# Transition from shacks to formal human settlements – Social cohesion in Mt Moriah in the metropolitan area of Durban, South Africa.

**Sultan Khan**
*School of Social Science*
*Department of Sociology*
*University of KwaZulu–Natal*
*South Africa*
*Email address : khans@ukzn.ac.za*

## Abstract

*The transition from shack to formal human settlements can be very traumatic. It means abandoning old habits, lifestyles, relationships and forming new ones. The extent to which those that have been relocated to new settlements adjust and adapt to new forms of community life would be determined by the nature and extent of social cohesion prevalent in that community. A lack of social cohesion within resettled communities makes it prone to various forms of social disorganisation which manifests itself in a variety of social problems. The study was informed by 150 interviews with respondents selected in the different precincts of the study locality using a non–probability sampling technique. In the case of Mt Moriah, a formal human settlement it was more than a decade that residents from a number of shack settlements in the city have been resettled in this locality. It appears from the study that overtime the residents of Mt Moriah have settled down to community and family life and enjoy a strong sense of social cohesion despite many challenges surrounding service delivery and the emergence of social problems. This study highlights that a significant number of members of the community have a sense of belonging in the locality and are aspiring towards bettering their quality of life.*
***Key words:*** *Shacks, Formal Human Settlements, Social Cohesion, Relocation, Resettlement.*

## Résumé

*La transition de la cabane aux établissements humains formels peut être très traumatisante. Cela signifie abandonner les vieilles habitudes, les modes de vie, les relations et en créer de nouvelles. La nature et l'étendue de la cohésion sociale prévalant dans cette communauté détermineront dans quelle mesure ceux qui ont été réinstallés dans de nouveaux quartiers s'ajusteront et s'adapteront à de nouvelles formes de vie en communauté. Un manque de cohésion sociale au sein des communautés réinstallées la rend vulnérable à diverses formes de désorganisation sociale se traduisant par une variété de problèmes sociaux. L'étude s'est appuyée*

*sur 150 entretiens avec des répondants sélectionnés dans les différentes circonscriptions de la localité de l'étude à l'aide d'une technique d'échantillonnage non probabiliste. Dans le cas de Mt Moriah, un établissement humain officiel, cela fait plus de dix ans que des résidents de plusieurs établissements de cabanes de la ville ont été réinstallés dans cette localité. Il ressort de l'étude que les habitants du mont Moriah ont fait des heures supplémentaires pour s'adapter à la vie communautaire et familiale et jouissent d'un fort sentiment de cohésion sociale, en dépit des nombreux défis liés à la prestation de services et à l'émergence de problèmes sociaux. Cette étude souligne qu'un nombre important de membres de la communauté ont un sentiment d'appartenance à la localité et aspirent à améliorer leur qualité de vie.*
***Mots clés:*** *cabanes, établissements humains formels, cohésion sociale, relocalisation, réinstallation*

## Introduction

The transition from a shack settlement to formal human settlements may be considered a positive step towards betterment and wellbeing. Having languished in shack settlements for many years, the move to formal human settlements should ideally be characterised by renewed hopes, aspirations and personal satisfaction. Formal living environments demand that there is adaptation to a way of life that is marked by rules and regulations. It requires adjusting ones social life as lived in the shack settlements against competing social forces that becomes prevalent in the formal human settlement. These competing forces will determine the nature and extent of social cohesion that will present itself amongst residents within the newly found neighbourhood.

The concept social cohesion is difficult to define as it cuts across different disciplinary boundaries. Simplistically, it may be regarded as the "bond or glue" that holds a community together. These bond or glue that holds communities together is dependent on the beliefs, norms and values that members of a community share and sustain over time. Failure to sustain social cohesion may result in social disorganisation which is counterproductive and results in what sociologist Durkheim (1858-1918) termed as anomie. Anomie is characterised by the breakdown of rules and regulations that holds people together within a community.

