

Immigration and integration of africans in the era of globalization: an afropolitan analysis of Teju Cole's *open city*

Koffi Asaph Sophonie **KOFFI**

Doctorant,

Université Alassane Ouattara de Bouaké

Côte d'Ivoire

asaphkoffi@gmail.com

Abstract

*In the era of globalization, the movement of Africans across national and continental borders has gained significant attention due to their increasing migratory flux in various parts of the world. Beyond the driving factors of Africans' immigration, especially to the West, their integration in the receiving countries remains complex and challenging, contrary to what the idea of a global world suggests. This paper offers a literary reflection on Teju Cole's novel *Open City* which pictures Africans' experience of migration and integration in the West. While resorting to the theory of Afropolitanism by Achille Mbembe and Taiye Selasi, the study seeks to delineate how the Afropolitan attitude becomes an instigator and facilitator of the integration of Africans in the era of globalization despite the hostilities in their countries of arrival. In doing so, the study of Cole's novel sheds light on the causative factors that trigger Africans' peregrination to the West, the hostile integration they experience, and the Afropolitan perspectives in the narrative which serve as a remediation to the challenge of integration.*

Key Words: African, Afropolitanism, Globalization, Immigration, Integration.

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Immigration et intégration des africains à l'ère de la mondialisation : une analyse afropolitaine de la ville ouverte de Teju Cole

Résumé

*À l'ère de la mondialisation, les mouvements des Africains à travers les frontières nationales et continentales ont fait l'objet d'une attention particulière en raison de l'augmentation des flux migratoires dans diverses parties du monde. Au-delà des facteurs moteurs de l'immigration des Africains, en particulier vers l'Occident, leur intégration dans les pays d'accueil reste complexe et difficile, contrairement à ce que suggère l'idée d'un monde global. Cet article propose une réflexion littéraire sur le roman *Open City* de Teju Cole qui dépeint l'expérience de la migration et de l'intégration des Africains en Occident. En recourant à la théorie de l'afropolitanisme d'Achille Mbembe et de Taiye Selasi, l'étude cherche à définir comment l'attitude afropolitaine devient un instigateur et un facilitateur de l'intégration des Africains à l'ère de la mondialisation en dépit des hostilités dans leurs pays d'arrivée. Ce faisant, l'étude du roman de Cole met en lumière les facteurs qui déclenchent la pérégrination des Africains vers l'Occident, l'intégration hostile dont ils font l'expérience, et les perspectives afropolitaines dans le récit qui servent de remède au défi de l'intégration.*

Mots clés : Africain, Afropolitanisme, Mondialisation, Immigration, Intégration.

Introduction

In the age of globalization, the migration of Africans across national and continental borders has received particular attention because of their increasing migratory flux in various regions of the world. Suppose globalization suggests the idea of fluidity of people, who freely leave their homes to relocate to other parts of the world. In that case, there is still the question of integration of the immigrants which needs to be addressed. The recurrence of the integration challenges resulting from people's displacement has led academic disciplines to tackle this theme. From Sociology to Anthropology, History to Geography, Economics to Political Sciences, Globalization and its corollaries like migration and cosmopolitanism constitute the interest of contemporary research works. In the realm of literature, productions in creative writing turn around the theme of globalization. Bernard A. Oniwe (2017, p.2) notes for example that « Globalization and related notions of migration and cosmopolitanism are major influences on 21st-century African literature. » Today, African fiction has expanded beyond continental borders in the age of globalization, taking on a global dimension in all of its multifaceted nature. People's movement through location and time has shaped the aesthetically pleasing and authorial trajectories of contemporary African fiction, which is globally contextualized today.

Teju Cole's novel *Open City* belongs to contemporary African literature which pictures the effects of globalization and the experience of migration of Africans and their integration into Western societies. Previous studies on the

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novel have mainly focused on the theme of cosmopolitanism and its surrounding concepts. Pieter Vermeulen (2013, p.1) supports for example that « *Open City* exposes the limited critical purchase of the imaginative mobility and intercultural curiosity celebrated by cosmopolitan defenses of literature and art ». Bernard A. Oniwe (2016) considers the narrative of Cole's novel as a conversation on cosmopolitanism while resorting to Kwame Anthony Appiah's (2006) *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. Oniwe, considering the character Julius as the model of cosmopolitan ethics, argues that a cosmopolitan is a person who « welcomes differences while valuing an actual human being ». (p.45) This is what enables the cosmopolitan to be at ease around a variety of settings and individuals. He or she is required to be tolerant of diverse people and groups of people because they care for humanity and universality. Meanwhile, Delphine Fongang (2017) finds that Cole's *Open City* engages in the discourse of displacement and the politics of relocation of African migrant subjects in the diaspora and their complex search for cultural identity. For her, the cosmopolitan status of African immigrants leads them into the dilemma of unhomeliness and identity crisis.

