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Hybridity, Ambivalence and Identity Crisis in Contemporary Nigerian Diaspora Novels

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Abstract: This research investigates the issues of hybridity, ambivalence and the resultant identity crisis two Nigerian contemporary migration narratives. Hybrid identities arise when different groups of people interact with one another and create new identities and cultures. The study draws illustrations from Chika Unigwe's Better Never Than Late (2020) and Sefi Atta's A Bit of Difference (2012). The paper leans on the post-colonial literary theory and it was complemented with special focus on Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity. The analysis of the texts uncovers several themes and techniques depicting hybridity and ambivalence. They includes themes like identity switch, relocation, individualism, alienation, instability and invisibility, depression while the techniques of anecdotes, flashback, internal monologue, contrast, and paradox are deployed to create aesthetics. The study discovers that the would-be migrants starts their binary or hybrid lifestyle from the day they plan to relocate abroad and that the merger of the home culture and the diasporic culture is the major challenge of the migrant in the diaspora.

Keywords: Hybridity, Ambivalence, Loneliness, Separation, Return

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Introduction

Migration theorists such as Mann and Weiss (2007), posit that throughout human history "economic motives of migration and motives related to natural disaster or persecution . . . are the two main reasons why individuals migrate. (p.2). Femi Ojo-Ade (2007) corroborates this assertion when he notes that for many African migrants, "the goal is to seek for greener pastures and achieve permanent residency " (p.215). Clark (2008) further observes that since Africans were first brought to America on slave ships, their identity has been stereotyped and "shaped and defined by others", which results in the

misconception that all Africans have "one culture, one voice, one ideology" (p.179). This stereotypical outlook has resulted in identity crisis as more and more Africans continue to define who they are while living in foreign environments.

This paper argues that the hybridisation of the home and the diaspora cultures have created an ambivalent life for the migrant and the result is an identity crisis that continues to plague the migrant even in the return stage. While relying on the postcolonial theory, the paper draws illustrations from Chika Unigwe's *Better Never Than Late* and Sefi Atta's *A Bit of Difference* for the analysis. Prabhu (2007), asserts that "hybridity is connected with the current state of diaspora communities who find themselves far away from home in adopted communities. The African migrants try to develop themselves without necessarily losing their identity while preserving differences" (p.43). The migrants relate and connect with their countries of origin and also with other immigrants they meet in their sojourns.This contact creates a hybrid culture on the immigrants at the end, as there is an intermingling of people from different ethnic origins.

Raj (2014), describes the phenomenon of cultural hybridity as "a cultural transaction creating a temporal interactive sequential between the colonizer and the colonized, bestowing a conciliation inestimably concussive beyond the managed identity of the dominant" (p.18). Hybridity is therefore what the characters go through or experience as they try to fit into the new countries and cultures they have gone to settle in. Culture, in turn, shapes the way people think, how they make sense of their environment and who they are.

Hall (1990) defines identity as shared culture, a sort of collective one true self hiding inside the many other (p.113). Anthias (1998) avers that "an individual cultural identity comprises a number of aspects. . .ethnicity, religion, language, nationality, gender, sexuality and social class. These aspects intersect, that is, the different aspects interrelate and crisscross within an individual's life and in social interactions" (p.13). Thus, Hall (1994) argues that an individual's cultural identity in his postulations of 'being' and 'becoming'. Hall surmises that identity is ''the name we give to the different ways we are positioned and position ourselves within the narratives of the past'' (p.225). Diaspora itself generally refers to the mass migration of people and creating settlement and community. In the diaspora, groups are rarely equal in status and consequently, the end product of such contacts is acculturation, which Berry (2005) describes as the "dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact of two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (p.699) hitherto known as htbridisation.

Hybridising the Home and Diaspora Cultures

Once the migrant has decided on travelling to the diaspora, the migrant tries to discard the painful memories of the home culture. The first step in trying to forget is the adoption of a new identity to suit the new environment. The aim is to start afresh in the new country. As such, in the new country, the issues that drove many of the migrants to travel abroad often rear their ugly heads once the migrant settles in the new country. Due to the fear of failure and the need to avoid betrayal, most of the migrants also hide their identity in the new country. This idea of hidden identity is encapsulated in one of the reminiscences of Prosperous about the way she and her husband got into Belgium in Unigwe's *Better Never Than Late*. Prosperous says that she thinks about the "lies they had to tell, the new identity they had to wear. Their passport say they are from Liberia and it occurs to her that, should die, the authorities would probably contact the Liberian embassy" (p. 42).. The need to hide their identity helps the migrant to shed their past and at the same time cover their tracks as they engage in several illegal ventures to earn a living in the new country.

