Gender in the African Diaspora:
Electronic Research Materials

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Research agendas for studies of the African Diaspora encompass a wide-range of themes, including patterns of enslavement; life under slavery; abolition and emancipation; the development of post-emancipation societies; life under colonialism; the creation of postcolonial societies; and, debates over present-day social issues ranging from education to clitoridectomies. For all of these issues, the study of male and female roles (but particularly the latter) is now of key importance. Furthermore, scholars are paying particular attention to gendered analyses that include but also reach beyond specific locales, to encompass the broadest possible geographic understanding of the African Diaspora. The speedy development of such innovative approaches to the field can only be enhanced by the use of electronic materials.

Electronic resources provide new and exciting materials that can facilitate social science and humanities scholarship on the African Diaspora. These resources are particularly valuable in locating connections across the regional, disciplinary and social boundaries of earlier research. The very newness of studying gender and the African Diaspora, however, means that the basic materials to be searched and linked electronically are neither highly organised nor well funded. This overview of electronic materials surveys those that are readily available as well as techniques for locating and exploring additional items. It principally addresses the World Wide Web, but also electronic discussion groups, CD-ROMs and other forms of electronically stored data.

Both historical and contemporary documents are of course found primarily in archives rather than online: online, one mainly locates research reports rather than documents themselves. Despite this limitation, an advantage of Internet searches is that they provide information on scholars and research groups that are currently active. Electronic resources also provide good places to display data and drafts, and to announce programmes and locate collaborators. The liveliness and activity of the web makes it
possible to get beyond treating the African Diaspora as a static object of analysis, creating greater possibilities for conveying the significance of gender roles in the constitution and reproduction of diaspora.2

The negative side of online materials is the ‘digital divide’. That is, the expansion of electronic resources has tended to privilege those well supplied with training in and access to previous information systems. Internet resources have been somewhat slow in reaching people of colour generally, women in particular, and most of the geographic terrain of the African Diaspora, including Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.3 On the other hand, a concerted campaign to reverse or limit this digital divide has emerged. For instance, some excellent materials and effective collaborative structures are beginning to balance the overall shortage of electronic resources addressing gender and the African Diaspora.4 Given the web’s significant slant towards finished research or discussion-group announcements about research, it is a particularly valuable resource when beginning a research project or formalising a research question. Above all, this article suggests recommendations for making good use of electronic materials in these early stages of research.

Research issues

As noted above, the issues addressed in studies of gender and the African Diaspora are numerous and overlapping. The examples presented here reflect the wide scope of this field, as well as some of the current priorities. Given that slavery and the slave trade are fundamental issues in African Diaspora studies, the temporal scope of the African Diaspora is usually taken as the past five centuries, starting with the opening of regular Atlantic maritime contacts in the fifteenth century, and moving to analyses of emancipation and the development of post-emancipation society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The social issues of the African Diaspora are viewed through both modern and postmodern lenses.

In geographic scope the African Diaspora encompasses historical and societal interaction involving many regions. Opinion has varied on whether to include the African continent – the homeland – in studies of the African Diaspora. The approach taken here includes the continent, since Africa comprises not only the point of departure for millions of migrants, but also a large and vibrant zone of continuing interaction among communities within and beyond the continent.5 A further point on geography is the need to give adequate attention not only to the Diaspora in North America, but also to Atlantic communities of the African Diaspora in South and Central America, the Caribbean, Canada and Europe.6 In the same vein, one must also note the significance of the African Diaspora in the Middle East, North Africa and the Indian Ocean.7
In social scope, African Diasporic communities, created by early modern migrations, maintained and reproduced connections among various social strata and between often-distant territories. Labour migration included initial and subsequent movements of slaves and indentures, and new migrations of wage labourers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the same time, cultural interaction, facilitated initially through travel and trade and more recently through electronic media, has brought developments in religion, dress, music and philosophy. In addition, movement and modification of familial patterns have resulted in changing gender roles; these roles have also been affected by shifting boundaries of race, ethnicity, class and religion. The result has been the creation of highly complex diasporic communities. At every level, collective memory has kept alive community recollections of past oppression, of life without oppression, of the sounds and tastes of childhood and of the idea of an African homeland. These issues arise in conjunction with the broader social processes of colonialism and nationalism, struggles over civil rights and human rights, and development of new, vibrant and contested forms of popular culture.

