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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Making Out in the 'City of Gold': The Coffee Cart Traders of Johannesburg

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INTRODUCTION

The economic, political and social hub of Southern Africa is Johannesburg, which is by far the most affluent city on the African continent. The history of this city is traditionally recorded as that of the rise of the Randlords, the growth of the mine-shafts and the transformation of raw mining camp to latterday metropolis[1]. This picture represents, however, only one part of the story of the 'City of Gold'. The other side of Johannesburg's opulence is to be found in the life-histories and modes of existence of the people residing in the sprawling Black townships that today comprise Soweto. It is a part of their story, which constitutes the 'popular' or 'working class' history of Egoli, that is examined here[2]. In particular, attention centres on the day-to-day struggles for survival by Blacks amid the same circumstances of poverty, unemployment and oppression that sparked in 1976 the uprising amongst the schoolchildren of Soweto[3].

For as many as a quarter of Sowetan households[4] survival in these conditions necessitates their participation in one of a variety of activities, both legal and illegal, which fall under the common rubric, albeit one much criticized, of the 'informal sector'[5]. More accurately, perhaps, these people should be described as the 'casual poor', a term that better captures the salient traits of instability and insecurity of both income and employment experienced by these people[6]. Activities that offer some means of making out for the casual poor of apartheid include the hawking of food and clothing, flower selling, street barbering, the operation of shebeens (drinking houses), baby-minding, begging and, of course, crime. If all else fails, there remains what is perhaps the ultimate mode of survival in South Africa's labour-repressive economy as, only 20 kilometres away from the glittering skyscrapers of Johannesburg, masses of people forage daily through the city's garbage dumps in search of anything that might fetch a few cents and keep starvation at bay[7].

It must not be assumed that the casual poor are a recent arrival on the South African scene. Their roots are deeply embedded in the historical dynamics of capitalist development and underdevelopment in Southern Africa and in the series of dramatic transformations experienced by Blacks, from self-sufficient pastoralist to peasant, and later from peasant to proletarian. Indeed, since the beginnings of urbanization and of the subjugation of mercantile by industrial capital in South Africa, the casual poor have been a persistent feature of the urban milieu[8]. For example, during the 1890s

when Johannesburg was still a raw mining community there existed a host of so-termed 'wash-boys', known collectively as the AmaZulu, who undertook the washing of the city's predominantly male population until the advent of large-scale steam laundries[9]. Other illustrations of modes of making out by the casual poor in early Johannesburg are furnished by the street hawkers operating in the Market Square, by the shoe-blacks and by the operation of the colloquially-styled 'ricksha-boys'.

It is the intention in this paper to examine one further dimension of the continuing struggles of the casual poor to eke out an existence in the shadows of the City of Gold. The focus is upon a genre of street trading, the origins of which lie in the depression years of the 1930s but which reached its zenith some three decades later - namely the coffee-carts or cafe-de-move-ons. The coffee-carts furnished, for a period of three decades, cheap early morning refreshments and snacks to the Black workforce of Johannesburg[10] and, in so doing, reduced the costs to capitalist firms (and the State servicing them) of maintaining their labour force. Life for these traders consisted of leaving home as early as 4 a.m.[11] so as to be open for business by 5 a.m. when the first trains begin to spew forth Johannesburg's industrial army from the segregated Black townships up to 25 km away. Most coffee carts remained open until at least 3 p.m. to allow workers the opportunity to obtain some sustenance during their all too brief midday breaks. In their initial evolution the coffee-carts were carts as such. Being spatially mobile they were trundled daily from home to trading site in the city. Later, however, with growing distances separating the segregated Black residential areas from the employment loci in Johannesburg the carts became transformed into permanent pavement kiosks.

The study of the historical rise and fall of coffee-cart trading in Johannesburg is at once, an examination of the adaptations of the urban poor to the repressive conditions of the South African political economy, a study in the historical geography of an incipient petite-bourgeoisie in peripheral capitalism and also an examination of the articulation of capitalism with subordinate forms of petty production. A full discussion of the conceptual framework of this research cannot be presented here. Suffice to note, however, that the present study is in similar vein to those earlier pioneered by Bromley, Gerry[12], McGee[13] and Santos[14]. These writers emphasize the importance of locating explanations for the persistence of low-income,

low-productivity activities and peoples in terms of theories of dependence, underdevelopment or of Marxist writings on the political economy of capitalism. The micro-world of the coffee-cart traders in Johannesburg cannot be divorced from broader macro-considerations, and in particular, of economy-wide issues of employment, unemployment and capital accumulation. With such a background, this paper examines only two aspects of the coffee-cart trade. The major objective is to trace the origins and growth of this form of street trading in South Africa. The second aim is to offer a brief description and analysis of the spatial logic of coffee-cart trading in Johannesburg. The data collected for this research derives from a variety of archival sources; from chambers of industry, state archives, local newspapers and most importantly, from the records of the Johannesburg City Health Department. This material is supplemented by the collection and analysis of the life-histories of over forty former coffee-cart traders.

