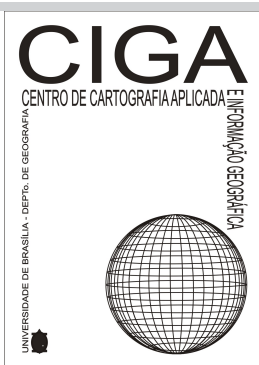


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## **DIASPORA: OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH AND GEOPOLITICS**

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Thanks,

I thank the University of Brasilia, in especially, the Department of Geography, for the honor to start this important conference, as well as all the people who helped to organize my trip to Brazil.

I thank Professor Rafael Sânzio dos Anjos for allowing me to best know Brazil for which I have much appreciation and appreciate the multiple facets of a social dynamic where they cross all their peoples, by including the African descent, descent or part, whose representing 47% of the population. Therefore, it is not a minority but of an important component of the population that, in this period of economic growth, it in, along with Brazil, the world again.

My interest in Brazil comes first, my interest in Africa because I see in Brazil, the expression of a proud and dignified Africa expressed in his courage to work on globalization and its cultural productions, most notably in the case of Brazil, music, dance and more recently, of capoeira.

I add, in this spontaneous passion that I see in many young Europeans, my academic conviction that serious studies in anthropology and history include, inevitably, a dimension of contact and networks that link people, often artificially bounded in the space necessary to administer and the convenience of research. The Brazilian dynamism seems to be the product of historic trade relations where political factors play, as always, an important role. The black and mestizo populations represent an important part of Brazilian society not only because of demographic classifications, but especially for bringing to Brazil their unique cultures as well as his courage to deal with the bitter adversity of the slave trade. Africa's contribution to all the continents is now recognized, and this recognition is growing, however, the descendants of those who were torn from their land still carry the stigma of inferiority attached to what they once was imposed:

the inability to have of itself, its own principle of slavery was only abolished in Brazil in May 1888.

The damage to fractions with the subaltern, that a difference in skin color can easily become racial, linking, despite the existence of an African-Brazilian elite, this color to poverty, lack of dignity, resulting in much the ignorance of African history and slavery, and ignorance of the economic importance of the labor force of African origin in the country's history. Moreover, these losses testify the concept of "race" now totally obsolete, since currently all cultures demonstrate their hybridity and its malleability. Recent research in relation to the concept underlying the essentialist concept of race, point to the constructed character - outside and inside - all forms of identity.

It is fitting to remind us, before we enter the historical conception, WEB Du Bois, sociologist, historian and novelist Afro-American and first researcher to look into the issue of the African diaspora, which I quote here: "The race should be seen in its dynamic concept, not static, the races being in typical continuous transformation and development, merging and differentiating itself ... We studied the darkest part of the human family that no physical trace or no mind trace separate the humanity, but as mass, form a series of social groups more or less distinct in history, in its appearance, their talents and their achievements " (The Souls of Black Folk, 1903: 154). Such considerations have made its author one of the leading pan-Africanist movement and the civil rights movement in the United States. Under the current paradigm of globalization, these considerations are similar to the cultural studies on the effects of hybridization of "globalization" of cultures.

The question of the black diaspora could thus be transformed. The question then arises of social inequalities that are, without distinction in essence, of human groups articulated in different ways to market. This leads, regardless of skin color of those who were involved in one way or another, the question of the slave trade that scattered between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, somewhere around 12 million Africans, of which 10 to 20 % died during the terrible transatlantic crossing. This trade, spread and practiced for centuries, is part of the continuing practice of slavery and servitude in the world and in Europe, for example, Sweden and Scotland, remained until century XIX, involving categories of poor local population.

