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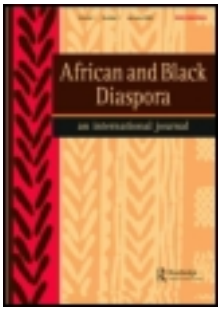

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Memory and ethnic leadership among Afro-descendants and Africans in Argentina

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Memory and ethnic leadership among Afro-descendants and Africans in Argentina

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Several academic studies on African and Afro-descendant population in Argentina have made reference to the 'oblivion' of the black component in the creation of an ethnically white and homogeneous national collective. The present work intends to rethink this issue in light of an *Anthropology of the memory* that promotes a critical analysis of the construction of an African past as diacritic of ethnic identification and interaction strategy related to the largest society, paying special attention to the actions of ethnic leaderships in the Afro community. In other words, we consider the processes of creation and validation of a social memory from an African origin by the ethnic entrepreneurs. For that purpose, we conduct a qualitative study employing the techniques characteristic of anthropological ethnography.

Keywords: social memory; Afro-descendants; African migrants; Argentina

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The visibility acquired by the black population in Argentina in the last decades has captured the interest of several scholars concerned about revealing both the basis and the consequences of the Afro-descendants 'reappearance' (Frigerio 2008) and the 'finding' of African immigrants (even those arriving at the beginning of the twentieth century) within the questioned melting pot.[1] Sociologists, historians, and anthropologists employed various theoretical–conceptual and methodological tools to analyse the problem regarding certain aspects, such as the relationship between such visibility with the emergence of organisations formed by Afro activists, or with the popularity acquired by the African cultural expressions, and/or with a larger participation in the state agenda, among other issues.

However, despite the depth and richness of these approaches, we consider that there are still some dimensions of the problem that require more attention. It is easy to observe that either the involved actors or scholars refer to the 'disappearance' of black people in Argentina in terms of 'oblivion' within the official and hegemonic account of a white and homogenous nation (see Geler 2005, 2010). Therefore, and understood as such, the assumed visibility of African culture, practices, and associated discourses can be thought of as a *memory work*, where the identification as black or Afro-descendant (though both terms should not be understood as synonyms) in the present requires a strategic use of the past. Consequently, the objective of this work consists of questioning the relationship between the complex forms of identification and the social processes of past signification, understood as collective memory, considering the case of the organisations and

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associations of Africans and Afro-descendants. Thus, we will research about the way in which the actors, specifically the ethnic leaders, use and build the past 'placing interpretations and meanings of this past in the public field of debate'. (Jelin 2002, 39). This assertion is based on the supposition that it defines social memory as a cultural mechanism; and this is decisive in the processes of ethnic marking and self-marking, particularly in the case of groups in subordinate relationship regarding the nation-state and its unifying strategies devoted to homogenise the internal diversity (Monkevicius 2009).

The complexity of this collective identity avoids the acritical use of categories such as, 'community', 'ethnic leadership', 'Afro-descendant', or 'immigrant', among others. Therefore, this work is a first consideration from an Anthropology of the memory on Afro-descendants and Africans in Argentina, questioning the conceptual tools traditionally used by this discipline.

This complexity we are referring to inform the selection of the empirical referent, from which the research is developed. Taking into account the field work carried out during the last year as well as the secondary elements available, we have decided to consider three cases that represent three large groups within the heterogeneous Afro community. However, we must point out that they are not tightly compartmentalised; in all cases there is a plurality of participation that brings together Afro-descendants, Afro-Americans, Cape Verdean immigrants, and their descendants and the new African immigrants. Especially we refer, though briefly, to the Cape Verdean associations, a collective formed by immigrants arriving since the beginning of the twentieth century and their descendants; to DIAFAR, an organisation presided by Afro-descendants; and to EPIIA, an informal group space created, mostly, by African immigrants of several origins arriving the last years.

Memory and its actors

Referring to socially produced memories means wondering about who reinterprets the past from a certain positioning in the present, materialising these senses in several cultural products (Jelin 2002, 37), especially, who the actors with power are for establishing and legitimating an account that identifies the group that remembers from a common origin and a shared history. These subjects are immersed in 'social frames' (Halbwachs 1992) that give a dynamic feature to the memories opposed to the apparent static notions about 'what happened' in the past. Therefore, there will be as many memories as frameworks forming social collectives. It is in this sense that we refer to socially constructed memories, not in a homogenous way and by consensus, but through negotiations, denials, and struggle.