The current study is a contribution to the ongoing reflection on the Nigerian-born American novelist's *Open City*. If the previous studies have mainly focused on the theme of cosmopolitanism and its challenges, they have shown scant regard for an alternative solution to a redemptive integration of African immigrants who hitherto suffer from an illusory cosmopolitan position. Using Achille Mbembe's theory of Afropolitanism as a guide, the study aims to explain how, despite the conflicts in their home

countries, Africans' integration into the globalized world is sparked and made easier by the Afropolitan mindset. By doing this, an analysis of Cole's novel illuminates the causes of Africans' exodus to the West, the harsh integration they face, and the Afropolitan perspective that the narrative offers as a redemption for the integration challenges faced by those cosmopolitan Africans.

1. Driving Factors of Africans' Migration to the West

Well-known migration theorists like C. Dustmann & Y. Weiss (2007), have historically linked reasons for migration to two main factors: « economic motives for migration, and motives related to natural disaster or persecution » (p.2). This suggests that social upheaval, natural disasters, and poverty have been the main causes of migration for a long time. In the era of globalization, however, migration-driving factors have gained multi-faceted apprehensions. Contemporary human peregrination is not just associated with economic reasons or natural disasters or persecution as suggested by Dustmann and Weiss.

Contemporary African fiction mainly deals with the issue of migration whose instigating factors are not sidelined by African creative writers. Teju Cole's *Open City* (2011) emphasizes education or academic reasons and political instabilities in Africa as motives for the characters' migration to the West. A close link is drawn between those factors and the peregrination of Africans who hope to find more peaceful and greener pastures. In the novel, for instance, the quest for better education in the West is associated with the characters Julius and Farouq. The first, Julius is from Nigeria, as a student in Medicine, he migrates to the United

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States for better studies. The following lines give more precision to his relocation:

The end of my time at the school coincided with the end of my time in Nigeria. My mother knew I was taking the SAT, but she didn't know about my applications to colleges in America. [...] I had no luck with Brooklyn College, Haverford, or Bard [...] I got into Macalester, but was offered no money; but Maxwell accepted me, and gave me a full scholarship. My course had been charted. With borrowed money from my uncles, I bought a ticket to New York to begin life in the new country, fully on my own terms. (T. Cole, 2011, pp.84-85)

The excerpt reveals the circumstances of Julius's migration to America. Contrary to what migration theorists identified as reasons for migration, the analysis of Cole's novel helps find that contemporary Africans, mainly youngsters travel to other parts of the world for academic studies. The protagonist Julius is used to incarnate the young ambitious Africans who resort to the advantages of the current era of globalization to study or work elsewhere.

The second protagonist in Cole's narrative whose migration to the West is motivated by academia is Farouq. He is a Moroccan immigrant Julius meets in Brussels during his vacation in Belgium. Though he keeps studying once in Belgium, the flashback to his backstory in Morocco reveals that he also escaped from the oppressive rule of the king in his country of origin. (T. Cole, 2011, p.128). Like Julius, Farouq is portrayed as a believer in the philosophy of globalization and the cosmopolitan ideology that is associated with it. Beyond the unfriendly prevailing atmosphere in Morocco, the protagonist Farouq believes in the peaceful European society for his academic studies.

When we were young, he said, or I should say, when I was young, Europe was a dream. Not just a dream, it was the dream: it represented the freedom of thought. We wanted to come here, and exercise our minds in this free space. When I was doing my undergraduate degree in Rabat, I dreamed of Europe; we all did, my friends and I. (T. Cole, 2011, p.122)

When Farouq travels to Brussels, it is not just a mere relocation or an ordinary displacement. It is rather the accomplishment of a childhood dream. Here, the Moroccan immigrant is somehow the image of the contemporary young Africans who dream of Europe with the hope of finding a peaceful and free space contrary to their African countries which have been experiencing a myriad of predicaments.

