

## Kayamandi Township



Source: [www.africalife.de/site/dyn/1537.htm](http://www.africalife.de/site/dyn/1537.htm)

Kayamandi is located on the outskirts of Stellenbosch. Kayamandi, ironically a Xhosa term for “pleasurable home” was founded in the early 1950s as part of the increased segregation during the Apartheid regime. In 1966, the nine biggest employers in the Stellenbosch district (among them the University, the city administration, several vineyards and a fruit packing company) got together to erect 38 ready-made-homes, so called hostels. Kayamandi was originally built to house exclusively black migrant male labourers employed on the farms in the Stellenbosch area.

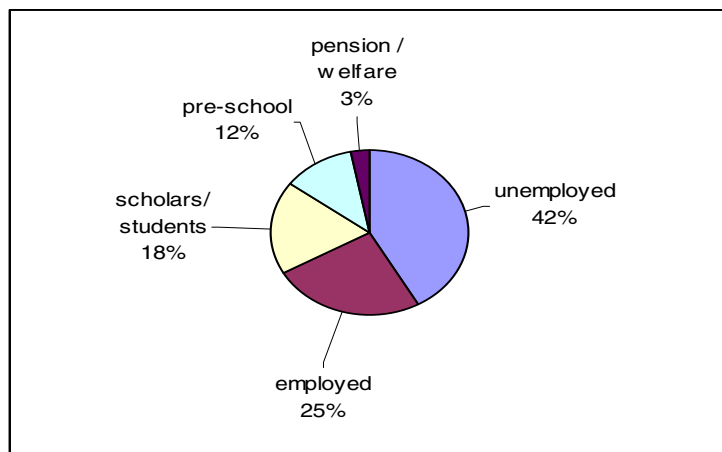
The demographic data for Kayamandi varies considerably. According to the official census of 1996 there were 10,263 people living in Kayamandi, the Geographic Institute of the University of Stellenbosch on the other hand estimated that the real number in 2000 was closer to 18,000, while current estimates assume a population of over 22,000 (Erhard 2000<sup>1</sup>). The total population has increased rapidly in the past years, from approximately 4,000 in 1988 to the present level of over 22,000, all living on an area just over 1 square kilometre.

A study undertaken in 1995 by the University of Stellenbosch estimated that to relieve overcrowding, 2,300 formal living units were needed (see Erhard 2000). During the time of the study there was no running water inside the shacks and only one tap on the roadside to serve six households. 62% of Kayamandi’s residents lived in inadequate informal shacks and 23% lived in hostel accommodation where each family had approx. 6 square metres of family space generally open to view of the other occupants of the hostel. Commonly there were 20 families to a hostel, which having been built 30 years earlier to house migrate labourers were now in a bad need of repair. There were two toilets to a hostel and no baths or showering facilities available.

In 1995 there were 1,613 informal shacks in Kayamandi, most averaging 5 x 5m of floor space. Housing on average accommodated five to seven people and were mostly poorly constructed out of bits and pieces. In 1996 (the time of the last census) there were a total of 2,768 households of which approximately only 13.9% lived in formal dwellings, 10% had telephone, approx 83% had electricity, just under 70% had access to sanitary facilities in the dwelling and 16% had piped water. Other estimates state that in 2003 Kayamandi had a total of 3,700 households.

<sup>1</sup> Erhard, A. (2000) Informelle Wirtschaft und informelle Siedlung – globale Phänomene und das Beispiel Südafrika, GW-UNTERRICHT 79 / 2000

Over 95% of the population are Xhosa, predominantly male (51%) and unmarried (57%), with an age distribution clearly skewed towards the young. In 1996 41% of the population was younger than 20 and 83% was younger than 40 years of age. Education levels are very low. In 1995 it was estimated that 20% of the people have never had any formal education, 40% have obtained a primary level of education, and 30% have attended secondary school. Currently there are very few students at the University of Stellenbosch from the neighbouring Kayamandi informal settlement. The last census estimated that 13% of the population is illiterate (SA census 1996).



Source: SA Government Census 1996.