According to the discourse of the actors themselves, the main social frame under which they gather is the so-called 'Afro community', thus, and following this reasoning, we could refer to 'one' memory of the Afro community in Argentina. The use of this term is also frequently observed in the academic documents about the topic as well as in the communication media. However, despite the possibilities/utility of this category, we think it necessary to briefly analyse its use in order to evaluate its possibilities as theoretical tool.

As pointed out by Alejandro Frigerio,[2] it is inaccurate to speak about an 'Afro community' when, in fact, we are dealing with different collectives formed by African migrants, Afro-Americans, and Argentineans with African heritage 'whose main point in

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common is that they are seen as 'black people' by an Argentinean society'. Therefore, considering them univocally as a 'community' entails a uniformity and homogeneity of the internal complexity that, according to Frigerio, hinders an accurate assessment of each group's needs, obscuring specific interests. Beyond the political aims that the Afro activists pursue in appealing to this category, from the academic view, its use would be limited if this conceptualization is used, making rigid the classical conceptual dichotomy, already present in the nineteenth century, where the community represents (in opposition to 'society') the natural, the organic, the non-stratified, the voluntary, the subjective, and the homogeneous things, etc.

We do not intend to analyse a concept already thoroughly questioned; however, we believe that its operating capacity is incomplete if certain aspects that can be enlightening are considered, when trying to investigate social memories. In order to clarify this, we refer to Max Weber (1979, 33) who defines a community as 'a social relationship when and as long as the attitude in the social action […] is inspired in the subjective feeling (affective or traditional) of the protagonists of forging a whole'. Unlike the 'society' that is moved by a rational action according to ends and values, the community 'only really exists when the action is reciprocally referred on the basis of that feeling […] and as long as this reference translates the feeling of forming a whole'.

And that idea of totality is based mainly on the 'subjective belief of a common origin', which is so effective that determines the representation of the social collective as bearer of a same blood or substance, like a 'community of kinship' (Weber 1979). It is worth pointing out this point since it exerts a strong 'communalisation'[3] effect in the case of Afro-descendants and Africans who, in many ways, refer to Africa as an expelling origin (being forced out or by own will) that characterises those that are identified and homogenised under the 'Afro' label.

The relationship between the creation of communities and memory construction is explained by James Brow (1990, 3) when he points out that these communities tend to be cohesive through a feeling of shared identity, and at the same time they strengthen solidarity when assigning a historical origin to community relationships. That is why, the tendentious re-interpretation about the past by ethnic leaders is essential, either for imagining a common origin or for asserting an identity in the present.

And regarding this last statement, another noteworthy feature of the communities is their capacity for imagining themselves as a communion that goes beyond the direct relationships (Anderson 1997). The discourses from the Afro activists and from the media often make reference to the two million Africans and Afro-descendants[4] that in Argentina form the community and that would be invisibilised within a white, homogeneous, and unmarked population. Linking such numerous and different collectives from a common origin, we observe how the communalisation is based on an imaginative work that implies an active process of inclusion and exclusion, where the inside heterogeneity is concealed in presence of an assertion of the differences regarding the outside. Even though the communities emphasise this type of bond, naturalising social bonds to the extent of considering them as compulsory and unspeakable, there are (in various degrees) vertical relationships beyond the proclaimed deep horizontality. This is the case of the 'Afro community', whose assumed homogeneity involves different organisations and Afro-descendant leaderships (Argentineans and Latin Americans) and African immigrants that through consensus and struggles want to establish as legitimate interlocutors before the state. These groups, formed in the last years, are interrelated with the classical ethnic institutions founded by Cape Verdean immigrants arriving since the beginning of the

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twentieth century that, in turn, have seen their practices and discourses modified since the emergence of 'black activism' (Lamborghini and Frigerio 2010).

Therefore, we could state that there is a powerful 'community discourse' articulated by the subjects which is used as strategy for (re)establishing a feeling of belonging in relation to the invisibility of the black people within the dominant narrative of the nation by referring to a common origin: Africa, from where *all of them* descend, that is the rationale for the term, 'Afro-descendants'. The same category of Afro-descendant[5] refers semantically to that genealogic relationship that is established from an origin from where a shared history needs to be remembered, legitimated, and transmitted in the present. We refer to 'memorising' or more accurately to the *duty* of recovering a past whose transmission was interrupted by the actions performed by Argentinean intellectual elites and their 'hegemonic construction of history'. (Segato 2007; Geler 2005) and that now reappears from the transformation of the social–economic and social–political conditions entailing a change in the categories of identification and in the modes of questioning from the state (Grimson 2003, 151).

