Leadership and Identity Reconstruction in African Diaspora

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Abstract: The African’s New World experience was very traumatic in many ways. The forced immigration and the process of dehumanization and humiliation of African people contributed to their sense of unbelonging and inferiority besides the economic wealth and progress of Europe. The process of dehumanization and the imposition of a destructive identity caused two different attitudes in African slaves toward the issues of identity and self-appreciation. While one group of Africans, such as some intellectual and political leaders advocating the necessity of African recognition, resisted the social and racial discrimination, surprisingly enough, another group of Africans submitted to their statue as slaves and inferiors due to the influence of white society imposing the feeling of inferiority on them for centuries.

Key Words: Diaspora, African experience, identity, leadership.

“A person whose desires and impulses are his own- are the expression of his own nature, as it has been developed and modified by his own culture- is said to have a character.”

“If a person possesses any tolerable amount of common sense and experience, his own mode of laying out his existence is the best, not because it is the best in itself, but because it is his own mode.”

John Stuart Mill

Introduction

“A simple word…’diaspora’” (Dufoix 1). This simple word refers to a deeper meaning and importance not only for Diaspora communities but also for world history. The word has been assigned many different meanings referring to a phenomenon as old as human history. Diaspora, for a long time referred “only to physically scattered religious groups living as minorities among other people and other faiths” (Dufoix 1), was later, used in a wider sense to explain “any phenomenon of dispersion from a place; the organization of an ethnic, national, or religious community in one or more countries; a population spread over more than one territory; the places of dispersion; any nonterritorial space where exchanges take place” (Dufoix 2). Finally, today the term is used to refer to the “voluntary or involuntary migration of peoples; the maintenance or the recreation of identification with the country or land of origin; and the existence of communities that claim their attachment to a place or, on the contrary, “to their spatially free-floating existence” (Dufoix 2). Different from being a religious issue, as in the case of the voluntary dispersion of Christian and Muslim missionaries to Asia, Africa and Europe, Diaspora, in time, transformed into a socio-economic and political issue. In analyzing the Diaspora communities, it is evident that there is a huge variety of experiences the people of Diaspora had to endure. The most typical examples of Diaspora communities being spread over the world for centuries are black people, in the very center of dispersion, and Jews, perhaps representing “the classic Diaspora phenomenon (Dufoix 8).

In our time, the technological developments minimizing the distance between time and places, have given rise to attempts to redefine the term Diaspora and the growing need of the dispersed to define themselves. These attempts and growing awareness make Diaspora a more complicated term related not only to socio-economic or political issues, but also to the concepts of identity, multiculturalism, mis/recognition, ethnicity, and even hybridity.
For the sake of a better appreciation of Diaspora societies and the factors which contributed to the dispersion of these communities, in this paper, African societies and the various social structures within these societies will be analyzed in terms of their influence on African Diaspora. In an attempt to answer the question “What is African in the ‘African Diaspora?’” (Dufoix 15), the historian Joseph Harris describes African Diaspora as a concept that “subsumes the following: the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; and the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa” (Dufoix 13). Thanks to the nature of Diaspora causing dispersion, voluntary or forced migration and “ethno-cultural segregation” (Dufoix 26), diasporas, as the anthropologist Martine Hovanessian states, are often considered as “transmission belts between the minority culture and the national host culture” (Dufoix 29). That is because diasporas, who suffer from “social death”, as Orlando Patterson explains, and who “were uprooted from the African soil and separated from their families and communities for centuries, deprived of institutions, and yet condemned to existence” (Dufoix 14), were to create a new community to continue their existence to “give it visibility in the host community” (Dufoix 26). As it is taken in French studies, Diaspora, different from the commonly accepted perception of the term, refers to “the persistence of awareness and the community link in spite of dispersion” (Dufoix 27). The dispersed, away from their homeland and native culture, inevitably contribute to the formation of a new form of social structure resulting from close contact with the host community. As Benedict Anderson explains, “it is from confronting the other, the ‘non-self,’ that nationalism is born as an assertion of national purity in context where the prospect of mixing threatens one’s uniqueness” (qtd. in Dufoix 93).