With these complexities in mind, the African Diaspora is best seen as a social and geographic totality, not just a collection of regions and nationalities. What is distinctive in studies of the African Diaspora – as contrasted for instance with nationally-based African-American studies in the USA – is the emphasis on trans-regional connections, and also the additional emphasis on the multiple perspectives of the communities under study, as well as the multiple analytical frameworks used by scholars. Thus, if one gives particular focus to the gendered dimensions of diasporic connections, one undertakes a complex study that is likely to reveal social relationships that have escaped previous notice.

Available technology and research techniques

The techniques for online research are only now being developed, and the rules and conventions of research online have yet to be established. One of the strengths of online analysis, however, is that many guides and handy hints are placed online by public-spirited individuals and by organisations supporting online linkages. For instance, the H-Net group of electronic discussion groups provides an Internet citation guide and suggestions for the critique of websites. Because the quantity of online materials is growing rapidly, any current list of resources soon becomes obsolete. Thus, my survey emphasises techniques of research and assessment, as much as lists of resources.

When it comes to locating quick answers to factual questions, the World Wide Web and its search engines are particularly strong tools. Search
techniques are especially adept at enabling the user to go from general to specific, and to learn more and more about any given topic. More difficult than fact-checking is using the web to make connections among different areas of knowledge and to develop a larger picture and a wider understanding. With persistence and imagination, however, one can access information with depth and breadth, and not just speed and specificity. In this regard, it may be helpful to think of the structure of the web itself. On one hand, it consists of millions of distinct files, created and mounted separately; on the other, the individual files are linked electronically into one huge network, and they are further linked by many intermediate structures, of which the search engines are only the most obvious. As a subject of study the larger patterns of life in the African Diaspora are paralleled by the broad patterns in the knowledge and assemblage of files on the web.

The researcher begins work with a search for particular types of information: certain kinds of documents; subject areas; authors; publishers; factual specifics; or, links and references. A ‘keyword’ search, in which the search engine decides on the selection of authors, subjects and so forth, simply involves inputting a term. By using ‘advanced search’ functions, the researcher can also search separately by author, subject, and so on. It is useful to keep in mind the analogy between the Internet and a library: that is, once you find an interesting reference, it is good to browse the nearby files for other good finds. Researchers should also be sure to investigate various formats. For instance, one might explore the implications of a slaving voyage through a combination of CD-ROMs, web simulations, image databases and discussion lists.

Taking notes becomes a critical issue in electronic research for all but the smallest of projects. How does one retrieve and retain the results of electronic research? When bookmarking websites becomes unwieldy, one option is to copy URLs and downloaded text into text files, which are searchable within the word processing program. One can also paste references and other data to a spreadsheet file, in order to keep track of categories. A further step that I have found useful is the creation of a database that includes both selected evidence and my own analytical categories. Still, the biggest problem for note-taking comes in the long run: unfortunately, since platforms and operating systems change every few years, one is often put in the position of updating and translating notes periodically so as not to lose access to them.

**Structure of electronic publication**

Creators of Internet files must first select a language of presentation. Although English has become the prevailing language of international
scholarship, the web enables scholars to develop thriving resources for
documentation and debate in any language. French-language websites
provide materials on the Caribbean, francophone Africa, Canada and
Europe, including numerous international organisations. Spanish-language
materials on the African Diaspora address Cuba and Puerto Rico, main-
land countries including Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico, plus Spain. Portuguese-language materials centre on Brazil, but also include Angola,
Mozambique and other countries of Africa, as well as Portugal. Materials
in other languages may not be central to the web, but nonetheless they
benefit from the technology.