It is in this sense that the community requires making 'use of the past', either for reaffirming a feeling of belonging and a collective identity or for acting politically before the state establishing and transmitting a narrative that can be accepted either inside or outside the community (Jelin 2002, 39).

Leaders and organisations

As above mentioned, despite the issues that involve the development of a community discourse, there are subjects situated in several social positions, with stronger or weaker power in order to decide how to construct and articulate the black past. Those vertical relationships are condensed mainly through leaderships and activist work around the different Afro organisations and institutions.

Without devoting much time to describing these associations, we will only mention the diversity in the formalisation of groups that have emerged during the last few years that, according to Lamborghini and Frigerio (2010), makes the analysis of individuals and activists more suitable than the analysis of 'organisations' because of the relative ease with which they appear and disappear. This is not the case of the already mentioned ethnic associations that group Cape Verdeans and their descendants. The two most important and oldest institutions are Asociación Cultural y Deportiva Caboverdeana in Ensenada and Unión Caboverdeana de Socorros Mutuos in Dock Sud (Avellaneda), both settled in Buenos Aires Province (Maffia 2007). They were founded in the first decades of the twentieth century and have remained active so far though their initial goals have been transformed, focusing their work primarily on mutual help, recreational and cultural practices, and the political initiatives, instead (Maffia 2010). However, and despite the ephemeral attempts and objectives (political, social, cultural, etc.) of these associations that organise their members, we believe that they are analytically relevant regarding the spaces where certain versions of the past are legitimated and authorised over others, where the African histories in Argentina are made official because of the 'framing' (Pollak 1989, resume an expression of the historian Henri Rousso) of the memories made by leaders in particular associations or organisations. In other words, we could say that they restrict the space limits within which the Afro past is represented, socialised, and formalised (in different versions and through a great variety of means) in the attempt of obtaining legitimacy within the national narrative.

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The variability in the degree of institutional formalisation above mentioned also hinders the elaboration of univocal definitions in relation to those who lead or encourage these associations. The classical notion of 'ethnic leader', used in the field of migratory studies, seems not very convenient to account for the work of the new leaders and political activists of the Afro movement. If we consider Higham's proposal (1978), the category points mainly to investigate the role of certain subjects in power positions within the immigrant communities (mainly from European origin) in the adaptation and differentiation processes within the context of the recipient nation state. That is why we believe that this category better accommodates the analysis of the origin and course of the Cape Verdean associations in Argentina given the actions of their leaders. But there are limits in explaining the transformations which have occurred in the last years within that same group. To be more accurate, and according to what was pointed out in a previous work (Monkevicius and Maffia 2010), until the 1990s, Cape Verdean leaders followed the 'adaptive strategy' (Higham 1978) which focused on being assimilated without conflicts into the recipient society by 'forgetting', whitening, and invisibilising their African origin (Maffia 2010). Nowadays, instead, there is a movement of revisibilisation and political participation undertaken by young leaders belonging to the new generations of descendants that draw upon the memory of the Cape Verdean-African origin as main diacritic of ethnic marking and as main event in the political struggle (Monkevicius and Maffia 2010). Our research on this topic enables us to state that these transformations that affected ethnic leadership were translated into different ways of interpreting the Cape Verdean past, since what the actors choose from the culture in order to be socially identified varies across time and space, or in other words, it is socially historically conditioned. The events that the traditional leaders ('the old men') recover from the past in order to give an answer to questions and uncertainties of the present are those who refer to the sea (for instance, the overseas voyage, the work on ships, and in the Navy, etc.) as main trope in the solidification of a memory to ethnically identify the collective within the Argentinean nation state. As far as the young people are concerned, they give a new meaning to the African legacy regarding political struggle against exclusion and invisibility engineered by a discourse of diversity, referring to their slave origins and re-creating Diaspora memberships. However, we should recognise, as pointed out by Maffia (2010, 300) that these 'new strategies of communication, visibility and participation are being thought and put into motion' outside the exclusivity of the associating environment, in 'new spaces of dialogue and action created or conquered by the new generations', also making changes in the ways of leadership.

