

Francis B. Nyamnjoh's Intimate Strangers: Mapping "Fragmegration" in Botswanan Urban Centres

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Abstract

This paper draws on Francis Nyamnjoh's Intimate Strangers to argue that Africa's uneven development has created growing gaps within/among African urban centers and countries, thereby engendering an African "fragramegration." That novel attests that Africans' mobility to African urban centres and countries with greener pastures such as Botswana is characterized by multiple layered identity (de/re)constructions based on integration-fragmentation and globalization-localization. Drawing on Botswanans' idea of "Makwerekweres" the paper argues for the promotion of difference and diversity. It further asserts that the nuances that Nyamnjoh's fiction brings to mobility, belonging, and globalization adumbrate socio-economic and politico-cultural interconnections and interdependencies. Reading Nyamnjoh's novel through the fragramegration lens asseverates his belief in nimble-footedness and flexibility in belonging. It is also a perspective that foregrounds the author's informative concepts of incompleteness and conviviality and thus the importance of reciprocal acknowledgement of the Other in her/his otherness among Africans, and between Africans and the West or the rest.

Index terms— fragramegration, locals, globals, cynics, illegals, passives, incompleteness.

1 I. Introduction: Situating Integrating

and Fragmenting Polarities in Francis Nyamnjoh's Fiction ven though mobility has been a timeless buzzword of Africa's socio-economic and politicocultural struggles, "the intricacies of mobilities and identities within Africa are largely ignored ??and] mobile Africans on the continent are, perplexingly, not often considered diasporas in their own right" ??Nyamnjoh, 2013: 653). Landau and Bakewell concur with Nyamnjoh by asserting that Africans are increasingly living in an "era in which varied forms of human mobility -across towns, countries and political borders -are redefining the meanings of home, community and belonging" (2018:1). Indeed, by road, sea, air and space, Africans are constantly moving physically, socially, emotionally, and virtually and every corner of the African urban is becoming a socio-economic and politico-culturally connected and connecting neighbourhood. The progressing micro, macro, macro-macro, and micromacro growth of African mobility now resembles what Rosenau has elsewhere referred to as "a mobility upheaval" (2004:36). At the microlevel, it has been stimulating imaginations and facilitating cultural encounters; the macro level has been enlarging the size and relevance of subcultures, heightening the need for international cooperation, and the micro-macro level increasing movement across African borders. Granted that Africans straddle territorial spaces and maintain identities with them, many aspects of their lives are fragmenting and integrating, especially when they move to the cities.

Mobility to urban centres provides a platform for Africans to construct priorities among affiliations, attach themselves to collective enterprises and connect to distant others who share their aspirations or fears. The vastness of African encounters and confrontations with distant cultures through national and foreign travel results in what Rosenau, calls "fragramegration" (2004): a simultaneity of integrating and fragmenting polarities defining (and sometimes confining) how identities are formed and performed. Viewed from both the integrating and fragmenting dimensions, Africans are increasingly thinking of themselves in non-constant, non-fixed or fluid ways because they are constantly forming/performing different identities, and realizing that the distant is becoming ever closer, tying up their identities to ever more diversifying local and global worlds. The integrating and fragmenting tendencies

1 I. INTRODUCTION: SITUATING INTEGRATING

45 of African mobility are increasingly demanding that we view "the physical and social mobility of Africans as
46 an emotional, relational and social phenomenon captured in the complexities, contradictions and messiness of
47 their everyday realities" [that are themselves] multi-layered, multivocal and multifocal dimensions of everyday
48 negotiation and navigation of myriad identity margins" (653).

49 Nyamnjoh thematizes "framegration" in both his scholarly works: *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics*
50 *of Belonging* (2005), *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*
51 *2006*), "C'est l'homme qui fait l'homme": Cul-de-Sac Ubuntu-ism in Côte d'Ivoire (2015); #Rhodes Must
52 Fall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa (2016), and *Drinking from the Cosmic Gourd: How Amos*
53 *Tutuola Can Change Our Minds* (2017) and fictional oeuvre: *Mind Searching* (1991), *The Disillusioned African*
54 *(1995)*, *A Nose for Money* (2003), *Souls Forgotten* (2008), *The Travail of the Ieudonné* (2008), *Married but*
55 *Available* (2009), *Intimate Strangers* (2010), and *Homeless Waters* (2011). In all the above works, Nyamnjoh
56 argues that if mobility has always been part and parcel of the African, "today, new technologies of communication
57 and transportation allow for more frequent and multidirectional flows of people, ideas and cultural symbols" and
58 that "such acceleration and complexification simultaneously facilitate and impair the formation of transnational
59 communities, multiple identities and multilayered citizenship, and the blurring of boundaries between different
60 categories of mobility and the mobile" (654). To Nyamnjoh, even though Africans may be more nimble-
61 footed today than ever before, they are also being drawn to fixities. That is, Africans' "obsessions with
62 purity, authenticity, primary and often parochial identities coexist with notions of nation state and its logic
63 of large-scale, exclusive communities" (654). Also, Africans "are busy rediscovering cultural identities as heritage
64 and as commodity"; a "traffic in difference" that "combines with political and social policing of borders to
65 simultaneously endorse and contest dominant ideas of globalisation as a process that encourages flexible mobility
66 and open-ended cosmopolitan identities" (654).

67 This paper therefore draws on Nyamnjoh's IS to argue that African mobility is generating the emergence of
68 an epoch of African "framegration" characterized by profound transformations that are fostering contradictions
69 and affirmations between globalizing and localizing, centralizing, and decentralizing, integrating and fragmenting
70 polarities both at the micro-and macro-levels of Botswanan society. It demonstrates that in African urban
71 centres identities are formed and performed through a combination of fragmenting and integration forces.
72 The paper also highlights the mechanisms of contraction and expansion which sustain and generate localizing,
73 decentralizing and fragmenting forces, and globalizing, centralizing, and integrating forces, respectively. In the
74 paper's context, "framegration" affirms that interwovenness between human lives defines Botswanan urban
75 life or identities not merely as urban politics, but as coexistent worlds, domains, projects, or texts of ongoing
76 and overlapping Botswanan interconnections. The paper further argues that in the African urban centre, the
77 diverse multiplicity of urban opposites engenders an endless series of tensions between urban core and periphery,
78 national and transnational, communitarianism and cosmopolitanism, cultures and subcultures, decentralization
79 and centralization, universalism and particularism, flow and closure, pace, and space, self and Other and the
80 distant and the proximate.