In this study various variables are examined to ascertain the extent to which the community of Mt Moriah enjoy social cohesion since they have been relocated to this area more than a decade ago. It seeks to ascertain how residents in Mt Moriah have made the transition from living in shack settlements in the different parts of the City of Durban to a formal one. Specifically, the study aims to highlight how informal dwellers originating from different parts of the city have adapted themselves to form a cohesive community. The study draws from data obtained from a systematic survey of 150 households in the different precincts of Mt Moriah in the metropolitan area of Durban. The paper commences with the examination of the concept social cohesion and thereafter looks at human settlement policy that promotes social cohesion in new public housing estates in the post-apartheid era and

the post-apartheid human settlement context. Thereafter the socio-economic characteristics in the newly formed human settlement is described followed by a discussion on emerging social cohesion indicators in the newly formed human settlement.

## Conceptualising Social Cohesion

Social cohesion as a concept has been of long-term interest in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, mental and public health (Bruhn, 2009:31). It can be traced to the early works of French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1918) who looked at how social solidarity ties people together in society (Cloete and Kotze, 2009: 6). The concept  has many meanings since it cuts across several disciplinary boundaries. Over time the concept has been much researched and the literature on social cohesion became increasingly confused due to the proliferation of definitions that became difficult to combine or reconcile. Contemporary analyses of social cohesion treat it either as a multidimensional phenomenon or as a latent construct with multiple indicators (Friedkin, 2004: 409).

From a sociological perspective, social cohesion may be considered as the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper. Willingness to cooperate means they choose freely to form partnerships and have a reasonable chance of realizing goals, because others are willing to cooperate and share the fruits of their endeavours equitably (Stanley 2003:8).

Despite its varied meaning and applicability, social cohesion is underscored by trust and shared values necessary for a group to view itself as a community and the prevalence of informal social control that reflects neighbours' willingness to enforce social norms on behalf of the community good (Brisson and Altschul, 2011:544). The degree to which members in a social system identify with and feel bound to support its norms, beliefs, and values will determine the extent to which they enjoy the benefits of social cohesion. It is also an ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of hope, trust, and reciprocity (Stanley, 2003:7). Social cohesion also refers to positive social relationships (Cloete and Kotze, 2009:9) in which members of a society are willing to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper (Stanley, 2003:1). It contributes to **a** socially cohesive society in which one works towards the wellbeing of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust and offers its members the opportunity for upward mobility (OECD, 2011:17). Friedkin (2004:410) asserts that groups are cohesive when group-level conditions are producing positive membership attitudes and behaviors and when group members' interpersonal interactions are operating to maintain these group level conditions. Thus, cohesive groups are self-maintaining with respect to the production of strong membership attractions and attachments.

There is evidence that social cohesion leads to increased well-being amongst low income neighbourhoods. Brisson (2012:269) asserts two ways in which the well-being amongst low income households are improved. The first is the direct sharing of resources among bonded, socially cohesive group members. A second mechanism is access to resources available through members of the socially cohesive group although group members do not directly hold these resources. These resources are indirect capital or assets that might be available to members of the socially cohesive group in the form of knowledge, information or referral (Brisson, 2012:269).

Litman (2017:3) observes that neighbourhood cohesion provides both direct and indirect benefits. For example, increased neighbourly interactions can help reduce local crime and poverty, provide support and safety, and increase property values. In addition, increased friendly interactions reduces depression, suicides and illness, helps increase personal security, allowing people (particularly vulnerable residents such as senior citizens and people with disabilities) more safety and opportunities to exercise and engage in recreational activities in the neighbourhood and to walk to school within the neighbourhood independently.

With regard to resettled communities, there is an assumption that they are uprooted from their way of life that they enjoyed in the area of origin and have to re-acquaint themselves to emerging new values and norms in the newly found settlement. Often they have to leave or abandon the comfort of a well-functioning cohesive community despite their poor living conditions. Gobien and Vollen (2013:2) in their study on "*Social Cohesion in Resettled and Non-Resettled Communities in Cambodia*" observe that the negative consequences of leaving one's birthplace may be underestimated by the people who are resettled. They aver that geographic proximity is one of the main determinants of social networks as resettled community's severe ties from their place of origin. Moreover, there is a weakening of ties to one's social networks, which make individuals lose the social benefits they previously enjoyed before resettlement. Gobien and Vollen (2013) also observe most importantly, political institutions and social networks need to be re-established at the new settlement in order for social norms to emerge that enforce solidarity, cooperation, trust and altruism. It may be asserted that the social quality of a neighbourhood or community will be determined to the extent to which deviancy and marginality become prevalent. This according to Giardiello (2014:81-82) if prevalent, is indicative of a crisis in social solidarity and the weakening of social bonds.

