THE AFRICAN DIASTOPA AND THE DISCIPLINES

EDITED BY Tejumola Olaniyan and James H. Sweet
THE AFRICAN DIASPORA AND THE DISCIPLINES

Edited by TEJUMOLA OLANIYAN
and JAMES H. SWEET

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Bloomington and Indianapolis
CONTENTS

Acknowledgments v

Introduction
   Tejumola Olaniyan and James H. Sweet 1

PART ONE. HISTORIES

   Kim D. Butler 21

2. African Diaspora and Anthropology
   Richard Price 53

3. How Genetics Can Provide Detail to the Transatlantic African Diaspora
   Fatimah L. C. Jackson and Latifa F. J. Borgelin 75

4. Landscapes and Places of Memory: African Diaspora Research and Geography
   Judith A. Carney 101

5. African Diaspora in Archaeology
   Theresa A. Singleton 119

PART TWO. SOCIAL SCIENCES

   Paget Henry 145

7. African Diaspora and Political Science
   Robert Fatton Jr. 161

8. The African Diaspora and Philosophy
   Olufemi Taiwo 173
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors incurred many debts in the funding, planning, and execution of this volume. Most of the book’s chapters derive from a twoday international symposium held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in March 2006. This symposium brought together more than a dozen scholars from around the world. Without the generous financial support of our sponsors, such an event could not have been possible. Our major benefactors were the African Diaspora Cluster, the Office of the Provost, the College of Letters and Science, the African Diaspora and Atlantic World Research Circle, and the African Studies Program. Co-sponsors included the Department of African Languages and Literature, Department of Afro-American Studies, Anonymous Fund, Department of Anthropology, Department of Art History, Department of English, Department of French and Italian, Department of Geography, the Harvey Goldberg Center for the Study of Contemporary History, Department of History, the International Institute, Latin American, Caribbean, and Iberian Studies, School of Music, Department of Philosophy, and Department of Theater, all of the University of Wisconsin.

Although financial support is crucial, the dedication and labor of colleagues, students, and administrative staff ultimately allow projects like this to come to fruition. We would first like to thank all of the contributors, whose collective energies provide a new vision for conceptualizing the African diaspora across the disciplines. Their collegiality, creativity, and timely delivery of the chapters made the task of editing an enjoyable one. We would also like to thank the members of the African Diaspora and Atlantic World Research Circle, particularly the graduate students, whose dynamism and energy are crucial to the circle’s day-to-day functioning. Indeed, one could justifiably argue that graduate student pushing and prodding prompted the interdisciplinary inquiries that animate much of this volume. Finally, a few individuals deserve special thanks for their contributions. Our colleague, Madeleine Wong, played a crucial role in the early planning and organization of the symposium. Jim Delehanty, the associate director of The African Studies Program at UW, offered his usual wise counsel and planning skills. And last but certainly not least, Toni Pressley-Sanon worked indefatigably on this project from beginning
"BLACK FOLK HERE AND THERE": REPOSITIONING OTHER(ED) AFRICAN DIASPORA(S) IN/AND "EUROPE"

Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe

When we have made an experience or chaos into a story we have transformed it, made sense of it, transmuted experience, domesticated the chaos.
—Ben Okri, A Way of Being Free

The story I will begin to recount is one that seeks to expand the way we think about African diaspora(s) in/and "Europe." Using broad brushstrokes, I will explore two compound problematics that stand in as distillations rather than crystallizations of relevant debates. First, why is it difficult to confine or define the African Diaspora in/and Europe, and what impact has the pioneering work of Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy had on the emergence of a dominant Anglophone Black [North] Atlanticist approach to African Diaspora Studies in Europe? Second, how might a re-conceptualization of "new" transnational/extracolonial African diasporas offer a framework that unsettles the conceptual "tidiness"—as discursive formations—of "Europe," "Africa," and the "African Diaspora"? Finally, I will close with some polemical thoughts about potential impediments to proper diasporic dialogue "here and there."

PROBLEMATIC ONE

Afro-Caribbeans ["African Europeans."... ] couldn't simply be African, it was literally impossible to retrace their origins. Symbolically, they have to acknowledge they have a complex cultural inheritance. ... Their roots are routes, the various places along the path of slavery, [post]colonialisms and migration.
—Hall, "Les Enfants de Marx et de Coca-Cola"

I was still in London, where I was born and to which I had returned to work almost seventeen years ago, when the book editors invited me to
contribute. As I write, I am now in Durham, North Carolina, to which I relocated three years ago and where I have now almost completed the process of [re]acculturation to American life in all its complexities and contradictions. There is no doubt that this current liminal phase has contributed to my producing a very different chapter than one which I would have conceived in “Europe,” which in and of itself is a shifting fractured construct:

The imaginary of Europe has been undergoing drastic changes. In the nineteenth century, Europe was represented as the heartland of civilization, progress and power. Europe, the citadel of the Great Powers, lorded over the world, as in the Berlin Congress carving up Africa. . . . During two major wars, “the lights went out all over Europe” and hegemony shifted across the Atlantic. Through the cold war, Europe was a space in-between and under the shadow of the superpowers. . . . In the 1980s, Europe recovered dynamism en route to the New Europe of 1992. 1992 came and went and the EU remains divided in the process of integration.5

What Pieterse encapsulates is the difficulty of defining a monolithic Europe with so much history and which keeps growing like a supranational fungus.5 Nevertheless, in spite of the declining significance of the nation-state alongside the sustained importance of nationalisms, a nostalgic attachment to a romanticized Europe of the “Old World” does persist and is reproduced in the popular imagination of the “New World.”6