81 The paper concludes that reading IS through the "framegration" lens foregrounds Nyamnjoh's argument that
82 the new global cultural system needs to promote difference instead of suppressing it and that global structures
83 should celebrate diversity, rather than replicate uniformity; that instead of asking people to become the same,
84 we need to start portraying, dramatizing, and communicating our differences to one another. Most importantly,
85 the framegrative lens uncovers the nuances that Nyamnjoh's fiction brings to mobility, migration, belonging,
86 citizenship, and globalization by affirming a Nyamnjohian social action that emphasizes interconnections,
87 interrelationships, interdependences, collaboration, and coproduction and encourages "commonalities and
88 possibilities ad infinitum." That Nyamnjohian social action asserts that both immigrants and indigenes need
89 to act and be acted upon and anything could have the possibility of becoming "the subject and object of action"
90 thereby "making power and weakness nimble-footed, fluid and situational, and giving life more of a character of
91 flux and interdependence than permanence" (2015:8). To flesh out the above hypothetical contention, the paper
92 borrows critical perspectives from Rosenau's twelve worlds of "framegration."

93 According to Rosenau, the world of "framegration" is made up of Four Local Worlds (Traditional Locals (TL),
94 Resistant Locals (RL), Exclusionary Locals (EL), and Affirmative Locals (AL)), Four Global Worlds (Affirmative
95 Globals (AG), Resistant Globals (RG), Specialized Globals (SG) and Traditional Globals TG)) and Four Private
96 Worlds (The Alienated (TA) (the Cynics (TC) and the Illegals (TI) and the Passives (TP) (Tuned-Out Passives
97 (TOP) and Circumstantial Passives (CP))). The local worlds are those inhabited by persons whose orientations
98 and actions are smaller in scope and scale than those of the people who occupy the global worlds. TL are isolated
99 from the rest of the world because they "work and think in terms of their immediate geographic space; RL
100 "work and think in response to globalizing dynamics they regard as threatening and thus worthy of opposing";
101 EL are aware of interconnectivities, "but they work and think more in terms of retreating from, rather than
102 resisting any links to globalized space"; and AL adapt the external inputs to local practices and norms without
103 diminishing the distinctive features of their world and contribute to the integrative dimensions of "framegration"
104 (52). To Rosenau "TL live in closed communities, RL live in political arenas, EL dwell in enclaves, and AL live
105 in open communities" (53). Global Worlds are populated "by individuals who share tendencies to think and act
106 on a scale that exceeds a local context [and they are global because] their daily routines are linked into distant
107 developments" (53). AG "share positive inclinations toward the processes of globalization seeing them as moving

108 humankind toward a greater integration and prosperity”; RG “regard globalizing dynamics as detrimental to the
109 wellbeing of peoples”; SG are involved in “only limited dimensions of global affairs such as human rights issues”;
110 and TG’s concerns “are framed in terms of their country’s interests and are thus territorially specific” (53).

111 Private Worlds are populated by persons who “are oblivious to what happens in any local or global world
112 ??and] live exclusively in their own private worlds” because they see “no nearness and no farness; but only daily
113 routine, precedent, avoidance, or disdain” (54).

114 Local and global events are not of interest to them, “either because prior developments have alienated them
115 or because they have never evolved community concerns of any sort” (54). TP are “people who have never been
116 part of any local or global world, [while] TA are likely to have been in one or more worlds at some prior time and
117 then subsequently rejected them” (54) because of say cynicism about politics, worldwide decline in the respect
118 for politicians, governments, and other public institutions. TC refer to those “whose alienation is such that they
119 refrain from engagement with any political world” (56). TI are those who are “so selfconscious about their own
120 alienation that they resort to illegal, even violent, behaviour to express their contempt for all the local and global
121 worlds” (56). TOP designate those “who may be fully aware of their apathy but who do not avail themselves of
122 ample opportunities afforded by time” (56). CP are those “whose daily conditions are such as to leave them no
123 time to care about anything beyond their daily efforts to maintain their subsistence” (56). The life situations of
124 CP “are marked by a lack of education and a hand-to-mouth existence that compels them to focus so intensely
125 on the daily needs of food, clothing, and shelter” (56). IS attests that the above worlds are sites of continual
126 fluctuation and the movement within and among the worlds is either fast-or slow-paced, either spasmodic or
127 continuous, depending on the degree to which the mobility, migration, belonging, citizenship, and globalization
128 course of events increasingly intrude.

129 Intimate Strangers (IS) is the capstone of his thematization of mobility of humans, ideas, and things with
130 their consequent encounters and the (re)production of similarities and difference. IS marks one of the major
131 affirmations of Nyamnjoh’s argument that “those who move or are moved always tend to position themselves
132 or be positioned (hierarchically) in relation to those they meet and to one another” (654). Set in Gabarone,
133 Botswana IS delineates the life of Immaculate, a Mimbolander (Cameroonian) who migrated to Botswana in
134 search of greener business pastures. Told through the first person, the story is largely a collection of transcribed
135 accounts about maids and madams presented from Immaculate’s perspective as a research assistant or transcriber
136 for Dr Nanny. Nyamnjoh employs the literary trope of migration to affirm that both geographical dispersion
137 and psychological derangement have become intermittent themes that resonate with what Ojo calls “postcolonial
138 texts that seek to give voice to new relationships between immigrants and locals, suggesting the ways in which
139 immigrants both transform and are transformed by their new country” (2018:59). The plot is also partly the
140 story of Immaculate’s resilience against otherization from Quitdoqu and his wife, Kathleen, Yolinda, a coworker
141 at G-Textiles, Dr Marius Kaba and his wife, Mama Comfort, Immaculate’s boyfriends, Noway and Phillip and the
142 entire Botswanan community that has designated her a Makwerekwere (stranger or foreigner). In IS, Immaculate
143 invites us to express and explore the complex experiences of immigrants in the African diaspora, the problems
144 of learning new cultural codes, the dilemma of the choice between retaining native cultures or assimilating, and
145 the ever-mutating conflicts between immigrants and their new host societies. Embodying a reaction against real,
146 perceived, or even potential transgressions upon national borders and/or cultural boundaries, IS critiques anti-
147 globalist visions that establish firm divisions along those nationalistic and cultural boundaries that Botswanans
148 consider integral to a uniform national identity.

