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Makhulu, A. Making Freedom: Apartheid, Squatter Politics, and the Struggle for Home. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

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      South Africa's history of racial inequality, poverty, and violence has long been a topic of interest in scholarly circles. Much has been written around the intricate details of apartheid and the lingering effects it has had in the country, particularly for the Black population. For years, South Africa was fueled by a legislative system of racial exclusivity that left Black South Africans perpetually disadvantaged, needing to find ways of adapting and making a decent living. South Africa's large informal sector, including informal residential settlements or townships and informal employment opportunities created by the residents of such settlements, has long served as a means through which Black South Africans have made a livelihood for themselves—despite a legal framework designed to exclude them from such activity. This informal sector emerged as a result of the rural/urban divide, urban divisions which have caused intra-urban inequalities, and the exclusion of Black South Africans from the country's formal systems of property ownership and employment.

      Anne-Maria Makhulu's *Making Freedom* adds to existing scholarship on the effects of apartheid on Black South Africans and how the country's Black residents found ways to conquer a system built on ensuring their imprisonment (in various ways) within their own country. More significantly, Makhulu addresses the country's space-economy and how the disadvantaged sought to claim space in a place where a history of forced removals and chronic in-migration made making a home (and, for some, claiming citizenship) a consistent battle. The book is an ethnographic contribution to this history, and the text recounts the country's transition from apartheid to democracy, starting from the end of the Black South Africans' liberation struggle[1] and culminating with an examination of the country's first democratic election in 1994 and the state of democracy in South Africa thereafter. The book contributes to existing scholarship on the current state of the "new" South Africa, where, despite the 1991 repealing of the legal framework of apartheid, democracy remains very much an ideal and not yet a lived reality for all South African citizens.

      Focusing on the displaced Black population, who resorted to squatting and occupying informal settlements along the peripheries of cities throughout the country, the book presents the struggles of Black South Africans attempting to gain access to basic human rights, including access to water, electricity, jobs, healthcare, and space. Despite the country's official transition to democratic rule and the abolition of the apartheid legal framework, the unfortunate state of the country – and the effects of apartheid experienced by the majority of Black South Africans – has undergone little change since April 1994, when democracy was first declared. As such, readers well read in this subject will not gain any particularly new insight. However, in Makhulu's exploration of the informal sector and discussion on such themes as the politics of space, disruptions of the domestic sphere, in-migration and the culture of mobility among Blacks, lack of access to rights to the city, and the creation of home, the book does offer a compelling aspect of how Black South Africans' actions in the face of such turmoil enabled them, to a certain extent, to "make freedom."

      Making Freedom begins with a prologue, sharing the intimate thoughts and observations of the author, experienced during fieldwork in South Africa, particularly Crossroads informal settlement, outside Cape Town, in the late 90s. The prologue, followed by a detailed introduction, sets the stage for the contents of the book and reinforces the author's concern with

the lived experience of Black South Africans in a democratic South Africa, particularly with respect to the role of informal housing settlements and how these settlements served not only as a physical home for Black South Africans (both during apartheid and after apartheid restrictions were lifted) but also how the settlements themselves played a critical role in the "freedom making" of Black South Africans.

The book is sectioned into four chapters. Chapter one provides an account of Black migrant workers, who oscillated between the Eastern and Western Cape as the demand for jobs and housing led them back and forth. The chapter reveals how in-migration disrupted distinctions between the areas in which Black residents were and were not permitted to live during apartheid (the "prescribed" and "non-prescribed" areas), and how migrant work opportunities ultimately resulted in the need for (illegal) squatting and the creation of informal settlements around non-prescribed areas, in close proximity to available migrant work. Informal settlements gave migrants a "home," allowing them to "stay put" in a culture of mobility. The presentation of informal settlements in this chapter starts a thread that is interwoven throughout the remaining chapters, as these settlements play a key role in the process that Makhulu has termed "making freedom."

Chapter two provides a detailed account of the emergence of peri-urban informal settlements in the 1920s, particularly along the margins of Cape Town, and the state's deployment of a new development policy aimed at curbing the growth of such settlements—a policy that included the provision of basic housing to a portion of the Black South African community.[2] The provision of housing and basic infrastructure, however, Makhulu reveals, instigated a divide between the haves and have-nots, those with housing and those without. This strategy of divide and rule created the impetus for squatters to maintain their presence, however possible. They did so not only by physically claiming space but also by creating informal employment opportunities within and outside of their settlement and by accessing political entitlements. The government's dealing with the housing shortage and attempt to eliminate informal settlements, we learn, was considered a direct solution to "apartheid urbanism." However, says Makhulu, the settlements represented much more than simple living accommodations; they were sites where agency was created and asserted and where, for Black South Africans, democracy was "made." And as such, settlements were not easily eradicated despite the provision of alternative housing and the elimination of apartheid-era prescriptions regarding where Black residents could live.