THE GENESIS OF THE COFFEE-CART TRADE

The origins and growth of the coffee-cart traders in Johannesburg must be sought at two levels of analysis. First, they are rooted in the dynamics of the South African social formation which produced and continue to reproduce an economy based on cheap Black labour, creating the material conditions for both Black poverty and rising unemployment. Second, the genesis of the coffee-cart trade is related to the specific circumstances in which there opened up the particular niche in the developing capitalist economy which was precariously occupied by these traders. Each of these themes is elaborated upon in turn.

(i) The making of Black poverty and unemployment

At the first and most general level of explanation the origins of coffee-cart trading are located in the historical processes through which Blacks progressively became separated from the means of production and through which the South African economy was shaped around the pivot of cheap labour[15]. The cheapness of Black labour was assured variously by the moulding of a system of migratory labour, by several forms of extra-economic coercion and by the establishment of the system of Bantustans or Homelands (née 'Native Reserves') onto which capital sloughed the costs of reproducing labour-power[16].

The history of the coffee-carts is therefore part and parcel of the processes of proletarianization, underdevelopment and of the progressive dissolution of the pre-capitalist economies in the Black areas of South Africa. These processes, whilst assuring the cheapness of Black labour and the certainty of Black poverty in the urban areas of South Africa, created also - very importantly - the beginnings of a 'surplus population' of potential workers who constituted the industrial reserve army of South Africa[17].

Once set in motion the processes of dissolution of the pre-capitalist economies and proletarianization proved irreversible. The underdevelopment of the Black areas proceeded apace such that they rapidly became incapable of supporting a fraction of their former population[18]. In the face of the inability of industry in a peripheral capitalist economy, such as South Africa[19], to absorb growing numbers of potential work-seekers, there emerged a situation of structural unemployment. The latter connotes a condition in which there exists a large and permanent body of work-seekers the existence of which is surplus to the requirements of the capitalist sector[20]. The emergence and persistence of Black poverty and unemployment are thus inextricably woven into the fabric and unfolding dynamics of the South African political economy.

Capitalist development in South Africa concentrated on a series of core areas, the most important of which was the Witwatersrand complex centred around Johannesburg[21]. The growing twentieth-century urban centres of South Africa therefore became not only major loci for Black poverty but also and increasingly, it appears, for the Black unemployed. Evidence for the existence of a mounting 'problem' of Black unemployment in the cities appeared early in the urbanization experience . In 1903, only 17 years after the foundation of Johannesburg, a government commission was reporting complaints of the presence of "surplus or idle Natives"[22] in urban areas. The depression of the 1930's witnessed growing levels of Black unemployed centred in the urban areas.

> "Unemployment had become very bad by the middle of 1933. Drought and the economic crisis had combined to drive thousands of Africans to the Witwatersrand. Even the labour market on the mines was glutted for the first time in history. The authorities admitted that at least 5 000 Natives were unemployed on the Rand. That is to say that 5 000 Natives were in receipt of "permits to seek work". Thousands were in gaol for breaches of the pass and poll tax regulations. Thousands more, illegally resident in town, led a precarious existence, trying as far as possible to keep out of the clutches of the police.

> A member of the Johannesburg City Council, A. Immink, declared that in October, 1937, there were "93 000 Natives in Johannesburg and on the Reef who live by their wits, sleep with their friends at night and are not included in the census'.[23]

The seriousness of Black unemployment and poverty in Johannesburg was officially conceded in a study conducted in 1940[24]. This survey revealed a male unemployment rate of 15 percent and showed also that only two percent of Black households received an income in excess of that required for "normal conditions of living" (sic). The report concluded that:

> "the majority of the people must suffer semi-starvation or debt. Alternatively they must resort to illicit means of livelihood, or the mother must leave home to seek work".[25]

It was against this background of the double dilemma of poverty and growing unemployment in the city that there emerged, during the 1930's, the first established coffee-cart traders. These traders recognized and began to occupy an important niche in the urban economy which was opened by a combination of the rising demands for food and nourishment in the city of an expanding Black industrial proletariat and by the severe inadequacies of existing facilities to match these demands. This imbalance between the supply and demand for daytime feeding outlets for urban Blacks constitutes the second level of analysis of the origins of coffee-cart trading in Johannesburg.