This first international trade inherent in the markets resulting from the colonial discoveries had long-term consequences on the development of Africa as well as on the social dynamics in the importing countries. If the latter can be studied using written sources and analyzes economic aspects of the African slave trade and the human consequences of a peculiar kind of discrimination which followed slavery are more difficult to be studied. First, it should be noted that racial prejudice linked to the slave trade has spread about Africa in a time where it was practiced and which remained on until very recently. Africa in defiance of reality, was considered as having no history, in spite of the slave trade (and before him, other businesses) enrolled in radically in world history, then changing their story. The ethnologists, we must recognize it, contributed to the denial of its history, with its presentation of an exotic Africa and "traditional" - word used to avoid addressing a historical depth and the possibility of innovations - with their "tribes" and "ethnic groups" seen as closed in on themselves - which excludes the contacts and transformations, to the point of not even address its history. This attitude, which had condoned the activities of the slave trade, facilitated the colonization and then formatting the administrative colonies. If voices had been raised against colonization, were heard first in the United States, where, however, the end of legal discrimination was acquired only through the civil rights struggles in 1964, culminating, later still, in equal rights before the law.

The movements of resistance to American oppression, including the pan-Africanism with its references to a black universalism sometimes based on a somewhat mythical Africa, played a role in the development of African nationalism and access to independence. Existed both in the U.S. and in African countries on the eve of independence (except for the Belgian Congo), a black intellectual elite formed in the best universities, mainly in Britain, as Nkwame Nkrumah, for example, the first president of Ghana, a country he had led to independence, and a founding member of the Organization of African Unity. Britain, although strongly implicated in the slave trade, quickly found to be illegal to reduce Africans to slavery in their own territory: when arrived on British soil, slaves bought their freedom rediscovered. Britain was also the first country to abolish the slave trade in 1808. Regardless of racial prejudice linked to class prejudice, this country, like France, offered the possibility of access to education for the elites of their colonies.

These elites, in agreement with American intellectuals, have embarked on the trail of a story of Africa, academic level, contributing to the rehabilitation of Africa in human history, the ancient demonstrate the inclusion of the African continent in the world. When his speech at the University Cheikh Anta-Diop, in Dakar in Senegal to students, teachers and politicians, on July 26, 2007, the then President of France Nicolas Sarkozy, has dared to echo the racist theories of the preceding centuries, the stating that "the African man is not yet quite in history. [...]The Africa problem is that she lives with too much nostalgia for this lost paradise of childhood. [...] In this imagination where everything starts always, there is no place for human adventure or for the progress idea. "The African historians of Africa, could not fail to respond to this testimony of ignorance, both past and present. Much remains to be done.

We will see how it developed knowledge about Africa's past and what call of the African Diaspora, before we look at what covers this notion of diaspora and how the myths of Africa coupled with the reality to make her history. Obviously, isn't possible get into the details and in complex history. Thus, successively and briefly discuss an outline of studies related to the slave trade and make a brief summary of their results, the origin of Africans reduced to the status of undifferentiated goods in the process of trafficking and the effects of extraction on the African population, the allocations these men, these women and these children, the role of trafficking and slavery conditions created by the persistence of an African identity that is recognized under the term diaspora, the interactions between Africa and the African Diaspora and the peculiar Brazil position in these aspects. Each researcher is the result of a particular time and contributes to the production of its time.

The historicity of scientific production related to West Africa has become more obvious as you loosen the intellectual framework and colonial African historians will now participate in African historiography. Many of the earliest works attributed to Western Africanists around the independence question the power relations established through embarrassment, trying to highlight the local collective actions before the colonial enterprise and revise the conceptual categories derived from colonial relations and transformations born of the confrontation culture West. Not surprisingly, the two local modes of articulation of

power relations in the colonial period, ethnic identifications and religious dynamics, have formed the vanguard of a Africa re-historicizing victimized by slavery and colonization. African intellectuals aspired to restore the prospects of their own societies, taked the local traditions to provide relief to the story and make the story a legitimate holder. As the highlight Jewsiewicki and Mudimbe, the story was intended to return the Africans' right to universal and, therefore, the recognition of African contributions to the composition of humanity " (Jewsiewicki & Mudimbe, 1993:1).