The lack of or diminished level of social cohesion can result in neighbourhood disorganisation. Social disorganization is a characteristic of neighbourhoods that can disturb residents' health and behaviour, and refers to characteristics that can make it difficult for residents to preserve control over their environment resulting in high levels of social problems (Byrnes et al., 2013:405). In contrast, neighbourhoods characterised by social organization tend to have high social cohesion levels and promote informal social control resulting in neighbourhood stability. Social organization of the neighbourhood

creates resources through ties and networks among neighbours, allowing for reciprocal obligations and enforcement of shared norms and values (Byrnes et al., 2013:406).

## Relocation and Social Cohesion in the South African Context

In the South African context relocations, resettlements and forced removals have a long history both before and after apartheid. In the post-apartheid era, in an effort to clear up shack settlements within the urban centers, shack settlement dwellers do not have much choice but are forced to consider relocating to government sponsored housing estates in newly created human settlements. Although they are not forced to relocate and resettle, they are induced to move on the prospect of securing a better quality of life in these mass produced state sponsored low income homes. This form of relocation according to Tiwanna (2015:227-228) is referred to "voluntary relocation" that promises to offer prospective relocatees a better quality of life. Notwithstanding the promise of a better quality of life in the newly settled housing settlements, the new residents are excluded and marginalised in a variety of different ways. Tiwanna (2015:227-228) asserts that residents in the newly found human settlements fall short of the promises made by the state in respect to basic services, access to schools, transportation and access to employment which they had enjoyed in shack settlement areas and alongside established residential suburbs. Residents are forced to relocate to new housing projects that are further on the edge of the city lacking social and economic resources. Most new housing development occurs on the periphery of cities because of the availability of vast tracks of land for large human settlement projects that is much cheaper (Smit, 2000).

It is argued that through relocation and resettlement from shack settlements, the social fabric is torn, dismantled patterns of social organisation emerge and it destroys intricate social and kin relationships that link individual households with their neighbour's. Residents of shack settlements contrary to its detractors form cohesive communities as a result of experiencing a sense of common marginalisation and common purpose due to not having to secure tenure and proper housing (Smit, 2000:13). On the other hand, the formalisation of new human settlements can cause conflicts and tensions as the loss of a common sense of purpose can result in decreased strength of geographically-based community organisations and the emergence of new ones representing particular interest groups in the area (Smit, 2000:13).

Formalisation of human settlements also results in increased individualization and social differentiation (Smit, 2000:13). Residents become preoccupied in personal advancement now that they have been given an opportunity to progress in life. For instance, the social interactions that used to take place with neighbours in shack settlements within close proximity of each other no longer features. Similarly, conversations amongst women around communal taps on community issues when fetching water no longer features

in the formal settlement. Children are no longer seen playing in the neighbourhood under the watchful eye of neighbours as was the experience in shack settlements (Smit, 2000). Considering that residents originate from different informal settlements in the city make neighbours strangers when they relocate to the formal settlement. In shack settlements ethnic links and co-existence are sustained. In the new human settlements, residents have little choice over who their neighbours are going to be. Often they are separated from long standing social relationships, which they have formed in shack settlements.

In the new housing settlement there are also those that are formally employed and have a stable source of income to effect changes to their quality of life. They are in a position to improve on their dwellings, buy appliances, fixtures and make social advancements. In contrast, there are those that cannot effect any changes to their quality of life resulting in a gap emerging between those that "have" and those that "have not". This results in social differentiation driving a wedge between and amongst members in the community resulting in increased individualization.