149 In IS, non-Botswanan identities are (re)mapped in racial, representational, geographical, or historical terms;
150 borders are empowered and disempowered and that empowers and disempowers the multiple identities of the
151 immigrants who are dwellers of those borders. More than in any Nyamnjohian narrative, IS grapples with an
152 African mobility upheaval that is resulting in transitioning, crossing of territories, and changing of perspectives
153 because characters are meeting others from different ethnic, class and cultural backgrounds, and are seeking to
154 create new identities out of their engagements. The novel paints an elusive world of identities, affiliations,
155 and allegiances that calls into question Botswanan orthodoxies of political attachments and heralds global
156 “framigrations” such as Brexit, Donald Trump’s border wall, the 2019 xenophobic attacks on foreigners in
157 South Africa, the 2019 closing of the Nigerian borders by President Buhari and the reemergence of far-right,
158 populist parties in Europe and the world.

159 2 II.

160 3 Delineating Traditional Locals, Resistant Locals, Exclusion- 161 ary Locals and Affirmative Locals in Nyamnjoh’s IS

162 This section argues that in IS, some characters champion convergence, dramatize Botswanan distinctiveness
163 and refuse “to straddle worlds, navigate, negotiate and reconcile [socio-economic and politicocultural] chasms”
164 ??Nyamnjoh, 2015:4). That is, there are Botswanans who are TL, RL, EL or AL because their orientations
165 and actions are hegemonically small in scale/scope because they price conversion over conversation and refer to
166 non-Botswanans as Makwerekweres (foreigners). Also, their fragmenting
167 dimensions of “framigration” involve movements toward or commitments to the local -to those proximate and

3 DELINEATING TRADITIONAL LOCALS, RESISTANT LOCALS, EXCLUSIONARY LOCALS AND AFFIRMATIVE LOCALS IN NYAMNJOH'S IS

168 limited and limiting spaces that are, or seek to be, disengaged from a global context -either through indifference
169 to, aversion to, or retreat from globalizing dynamics and consequently diversity. Such characters uncritically
170 reproduce taken-for-granted dichotomies and bounded notions of being and belonging because they ignore the fact
171 that Botswanan identities are inventions, mutually constitutive existential and epistemic constructions founded
172 on socio-economic and politico-cultural processes that constantly denaturalize cultural practices and strip them
173 of primordial Botswanan authenticity and essentialism.

174 When IS opens, a 24-year-old Mimbolander, Immaculate, who has been in Botswana for 13 years, admits that
175 until she migrated to Botswana and had a job with Sun Power, she had never known that an African could be
176 different from another African until her mistreatment at Sun Power (1). During lunchtime, nobody (except two
177 nameless Zimbabwean boys aged 22 and 23, respectively) sits with Immaculate or shares food with her because
178 she speaks Makwerekwere (foreigner or outsider-like). To aggravate her exclusionary or outsider status, her co-
179 workers respond in Setswana whenever she greets them in English (2). Moreover, Immaculate lives at G-North
180 with Mr Quitdoqu (her cousin) through whom Sun Power recruits hyper-cheap labour directly from Zimbabwe
181 and Zambia. Their house is "like a camp" (2) and at the same time a dumping ground for Sun Power. At
182 Quitdoqu's, Immaculate is forced to work like a slave (2). When Quitdoqu marries Kathleen, Kathleen becomes
183 too racist towards Immaculate: "[y]ou people from Africa, you are just so dull. You say you have A' Levels,
184 what is A' Levels? It's nothing! In America, from 11th Grade, we go to university, which means we are cleverer
185 than Africans" (2). Immaculate tells us that Quitdoqu's wife, though the youngest in the house, was like a
186 bitter African slave master who treated them the way African slaves were treated in America in the olden days.
187 Immaculate concludes that when she thinks of Botswanans having negative attitudes towards other Africans,
188 she believes that no matter where one comes from, what God has created one to be is what one is because even
189 Kathleen, who is not a Botswanan, treats her like the Botswanans of Sun Power do (2).

190 The above disintegrating tendencies towards Immaculate reveal that immigrants arrive at their destinations
191 with many uncertainties and hassle numerous oppugns like finding employment and accommodation; adapting to
192 new laws, cultures, and languages; negotiating/navigating obstacles to assimilation and integration; and enduring
193 the pangs of loneliness and indefinite separation from their families. They equally echo the painful realities of
194 survival that immigrants must confront in contemporary societies like Botswana, intolerant of cultural difference.
195 Most importantly, the instances of disintegration are Nyamnjuh's subtle ways of introducing us to the smallscale
196 orientations and actions of the workers of Sun Power and Kathleen; orientations and actions that demonstrate
197 their "historic ties to land; long-standing patterns of life and power balances other than ethnicity that are felt to
198 be threatened; and historic ties to an ethnicity that are felt to be under siege" ??Rosenau, 2004:52) and qualifies
199 them as Rosenauian TL, RL and EL respectively.

