amenities. Thus, the rate of urbanization in Morocco has reached 61.2 % [1] impacting the issue of habitat that has been throughout the last three decades at the center of the concerns of Moroccan families. As this context is fueled by the rural exodus, it creates a high concentration of poor families in a precarious situation that penetrate the urban space in their own way by the construction of barracks (barraca) and shantytowns causing a spatial dysfunction of the city and reinforcing the vulnerability of an important social stratum suffering from an eloquent injustice marked by unworthy living conditions.

The city of Casablanca, like the emerging metropolises, has been impregnated by this phenomenon, it has seen the birth of many slums pockets constituting the largest number at the national level. This situation characterised by an unprecedented extension of the Greater Casablanca region to the communes of the Casablanca periurban ring has been fueled by informal urban planning, of which the shantytown phenomenon is its main component.

It counted more than 36% [2] of all the slums of the country, 98 000 households (500 000 inhabitants), spread over more than 450 pockets.

Faced with this situation, public action has been taken by the national slum upgrading programme (cities without slums / Villes Sans Bidonvilles / VSB) and has been marked by the introduction of a new social mediation approach characterized by support for beneficiaries from the design stage of the project until its implementation to finally bring about the demolition of the barracks (barraca). This new approach, which aims to integrate the beneficiaries into the new housing, is carried out through a communication and social mediation approach which considers the man as the means and the finality of the operation. It consists in bringing the aspirations of the beneficiaries closer to those of the designers with a double aim, which makes it possible to ensure first of all the satisfaction of the population and secondly the completion of the project by the demolition of the barracks (barraca) in a climate of tranquility and of social peace.

This newly adopted practice in Morocco is based on a social accompaniment of beneficiaries in order to facilitate their installation in new housing.

Indeed, the concept of social mediation consists, according to Michèle hofnung [3], in a process of construction, repairing social ties and managing conflicts in everyday life, of which an impartial, independent third party tries through the organization of exchanges between people and institutions to settle a conflict or establish a relationship.

Since slums are of a special character, the feeling of exclusion and marginalization gives rise to behaviours hostile to public housing policies and jeopardizes social cohesion and tranquility, the application of a social approach to resolution of conflicts is a new practice requiring professionalism and the establishment of adequate structures capable of carrying out the relocation projects of the slums registered under the VSB programme.

As a result, our survey tries to approach the representations and aspirations of the beneficiaries, to detect barriers to communication and social mediation and to answer a main question: How is the communication and social mediation device designed in the projects of resorption of slums "Madinat Errahma" and "Essalam Ahl Loghlam"? And what are the opinions and representations of the beneficiaries of this mediation?

1. Social mediation: concept and its meanings

Acting on the shanty town phenomenon cannot be done easily in a context where poverty, precariousness and opportunistic attitudes are mixed. Conflicts of different intensities arise which require a resolution guaranteeing social peace.

Responding to these conflicts and ensuring public tranquility is an assurance of social cohesion in the context of the revolution in communication technologies that we live in.

Bonafé-Schmitt (1992) [4] argues that, in addition to formal processes of conflict resolution, the existence of alternative modes of conflict resolution that include mediation, conciliation, negotiation, indigenous healing circles, and so on.

The establishment of effective means of resolution helps to ease the judicial process and effectively tackle the problems encountered, especially when implementing a social policy such as the VSB programme.

The integration of social mediation into such a programme is intended, in principle, to establish links with the beneficiaries of the VSB programme with a view to facilitating the implementation of concerted solutions and eventually leading to the eradication of slums.

Indeed, the notion of social mediation is a concept that is characterised by the plurality of the aspects of its uses, because it takes several names depending on the contexts with which it takes place. This is called "neighbourhood mediation, urban mediation, community mediation, proximity mediation, etc."

These names vary from country to country and from one culture to another. Its definition is very heterogeneous and is based essentially on its functions.