This is not the Europe to which I will turn my attention. For the purposes of exploration, I am concerned with a partial Europe7 that used the master tools of scientific racism to manufacture its racialized “Others” and build the industries of transatlantic slavery and imperial expansion.8 It is this cooperative complicity under the guise of “commerce” and “civilizing” mission that literally and figuratively aligned rather than conflated the destinies of Africans—diasporic and continental [as one of many enslaved and colonized by Europeans] with diverse histories, cultures, and modes of economic and political organization, thereby forever situating them within the same unfolding dialectical macro-narrative.9 As a result, since the sixteenth century (and before), these earlier circuits of trade, processes of settlement, and political economic regimes have created co-terminal points of reference for “older” African diasporic constituents in Europe as well as the Americas and the Caribbean.10

As a metaphor and paradigm,11 interdisciplinary characterizations of this story frequently privilege the narrative of transatlantic slavery [roots] or focus on the social and historical processes of imperialism and colonialism [routes].12 Mazrui’s periodization provides a synthesis:

We must remember that historically there are two African Diasporas and not just one. There is first the Diaspora created by the slave trade, the dispersal of people of African ancestry sold as slaves both across the Atlantic
and across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. . . . But there is also a Diaspora created by colonialism, by movements of populations instigated or provoked either directly by the colonial experience or by the ramifications and repercussions of the colonial aftermath.  

By dint of historical and political circumstances, African Diaspora Studies in Europe necessitate incorporating the "both/and/[beyond]" of slavery and postcolonialisms (and colonialisms' twin: underdevelopment) as well as the latest phases of transnationalism and globalization. Borrowing from the seminal essay "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," African diasporas in Europe can be configured not simply as political spaces but also as processes and conditions. That is, first, African diasporic processes extend the links of the migration chains which originated in the historical moments of the transatlantic slave trade and the rise of European empires, wherein two adages respectively pervade the collective consciousness of these older African diasporas: "We are here because you brought us here" or "We are here because you were there." Second, African diasporas are spatially constituted wherever African postcolonial and transnational constituents find themselves, be that "initially" in the Caribbean or West Africa and then subsequently in Europe, as were the respective trajectories, for examples, of Surinamese to the Netherlands and Senegalese to France. Their spatial and "racial" locations as both gendered African diasporic agents and former black colonial, tribal, and island subjects inscribe sameness as they mobilize and politicize. Finally, African diasporic conditions persist and are transformed by the interface of transnational Pan-African diasporic traditions of resistance, protest, and cultural innovation with global economic, political gendered, and racialized hierarchical structures that exclude as they appropriate and commodify. Local and dynamic diasporic spaces, processes, and conditions intersect with and in fact are produced by transnational identities, translated cultural commodities, and global political strategies.

However, mutually constituted and yet infinitely complex African diasporic spaces, processes, and conditions in Europe resist complete containment within either the "culture-bound" discourse of the nation-state (and more recently the supranational formation of the EU) or the transnational "imagined community" paradigm of the African diaspora. This inability to entirely name African diasporas in Europe or firmly situate them within the dominant discourse of the African diaspora across the Atlantic stems from two divergent myths of "common" origin. First, in spite of the long-standing and transformative presence of their diasporic "Others," specific origin narratives of nation-states across Europe are predicated on differential mythologies of indigeneity and provincialism, which in turn define citizenship and deny rights to belonging: "As a result, it is difficult to translate each of these national discourses di-
rectly into the terms of another because the meaning of even the apparently common elements is structured in part by the place they occupy in the nationalized ensemble.”

For example, as exclusionary/explanatory immigration ideologies, “race” is privileged in a British context while the notion of biological descent is favored in Germany. Second, in American, Caribbean, and Brazilian contexts, the African diaspora has evolved into a potent political formation, which provides an evocative historical narrative for descendants of slaves, all of whom have a symbolic if not a spiritual link to the “Motherland.” In Europe, the transatlantic slave trade only explains half of the story, which is also not one that is embraced by all constituents of African descent, such as those who as colonial or (post)colonial subjects journeyed directly and more recently from continental Africa to their “Mother” countries “abroad.” As such, the violent imprint of (post)colonialism leaves as indelible a psychic mark on African diasporic subjects in Europe as the transgenerational emotional scars of the Middle Passage.

“Cultural identity and Diaspora” is one of Stuart Hall’s foundational texts, which, while also paying homage to the Negritude movement, Frantz Fanon, and Pan-Africanism, eloquently addresses these fusions and fissures in Pan-African diasporic genealogies. Though he specifically engages with “the absences and presences” in Caribbean cultural identities, his formulation is instructive for my partial meditations on African diasporic identities processes in Europe. Hall suggests that there are two ways of understanding cultural identity. Within the first:

our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us as “one people,” with stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.