Nevertheless, as regards ethnic leadership, we would like to emphasise the capacity of these subjects to 'concentrate the feeling of belonging' and to make visible their identity (Higham 1978) specifically referring to the past, the tradition, negotiating an official version that is authorised to be reproduced and transmitted 'downwards' and 'outside' from social, cultural, and political activities. If we consider dynamics and place them in relationship to the growing political actions of the new Afro leaderships, it is more accurate to refer to them as ' memory entrepreneurs', that is to say, as people that create projects, ideas, expressions, who personally involve themselves in the social project and also involve others to achieve the recognition of their version or narrative of the past from which they make public and political use (Jelin 2002), but without forming a social movement yet (Lamborghini and Frigerio 2010).

This nature of Afro leadership is clearly observed in the organisations that have emerged in the last years, which 'have tried to visibilise the presence of African origin

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population and their contributions to the Argentinean culture and society, as well as advocating the social promotion of Afro-Argentineans and the elimination of racism in the society' (Lamborghini and Frigerio 2010). Among them, there is the civil society *African Diaspora of Argentina* or DIAFAR, which 'includes the Afro descendants born in Argentina, the Afro Americans, and the African immigrants who are aware of that and actively vindicate a *bond with Africa* being in Argentina, independently of the nation state where they were born'.[6] It is worth noting here, the centrality that the bond with Africa acquires, regarding issues of origin, as parameter for fixing the Afro identity of the Argentinean 'Diaspora' and the memories that connect them to that origin. Therefore, from this narrative construction, those, who join in 'an active way' bearing in mind that origin, will be members of the Diaspora, though in the definition of such a heterogeneous collective, the way of approaching the past acquires great variability. For the immigrants, Africa is a lived experience, with longer or shorter temporal distance, which can be remembered according to the signification that the events acquired when being experienced. Instead, for the Afro-descendants (and the immigrants' descendants), memory becomes a 'representation of the past constructed as cultural knowledge shared by successive generations and by diverse others' (Jelin 2002, 33) and, that is why, its permanence will depend on the success in the intergenerational transmission and on the memory supports that enable their socialisation and materialisation. When the Afro activists intend to use these pasts 'in function of the struggles of the present and future' (Pollak 1989, 10), they should necessarily 'frame' memories and it is there when they acquire a main role in framing the material provided by history and the subjects' narratives. In order to achieve the above-mentioned goals, these organisations, through their leaders, question the state with a discourse (negotiated and agreed) that intends to counter the hegemonic national narrative, revealing subordinate memories of the Africans and their descendants in Argentina, positioning from a new identifying term as that of 'Diaspora', present in the acronym DIAFAR and the association *Africa and its Diaspora*. Even though the appropriation of the Diaspora discourse in a public context responds partly to an interest of increasing the economic, social, and symbolic resources available (Lamborghini and Frigerio 2010) – though we should emphasise that this attempt has been very hard as there are multiple troubles (see Agnelli 2010) – we would like to analyse the connection that this discourse establishes with the original place by way of memory or myth, and how this affiliation 'provides an added weight to the claims contrary to the oppressive national hegemony'. (Clifford 1999, 312). This new way of identification, then, gives way to a privileged place in the past as main symbolic field of political struggle.

From the field work, we observe, though preliminarily, that these organisations joining the Diaspora discourse invoke the bond with Africa as marker of belonging but in the public sphere of debate, this origin weakens in the presence of 'lateral' stories (Clifford 1999), that is to say, in presence of the connections established within the Argentinean nation-state with other groups of Afro-descendants and outwards, through transnational nets. Therefore, the African 'projection of origin' (Clifford 1999) is blurred, then, in the presence of the later settlement narrative, where the experience of colonial slavery and the subsequent denial of the black presence acquire relevance in the account of conformation of independent nations. As a young leader of DIAFAR states during a seminar on migrations: 'it is always necessary to bear in mind the discriminating and despising nature of the 'official history', since from all possible views, there were always attempts of 'whitening' all those contributions of the black community to the national

identity'. (Pita 2006 refers to the contributions to the cultural, political, intellectual fields, etc.). As the national history is constructed from the oblivion of the black presence, the new organisations intend to revert that oblivion, 'retracing those steps',[7] appealing to an identity that, according to Anderson (1997, 284), 'as it is impossible to be 'remembered', it has to be accounted'. And that account of black collective identity, we could say, has a double origin: one arising from Africa from the slave trade and the other silenced that must be remembered after a history of 'flattening' (Segato 2007) the differences in Argentina. Despite the quasi mythological bond established with Africa, in the DIAFAR blog for instance, leaders refer mainly to the subordinate memory regarding the Argentinean history, establishing continuity with the aim of guaranteeing the projects and political expectations in the present. As we stated at the beginning of this article, these groups identification as Afro-descendants (particularly in the communication media) entails a *duty of memory* to counter the imposition of a 'civilising model that depicts a European and Caucasian-based Argentina', in an 'incomplete version of the history' that they intend to revert re-signifying those events and cultural traces that reveal the contribution of the black presence to the nation-state conformation in order to re-create a 'more complete, more plural, and more real' narrative.[8]