Another motif that cuts across the cultures of both home and diaspora is that of fear. In presenting the motif of fear, the narrator tries to be balanced. This implies that the narrator presented the events that cause fear in the migrant from the home culture and through the escape to the diaspora. In the home culture, the narrator portrays the things that cause fear in the mind of the would-be migrant as numerous. For instance, the narrators says that,

In Lagos, people are afraid of death by armed robberies, car crashes and sickness. They are terrified of bankruptcy - financial and other kind that lead to permanent loss of hope. They call on God so much because they don't trust that the next day will be delivered free of charge, so they want immediate remuneration, connections and companionship. (p.187)

In the home culture, the value attached to companionship is so great that people even pray to God to find it. This is because, companionship leads to connection and upliftment. The standard of life in the home culture is so diminished that people are afraid of what the next day will bring in terms of material benefits and emotional and psychological comfort. In the home culture, due to the lack of confidence reposed on the system, there is always a wait for supernatural assistance to navigate the difficult and slippery terrain of the system.

But in the diaspora, the worry of the migrant is not about the trifles of daily living or the necessity of companionship, these are provided by the system; companionship can be gotten from the electronic gadgets available without much monetary spending as the diapora culture is structured. In the diaspora culture, the worry is of a different sort. According to the narrator,

These days, Londoners are afraid of terrorism. They are predicting a retaliation, their own 9/11, but London is often a terrorist target. She was in the middle of her accountancy training when the IRA was planning bombs … This is different, from a virus she can't see, one that takes over cells and mutates, one that she can carry, transmit and pass on to a child without realizing. For her, this is the greatest terror of all. (p.187)

The terror of a pandemic breaking out is not limited to either the home or the diasporic culture. It will spread everywhere and the victims will not be discriminatory. This is the greatest fear of Deaola and indeed, everyone, whether, one is in the home culture or a migrant. The result of all that the migrant is afraid of is death. Thus, as Deola passes the streets of London, "she imagines … when death is put on display villages ravaged by outbreaks of cholera and smallpox; land destroyed by earthquakes and tornadoes" (p.186,187). The implication of Deola's thoughts is that location or culture does not matter; what matters is that death is so rampart that it cannot be avoid by relocation.

The ambivalent life is propelled by several motifs. One of them is the motif of loss. The loss the migrant has suffered in life in both the home culture and presently in the diasporic culture. This idea of loss is a reason for the strained relationship among the migrants. At times, the loss happens in the home culture and it is the reason for the migration. This is the situation of Agu and Prosperous. After several years of struggling, Agu has married Prosperous and both of them have settled in Jos, in the middle belt of Nigeria. They are doing very well there. Agu has a supermarket and Prosperous is working in one of the new generation banks. They have plans in place for having children before the riots broke out. During the religious strife that follows, Agu's supermarket was burnt down and the couple have to flee. After the loss of their livelihood, Agu laments that "I am a broken man … I cannot begin to pick the up my pieces here … I can't stay here. I'd die" (p. 43). It is this loss that pushes the couple to relocate to Belgium.

In Belgium, the process of acculturation sets in and this leads to the life of ambivalence. The level of ambivalence is summed up in Prosperous' thoughts that:

Her life has come to this. Her years of study have come to this. She has a degree in banking and finance from one of Nigeria's finest universities and five years of experience working in a bank in Jos, going to work in power suits and climbing steadily up the corporate ladder. Sometimes, in her dreams, she revisits that life, but once awake she cannot recall it in detail. Her new life has superimposed itself on the old so that any clear memory of the former is impossible. It frustrates her that she cannot even recall with certainty, for instance, the exact colour of her office desk. Was it burgundy or black? (p36)

When this situation of Prosperous is juxtaposed with that of Agu, the husband, then the critic can derive the level crisis of hybridity their personalities. As I related earlier, Agu is living a middle life status in Jos before the crisis that consumed all he has. According to the narrator, "since coming here three years ago

… Agu working in the bread factory, transferring loaves from one machine to the other (at least that is what she thinks he does, she is not entirely sure), not making nearly enough to replace what he had lost" (p. 44). The inability to find satisfaction from the life in the diaspora becomes a burden that weigh the migrant down. The weight of this hybrid life is difficult to express. As such, Agu and Prosperous "have stopped talking about their work to each other" (p.44).

