

Introduction: Contemporary Orientations in African Cultural Studies

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Abstract

This paper offers a glimpse of work generated by the 2014 John Douglas Taylor conference on 'Contemporary Orientations in African Cultural Studies'. The conference generated a number of inquiries into the time and place of contemporary African cultural work, many of which theorized beyond the frameworks that postcolonial and globalization studies frequently offer. Under the shifting paradigms of cultural studies, the work of this conference, as well as the current project, moves away from reading the African everyday as exclusively a construction out of a series of colonial histories and relationalities, or global cultural flows. In line with Jean and John Comaroffs' *Theory From the South*, this issue is instead dedicated to relocating the global centres from which cultural studies emanates and positing African work's challenge to normative zones of cultural critique. 'Contemporary orientations' attempts to relocate the time and space of critique in African studies, but it resists the gesture to posit a stable trajectory through which time moves. Rather, the terms of the contemporary and the orientation depend on how they are read in relation to a multitude of other temporalities, orientations, and objects.

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Learning to love failure

Two swallows tumble

like crumpled paper

after each other.

The camera fails again

and again to find the place
where life will fly through its aperture.
In the meanwhile, the swallows fall
like two crescent moons from the sky.

Fleeting tails in a corner of emptiness
just leaving the frame,
the photographer filming swallows
has learned to love failure,
how the almost having of the thing
is true in itself.

-- Gabeba Baderoon, *A hundred silences*

Snapshots

That this issue of *Critical Arts* is one of many conversations on African Cultural Studies currently underway both within and beyond the African continent speaks to the robustness of a field that has gained increasing prominence in recent years. That the mapping and documenting of its critical genealogies is not our primary concern in this introduction is a testament to this reality. Handel Kashope Wright's essay in this issue traces some of those historical lineages, paying attention in particular to how the origin-stories of the global field of Cultural Studies might be rerouted and multiplied. While Wright's work is positioned explicitly as an engagement with the definitional questions that have animated the post-Birmingham global Cultural Studies imagination, much scholarship that might be said to fit the category of African Cultural Studies takes different routes into the field, in effect supporting Wright's point that there may well be many originary moments and epistemic genealogies for what we now call Cultural Studies.

A quick survey yields a remarkable range of critical conversations presently unfolding in the field, including work published in journals such as *Critical Arts*, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, and the recently founded *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*. Other influential and important recent volumes include: *Popular Culture in Africa: The Episteme of the Everyday*, in which editors Stephanie Newell

and Onookome Okome bring together some of the most generative contemporary work on popular cultural forms and genres across a range of African sites; the special issue of the journal *Cultural Studies* on 'Private Lives and Public Cultures in South Africa', edited by Kerry Bystrom and Sarah Nuttall; a 2013 special issue of the journal *Postcolonial Text* on 'Contemporary Youth Cultures in Africa' edited by Paul Ugor, and the book *African Youth Cultures in a Globalized World*, co-edited by Paul Ugor and Lord Mawuko-Yevugah; a number of editions of the journal *Research in African Literatures*, most recently on 'Queer Valences in African Literatures and Films', edited by Neville Hoad and Taiwo Adetunji Osinubi; work in journals such as *Social Dynamics* on the littoral and Indian Ocean as key sites for the production of African Cultural Studies; and a growing body of scholarship engaging environmental justice in the age of the Anthropocene from the perspective of African Cultural Studies.ⁱ Many of the questions explored in these platforms were taken up by participants in the 2014 John Douglas Taylor conference on the theme of 'Contemporary Orientations in African Cultural Studies' from which this special issue grew, and by contributors to the other journal issue it yielded, namely on 'Contemporary African Mediations of Affect and Access', published in the journal *Safundi* and co-edited by Jessie Forsyth, Sarah Olutola and Helene Strauss.ⁱⁱ

Our current project draws inspiration from the many field-laying conversations that have brought us to this juncture to address the expanding sets of concerns that African Cultural Studies might take on under the rubrics of the political, the imaginative, the activist, the popular and the everyday, particularly as they intersect with diasporic, postcolonial, critical race, queer, and feminist theoretical approaches. What we offer is a glimpse of work generated by the 2014 Taylor conference. The idea of a snapshot seems a suggestive metaphor for our work here. Signaling a moment in time represented informally by way of a photograph or a summary, the term conveys some of the impossibilities of fully capturing the range of critical encounters prompted by the conference. More substantively, the term points to some of the risks of framing, documenting, periodizing and archiving that have historically attended knowledge production in and about African contexts. If snapshots offer only a truncated, fleeting view of a much larger scene, our use of the term is meant to turn us towards the kinds of political projects that come into view when our conventional frames fail. Paying attention to these failures, we suggest, is key to approaching a field engaged in mapping

alternatives to Euromodernity's violently imposed and limiting regimes of spatial and temporal organization.