As historian William McNeill categorizes, there are four kinds of migrations: “the forced movement of one population by another; the conquest of one people by another, followed by a merger of the two; the welcomed arrival of strangers; and the importation of individuals or an entire people uprooted from their land” (qtd. in Dufoix 36). He continues stating that “the first kind corresponds to nomadism; the second, to enterprises of conquest; the third, to the establishment of commercial activities; and the fourth, to slavery” (Dufoix 36). The socio-economic and political developments of the twenty-first century are the most important motives driving people to question a possibility of developing the sense of identity for the groups who form “new and viable communities with those who do not share their backgrounds or beliefs” (Gomez 1). African Diaspora, which is “unique in its formation”, as Gomez states, and which is “a history of their [the people of African descent] experiences, contributions, victories, and struggles … and the massive movements and extensive relocations, resulting over long periods of time” (Gomez 1), is still of great importance for historians, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars due to the valuable contributions of African people to world history and civilization.

African Experience

Not surprisingly, the most important reason that created the institution of slavery was the search for economic betterment. The trading process of Muslim Arabs, starting from the Northern Coastal regions of Africa and expanding to the coasts of Ghana and Saharan, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, not only determined the slave routes, but also contributed to the enslavement of African people. Muslims, however, were not the only ones to drive Africans from their homeland. As Gomez states “European engagement with the Muslim world contributed to a cultural awakening and commercial expansion resulting in profound political transformations” (59). The growing demand for economic wealth, which would bring political power, motivated Europe to search for alternatives to achieve the expansion. The Christian-Muslim conflict and the economic and political strife between European nationals, “international commerce, sugar and New World incursion” (Gomez 59) gave rise to labor exploitation, finally leading to the capture and enslavement of African peoples. As Gomez points out, while the significance of African participation to the Muslim world is important, the transatlantic trade of Africans as slaves had a more acute impact on the people of African descent due to its “high volume and compact duration” (59).

The Africans’ New World experience, however, was much more traumatic than their interaction with the Muslim world. The forced migration and the process of dehumanization and humiliation of African people not only contributed to their sense of unbelonging and inferiority, but, at the same time, facilitated Europe’s economic wealth and progress, which depended mainly on the physical, emotional and mental exploitation of African people.

Being enslaved and performing both domestic and agricultural tasks under inhuman conditions raised one question: What was the motive that drove European people to choose Africans as their labor force? In analyzing the African Diaspora and the motives behind this phenomenon, it can be claimed that there are both external and internal factors. In addition to some factors such as their endurance to the inhuman conditions and the contagious diseases spread during the shipping process and on plantations, their dedication to hard work,
their docility and the feeling of inferiority also had an important role in the enslavement process of African people.

As it is also stated in Douglass’s narrative of his life, the presence of black slaveholders and their inhuman practices on black slaves reveal another issue in African Diaspora; the destruction of African unity, in other words, the individualization of African people. As it is stated in Thompson’s book, the categorization of slaves according to their performance and ability, with disregard to their homeland, the separation from family members broke their understanding and chance for African unity. This individualization process and imposition of the feeling of inferiority led African people to submission and docility. As Charles Taylor states, their own self-deprecation, initiated by white society and carried on by African people themselves, “becomes one of the most potent instruments of their own oppression” (26). He also adds that “their first task ought to be to purge themselves of this imposed and destructive identity” (26). In addition to their feeling of inferiority and problematic sense of identity, an “interesting anomaly of North American slavery”, as Gomez states, “was the black slaveholder” (104).

The History of Awakening

Starting from the middle of the fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth, Africans were driven from their homeland to another continent to contribute to the development of its economy by working the land to “sustain a plantation system of agriculture and to work the mines of South America in a new and unfamiliar environment” (Thompson 1). This slave trade, which forced millions of them to leave their homeland, took place until the end of the nineteenth century. Even though slavery was officially terminated earlier, the smuggling of slaves, as Thompson states, was “carried on by interlopers, by ships flying ‘flags of convenience’, and by nations which refused to accede to an international covenant on the ending of the trade in slaves” (Thompson 1). Even after the formal abolition of slave trade, recognized by first Britain in 1807 and then by the United States in1808, the smuggling of slaves did not end until some nations who did not recognize the abolition were compelled to withdraw from diplomatic activity (Thompson 1). However, as Thompson continues, despite the abolition, the acts of slavery were still supported by some countries such as France, Portugal, Spain, Brazil, Cuba and even the United States.