The problem of the mixture of the home culture which comes as a memory of the good life the migrant used to experience at home and the loneliness and alienation of the diasporic culture necessitates a life of swing moods in the migrant … when …Agu returns and he rubs her back and kisses her neck … she does not feel the smug satisfaction she used to of someone in love. (p44,45)

The pressure from the hybrid life and the acculturation of both the pains of the home culture an the frustration of the diasporic culture leads to silence. Silence in turn leads to separation of loved ones in the diaspora; something the migrant has never envisaged as they dream of migrating to a better world.

The motif of separation of loved ones in the diaspora is as a result of the hybridisation process in the disapora. In the portrayal of the motif of separation, the narrator of *Better Never than Late* takes the reader to the story of Gbolahan and Ego. In narrating the story of Gbolahan, the narrator uses the first person singular narrative point of view to make the story realistic. Ego is the wife of Gbolahan. The both of them met when Gbolahan was still playing professional footbal in Lagos. Ego has been attending the university when they become lovers in Lagos. So when Gbolahan thinks of relocating to Belgium to play professional foot, Ego has to make a decision either to forget about the relationship or to make sacrifices and follow Gbolahan to Belgium. The issue of sacrifice has arisen because Ego is a chemical engineer and she has graduated with a First Class Degree and the best graduating student of her department. This means she is sure of securing a job in any of the oil companies in Nigeria. In taking her decision to travel with Gbolahan to Belgium, Ego argues that "you, us, our marriage is my priority. What sort of wife would I be if didn't support you? Or left you for Belgian women?" (p. 90) The decision of Ego shows the loyalty and devotion of an African wife to marriage and her husband. It also shows the impact of the home culture in the personality of Ego.

Later when the diaspora culture starts to shape the personality of Ego, things starts to fall apart. When Gbolahan and Ego get to Belgium, Ego is not able to secure her dream job of working in any of the oil companies. Instead she secures a job with a factory where she uses her physical powers to secure a living. In this job, her training in the university is useless and her mental state is not active. Gbolahan describes Ego situation that she is doing "the same repetitive thing that required nothing of her but dexterity and the ability o stand on her feet". Gbolahan concludes that the "mindlessness of tagging packaged goods 9 hours a day numbed her" (P. 91). as Ego stays in Belgium, the culture of the diaspora begins to sip into her. One day she meets her former classmate online who advises her to relocate to London where she can become a teacher and starts to use her brains instead of the physical labour she is used to in a Belgian factory. The impact of the clash between her devotion to marriage and husband and the need to develop a career is the hybridity that happens to a migrant. When Ego says that "we could all move to London" (P. 91), she is torn between the home culture admonition of the love and devotion to family and the diaspora's culture of individuality. She is not contented with what she has as she longs for things that are not possible in the present. At this stage, she "complained about stores closing on Sundays … in London, stores are open everyday" (92). The act of complaining is one of the mark of hybridised migrant. Ego eventually leaves her family after securing work as a teacher in London.

The impact of the separation of the family has a major impact on Gbolahan and their daughter, Bola. The changes that happen to ego after her relocation to London are both physical and psychological. Gbolahan sums up these changes when he says that,

When she worked at the factory, she only dressed up on Sundays to go to church. Now, when she visited us or when Bola and I drove to London to seeher, she dressed like someone out of a magazine. Red lipstick and high heeled shoes, skirts with slits and colourful sweaters. And always, she smelt of perfume.

Bola and I looked out of place in her flat. Like we were puzzle pieces which no longer fit. When she talked of Ofsted and GCSE's and A*, I switched off. I didn't want to hear her. There were times I wondered if I was not being childish but a still voice always reminded me that Ego broke us first.
We should have been enough for her. (P. 93)

The change that happens to Ego is as a result of the multicultural yearnings of the different personalities created by the accumulation of several experiences from different culture. While Gbolahan sees the change in Ego as betrayal, Ego is the product of a hybrid culture which asserts itself in several ways. The story of Gbolahan and Ego relates to the separation of loves one who would have stayed together if not for the effect of the multiplicity of cultures which creates a diverse personality that yearns towards different direction rendering the migrant discontented.