(ii) The opening niche

The increased demand for feeding outlets for Blacks represents one facet of the transformation of the City of Gold from mining camp to industrial hub of Southern Africa[26]. Beginning in the middle 1930's Johannesburg began to experience a virtually uninterrupted industrial boom, the consequence of the capture of state power in South Africa by elements of national rather than imperial capital[27]. As argued by Bozzoli:

> ".... whereas before the first World War, the South African economic and social system was under imperial domination of a far-reaching and complex kind, by the 1930s economists of a Rostowian bent could apply to the South African economy terms such as 'take off'; and by the end of the Second World War the South African system was set on a path of capitalist development, albeit of a peripheral sort. A massive change, both in the nature of the state itself, and in the social formation in which that state was embedded and

> upon which it acted, seems to have taken place in South Africa sometime between the two world wars".[28]

The industrial awakening of Johannesburg was given further impetus by the second World War and by the accession to power in 1948 of the National Party with its commitment to a path of 'independent national capitalist development' for South Africa[29]. But, amid this mushrooming of new factories and a considerable expansion in the Black industrial work force the available facilities for the daytime sustenance of the city's cheap labour-power expanded, if at all, at a glacial pace.

The segregationist policies applied in South Africa to all spheres of social interaction proscribed the patronage by Blacks of the variety of cafes, snackbars and like feeding establishments which grew to service the needs of the White workers of Johannesburg. The iniquities of segregation policy in food supply were spelled out by the African National Congress (A.N.C) as early as 1916.

> "The segregation adopted by the Johannesburg Town Council is too rigid, too unfair and fraught with dire results to both the White and Black communities. The ruling class if it is to succeed (in) their attitude towards and dealings with the Na(t)ives must persue a policy of uprightness and fairness. There must be no curtailing of rights in order to stifle our aspirations and desires to ply our vocations in order to supply our own people with the necessaries of life. We have been debarred from plying so humble a calling as the hawking of edibles for sale to our own people, to say nothing of obtaining licences to establish Native eating houses .... This is done ostensibly in order to drive us to frequent the filthy alien owned establishments which in this town pass under the name of "Native Eating Houses".
>
> As a consequence most of our people have no place to resort to in order to obtain their meals. Since in European establishments of this kind the Colour Bar reigns supreme, a very strong grievance on our side is thereby established which calls for immediate redress. Under these circumstances we would urge the Town Council to facilitate the obtaining of licences by Natives in order that they might cater for their own people"[30].

The pleas of the A.N.C. were ignored and the archetypal Black industrial worker perforce ate either on street pavements, in factory backyards or frequented one of the vulgarly-styled "Kaffir eating houses". The latter varied in quality from a small number which offered reasonable meals to the great majority whose condition was epitomized by their description Shisha Nyama[31], a term which means 'scorched or burnt meat'. Surveys

undertaken by the Johannesburg City Council consistently drew attention to the miserable state of these establishments; for example, in 1948 it was concluded:

> "Generally the conditions under which food is stored, displayed and consumed in eating houses is deplorable and the worst eating houses are filthy and revolting beyond description".[32]

The same report noted also the inadequate number of eating houses in the city. In 1948 there were a mere 128 establishments prospectively to cater for a daily influx of Blacks, conservatively estimated as 122 000[33]. The overall situation of food outlets for urban Blacks in 1960 echoed comments made forty years earlier:

> "... in the main, the Native labour force is left entirely to its own resources in endeavouring to obtain food and has little option but to patronize the unsatisfactory sources presently available to them".[34]