200 The delineation of Immaculate's chagrin, is Nyamnjuh's way of asserting that as an immigrant Immaculate
201 would have loved to communicate and be communicated to; understand and be understood; engage in and be
202 engaged with multicultural communication which would foster understanding, tolerance, respect and harmony
203 among Botswanans and immigrants. Also, the Botswanan Others' refusal to integrate Immaculate at work and
204 Kathleen's denial of Immaculate's humanity in Quitdoqu's house constitute Nyamnjuh's ways of establishing
205 IS as a narrative that thematizes cross-cultural movements, cultural memories, and individual and collective
206 struggles for integration abroad, and sometimes at home because *ceteris paribus*, Quitdoqu's home should have
207 been Immaculate's home away from home. Sun Power and Quitdoqu's home as places where Immaculate is not
208 wanted, serve as spaces for criticism and mediation about migration and otherness. They are also spaces from
209 which Nyamnjuh projects the voices of the discriminated African immigrants -Mimbolandians, Zimbabweans,
210 Zambians, etc., who long for hybrid spaces they can call home in the African diaspora both in Africa and the
211 West.

212 Immaculate would have loved that her immigrant status or identity takes the form of a patchwork pragmatically
213 being assembled and reassembled from disparate and overlapping socioeconomic and politico-cultural pieces,
214 but unfortunately, purist Botswanans want to map it out for her as a preestablished, neatly laid out and
215 carefully followed plan, symbolized by the discriminatory employment policy at Sun Power and Kathleen's racist
216 disqualification of Cameroonian intelligence and education. The acts of discrimination against Immaculate call to
217 mind Mendieta's argument that "one is never cosmopolitan without setting out from some locality, whether it be
218 spatial or temporal;" that "one is never simply rooted, localized without that indexicality being deciphered with
219 reference to some view of the global map" (1999:242). By rejecting Immaculate as a foreigner, the Botswanans
220 do not realize that to be local is to be on some sort of map, a map that aims to provide a glance at the whole
221 because the Botswanan locality would always be a trajectory from a distance to a place, and from that place
222 back toward that horizon of distantiation.

223 Granted the fragmentative implications of that rejection, it is not surprising that the two Zimbabwean boys
224 who recognize Immaculate's humanity in Sun Power are nameless. Even though one could argue that their
225 namelessness represents the ever-increasing illegal migration in contemporary society, another hypothesis is
226 that because names, especially in the African context, most often speak a language, their namelessness is a
227 Botswanan valorisation of their "identitylessness" and fragmentation within Botswanan society. By crossing the
228 border between Zimbabwe and Botswana, they have become socio-linguistic pariahs just like Immaculate. The
229 Zimbabwean-Botswanan border, just like the Botswanan-Mimbolandian one, has become a line of demarcation
230 (fragmentation) instead of a line of contact and cooperation (integration), a meeting point, or a line of inclusion.

231 However, when Kathleen sends Immaculate away from Quidoqu's, these two Zimbabweans introduce her to
232 a Botswanan immigration officer, Angel, who offers Immaculate free accommodation at her place. This is
233 Nyamnjoh's adroit manner of depicting the simultaneous fragmenting and integrating tendencies of postcolonial
234 societies.

235 The Botswanan TL's seclusion from globalizing dynamics, the RL's fear and contestation of modern changes
236 and the EL's fear of and isolation from the perceived encroachment of a more encompassing world are further
237 demonstrated by the fragmenting idea that everyone must speak Setswana as an act of selfdefinition or integration.
238 It is a bizarre attempt to capture the locality or alterity of Botswananness through a linguistic gauntlet that
239 ignores the agency of Africans to appropriate, modify and shape languages to their purposes. Behind the
240 Botswanan assertion of linguistic nationalism lies an ontological demand that Botswana be coded "not-for-
241 other-Africans", confined to a Setswana linguistic zone hemmed by Chinese Walls or Iron Curtains that include
242 insiders and exclude outsiders. Such linguistic nationalism is strange, coming from a country that relishes the
243 expatriate services of the Chinese over those of Africans: "I [Immaculate] got a job at G-Textiles where I was the
244 only foreigner, apart from the Chinese joint-venture partners in senior management" (7). When, during the Al
245 Jazeera television programme "Studio B, Unscripted: With Elif Shaka and Wole Soyinka" on November 22, 2019,
246 Shafak declared that the "core of nationalism is ugly" and then called for a global "cognitive flexibility", she was
247 obvious thinking about situations like the one faced by Immaculate in Botswana and many immigrants around
248 the world. G-Textiles' preference for the Chinese reminds one of Kinyondo's fear that China may recolonize
249 Africa because according to him, Sino-African relations are characterized by a balance of trade skewed toward
250 China, very little Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing to Africa, the crippling of African economies
251 by China's "debt trap diplomacy" and negligible Chinese support of Africa as compared to the huge contracts
252 revenues and diplomatic support China gets from the continent (2019:1).

253 From another perspective, Immaculate's declaration that she did not know that there was any place in the
254 world where English was still a strange language, just like Kathleen's boasting about US citizens' intelligence,
255 reverberates with the rush by some Eurocentric or Anglocentric Africans to romanticise and universalise the
256 English language and US culture, respectively. However, the declaration is more that of a multilingual African who
257 relishes her mastery over English and tries to enrich the language and liberate it from its European provenance.
258 To Nyamnjoh, therefore, Botswanans need to learn to enhance Setswana and free it from its Botswanan origin.
259 That way, they would be transforming the Setswana-other languages boundary from a line of demarcation and
260 separation of the linguistic us/them or insiders/outsideers to a line of contact and cooperation, a meeting point
261 for multilinguaging, or a line of multilinguistic inclusion. That would help Botswanans such as Yolinda (who
262 masterminds Immaculate's firing by G-Textiles), and stop xenophobically identifying multilingual Zimbabweans,
263 Zambians, Ghanaians, Nigerians and Mimbolandians as outsiders who have come to seize their socio-economic
264 and political opportunities.