At times, the separation due to hybridity is more of a psychological and emotional distance than it is physical. The African culture celebrates friendship and neighourliness. But in the diaspora, the effect of the alienation from the communal living on the anonymous migrant tells on her so much that she complains that "now in Belgium, I did not seek the company of fellow Africans or of my colleagues outside of work. No friend would have filled the empty space I wanted my mother to occupy. My home was incomplete without her. It had always been two of us" (p.116). But this anonymous migrant is mistaken when she invited her mother to stay with her in Belgium. The anonymous migrant explains that "my mother laughter lasted exactly two months … and then, just as it had showered upon my house, the laughter dried up" (p.123).

The laughter caused by the reunion of the duo has lasted because the feeling of conviviality has been embedded in the mother. As she tries to acculturate to the individualism of the diaspora, loneliness sets in and triggers a whole lots of situations leading to boredom, depression and desperation. According to the anonymous migrant,

"when we went out, she no longer said anything about the number of new cars on the roads. The house became a tomb, too sturdily built for me to crack open with my own voice. My mother looked sad… (p.123). It is so disheartening that even when the daughter came home one day to meet her mother crying, she was crying alone as "there were no friends crying with her as they had the day my father died" (p.124). This is the hallmark of the individualism experienced by the migrants in the diaspora. There are no one to celebrate with and no one to cry with. At this stage the anonymous migrant discovers the trick of having a company of people around one. She realises that it is not really just her and her mother but the African communal living that she is missing; she really needs to brighten her life and lift the burden of alienation, boredom, loneliness and depression is a company of friends. As for the mother, she just have to come back to Africa, and that is what the daughter did when she "sat on my computer and booked her a ticket home" (p.124).

Whether one is studying or working, a noticeable factor in the lives of any migrant is loneliness. Loneliness dominates the life of the migrant like a colossus. This is one of the major idea develop in Atta's *A Bit of Difference*. In the novel, the protagonist, Deola, is virtually lonely and she searches for companionship while she stays in London or travels elsewhere. For instance, while she is working for LINK, a charity organisation, she travels to Atlanta. Once she gets to Atlanta, she checks into a room in a hotel. In the The challenge with loneliness is that it often leads to complications. One of such complication is depression. Once an individual is starved of relationships with fellow human being, the resultant loneliness is succeeded by depression.

This is the challenge Bandele faces in the novel, *A Bit of Difference*. Bandele is the younger of Seyi. Seyi is the friend of Lanre, the elder brother of Deola,. the protagonist of the story. Bandele is the son of wealthy Nigerian politician. Bandele "was sent off to an old-fashioned school in England called Harrow. Now he was so lost that even Seyi was ashamed of him" (p.44). This early schooling in England sets up a chain of actions that lead to his alienation from the home culture. Deola describes him that "he sounded completely English and all she knew about Nigerians who spoke that way was that they looked down on

Nigerians who didn't" (p.43). The level of alienation from the home culture is too high for Bandele that "his English accent made him effeminate, as far as she was concerned. " (p.44). Once Bandele goes back to London, he stayed for so long that he says that "I haven't been in so long I'd probably catch dengue fever the moment I set my foot in that country" (p.50). Deola concludes that she attributes Bandele inferiority complex to"the sort of self-loathing that only an English public school can impart on a young, impressionable foreign mind" (p.54). The narrative here is that Bandele is an acculturated migrant who after a very long stay in London has become hybridised that he seeks to be European and dump his black skin.

Another trait of Bandele is that he is erratic and not stable. This may have resulted from his alienation. According to Deola, "Bandele has never held a job. He had one after Sidestep was published because he wasn't earning much in royalties, but he fell out with his manager within a week. He said he couldn't possibly take orders from a yob like her, quit, then had trouble drafting his second novel" (p.53). Sequel to this, Bandele has dropped out of Cambridge to become a writer. The identity crisis involving Bandele extends to his sexuality. While he was in love with Deola, other Nigerians like Tosan thinks that Bnadele is a gay. Whatever the case, whether it is alienation, identity crisis, instability or sexuality, Bandele falls apart one day and he is rushed to the hospital. The alienation from the home culture and the inability to assimilate properly into the diasporic culture lead Bandele into depression. The narrator says that "Bandele has been hospitalized for depression …" (p51). At the hospital, he was visited by his parents. The incoherence of his thoughts manifests when he "called his father a fucking kleptocrat and his mother a mercenary cunt" (p.53). the parents have to leave London without him. The case of Bandele reflects what happens to migrant who has been hybridised.