In these circumstances it might be expected that Johannesburg's employers would have welcomed the innovation of the factory or works canteen. But, although canteens were widely supplied in South Africa after the Second World War for White employees they were not similarly provided for Black workers. Prevailing ideology at this time placed Blacks in the position of "temporary sojourners" in the cities of South Africa, there only as long as they ministered unto the needs of Whites.[35] Accordingly, it was not surprising that a survey of eating facilities provided by Johannesburg firms in 1948 showed that "on the whole, native workers are not adequately catered for at their places of employment".[36] A further investigation in 1960[37] reinforced this view, revealing that 93 percent of firms in Johannesburg failed to provide canteen facilities for their Black workers. Parenthetically it must be added that this finding was amongst a biassed sample of firms with large complements of Black labour. Only just over half of firms provided even tea or coffee to their workforce. The most staggering finding, perhaps, was that 73 percent of surveyed firms were not even contemplating any improvement to this situation! (see Table 1). Against such a background the provision of adequate eating facilities for Johannesburg's industrial army became an issue of major proportions after 1945. Indeed, it was once described as "the most serious" of all South Africa's urban problems.[38]

Table 1. : Survey of canteen facilities provided for Black workers in Johannesburg by industrial employers with > 50 Black employees.

Survey sample 117 firms

(a)	Canteen Facilities available	8	6.8%
(b)	Canteen Facilities NOT available	109	93.2%
(c)	Tea or Coffee provided	61	52.1%
(d)	Tea or Coffee NOT provided	56	47.9%
(e)	Of the 109 in (b) :-		
	Canteen Facilities would be considered by	24	27.4%
	Canteen Facilities would NOT be considered by	62)	72.6%
	Doubtful	23)	

Source : Johannesburg City Health Department File 8/3/2 'Hawkers and Pedlars: Tea, Coffee and Other Foodstuffs' Vol. 16 'Health Education and Nutrition of Bantu Employees'.

COFFEE-CART TRADING : GROWTH AND SPATIAL LOGIC

It was into this economic niche created by the shortcomings of existing feeding outlets that the coffee-cart traders began a steady advance from less than one hundred traders prior to World War Two to nearly 2 000 carts operating on the streets of Johannesburg at their zenith.[39] (Table 2).

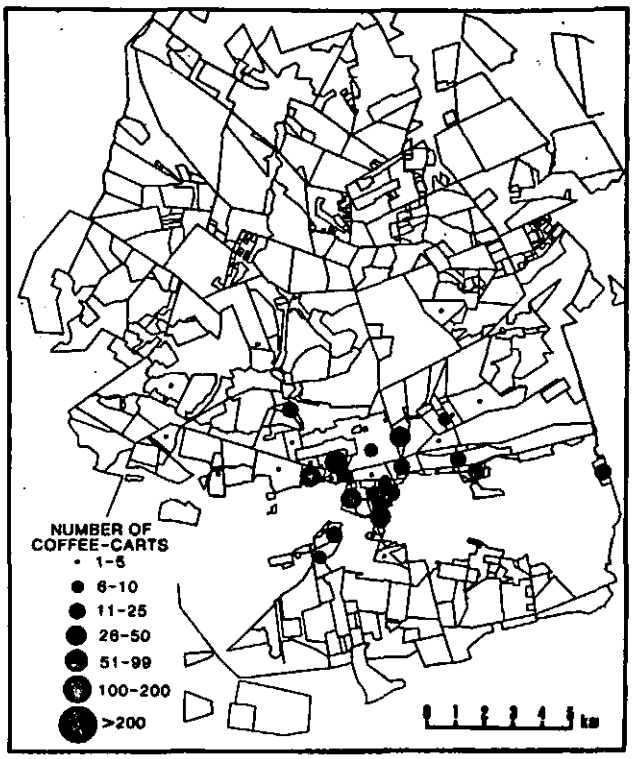
Table 2. : The Rise and Fall of the Coffee-cart traders

1935	100 est
1943	200 est
1948	440
1950	662
1955	1 039
1960	1 407
1962	2 000 est
1965	77
1967	Nil

Source : Files of the Johannesburg City Health Department (various dates)