We open this issue with Gabeba Baderoon's poem 'Learning to love failure' in part to take up Keguro Macharia's provocation to move beyond the statistical, taxonomic and documentary routes through which scholarly attention to African lives so frequently gets channeled, and to signal our collective commitment to African queer and feminist scholarship's refusal to accept the hierarchical divide between academic theorisation and imaginative, local, and everyday forms of cultural production (Gqola 2001: 11-12; Lewis 2001: 7). Given the extent to which cultural production about Africa has been mired in questions of authenticity (Adichie, 2009; Wainaina, 2005; Anyaduba, this issue), we seek in this issue to attend to the creative possibilities, histories, archives, pleasures and problems that might emerge when we acknowledge the incompleteness of our frames. To do so is not simply to discard that which preceded our present inquiry; we are, instead, concerned in part with what one might call the chronopolitics of framing, that is, the temporal dimensions of appraising a field at a particular moment in time, and the ways in which one's conceptual orientations are shaped as a result. Attentive to the time it takes 'to plot out alternative lines of inquiry alongside and across well-trodden questions, to read between the lines of received readings, to locate the points of entry that put pressure on disciplinary habits' (Attewell and Trimble, 2016: 8), we hope to advance a mode of cultural theorizing that is 'self-reflexive not only about the political stances it takes and projects it chooses to undertake but also about its own worldliness, the effects it has upon the world by its very existence' (Wright, this issue).

The conference generated a number of inquiries into the time and place of contemporary African cultural work, many of which theorized beyond the frameworks that postcolonial and globalization studies frequently offer. Under the shifting paradigms of Cultural Studies, the work of this conference, as well as the current project, moves away from reading the African everyday as exclusively a construction out of a series of colonial histories and relationalities, or global cultural flows. In line with Jean and John Comaroffs' *Theory From the South*, this issue is instead dedicated to relocating the global centres from which Cultural Studies emanates and positing African work's challenge to normative zones of cultural critique.

‘Contemporary orientations’ attempts to relocate the time and space of critique in African studies, but it resists the gesture to posit a stable trajectory through which time moves. Rather, the terms of the contemporary and the orientation depend on how they are read in relation to a multitude of other temporalities, orientations, and objects. If, for example, the time of modernity gestures toward ‘a strong normative teleology, a unilinear trajectory toward the future’ (Comaroff and Comaroff 2011: 9), papers collected in this issue attempt to unfix the stability of meanings generated out of such singular conceptions of time. Karin Barber’s early work on the African popular has already cautioned against the persistence of the reductive and binaristic temporalities sketched out by terms such as ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’, instead positing the democratic and negotiatory category of the ‘popular’. Many of the papers in this collection are cognizant of how specific frameworks for reading time have too readily fixed African cultural meanings to a set of recognizable parameters generated from the telos of Euromodernity’s historical and epistemic lineage.

Macharia’s statement that ‘[i]t matters how one slices time’ (this issue) resonates with many of the writers in this issue. For Macharia, the hold of time, particularly in the signification practices that articulate identity in African ‘precolonial’ art, refuses African art coevalness, and relegates it to a bygone cultural past. His attention to contemporary institutions and practices that intersect with African queer and trans bodies provides alternative frames for African studies praxis and communicates the urgency of historicizing African ‘culture’ outside the traditional periodizations generated by Europe’s colonial apparatus.