The movement of the Europeans across the Atlantic, and their leading motivations, such as “greed, the quest for richness, political and religious persecution and economic failure at home” (Thompson 10), resulted in the “destruction and genocide upon the Amerindian civilizations of Central and South America” (Thompson 12). On the one hand, the newcomer nationals founded new settlements; on the other hand, they searched for the ways of wealth. Following their “foremost aim of exploration and colonization of the New World, essentially what was involved was an all embracing preoccupation with material enrichment and personal aggrandizement” (Thompson 13). This search for acquisition of wealth encouraged the advent of many European nationals, the establishment of new settlements and plantations, and the development of mining for material enrichment (Thompson 10). Preoccupied with the search for wealth and power, the growth of trading companies and the competition to “achieve commercial supremacy” (Thompson 29) and “the persistence of labour scarcity” (Thompson 25) in the Americas caused the forced migration of the Africans from their homeland to the plantation of the foreign continent.

The European’s quest for commercial and political supremacy, and the African’s forced participation in this process, however, was full of pain, violence and suffering from the very beginning. Starting from the shipping period, hundreds of slaves committed suicide, and some could not survive due to the unbearable conditions they had to endure during the acclimatization process and their time on the plantations. The African people had to endure not only physical torture, but also mental and psychological oppression and humiliation that led to self-deprecation and lack of dignity in individuals. These traumatic experiences not only brought the issues of identity and recognition into discussion, but also helped to develop a sense of collective consciousness among black people. Due to this consciousness and the demand to be heard, they created their own struggle and their own leaders to guide them in their quest for both physical and spiritual freedom.

In his article, Charles Taylor points to the destructive influences of the white attitude towards black people. As he states, “white society has for generations projected a demeaning image of them, which some of them have been unable to resist adopting” (26). He also claims that the ceaseless imposition of self-deprecation on black people contributed to their faulty perception of themselves. As a recommendation to correct this perception as the first step to building a peaceful notion of identity and to remove the oppression which had continued for generations, Charles states that it was their first task “to purge themselves to this imposed and destructive identity” (26).

The growing popularity of some concepts such as identity, mis/recognition, mis/interpretation, and self-realization, encouraged the demand for self representation among some minority groups including black people.
The need for recognition and proper presentation is one of the inspiring motives that gave rise to the birth of black leadership and literature.

The demand for recognition in these later cases is given urgency by the supposed links between recognition and identity, where this later term designates something like a person’s understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics as a human being. The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confusing or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being. (Multiculturalism 25)

Motivated by the demand for recognition and the right to be heard, some writers and intellectuals of African origin supported the necessity of producing their own work describing themselves. The quest for self-realization and self-description, however, would be painful and require a long process of self-questioning. As Baldwin states in the “Notes of a Native Son”, the most difficult phase of self-recognition was when he had to face the question: who he was for himself and for the West.

I know, in any case, that the most crucial time in my own development came when I was forced to recognize that I was a kind of bastard of the West; when I followed the line of my past I did not find myself in Europe but in Africa.... What was the most difficult was the fact that I was forced to admit something I had always hidden from myself, which the American Negro has had to hide from himself as the price of his public progress; that I hated and feared white people; on the contrary, I despised them,… (Baldwin 7-8)

As an alternative to the documents produced by the whites or slaveholders, black people gained the voice to narrate their own story. During the quest for freedom, black society created many leaders of its own people. Motivated by the inspiration of independence, these leaders shared the common experience of humiliation, sufferings and in-betweeness. As John Iliffe states in his book Honour in African History, “resentment of racial contempt was a primary source of nationalist thought and action” (306). Even many years after abolition, the experiences of black people and leaders show similarities in terms of humiliation and oppression.