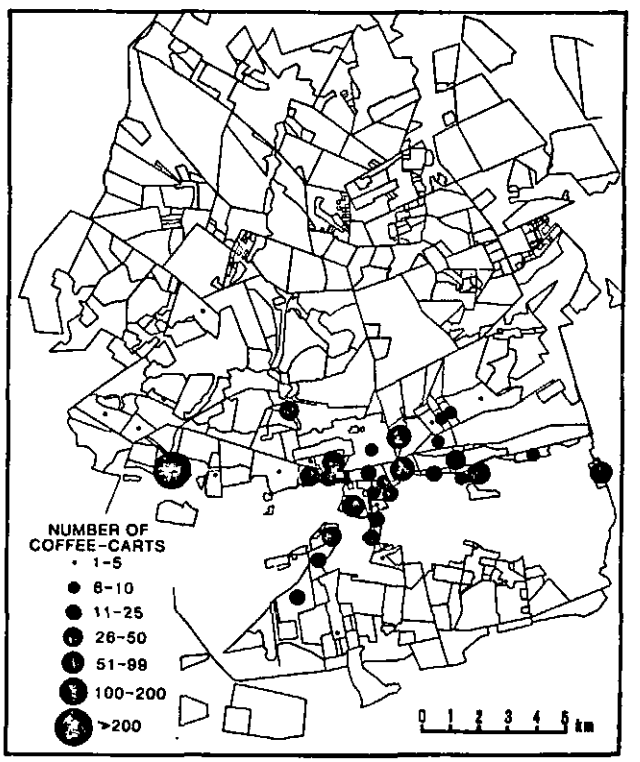
The popularity of the coffee-carts and their rapid expansion during the 1950s is attributable to seven major factors:

1. The carts were the only food outlets which were open when Black workers reached the city in the early morning.
2. Women operating these carts allowed credit to their regular patrons.
3. Relative to their competitors, the prices charged by coffee-cart traders were as much as fifty percent cheaper for the same goods.[40]
4. Many of the White owned eating houses frequently were alleged to 'overcharge' and 'exploit' their patrons.
5. The carts benefitted from a rising tide of African Nationalism[41] during the 1950s and of associated sentiments to support Black businesses.
6. Carts fulfilled an important social function for Blacks in the alien and alienating work environment of the apartheid city.
7. The popularity of the carts was a function also of their geography (Figs. 1-4 in that they often were the only source of food in certain areas of the city.