Insecurity and political unrest are two more factors that drive Africans to seek safety in the West. Saidu, a secondary character in the novel, represents those realities. During their visit to a prison, the main character Julius, and his lover Nadège met Saidu, an undocumented immigrant from Liberia. Due to his illegal status, he was placed under arrest and is currently awaiting deportation. Saidu recounts his horrifying memories from the Liberian War. « His mother and her sister were shot in the second war, by Charles Taylor's men. Two days later, 187 the men returned and took him away with them, to the outskirts of Monrovia. » (T. Cole, 2011, p.65). He's brought to a camp as a teenage lad, and instead of turning him into a child soldier, Taylor's soldiers force him to work alongside roughly fifty other kids on a rubber farm. In Africa indeed, child labour and child soldiers are the two immediate effects of war on children. Saidu and his fellow students are forced to leave school

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when, « in 1994, the school was shelled and burned to the ground » p.65. They are made to labour in appalling conditions on rubber plantations. Migration is one way that *Open City's* story reveals the indirect effects of war. Working in the camp, Saidu's desire to go to America has allowed him to avoid the inhumane torture he endures there. Saidu has to migrate internally as part of his quest for safety. His travels begin in Liberia and continue via Guinea, and Mali before he finally arrives in Morocco. Along with other sub-Saharan Africans, Saidu moves to Tangier, northern Morocco, and later to Ceuta. These individuals include Malians, Senegalese, Nigeriens, and Ghanaians. « Ceuta as the Ghanaian had said was Spain » (T. Cole, 2011, p.68). The journey continues with intra-Europe migration for Saidu in his way of asylum-seeking. In Spain, he crosses the border into Portugal where he endures hard work for two years before saving enough money to fly into New York. When he reaches New York, officers take him away. « I don't want to go back anywhere, he said. I want to stay in this country, I want to be in America and work. I applied for asylum but it wasn't given. Now they will return e to my port of entry, which is Lisbon. » (p.70).

The narrative of Teju Cole's *Open City* reveals through characterization that the migration of Africans is due to a double driving factor. On the one hand, there is free migration which is embodied by the main character Julius, and on the other hand forced or preemptory migration exemplified by the characters Farouq and Saidu. Be it free or forced, however, immigrants undergo the same fate which is the challenge of their integration into the receiving country.

2. African Immigrants faced with the Challenges of Integration

If globalization suggests the migration of people from everywhere to elsewhere for permanent or temporary residence, the integration of the displaced people to the new destination remains paradoxically challenging. In *Open City*, the African immigrants who live in Western countries are subject to a myriad of difficulties due to their status as non-natives. First, there are some prejudices developed by the natives about (Black) Africans which do not favour their integration when they relocate to America or Europe. Black African immigrants are associated with negativity and the narrative satirizes this perception of Westerners on Africans. This is perceptible in the novel when “Black” and “Gangsters” are used as synonyms. This way of perceiving the other creates stereotypes, the novel suggests that White people's single story of Africans and Blacks happens when all Blacks are tagged as gangsters. In his walks down the streets of New York, Julius is intercepted by some white children who ask him whether he is a gangster:

The little boy wore an imitation Chinese peasant's hat. They had been mimicking slanted eyes and exaggerated bows before they came to where I was. They now both turned to me. Are you a gangster, mister? Are you a gangster? They both flashed gang signs, or their idea of gang signs. I looked at them. It was midnight, and I didn't feel like giving public lectures. He's black, said the girl, but he's not dressed like a gangster. I bet he's a gangster, her brother said, I bet he is. Hey mister, are you a gangster? They continued flicking their fingers at me for several minutes. Twenty yards away, their parents talked with each other, oblivious. (T. Cole, 2011, pp. 31–32)

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The single story as the above quote reveals is based on prejudices that are transmitted from generation to generation. Parents educate their children with the knowledge they have about others. Where can a child learn that being black equals gangster unless they are taught by their parents? While the two children Julius has met on the street debate on whether or not he is a gangster, the narrative mentions that their parents at the same time are talking to each other. Without specifying the content of their conversation, one assumes that they are also developing the probability that Julius, the young Nigerian medical doctor is a gangster.