In the geopolitical context of European (post)colonial metropoles, this collective African diasporic consciousness is forged from the lived realities and the legacies of interwoven histories characterized by metropolitan racism, sexism, class discrimination, xenophobia, Islamophobia, and resistances. In a disintegrated Europe, where the racialized boundaries of exclusion are tightly drawn, a profound sense of (un)belonging is the end result. The French-born (although marked in the press as “African” or “Arab”—“Les beurs”) Muslim youth uprisings that erupted in October/November 2005 in the impoverished banlieues (suburbs) of Paris and the bombings in London in July 2005 that were carried out by a multiethnic cohort of British-born Muslims highlight the profound failings of the European multiculturalism project. These recent political events also pinpoint the complexities of fluid, partial, and multiple identity politics in contemporary Europe, where lines of identification are (and always have been) drawn along more than one axis than “race.” The contested terrain
upon which twenty-first-century Europe is attempting to limp forward is dotted with very contemporary antagonisms, whose ontological roots are firmly situated in modernity.\textsuperscript{31}

While Hall's first definition illuminates a common heritage of institutionalized oppression that contributes to similar persistent lived social inequities for and resiliences of black communities in different metropolitan European milieux, his second conceptualization uncovers the messy lived dimensions of African diasporic identity politics in specific/local contexts:

This second position recognizes that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute "what we really are"; or rather—since history has intervened—"what we have become." We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness about "one experience, one identity," without acknowledging the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely . . . uniqueness.\textsuperscript{32}

The necessity of acknowledging the simultaneity of closure and rupture is echoed in the influential work of Paul Gilroy, particularly \textit{The Black Atlantic}. Gilroy provides a heuristic configuration—"the black Atlantic"—which as a "transcultural international formation" links the lived experiences, political projects, and cultural products of Black Europe [Britain in particular] and Black America [and beyond]. By way of critique, Gilroy supports Hall's assertion that as a dialectical formation, the African diaspora is by definition an "unfinished" and complex entity:

the status of nationality and the precise weight we should attach to the conspicuous differences of language, culture and identity which divide the blacks of the diaspora from one another, let alone from Africans, are unresolved within the political culture that promises to bring the disparate peoples of the black Atlantic world together one day.\textsuperscript{33}

While Gilroy is specifically addressing the myriad challenges associated with tracing transatlantic and transnational contours of the African Diaspora based on a unified political destiny, his assertion indirectly also highlights the road blocks and detours toward the furthering of a Pan-African diasporic political project in Europe. On the one hand, despite a sustained African presence stretching back centuries, a Europe of social exclusion, which deploys different assimilation models to contain the "unmeltable" "minority ethnic" communities already there, prescribes a "common European identity" as much on the mythologization of an essentialized "white" indigeneity as on brandings of "black" alterities.\textsuperscript{34} On the other hand, although this road is by no means without its essentialist potholes, the popular folk concept of "race" as it is imposed by "non-blacks" and politicized by "blacks" has long been a Pan-African/diasporic route to solidarity and affiliation.\textsuperscript{35} BEST [Black European Studies Program] is one such example of the ways in which a strategic identi-
fication with "Blackness" has been mobilized in the interest of advancing African Diaspora Studies in Europe. Funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, based in Germany at the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, and inaugurated in October 2004, the program is intended to conduct empirical studies focused on the often neglected history and present of black people in Europe, and remains in close contact with the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, where another Center for Black European Studies is planned. Regional working conferences in Northwest, East, and South Europe will offer a forum of exchange for scholars and activists, establish regional networks, and offer an inventory of existing scholarship. An archive will for the first time bundle sources on black Europe, up to now scattered in archives and private collections.

Although still in its infancy, BEST is a necessary and exciting intervention, whose mission echoes the solidarity in difference plea voiced by both Hall and Gilroy.

In short, myriad dialectical tensions are reflected in emergent African Diaspora Studies (ADS) in Europe, which is a field and an "area" without borders. This particular conceptualization of ADS in Europe, which has morphed into an extended rumination, is influenced by both my own disciplinary moorings in Cultural Studies, Anthropology, and Sociology as well as my former location in Britain. Yet simply being positioned within a European discursive frame by no means makes me the designated authority, nor can this guarantee a perspective, which is either comprehensive or necessarily entirely representative. The existence of a common currency (more or less) but not a common language, the geographical expansiveness of our "region" as well as the paucity of Pan-European ADS institutional structures to disseminate knowledge and foster dialogue/collaboration all contribute to the conceptual challenges of ADS in Europe. Brent Edwards artfully reinscribes the difficulties of literal and figurative translation across the linguistic and geopolitical spaces between diasporic joins as décalage ("the kernel of precisely that which cannot be transferred or exchanged"). Within the context of this important book, which is primarily an analysis of evolving black internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, Edwards also makes a point pertinent to constraints of translation as contemporary African diasporic knowledges circulate:

The cultures of black internationalism can be seen only in translation. It is not possible to take up the question of "diaspora" without taking account of the fact that the great majority of peoples of African descent do not speak or write in English.

Framed in another way, many Anglophone scholars of the African Diaspora do not speak or write in more than one language than English. To rigorously engage with African Diaspora Studies in Europe, in addition to
"Black Folk Here and There"

the default *lingua franca* English, at the very least, one would need to be proficient in French, German, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish, and there are few if any of us who are such polyglots. George Shepper-
son's seminal essay in Joseph Harris's groundbreaking anthology provides both another historical explanation for the relative dominance of Anglophone ADS and a challenging prescription for the expansion of the field beyond its current linguistic and geopolitical boundaries:

The concept of the African diaspora . . . originated in the English-speaking world, where it received the most development to date . . . although it owes much to Anglophone influences, now has everything to gain by approaches through other languages as well as English; the European languages of the slave trade and the transplanted slave cultures; the relevant Asian lan-
guages; the African languages of the slave trade, east as well as west; and the hybrid languages that have resulted from the very complex mingling over centuries of African and non-African peoples.