Chapters three and four discuss South Africa's first democratic election; the country's attempt to assuage the chronic housing shortage and create new values of inclusion, equality, and integration; and, finally, the problems of post-transition (post-democratization), as squatters continued to face lingering inequality and exclusion despite the official abandonment of apartheid governance. Finally, following an analysis of Cape Town's peri-urban areas during late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the book's conclusion reiterates that squatters' freedom-making was rooted in the informal settlements in which they lived. Reemphasizing the initial emergence of informal settlements despite apartheid regulations and the persistence of the settlements after the end of apartheid rule, Makhulu reveals the significance of the settlements as liberated zones and as "new geographies of freedom" (p. 156), closing the thread that had begun in Chapter one.

Informal settlements remain some of the most visible remnants of apartheid. According to Makhulu, they represent, among other things, a compromise of the domestic sphere, forced removals, influx control, and segregation. Migrant squatters occupied informal settlements in

defiance of apartheid prohibitions. In the face of continued migration and displacement, claiming space and making a home in these settlements was one of the main solutions of restoring badly manipulated Black family relations within the country. Squatters, says Makhulu, in their quest to live full lives unhindered by restrictions of apartheid rule, acknowledged the link between politics, home and belonging (or citizenship). They used their 'homes' as a means of claiming access to the city and establishing a presence, a presence that would also allow them to access privileges. Second, asserts Makhulu, migrants' engagement in the informal work trade, particularly in urban areas (though it highlighted the country's unstable economy) ultimately showed the ability of rural labor to succeed through the persistence and dedication of migrants who either temporarily occupied urban spaces or settled permanently (legally or not). Migrants' employment within the informal sector was also productive in the national economy, helping migrants to combat poverty. Finally, Makhulu believes, informal settlements allowed migrants to acquire some form of dignity. The settlements provided a means of building comradeship, represented a 'home' from which migrants could get to and from work, and provided a space for performing day-to-day tasks that contributed to a semblance of normality, an "encroachment of the ordinary" (p. 4). In this way, even innate survival tactics of "getting by and making do" were realized as necessary components of creating and maintaining full lives and achieving a "certain kind of ideal domesticity" (p. 29) in an otherwise precarious environment.

More significant than squatters' quiet encroachment of the ordinary, according to Makhulu, was their occupation of urban areas – in direct opposition to apartheid's legislative framework of who should live where – which facilitated an overall awareness of the politics of space. The very presence of squatters in these urban areas bridged the distance between the city and the reserves and challenged elitists' fixed perceptions of (Black) communities, including when and where they could move. This facilitated an acknowledgment of Black (South) Africans' agency as they demonstrated their ability and commitment to seeking and securing their desires. Squatters' literal use of their bodies and the physical presence of their "homes" represented Black South Africans' efforts to "make" (and, perhaps more aptly, "take") their own freedom within a country in which, despite the official dismantling of apartheid, they still enjoyed few authentic benefits of democracy. Squatting, then, became a means of activism that assisted Blacks in gaining victory, to a certain extent, in achieving (some of) the political rights and privileges they desired, particularly access to housing. The promotion of housing and development within the Black community in turn promoted freedom. The shift from apartheid to democracy, Makhulu states, is, in effect, an act of *making freedom*. This shift was made possible through the acts of squatters who, in their mobility and everyday practices of domesticity and labor, transformed the geography and demography in Cape Town, ultimately changing apartheid laws and the course of history, thereby laying the groundwork for actual democracy.

The book is well written and offers a fluid account of the plight of and solution to Black South Africans' struggles in a divided South Africa. Makhulu's ethnographic fieldwork allows for an intimate presentation of the context, and inclusion of interview excerpts adds the voices of people on the ground. The book, perhaps, would have done well to include more of these excerpts so that such voices could have been more prominent, particularly with respect to what it means to *make freedom*. Further, the book would have done well to provide more pictures of squatters' 'homes,' particularly as much of the content addresses these homes and their materials and structure. As these structures are symbolic of liberty, photos of these homes would have enhanced the content.

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[1] The liberation struggle in South Africa occurred between 1960 – 1994. The country witnessed an intensification of the freedom struggle over the years as mass politicization of the oppressed black population ensued to overcome the Apartheid government.

[2] Initiated in 1994, South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Program, (RDP), was developed by the government to provide formal housing for informal settlement and township residents, and to support low-income households. Post-1994, housing policies in South Africa proposed a variety of programs to assist low-income households with access to 'adequate' housing, among other services. The RDP sought to rectify (as much as possible) the bitter history of South Africa that was dominated by racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labor policies.