Discrimination and other forms of injustice against (Black) African immigrants in the West are also a hindrance to the social integration in Cole's *Open City*. The protagonist Farouq, a North African immigrant is a victim of those realities. Farouq is presented as an unsuccessful student who has made a name for himself as an autodidact throughout the story. Having been let down by the king's autocracy in his own Morocco prior to coming to Europe, Farouq thought that Europe would be a hospitable country. « I dreamed of Europe; we all did, my friends and I. But I have been disappointed. Europe only looks free. » (T. Cole, 2011, p. 122). Here, When Farouq learns that his preconceived notions about Europe are greatly inaccurate, he becomes disillusioned. The majority of African immigrants encounter Western hegemony, which, in the words of Homi K. Bhabha (1994), breeds racism and discrimination against the colonized in the West. He writes: « The function of ambivalence as one of the most significant discursive and

psychical strategies of discriminatory power – whether racist or sexist, peripheral or metropolitan – remains to be charted » (H. K. Bhabha, 1994, p. 95). Farouq and other African immigrants in Belgium have felt like second-class citizens. Farouq has suffered because of his status as a subaltern as a student. The fact that his master's thesis was rejected is proof of how the stereotyped African émigré is perceived in the West. « The department rejected my thesis. On what grounds? Plagiarism. They gave no reason. They just said I would have to submit another one in twelve months. » (T. Cole, 2011, p. 128).

The inhospitality of Westerners towards African immigrants is not the concern of Teju Cole's *Open City* alone. Indeed, recent migration novels written by authors of African descent vividly criticize this reality. Authors like Chimamanda N. Adichie, Chika Unigwe, and Taiye Selasi, who constitute the new generation of African writers, all denounce somehow the injustices inflicted on Africans of the diaspora. Racism and other racial injustices are visible manifestations of the hostility African immigrants experience in the West. In Selasi's *Ghana Must Go* (2013), for example, Kweku Sai, the main character, has to contend with discrimination at work. Kweku, a native of Ghana, relocated to Boston, Massachusetts, to study medicine. His wife and their four children appear to have a great life thanks to him. But after a disastrous surgery, Kweku is unfortunately fired and blacklisted by the country's medical establishment as a whole. Not only is this discriminatory conduct, but the white hospital president's cupidity is the reason for his dismissal from the medical community. It has also been shown how discriminatory the Cabots are in response to Kweku being

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the surgeon who was highly recommended to operate on their relative. Kweku's response indicates that he is not considered qualified to be a skilled surgeon since he is African American and black. It is even Kip Cabot who will not accept that an African-American surgeon will perform his sister's surgery. This paragraph captures the Cabots' response more accurately: « The Cabots looked at Kweku, then back at the president. "A word," they said politely, then moved into the hall. Kip Cabot, losing his hearing, spoke too loudly for the acoustics "But he's a—" "Very fine surgeon. The finest we have » (T. Selasi, 2013, p. 74). This extract reveals that there are some challenges as far as the integration of Africans is concerned when they migrate to the West. Despite Kweku's qualification as an excellent surgeon, he is a victim of racism by a white man who believes that Kweku's race is a hindrance to his professional skills. The preceding lines argue that globalization is chimerical in the sense it remains theoretical. Most African immigrants as the novel suggests are not welcome in European and American societies.

3. Towards Afropolitanism: A Means to Diasporic Africans' Integration

According to Taiye Selasi who first coined the term Afropolitanism, it refers to « the newest generation of African emigrants, coming soon or collected already at a law firm/chem lab/jazz lounge near you. You'll know us by our funny blend of London fashion, New York jargon, African ethics, and academic successes » (T. Selasi, 2005, online). If Selasi reduces the term "Afropolitanism" to a generation of

diaspora people who speak multiple languages, live in multiple global metropolises, and interact with both African and non-African cultures, the neologism for Achille Mbembe refers to « the presence of elsewhere in the here, or the interweaving of worlds brought about by Black and non-Black people moving in, out of, and throughout Africa » (A. Mbembe, 2020, p. 59).

The way that Mbembe interprets Afropolitanism challenges Selasi's perspective because, in contrast to Selasi, who solely takes into consideration Africans living outside of the continent, Mbembe's interpretation of the concept involves migration within Africa. But in today's globalized society, Afropolitanism on both sides redefines what it means to be African. This section attempts to delineate how the Afropolitan ideology suggested by Mbembe and Selasi contributes to the integration of Africans wherever they find themselves in the world.

