

What stands out most about Laura Fair's new book are the exquisitely detailed descriptions of the work that went into making the cinemas into a meaningful public space. We encounter Indian entrepreneurs who use their resources and connections to scour the earth for the films that would most delight their East African audiences. We encounter 'reelers': young men who cycled frantically through the city streets transporting film reels from one cinema to another so that the same film could play at staggered times on the same evening in multiple locations. We learn about the 'ruffian row' – the front row of seats where young men would sit together, showing off for their friends by throwing orange peels and shouting clever things at the screen. We are taken into the gendered public spectacle of *zanana* (ladies-only) screenings. We are introduced to the hawkers who sell grilled meats and sweet tropical fruits in the streets outside the cinema. We imagine the excitement in the voices of Tanzanian men and women recalling the plotlines of their favourite films in conversations with Fair. Perhaps the book's biggest accomplishment is that, by the end of it, the reader really understands why the cinema was such a special place.

Fair frames the book as a comprehensive account of film in Tanzania, but I see this more as a Swahili urban history than a national history. In contrast with the cinema craze in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, cinema was never as popular in the rest of the country. Fair demonstrates how pre-existing Swahili urban traditions of public space, conspicuous consumption and cosmopolitanism proved fertile ground for the emergence of a vibrant film-going culture in the 20th century. The epilogue tracks how the scene of cinema culture has changed, from single screen theatres in the city centre, connected to the commerce of the city streets where patrons came on foot, to the multiplexes surrounded by parking lots in suburban shopping malls far from the city centre. In this way, the history of the rise, decline and then remaking of filmgoing in Tanzania might also be understood as a story about the decline of a kind of urban public sphere.

At 472 pages, this book is long. At times, some of the micro-historical reconstruction – the painstaking listing of the specific names and chronologies of all the different cinemas and cinema owners, for example – weighs down the story. Then again, I can imagine that for people with a personal stake in this history, it might be extremely important to see these names and places documented in these pages, and it might be this audience that Fair is addressing. I hope that this book circulates in Tanzania to reach those readers. As for American students, though it might be too long to assign in most introductory level undergraduate classes, it certainly deserves an audience with more advanced students of popular culture, urbanism and Tanzanian history.

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Limpopo's Legacy: Student Politics and Democracy in South Africa

by ANNE HEFFERNAN.

Woodbridge: James Currey, 2019. Pp. xv + 254, £60/\$99 (hbk).

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Limpopo Province, long an economic periphery with high unemployment and out-migration, its marginalisation inducing scholarly neglect, over the decades also

incubated a radical youth politics rooted in a very youthful population (some 60% is under 35). Anne Heffernan refreshingly re-centres the North through this prism. The region has produced influential national youth leaders and in 2007, nudged by its Youth League, the African National Congress (ANC) de-commissioned Thabo Mbeki at a conference held at the University of Limpopo ('Turffloep'), previously University of the North, the institution most central to this study.

The first section charts the rise and transfiguration in the 1960s/70s of student organisations at the university, its leaders and their philosophies from liberation theology to Black Consciousness (BC). The second part incorporates schools and non-student youth, linking it to the revival of the Congress movement, accounting for BC decline, and detailing changing tactics, including community outreach and violence as a political tool. The final part takes the story through to recent years with a focus on the rebirth of the Youth League and its impact.

Heffernan reinserts the North into the better-known wider history of student politics, arguing for its strong influence on national ideologies. The University served as a feeder college for northern Bantustans and apartheid authorities' initial tolerance of BC backfired as students not only organised themselves but also mobilised the community. She traces developments, from the University Christian Movement to the more political South African Students Organisation (SASO), which held its inaugural conference at Turffloep, and the Students' Representative Council (SRC). The defiant 1972 graduation address by SRC leader O.R.A. Tiro saw mass expulsions yet ongoing repression produced a profusion of new groups and campaigns. The Student Christian Movement was politicised by a young Cyril Ramaphosa who emphasised community activism, as he had done in secondary school in Venda. Protests against Bantu Education and pro-Frelimo solidarity in 1974 prompted further repression as the campus remained under the thumb of Pretoria and its Lebowa Bantustan proxies. Heffernan, making good use of interviews, adroitly brings out the complexity and contradictions in the lives of black academics and their families, some complicit in Bantustans, others opponents.