A number of our other contributors likewise respond to the task of reconceptualizing various framings of time within African studies. Helene Strauss, for example, identifies the politics of securitization and crisis management deployed in relation to the 2012 Marikana massacre in South Africa to have been characterized by strategies of temporal compression typical in contexts of neoliberal governance across the globe. By way of a reading of Rehad Desai’s documentary *Miners Shot Down* (2004), she outlines possibilities for contesting the timelines of fast capitalism and so to create ‘better conditions for the work of mourning’ (this issue). Brokensha and Conradie, in turn, examine discourses of race and racism within the so-called Born Free generation of

South Africa. Their findings, generated out of an online discussion amongst university students born after 1993, suggest that—while apartheid regimes of racial classification remain evident for this generation—the conversations in which contemporary youth are engaging also require an updated critical toolset to account for the changes that the last 20 years have brought. Central to their analysis is the question of how students negotiated with ideologies of race and racism in the contemporary everyday as opposed to relegating racism to a national past. Perhaps most confounding of time is Adwoa Afful's paper on Octavia Butler's *Wild Seed*. This paper draws on Afrofuturism to resist the tendency plaguing the legacy of middle passage epistemologies to chart 'racial formations across a progressivist linear trajectory in the United States especially' (this issue) and that so fails to account for the composite temporalities that shape Black women's experiences in relation to the histories of slavery and colonialism in continental African contexts, and to the Black diasporas resulting from both transatlantic slavery and more recent migrations. Resonating with Jennifer Wenzel's attention to multiple timelines in 'Remembering the past's future' (2006), Afful's work generates a reading of time that grounds it in the present's implication in alternative pasts and futures.

If time is an unstable category, so are the spatial determinants of what constitutes the 'orientation' in this issue. If 'orientation is a matter of how we reside in space', as Sara Ahmed (2006: 543) suggests, this issue is cognizant of the movements that shape how African work comes to occupy specific orientations. As Keyan Tomaselli and Handel Kashope Wright insist, '[t]heories and paradigms travel, and as they travel they mutate and change, reconstitute initial emphases, and even forget their origins' (2011: 8). Indeed, if terms such as space and place have been important to postcolonial and globalized accounts of Africa so far—particularly in emphases on local sovereignties and autonomies—this issue is also devoted to unpacking how such terms risk generating too stable an account of African cultural space. Turning to those 'movements' that shape everyday life in contemporary African cultures, many of the works in this issue are interested in how meaning occurs not in fixed locations or self-directed, situated knowledges, but in Africa's intra- and inter-continental movements. For example, Chigbo Anyaduba's paper posits the primacy of movement within Africa in his consideration of diaspora. Resisting the scholarly trend of reading African diaspora exclusively in terms of external forces (the Middle Passage and European

colonialism), his work focuses on Africans' generation of intracontinental and even intranational diasporas, contesting the monolithic status Africa occupies in many accounts of diaspora. Moreover, in its attention to movement, Anyaduba's paper tackles the 'myth that African humanity was something of a fixed cultural essence' (this issue) that is often perpetuated by the racial ontologies deployed in Afrodiasporic studies. The movements on which authors in this issue focus emphasize not so much what African Cultural Studies *is*, so much as the process of how it comes to be, where it might go, and what it might do.

The critical processes that make up this field undergird Handel Kashope Wright's genealogy of the field, found in the first essay of this issue. Wright not only exhorts us to continually ask 'What can African Cultural Studies *do*?', but to do so reflexively, recognizing its awkwardness alongside its necessity for cultural production in the continent as well as for and against a global, transnational Cultural Studies. Evidence of this reflexivity abounds in the essays collected here. We might summarize what emerges in this set of writings with a secondary question 'What kinds of gates must African Cultural Studies walk through?'; an echo of its original, more urgent formulation by Macharia in 'Trans* and Taxonomy', who asks: 'What kind of gate must the black African queer walk through?' Among others, this question raises the problem of the representivity of African cultural production vis-a-vis 'Africa' or African identities in our shared global context of a knowledge capitalism that has been institutionally and epistemologically shaped by the norms and structures of whiteness. This is a proprietary problem of the archive as well as a practical problem of study: who is African Cultural Studies for, who participates in its worldliness, and how can its projects of knowledge be accessed? Both problems persist in the theoretical and curatorial work of *doing* African Cultural Studies, which is often situated administratively in the global north and projected in diasporic or transnational terms or by diasporic or transnational representatives, with the primary exception of the established arena for South African Cultural Studies and even the city-specific Cultural Studies (per McKenzie Wark's (1994) formulation cited by Wright in this issue) of Johannesburg.