According to Bonafé-Schmitt (1998) [5], "it is a mostly formal process whereby a neutral third party attempts, through the organisation of exchanges between the parties, to allow them to confront their points of view and to seek a solution to the one that opposes them ".

Six (1990) [6] distinguishes four types of social mediation:

- - creative mediation aimed at creating new links between people or groups;
- - Renovative mediation aimed at reactivating extended links;
- - Preventive mediation aimed at preventing the outbreak of a conflict;
- - Healing mediation, the aim of which is to help the parties in conflict to find the solution.Thus, it can fulfill five essential functions:

• **Security function that is to say pacifying** by contributing to the fight against crime, that is what Guillaume Hofnung [7] affirms : "Absorbed by the problems of the city [...] social mediation assimilated to urban mediation. All aspects of mediation can be exercised: conflict prevention and resolution, improved relations between the institutions and their public, and more social links between the inhabitants and the partners. ". :
Consequently, social mediation promotes two essential objectives: on the one hand, securing and preventing incivility, and on the other, social inclusion. Luison and Valastro (2004) [8] mention that: "the mediation envisaged as communication and social control, a process of learning to live together, and a project to reconstruct intermediate structures between individuals and the State"

• **The most widespread function of restoring social ties** is to combat the phenomena of disorganisation that threaten social life. Briant and Palau, in Six and Mussaud (2002) [9], assert that: "Mediation creates the social bond that is essentially based on more cultural or historical representations. [...] This societal mediation aims at constituting or developing the social bond."

Bonafé-Schmitt (2004) [10] states that "this mediation is not about determining responsibility, because it involves going back over the past, looking for faults, but rather focusing on building new relationships. (38);

• **Communication function:** by pursuing the ultimate goal of social mediation in conflict resolution, it is part of a communication process that specialists consider as follows:

 "mediation, when formalised, may be defined as a method of facilitating communication ...": 19) Lascoux (2003) [11].

 "Social mediation, the object of which is to restore communication, is a reliable track ..." (144) Petit clerc (2011) [12].

"The challenge of mediation is no longer confined to its strict restorative dimension. The communicational dimension becomes central and leaves the power to the parties to decide what they feel is best suited to their situation. The potentialities of the process are then much greater ": 6) Jaccoud, (2009) [13].

• **Pedagogical and educational function**: since it allows to entrench an apprenticeship and a culture based on the empowerment of individuals and the emergence of their autonomy in the face of the resolution of the conflicting situations that confront them in the social life. Petit clerc , (2011) [14]; emphasizes that "social mediation through its presence and availability on the territory of intervention, the social mediator participates in the education of the younger generation. ".The choice of communication as a means of coping with the problems of social life offers an opportunity to learn a number of behavioral skills and, as Woolford and Ratner (2010) [15] point out: "(mediation) is "The best way to resolve their problems". This makes it possible to enroll in a learning organisation that brings together individual competences to develop a collective competence for managing and resolving conflicts.

• **Judicial function**: mediation can be a means of resolving conflicts that the judicial system cannot solve. Thus, as we bear witness to our historical and social heritage: the orf or the custom things known by all the world as societal attempts to resolve conflicts and which Pierre Bourdieu [16] calls "habitus" which allows a better apprehension of custom and of the complexity of its nature in relation to behaviour and social practices. Things that can contribute to a real development of social mediation.

Since urban space is both a social product, a milieu and an issue (Grafmeyer, 1994a, pp. 24-26) [17], ensuring that it works in a harmonious manner, is the main concern of city managers in their pursuit of public tranquility.
Facing the slums where it is necessary to establish links with beneficiaries of the resorption programme. Social mediation has a character that emanates from its purpose as evoked by Lemaire and Poitras (2004) [18], since it goes beyond its role of reconstructing the social link between the inhabitants and the public authorities in order to move to a community mediation aimed at the reappropriation by the community and its members of the power to self-resolve conflicts that affect them.

In the field of town planning, in addition to resolving conflicts, it can aim at the establishment of social, economic and administrative conditions to foster a dynamic of social development and the appropriation of new neighborhoods by their inhabitants. Its main long-term objective is to minimize wastage in the beneficiary population.