Here, we explain that relationship of mutual imbrications (Candau 2002) between memory and identity, since the Afro community, as a growing creation, needs to resort to identification parameters to give rise to solidarity inwards and to outstand differences outwards and, as mentioned above, memory is a constituting element of that feeling of identity (Pollak 1992), since this allows thinking about memory in temporal continuity. And in this sense is that the leaders needed to review memories, 'to disclose that other history' (Pollak 1992), for adjusting it to the identity projects of the present (Gillis 1994).

This production of narratives and meanings of the past is aimed mainly to the state as privileged interlocutor of the social demands and projects of the memory entrepreneurs. However, there is also a transmission of those memories internally within the imagined community of Afro-descendants and Africans; and many of them need to create a feeling of belonging and solidarity with respect to a novel social collective. For this purpose, different supports and places of past materialisation are used, especially it is worth outstanding the relevance that festivities acquire, such as the *Black Family*[9] meeting and the feast made by different organisations of Africans and Afro-descendants to celebrate New Year, representing two of the main objectives of the yearly activities that DIAFAR organises. As explained by its president, these meetings are intended 'to know each other better'[10] and to recognise the contribution of certain people to the conformation and visibilisation of the new collectives of Afro membership, especially of the oldest as 'they are the ones who have the true history'. On the one hand, these sociable spaces respond to the need of overcoming, or better say, of 'reducing' the imaginative nature of the African and Afro-descendant community establishing direct relationships between unknown people but joined by one same feeling of belonging. On the other, they are considered as places for legitimising and recognising the elderly as 'guardians' (Halbwachs 1992) of the 'true' memory of African origins in Argentina, which is materialised through an award ceremony of DIAFAR, one of the main activities within the Black Family meeting. In this context, the choice of the awarded people can be thought of as part of the memory work carried out by the leaders, since they are responsible for deciding which characters must be remembered (besides, when delivering each prize, a slide was projected explaining the story and merits of each awarded member. And we could add that knowing that past not only gives and creates a feeling of belonging, but also it is

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conceived by the leaders as a tool of social mobilisation. As Carmen Platero (a hard-working female Afro activist) points out, as regards the basis of a course on Afro culture: [in the course it is intended] to provoke the social mobility of Afro-descendants through the knowledge of their history recounted by elders. Thus, it is specified the relationship between the actions of the community intellectuals, the production of knowledge, and the political uses of that knowledge (see Karakasidou 1994). That is how, remembering the past, in this case *learning a narrated past*, can be used as 'promise of future and sometimes as challenge launched to the established order'. (Pollak 1989, 11).

But sometimes that same past stops functioning as a solidifier of social relationships and becomes a factor of instability inside a community. And in this sense we would like to refer to the case of the recently created EPIIA or *Space for the Promotion, Integration and Interchanges with Africa*, which was created as the result of the separation of some DIAFAR members. Though it gathers several organisations of the civil society (such as the Chamber of Commerce of Cameroon in Argentina, the Association of African Immigrant Women, the Society of Mutual Help 'Unión Caboverdeana', among others), EPIIA is formed by most African immigrants among whom there are many important leaders (they come from Cameroon, Senegal, and South Africa). Unlike DIAFAR and in keeping with many other Afro association attempts, EPIIA had difficulties in achieving formalisation regarding regularity of the association meetings and the fulfilment of the proposed goals, therefore they lack legal status. However, from the few meetings held in 2010, we observe that the past represents a main marker when establishing the criteria of identification inwards the collective and of differentiation outwards. Far from the interests that DIAFAR members have, EPIIA (according to their preliminary by-laws) is proposed as an open 'space' to the society for 'promoting African values, (for) encouraging and searching ways of exchange between Argentina and Africa without disregarding the issue of a better integration of Africans in the country'. Even though they do not use the term 'Diaspora', we could say that they express 'Diaspora forms of longing, memory and (un) identification' (Clifford 1999, 302), visible in the commitment taken in the deconstruction of the national history of the African countries from abroad as an important part of the objective that consists of 'joining' the African and Argentinean histories. According to one of their main leaders (in 2010), this new associating space is devoted to the difficult task of 'improving Africa', and for this, they should transmit the history of their native land 'as it really happened', liberating it from the 'make up' that African governments used for hiding it behind the idea 'of revenge against western people'. This colonised history ('false and distorted') should be discussed and re-expressed within the countries receiving the African immigration.