It is important for us to note that these features manifest in our own editorial work here, organized largely in Canada and South Africa through transnational and

transcontinental networks. The titular 2014 conference out of which this Special Issue has emerged was hosted at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, yet nevertheless sought to be as transnational as possible through virtual presentations and funding sponsorship for under-resourced scholars based in Africa.ⁱⁱⁱ We also invited dialogue around the challenges associated with hosting our discussions in North America, with attention to these transcontextual dynamics of settler colonialism for African Cultural Studies projects. Convening fora for African Cultural Studies in these sites, then, necessarily carries the labor of ambivalence that Wright outlines for the status quo of the field: 'distinct (however ambivalently) and yet engaged with and imbricated in global transnational Cultural Studies', wherein it is 'at once relatively diffuse and marginalized and integral and contributory' (this issue).

These lopsided forces that shape inquiry, representation and orientations in the field frame many of the issue's contributions to ongoing thought on political problems of race and relationality. Stated directly in Fanonian thought as: 'For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man' (Fanon 1967: 78), and echoed in the more recent thought of Fred Moten, who writes '[t]his strife between normativity and the deconstruction of norms is essential not only to contemporary black academic discourse but also to the discourses of the barbershop, the beauty shop, and the bookstore' (2008: 178), the gravity of Afropessimism remains present. Contra a public and historical discourse that reads Africa in terms of poverty and lack, and a theoretical tradition that documents how the relations produced by slavery, European colonialism and apartheid continue to structure black existence, much of this issue returns us to the performance of the body and the social and institutional framing of its African or Afrodiasporic positioning, so potentially recapitulating its marking 'as an ontological *absence*, posited as sentient object and devoid of any positive relationality, in contradistinction to the human subject's presence' (R.L. 2013). Perhaps most proximate to this structure, Julie Cairnie's study of postcolonial running traces how the transnational running tourism industry, particularly centred on Kenya, makes visible the continuation of the colonial tradition of imposing sport as a site of social and infrastructural control. The texts that form her archive (and her call for its expansion) reify the exotic and primitive body of the colonial gaze by inscribing Kenyan runners with an originary status for running as a human tradition. Through this reinscription, black African excellence becomes an archive of black African excess that registers the

ongoingness of nineteenth-century imperial forms of philanthropy and plunder. In her analysis the Kenyan body is registered for its performance according to the logics of resource extraction, touristic consumption and cosmopolitan spectacle, which directs us to the need to account for the forms of cultural misrecognition and exploitation (including the ongoing production of gendered and racialized bodies) enacted by the sport of running's expanding transnational industry and its literatures.

However, in other contributions the performative body is more resistant, ambivalent, and contradictory, in gestures or modes perhaps proceeding from Sarah Nuttall and Cheryl-Ann Michael's claim that an academic 'overdetermination of the political' has elided complex cultural formations that emerge from popular youth cultures, creolizations, and migrations occurring on and off the continent (2001: 1).^{iv} The efflorescence of Afrofuturism and Afropolitanism in recent African scholarly and cultural production manifests the 'construction of purpose-driven, labile, place-defying identities - identities-on-the-move, in every sense of the term, that remake received geographies and their relationship to subjectivities' that John Comaroff see as commonplace on the continent in the context of our 'planetary electronic commons' (Claudio, 2015: 35) The politics of these frames and their address of popular and diasporic cultures are contested, such as in the online and academic debates as to whether contemporary Africa is 'ready for' Afrofuturism's science fiction imaginaries and their cultural products or has always been shaped by them.^v

Additionally contested is Afropolitanism's affordance, per Achille Mbembe's interpretation, of the 'promise of vacating the seduction of pernicious racialised thinking, its recognition of African identities as fluid, and the notion that the African past is characterised by mixing, blending and superimposing' (Dabiri 2014). Critics such as Amatoritsero Ede argue that identification with Afropolitanism simply marks the symbolic capital of a 'metropolitan instrument of self-affirmation' through the performance of style, design, and a selective (often gender-focused) politics available to those with social and class mobility (2016: 88).^{vi} Grace Musila, likewise, laments both the failures of Afropolitanism to live up to its promises and the troubling anti-African associations contained in these very promises. As she puts it, '[l]ike Coke Lite or a lite beer, Afropolitanism seems to promise Africa lite: Africa *sans* the 'unhealthy' or 'intoxicating' baggage of Africa' (2016: 110). Central to these critiques are the

dynamics of commodification and global cultural consumption, marking the cosmopolitan African with a capitalist identification perhaps exemplarily expressed by the metropolitan phenomenon of a 'spectacular 'hyper-feminine' style' presented by Simidele Dosekun at our 2014 conference, through which young and class-privileged Nigerian women in the city of Lagos see themselves as cosmopolitan consumer citizens and 'postfeminist' subjects.^{vii}