Websites have come to dominate the electronic media of research and
publication. Publishers operate at a number of levels, including international
organisations, corporate conglomerates, small groups and individuals, and many of these maintain excellent websites. The United Nations and World Bank maintain websites relevant to the African Diaspora, while national governments publish guides and documents. Some non-governmental and non-profit organisations also publish actively. Certain university presses emphasise topics in the African Diaspora, as do certain trade presses. In addition, scholarly associations sponsor publications and sometimes publish directly (CODESRIA, NCBS). CD-ROMs, though less accessible, provide some excellent resource materials and are more easily explored once obtained. Standard reference sources, now online, include dictionaries, encyclopaedias, bibliographic references and writing and publishing guides.

Forms of electronic resources

Regardless of how they reach the web, electronic resources are published in a variety of forms. For instance, they can be classified into conferences, symposia, discussion lists, academic programs, organisational websites, resource lists and individual websites. Conference websites are a useful place to begin, because they reveal the development of research and scholarly discourse. For instance, sites from three international conferences on Women in the African Diaspora that took place in 1992, 1998 and 2001 have maintained a continual presence on the web. The Canadian conference on mothering in the African Diaspora and the Dartmouth conference on gender in the African Diaspora are just two more of the many conferences whose traces may be retrieved. Such conference sites provide excellent markers of the developments in the field. In addition to past conferences, calls for papers are also well represented on the web. Conference notices provide a good way to identify research topics and individual researchers in studies of gender and diaspora, and they provide an informal way to start thinking about cross-disciplinary connections
through the exploration of conferences organised outside one’s own formal training. In addition to major conferences, smaller symposia are often advertised on the web; pursuit of these leads may give indications of new research on its way to publication.\textsuperscript{34}

Though they do not focus exclusively on gender issues and are not as numerous as conference sites and calls for papers, research programme websites are significant sources of information. For instance, the website of the ongoing African Diaspora Research Project directed by Dr Ruth Simms Hamilton at Michigan State University is a place to start; the Harriet Tubman Center at York University in Ontario is also a major centre.\textsuperscript{35} Another relevant and ongoing research project at UCLA focuses on cultural studies.\textsuperscript{36} In addition, the web lists announcements of new research projects, such as the one in progress on women and religion at Princeton.\textsuperscript{37} CODESRIA, the research collaborative for African scholars, publishes results of its agenda-setting conferences.\textsuperscript{38} Meanwhile, the Stanford University library has constructed a detailed list of research projects, including a list of projects on the African Diaspora.\textsuperscript{39}

One should also note that online journals, discussion lists and bulletin boards were early forms of electronic communication, and they continue to thrive and evolve. Currently, at least fifteen active discussion lists exist that are relevant to the study of gender and the African diaspora.\textsuperscript{40} Unless they have a website to anchor them, discussion lists and bulletin boards are not indexed by search engines; however, cross-posting is common, so by reading one list carefully it is often possible to learn about several others.\textsuperscript{41} There has also been an increase in online publication of established print journals, as well as newer ventures,\textsuperscript{42} although unfortunately, not all electronic journals are able to sustain publication.\textsuperscript{43} In addition, the websites of university-based academic programmes can offer valuable information: though such sites are of course aimed at publicising their own programmes, they do provide materials of interest, such as symposia, curricula, syllabi,\textsuperscript{44} bibliography and resource lists.\textsuperscript{45} One can also visit the sites of major museums, which often summarise their exhibits online, providing useful materials for both teaching and research.\textsuperscript{46} International para-governmental organisations, beginning with the United Nations, are particularly important for indicating cross-national connections.\textsuperscript{47} Also, non-governmental organisations, especially those centred around women’s interests, give attention to gender issues.\textsuperscript{48}

Resource lists developed by active groups and energetic individuals reflect the value of the democratised side of the Internet. These eclectic lists are essential to locating and nurturing links among topics. Historian Lynn Nelson maintains an exceptional list of Internet resources in history at the University of Kansas.\textsuperscript{49} Bibliographies posted by individuals, while rarely exhaustive, often yield new ideas.\textsuperscript{50} Electronic resource lists, the
favourites posted by individuals or groups, reveal the approach of investigators as well as their findings. By the same reasoning, sites maintained by individuals provide not only autobiographies of the authors, but also their ways of approaching Internet materials. For all such non-organisational sites, the patient use of search engines, plus the copying and saving of links, can be very beneficial.