The 1970s also saw protests in Mankweng, adjacent to Turffloep, against forced removals and Bantustans, catalysed by a resurfacing ANC underground led by Ephraim Mogale, who also led the Congress of South African Students to penetrate schools. The Trial of the SASO 9 in 1975/6 publicised these movements but whilst youth anger erupted in the Soweto Revolt, fierce repression again disrupted their structures. Despite such setbacks, Heffernan argues that contestation and ideological experiment at Turffloep contained seeds of change.

Economic growth drove educational expansion. In the 1980s, rising political consciousness in schools and among youth in general heralded the South African Student Movement, AZASO, led at Turffloep by 'Lion of the North' Peter Mokaba, and the South African Youth Congress. After 1990, a revived Youth League under Mokaba injected a populist strain. His contrariness and the League's autonomy opened a space of unruliness into which his successor Julius Malema stepped. Heffernan compares and contrasts the two: both from poor townships, cutting their political teeth in school, backed by impoverished youth, facing censure by the mother body. Unlike Mokaba, Malema refuses to bend: the ANC vote in Limpopo drops from 92% in 2004 to 69% in 2016 with the rise of his Economic Freedom Fighters, on which note the book ends.

Limpopo is 'uncommonly young, poor, and rural' (p. 218), its political culture moulded by anti-authoritarianism, helping explain the appeal of Mokaba and

Malema and, the author more ambitiously argues, the trajectory of national youth politics, even the potency of student politics in the 2015/16 #FeesMustFall movement. She weaves all the above movements into a succinct, original narrative. By linking students to other social forces, Heffernan transcends a fixation by many previous writers on students alone, which can hermetically seal them from society. She claims to offer the first coverage of Limpopo as a whole, though areas such as Venda are less covered. The argument for the North swings on birth, family and education yet many leaders, notably Ramaphosa, absorbed much from the Rand. This is more a linear history of organisations than, say, township, migrant or farm youth, with little new on class or gender. Delius and James' work on Pedi migrants reminds us how porous boundaries are, and further research could probe more into connections from the Rand back to Limpopo, and across the province. Yet this book opens up such research. Scholars could even run with the theme of continuity to revisit the ignored role of the North in the origins and early radicalisation of Congress and of institutions such as Grace Dieu College that nourished an earlier generation of 'Lions of the North'.

In terms of sources, there are no great surprises: 20 informants, press clippings (largely limited to those in archival collections) and trial transcripts, knitted together with a synthesis of secondary works. Marepo Lesetja was able to interview Mogale before he died, and this important voice could well have been added. This useful history not just of student but also wider youth politics should re-focus others on the North and encourage rethinking of interactions and continuities in the development of youth organisations and ideologies. And, beyond South Africa, it suggests we might sometimes invert the synergy between centre and 'periphery'.

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Naturalizing Africa: Ecological Violence, Agency, and Postcolonial Resistance in African Literature by CAJETAN IHEKA.

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Like most fields designated by geography as opposed to period, topic, or form, African studies' site-specificity is both its blessing and its curse. At its best, it marshals deep, locally embedded knowledge to challenge generalists' more abstract claims. At its worst, it proceeds at a remove from, rather than in dialogue with, theoretical advances in the broader humanities. Cajetan Iheka's *Naturalizing Africa* seamlessly wed an Africanist's focus to a far-reaching set of ecological concerns, intervening in debates central to African literature; African studies; new materialisms; post-colonial theory; and the environmental humanities. It acts as a crucial and overdue link between postcolonialism's newest, anthropocenic iteration (most notably in books like Rob Nixon's *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*), and the fine-grained attention to language characteristic of its foundational discursive concerns.

Iheka's book is structured as a theoretical introduction and first chapter followed by three chapters devoted to readings of ecologically minded texts. Chapters 2 and 3