265 Nyamnjoh also captures the Traditional, Resistant and Exclusionary Localization of Botswana through Angel's
266 revelations. To Angel, something positive can be done about the Zimbabwe-Botswanan border because borders
267 are man-made. She argues that the water resources used to unite Botswana and Zimbabwe but presently, they
268 divide them to an extent where they can no longer share even food and water (10). When Immaculate concurs
269 that her uncle used to tell her that boundaries are our greatest killer, Angel tells Immaculate that every June and
270 December, the Botswanan Immigration Police undertakes what they call a "Clean-Up-Campaign", a biannual
271 house-to-house and workplace-to-workplace search aimed at identifying Zimbabweans whom the Immigration
272 Police consider as litter (10). The Clean-Up-Campaign generally does not involve Botswana's neighbours from
273 South Africa, Lesotho, and Swaziland because they are not considered Makwerekwere. Botswanans feel more
274 comfortable with them than with Zambians, Malawians, Central, East or West Africans (9). Angel equally reveals
275 that there was a year when the Chief of Immigration appointed her to lead the Clean-Up-Campaign group but
276 that she refused and told her boss that he was more of a Zimbabwean because he was Kalanga (11). Angel's
277 argument qualifies her as an AL because faced with global dynamics symbolized by Immaculate, Angel neither
278 isolates herself from, nor is aversive to, nor inclined to retreat from them. By accommodating Immaculate, she
279 absorbs external encroachments on her own terms without fearing her local world will lose its integrity.

280 Unlike the other Botswanans, she is not a TL, RL or EL because she is not disruptive with respect to globalizing
281 patterns. Through Angel, Nyamnjoh affirms that appellations such Africa, South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland,
282 Zambia, Malawi, Central, East or West Africa are fragmentative European imperial constructs whose cartographic
283 applications fail to recognise that Botswana and her neighbours are inseparable, each (re)appropriating the
284 other and being (re)appropriated and (re)projecting the other and being (re)projected through the profound
285 transfigurations that foster contradictions and affirmations between globalizing and localizing, centralizing and
286 decentralizing, integrating and fragmenting polarities at the micro-and macrolevels. The Golfer, Tiger Woods,
287 commendably summed up this (re)appropriation and (re)projection processes when he revealed that it bothers
288 him when people label him as African American since he is a "Cablinasian": one-quarter black, one-quarter Thai,
289 one-quarter Chinese, one-eighth white, and one-eighth American Indian (qtd. in ??osenau, 2004:23). In line with
290 Wood's coinage, Nyamnjoh's argument in IS is that Africans are all, a little Botswanan, Zimbabwean, Zambian,
291 South African, Basotho, Swazi, Malawian and all the other African demonyms at once. Or if they are not yet,
292 then they are becoming a little all the 54 African demonyms every day.

293 4 III.

294 Sketching Affirmative Globals, Resistant Globals, Specialized Globals, and Traditional Globals in Nyamnjoh's
 295 IS This section focuses on Immaculate, Dr Marius Kaba, a Mimbolander and Professor of Medicine in the
 296 Diamond University of Science and Technology (DUST), Dr John-Strong Long-Bottom, another Mimbolander
 297 and Professor of Environmental Sciences at DUST and Dr Winter-Bottom Nanny, an African American who has
 298 traced her descent to the Tikar of Mimboland who think and act on a scale that exceeds a local context. The
 299 section identifies them as global in the sense that their daily routines are linked into distant developments, but
 300 at the same time each of their global worlds is differentiated by the ways in which they conceive large scale and
 301 contextualize the non-territorial. The section argues that IS asserts that the above characters increasingly have
 302 complex loyalties and multi-layered identities, corresponding to the globalization of socioeconomic and cultural
 303 forces and the reconfiguration of political power. These characters demonstrate that the movements of African
 304 or global socio-economic and politico-cultural goods across Botswanan borders and the intermingling of African
 305 or global cultures create the basis of a transnational civil society based on overlapping identities and interlocking
 306 collectivities.

307 Nyamnjoh thematizes the global worlds through Kaba, Long-Bottom and Nanny. As immigrants, they are
 308 like containers, "filled up not with purities, but with entangled or mangled intricacies in the sense of the
 309 myriad identity margins they negotiate and navigate in the course of their mobilities" to and within Botswana
 310 ??Nyamnjoh, 2013: 657). Their impurities "sum up to their individual or collective habitus, from which they
 311 draw their cultural and social capital to authenticate themselves relationally" in Botswana (657). Even though the
 312 narrator tells us very little about Kaba's and Long-Bottom's abilities to produce and help their students consume
 313 productive knowledge, what is clear is that as Professors, they are filled with the diverse epistemologies from their
 314 local Mimboland world, Botswana, and other places. Also, the researcher, Nanny, embodies epistemologies from
 315 her first local US world, second local Mimboland world and Botswana (that she and her research straddle). Seen
 316 from this perspective, the three characters qualify as globals because of their capacity for re-enacting, reactivating,
 317 or reigniting and maintaining multiple epistemologies and identities. Put differently, Kaba's, Long-Bottom's and
 318 Nanny's professions as knowledge seekers and producers make it difficult for them to think of themselves in
 319 constant, fixed ways because their professions stress the formation and performance of myriad identities.

320 Through Kaba, Long-Bottom and Nanny, Nyamnjoh asserts that one of the primordial needs for the globals
 321 is self-knowledge, knowledge of the other and the world. His depiction of these characters attests that it is in
 322 this process of knowing together as AG, RG, SG and TG that knowledge becomes a journey of corealization,
 323 co-learning and collective learning involving both ontologies and epistemologies that imbue us with the readiness
 324 to embrace new (re)definitions of self and society and break open boundaries towards liberation. Kaba's and
 325 Long-Bottom's lectureship and Nanny's research denote the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up
 326 and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of socio-academic interaction. The lectureships and the
 327 research epitomize a Global Worlds' shift or transformation in the scale of human social organization that links
 328 distant epistemological communities and expands the reach of power or knowledge relations across the Botswana
 329 and the world.