**Examples: researching electronically**

A discussion list devoted specifically to either the African Diaspora or to gender issues within the diaspora does not yet exist. Thus far, the Internet has served as a nexus of debate rather than as a repository of data. Nevertheless, the available tools do provide an excellent basis for framing and pursuing research. Covering three main sets of issues, the following section provides illustrative recommendations for investigators addressing research questions associated with the role of gender in the interpretation of the African Diaspora and diasporic connections.

*Slavery and abolition.* An expanding Atlantic and then global system of slavery did much to create the African Diaspora, launching forced migrations to the north, west and east of sub-Saharan Africa. For the era in which slavery remained in force, the associated issues of work, family and cultural transformation have retained substantial attention as research priorities. Resistance to slavery, the development of free communities of colour and the processes of individual and collective emancipation gain particular attention for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The development of racial categorisation, including ideologies of racial discrimination on the one hand and the identification of hierarchies of racial mixture on the other, provide a further arena of discussion across the full range of African Diaspora history. For all the work that has been done, much more is needed to clarify the gender relations and cultural patterns of the diaspora for this formative period. The centrality of interactions across the diaspora is reflected in the significance that issues of slavery and emancipation had for the African continent as well. How does the interpretation of the African Diaspora change when one integrates into the analysis the expansion of slavery in Africa and the divergent gendered proportions brought to the continent and diaspora by slave trade?

*Post-emancipation society.* The struggle to recover from the experience of slavery and gain positions of social dignity is a central trope in African Diaspora studies. Analyses emphasise developments in political identity, and the challenges faced by freed black populations as they encountered new forms of racial discrimination – with distinct though related forms
in the USA, the Caribbean, South America and the various regions of Africa. Numerous studies on gender and colonialism in post-emancipation societies focus particularly on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These cultural and political changes were accompanied by expanding migrations, now of free people. The redirected migrations of black people were part of an expanding global mobility that in turn responded to industrialisation. Despite its tumult, this era resulted in an outpouring of cultural creativity in communities throughout the African Diaspora. Scholarship has focused especially on black literary output. Parallel studies in other media have addressed visual art and music, as well as their combination in an influential popular culture. Most analyses in print and online, however, have presented society and culture in national contexts. How did gender roles change around the Atlantic in post-emancipation society? How can the study of gender serve to reframe our understanding of the ‘double consciousness’ of this historical moment?

**Postcolonial society.** The second half of the twentieth century brought decolonisation and major advances in civil rights throughout the African Diaspora. Establishment of many new national units and greater ease of travel brought an expansion in pan-African connection and identity. Yet conflicts exploded between black communities and hegemonic power structures; between black communities and white communities; and within black communities themselves. How were African Diaspora societies to define their own identity, yet at the same time gain integration into global power structures?

Struggles with the state over civil rights broadened into struggles over human rights within civil society. Issues of class conflict, ethnic conflicts and individual assaults took new forms in the late twentieth century, each with gendered implications. Families, complex and contested social units in every era, became at once stronger and weaker. As schools and workplaces gradually displaced families as sites of formation for young people of colour, males and females of all ages took on new roles. Conventional rites of passage to adulthood were contested. New studies of masculinity, now in the context of an updated understanding of gender dynamics, have expanded the scope of traditional analysis. How have contemporary migrations affected family patterns? In the current era, spectacular developments in popular culture such as South African music, Brazilian capoeira and Michael Jackson’s tours have reverberated throughout the African Diaspora. They respond, arguably, not simply to new technology but also to the experiences of diasporic communities. The great expansion and continuing debates on education throughout the diaspora affect gender roles in popular culture, but also in work, politics, and other areas.
Directions of study

To conclude, researchers should not only make use of electronic resources, but also interrogate them. How does the Internet represent gender? How does it represent racial designations? How does it represent geographic space? In some ways the web does not represent gender directly. In other ways, as with sexually explicit sites, it represents gender all too blatantly. Racial identifications, similarly, are at once invisible and omnipresent on the web. There is much to be done in sorting out the meanings of information in electronic form.