First, racist initiatives and discriminatory practices directed towards African immigrants residing in the West, particularly the United States, appear to be countered by Afropolitanism. Because Afropolitanism is an ideology that constricts hierarchical positions through a system of convergent paradigms, it is successful in combating racial disparities and otherness. The sharpest essentialist identities are blended by it. As demonstrated by the Afropolitan identity, the hegemonic identities that once served to disparage the ostensibly peripheral races ought to put an end to their disagreements in a cooperative effort. Through characterization, Cole's novel provides readers with an insight into the Afropolitan identity. Being Afropolitan implies being a hybrid; examples of this include hybrid

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mothers and African fathers. The protagonist Julius can be read as an Afropolitan due to his hybrid and complex identity. The novel describes Julius as half-German and half-Nigerian. Even though his status sometimes makes him experience an identity crisis, he is however able to be comfortable with many people from different horizons and even travels around the world with ease.

Second, Afropolitanism encourages openness and cultural syncretism by refusing any idea of nationalist struggle. In this way, it creates a kind of bridge between African immigrants and their host community. Achille Mbembe who reads the term in this direction writes: « Afropolitanism is not the same as Pan-Africanism or negritude. Afropolitanism is an aesthetic and a particular poetic of the world. It is a way of being in the world, refusing on principle any form of victim identity » (A. Mbembe, 2020, p.60). If one follows Mbembe's argumentation, only essentialism serves as the basis for racial solidarity for the Afropolitans. Pan-Africanists deny the existence of syncretism and subtly promote racial preference, which is not always effective in the fight for self-determination. According to them, solidarity should be built on cultural diversity, with a focus on the other person's disposition and capacity to accept African unity. In other words, Africans and anyone with an interest in Africa should be included in possibilities for the continent's advancement. Afropolitans attribute racial variety with the potential to advance an intelligent meritocracy that disregards skin colour. Achille Mbembe emphasizes his viewpoint on pan-Africanism in an interview, citing worries for Africa.

Pan-Africanism, to a large extent, is a racial ideology. Afropolitanism is not, insofar as it takes into account the fact that to say “Africa” does not necessarily mean to say “black.” There are Africans who are not black. And not all blacks are African. So Afropolitanism emerges out of that recognition of the multiple origins of those who designate themselves as “African” or as “of African descent.” (A. Mbembe & S. Balakrishnan, 2016, p. 30)

Cole’s novel denies racial solidarity or self-victimization through its main character Julius, hitherto read as the Afropolitan character *par excellence*. Julius is a young doctor from Nigeria who resides in New York. The story depicts him taking daily strolls around the city's streets, stopping at cathedrals, libraries, and museums. He finds a taxi on the way back home because he is far from his flat. When Julius enters the cab, he asks the driver how things are rather than saying hello. The taxi driver is angered by his attitude because he finds it hard to believe that his fellow African passenger would enter the vehicle and not act in an African manner. « You know, the way you came into my car without saying hello, that was bad. Hey, I’m African just like you, why you do this? » (T. Cole, 2011, p. 40). Since they are African immigrants living in a foreign country, there ought to be some sort of unity among them, according to the cab driver. Afropolitanism seeks to eliminate this racial solidarity.

The narrative of *Open City* puts a special emphasis on the rejection of Africans’ self-victimization. The main protagonist Julius is the perfect image of the Afropolitan in standing against other Africans in the diaspora who still consider themselves victims in their relationship with their host Western community. However, Julius does not appear

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as an acculturate person who behaves like white folks in the presence of other Africans. He is rather used to vehicle the Afropolitan vision as presented by its proponents. It is therefore not clear enough to perceive his real position when it comes to the total abrogation of racial solidarity. One consequently understands that Afropolitanism denounces African self-victimization but with some limits.