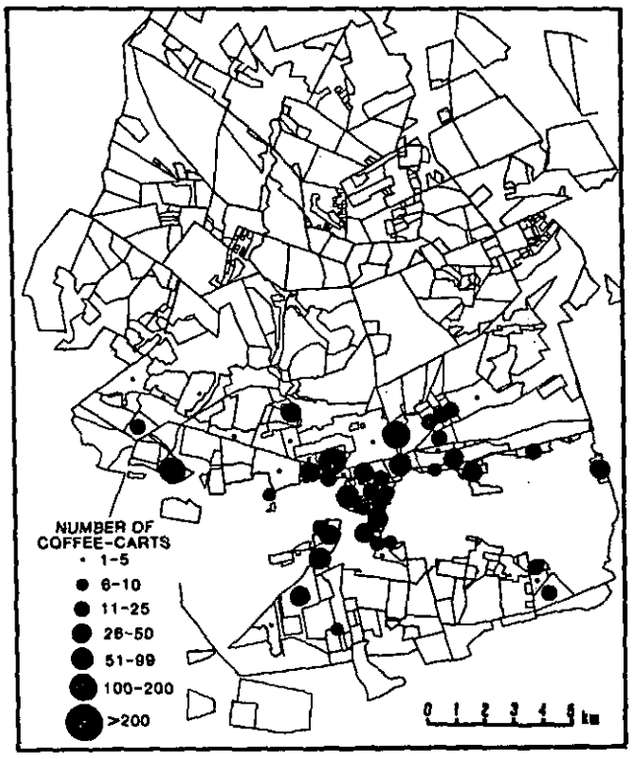
Location of Coffee-Carts, 1950

Fig. 1



Location of Coffee-Carts, 1955

Fig. 2



Location of Coffee-Carts, 1960

Fig. 3

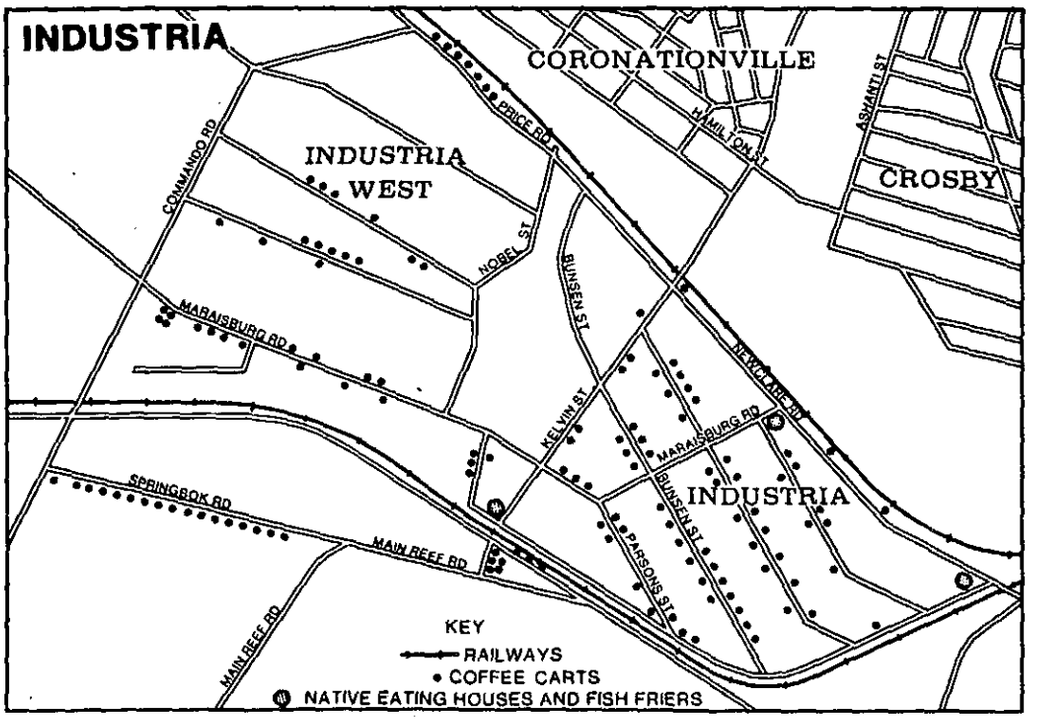


Fig. 4

The spatial dynamics of the coffee-cart trade are presented in Figs. 1-4. These maps reveal a clear correspondence between on the one hand the geography of Black employment opportunities in the city and the location of cafe-de-move-ons on the other. Eschewing the C.B.D. of Johannesburg, carts located near to the city's major transport termini or alternatively within or girdling the fast-expanding industrial areas (Figs. 1-3). Within the industrial areas of Johannesburg, the micro-geography of the coffee-carts is illustrated by the Industria township (Fig. 4) which reveals the axial concentration of carts along the major transport arteries and the distinctive concentrations of carts outside the largest factories.

The detailed spatial logic of the coffee-cart traders is, however, explicable only in light of the interweaving of three factors[42]. First, the location of potential customers as represented by the patterns of Black employment in the city. Second, by the location and strategies adopted by their competitors - the eating houses - and by the gradual introduction and diffusion of new competing sources of food supply; most importantly of the growing acceptance by industrial capital of the potential benefits accruing from the provision of works canteens. Third, the actions taken by the local State in the harassment of these unlicensed traders. At any point in time, the geography of the coffee-cart trade reflects a complex interplay of these three forces.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has offered only a glimpse of a less-known side of Johannesburg's transition from mining camp to modern metropolis. The struggles of the poor to survive amidst conditions of poverty, unemployment and racial oppression are a persistent theme in the history of the city. For nearly four decades the coffee-cart traders managed to eke out a precarious existence on the streets of Johannesburg. Through furnishing cheap food to the employees of capitalist firms they reduced the costs of maintenance of the city's industrial work force. This material contribution to capitalist development notwithstanding, in final analysis, the forces favouring the dissolution rather than the continued conservation of this subordinate form of production were to triumph.

The demise of the coffee-cart trade was swift, occasioned by the ruthless enforcement between 1962-67 of the city health bye-laws[43]. For the traders, removal from the streets represented a series of personal tragedies[44]. In the shadows of opulence they were forced once more to join with the growing mass of other poor, oppressed and unemployed Black South Africans in seeking a strategy for survival or making out in the City of Gold.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to Philip Stickler, the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the preparation of the diagrams accompanying this paper.

FOOTNOTES

1 see for example J.R. Shorten, The Johannesburg Saga (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1970).

2 For contributions to the 'popular history' of this region see B. Bozzoli (ed), Labour, Townships and Protest (Johannesburg, 1979) and the series of essays by C. van Onselen on the social history of Johannesburg before 1920. In particular see 'Randlords and Rotgut 1886-1903', History Workshop, 2, 33-89, 1976; 'The regiment of the hills: South Africa's lumpenproletariat army', Past and Present 80, 91-121, 1978; 'The world the mineowners made: social themes in the economic transformation of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, Review, 3, 289-302, 1979; and a two-volume collection of essays in preparation titled New Babylon, New Ninevah.