330 Kaba's and Long-Bottom's lectureships and Nanny's research should not be read as prefiguring the emergence
 331 of a harmonious Africa or global world society or as a universal process of African or global integration marked
 332 by a growing convergence of African cultures and civilizations. In line with the dual processes of "fragnegration,"
 333 Nyamnjoh uses Long-Bottom's sexual exploitation of Evodia Skatta (a Mimboland student at DUST) and Kaba's
 334 wife's, Mama Comfort's expulsion of Immaculate (a fellow Mimbolander) from her residence to remind us
 335 that sometimes the awareness of growing interconnectedness creates new animosities and conflicts and fuels
 336 reactionary politics and deep-seated xenophobia. Mama Comfort's and Long-Bottom's mistreatment of their
 337 fellow countrymen reminds us of Rosenau's argument that movement among the worlds, say from AG to RG to
 338 SG and to TG, can be either fast-or slow-paced, either spasmodic or continuous, depending on the degree to which
 339 the course of events increasingly change (2004:57). That mistreatment also reminds one of a jolting event that
 340 induced the Indian novelist, Arundhati Roy's movement from a TOP to an AG when in response to her country's
 341 announcement of her possession of a nuclear bomb, Roy declared that the time had come for her to step out from
 342 under the fairy lights and say what was on her mind: "If protesting against having a nuclear bomb implanted in
 343 my brain is anti-Hindu and anti-national, then I secede. I hereby declare myself an independent, mobile republic.
 344 I am a citizen of the earth. I own no territory. I have no flag" (Vanaik and Bidwai, 2000: 10). Roy's movement
 345 was based on her patriotism for India and could be contrasted with the Botswanan Clean-Up-Campaign that is
 346 based on a nationalism that trumpets Botswana's virtues and denies her deficiencies and is contemptuous toward
 347 the virtues of other countries that constitute the homelands of the Makerekweres. Immaculate is a commendable
 348 example of an AG because she goes across or through the junctures and ruptures of historical authority such
 349 as the forces of the Botswanan Immigration Officials' formidable structures and power; forces that touch her
 350 encounters and relationships and everyday life. She wallows inside the fragmentations and displacements of
 351 Mimbolandian, Botswanan, Zimbabwean, US, etc., cultural groups and identities -hers and those of others for
 352 whom she cares. She navigates and negotiates in and around the contours of her intersecting positionalities,
 353 spatialities and temporalities in relation to surrounding ideologies and hegemonies of Mimboland and Botswanan
 354 societies, and deep within the struggles over power and powerlessness among cultural groups, members, and
 355 dominant structures and forms. Even though part of Nyamnjoh's novelistic intention is to foreground the links

356 between ethnography and to criticize the fragmentationladen ways in which anthropological research is sometimes
357 carried out, Immaculate's participation in Nanny's research, "Burdens of Womanhood: Being an Underling at
358 the Margins," especially through her interviews and transcriptions of the maids' stories, makes her traverse
359 several cultural trajectories. By collecting and transcribing accounts about maids and madams, presented from
360 her own perspective, Immaculate transcends the role of a research assistant and transcriber and becomes an
361 intercultural communicator for and with the anthropologist, Nanny. By developing the voices of the individuals
362 who participate in Nanny's research, Immaculate fosters their thinking and acting on a scale that exceeds a local
363 context, thereby certifying their belonging to the global worlds variously as AG, RG, SG and TG.

364 By examining the interplay, trickery and blurring of shifting, elusive and sometimes contradictory nodes of
365 identity formation and performance and power and powerlessness negotiations at work in the interactions and
366 relationships between maids and madams in Botswana, both the researcher and her assistant explain how the
367 critical perspective of AG seeks to understand the role of Botswanan power and the contextualizing constraints
368 on communication in order ultimately to achieve a more equitable society. The research foregrounds issues of
369 power, context, socio-economic relations, and historical and structural forces as constituting and shaping African
370 culture and intercultural communication encounters, relationships, and contexts. It also makes change possible
371 by pushing against the grain of the status quos and interrogating dominant power relations and structures in
372 Botswana. As globals, Nanny and Immaculate are organic intellectuals and critical intercultural communication
373 scholars; they teach us to navigate through and stay true to the highest quality of analysing Botswanan, African
374 and global fragmented gender thereby paving the way to transgressing and breaking down that which we
375 interrogate.

376 IV. Constructing the Alienated (the Cynics and the Illegals) and The Passives (Tuned-Out Passives and
377 Circumstantial Passives) in Nyamnjoh's IS This section focuses on characters (like the Makwerekwere man, Noway)
378 who distrust the Botswanan and Zimbabwean leaders and institutions that appear to be taking their communities
379 in the wrong direction; feel they have lost control over their lives and have thus become TA (TC and TI) and TP
380 (TOP and CP). They are searching for connections that keep eluding them. They feel disconnected from all the
381 old things they were born feeling they were supposed to feel connected to, like the churches, God, institutions,
382 schools, and parental figures. Through most of their actions, they appear to have either tuned out or become
383 deeply alienated from any world other than their own private ones that they keep creating and recreating. The
384 section argues that for Noway and Phillip, there is only daily routine and disdain. Happenings in the local
385 Botswanan and Zimbabwean worlds and the global world do not interest them because prior Botswanan and
386 Zimbabwean developments have alienated them, thus stifling their engendering of any community concerns.
387 Granted that they have never really had proper occasions to experience any local or global world in the real
388 sense, they are unlikely to abandon their oblivion to the course of events. That is, to some extent, the dynamics
389 of fragmentation have mostly been passing them by.