## Post-apartheid Human Settlement Context

The provision of liveable and sustainable low income human settlements in South Africa is a highly contested social issue which has filtered into the new democracy posing major challenges for policy makers, development practitioners and agents. In terms of Section 26 (1 and 2) of the constitution the state is required to take 'reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996). In meeting this constitutional prerogative the state has over the years taken various steps to formulate and reformulate policies to honor its obligations to those excluded from adequate housing opportunities especially in the low income housing sector. A key national policy framework formulated in 1994 is the Housing White Paper (HWP). It is hailed as the first comprehensive policy to overcome the overwhelming housing backlogs inherited from the apartheid era. Given South Africa's political history, the HWP recognises that the wasteful settlement structure of the past imposes a wide range of technical, logistical and political constraints that need to be surmounted for liveable and sustainable human settlements to impact positively on the lives of those challenged by homelessness in the post-liberation era. To overcome the technical, logistical and political constraints in the planning and development of low income human settlements, it has been devolved to the Local Government sphere which needs to ensure delivery through Integrated Development Plans (IDP). The integrated development plans may be seen as a foundation around which social cohesion processes are given an opportunity to emerge within the newly developed human settlement.

Much debate has gone into formulating policy for a compacted and integrated developmental model so that basic services and infrastructure are provided at scales of economy. To this end, national policy relating to urban development, housing, land and transportation, explicitly promotes densification and compaction of urban areas and discourages sprawl in the interest of efficient, equitable, sustainable and integrated development. Despite this, there has been growing concern amongst housing analysts and beneficiaries that low income housing development to a large extent was not occurring on suitably located land in terms of "compact development" and "integration" ideals, but was rather continuing to occur at low densities on the peripheries of towns and cities (Venter, Biermann, and van Ryneveld, 2006 1-2).

After almost ten years of experimentation with the HWP and despite concerted efforts by the different tiers of government to fast track low income housing, the nagging question of insufficient houses for the historically homeless, unsustainable housing settlements, and lack of improvement on the quality of life of beneficiaries cast a spotlight in the political corridors of national government in 2003, sparking new debates on the state of housing delivery. Several housing analysts (Adebayo 2008; Charlton, Silverman and Berrisford 2003, Khan and Ambert 2003; Rust 2003; Zack and Charlton 2003) confirm that for various reasons, such as: poor location, cost of home ownership in the form of rates, service charges, unemployment and increased access to low-income housing by the poor, has had a limited impact on poverty alleviation. International experience of low cost housing delivery (for example Turkey, Zambia) also attest to the location of housing in relation to other human activities resulting in reduced thresholds for viable employment, income generation and investment in housing improvement (Adebayo, 2008:124). The consequence of inappropriate location of low income human settlements resulted in poor people being marginalised in terms of access to jobs, urban amenities and social networks, and having to spend disproportionate amounts of time and money on transportation. The costs of infrastructure and services provision were also generally higher for peripheral locations – thus increasing the financial burden on government. For instance, locating subsidised housing closer to job opportunities would produce savings in commuter transport subsidies for the state and it would more than off-set the higher housing costs involved (Venter *et al*, 2006: 1-2). With such analysis, the housing delivery programme in this form attracted much criticism and was identified as a contributing factor to increasing levels of urban sprawl, perpetuating the marginalisation of the poor and for failing to play a key role in the compaction, integration and restructuring of apartheid created living spaces (Charlton and Kihato, 2006:255).

Consequently, a special investigation was commissioned by the National Minister of Housing in 2003 for a Study into the Support of Informal Settlements which concluded that these settlements were products of failed policies, ineffective governance, corruption, inappropriate regulation, exclusionary urban (economic) development/growth paths,

poor urban management strategies, dysfunctional and inequitable land markets, discriminatory financial systems and a profound democratic deficit (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006: 43).

Nonetheless, the delivery of low income housing took positive steps resulting in the adoption of a new Comprehensive Plan for the Sustainable Development of Human Settlements in 2004. Dubbed as Breaking New Ground (BNG) this policy was all embracing and included not only low income housing, but the entire spectrum of the residential property market. A key objective of this policy was the breaking down of barriers between the formal market (first economy) where growth was located, and the informal market (second economy) which had experienced a slump in growth. It aimed to surmount the "dominant production of single houses on single plots of land in distant locations" (Department of Housing 2004: 7).