3 see D. Webster, 'The political economy of survival: the unemployment crisis and informal income opportunities in Soweto', University of the Witwatersrand, Draft, Mimeo, 1979, p.1.

4 Aspects of the 'informal sector' in Soweto are examined by Webster, op cit, K.S.O. Beavon and C.M. Rogerson, 'Hawking and the urban poor: how not to make out in the contemporary South African city', paper presented to the South African Geographical Society Cape Town, 1979; P. Morris, Employment in Soweto (Johannesburg, 1979 draft report).

5 Criticisms of the 'informal sector' concept are contained in the following: R. Bromley 'Introduction - the urban informal sector: why is it worth discussing?', World Development, 6 (9/10), 1978, 1033-1039; N. Long and P. Richardson, 'Informal sector, petty commodity production, and the social relations of small-scale enterprise', in J. Clammer (ed), The New Economic Anthropology (London, 1978), 176-209; T.G. McGee, 'An invitation to the 'ball': dress formal or informal?' in P.J. Rimmer, D.W. Drakakis-Smith and T.G. McGee (eds), Food, Shelter and Transport in Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Canberra, 1978), pp. 3-27: C. Moser, 'Informal sector or petty commodity production: dualism or dependence in urban development?' World Development 6 (9/10), 1978, 1041-1064; P. Williamson, 'Is there an urban informal sector or just poverty?', Yagl-Ambu 4 (1), 1977, 5-24.

6 The term the 'casual poor' is used by R. Bromley and C. Gerry, 'Who are the casual poor?' in R. Bromley and C. Gerry (eds), Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities, (Chichester, 1979), 3-23.

7 For accounts of the garbage pickers of Johannesburg see The Post, 20 November 1978; Sunday Express 10 December 1978.

8 see K.S.O. Beavon and C.M. Rogerson, 'The persistence of the casual poor in Johannesburg', Contree, 7, 1980 in press.

9 C. van Onselen, 'AmaWasha: the Zulu washermen's guild of the Witwatersrand 1890-1914', unpublished essay that forms part of the forthcoming collection, New Babylon, New Ninevah.

10 For descriptions of the coffee-cart trade see for example 'Coffee-carts have a side-line' Star, 27th May 1964 and 'The void left by the coffee-carts', Star 2 September 1964.

11 Interviews with various coffee traders held in Soweto between January - April 1980 undertaken by Caroline Moloi.

12 In addition to works already cited by Ray Bromley and Chris Gerry see also R. Bromley, 'Organization, regulation and exploitation in the so-called "urban informal sector" : the street traders of Cali, Colombia', World Development 6 (9/10), 1978, 1161-1171; 'Working on the streets: survival strategy, necessity or unavoidable evil' in A. Gilbert, J. Hardoy and R. Ramirez (eds) Urbanization in Contemporary Latin America (Chichester, 1980) In press; and, 'Begging in Cali: image, reality and policy', University College of Swansea, Mimeo, 1979; C. LeBrun and C. Gerry, 'Petty producers and capitalism', Review of African Political Economy, 3, 1975, 20-32; C. Gerry and C. Birkbeck, 'The petty commodity producer in Third World cities: petit bourgeois or disguised proletarian?' in B. Elliott and F. Bechhofer, The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum (London, 1979). In press.

13 In addition to work already cited see in particular T.G. McGee, 'The persistence of the proto-proletariat: occupational structures and planning of the future Third World cities', Progress in Geography 9, 1976, 1-38: 'The poverty syndrome : making out in the Southeast Asian city' in R. Bromley and C. Gerry (eds) Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities, op cit, 45-68.

14 see especially M. Santos, The Shared Space: The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries (London, 1979).

15 These processes are well outlined in C. Bundy 'The emergence and decline of a South African peasantry' African Affairs 71, 1972, 369-388 and The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, 1979); M. Legassick, 'Gold, agriculture and secondary industry in South Africa, 1885-1970: from periphery to sub-metropole as a forced labour system' in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds) The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), 175-200; B. Magubane, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa (New York, 1979).

16 See H. Wolpe 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', Economy and Society 1, 1972 425-456; B. Magubane, 'The "native reserves" (Bantustans) and the role of the migrant labour system in the political economy of South Africa', in H.I. Safa and B.M. Du Toit (eds) Migration and Development (The Hague, 1975), 225-267; M. Morris 'The development of capitalism in South Africa' Journal of Development Studies, 12, 1976, 280-292; M. Legassick and H. Wolpe, 'The Bantustans and Capital accumulation in South Africa', Review of African Political Economy, 7, 1976, 87-107; D. Webster 'From peasant to proletarian: the development/underdevelopment debate in South Africa', Africa Perspective 13, 1979, 1-15.