These debates themselves have been welcomed for their injection of complexity into the discursive terrain of reading African cultural production – evidence of Handel Kashope Wright's exhortation for African Cultural Studies as a 'floating signifier' with a 'multiple and contested' signified. Writers Teju Cole and Aaron Bady have noted how Afropolitanism in particular has enabled questions of class to come to the fore of discourse on contemporary Africa, a necessary corrective to a long history of its analytic displacement onto race ('Africa' as the EuroAmerican world's 'racial proletariat par excellence'), such that the term makes clear that the time has passed in which 'African culture-work was thought to be, as such, a revolutionary act, when simply to exist, and to speak, was to resist imperial hegemony' (Bady 2014). Accordingly, discursive terrains that imagine abjection in Africa become newly charged, such as the radical futurities for Black African women migrants in Adwoa Afful's feminist Afrofuturist reading of Octavia Butler's novel *Wild Seed*. Her analysis replaces the now deterministic archive of middle passage epistemologies with an 'abjected' and 'migratory subjectivity, which instead centers the protagonist's agency as a gender- and shape-shifter through her auto-reproductivity and homemaking. By reading the body of Butler's Anywanu as itself the home contra diaspora's (in this case violent) lack, Afful extends the often linear tradition of counter-memory bound up in the transatlantic slave trade by 'reorienting the intercultural vectors of Black Atlantic temporality towards the proleptic as much as the retrospective' (Eshun 2003: 289). The politics of Afrofuturist representation here can direct our gaze to other states and temporalities, positioning the performative body not against its registration as a lack or overdetermination in negativity, but somewhere in the gap between the speculative record of what will have been and the future memoir in which the subject might opt out of representing itself in these terms. It marks one response of many called for in Macharia's naming of 'the problem of representation, which is a problem of the imagination'. His mode of questioning the legibility of both pre-colonial and

contemporary archives of the sexualities and genders of African bodies opens out a prompt for the future of African Cultural Studies more generally: ‘How do Africans imagine? What’s the relationship between African imagination and African lives? Why frame acts of representation within documentary terms? Why claim there is a one-to-one relation between what is represented on a cave wall, that is, between what is imagined, and how lives are lived?’ (this issue)

One mode African Cultural Studies might employ in concert with this prompt is ‘entanglement’, which Sarah Nuttall's keynote presentation at our 2014 conference suggested as a project of reading beyond the subject and inadequate old categories, and no longer presuming that our work is the demystification of Africanity in order to expose the facts of complexity, self-mastery, or human agency. Its aptness is clear in the analyses of both Thabisani Ndlovu and co-authors Marthinus Conradie and Susan Brokensha of race and performance in the South African context. In his portrait of begging in Johannesburg, Ndlovu reads the public contestation of ‘race’ in South Africa through the ‘face work’ of embodied performances of poverty at traffic stops, wherein modes of begging by diverse bodies generate a communicative language with potential donors. While these public performances of race are never explicitly articulated as ‘race talk’, the entrenched institutional dynamics of white respectability/fragility are reenacted by racial encounters in these settings by reifying stereotypes of the black body in the begging postures of servitude, abjection, and cheerfulness. In a different valence, the study of the co-production of race talk in online fora by South African university students conducted by Conradie and Brokensha reveals the strategic avoidance sought by performative digital identities in a persistent landscape of structural racism. Shaped by the institutional and historical frames of transformation for the so-called Born Free generation, the students demonstrated an internalized raced consciousness that casts structural racism as historical and its present-day realities as merely interpersonal or overly binaristic in their politics, a kind of discursive negotiation of race that flatters the pseudo-meritocratic project of ‘colour-blindness’ in their university setting. One cannot help but trace the encumbrances generated by such a post-political ideology to the uneven application of violent state response to the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements (and the transcolonial solidarity registered by their offshoots globally), which erupted since the time the study was conducted; the suppression of their counter-discourse and its demands makes the need

for anti-racist education and institutional decolonization once again clearly present and not past. Both register entanglement, we might say, in the public life of South African politics between precarity's old and new forms and the public demands of living in what Keguro Macharia calls 'a post-taxonomic age, an identity-demanding age' as a lasting feature of the white supremacist world imaginary.