The BNG proposed a new plan to redirect and enhance existing mechanisms to move towards more responsive and effective housing delivery. The new human settlements plan reinforced the vision of the DoH to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing. Within this broader vision, the DoH was committed to meeting the following specific objectives:

- accelerating the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation;
- utilising provision of housing as a major job creation strategy;
- ensuring that property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment;
- leveraging growth in the economy;
- combating crime, promoting social cohesion and improving quality of life for the poor;
- supporting the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump; and
- utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring (Department of Housing, 2004a: 7).

Through this new plan, the DoH planned to shift focus towards a reinvigorated contract with the people and partner organisations for the achievement of sustainable human settlements. Sustainable human settlements refer to:

*well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity* (Department of Housing, 2004a, 6).

BNG introduced an expanded role for municipalities. In shifting away from a supply-driven framework towards a more demand-driven process, it placed increased emphasis on the role of the State in determining the *location* and *nature of housing* as part of a plan to link the demand for, and supply of housing. This approach will enable municipalities to assume overall responsibility for housing programmes in their areas of jurisdiction, through greater devolution of responsibility and resources. BNG assumes that municipalities will proactively take up their housing responsibilities given that clear guidelines and resources will be forthcoming from the national sphere of government (Rust 2006:11).

One of the programmes linked to this objective was the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme which was designed to integrate shack settlements into the broader urban landscape. The basic principle of this programme was to upgrade the quality of the living environment through *in situ* development of shack settlements or to relocate. In the case of the latter it resulted in disconnect between the relocatees source of livelihood from that established in the original settlement environment. *In situ* upgrading was perceived to be more responsive to poverty, reduced levels of vulnerability and the promotion of social inclusion as compared to relocation. However in instances where the original shack settlement site was not conducive to development (rehabilitation of land, overcrowding, and other environmental considerations) relocation needed to be considered as a last resort (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008:24-25). This new paradigm envisaged that any new housing project in the future should be built within locational distance of the relocated inhabitants' survival networks (work, transport and social amenities). Since the formulation of this policy, several provincial pilot projects have been undertaken nationally to test out its implementation. In the Province of KZN, the Mount Moriah relocation project north of the city was finalised in 2005.

## Socio-Economic Characteristics of Residents in the Newly Formed Human Settlement

Mt Moriah is born out of an experimental project by the National Department of Housing (NDoH) to promote livable and sustainable human settlements. It is a response to the post-apartheid government's failed housing policy, programmes and projects to meet the needs of countless homeless in the country. In keeping with the constitutional mandate to provide housing for all South Africans the NDoH revised its housing policy which it dubbed "Breaking New Ground" (BNG) in 2004. BNG is envisaged to be a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements for low income earners. It represents a more updated version of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, or what is commonly come to be known as RDP housing.

Historically, Mt Moriah was a slum clearance project established in 1994 to house various shack settlements that had sprung up in and around the city. It is situated between the former Indian residential areas of Avoca and Phoenix and has easy access to the Durban CBD. It is also centrally situated to the multi-million rand Gateway shopping complex which serves the consumer needs of adjacent middle and upper class residents.

The Mt Moriah human settlement project was originally initiated by the private sector Moreland Development Estate a subsidiary of the Tongaat-Hulett Group of companies. It was responsible for middle and upper class property development in adjacent neighborhoods, with Murray and Roberts being the delivery agent and Nedcor Bank as financiers. This joint venture with the private sector aimed to develop affordable houses and flats for people for those that met the criteria for low income housing. It sought to develop an affordable high density urban environment which took the form of clustered living in flats. On completion, the project drew attention to its poor technical quality and in 2001 the eThekwini Municipality's (Durban) housing department commissioned engineering consultants to evaluate the housing problems in the settlement. Problems with the planning, design specifications and the quality of workmanship in the housing project was noted.