The research emphasis on gender in the African Diaspora is significant not only for advancing the understanding of specific social issues and populations. By extending across boundaries of gender, race and region, this research strategy exemplifies the new scholarship developing in many contexts across the globe. It contrasts sharply with earlier positivistic scholarship, where the emphasis was on researching a few variables within a given set of categories. Studies of gender in the African Diaspora link research agendas across categories and address the interactions of a wide variety of factors.

Electronic resources can be used for research in both old and new styles, and are certainly valuable for the detailed analysis of specific topics. But they can also contribute to locating and nurturing interdisciplinary and interregional ties. Scholars interested in global, transnational and transcultural analysis can be creative in identifying and developing electronic resources that facilitate their research needs, using the breadth and rapidity of electronic communication to support new and innovative research agendas.

What will happen next? Will there be a growth in collaborative research? An expansion in cross-national, multilingual studies? New developments in theory? Will graduate students be linked to inter-campus and international networks, rather than studying within the confines of their own departments? Research with electronic materials can help advance all of these possibilities. Furthermore, the Internet is repositioning the ivory tower in the social landscape. Through the Internet, scholarly specialists and general audiences encounter each other more readily than before. Electronic media, while eliciting new analytical insights in the gendered dimensions of the African Diaspora, will also play a role in the public discourse that sustains and develops the communities of the African Diaspora. The Internet reminds us that all scholarship has a social conscience of one sort or another.

Notes

1. The websites and other resources cited here, while recommended as good examples, are of necessity only a tiny proportion of the total available materials. Many other fine resources remain for the reader to locate and use.
2. Gender roles shifted drastically in the forced creation of the African Diaspora, and shifted again in association with the diaspora-wide transformations of emancipation, industrialisation and nation-building.

3. For the principal site on the digital divide, directed by Craig Smith, see <www.digitaldivide.org>. See also the Public Broadcasting System site, at <www.pbs.org/digitaldivide>; and the Benton Foundation site at <www.digitaldividenetwork.org/content/sections/index.cfm>.


5. See the site of the Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal, <www.ucad.sn>.


10. The Schomburg Center of the New York Public Library supports substantial exhibits in African-American and African diaspora history in addition to its role as a major research center: see <www.nypl.org/research/sc/sc.html>. The Ecole du Patrimoine Africain, in Porto-Novo, Bénin, is a leader in the development of historical museums throughout the African continent: see <www.epa-prema.net/>.

11. The Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD) is forming under the leadership of Michael Gomez of New York University: see <www.aswadiaspora.org>.


15. A comparison of the ‘advanced search’ function of AltaVisa with that of an online library catalogue such as the Hollis catalog of Harvard University libraries reveals numerous organisational parallels. See <www.altavista.com>; and <lib.harvard.edu>.

16. See notes 54 and 55 below.

17. Similarly, it is usually possible to copy or download texts or images from CD-ROMs.

18. I have found Filemaker Pro to be a useful and flexible program for creating databases of research notes.


20. For Afro-Cuban links, see <www.afrocubaweb.com>. For links throughout Latin America, see ‘The African Diaspora’ (University of Texas), <lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/african>.


22. See the site for the Pulaar (or Fulbe) language of West Africa, ‘WebPulaaku,’ <www.pulaaku.net>. For access to writings in Afrikaans, including its two million Coloured...
speakers, see ‘Afrikaans crows nest,’ <www.geocities.com/Paris/2920/medialinks.html>. Amharic, Hausa, Swahili, Yoruba, and Zulu languages also have a significant presence on the web.