The development of African intellectuals inspired by the activism of the diaspora to rebuild a factual history of Africa, and also to support a legitimacy in "tradition," projecting a glorious past to a future that craved light (ibid.). These works were sometimes placed in a heavy contingent of ethnographic idealistic. African intellectuals, often victims of the pitfalls of this trend, opened, however thus a path consisting of resorting to oral traditions to writing your story, when understood to reenter in world history. The fact of using these sources raised the question of the construction and transmission of the sources, which entailed the use of source material or language or criticism for purposes of contextualization, and introduced the interpretative dimension in historiography. Thus, the sociocultural context of data production became an element of his understanding and his criticism. Since 1961, Jan Vansina (historian of Belgian origin) elaborated the methods suitable for the use of oral traditions as historical sources, and would burst the misunderstanding whereby Africa would not have history for not having written history. The study of Africa - and no doubt other societies of oral tradition - renewed the historical discipline, the word and reintroduce the social practices as sources of history, anthropology approaching and moving away from philosophical considerations to interest-the observation of the companies in the long run, merging in the "long run" of transformations, such as support for an intercultural understanding and centuries away at the same time.

The question of the slave trade, taken as a social and economic development, was central in developing a history of Africa, for several reasons. On the one hand, in the Diaspora to put the issue from a source whose function was to save, or at least make a difficult situation bearable, on the other hand, the reading in which Marxist historiography was part of independence, the diaspora had economic

factors and social in apparent continuity with respect to the phenomenon with which shared colonial exploration. Moreover, the question was posed to assess the consequences of the slave trade in Africa. Methodological issues (use oral sources and witnesses experienced, consideration of subjectivity) and historiographical issues (knowledge of Africa) is intersected and went to the encounter from seeking origins of populations forcibly displaced.

The early work on the slave trade a continuation of research initiated by American abolitionists (Dunbar, and then WEB Du Bois) addressed the transatlantic slave trade. The best known works, giving rise to numerous studies, belong to the American historian Philip Curtin, with a first publication in 1969. The further work, the same historian always willing to revise their conclusions in the light of new evidence, as well as the work of other historians, all extremely thorough in their examination of the sources, were synthesized by Paul Lovejoy in 1989. The first crucial question of the historical point of view, is evidently the volume of traffic, it is the number of people extracted from Africa that depends the impact of trafficking in this continent. The notes of shipment of goods in the main ports involved in the transatlantic slave trade (Bristol, Liverpool, Nantes, Rio de Janeiro), the documents of the African trading posts, and plantations in the new world, now allow to stipulate, after thorough research, which among 11:12 million Africans were taken from their continent of origin of the fifteenth century and late nineteenth century to feed the transatlantic slave trade and that 10-20% of these, in function of time, died during the trip made in atrocious conditions. The transatlantic slave trade presented itself in two forms: triangular trade and direct traffic between Brazil and Central West Africa, Congo and Angola, where slaves were sent from Mozambique. In a very schematic, the slaves were shipped from ports in West Africa in exchange for manufactured goods in Europe, or even produced in plantations (low-quality alcohol). Slaves who had survived the trip were six to eight weeks landed in different U.S. ports and offered for sale. Ships to Europe then followed with products of the plantations. Another smuggling route linking directly to West Central Africa to the port of Rio de Janeiro. **Projection.**

Studies have shown variations of trafficking over the centuries, both in volume and in the origin and destination of the slaves. One can generally distinguish three periods based on the importance of trafficking, trafficking West reached its

zenith between 1650 and 1690; trafficking Eastern extended between 1780 and 1840, the African slave market was in its heyday between 1830 and 1860. Trafficking between Africa and Brazil remained until 1850, slavery itself was abolished in 1888. Despite the emphasis often the provenance of the Bight of Benin and the Bay of Biafra (Nigeria), it seems now established (Richardson, 1989, JAH) that a large proportion of slaves came from west central Africa, with important consequences for the economy of this region. **Tabel p.10.**