In 2005 the area was once again identified for an expanded low income housing settlement development. This time round the housing development was envisaged to be founded on BNG principles. The aim was to ensure that the project design and layout conform to the principles of promoting sustainable and livable human settlements. It was accorded special project status by the national housing ministry resulting in the development of the area in several phases. Phase 2 included 981 houses followed by Phase 3 with 971 houses and finally Phase 4 with 217 houses. Phase 2 was sub-divided into Phase 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d whilst Phase 3 was subdivided into 3a, 3b, and 3c giving a total of 2169 houses. It is in these different phases that the study was undertaken.

A total of 150 respondents were interviewed comprising 52% females and 48% males. The respondent's age ranged from 20 to 70 years with the mean age being 41 years. Respondents engaged in a wide range of occupational activities with 14.7% in unskilled occupations (cleaners, car guards, gardeners), 16.5% were self-employed (spaza shop owners, street vendors, taxi owners) and 40.1% engaged in semi and skilled occupations. Unemployment was exceptionally high with 28.7% of the respondents unemployed. Amongst those that were employed (54.8%), 16.4% of the respondents worked around the neighbouring developed suburbs of Phoenix, Gateway, La Lucia, Umhlanga and Mt Edgecombe. The remaining (38.4%) worked in distant suburbs such as Pinetown, Verulam, Ballito, the South Industrial Area and Durban central areas. Educational levels varied with 15.4% having a tertiary level education (degree and diploma), 11.2% have completed short certificate courses post matric, 2.8% with a matric certificate, 3.9% with grade 7-11 education and 38% with no education. A vast difference in income levels

were observed ranging from R500 to R50 000 per month with the mean income being R3 950. Household expenditures varied in the range of R500 to R30 000 per month with a mean of R2 997.

The average duration of stay in Mt Moriah was 10.3 years with a range of 2-18 years. The stay in the shack settlement before relocation was 14.4 years with a range of 3-34 years. Household size before resettlement ranged between 1-18 members with a mean of 5.8 compared to a range of 1-14 members with a mean of 5.2 post resettlement. The vast majority (71.4%) of respondents lived in shack settlements before relocation as compared to 28.6% originating from back yard shacks in formal human settlements in the city.

A vast majority (77.2%) of respondents reported that their quality of life before resettlement was very poor as compared to 22.8% felt that it was better. Post resettlement almost a third (31.3%) of the respondents felt that their quality of life did not improve as compared to 68.7% who reported experiencing some improvements. As far as returning to the shack settlement from which they originated, 36.1% of the respondents felt if they were given the opportunity, they will return as compared to almost two thirds (63.9%) felt settled in Mt Moriah. Some of the conveniences respondents enjoyed in their shack settlement was different modes of transport, easy access to schools, hospitals, and clinics, places of worship, employment opportunities and shopping centres. In respect to Mt Moriah poor transport system, lack of social welfare services, sanitation, schools and health care facilities were the most cited service delivery issues affecting the community. Crime did not feature as a serious problem hence respondents did not identify a need for a police station in the community. Only 11.5% of the respondents felt that crime was escalating within the community.

Given the lack of adequate service delivery in the community, 42.1% of the respondents felt that the local councillor should be responsible for the provision of services whilst 57.9% felt that it was the responsibility of the local municipality. On whether the community engages in the provision of services, 80% of the respondents reported that they were engaged through community meetings, whilst 20% reported engaging in mass protests to highlight service delivery issues. As far as social issues that respondents engaged with, 50% reported that service delivery issues were addressed at community meetings whilst the remaining reported social problems such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, unemployment and crime being addressed at these meetings.

Before resettlement to Mt Moriah, 98.9% of the respondents reported that they had established many and strong social relationships with neighbours and friends in the shack settlement. Just more than a quarter (26.7%) of the respondents were emotionally affected at the decision to leave their shack settlement. This emotional state was attributed to the fact that respondents had left their parents, grandchildren, relatives, siblings, mother and father in law and grandparents behind at the shack settlement. Despite the detachment, 74% of the respondent's maintained contact with their families

telephonically, sustained visitation over weekends, holidays and on special occasions. In addition, 95.3% of the respondents reported that they have established strong, good and many social relationships in Mt Moriah.