As already mentioned, all of these silences, absences, ruptures, and clos-
ures make African Diaspora Studies in Europe an "unfinished" project. For discursive pur-
poses, African Diaspora ("big D") is the generic, singular, temporal forma-
tion, conceptualized by Hall as the transcendent supranational common heritage derived from the shared legacies of and resistances to slavery, colonialism, (post)colonialism, racism, and other forms of structural in-
equalities. African diaspora ("little d") signals shifting multiplicity, that is, specific, localized/spatialized, and politicized necessarily already-
always "hybrid" including "mixed race," complex, and gendered config-
urations (e.g., English-African diaspora, German-African diaspora, Swedish-
African diaspora). Each of these situated African diasporic communities represents diverse outcomes to similar but not necessarily simultaneous macrosocial, economic, and historical processes, which are unifying but not unified. As such, across continua of time and space, African diasporas can be conceived of as dynamic, interlocking, and interdependent global networks of geopolitical spheres, each of whose localized intersectional constituencies are also sensitive to and impacted by the political machi-
nations of the nation-states of which they are a part.

For example, in Britain (about which I can speak with the most privi-
leging "authority"), and mindful of the essentialism inherent in my not acknowledging the ethnic and structural diversity within these commu-
nities (both West African and "West Indian"), between 1900 and 1960, thousands of elite West African students from Nigeria and Ghana flocked to England. In 1948, the ship *Empire Windrush* disgorged 492 working-
class Jamaican women and men, many veterans of World War II, at Tilbury
Docks, who were among the first of countless postwar reserve army laborers actively recruited by the British colonial government. Although the objectives and trajectories of West Africans and African Caribbeans differed, the fact that their countries of origin were at the time all British colonies gave them a common destination, "Mother England," and a common destiny, that of unrelenting metropolitan racism and discrimination. For the following three decades, events leading to decolonization, liberation, and neo-colonization took place on the Indian subcontinent, in the Caribbean, and in continental Africa. At the same time, successive corresponding waves of (post)colonial migrants, now members of the Commonwealth, arrived in Britain only to be subsumed under the banner of discrimination and resistance, which Ron Ramdin described as "the Empire Within."

As an aside, it is worth noting that there have always been interdiasporic and extracolonial migrations of peoples of African descent such as African Americans in Paris or African students in the United States, such as Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe, which further complicates the cognitive remapping of the African Diaspora and its multiple and heterogeneous diasporas. Furthermore, the long-term effects of underdevelopment in Africa as well as Latin America and the Caribbean, coupled with the recent global rise of multinational/neo-imperial corporate industrial complexes and insatiable predatory capitalism, have given rise to contemporary compound African diasporas that do not necessarily or neatly correspond to former colonial European or Commonwealth status: "delocalized transnation[s] which retain a special ideological link to a putative place of origin but is otherwise a thoroughly diasporic collectivity." The complexity of the constituent parts of these newer hyphenated diasporic signifiers force additional reassessment of conventional forms of diasporic space, process, and condition. The recent clandestine movements of women and men from West Africa via Morocco to southern Spain, discussed in the next section, delineate further the impossibility of containing such multilayered and "overlapping" African diasporas in Europe.

PROBLEMATIC TWO

At the heart of diaspora is the image of a journey... The circumstances of leaving determine not only the experiences on these journeys, but also the circumstances of arrival and settling down.

—Ujuris, "Diaspora and Citizenship"

Although the etymological root of diaspora is particular (from the Greek, to scatter and sow), its contemporary applications are now many and varied and extend beyond the classical formulations of the Jewish diaspora and the African diaspora. In the latest phase of transnationalism
and globalization, diaspora has become what Phil Cohen describes as “the master trope of migration and settlement.” The term is deployed indiscriminately to describe travelers and cosmopolitan elites as well as political refugees, economic migrants, and guest workers. “In these ways, the dispersed diasporas of old have become today’s “transnational communities” sustained by a range of modes of social organization, mobility, and community.” With such apparent elasticity and fluidity, what constitutes the criteria for “authentic” diaspora inclusion is highly contested: “Focusing peculiarly on the ethnic axis of homelands and abroad, theories of diaspora overlook the transgressions of the national and lose sight of the new dynamics and topography of membership.”

Nowhere is this problematic more apparent than in classical versus contemporary conceptualizations of the African Diaspora. That is, as previously mentioned, the roots and routes paradigm, heralded by Hall and Gilroy, periodizes the African Diaspora on the bases of similar lived legacies of transatlantic slavery and post/colonialisms, respectively. At the same time, an exploration of specific (“older”) African diasporic formations in Europe, which emerged as a result of these aforementioned political economic processes, demands the embrace of heterogeneity, dynamism, hybridity, and multiplicity. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, there have been “newer” African diasporas in Europe, whose origin narratives are interwoven with but not exclusively defined by either the Middle Passage or Empire and their aftermath. Historian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza provides a useful typology of “contemporary diasporas” as those that have formed since the late nineteenth century, and he distinguishes them on the basis of three waves:

the diasporas of colonization, decolonization and the era of structural adjustment, which emerged out of the disruptions and dispositions of colonial conquest, the struggles for independence, and structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), respectively . . . the diasporas of structural adjustment have been formed since the 1980s, out of the migrations engendered by economic, political and social crises and the destabilizations of SAPs.

These “diasporas of structural adjustment” include reconfigured continental African migrations to Europe since the 1980s and persisting until today, which can be conceptualized not as faux diasporas (“economic migrations”) but as new epistemologies of the African Diaspora. The strategic identifications of newer and at times clandestine African diasporic communities across Europe are mired by the precariousness of their political status. Cartographies of new African diasporas can contribute to a reconfiguration of gendered and racialized situated politics of belonging in Fortress Europe and beyond.