The variations in demand and prices over time resulted from circumstances such as, for example, a significant demand for mines (in the hinterland of Rio de Janeiro<sup>1</sup>) between 1690 and 1720. To assess the consequences of the slave trade which suffered the African continent, should include the trafficking of Africans from the east of the continent, as well as trafficking into Asia and Arabia, and the offsets within the African continent itself. Patrick Manning, author of a synthesis solidly based work by dedicated more specifically to a region and a given period, states (Manning, 1990:104) to 12 million the number of parties bound slaves to the Americas, the 6 million the number of slaves deported to the East and some 8 million the number of slaves in Africa, for the period 1500 to 1900. For this author, who seeks to sensitize a broad academic audience, presenting an overview of issues related to the slave trade, this trade was the world market forced labor, changes in supply and demand for a "commodity" more variable than gold or grain, affecting the prices throughout the network, as well as the origins and destinations, as they depend on the circumstances and prices, the supply varied. Men and women (approximately a ratio of two men for each woman) bought in coastal regions of Africa came more generally, the interior regions near the coast (coastal hinterland), but also from more distant regions, with transfer of 100 to 600 km in caravans on foot. This reduced the number of children put up for sale. Slaves were obtained by wars (possibly arranged with a view to slaving) by means individually abduction or through the purchase of its owner.

In this process, the history of Africa is clearly linked the history of the world for a market that affected several areas, all linked together through the traffic and financial aspects related to local fluctuations that impact the whole, to

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<sup>1</sup> It seems the author, referring to the "hinterland of Rio de Janeiro" be referring to the "inside" region, "behind" in Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais. Translator's Note.



the gradual abolition of slavery. The United States and Brazil were supplied with a large proportion of its population, while Africa was affected in various ways by the loss or displacement of their populations. The abolition of the transatlantic slave trade has cut the African continent of the world market for labor at a time when the continent was incorporated into the market of other products. The abolition of the transatlantic slave trade did not end the traffic: demand and trade of slaves remained in Africa with peaks reached in the late nineteenth century, since slaves could now be a force to produce goods for export. Slavery became in Africa, while they transformed the continent for centuries. In the regions of export and its attachments interior (hinterland), the dominant figures were warlords and merchants, in the nineteenth century, slave owners and land, as well as the merchants of local products have become the new masters (Manning, 1990: 107). As Manning points out, these developments paved the way for colonial exploitation, through the institutions and established dynamics in response to Western demand for African products. The brutal methods of harvesting of rubber in the Congo Free State Leopold II can only be understood in the continuity of slave violence. Paradoxically, the persecution of the practice of slavery in Africa sometimes served to justify the colonial enterprise, which was presented as a struggle against slavery.

The procedure ran amnesia about the slave trade of the previous four centuries, and thus amnesia regarding the contribution of Africa to the world economy, in addition to amnesia regarding the consequences of the traffic for the African continent.

This loss Mensura not only in demographic terms, the more unfavorable terms of trade for Africa. The traffic caused violence, sometimes in the form of wars, sometimes between nearby populations, shifting family networks and creating new forms of power is based on trade, whether in the possession of slaves. Manning states that the mind was affected in regions where traffic created a continuing distrust and limited prospects for progress toward a large population always under the threat of being captured. Slavery also led to population movements seeking to protect themselves in remote places, riots on land and aboard slave ships: in the latter case, approximately one in every ten ships (Richardson, 2003 (in Diouf, ed.: 2003).

The riots and resistance were exported with the slaves. The result of the riots was a double exile, with the resale of slaves to a second or third owner, preferably in a different region. The original bonds were

usually broken on arrival, but new solidarities recreated himself in the very bosom of slavery or in a position to escape. These leaks resulted, in Brazil, the Quilombo. The meetings of slaves, for example, on Sundays, served as an opportunity to develop, on a larger scale, unique cultures of the regions marked by the institutions from which the slaves originated, considering the different backgrounds gathered and shared destiny. The religious meetings provided opportunities to meet and lawful evoke common themes, themes that were maintained by the African diaspora in the United States: the hardness of work, release, return to the promised land. From 1688, when the Quakers in Pennsylvania condemned slavery, until the abolition of slavery in Brazil two centuries later, a long story made national switch measures to abolish slavery and the abolition of the slave trade.