The idea of instability as a manifestation of ambivalence in the diaspora has to do with emotional indecisiveness. In the home culture, pregnancy is regarded as a sacred occurrence that is to be trifled with. But as usual with the migrant, the ambivalence personality derived from transcultural ambience also dictates how pregnancy is to be regarded. In this vein, Deola, once she gets back to London, conducted a pregnancy test which reveals that she is pregnant from the sexual escapade with her boyfriend, Wale, in Abuja, Nigeria. The impact of the sex that happened in the home culture on the migrant is ambivalent like all other experiences of the migrant due to hybridity. According to the narrator, Deola

… Stands before her mirror in her swimsuit marvelling at how ordinary the moment is. Is this all there is to it? Her face is the same, except for eye bags she has developed from recent nights. Her heart quivers like chrysalis about to release wings. She has to tell someone, but she steps out of the bathroom and she is paralyzed. Tell who? Not Wale, who still hasn't called. Certainly not her family or her friends. The word 'unwanted' jolts her. Does she want to have this child? She plods down the steps to her sitting room, trying to interpret what it means to want a child: what does this mean for the child? Is it even a child yet? She has said 'absolutely not' before, while arguing with Subu. Abortion is not equal to the murder of a child. Now she sits on her couch as if the life inside her is too heavy to carry. (p.219, 220)

The debate raging inside Deola is the battle between the home culture and the diasporic culture. In the home culture, it is a taboo to even imagine that a child growing inside a woman is not to be born. There is no debate whether the child is still a foetus or is a human in the home culture. There is nothing like contemplating abortion in the home culture. But for the migrant, the times have changed. The migrant in acculturating the diasporic culture of abortion and the debate when a pregnancy becomes a child is already hybridised to the extent the migrant is confused. So here, one can Deola torn between the decision to keep the child and or to abort the foetus.

Failure is one of the negative motif haunting the migrant in the diaspora. Whether it is the fear of failure or outright failure, the issue of failing as a migrant is of great concern. It must be stated here that most of the migrants are illegal aliens in the diaspora. This implies that they have to work for about five uninterrupted years in the diaspora to get the necessary paper that will make them citizens. As hustlers, the male migrants have created a short path to getting the papers that will will make their stay in the diaspora permanent. This is the marriage to the citizens. In describing the process, the narrator says that,

"… somewhere a guide for beating the system existed … Marry a Belgian. Follow an integration course for a few days a week. Get your papers in order. Ride it out a few years. Divorce. Then go back home and pick a proper spouse.everybody knew the deal but the victims themselves" (p.83). This short cut to citizenship is the route taken by a migrant called Godwin once he gets to Belgium in Unigwe's *Better Never than Late*.

Godwin "was a small, new in town, and struggling … he was a hustler" (p.75). He has migrated to Belgium with the strategy of marrying a Belgian to get his papers quickly. As Godwin always say, "a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do". Godwin is able to get a Belgian lady four months later. Her name is Tine. He married her later. Though the relationship is not satisfying to Tine, she endures it nevertheless. But as time goes on, the differences in their cultural upbringing coupled with the double game of Godwin begin to come to the fore. Tine has been friends with prosperous, the wife of Agu. Tine always complains of Godwin's aloofness whenever she is with Prosperous. Tine complains of Godwin keeping late nights, of not taking her out to eat anmd of spending a lot of time with a female cousin. Everyone, including Prosperous think that the Belgian women are ignorant of the short cut to citizenship. But they are mistaken. This failure to understand how the host feels about the migrant is disastrous for the migrant. So while Prosperous "wished-as she always did-that she could tell her the truth. But she could not bear to break the heart of this woman who glowed in her marriage" (p.84), the truth is that Tine is always aware of the situation of things.

