tance on the part of some organizations to speak out for unpopular issues necessarily be interpreted as cowardly. In Africa, as elsewhere, activists toggle strategically between visibility and invisibility, and artfully negotiate both the constraints and possibilities that obtain in aid economies. This ambivalence likewise surfaces in the accounts Currier collected from LGB Malawians in Malawi. Her interlocutors articulate the repertoire of tactics utilized by LGB Malawians to “monitor and censor their behavior . . . [to] evade . . . police and public scrutiny” (211), including, for example, socializing with people who “look straight,” making recourse to “born this way” arguments, wearing gender-normative clothing, or engaging in one-off liaisons to avoid conspicuous partnerships. The collection of tactics highlighted by Currier’s interlocutors is a rich archive for theorizing ambivalences of queer identities and negotiations too often obscured by the anti-normativity that runs through queer theoretical discourse and scholarship.

Currier’s book is a refreshing take on African homophobia, and will be of great interest to scholars interested in homophobias across the globe; readers will surely find that, rather than being “particular” to Malawi, the rich discourse analysis she undertakes models the potential of attending to histories, political moments, and postcolonial anxieties to denaturalize Afropessimist and racialized interpretations of homophobic Africa.

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Decolonization, meaning the transfer of colonial state sovereignty to new independent nation-states after World War II, was a late event in the long history of Portuguese imperialism. After 1945, Salazar’s dictatorship resisted pressures for decolonization. Having lost Goa to independent India in 1961, the government launched a devastating war against African liberation movements. Only in April 1974, when a democratic revolution in Lisbon put an end to the regime, did decolonization take place. In former African colonies, this involved relocation to the motherland of around a half million white Portuguese settlers—the so-called retornados (returnees). For decades a veil of nostalgia and selective amnesia hindered the critical study of these events. Yet in recent years a new wave of Lusophone scholarship is putting the legacies of (de)colonization under close critical scrutiny. Written from a Southern African angle, Portuguese Decolonization in the Indian Ocean World: History and Ethnography, social anthropologist Pamila Gupta’s newest collection of essays, is a welcome contribution to this growing scholarly trend. The book approaches the history of decolonization ethnographically, through a combination of participant observation, oral history, and literary and visual studies. It locates “politics in the personal” (2) and explores how decolonization was experienced, and how it is still remembered, by ordinary people in their everyday lives. The focus is on the personal, physical, and affective (often traumatic) “experiences” of diasporic settlers and migrants “caught in the throes” of the messy “material demise” of Portugal’s colonialism (20). The book, however, is not concerned with the above-mentioned retornados. Instead, it follows minor patterns of human mobility caused by decolonization, within and across southern Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa) and the Indian Ocean (Goa and Mozambique, primarily). Gupta’s study thus circumvents strict nation-framed narratives. It follows the trans-African and transoceanic transits of two minority migrant communities: Portuguese South Africans, who came from Angola and Mozambique to South Africa after 1975, and Goan Mozambicans, who moved from Goa to Mozambique over a longer period of time since the early twentieth century.

A massive movement of people and things followed the demise of Portuguese colonial rule. This process unleashed trauma and loss for the resulting migrant communities. Thus seen as a diasporic experience, decolonization is reconceptualized by Gupta as a form of physical and affective dispossession. The book develops this interesting hypothesis through a mosaic of life histories, ethnographic data, and photographic and literary materials, analyzed across seven chapters and a summary conclusion. Chapter 1 introduces the analytical approach and positions it within decolonization studies and the historiography of Portuguese colonialism. Drawing selectively on literature published in English (rarely does the author mobilizes Portuguese-language literature), Gupta proposes three distinctive “interrelated conditions” of Portuguese colonialism (14). The first condition is the “uniquely itinerant quality of Portuguese colonialism that endured through decolonization” and beyond it (11). The second is concerned with the negative representations of the Portuguese Empire as subaltern and anachronistic. And the third one is concerned with conceptions of Portuguese colonial exceptionalism, namely those contained in twentieth-century ideologies of luso-tropicalism. Chapter 2, also introductory, provides a survey of historical events that characterized the “entangling decolonizations” of Goa, Mozambique, and Angola. Ethnographic analysis begins in chapter 3. Based on fascinating oral material, it provides a glimpse of distinct migratory waves of Goans coming into urban Mozambique since the 1920s. Ambivalently attached to Indian, African, and Portuguese cultures (many came as colonial officials and medical doctors), Goan Mozambicans devel-
oped “ambiguous identities of race and class” in the colonial world, which persisted after decolonization (54). Chapter 4 shifts attention to a small fishing community of Goan migrants at Catembe. It seeks to portray “the working lives” of these fishermen by relying on a blend of visual, literary, and ethnographic observations (67). Of particular interest for the study of Portuguese decolonization in Africa, however, are the following chapters. Chapter 5 focuses on the important issue of material dispossession and its associated affective dimensions. It follows literary and visual traces of Portuguese settlers who left their homes and belongings in haste, relocating elsewhere in South Africa. Chapter 6 looks specifically at the experiences and “coping strategies” of the diasporic Portuguese settlers who struggled to preserve and manage an ambivalent white African identity, while living in apartheid South Africa (112). The final chapter is a rich ethnographic reflection on the theme of colonial ruins in the Mozambican city of Beira. The intention is to understand decolonization as form of “repossession” that juxtaposes colonial and postcolonial temporalities (128). At Beira, the Portuguese administration built a complex of pools, hotels, and leisure sites intended for white tourism in the 1950s–1970s. The chapter looks at how this built environment has since been appropriated by African Mozambicans on their own terms, in ways that innovatively recode the colonial legacies.