However, these measures have not solved neither the issue of integration of the freed slaves nor the issue of racism that kept people of African descent provided cheap labor. Some attempts have occurred: thus, from 1821, associations like the American Colonization Society, and other American associations of the same type, developed on Liberia, which became independent in 1847 and manages until today, the consequences of colonization. Serra Leoa became an area of refuge for slaves captured by the British after his ban on trafficking in 1808. Thus, the two sides of the Atlantic, the legacies of the slave trade are diverse and vary depending on the manner in which, depending on periods and places, men, women and children, imported from Africa, were socialized locally and become free, the manner in which they mingled, joined and welcomed the recent migrants, even today. These new migrants were numerous and of various origins, and do not correspond to the cliché propagated by persistent racism. As points out the African researcher Zeleza (2005: 62), African intellectuals immigrated to the United States constitute the layer of the U.S. population (indigenous or immigrant) at the highest level of formal education in the country. How address the issue of the African Diaspora as presented by Paul Gilroy, author of the academically most popular on the subject, "Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness"? Although Gilroy recommend a de-essentializing the notion of race, it does not prevent, it seems, an essentializing of the diaspora, he tends to homogenize and reduce the American reality.

One can understand the popularity of the work in the light of their theoretical ambitions that lie in the high current culturalist "intelligentsia." The prospect is, however, interesting because it "place the black Atlantic world in a network of many networks, between local and global ..." (Gilroy, 1993: 29). The Black Atlantic Gilroy, with the "double consciousness" that he takes the W.E.B Du Bois, despite having far characteristics of the Brazilian reality, allows, by contrast, perceive some aspects of the situation in Brazil. The idea of a "purity" assessed against a perception of essentialized "traditions" in Africa, since it seems to me beforehand foreign to the Brazilian reality, where syncretism took the form of rule among the populations of African origin. This aspect is not absent, for example, in cultures grown in the southern United States, but there, a political culture of minority became evident a common past on African slavery. This is, for example, the search for "roots", to resume the title of a work and a famous movie. It also follows a mystification of Africa, voted "motherland" as a basis for claims grounded in the present, but recast the measure of pan-Africanism, making slavery a great aberration of African history (Gilroy, 1993: 189). Such a view can anchor, and continues to inspire a political culture linked to memorial buildings with both private and collective aspects. It is, notably, in the background of the Claim for compensation for slavery, made at the conference in Durban, South Africa, in 2001. Paradoxically, these representations, they despise the history, deny the former inclusion of Africa in world history. If, for Gilroy, diaspora "as black people marked the first modern people's history" (1993: 221), we can oppose this idea arguing that it is not a nation, and that the diaspora, Africans and others, are manifold. The theoretical, American and academic concerns, disembodied the multiple experiences of diasporas, while he quotes an author of rap: "My nationality is reality" (Kool G. Rap). It is a return to the fact performed by the cosmopolitan African Paul Zeleza. This author has the great merit of returning to the realities of Africa today, regarded by him as existential and urgent, while highlighting the almost hegemonic Anglo-Saxon (U.S. and British) of Diaspora studies.