The success of such an alternative consists in an arrangement that reconciles social performance with economic performance. This is what Françoise Navez Bouchanine [19] considers in 2006 "Taking into account the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the populations concerned and the association of the latter with the process of identifying and defining the technical outlines of the projects that concern them by a through participatory approach and good governance "which motivates the population to join in the actions of the project.

It is these conditions that have enabled the setting up of the structures and partners that accompany slum upgrading projects. Similarly, the actors of the Habitat sector have attempted to outsource social mediation in a certain way by adopting Social Work Management (MOS) and social support through the support of qualified partners in the field. This choice was very limited to three kinds of partners since this is a new practice:

- The private sector which, in addition to the prices charged, constitutes a very small number in relation to the overall needs of a policy and strategy construction and has no experience and offers little guarantees in terms of capitalisation.
- NGOs that are qualified in this niche and were rare: they could not guarantee medium- and long-term policy perspectives despite their relevance to ad hoc experiences.
- Local associations: in particular neighbourhood associations, where they exist in this type of tissue; which possibly offered good intentions and motivations. However, they have skills or know-how in the field of social development and they do not have the capacity to cover the neighbourhoods in a general way to equitably serve all the populations concerned. The Social Development Agency (ADS) [20] as a public administrator has attracted the interest of other public players and building owners because of its twofold advantage:

    - A good anchoring in the associative environment with a practice already rooted in the work of improvement - training and empowerment - of the latter.
    - A specific mission, strong and long-term, of social development, a mission translated into its objectives, its organisation chart and the resources made available to it.

This is how it was chosen to support and supervise projects to reduce slums through the following approach:

    - Better involvement of beneficiaries at different stages of the project. This association implies the mobilization of various tools and modes of intervention;
    - A prior diagnosis to define the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the population concerned;
    - Management of information in both horizontal and vertical directions, whether towards operators and partners or institutional players;
    - Mediation between individuals, populations and institutional actors;
    - Psychological, social, technical and logistic accompaniment of the population.

However, the rather special nature of its intervention in the different phases of the projects, upstream during the identification of the needs of the populations and in the course of the realisation of the projects by means of information and communication accompanying the eradication of the shanty towns; it is a partner that deserves a central place. This is not shared by some owners who use "private providers". According to Julien Le Tellier [21], this attitude of turning to the consulting firms to make "faster and cheaper", leads on the ground to a rigidification of procedures or even a "makhzénisation" of social accompaniment and mediation social security.

2- Methods and instruments of the survey

Our methodology revolves around a questioning of "the practice communication and social mediation in the project Villes Sans Bidonvilles" (VSB) (cities without slums).

It is guided by two main targets:

• Representations and views of beneficiaries on proposed slum upgrading projects;
• The social mediation system adopted in the (VSB) program and its practice,

These two orientations are broken down into a series of objectives and assumptions:

Objective 1: Approach beneficiaries' views on proposed relocation solutions in the slum upgrading projects "Madinat Errahma and Essalam Ahl Loghlam";
Hypothesis A: The Madinat Errahma and Essalam Ahl Loghlam projects respond to the needs and aspirations of the beneficiaries;
Objective 2: To understand the communication mechanism and social mediation in the resolution of conflicts;
Hypothesis B: The project of resorption of the shanty towns "Madinat Errahma and Essalam Ahl Loghlam" has a system of social mediation.
Objective 3: * To propose ways of improving the communication and social mediation system
Hypothesis C: The social mediation carried out in the project "Madinat Errahma and Essalam Ahl Loghlam" is done by professionals specialized in the matter.

2-1 Conduct of the field investigation

This survey; Which seeks to explore the practice of social mediation in the resorption of slums; targeted 360 households beneficiaries of the project "Madinat Errahma and Essalam Ahl Loghlam" (180 households per site). It is a percentage of 3% of all the households concerned.