In Fortress Europe, borders remain permeable for the transnational flow of capital, commodities, and information but not people. Across the
EU, “illegal” immigration control is a hot button issue that polarizes political debates and public opinions. The rallying cry from the Right is to contain “the Others” already within and keep “those Others” out. These outside “Others” are exemplified by clandestine movements “by any means necessary” of the unwanted and the impoverished (as opposed to the “brain drain” elites) from structurally (mal)adjusted West African urban centers to economically and demographically restructured Western and Southern European metropoles.68 What motivates West African migrants is the promise of European Union (EU) wages “10–15 times higher than in Africa...” [given] the [GDP] gap between the EU and the less-developed non-EU Mediterranean [and Sub-Saharan] countries.69 As was/is the case with older African diasporic formations, at every stage of the migration process, strategies are highly gendered.70 That is, West African clandestine migrant women and men may share a similar destination, but by virtue of their glocalized structural positions, their destinies will be very different.71 Sassen’s dialectical configuration of global cities and survival circuits demonstrates the extent to which migrant women, who are overrepresented in the service sector laboring as nannies, domestics, or sex workers, are integral to the growth of economies in both “the North” and “the South.”72

These transnational migratory processes include the smuggling of West African (such as from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Mali, Cameroon, and Guinea-Bissau) and North African (particularly Moroccan) women and men via Morocco to Southern Spain—the Gateway to Fortress Europe.73 Conventionally, these contemporary continental African dispersals have been analyzed either utilizing traditional tropes of “push/pull” migration or within the broader contexts of European asylum and immigration discourses.74 An alternative intervention repositions recent clandestine West African migrations as culturally specific, differentially gendered, and similarly racialized new African diasporas, which are situated within, not outside, the latest political economic circuits of global capitalism.75 Placing clandestine West African migrant women and men at the center provokes a (re)examination of what constitutes volition, agency, and victimhood in theorizing about the African Diaspora in particular and diaspora in general.76 As agents and victims, these “unofficial” migrants deploy strategies that demonstrate both the limits of individual agency and the exigencies of survival. (Re)imagining “new” temporal and spatial dimensions of African diasporas in Europe, within which there are even more compound and multiple forms, animates the ways in which, in all their specificity and complexity, the historical ideas, economic processes, and political projects of continental Africa and the African Diaspora are (and always have been) mutually constituted.77

This continental/diasporic African interface is exemplified by clandestine movements from West Africa to Europe via Morocco and southern
Spain. Imagined by prospective migrants as "the Promised Land" but with managed and controlled borders which more approximate a "Fortress Europe," Spain is a relatively recent extracolonial destination or transit zone for former British and French colonial West African migrants and thus an underexplored area within European African Diaspora Studies. Addressing undocumented African migration flows to the Western Mediterranean also shifts the traditional [Black] North Atlanticist African diasporic frame thereby highlighting older and established trade and migratory routes between North Africa and Southern Europe. With reachable roots on the continent, contemporary African "irregular" migrants speak from multiple locations as transported and transplanted daughters and sons of "overlapping" diasporas. Lewis is specifically addressing the American-African diaspora in a North Atlanticist frame. However, the dynamics of overlap and intersection in new temporal, spatial, and experiential configurations of African diasporas also resonate in very interesting ways in the contexts of these Southern European and Mediterranean movements.

This blurred complexity reconfigures the dynamics of inter/intra African/diasporic and transnational activities at what Yeoh, Willis and Fakhri call "the edges." That is, en route to southern Europe, West Africans frequently traverse [or remain for years at a time in] former colonial French African territories, pass through [are detained for economic or political reasons in] the contested Spanish/North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, and then make their way to Maghreb/Arab spaces, where [if they can raise the funds for this next stage] they cross the Mediterranean in order to enter Iberia. The borders crossed are not just physical but also symbolic, economic, and political. At the same time, as always, the nation-state is both extraneous to transnational identities formation and integral to the everyday policing, surveillance, management, and containment of racialized and gendered African diasporic bodies.

For clandestine West African migrants en route to Spain via Morocco, a contingent state of [un]belonging is fabricated in response to both their legal and social exclusion. From a legal standpoint, most taking these treacherous journeys do not meet the criteria for refugee status outlined by the 1951 UN Convention. Socially, the popular folk concept of "race" as it pertains to local Spanish and Moroccan constructions of "Blackness" and "non-Blackness" inform and impede the collective and personal projects of these "new" African diasporic agents. This latest [in]voluntary transnational circulation of African peoples illuminates the complexities and politics of new African diasporic processes in the latest globalizing age and forces a realignment of the gendered conceptual relationship between continental Africa and the African Diaspora. Rather than treating contemporary processes of continental African migration as separate entities outside the diaspora paradigm, this new theoretical formulation assumes their interconnectedness and demonstrates their dynamism.
This “worlding” of Africans as a “state of being ‘cast out’ into the world” has happened before. Although these journeys are as treacherous as the Middle Passage, the difference is that these Africans are unwanted. The sifting of the “unwanted” is not unique to Spain. Most European countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and now Ireland, are grappling with “the asylum and immigration problem.” Once they land, their vulnerable status as illegal immigrants deprives them of rights and entitlements afforded citizens and designated refugees. These aforementioned contemporary emigrants, most of whom have not been granted political asylum by Spain on the grounds of refugee status, should be recognized as the latest transnational manifestation of older African diasporic processes. In European (and North American) metropolitan destinations, the new migrant cosmopolitanism that is manufactured also demands that we come to terms with the heterogeneous dialectics of Africanness and blackness in different diasporic frames. Their consciousness of home as both continental African and diasporic is multi-sited and imagined but not imaginary and territorialized as well as both de-territorialized and re-territorialized. When we witness these more recent dispersals, we must name them as part of a historical continuum within, not outside, the African Diaspora—the latest layers. More recent migrants and refugees from continental Africa have different, shared, and specific narratives of home, community, longing, and belonging than their predecessors. The “myth of return” is to a place they recently knew rather than to a place they can only imagine. Such a repositioning forces a rethinking of the constitutive dimensions of persecution and victimhood, which have been integral criteria for “classical” diasporic membership. Such a paradigm shift politically empowers African economic (and political) refugees and relocates their struggles within a broader Pan-African diasporic framework. The persistence of globalized, racialized, and gendered inequities as manifest in the legal and social exclusion of clandestine West African migrant women and men en route to Europe affirms the importance of viewing African/diasporic formations as dynamic and historically contextualized and thus cyclical rather than static and ahistorical. The harsh economic, social, and political realities of this situated (un)belonging remind us that, spanning five centuries and still unfolding, the unique history of the African diaspora is also in part both a history of continental Africa and Fortress Europe.