The inability of Godwin to understand the situation is the Achilles heels of many migrants. While Godwin thinks he is smart and that he will be able to get his citizenship papers through the marriage, he does not realise that the host is also planning to take her pound of flesh from the betrayal of her love and loyalty. And so Tine tells Prosperous that "… and one day when I get tired, when I stop liking him even a little … I will because my heart can only take so much … I will tell him it's over" (p.87). The pain that Godwin will feel from the failure to discern the situation appropriately is not just the separation from his Belgian wife, but the failure to realise his dreams because according to Tine, "I have a feeling that that day is soon. Very, very soon. There won't be time for him to have those papers" (pp.87,88). The failure to get those papers becomes the failure of the migrants to accomplish the dreams they set out to achieve in the diaspora. The failure of Godwin resonates with the failure of the diaspora dreams.

The Diaspora, Ambivalence and Complications

It must be noted that most of the migrants are born in the African continent. While few have the privilege of been born abroad, others are lucky of been sent abroad for their studies. But the majority of the migrant are economic sojourners who simply travels abroad to enhance their economic status. It is these that have a more surer hope of returning to their home culture. But whatever is the case, the migrants that belong to the two last stages - travelling for studies or economic migrants - are the major focus of this study. Once the migrant gets to the diaspora, the first burden that weighs him or her down is loneliness. In the home culture, the families are large. Even in a nuclear family, the presence of the mother, or father is always there for the child or children as the case may be. However, the opposite is the case in the diaspora.

One of the reason for the inability to assimilate properly into the diasporic culture is discrimination. The role discrimination in shaping the psyche of the migrant is portrayed in a negative sens in Atta's. Most times, migrants face racial discrimination in the diaspora. But in the novel, the type of discrimination against the migrant are varied. In the first instance, there is the racial discrimination against the migrant in Atlanta, United States. The irony in the racial discrimination against Deola is that she is not discriminated against by the white person. Instead, it is a black person who discriminated against her, another black person. This incident happened when Deola was leaving the Atlanta's airport. According to Deola, she is "on her way to London" and standing in a line. Then, …a man cuts ahead of her … When it is her turn, the flight attendant looks at her, looks at the man, who is still not in line, and takes his boarding pass first" (p.16,17). This case of discrimination against the migrant often instills a feeling of double standard in the mind of the migrant. The migrant sees the system of the diasporic culture as not fair to all

concerned. Otherwise, how can one explain the dilemma faced by Deola when she is neglected and rendered invisible.

Another area of of ambivalence in the life of the migrant that manifests after the return from the diaspora has to do with language. The colonialisation of the African continent means that apart from the indigenous languages, there is also the language of the colonial power in every country in Africa. The prevalence of the colonial language like English or French is so large that most citizens of the African independent countries cannot even speak their local languages. This is the case with Deola who says that she has spoken only English all her life. Despite this, she is not still competent in the language. This thought spins a torrent of doubt in her mind about her level of acculturation. According to her,

She knew she would stand a better chance with him if she presented herself as an African in need … She'd spoken English all her life and she was still confused about basic words. What was the point of speaking English? What was the point of working for an organization that hired Africans like herself, who, in the process of being refined, could no longer think for themselves? (p.240)

The confusion over the level of acculturation of the African and the migrant to the use of the colonial language extends to the African continent. Even in African, there is the localised acculturation of the citizens try to speak the colonial language more than the owners of the language. In her conversation with Wale, her boy friend, Deola observes that there is a conflict raging in the airwaves about the choice between American and British English. According to Wale, "we have radios. Radios connect us to the rest of the world. But you turn on the radio these days and all you hear is yo, yo, yo … all that yo-ing was from disc jockeys putting on American accents. They copy American accents to the horror of those who copy the British ones" (p.249). The struggle to use the American or British accent is so strong that so prevalent that the African is longer self-confident.

Conclusion

In writing about diaspora, migration, hybridity and transculturality, the Nigerian diaspora writers fictionalize the increasingly connected world in which more people have been on the move, uprooted and living in-between cultures than ever before. Hence, their narratives raise the question of cultural crises and identity. The Nigerian diaspora fiction writers address themselves to the issue of hybridity, ambivalence and identity crisis in their works. The novel genre offers a good imaginative platform for interrogating the portraiture of these experiences.

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