Moreover, he points out, and I link to this position, that diasporas are multiple, hybrid, constantly changing, by the junction or separation of its elements, to disappear at times as the diaspora, notably the integration of this population. Zeleza

proposes a definition of diaspora "that is neither specific nor too broad," "a diasporic identity implies a group consciousness constituted historically through an expressive culture, policies, a thought and a tradition in which resources experience and representation can be mobilized, referring to both the old and the new world." (Zezeza, 2005, 41). And not only highlights the diversity of diasporas - including Asian and European, highlighting U.S. imperialism culturalism restricted Gilroy. In historical context, the black population in the United States, the Caribbean and several other regions are implemented differently in their respective countries of destination. As for Brazil, and its interior cases as different as those of Salvador and São Paulo studied by Kim Butler (1998), illustrate the importance of the demographic factor in the social integration of people of African origin. I find it amazing, even today, reveals how the online encyclopedia Wikipedia consulted by all, the history of the State of Pernambuco proposed by this encyclopedia is not articulate in any way the social dynamics among groups of populations of different origins, except to mention that there we find the most authentic carnival in Brazil. The vanished past and present of this presentation was stripped of his depth. Therefore, I sought information elsewhere about Quilombo dos Palmares. This time, all sites are in Portuguese. The most interesting studies about Brazil are in Portuguese, which can be defended, but then would assume a broader public awareness of the cultivated country. The multilingualism is necessary in the field of comparative studies and goes through a collaboration with experts from African languages and cultures, and goes far beyond. A popularized broadcast of serious work is also needed to promote social integration that matches the national identity. The presentation, for example, the history of repression of the revolt of Pernambuco Quilombo's also surprised me by the lack of social dynamics and articulation of the factual aspects of the text set out in the final text in chronology form. A dynamic definition of diasporas and the fact of taking into account the many situations, it seems particularly useful in the case of Brazil, which enters the world economy with a significant African component and a culture which makes it unnecessary for citizens of African origin, to use a mythical Africa. Brazil, with its high proportion of African-Brazilians, presents to the world with its culture of African music, dance and religion, offering the world its syncretism as image of the future for all with in the background, popularized the slums as initial sites of this culture and local life simple and free of fever consuming. This image of a counterculture sympathies to attract non-violent does

not free to study past and present of its production and its role in social integration. The International Labour Organization, established in 1919, can be seen as a world heritage of a long struggle against forced labor, slavery as its extreme form. A more modest inheritance, but as respectable as are the Brazilian quilombos today, witnesses of resistance and bearing a distinctive culture which involves so quirky and contemporary ties with the land they occupy, at a time when globalization standardizes titles of ownership.

The work of Professor Raphael are representative of these multi-place research and multidisciplinary necessary to address a history of communities arising from forced displacement. See them implemented as memory of the deportation out of central Africa is not the design of these works, but respect a way of life that developed in the quilombolas varying durations, based on proprietary standards, which can leave behind or preserve in according to their wants and their means. It is undoubtedly necessary require in favor of a better knowledge of African history, beyond the clichés, at a time when Africa rids itself of its postcoloniality to embrace the globalized modernity. In this endeavor to repay the past, the international understanding of the dynamics of a time becomes crucial, as is the knowledge of Africa, yet sufficiently taught and promoted along with a wide audience. The work of Professor Raphael add to a clear visual aspects very respectful, which can contribute to reaching a wider audience and simultaneously promote knowledge. In response to the speech of Nicolas Sarkozy in Dakar, French historians wrote a manual of the history of Africa for the purpose of teaching. The museums dedicated to Africa are still often guided more by aesthetic objects than by studying the context of their production, in this sense are the heirs of the essentialism of past centuries. It is probably through the current enthusiasm for Africa and through the visual representations provided by artists who stir up interest in African continent and the stigma will disappear in a miserable and Africa radically different. The promotion of knowledge of Africa is essential and inseparable from knowledge of the world history. The slave trade was part of both the local peculiarities and economic interactions in the world. The old European cities linked to trafficking as Bristol and Liverpool in Britain opened, or opening design, museums for the understanding of the trade of humans. The city of Nantes, in France, opened in March this year a memorial of the abolition of slavery. To be complete, these works would have to address the complexity of African worlds transformed as its integration in this trade and give a perspective centered in

Europe. The release of documents relating to the history of Central Africa is one of the main tasks of the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, in a development perspective and respect for everyone, from workshops for children up to university researchers, we are happy to welcome all those who interested in the social life of Africa, in the long term and in this one fervent. Thank you for your attention.