CONCLUSION

It is out of chaos that new worlds are born. —Audre Lord, “Eye to Eye”

Although there are many aspects of life in London that were gratifying, the significant burden of underrepresentation and the profound isolation
associated with black intellectual labor in the Belly of the (Post)-Imperial Beast necessitated regular trips back "across the pond" to participate in the recurrent interdisciplinary conferences in the United States delightfully dedicated entirely to the interrogation of African Diaspora Studies, such as those of ASWAD [Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora]. I would then return home sufficiently sated. Now that I am residing in the heartland of African Diaspora Studies, I am contending with a different malaise. That is, unless they transpire at conferences specifically devoted to the African diaspora beyond the United States, such as the April 2006 conference at Northwestern on "Black Europe and the African Diaspora," debates and discussions about "other" African diasporas are relegated to the margins or nonexistent. For example, at the Madison conference in March 2006, which gave birth to this important and groundbreaking collection, those of us representing "the international" dimension were gathered together in the very last session on the last day. On a positive note, this was the first time I had been grouped together with fellow African Diaspora scholars [representing South Africa, Brazil, and the Caribbean, so in and of itself, this was a refreshing and intriguing development. Sounding out a more critical note, though I am certain that this was not the intention of the conveners, this particular assembly intensified the already marginalized status of African Diaspora Studies outside the United States. Within this "area studies" panel (as opposed perhaps to the earlier "disciplinary" sessions), I was also troubled by the omission of either contemporary West African or East African perspectives on African Diaspora Studies. The apparent framing of the symposium in terms of U.S.-African Diaspora Studies and "its" disciplines suggests that "the United States" is not a contested "area," while unwittingly simultaneously ensuring the ontological fixity of the Caribbean, Brazil, South Africa, and Europe. This implication limits the context for any critical engagement with "constraints and possibilities of doing African Diaspora Studies" not just in Europe but also in the shadows of the institutional might of the United States.

That is, within the cartography of the African diaspora, there are "spaces" [the Americas and the Caribbean] which garner significant academic attention and others such as those in Europe that are more peripheral. On the other hand, as anthropologist Lena Sawyer's ethnographic research in Sweden suggests, there are peripheries within the peripheral, such as those beyond Britain and even "continental" Europe:

African Diasporas are not without evaluation and hierarchy; one person's periphery can be someone else's center... and [these] center[s] and peripheries on a hegemonic map of African Diaspora shift for people in locales (nations, regions, cities, towns) like Helsinki [Finland], Bergen [Norway], and even the northern Swedish city of Kiruna; it is possible that Stockholm is an important "center" of African Diasporas.
Additional examples that broaden the scope and intensify the complexities of diasporic affiliations are Jacqueline Nassy Brown’s mapping of the “geographies” of Black Liverpool (England), Elisa Joy White’s formulation of “minoritized” and “retro-global” African diasporic spaces in Dublin (Ireland), and Jacqueline Andall’s examination of second-generation African-Italian diasporic identities formation in Milan. In powerful ways, each demonstrates how—although informed by the “global”—micropolitics of diaspora are contested and negotiated within the specific dynamism of urban “local” (rather than necessarily European or entirely reverential American) spaces. Finally, in Tina Campt’s work on the politics of memory and Black-German identities, both her “inter-cultural address” intervention and her application of Brown’s conceptualization of “diasporic relations” provide a salve for filling these silences and absences:

Intercultural address illuminates important tensions of diasporic relation through the ways in which it simultaneously contests and affirms the assumptions of similarities between . . . black communities.

Hence, the considerable current and future challenges of African Diaspora Studies in Europe and Global African Diaspora Studies in general include how to constitute interdisciplinary research and engage across “international” borders in a truly dialogic manner. As such, any comparative interrogations of African diasporas across Europe, within European nation-states, or for that matter encompassing those in the Americas and the Caribbean, must be interdisciplinary, historically grounded, ethnographically situated, and mindful of institutional hierarchies and infrastructural deficits that contribute to the perpetuation of hegemonic discourses. Only then can the rules of engagement for African Diaspora Studies be deemed truly dialogic.

NOTES

Many thanks to Teju Olaniyan and James Sweet for their shrewd editorial assistance and collegiality as well as for inviting me to participate in the symposium, which gave birth to this important and exciting collection. Thanks also to the two anonymous reviewers who provided insightful critical feedback.