Nationalists believed that “It is only when people are politically free, that other races can give them respect that is due to them” (Iliffe 307). To achieve this, some leading figures such as Chimpmchere and Nkrumah advocated that “Africa’s traditions of heroic leadership” and racial pride should be appreciated and resurrected for racial uplifting. Other leaders, such as Mandela, also followed the heroic tradition. Leadership and the speeches of leaders are of vital importance to wake people to the consciousness of freedom. Self-expression and “the experiences of addressing a crowd”, as Mandela states, “gave strength and inspiration” (Iliffe 307) to the leaders. Nkrumah who believed that the function of a leader was “to convince his audience that [freedom] was possible”, stated that “the sight of a crowd before me was all I needed to encourage the words to flow” (Iliffe 309). To provoke the desire for freedom and independence in his people, the task of a leader “is simply to rouse the people to a confidence in their own power of protest” (Iliffe 309).

As Thompson states, the commonly accepted impression of slaves is that they “accepted their status and that even after emancipation many of them preferred their previous condition of bondage to liberty” (255). This situation, however, was the result of the economic, social and political oppression that the people of African descent had to survive for four centuries. The common image of black people in the 1800s is described in the quotation from Harriet Martineau:

There is no reason to apprehend serious insurrection; for the Negroes are too degraded to act in concert, or to stand firm before the terrible face of the white man. Like all deeply-injured classes of persons, they are desperate and cruel, on occasions, kindly as their nature is; but as a class, they have no courage. The voice of a white, even of a lady, if it were authoritative, would make a whole regiment of rebellious slaves throw down their arms and flee.... They will never take the field, unless led on by free blacks. (qd. in Thompson 255)

Having suffered the unbearable brutality and the ongoing harshness of society, the slaves, believing that they had experienced enough pain and humiliation, were motivated by the possibility of revolt and a chance of victory that would provide them with a space “to overturn the system and establish a more tolerable society” (Thompson 259). The slaves, driven by the dream of a “more tolerable society”, had a list of reasons for revolt. The reasons not only encouraged many slaves to revolt against the unlawful practices of slavery, but also contributed to the birth of a variety of scholars and ideas. As an example, Dr. Orlando Patterson categorizes the two types of resistance under the titles of passive resistance and violent resistance. The subdivisions of passive resistance are as follows: “(i) refusal to work, general inefficiency deliberate laziness; (ii) satiré; (iii) running away; (iv) suicide” (Thompson 261). He sub-divides violent resistance into two; individual violence and collective violence. The principles of resistance and its subtitles including individual participation emphasize the importance of the requirement of individual consciousness and contributions of individuals to the resistance acts.

The oppression and acts of brutality that were common to the slave experience started to be heard by slaves from different parts of the country, and led to the emergence of a kind of collective “consciousness of
oneness in oppression” (Thompson 264). As a natural result of this growing consciousness, and the contribution of the causes of revolt listed above, “the society itself was conditioning its collective outlook and was to produce in time what DuBois described as Africans from various parts united in experience and beginning to ‘think of Africa as one idea and one land’” (Thompson 265). Following the principles of the French Enlightenment, many intellectual, political and economic movements were initiated by some free black people, and the mulattoes. The intellectual, political and economic context of the time prepared the background for the Haitian Revolution, which merits attention due to the fact that it “was a revolt of an uneducated and menial class of slaves, against their tyrannical oppressors, who not only imposed an absolute tax on their unrequited labour, but also usurped their very bodies” (Thompson 306). In the analysis of Haitian Revolution and the reasons behind its success, the concept of leadership takes the first place. Touissant L’Ouverture, the prominent leader of the revolution, as Thompson states, “in a space of ten years, converted slaves into one of the most effective of fighting forces, second to none in valour, discipline and consciousness of the cause for which they fought” (351). Besides military leaders who encouraged and disciplined the African people to fight for their freedom, there are some others who contributed to the social betterment of the black society. (To mention some prominent names of African origin during the British anti-slavery period, we can talk about some leaders such as Ottobah Cugoano, Olaudah Equiano, Edward Jordan and Robert Osborne.) The aim of these leaders was, through their writings and publications, to wake people to the consciousness of “the moral arguments against the trade and system of enslavement of man” (Thompson 361). As a part of society, black people deserve to be heard and recognized. They needed to be given the opportunity to contribute to the betterment of society. However, the brutality and the harshness of white society did not give them the opportunity for self-expression and social participation.