390 The Makwerekwere community in IS is made up of the Mimbolandians; Immaculate, Kaba, and his wife,
391 Mama Comfort; and Long-Bottom and his girlfriend, Skatta; the African American, Nanny who has traced her
392 descent to Mimboland; the Zimbabweans: Noway; and the numerous men and women who have migrated from
393 Zambia, Malawi, Central, East, and West Africa to Botswana in search of greener pastures. The Makwerekweres
394 are labour migrants who have been forced out of their home countries by "push" factors, and "pull" factors
395 toward Botswana. Apart from Kaba and Long-Bottom who could be considered institutional migrants, the
396 rest are generally of low skill, without residence and work authorisation from Botswana. As migrant workers,
397 the Makwerekweres form the oppressed classes of Botswanan employment borders; they perform functions that
398 impose passivity and alienation on them. Even though the Makwerekweres community submits to a certain
399 degree of passivity or alienation, Noway and Phillip stand out as two wrecks who seemingly have little or no
400 control over their lives and do not trust anyone or institution. In IS, TA (TC and TI) and TP (TOP and CP)
401 respond to the passivity and alienation that burden their private worlds by venting their frustrations on the
402 female Makwerekweres in the form patriarchal oppression. Female Makwerekweres are saddled with the demands
403 of the borders of domination that exist between them and their male counterparts. Some of the relationships
404 between them provide a socially vibrant landscape, facilitating a pluralistic model of resistance which resonates
405 with Yeatman's idea of "interlocking oppressions" (qtd. Brooks, 1997:107). Women like Immaculate and Skatta
406 are "multiple oppressed subjects [struggling] to claim the multiplicity of their oppressed subject status" (Brooks
407 107). These women, as Makwerekwerized subjects, have been relegated to the position of "Other" and are further
408 "colonised" by various forms of patriarchal domination. As a group, Makwerekwerized women are in an unusual
409 position in Botswana, for not only are they collectively at the bottom of the occupational ladder, but their overall
410 social status is lower than that of any other group. They are the group that has not been socialised to assume
411 the role of exploiter or oppressor in that they are allowed no institutionalised "other" that they can exploit or
412 oppress.

413 Conversely, Makwerekwere men have it both ways. They can act as the oppressors of the oppressed.
414 Makwerekwereism victimises Makwerekwere men, but sexism allows them to act as exploiters and oppressors
415 of Makwerekwere women. For instance, even though Noway is dating Immaculate, he lies to her that he is
416 divorced. Immaculate is so kind that she sometimes accompanies Noway to visit his children in Zimbabwe.
417 During her stay with him, he keeps collecting money from her and pressurizing her to take care of his children.
418 He also keeps promising that he will consider whether their relationship will lead to marriage (307). When

419 Immaculate gets fed up and asks Noway's sister whether Noway intends to marry her (Immaculate), Noway's
 420 sister responds: "No, Noway is married and he is not divorced" (307). Noway later resigns from his job, is paid
 421 P23000 as compensation but he squanders the money, joins Immaculate in her brickyard where she moulds and
 422 sells blocks but keeps squandering the money. Immaculate pays P500 for the panel beating of his truck and he
 423 secretly sells the truck and goes and squanders the money in Zimbabwe. When Immaculate can no longer bear
 424 his excesses and decides to leave him, he destroys her "O" and "A" Level certificates and the police intervene to
 425 stop him from killing her. After Noway, Immaculate gets involved with another private worldist, a spendthrift
 426 Botswanan called Phillip, who in collaboration with his mother, keeps draining her financially. Just as was the
 427 case with Noway, Immaculate discovers that Phillip and his mother have cast a spell on her. Also, another woman
 428 who is marginalised by a Makwerekwere is Skatta, Long-Bottom's permanent concubine and drinking partner
 429 whom we are told "exuded raw sexual energy that crackled and commanded" (17).

430 The marginalisation of Makwerekwere women by alienated men indicates that striving to become a non-
 431 Makwerekwere and to be free from the Noway-Phillip oppressive Private Worlds requires some form of double
 432 consciousness. The suggestion is not that taking on either or both unfinished identities necessarily exhausts
 433 the personal resources of female "foreigners" in Botswana. The argument is that the Makwerekwere woman
 434 stands between (at least) two great cultural assemblages of Otherisation or fragementation. She remains locked
 435 symbiotically in an antagonistic relationship marked out by the symbolism of Makwerekwere which adds to
 436 the important cultural power of their central Manichean dynamic -woman and man. From this perspective,
 437 Nyamnjoh's argument resonates with Du Boisian postulations about the African American's double consciousness.
 438 Thus, to paraphrase Du Bois, after the Botswanan and the male Makwerekwere, the female Makwerekwere is
 439 a sort of third fragementated daughter, "born with a [Du Boisian] veil, and gifted with second sight in [the
 440 Botswanan] world, a world which yields [her] no true selfconsciousness, but only lets [her] see ??herself] through
 441 the revelation of the [man's] world" (1903:5). Immaculate's experiences and confrontations with Noway and
 442 Phillip (patriarchy), reveal her double consciousness, "her sense of always looking at herself through the eyes
 443 of fragementating others, of measuring her soul by the tape of a [Makwerekwerized, gendered and fragementated]
 444 world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (5).

445 Through Immaculate's first-person point-of-view narration of her ordeals, Nyamnjoh lets us feel her frag-
 446 mementational twoness -a Makwerekwere, and a female Makwerekwere; two fragementating souls, two fragementating
 447 thoughts, two unreconciled fragementating strivings; two warring ideals in one [Makwerekwerized] body, whose
 448 dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (5). In IS, therefore, the life of the female Makwerekwere
 449 is the history of this strife, a longing to attain self-conscious womanhood, "to merge [her] double self into a better
 450 and truer self. In this merging, she wishes neither of the older [Mimbolandian, Zimbabwean, Zambian, etc.]
 451 self to be lost" (5). She would not Makwerekwerize or Mimbolandize Botswana, for Botswana has too much to
 452 teach the world and Mimboland. She would not bleach her Mimboland or feminine soul in a flood of Botswanan
 453 localising or Otherising dynamics or Makwerekwere male domination and privatization, for she knows that her
 454 female blood has a message for the world of border transgression and negotiation (5). She merely wishes to make
 455 it possible for a woman to be a Mimbolander, Botswanan, and a non-gendered subject, without being cursed and
 456 spat upon by her fellow male Makwerekweres, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in her face
 457 by purist Botswanans like Yolinda and an illegal and a cynic like Noway who destroys her certificates.