The section titled “Problematic Two” is an updated version of a chapter segment that was previously published. See Ihekunwue, “An Inhospitable Port in the Storm: Recent Clandestine West African Migrants and the Quest for Diasporic Recognition.”


2. Anderson, Imagined Communities; Appiah, In My Father’s House; Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa; Mudimbe, The Idea of Africa; Hine and McLeod,
“Black Folk Here and There”

eds., Crossing Boundaries, Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, eds., The African Diaspora.

3. Drake, Black Folk Here and There.

4. Peterse, “Europe, Traveling Light.”

5. On May 1, 2004, the European Union “enlarged” (and is still ripe and poised for more expansion) to include fifteen more countries, for a total of twenty-five. In 2007, it expanded to include Bulgaria and Romania, increasing the estimated total population to 450 million. However, it is important to note that there are several countries, such as Switzerland, that are “geographically” part of Europe but not members of the EU.


7. From the Egyptians, to the Ethiopians, to the Phoenicians, to the Moors, to the Mandingo mariners, Africans have always been migratory and thus hybridized people. See Drake, Black Folk Here and There. Hence a more historically accurate marking of moments of rupture could be in terms of pre-Colombian and post-Colombian African diasporas. See Ifekwunigwe, “Reconfiguring the ‘African’ in the English-African Diaspora.” The ancient African migrations (that is, long before the fifteenth century), which led to a sustained African presence in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe map onto pre-Colombian African diasporas. See Bennett, Before the Mayflower. Cohen, Global Diasporas. On the other hand, the defining locus classicus moments of post-Colombian African diasporas are that of transatlantic slavery and European expansion (and their aftermath). That said, Paul Tiymble Zeleza reminds us that “some of the African diasporas in Asia were created during the post-Columbian (sic) era and some with the involvement of the same European powers that controlled the Americas.” See Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora,” 55. As such, like discursive formations of “Europe,” any periodizations and conceptualizations of “the African Diaspora” (whether “ancient,” “modern,” or “new”) are already necessarily also partial, overlapping, fragmented, and thus contested. See Brown, Dropping Anchor. Setting Sail.


23. Ibid., 189–221.


26. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*.


34. Social conceptions of “race” and thus political constructions of “blackness” are historically, geographically, and culturally specific and thus do not travel easily. As such, “blackness” and “whiteness” are shifting and thus unstable fractured signifiers of exclusion and inclusion. See Blakely, “European Dimensions of the African Diaspora”; Rattansi, “On Being and Not Being Brown/Black British.” See also Hall, “The Spectacle of the Other”; Blakely, “European Dimensions of the African Diaspora”; Van Sertima, ed., *African Presence in Early Europe*.

35. The popular folk concept of “race” is a potent dynamic social and cultural imaginary, the naturalization of which attaches symbolic meanings to real or manufactured physical differences. Along with other hierarchically positioned signifiers such as gender, generation, ethnicity, religion and social class, these create, explain, justify and maintain social inequalities and injustices and perpetuate differential access to privilege, prestige, power, and ultimately belonging. See Iekwunigwe, *Scattered Belongings*; Echueru, “An African Diaspora”; Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.

36. Obviously, there are other associations with a broader scope, including CAAR (Collegium for African American Research), which from its inception in 1992 has collaborated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African American Research at Harvard, and BASA (Black and Asian Studies Association), which is autonomous but receives institutional “support” from the University of London. In
2000, I was a guest lecturer for a summer program as part of the International Doctoral Programme on Black Culture and Ethnicity in Europe and Latin America, the ALFA Network, University of Amsterdam.

37. See www.best.uni-mainz.de. Since its 2004 formation, BEST has organized two international and interdisciplinary conferences in Germany. The first took place in November 2005 and was entitled “Challenging Europe: Black European Studies in the 21st Century.” The second occurred in July 2006 and was entitled “Black European Studies in Transnational Perspective.”


40. Ibid., 7.

41. Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora.”

42. Shepperson, “African Diaspora,” 44.


44. Butler, “Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Context.”


46. Brown, Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail; Ali, Mixed-Race, Post-Race; Ihekwanwé, Scattered Belongings; Campt, Other Germans; Mazón and Steingörver, Not So Plain as Black and White; Sawyer, “Routings.”

47. Adi, West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960; Killingray, ed., Africans in Britain.


49. Since Roman times and in fluctuating numbers from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, there has been a black African presence in Britain. See Luke, “African Presence in the Early History of the British Isles and Scandinavia”; Rashidi, “Ancient and Modern Britons”; Gerzina, Black England. There are long-standing black communities in Liverpool, England, and Cardiff, Wales, that predate the mass post–World War II settlements by at least a century. See Rich, Race and Empire in British Politics; Brown, Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail. Africans, African Caribbeans, and South Asians made considerable contributions to both world wars. See Ramdin, Reimagining Britain. However, the sheer numbers of postwar immigrant laborers from the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent, and Africa as well as the fact that their presence and resistance permanently altered the social and political landscape, means this period in British history garners more but still paltry academic and popular attention than other intersecting moments. See Carby, Cultures in Babylon; Mirza, ed., Black British Feminism; Brah, Cartographies of Diaspora; Gilroy, There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack; Ramdin, The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, ed., The Empire Strikes Back; Owusu, ed., Black British Culture and Society; Bryan, Dadzie, and Scafe, The Heart of the Race; Small, “Racism, Black People, and the City in Britain.”

50. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth; Nkrumah, The Class Struggle in Africa.