A total of 16.1% reported that they had no community leader in their area of origin, 7.5% felt relieved in leaving their community leader behind, 28.7% felt nothing about leaving their leader behind and 47.7% felt very sad about leaving their leader behind. In Mt Moriah 31.4% of the respondents reported that they do not have any relationship with community leaders as compared to 68.6% who do. The community leaders were known to deal with a wide range of social problems, service delivery issues and crime. A total of 6% felt that there was cheating when the community leaders were elected, 8.1% did not know how the leaders were elected whilst 85.9% reported that the elections were fair, transparent and democratic.

In so far as belonging to clubs and societies in the neighbourhood was concerned, 32.7% of the respondents did not participate in any. The remaining 67.3% belonged to stokvels, burial societies, men's club, church, youth club and political organisations. A total of 68% of the respondents were actively involved in these organisations.

## Emerging Social Cohesion Indicators in the New Formal Settlement

Mt Moriah is relatively a new human settlement with a very youthful population. Given the youthful nature of the population it suggests that the population will reproduce itself sometime in the future growing to an extent that the settlement will be overcrowded and perhaps become unsustainable. It is more than likely to place strain on existing services such as overcrowded houses, access to water and electricity, transport and health care services. During field visits to the area, it has been observed that back yard shacks were emerging as the one bedroom house became overcrowded with other members of the family moving in.

Unemployment levels amongst the residents of Mt Moriah stood at 28.7% which is 1% higher than the national norm (27.7%). Notwithstanding the difference, this trend suggests that more than a quarter of the population are at risk of experiencing poverty and inequality within the settlement. In addition, high levels of poverty and inequality is likely to affect social cohesion due to the disparity in social status as a result of differential incomes.

One of the main rationale for choosing Mt Moriah as a locality for the construction of a formal human settlement in keeping with the BNG principle was to ensure that residents were closer to their workplace when relocated. In the study it was observed that only a small per cent (16.4%) of respondents were connected to employment opportunity closer to the settlement as compared to more than a third (38.4%) who were located a distance from  employment centres. This is contrary to the new housing principle

that seeks to ensure that residents are located within close proximity of their housing settlement. In an earlier study undertaken by the author, it observed that residents in Mt Moriah originated from 42 shack settlements in the city. In this study 71.4% of the residents reported having lived in a shack settlement before relocation. A significant number of residents originated a distance from the settlement and had to travel long distances to their work place. Similarly, given the lack of community resources such as schools, learners had to travel on the average of 30 kilometres on a daily return trip to meet their educational needs (Khan and Wallis, 2015:55). Given the fact that 38% of the respondents had no formal education as compared to the national norm of 11%, it is not surprising to find a large number of unemployed residents in the settlement.

Levels of education also impacted on the income capacity of residents with the average monthly household income being R3950[1] as compared to expenditure which amounted to R2997. Post expenditure the residents in the study area had on hand an average of R953 per month. When comparing the surplus amount of R953 after having spent on household expenditures, it places the household in between the Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL) which amounts to R758 per month and the upper bound poverty line (UBPL) which amounts to R1138 per month for the year 2017. This suggests that the residents in Mt Moriah enjoy a lifestyle closer to the UBPL which permits them to purchase both adequate food and non-food items. This observation suggests that the resident's quality of life was above the national food poverty line norm (FPL) which amounted to R531 per month. Working on the assumption that all 2169 residences on average have on hand R953 per month, this adds up to R2 067 957 per month for the entire community and per annum R24 815 508. This trend in income on hand after household expenditures suggests that the residents of Mt Moriah are economically viable to make a saving.