This movement of moral awakening (through petitions), however, was not the only contribution of black people to their own revival. The numerous newspaper letters, autobiographies, newspapers and books published by black people contributed to the argument against slavery. As David Walker states in his book An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the United States, “slaves should rise up and break of their shackles, and unless white Christian Americans changed their ways disaster would eventually overtake them” (Thompson 371). The publication by Frederick Douglass is of significance both to introduce his ideology of universal emancipation advocating the necessity of “the entire anti-slavery struggle with a wider international framework” (Thompson 372), and to “demonstrate its ability to act independently” (Thompson 375). Provoking the international spirit Douglass inspired a more radical, but gradual anti-slavery activity pioneered by Canadian blacks such as Henry Bibb, A. Bickford Jones, Wilson Abbot, George Brown, John Roat and Samuel Ring-gold Ward. (Thompson 379)

In order to comprehend the important acts of these figures, a proper appreciation of the concept of leadership is necessary. The huge diversity of African social and historical background and the experiences of slavery created a huge diversity of principles and inspirations of leadership. As Thompson states, leadership determined by some factors such as environmental and psychological factors encouraged different responses. While some leaders advocated the inevitability of “outright confrontation”, others followed “moral guiding principles often derived from an understanding of religion” (Thompson 396).

Thompson mentions the three categories of leadership; “first, those, who for want of a better term, constituted a kind of ‘physical force’ leadership; second, there were moral suasionists; and, finally, those who often employed organization and platforms to agitate a burning issue with a view to reaching a wider audience and, thus, inducing change” (396). Regardless of the fact that the changing circumstances, the political, social and economic context influenced these acts of leadership, all leaders focused on the question “After freedom what?” (Thompson 399). There are three rhetorical questions: “first, to be integrated and assimilated in the wider society in which they lived, second, to emigrate either within the confines of the nation to an area not yet densely settled on beyond the frontiers of the nation including emigration to Africa; and third, by expressing their separate identity within the wider framework of the same society” (Thompson 399).

In discussing the leadership in African diaspora, it is important to remember that besides “the characteristics and beliefs in which these leaders had in common” (Thompson 401), they had divergence in “their approach to the alternatives posed by the societies in which they lived” (Thompson 401). The divergence of experiences of slavery and the social and political needs of the societies they lived in determined the roles of the leaders and the principles of leadership.

DuBois’s belief in his people and the history of black people justified his struggle to establish a strong concept of leadership. For DuBois, “the Negro people, as a race, have a contribution to make to civilization and humanity, which no other race can make” (qtd. in Rabaka 405). As Rabaka states in his article:

Each human group has its philosophy, which is to say that each group of human beings harbors a certain ‘habit of reflection’ that helps them interpret and understand the world in which they live…. In DuBois’s thinking, it is the African ‘world outlook,’ African conceptions of history, religion, politics, social organization, and art, among other things, that has provided and promises to provide Africa’s contribution to human culture and civilization. Indeed for DuBois, African peoples have a ‘great message… for humanity,’ and it is only
through careful, critical, and concerted study of their history and culture that they will be able to discover and recover and extend not only what it means to be African but also what it means to be human in the modern movement. (405)

In order to understand the leading motive that drove DuBois to develop his own understanding of leadership that would serve to the betterment of African society, it is necessary to focus on his interpretation of the issues that bring African and European societies into close contact. As Reed states, “DuBois’s pride in race coexisted with his enthusiasm at participation at the forefront of modern (European) culture and values, and statements lauding that latter and deprecating spontaneous Afro-American behaviour coexisted with statements that exalt black behaviour and values, and decry the bankruptcy of the European heritage” (433). For Reed, DuBois’s reflections of black folk life in his writings during the Harlem Renaissance, “emphasized what he considered its primitive aspects” (433). As he continues, “[DuBois] ‘lauds blacks’ ‘sensuous, tropical love of life, in vivid contrast to the cool and cautious New England reason’. ‘The Negro, [DuBois proclaimed], ‘is primarily an artist’” (434). Believing in the necessity to voice the natural need of African people, such as recognition and self-expression, DuBois supported the establishment of a coalition of the best “men of black and white races to attempt rationally to reorganize life in the South” (Reed 434). The idea of the coalition of the bests brought a new discussion into question: “the role of the elite”. For DuBois, the rise of the race’s natural leaders should be supported since even “if the group is to speak for itself, still not everyone can speak at once especially not if a single, collective agenda is to be fashioned” (Reed 434).