51. Ramdin, Reimagining Britain.

52. Edwards, The Practice of Diaspora; Wright, Becoming Black; Stovall, Paris Noir; Archer-Straw, Negrophilia; Gilroy, The Black Atlantic.
59. Vertovec, “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism.”
63. De Haas, “The Myth of Invasion.”
64. Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora,” 55.
65. Davies, “Reconceptualising the Migration-Development Nexus.”
67. Ihekunwige, “An In hospitable Port in the Storm.”
68. Harding, *The Uninvited*.
69. Gold, *Europe or Africa! 133*.
70. Morris, *Managing Migration*.
73. Harding, *The Uninvited*.
74. Sadiqi, “Morocco: The Political and Social Dimension of Migration.”
75. Akyeampong, “Diaspora and Drug Trafficking in West Africa”; Bashi, “Globalized Anti-Blackness.”
76. Carter, pref ace; Bales, *Disposable People*.
77. Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora”; Ihekunwige, “An In hospitable Port in the Storm.”
78. Cannell, dir., *Sorrows Samurai’s Africa: Exodus*; Harding, *The Uninvited*.
80. Lewis, “To Turn as on a Pivot.”
82. Corkhill, “Economic Migrants and the Labour Market in Spain and Portugal.”
83. Fargues, Cassarino, and Latreche, "Mediterranean Migration."
84. Richmond, "Globalization: Implications for Immigrants and Refugees."
85. Fargues, Cassarino, and Latreche, "Mediterranean Migration"; Neumayer, "Bogus Refugees?"
86. Ikewungwe, Scattered Belongings; Sage, "Desperation at Europe's Back Gate"; Calavita, "Immigration, Law, and Marginalization in a Global Economy."
87. Bauman, Globalization; Crisp, "Policy Challenges of the New Diaspora."
88. Simone, "On the Worlding of African Cities."
89. Arango and Martin, "Best Practices to Manage Migration."
91. Gilbert, "Is Europe Living Up to Its Obligation to Refugees?"
94. De Haas, "The Myth of Invasion"; Davies, "Reconceptualising the Migration-Development Nexus."
95. Increasingly, though, certain programs and departments within American institutions, such as the Program in African American and Diaspora Studies at Vanderbilt University or the aforementioned University of Massachusetts at Amherst, are carving out significant spaces within the ADS paradigm for African diasporas in Europe.
96. One of the anonymous reviewers posed an interesting challenge, which was to assess the extent to which transplanted continental African scholars have themselves contributed to the shaping or rethinking of African Diaspora Studies in the United States. Without deliberately doing so, I realized that there was quite a representative sample of such scholarship peppered throughout my chapter! A useful conceptual apparatus for understanding the particularities of this work is "bifocality," coined by John Durham Peters in "Seeing Bifocally" but invoked by Gupta and Ferguson: "social actors simultaneously experience the local and the global, possessing both ‘near-sight’ and ‘far-sight.’" See Gupta and Ferguson, "Culture, Power, Place," 9. For example, Malian transplant (currently director of both New York University's Institute of Afro-American Affairs and the Africana Studies program) Manthia Diawara's In Search of Africa beautifully illustrates the ways in which he is rooted in Mali, West Africa, and how his routes have been guided by educational sojourns in Europe and North America as well as critical academic engagement with African American expressive cultures and politics.
REFERENCES

“Black Folk Here and There”

Bennett, Herman. “National Boundaries and the ‘History’ of the Black Atlantic.”


Blakely, Allison. “European Dimensions of the African Diaspora: The Definition
of Black Racial Identity.” In Hine and McLeod, Crossing Boundaries, 87–104.

Body-Gendrot, Sophie. “Living Apart or Together with Our Differences: French


Braziel, Jana Evans, and Anita Mannur. “‘Nation, Migration, and Globalization:
Points of Contention in Diaspora Studies.’” In Jana Evans Braziel and Anita

Brown, Jacqueline Nassy. Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in

Bryan, Beverley, Stella Dadzie, and Suzanne Scafe. The Heart of the Race: Black

Butler, Kim. “Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Context.” African Studies Re-

Calavita, Kitty. “Immigration, Law, and Marginalization in a Global Economy:


Campb, Tina. “The Crowded Space of Diaspora: Intercultural Address and the Ten-

——-. Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and

Cannell, Dorian, dir. Shyoush Samura’s Africa—Exodus. Documentary. Insight

Carby, Hazel. Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African Americans. Lon-

Carter, Donald. Preface to Khalid Koser, ed., New African Diasporas, ix–xix. Lon-

——-. States of Grace: Senegalese in Italy and the New European Immigration.

Chandler, Wayne B. “The Moor: Light of Europe’s Dark Age.” In Van Sertima, The
Golden Age of the Moor, 151–81.

Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, ed. The Empire Strikes Back: Race and

Christian, Mark, ed. Black Identity in the Twentieth Century: Expressions of the


Clifford, James. Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.

Cohn, Phil. “Welcome to the Diaspora.” Centre for New Ethnicities Research,
University of East London newsletter 3 (Spring/Summer 1998).


Cor,hill, David. “Economic Migrants and the Labour Market in Spain and Portu-


“Black Folk Here and There”

Peters, John Durham. “Seeing Biocally: Media, Place, and Culture.” In Gupta and Ferguson, Culture, Power, and Place, 75–92.


——. “‘Western’ Racisms, Ethnicities, and Identities in a ‘Postmodern’ Frame.” In Rattansi and Westwood, Racism, Modernity, and Identity, 15–86.


Small, Stephen. “Racism, Black People, and the City in Britain.” In Green, Globalization and Survival in the Black Diaspora. 357-78.