Portuguese Decolonization in the Indian Ocean World contributes originally to ongoing conceptual and historical reflections on decolonization. There are imbalances in the chapters and analysis. Chapters 5 and 7, for instance, let alone the book itself, would have benefited from stronger conclusions. Further relevant Lusophone scholarship on colonial white settlement, postcolonial migrations, and memory could have been considered. It is unclear whether the proposed three “conditions” of Portuguese colonialism refer simply to the late colonial period, or to an all-embracing supra-historical vision. Gupta appropriately criticizes ideas of Portuguese exceptionalism. Yet at moments the author also seems to treat Portuguese colonialism as if this were a distinctive ontology, an entity possessing a “uniquely itinerant quality” over the longue durée (11). General considerations about such issues as itinerancy, migrations, and cosmopolitanism in the long Portuguese Empire, over time, would have required further and nuanced explanation, historicization, and comparisons. These criticisms notwithstanding, this is a relevant and well-timed set of essays that bears proof to the potential of ethnographic sensibilities for the historical study of Portuguese late colonialism and its legacies. Historians and postcolonial analysts concerned more broadly with the issue of decolonization will find its rich ethnographic insights of interest.

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The Fees Must Fall movement of 2015–2017 brought sharply into focus the myriad challenges faced by South African universities, especially in their uneven commitments to transformation and decolonization. Although the most visible aspect of this movement was the demand for free education, its politics were also constantly animated by debates about the meanings of decolonization as well as the position of universities in relation to the status quo. Teresa Barnes’s book Uprooting University Apartheid in South Africa: From Liberalism to Decolonization brings her extensive academic-activist experience at various higher-education institutions in southern Africa and the United States to bear on these debates. As a radical black feminist and historian, she offers timely and important insights into the relationship of the University of Cape Town (UCT), and by extension the other English-speaking universities (Witwatersrand, Rhodes, and Natal), to the state during the apartheid era. Tertiary institutions were then organized in parallel with the National Party’s racist logic, with the express objectives to promote white supremacy and foster the development of ethnic and racial elites. In this system, English-speaking universities were regarded as redoubts of liberalism against the segregationist imperatives of Verwoerdian education. Barnes subjects this widespread perception to critical scrutiny.

Uprooting University Apartheid in South Africa examines how UCT and especially a prominent academic, Professor Andrew Murray, were implicated in the apartheid system. Drawing on critiques by Marxist and Black Consciousness scholars and activists, the book debunks the notion that liberals, as a whole, were innately progressive and structurally opposed to apartheid. Specifically, it questions the oft-repeated view of UCT as a “protest-only university.” English-speaking universities certainly registered objections to apartheid’s education system and were vocal defenders of university autonomy. Barnes acknowledges that UCT contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle, pointing to the presence from the 1970s of Marxist scholars and activists, many of whom became deeply involved in independent trade unions and more generally in the anti-apartheid movement, and also produced trenchant critiques of apartheid capitalism and liberalism. Student activism was of course central to opposition politics at universities, first by National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and, from the late 1960s, increasingly by black students’ movements. Nonetheless, the main narrative of these institutions as hubs of protest obscures the myriad ways in which universities and