Respondents in the study locality were relatively new (average of 10.3 years) but have managed to form relationships with other relocatees in the settlement. This is supported by the finding that a significant per cent (63.9) of the respondents felt settled and would not want to return to their former shack settlements. The fact that a large per cent of the respondents felt settled in the community suggests that they have finally settled down in their newly found homes. They have in addition, developed a sense of belonging in their newly settled neighborhood which is a characteristic of social cohesion, which serves as

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1    Statistics SA employed an internationally recognised approach to poverty – the cost of basic needs approach to produce three poverty lines namely the food poverty line (FPL), the lower bound poverty line (LBPL) and the upper bound poverty line (UBPL). The FPL is the rand value below which individuals are unable to purchase or consume enough food to supply them with the minimum per-capita-per-day energy requirement for adequate health. The LBPL and UBPL are derived using the FPL as a base, but also include a non-food component. Individuals at the LBPL do not have command over enough resources to purchase or consume both adequate food and non- food items and are therefore forced to sacrifice food to obtain essential non-food items. Meanwhile, individuals at the UBPL can purchase both adequate levels of food and non-food items (Statistics South Africa 2017:7-8).

a buffer against any threats of social disorganization that may arise.

Although a significant number of respondents felt that post resettlement their quality of life has improved, they continued to face challenges in respect of service delivery such as schools, hospitals, places of worship, different modes of transport and the like. Notwithstanding this, in so far as provision of service delivery was concerned it is interesting to note that an overwhelmingly high (80%) per cent of the respondents did not resort to service delivery protests. This finding suggests that a significant number of residents believed in resolving their social issues through other mechanisms. The fact that 98.9% of the respondents reported that they had established strong social relationships with their neighbors and formed friendship in the settlement, also alludes to the fact that they have settled in the locality. The level of social organization within the community is also highlighted by the finding that more than a third (67.3%) of the respondents formed relationships in the neighborhood and enjoyed organizational lifestyles through stokvels, burial societies, men's club, church and youth clubs and political organisations. It also suggests that the community through membership of these organisations enjoyed a sense of participation in the local structures of the community which is a characteristic of social cohesion.

One would imagine that relocation and resettlement would result in the loss of contact with family and friends in the shack settlement that respondents previously belonged to. The findings in this study suggests to the contrary in that respondents sustained contact with friends and family telephonically, sustained visitation over weekends, holidays and on special occasions. However, at the time of leaving the shack settlement, respondents were emotionally affected as they left behind friends, family and kin. They were also emotionally disturbed (55.2%) leaving behind their community leader in the former settlement. In the new settlement more than two thirds (68.6%) have formed new relationships with community leaders and overwhelming 85.9% of respondents reported that their leaders were democratically elected and acceptable to the community. This suggests a sense of adaptation in the new settlement.

The prevalence of high levels of crime in communities is suggestive of a lack of social cohesion emanating from social disorganization. Interestingly, in this study a large percentage (88.5%) of the respondents reported that crime was not a serious problem in the settlement. However what was prevalent was the emergence of social problems such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy and unemployment. These social problems were being addressed openly at community forums and a collective solution was being sought. The response to social problems is indicative of collective social responsibility that the community takes in ameliorating these.

## Conclusion

The study highlights that as much as relocation and resettlement can have a devastating effect on the social, psychological and economic well-being of relocatees, over time they settle down to become a socially cohesive community. In the study respondents from all parts of the cities shack settlements were resettled at Mt Moriah, a distance from their original habitat. In the absence of physical infrastructure and social structure one would have expected a high level of social disorganization and social problems prevalent due to a lack of social cohesion. Although social problems are beginning to manifest itself in the neighborhood, this is being addressed as a community issue which suggests the prevalence of social solidarity. The setting up of social structures through various forms of organizational life suggests a move towards social organization through which various social, economic and political issues are dealt with. The fact that almost majority of the respondents address service delivery issues through various organisations as compared previously through public protests, is an indicator of confidence placed in communication and negotiation politics. It at the same time suggests that the community sees the value of negotiation politics characterized by conversations on matters concerning the settlement. The social detachment from family and friends from the original place of residence as a result of relocation has been compensated for through various measures offsetting the social isolation that follows from relocation. It is also compensated for through the formation of new social relationships being formed in the neighborhood resulting in a sense of community emerging. In sum, it may be deduced that the community of Mt Moriah has settled down to a socially cohesive community and striving towards betterment now that they have a sense of certainty through ownership over their homes. The study highlights that the community of Mt Moriah have surpassed the doldrums of poverty and are on their way towards personal advancement.

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