24. The UNESCO site (<www.unesco.org/>) is very rich, including such materials as links to national libraries <www.unesco.org/webworld/portal_bib/Libraries/National/> and the site of its diaspora-wide Slave Route project, at <www.unesco.org/culture/dialogueslave/>. See also the World Bank Group, <www.worldbank.org/>.


27. University of Warwick Centre for Caribbean Studies (<www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/CCS/>) is associated with the university’s active publishing program in Caribbean studies. See also Yale University Press at <www.yale.edu/yup/subjects/womens.htm>; and for books published in Africa see the Africa Book Centre, <www.africabookcentre.com/acatalog/index.html>.


34. ‘Bridging the African diaspora,’ University of Nebraska – Lincoln (2001), <www.unl.edu/unlies/symposium/schedule.html>.


38. CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa), <www.codesria.org/>.


40. Based at H-Net (<h-net.msu.edu>) are over a hundred discussion lists, including over a dozen relevant to gender in the African diaspora: H-Afro-Am, H-Africa (a total of seven associated lists), H-AmStudy, H-Caribbean, H-Ethnic, H-LatAm, H-Women, and H-World. Archives of current and past messages are searchable.
41. The discussion list on ‘The history of slavery, the slave trade, abolition and emancipation,’ based at the University of Houston, accepts messages at <Slavery@listserv.uh.edu>.

42. The History Cooperative publishes several major journals online (<www.historycooperative.org/journals.html>); a larger number of online journals are made available through JSTOR (<www.jstor.org/>). Newer ventures online include African Studies Quarterly, <web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v6/v6i3a7.htm>; and African Societies (with French and Italian versions) <www.afri cansocieties.org/>. For a resource list of ejournals, see <www.library.miami.edu/ejournals/african.html>.

43. World History of Slavery, Abolition, and Emancipation, <h-net.msu.edu/~slavery>.


50. ‘Questia, the online library’ (<www.questia.com/>), provides bibliographic lists in response to searches; bibliographies from the 1998 ‘Roots’ summer seminar at the University of Virginia are posted at <cti.itc.virginia.edu/~roots/site/biblios.html>.


52. Filomena Steady, <www.wellesley.edu/PublicAffairs/Profile/sz/ffsteady.html>.

53. Users may explore age and gender distribution of captive populations on CD-ROM for the Atlantic slave trade, and by web simulation for the African continent, Atlantic and the Americas. David Eltis et al., eds., The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM

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Women and Slavery in the Caribbean’ (Penny Welch, University of Wolverhampton), <pers-www.wlv.ac.uk/~le1810/slavery.htm>.


The distinction between slavery and emancipation cannot, however, be expressed through straightforward periodisation: the emancipation of black slaves, rather than occurring at a given moment, was a process extending from the eighteenth into the twentieth centuries.


Project on the History of Black Writing, <www.ku.edu/~phbw/>; the University of Virginia Electronic Text Center includes a substantial number of texts by African-American authors: <etext.lib.virginia.edu/uvaonline.html>.

American Memory, <memory.loc.gov/>.

In the extremes of Central African warfare, children became heads of household as well as refugees, and girls were drafted as soldiers as well as rape victims.

Female Genital Mutilation Network <www.fgmnetwork.org/>.

For studies of masculinity, see Herman Gray, <muse.jhu.edu/quick_tour/18.2gray.html>; Gerald Butters on Oscar Micheaux in Journal for MultiMedia History, <www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/micheaux/micheaux.html>; and the Journal of Southern African Studies, special issue on masculinities in southern Africa <www.tandf.co.uk/journals/archive/c-archive/jss-con.html>.

See the website of singer Angélique Kidjo, <wwwusers.imaginet.fr/~kidjo/index.html>.

The Women of Uganda Network provides examples of these changes, at <www.wougnet.org/Links/education.html>.

Harlem, in the era of its Renaissance, is often labelled as ‘capital of the black world.’ Of the many excellent exhibits and websites on this topic, a growing number address gender issues. It is perhaps time for some to address relations between Harlem and the ‘provinces’ of the black world throughout Africa and the diaspora.