We observe, then, how the production of narratives about memory–oblivion is a determining factor as marker of belonging to this new collective and how the practices aimed at remembering are understood in terms of *duty of memory*. However, unlike the organisations previously mentioned, now it is not about re-constructing a past subordinated by the hegemonic memory in the recipient countries of slave trade and immigration but about a subordinate past (colonised) in the place of origin. That is why, the stories shared with other groups in Argentina are weakened, especially those of Afro-descendants, to emphasise the 'vertical' history that articulates them by means of the native land. As stated by one EPIIA leader, this new association must be focused on the problems of Africa and not on racial or blackness issues, which are emphatically referred to by Afro-descendants in their speeches. He pointed out, specifically that 'it is pointless to see everything in relation to black and white' or 'to know whether one is brown or not'

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because for them, the recent immigrants, that 'is not a problem'. In other words, they do not need to refer to the past for reconstructing genealogies or for demonstrating the contribution of the black population to the construction of the Argentinean nation in order to reverse a situation of domination. Instead, they prefer referring to an Africa temporally much closer through a memory based, mostly, on experiences and life occurrences. It is about a choice of past events in relation to the nationalist processes in the place of origin that the leaders try to frame an ethnic narrative to be transmitted either inside or outside the Afro community, considering the Argentinean state as a main interlocutor. EPIIA leaders think that knowing a decolonised history will entitle the Argentinean state to implement certain public policies intended to 'improve' the situation of the African countries where they come from and to encourage commercial and cultural exchanges. This kind of Diaspora bonds are the ones that the African Union tries to encourage and strengthen, see Agnelli (2010).

Final considerations

In this article we have analysed the dangers implied in the uniformity of the Afro collective in Argentina, especially through the notion of community, which hides heterogeneities, hierarchies, breakdowns, and conflicts among individuals and groups with different possibilities of establishing and legitimising feelings about the past. Even though this statement denies the possibility of considering a single African or Afro-descendant collective memory, it does not negate the role of the past in the construction of the group identities of African origin and in the processes of belonging-otherness with respect to the dominant narrative. Therefore, we have paid special attention to particular associations, organisations, and spaces for Afro interaction, specifically observing the leaders' actions as producers of knowledge about the past, and thus, as markers and framers of these subordinate memories. Regarding this, we argue that a different degree of formalisation in the creation of groups and associations has as a consequence for the production of different degrees of articulation of memories. The associations created several years ago, which have obtained legal status, which have achieved visibility in the communication media as legitimate interlocutors, whose leaders have sustained engagement with political activism, etc, have worked on memories, and formalising narratives that are designed to fill the necessary gaps within the official history by counteracting issues of oblivion and silence. Instead, the new organisations and associations, like EPPIA, need to do further work to solidify memories. This requires a greater discussion about which past, which events they should choose to be 'used' against the dominant narrative either in Argentina or in Africa.

Notes

1. On melting pot in Argentina, see Schneider (1996).
2. See http://alejandrofrigerio.blogspot.com/.
3. According to James Brow 'communalization' refers to 'any action pattern that promotes a shared feeling of belonging' (1990, 1).
4. However, according to the last national census carried out in 2010, there are 2738 Africans and 149.493 Afro-descendants in Argentina.
5. Category that obtains the advisory by-laws of the United Nations in the frame of the World Conference against the Racism, the Racial Discrimination, the Xenophobia, and other correlative forms of Intolerance (Durban 2001).
6. See http://diafar.blogspot.com/.

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7. See video in http://diafar.blogspot.com/ (CN23 Channel 2010).
8. The inverted commas correspond to the statements of Federico Pita (DIAFAR) and Carlos Alvarez (Africa and its Diaspora) in a programme broadcast by CN23 in 2010. See http://diafar.blogspot.com/.
9. A meeting organised by DIAFAR on 10 October 2010 in a bar in Palermo neighbourhood (Buenos Aires), it is about a local version that follows the world experience of the Black Family Reunions®.
10. According to DIAFAR blog, the meeting 'intends to make us meet, know each other, and celebrate ourselves'. 19 January 2011. See http://diafar.blogspot.com/.

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