It is estimated that in 1996 just over 40% of the population was unemployed while the income earned by 46% of households was less than R500 per month and that of 44% of households was between R500 and R1,000 per month. Only 12% of the population had an income in excess of R1,000 per month. Other unemployment estimates are even more discouraging by stating that in some wards the unemployment is as high as 60% and the average income per household is less than \$150 per month (SA Government Census 1996).

The Kayamandi settlement was completely unplanned and developed rapidly in the past years. While the main roads are tarred, side roads turn to swamp in winter. The township has hardly any street-lighting and a sewerage system that was designed for 5,000 residents, while water supply is mainly through public pumps. Waste collection takes place once a week. In the meantime rubbish is stored on the streets attracting large amounts of insects, vermin and straw dogs (Erhard 2000).

Public latrines are located in the hostels and in 1994 it was estimated that the ratio between resident and latrine was 136:1 (Penderis and van der Merwe 1994:35<sup>2</sup>). Today's estimates show a slightly better situation with 1 latrine per 75 residents (Stellenbosch Municipality Development Plan 2001). The situation, however, has greatly improved, at least according to the official statistics. Here it is stated that 11% of the population in Stellenbosch is dependent on public tap water, 85% have access to flush toilets, and in Kayamandi there are approx 2.5 families per toilet, the official minimum standard however is one family per toilet. Kayamandi currently has 208 public toilets – taking the estimated population number of 22,000, this would imply just over a hundred inhabitants per public toilet. Other estimates are less pessimistic by stating that there are on average 75 people per toilet. A plan currently being developed includes the construction of new toilets, washing facilities, slaughtering facilities, solid waste skips and a complaint system (Stellenbosch Municipality Development Plan 2001).

<sup>2</sup> PENDERIS, S. P., and I. J. VAN DER MERWE (1994): Kayamandi Hostels, Stellenbosch: Place, People and Policies. In: South African Geographical Journal, 76(1), S. 33 – 38.

The informal sector is highly important in Kayamandi with approximately half of the population not employed in the formal sector but being unemployed or trying to make a living through participation in the informal sector. Although Kayamandi is located within walking distance from the main places of work, it is too far from the shopping centre of central Stellenbosch. In 2000 Kayamandi was supplied by 179 informal businesses including 72 Spaza shops, 42 fruit and vegetable shops, 29 shebeens, 15 barbers and hairdressers, 9 butchers, 7 street-sellers and 5 repairman. In addition there were beer brewers, milk-sellers, herbalists, healers, builders and photographers (Erhard 2000). In 2000 two-thirds of all businesses operate from more or less temporary huts within the squatter settlement. The majority showed Coca Cola, Castle Lager, Holstein Beer and Omo signs. Omo and South African Breweries supply Spaza shops with free fridges while Coca-Cola supplies straight to the door – thus creating strong linkages between the formal and informal sector. 80% of all shops have electricity, necessary for operating fridges, cash registers, hairdryers and the necessary business requirements. Most Spaza shops are open between 6.00 am and 22.00 – they thus cater for workers on their way to work or returning after a long day. Erhard (2000) argues that this supports self-abuse and reinforces a system of long and unsociable working-hours. As opposed to many other townships where woman take over the role of local ‘informal’ entrepreneurs, this is not the case in Kayamandi. Here the ratio of men to woman is 2:1, the reason for this being the lack of other formal employment.

### The Western Cape versus Kayamandi

	Western Cape (1996 census data)	Kayamandi
<b>Female/male ratio</b>	51,1% / 49%	49% / 51%
<b>Age division</b>	37% (16-35) of the total population / 5,2% (65+)	83% under 40 years of age
<b>Illiteracy</b>	n.a.	13%
<b>Unemployment</b>	17,8%	42% (60% in some wards)
<b>Language</b>	Afrikaans (59,2%), English (20%)	Xhosa (over 90%)
<b>Households in a house on a separate stand</b>	54,6%	13.9%
<b>Households living in informal dwellings</b>	16,6%	86.1%
<b>Paraffin as main source of energy</b>	13%	n.a.
<b>Electricity usage for cooking</b>	76,3%	83%
<b>Flush or chemical toilet in dwelling</b>	85,8%	(75 people per toilet)
<b>Piped water in dwelling</b>	75,3%	16%
<b>Refuse removal at least once a week</b>	82,2%	n.a.

Source: SA Census 1996