458 By presenting a fragementated and fragementating patriarchal set up in which Botswanan cultural and
 459 institutional beliefs and patterns accept, support, and reproduce the domination of female Makwerekweres by
 460 their passive or alienated male counterparts, Nyamnjoh attempts an insight into the conundrum -how does it
 461 feel to be a problem within another problem? That is, he tries to examine how it feels to be an "other" within
 462 another "other"; how it feels to be the victim of an exclusionary border within another exclusionary border.
 463 Even though the conundrum cannot be ascribed one satisfactory de-fragementation solution, it reminds us that
 464 the ontologies of fragementation are rooted in what Rosenau calls complexities that defy easy summarization,
 465 "generating uncertainty among individuals who have to contend with a lack of clarity over the directions in
 466 which their preferred cultures are moving, as well as clashes between global and local forces that leave them even
 467 more fully exposed to conflicting tensions over who they are and where they want to be in the future" (60).

468 Most importantly, we learn that the deconstruction of a fragementating patriarchy would continue to be both an
 469 individual and an institutional quest dependent on scholarly insight and exposition, as well as individual courage,
 470 goodwill, and commitment to justice. The seed for that scholarly insight and exposition is sown through Nanny's
 471 research. Nyamnjoh message seems to be that drawing upon Nanny's research, we would have to start from the
 472 standpoint that another non-Makwerekwerized, ungendered Botswanan world is possible, and that people and
 473 institutions engaged in female Makwerekweres' ethical, political, and epistemic projects would have to strive for
 474 border liberation and not emancipation. The main difference between emancipation from fragementative patriarchy
 475 on the one hand and freedom on the other, would be as Hooks points out, that emancipation would be what
 476 fragementative patriarchy "gives" while "liberation" would be what the sexually and economically disenfranchised
 477 Makwerekwere women such as Immaculate and Skatta would want and have the right "to take" (1990).

478 V.

5 Conclusion: Going Beyond Fraggementation, Acknowledging and Celebrating Incompleteness

This paper has demonstrated that IS attests that fraggementation challenges the proliferation of borders and border struggles in a contemporary world where multiplicity and heterogeneity are cut and divided by devices of fraggementational control and hierarchisation. It has also been shown that the novel affirms a planetary diversity where multiplicity and heterogeneity are turned from elements of weakness into elements of strength. It asserts that in a Botswanan or African world where identities are inventions, mutually constitutive existential and epistemic constructions stripped of foundational authenticity and essentialism, the search for the integrating processes of fraggementation necessitates a constant (re)construction and (de)construction the Local, Global and Private Worlds. The paper has also proven that in IS, border or worlds transgression is a motif that Nyamnjoh nets into the warp and woof of the narrative structure. Furthermore, the paper has equally affirmed that by focusing IS on the production of postcolonial labour power as a commodity across a variety of the borders, borderscapes, storyscapes, and border zones of the Rosenauian Twelve Worlds, Nyamnjoh provides a window on the heterogeneity of global space, the multiplication of labour, differential inclusion, and border struggles.

The Rosenauian worlds in IS perform integrating and fragmenting, connecting, and disconnecting, exclusionary and inclusionary, enabling and disabling, localising, and globalising roles and are either softening or hardening, or temporary or permanent. IS is, thus, a Nyamnjohian bold statement on deterritorialization, diaspora, travelling, border crossing, nomadology, networks and flows. What makes IS peculiar is that the setting comprises a dynamic system that brings together a set of heterogeneous Botswanans and Mimbolandians with functional complementarities; there are stable and unstable patterns of behaviour that are endogenously and exogenously generated by interlocked heterogeneities. The novel captures a meshwork of socio-political and cultural entities that grow in unplanned directions because they are made up of a diverse humanity that exists with other meshworks and hierarchies. The vast setting from Mimboland to (Gaborone) Botswana and Zimbabwe articulates heterogeneous elements without imposing uniformity because they are determined by the degree of connectivity that enables them to become self-sustaining. Meshwork dynamics such as processes of destratification, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization of places, territories, regions, and identities function as a counter-narrative of totalising boundaries -both actual and conceptual. The paper has asserted that IS presents borders and worlds as zones of control or abandonment, of recollection or forgetting, of force or dependence, or of exclusiveness or sharing. These are zones of cross-cultural consciousness imbued with meetings, interferences, shocks, harmonies, and disharmonies between the cultures of the world, addressing complex flows, diversity, and multi-locality in different ways.

All in all, Nyamnjoh suggests that in order to take positive integrating and emancipatory strides within and between the Rosenauian worlds, Botswanans or Africans would have to acknowledge and celebrate their incompleteness by thinking and acting from a perspective that Ngugi (in his thematization of the relationship between Africa and the West) has described as "globelectics" (2012). Derived from the shape of the globe, globelectic thought and action would have to be an assertion that on the Botswanan or African surface, there is no one centre; any Botswanan or African point is equally a centre and that "as for the internal centre of the globe, all points on the surface are equidistant to it like the spokes of a bicycle wheel that meet at the hub" (17). To borrow from Ngugi, globelectics Botswanan or African thought or action would combine "the global and the dialectical to describe a mutually affecting dialogue, or multi-logue in the phenomena of nature and nurture in a global space that is rapidly transcending that of the artificially bounded, as nation and region" (17). Globelectics Botswanan or African thought or action would need to allow Africans to speak to their own cultural present even as they speak and listen to IS from their own cultural present. It would be a way of reading IS with the eyes of the world; it would also be a way of seeing the world with the eyes of IS. Above all else, it would embrace wholeness, interconnectedness, equality of potentiality of parts, tension, and motion; it would be a way of thinking and relating to the world, particularly in the era of globalism and globalization by emulating Immaculate's immaculate acknowledgement and celebration of her incompleteness the most potent feature and future of a common global cosmopolitan identity. ¹

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**5 CONCLUSION: GOING BEYOND FRAGMENTATION,
ACKNOWLEDGING AND CELEBRATING INCOMPLETENESS**

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