However, the organization of this novel system of spokesmen brought new problems to the surface. The contribution of the elite required the necessity of “ interracial organization”. Realizing that the postwar socioeconomic context created problems related to economic issues rather than political ones, DuBois decided to shift focus to developing an economic strategy. This perspective gave him the opportunity to analyze the white world.

The social and political context of the late nineteenth century deprived black people of the political and social progress due to white rule. The political disenfranchisement of the black leaders led them to develop different alternatives to fight against the problems of their time such as “segregation, economic exploitation, legal discrimination, and racial violence” (Mia E. Bay 921+). The “creative conflict”, as Wilson Jeremiah Moses describes it, between black leaders, developed divergent characteristics and principles. “Moses characterizes Douglass’s thinking as ‘thoroughly inconsistent, usually opportunistic, and always self-serving,’ and he describes Garvey as a ‘defiant megalomaniac’” (Mia E. Bay 921+). Two of the most prominent figures among black leaders Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Dubois, had an intellectual disagreement about the advancement of black people. The most important difference between Washington and DuBois was their different opinions about the educational needs of black people, especially after the Reconstruction period.

In exploring new alternatives to the progress of black Negro race, both DuBois and Washington focused on the importance of education but with different characteristics. As Bauerlein states, “Washington was of the opinion that through vocational or so-called industrial training blacks would win white respect by demonstrating a commitment to hard work.” He continues explaining that DuBois, on the other hand, “wanted blacks to be more confrontational with white segregationists. He contended that black progress could be achieved through an educational grounding in the arts and sciences which would result in the development of a black intellectual elite” (106). The contact of these two leaders started when DuBois sent a letter to Washington for a position as Tuskegee. At that time, Washington, known as the “‘Wizard of Tuskegee’, was the most distinguished black educator in the country”, while “DuBois was still an unknown figure, not yet what he was to become: a prominent public intellectual and forceful advocate of civil, political, and economic parity of blacks and whites in America” (Bauerlein 106). During the following years, the two intellectuals developed opposite ideas concerning “race policies in post Reconstruction America” (Bauerlein 106). As Bauerlein states, the growing disagreement between DuBois and Washington arose from the alternative ways to respond to segregation and determine their basic principles in their struggle for a place in society. Following the segregation years, during which they were neither free, nor slaves anymore, black people had to go through a traumatic period. The most difficult issue for blacks was to develop certain equalities in a context totally deprived of the notion of equality. Blacks started to take control of their life moderately but still they had a long way ahead before they could enjoy their social, economic and political freedom. While Washington, the gradualist and evolutionist, supported the idea of gradual progress and industrial education that would equip black people with the manual skills to afford their lives, DuBois, supporting race pride and higher education, opposed this vision of black people as manual workers and claimed that it was intellectual education that would uplift black society.

In his Atlanta speech (1895), Washington, who believed in the priority of economic power over political power, clearly states his social principles. “The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly” (qtd. Bauerlein 113).
Conclusion

In conclusion, regardless of different demands of the leaders for black society, such as DuBois’s demand for racial pride, Washington’s for vocational education, Garvey’s for capitalism, and C.R.L. James’s belief in the “need to coordinate anti-colonial and antiracist struggles throughout Africa, the African Diaspora and Asia” (Gomez 181), as Stanley Crouch states, all leaders “were well aware of that education was the best weapon against racism and that being open to education an all that it made possible was the highest form of rebellion against the perception and the limited social access of an ethnic group considered ‘naturally’ stupid and incompetent” (Bauerlein 109). Moreover, the variety of experiences and methods offered by the leaders, all committed to the betterment of the socio-economic plight of black people, contributed to the creation of a new social and cultural order formed by the participation of contributors from different segments of the society. Despite the internal factors contributing to African Diaspora, it was again African people who woke to the consciousness of self-realization and self-identity. In time, thanks to the social awakening initiated by the leaders of African descent, they questioned their place in the society that they worked for. Believing that positive changes in society could only be managed if a new social order developed vis-à-vis socio-economic betterment aimed at every member of society, including black population, they aimed to minimize the destructive influence of colonialism and the diasporic experience.

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