We might also locate the affordances of reading via entanglement in Chigbo Anyaduba's intervention in the discursive terrain of contemporary Afrodiasporic studies, which has largely read 'Africa' as an essentialized racial, historical or cultural origin in relation to the dispersion of its peoples. Anyaduba instead deprivileges dispersion to consider diasporic consciousness as an equally widespread phenomenon for those settled upon or bereft of indigenous sovereignty due to shifting power relations and the imposition of borders in the post/colonial state. Thinking with an African condition of 'disarticulation' extends the question of orientation to political dynamics over what is understood as home in ongoing conflicts on the continent. 'Diaspora space', as theorized by Avtar Brah, is precisely an orientation inhabited by both diasporic subjects and those rendered 'indigenous' by a settler population, so foregrounding 'the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'' (1996: 16). This expansionary analytical project hinges on the problem theorized elsewhere by Macharia of 'political vernaculars', through which attachments and detachments from the political are made legible. This framing traces the entanglement between possibility and impossibility, the prospects of Africans assembling themselves alongside the diachronic impediments to those formations. Channeling Ngugi wa Thiong'o, he reminds that vernaculars have been understood as 'home' languages', sites for building anti-oppressive communities, and 'ways of claiming and shaping space' (Macharia 2016). Yet political vernaculars also provide intractable frames for what is politically thinkable and imaginable, especially given their life inside state processes. It is this ambivalence that orients the work of African Cultural Studies here, an ambivalent space inhabited by regenerative, deconstructive and lyrical performances.

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ⁱ These include, most recently, a number of panels at the Bayreuth meeting of the 2015 African Literature Association that explored themes such as ‘The futures of environmental representation and environmental justice’, and the ‘Environmental Humanities’; the 2012 session of the Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism on ‘Futures of Nature’; work done by cultural critics such as Jennifer Wenzel and Philip Aghoghovwia on petro-cultures; a workshop held in November 2015 at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research on ‘Literature in the Age of the Anthropocene’; and, at the 2014 conference on ‘Contemporary Orientations in African Cultural Studies’, a panel devoted specifically to animality and environmental justice in African contexts (including speakers Jesse Arseneault, Dana Mount, Jordan Sheridan and Nandini Thiyagarajan). The steadily growing body of work on Afrofuturist cultural production and the environment constitutes a particularly exciting area of contemporary Africa-oriented cultural analysis.

ⁱⁱ The conference, held from May 30 to June 1, 2014 at McMaster University in Canada, gathered scholars from around the globe to consider ‘Contemporary Orientations in African Cultural Studies’, and was co-organised by Jesse Arseneault, Sarah D’Adamo, Jessie Forsyth, Sarah Olutola, Helene Strauss and Paul Ugor. Early versions of all but two of the papers included here were presented at the conference. Handel Kashope Wright, who presented a keynote address at the conference, agreed to serve in the additional role of co-editor of this special issue.

ⁱⁱⁱ For the program of the McMaster conference, see: <https://africanculturalstudies.wordpress.com>

^{iv} This notion of the political requires some qualification. Rather than a rejection of the political realities and practices that undergird African cultural praxis, our reference to Nuttall and Michael instead offers a challenge to the authenticity of the political. In that this special issue is partially inspired by feminist and queer work that examines political narratives in those contexts frequently imagined to be apolitical, its aim is to multiply rather than foreclose meanings of the political.

^v See Nnedi Wahala's blog post ‘Is Africa Ready For Science Fiction’, in dialogue with Nollywood director Tchidi Chikere, here <http://nnedi.blogspot.com/2009/08/is-africa-ready-for-science-fiction.html>; contra this discussion, see Namwali Serpell's response accounting for how “Africa Has Always Been Sci-Fi” <http://lithub.com/africa-has-always-been-sci-fi/>.

^{vi} See also Alpha Abebe's post “Afropolitanism: Global Citizenship with African Routes” on the social identity and practice of Afropolitans: <http://blog.qeh.ox.ac.uk/?p=910>.

^{vii} For more on this research and its recent iterations in publication form, see Simidele Dosekun's webpage <https://simidosekun.com>