Indeed, the choice of these two sites is justified by the fact that they fulfill the following conditions:

- A population targeted by the National Initiative of Human Development (INDH) [22] and varied rural nature in Dar Bouazza and urban in Essalam Ahl Loghlam;
- A strategic location in emerging territories at the level of the restructuring plan of the Greater Casablanca region in its fight against precariousness and social exclusion;
- A decade of the start-up of the projects, which allows a retreat and to touch the impact of social mediation in the resorption of slums;
- A positive attitude of the respondents (availability, cooperation ...);
- A regular situation of the two sites where it has almost been confirmed (no conflict with the administration).

2-2 Survey Instrument

For the collection of data, we have selected an extremely formal instrument, which is the questionnaire. As a rigorous information tool, it is necessary to put in place a certain number of time variables which set the framework of the answers and then make it possible to compare them from one individual to another.

However, if the rigidity of the questionnaire allows a rigorous collection, it locks it in an a priori reasoning. Therefore, before the field, we planned other tools to capture the aspects of social mediation that the questionnaire would neglect such as: active observation.

* Structure of the questionnaire administered to households

The questionnaire plan is divided into six parts, in ascending order of importance: Biography of the questionnaire;

⊗ Living conditions of the household and its home in the neighbourhood of origin;
⊗ Characteristics of the new dwelling;
⊗ Communication and information about the project;
⊗ Impacts and assessments;
⊗ Social mediation and conflict resolution.

2-3 Sample selection

The population in the two survey sites amounts to 1,2873 households. We initially planned to use a stratified sampling method based on the division of this population into homogeneous groups according to the installation blocks, in order to detect the impact of any correlation between social mediation, Conflicts and the success of the project. Nevertheless, the difficulties encountered in administering the questionnaires led us to opt for a sample of convenience based on respondents' willingness to participate in our investigation.

Thus, we tried to reach the maximum of the households concerned on the basis of the following parameters:

- The questioned must be beneficiaries of the transaction and not third parties who have concluded an agreement to appropriate a share of the housing;
- The respondents must have the status of head of household

The questionnaires were filled according to the mode of administration face to face with the beneficiaries after a brief presentation of the objectives of the survey and the questionnaire.

Thus, of the 360 questionnaires targeted, and despite the enormous effort made during the 2014 census period to reach the maximum number of households defined in the sample, we were able to provide only 309 completed questionnaires, a response rate of 86%.

2-4 Survey Results:

After having filled in all the questionnaires, we uploaded them on the SPSS software and then analysed them in two steps: a sorting out of all the questions, followed by a cross-sorting of the variables whose correlation could be significant.

Our analysis presents the characteristics of the population studied through a descriptive analysis of the results of the survey according to the six groupings of the components of the questionnaire:

- Profiles of the questions:
- Living conditions of the household and its home in the neighbourhood of origin;
- Characteristics of the new housing;
- Communication and information about the project;
- Impacts and assessments;
- Social Mediation and Dispute Resolution.

The field survey has enabled us to draw a number of observations on the mediation system adopted in slum upgrading projects. These observations are as follows:

• **The profile of the beneficiary population, the proposed relocation offer and the expectations of the inhabitants**

It is a population that has forged a bond of collective life with the shantytown and that, in terms of attitudes and behaviour, does not depart from its basic frame of reference. The latter is generally rural in nature. From the outset, this population was attracted by the city to improve its way of life and its economic power. It has exceeded the constraint of having housing through a fierce struggle in the urban space to appropriate a housing adapted to its capacities and which meets the requirements of urban life.

But living in a city does not mean that the conditions of city life are met. The population of the study of our research is in a situation of precariousness to which one can cite the following conditions:

- A modest level of education not exceeding in the majority of cases the primary;
- An average of 10 years residency in the karyane,
- A sector of activity characterised by its informal character which reinforces the vulnerability of the population.
- A geographical origin for most of the inhabitants comes from territories bordering on Casablanca, which reflects the attractiveness of this city as a national economic metropolis
- A number of family members housed in the barracks (barraca) is on average five persons
- A monthly income that does not exceed 1500 DH for more than 50% of the beneficiaries

This profile of a citizen tainted by precariousness marked by a daily struggle to satisfy his physiological needs deeply affects the self-image and his representations, which makes him vulnerable and incites him to behave as a Lower rank within the city.