Third, Afropolitanism facilitates the integration and the socio-professional insertion of Africans. Indeed, people in the West have always portrayed Africa as a continent without a future, a continent where people are aimless and unsuccessful. For them, the intellectual deficit and other negative apprehensions of Africans are driving forces behind the migration of Africans to their countries. The new generation of Africans in the diaspora, known as Afropolitans, are producing unfathomable triumphs in every sector to refute all Western pre-constructed conceptions about Africa to end the stereotyped construction of Westerners about that continent. The accomplishments of those Africans living abroad inspire the celebration of the African continent in today's cosmopolitan world. In *Open City*, for instance, African characters in the West are portrayed with excellent academic records and are successful in their professional domain. Farouq the Moroccan immigrant in Brussels is read as an intellectual as the below excerpt reveals: « That was my dream, the way young people can have very precise dreams: I wanted to be the next Edward Said! And I was going to do it by studying comparative literature » (T. Cole, 2011, p.128). Following this dream, Farouq is very ambitious, he is multilingual and he

has projects of becoming a translator and other cosmopolitan vision. In the narrative, Farouq tells Julius:

I have two projects, Farouq said. There is the practical one, and there's a deeper one. I asked if the practical one was his job at the shop. No, he said, not even that; the practical thing, for the long term, is my studies. I'm studying to be a translator between Arabic, English, and French, and I'm also doing some courses in media translation and subtitles for films, this kind of thing. That's how I will find a job. But my deeper project is about what I said last time, the difference thing. I strongly believe this, that people can live together, and I want to understand how that can happen. It happens here, on this small scale, in this shop, and I want to understand how it can happen on a bigger scale. But as I told you, I'm an autodidact, so I don't know what form this other project will take. (T. Cole, 2011, p. 113)

The form of erudition and excellence that is attached to the life of African immigrants in Western societies is one of the determining factors of the apprehension of the philosophy of Afropolitanism. Taiye Selasi writes for example: « We are Afropolitans – the newest generation of African emigrants, [...] You'll know us by our funny blend of London fashion, New York jargon, African ethics, and academic successes. [...] Most of us are multilingual: in addition to English and a Romantic or two, we understand some indigenous tongues and speak a few urban vernaculars » (T. Selasi, 2005, online). For Selasi, academic success and multilingualism are fundamental in the description of the Afropolitan. This perspective is even shared by the Cameroonian theorist Achille Mbembe. It is important to note that Mbembe is one of the main theorists of Afropolitanism whose essay "Afropolitanism" (2007) was a reaction to Selasi's "Bye-Bye Babar" (2005) in which he

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shows the limits of Selasi's vision and suggests a broader orientation. Despite some divergences in terms of trajectory and belonging, both theorists agree on multilingualism as a determining factor of the Afropolitans. Mbembe notes:

Today, many Africans live outside Africa. Others have decided of their own accord to live on the continent but not necessarily in their countries of birth. More so, many of them have had the opportunity to experience several worlds and, in fact, have not stopped coming and going, developing an invaluable wealth of perception and sensitivity in the course of these movements. These are usually people who can express themselves in more than one language. They are developing, sometimes without their knowing it, a transnational culture which I call "Afropolitan" culture (A. Mbembe, 2020, p. 60)

Here, Mbembe describes the Afropolitan by taking into account their transcultural position, their openness to the world, and most importantly their sense of erudition that bestows them the ability to be multilingual. Languages are fundamental when it comes to people's integration when they migrate. The Afropolitans' capacity to understand not only some European languages but also African indigenous ones, facilitates their integration when they are elsewhere.

Conclusion

The aim of this study conducted on Teju Cole's *Open City* was to delineate how the Afropolitan ideology reinforces and facilitates the integration of African immigrants in the West. The theory of Afropolitanism suggested by Achille Mbembe and Taiye Selasi has helped pose the contextual ground of the analysis. Thus, the study has interrogated the motives of the characters' immigration in the novel. It revealed that both free and forced migration are linked to Africans' peregrination to the West. On the one hand, some Africans relocate freely to Europe or America for Academic and professional causes. On the other hand, some immigrants are forced to leave their country of origin to escape war persecution, and political instability. African immigrants are however confronted with the issue of integration into the host community through problems of discrimination, racism, and other forms of injustice due to their status as strangers. The Afropolitan vision therefore appears as a facilitator of Africans' integration since it creates a cultural bridge between African immigrants and their hosts. Afropolitanism while combatting nationalist ideologies, makes the promotion of cultural syncretism rather than racial solidarity and most importantly values African excellence in the diaspora. Nonetheless, what is reproachable to this philosophy is that it urges Africans to act like clowns who must wear the Afropolitan mask to present a joyful face to the outside world. Despite its goal of

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improving Africans' identity in the globalization time, this concept remains subjective and consequently remedial.

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