17 see Webster, Ibid; M. Legassick and F. de Clerq, 'Capitalism and migrant labour in Southern Africa: the origins and nature of the system' University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies Postgraduate Seminar discussion paper.

18 see Bundy op cit; Legassick, op cit; Magubane, op cit; Webster op cit.

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20 Structural unemployment in South Africa is discussed in N. Bromberger, 'Unemployment in South Africa: a survey of research, Social Dynamics 4(1), 1978, 12-28; A. Erwin, 'An essay on structural unemployment in South Africa', South African Labour Bulletin, 4(4), 1978, 51-69; J. Maree 'The dimensions and causes of unemployment and underemployment in South Africa' South African Labour Bulletin 4 (4), 1978, 15-51; C. Simkins and D. Clarke, Structural Unemployment in Southern Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1978); M.J. de Klerk, 'Structural unemployment in South Africa', South African Outlook 109 (1293), 1979, 35-38.

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22 cited in Maree, op cit, p. 27.

23 E. Roux, Time longer than rope: a history of the Black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa (Madison, 1964), p.270.

24 M.Janisch, A Study of African Income and Expenditure in 987 Families in Johannesburg (Johannesburg, 1941).

25 Ibid, p.11.

26 see C.M. Rogerson, 'Johannesburg: a study in industrial evolution' Humanitas 3, 1976, 385-393.

27 see R. Davies, D. Kaplan, M. Morris and D. O'Meara, 'Class struggle and the periodisation of the state in South Africa', Review of African Political Economy 7, 1976, 4-30; M. Legassick, 'South Africa: forced labor, industrialization and racial differentiation' in R. Harris (ed), The Political Economy of Africa (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 229-270.

28 B. Bozzoli, 'Capital and the State in South Africa', Review of African Political Economy, 11, 1978, p.42.

29 see Legassick op cit; M. Legassick, 'Legislation, ideology and economy in post-1948 South Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies, 1, 1974, 3-35.

[30] State Archives, Johannesburg City Council Vol. 22 File 669. Thanks are due to C. van Onselen for drawing my attention to this document.

[31] see 'The end of Shisha Nyama?', Libertas, 1946 November, 48-49.

[32] Johannesburg City Health Department (JCHD), File 8/3/2 'Tea and Coffee Vendors, 1946-48', 'Survey of Coffee Carts and Refreshment Facilities for Native Workers' p.3.

[33] Ibid

[34] JCHD File 8/3/8 'Tea and Coffee Carts', Vol. 1 1960 to December 1960, 'Memorandum on the Problems surrounding the operation and elimination of native coffee carts in the European areas of the city', p.2.

[35] see B. Magubane and J. Yrchik 'The political economy of the city in South Africa', International Journal of Sociology, 7, 1977, 8-39.

[36] JCHD, File 8/3/2 'Survey of Coffee Carts and Refreshment Facilities' op cit, p.5.

[37] JCHD, File 8/3/2 'Hawkers and Pedlars: Tea, Coffee and Other Foodstuffs' Vol. 16 'Health education and Nutrition of Bantu employees'; also Transvaal Chamber of Industries File TCI 12/a 'Canteen Facilities for Non-Europeans.

[38] 'The end of Shisha Nyama?' op cit, p. 48.

[39] The statistics on the growth and spatial patterns of coffee-cart trading derive from JCHD File 8/3/2 'Hawkers and Pedlars: Tea, Coffee and Other Foodstuffs' Vol. 14 'Street Trading' report by M.L. Freedman.

[40] Ibid

[41] see B. Magubane, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa, op cit.

[42] cf. R. Bromley 'The locational behaviour of Colombian urban street traders: observations and hypotheses', in W.M. Denevan (ed), The Role of Geographical Research in Latin America (Muncie, 1978), 41-51.

[43] see 'Over 700 coffee carts removed' Rand Daily Mail 22 June 1961; 'Cops rip down coffee carts in snap blitz', The World 31 July, 1964; 'The void left by the coffee carts' Star 2 September 1964.

[44] Interviews with Pauline Mokobane, Annah Mokgosi, Joseph Monyeki, George Mokhethi, Godfrey Mosoane and other coffee-cart traders.

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