This perception is widely shared by the inhabitants of the city who associates the image of slums with an urban evil being characterised by all forms of social deviation. This is what Lamia Zaki [23] explicates in returning to the meaning that the expressions that are assigned to them "karyané" or ouled the karyane "that is to say thug or poorly integrated in the city in the Moroccan community.

This is reflected in attitudes towards the shantytowns thus reinforcing; Feelings of frustration and injustice in the environment and neighbourhood or are mingled pity and mistrust.

Starting from a barrack (barraca) where the living conditions are unworthy and the beneficiaries live in poverty and precariousness, relations with the public authorities are biased because they reinforce doubt, dependence and vulnerability.

This is exploited by the local authorities by playing on the illegal nature of the shantytown from the beginning of the settlements to keep the barrack (barraca) owner in a position of "pseudo-clandestinity" (Arrif 1999) [24], latent insecurity which Fuels their fragility in relation to power and is a particularly effective means of control and subordination since it limits the crystallization of frustrations and the assertion of claims.

The ceiling of the population's expectations varies between the hope of changing the living environment and of decent housing where water, electricity and sanitation will be available ... This hope is put to the test in the face of the constraint of the financial contribution by allocating a lot of land for two households while asking them to pay the equipment costs (for example: an amount of 40000.00 DH per lot). Conflicts first emerge from the claim of the right to benefit from a lot, and then from the financial means to pay the fees charged as a contribution in the equipment of the lot. In most cases, these are large memberfamilies with a main activity in the slum. The project is experienced as a nightmare because of:

- Its spatial cost marked by the question of matching family needs with the proposed solution;
- Its economic cost linked to the drying-up of the customer pool that feeds the inputs (receipts) of the informal economic activity practiced by the families;
- Its financial cost related to the insolvency of certain families in extreme poverty and therefore unable to pay the fees charged for their transfer.

This situation calls for the efforts of the social mediation unit, which is supported by local authorities to explore possible solutions, propose adequate offers and accompany beneficiaries until they are transferred to new housing units and the demolition of their barracks (barracas).

• Stakeholders involved in conflict resolution and project implementation bodies

Resettlement of the population is done by allocating a lot of land for each household on the basis of a limited land base. The number of lots proposed is fixed by the client in advance on the basis of a census established during the planning of the operation. Thus, the stages of profit and batch allocation are critical moments that trigger conflicts and involve the interventions of the social mediation unit. This consists essentially of supporting the population through the one-stop shop by facilitating the transfer of beneficiaries and the demolition of barracks (barracas). This critical moment was sometimes exploited by elected officials.

According to Lamia Zaki (2005) [25] "The mediation of elected representatives allows to connect the inhabitants to the policy instituted and contributes to the reformulation of the limits of the possible and the feasible. Apart from the fact that the slum people get more than just the commodification of voting in a transformed electoral context, the mediation of the electoral bosses transforms the group into a political group, whose members share the same ideal of relocation, but also the desire to preserve (Indivisible) property in common "

Indeed, moving from a precarious living environment to another is often accompanied by tensions and conflicts among beneficiaries as they will experience a significant change in their lifestyle. This requires an effort to adapt to the new context. The Cities without Slums program is organized by the representative bodies for the resolution of conflicts or its social approach has not instituted a structured social mediation approach, given the number of interveners within the local unit or interferes much with a " Speakers concerned about the organization and management of the issue of housing in Morocco: local authorities, Moqadem, elected representatives, associations ... etc. The beneficiaries are thus torn between the administrative logic and the logics of the population and who see in these bodies as facilitators of their transfer to a new environment

The following observations emerged from the survey:

- The beneficiaries are satisfied with the 62% offered and will be pleased if there is more presence of equipment, economic activities and ease of accessibility ...;
- Sources of dissatisfaction arise from mobility linked to daily commuting: home and work. 38% of heads of households make commuting journeys in the order of 25 km with additional expenses for daily commuting;
- Monthly financial expenditure on housing affects the purchasing power of 58% of beneficiaries;
- Despite the legible presence of social mediators in the project communication, the support of the local authority is necessary;
- The content of the information communicated to the population is transferred in order of importance by three key stakeholders: neighbourhood associations (41%), mediation unit (38%) and local authorities (21%);

- Despite the importance of neighbourhood associations in the success of the project, only 18.8% of the population are affiliated to an association and attend its activities and more than 81% do not expect anything from their associations;
- Almost all the beneficiaries have contacted the social mediation unit, 52% of whom have solicited it for conflict resolution;
- Registered disputes are essentially related to the right to benefit from housing, such as: the constitution of the file (45%); The census (23%), the nature of the dwelling (16%), and payment at (16%)
- 99.7% of the beneficiaries appreciate the role of the social mediation unit in their support during the transfer and propose to extend its field of intervention to other aspects, in particular the improvement of the living conditions of the population.

Thus, it is clear that social mediation as a social operator for conflict resolution in projects under the city without slums programme operates in the same way as other operators who share the same task: public authorities, Local ... This creates a certain ambiguity in the delivery of solutions and shows the non-structuring of social mediation.

• **The social mediation system and the proposals for its improvement**

The implementation of social mediation in the PVSB is carried out through the local commission which is responsible for assigning, accompanying and resolving the conflicts that arise between different parties involved in the project. The survey reveals that 2/3 of the respondents prefer to keep the same neighbours in the new dwelling for reasons of common values, solidarity and similar conduct when building their lots by a contractor. This during conflicts and tensions arise in the face of the financial constraint related to the payment of the contribution of the beneficiaries in the cost of equipment of the lots. The conditions of poverty lived oblige the beneficiaries to resort to a third person whose objectives do not correspond to those of the beneficiaries since the commercial vocation pushes this person to associate to seize the lucrative opportunity. Social mediators are obliged to seek administrative solutions to enable agreements between the two parties to be concluded within the framework of administrative support. Thus, it is important to mention the following observations :

- 54% of beneficiaries choose the third party because of the urgency, ease of contact and implementation of the agreement. On the other hand, 21% use bank loans and 25% use other types of financing such as the sale of personal or other goods. A number of conflicts have arisen and demand the intervention of social mediators for financial, technical and social support;
- 57% of beneficiaries know about microcredit as a means of financing, but only 26% have taken out credit. This is due to the informal nature of their economic activity and the uncertainty of their solvency in view of the poverty environment in which they live.
- A renewed interest and confidence in the mediation bodies encourages the population to join more and more in the project. Approximately 28% of the beneficiaries contribute to decision-making and 25% of them participate in a uniform manner in the meetings that concern them. This is due to the climate of openness of authority and administrations over the population that is supervised and accompanied by social mediators. This is confirmed by 99.4% of the population who say they do not find difficulties with the social mediation unit;
- The questionnaires estimate that the intervention of the mediation unit is oriented in order of importance towards conflict resolution (54%), social support (17.8%), sources of funding (15.2%) And the receipt of lots (12.9%). They find that its role limited to housing while their problem is essentially the poverty in which they live.

Thus, they propose the widening of its field so that it is a means of development and improvement of the standard of living. They divide the proposed areas as follows:

- 35% prioritise economic activities and those generating income;
- 24% ask for social assistance;
- 21% claim categorisation of the beneficiaries to offer them varied offers according to the case and needs;
- 20% insist on local services and facilities.

Finally, it is clear that social mediation has a positive role to play in the realisation of slum-resorption projects, however, observations can be made at the level of the mediation system and its approach. It is therefore necessary to consider the structuring and the organisation of its management mode by projects

• Upstream of the project:

The ambitious definition of objectives by a technical approach which consists in reconciling the number of beneficiaries with the available land possibilities is constrained by the budget allocated. It finds its limitations in its matching population-housing, that is to say, each lot of land affects two households. Hence the dissatisfaction of many households

At this level only the habitat question is taken into account. There is therefore no involvement of the population in this process. This has repercussions on the implementation of the project or it is then confronted with a solution that does not respond exactly to the real needs of the slums, hence the reluctance and the conflicts.

• In the course of the project

The declination of the project in the field generally involves a time lag between the time of its technical conception and its realization.

This is what triggers conflicts related to the management of the resorption operation of the slums such as those coming from:

- The formation of a pressure group which made the shantytown cause a tool for domestication of the population during elections by certain notables
- The non-satisfaction of all the population concerned by the proposed offer
- The limited nature of the proposed offer, which deals solely with the issue of habitat and does not pay any attention to the beneficiaries' economic activities.
- The question of the solvency of the beneficiaries, which requires them to use other types of solutions to finance accrued expenses such as association with a third party

• After the project

The closure of slum relocation projects reveals social, economic and spatial dysfunctions that can be cited as follows:

- Problems related to mobility: New journeys in the daily activity of the beneficiaries, whether those traveling from home to work or from home to school, suffer from a deficit in terms of travel offers which constitute a reduction in mobility and accessibility to housing.
- The weak opening of the new site to its environment: this is materialised by isolation due to a lack of social mix and a rise in crime and violence, which qualifies these neighbourhoods as hot. This reality reproduces the stereotypical image of slums and its economic mechanisms
- The low involvement of social mediators after the transfer of beneficiaries: the population is left to itself once the new housing has been obtained generates new fixed charges (water, electricity, etc.) which are not accompanied by an improvement in purchasing power
- The limited role of the one stop show: this is limited to the supervision of the population in its transfer and does not extend to economic activities generating income to enable them to achieve social promotion
- Dissatisfaction of the general population due to the limited number of lots
- The reluctance of certain beneficiaries towards their transfer due to the isolation of the new territory (accessibility, transport, equipment, etc.)
- Behaviours and attitudes adopted by some beneficiaries who, due to their poverty (insolvency), question the logic of the project, which focuses mainly on housing outside the beneficiaries' economic activities, which are in most cases informal.

3- Synthesis and recommendations

Finally, the gaps in the social mediation process can be localised in the design of the projects through the adoption of a technical and non-participatory approach in the conduct of the transfer of the population outside a development of their economic conditions and in the cessation of this social mediation which does not offer its services in the new site.

In short, and in the light of the observations raised during our field investigation, we can retain the following observations:

• **In relation to the social mediation system:**

- The system of social mediation used to accompany the population in the projects of resorption of the shanty towns observed is not perfectly structured;
- This device is not standardised since it differs according to the site and according to the social mediation operator (TEAM MAROC, ADS, PANEX ...);
- Its organisation does not fully adopt a process-based approach and does not have a set of indicators;
- The actions of the scheme are not organized in phases: upstream, in progress and downstream of the projects;
- There is no capitalisation on the experiments, especially for consulting firms, where there is a high turnover rate for social mediators and a loss in terms of qualified people.

• **In relation to the profession of social mediator:**

- The business is a crossroads of heterogeneous practitioners from different professional fields;
- The mission of the mediators is not clear and is reduced to a technical action which involves the transfer of the slum to a new built environment;
- There is no professional referential for the profession of social mediator in Morocco in addition to a manifest deficiency in the level of training dedicated to him;
- The unavailability of the descriptive sheets hinders the evaluation of social mediation.

Hence the need to propose a path of social mediation based on the process approach while capitalising on the involvement of the beneficiaries in the solutions that concern them, on the emergence of the conditions for sustainable development, to establish coherent solutions to their environment and to put in place a watchful eye for ensuring a dignified life for vulnerable citizens by addressing poverty.

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