

*This chapter draft is part of a book project that aims to unpack the multiple ways in which the history of the digital is deeply enmeshed in the coeval history of youth, understood as a contingent, contested, and relational category, a ‘social shifter’ to borrow Deborah Durham’s apt term. In other words, to make sense of the digital, we also need to account for the history of youth, a changing signifying category constantly in the process of being made, undone, and remade. The idea that digital technologies hold multiple historically specific and contingent cultural bonds with the notion of youth seems almost unsurprising, almost natural, or rather naturalized - from its origins in the counterculture of young Californian tech entrepreneurs to the over-representation of young users on social media to the same Californians now looking for eternal youth. Yet, as I contend in this book, the ramifications of that deceptively obvious statement are complex, multiple, and crucial to a fuller understanding of the digital, a historically contingent, and culturally contested phenomenon. Recent scholarly works have begun the vitally important work of excavating the racial, gendered, and labor histories that make up the Internet as we know it today, away from its initial imagination as a free, egalitarian, horizontal space (see for instance, *Black Software* (McIlwan, 2020), *Race after Technology* (Benjamin, 2019), *Artificial Unintelligence* (Broussard, 2019), or *Data Feminism* (D’Ignazio and Klein, 2020)). This book posits that alongside these categories, we need to account for age, and the adjacent categories of generation, childhood, and youth in particular, which hold uniquely important connections and cultural bonds with collective imaginaries of the digital. My goal with this chapter is to highlight digital content creation in Guinea as central to broader negotiations between generations regarding the past, present, and future. Furthermore, I draw on digital content to contribute to theorizations of generation.*

## CHAPTER ONE

### **“We Will Not Follow You Like Sheep”: Language, Officialdom, and Generational Politics in the Digital Age**

On July 1, 2015, Guinean social networking sites (SNS) Twitter and Facebook lit up with comments. At the center of the storm, which included over 1,500 comments, was the enactment of a new law, instigating a new tax on all telephone communications including fixed, cell phone, texting, and roaming charges. The *Taxe sur les Communications Téléphoniques* [Telephone Communications Tax] mandated the four telecom companies operating in Guinea at the time to collect taxes on all communications, thus immediately raising the cost of telephone-based communications by one Guinean Franc (GNF) per second<sup>1</sup>. The introduction of this new tax, and

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<sup>1</sup> At the time writing in December 2021, 1 GNF equals approximately 0.0001 USD.

new system for collecting taxes, is highly significant in the history of taxation in Guinea, where the collection, monitoring, and redistribution of taxes have often been marked by great difficulties, corruption, disfunction, and exactive practices (Isbell, 2017; Bergere, 2020; Mbembe, 2001; See chapter 3). However, what really caught the attention of young Guineans on Facebook and Twitter on that July morning was not so much the tax itself—although that was certainly a part of it—but a sentence in the official press release issued by the Minister of Mail Services, Telecommunications, and New Information Technologies<sup>2</sup> to announce the signing of the new law and tax. The sentence read:

Le Ministre d'État en charge des Postes, Télécommunications et des Nouvelles Technologies sait compter sur la compréhension des populations qui ont toujours su faire preuve d'acte de *suivisme* (*sic*) pour l'intérêt supérieur de la nation Guinéenne.

[The state minister in charge of Postal Services, Telecommunications, and Information Technologies knows he can count on the understanding of local populations, who have always proved to act with *followership* (*sic*) for the higher interest of the Guinean nation.<sup>3</sup>]

What really irked Guinean commentators on social media was that the intended French word for “civism” or “good citizenship”—“*civisme*”—had been mistakenly replaced by its near homophone “*suivisme*” which translates as “followership,” “blind conformity,” or “herd spirit.” The mistake, which had clearly escaped the scrutiny of the Minister—who signed the letter—and his communications office—which presumably wrote the press release in the first place—was immediately spotted by a young Guinean. Within minutes of the letter’s release on the Ministry’s website, the youth posted the letter on his Facebook profile, calling attention to the unfortunate or revelatory mistake, depending on how you choose to view it. He

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<sup>2</sup> *Ministère des Postes, Télécommunications, et Nouvelles Technologies de l'Information* in French. Since then, the Ministry has been renamed *Ministère des Postes, Télécommunications, et de l'Economie Numérique* [*Ministry of Postal Services, Telecommunications, and Digital Economy*].

<sup>3</sup> Translations from French to English are mine.

ended his Facebook post with a clear “*nous ne vous suivrons pas comme des moutons*” [“we will not follow you like sheep”]. Instantly the message began circulating online. Fodé Kouyaté, the young head of the *Association des Blogueurs de Guinée* (ABLOGUI), or Guinean Bloggers’ Association, relayed the message on both Twitter and Facebook, adding the hashtag #TaxeDeSuivisme [#FollowershipTax] to his post. This instantly linked all commentary about the press release across social media platforms, significantly, raising the young commentators’ public presence and profile. Within the span of a few hours, the message was relayed over fifteen hundred times and had become the subject of banter and pointed criticism on both Facebook and Twitter. Several Guinean news sites picked up the story. By the next day, the press release had been corrected on the Ministry’s website.

Elsewhere I have analyzed this social media event as symptomatic of shifts in the location of youth citizenship in Guinea. As I showed, to make sense of the significance of social media as sites of youth citizenship, their emergence needs to be understood as deeply enmeshed in a larger history of youth citizenship that is intimately linked to a spatial and temporal infrastructure of youth sociability, including sites of political engagement that exist outside of formal political processes, including militant theater and street corners (Bergère, 2017; 2020).

For this chapter, I return to this media event with a slightly different, though related, purpose. Specifically, I examine this event together with a broad set of related digital media contents created by young Guineans on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube which all foreground language as a site of generational contention and struggle. In other words, my analysis focuses here more specifically on the second part of the hashtag #TaxeDeSuivisme, namely the idea of *followership*, which echoes the wording in young Guinean, Alpha Oumou Sow<sup>4</sup>’s original

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<sup>4</sup> For publicly known figures I use actual names and pseudonyms for all others.

Facebook post: *we will not follow you like sheep*. Recognizing that to be part of a generation is simultaneously to follow and to precede, I interrogate the emergent Guinean digital archive to reveal what youths find necessary to preserve and discard from prior generations. I contend that language and linguistic practices, broadly conceived, continue to be a ground onto which connections with a ruptured past and uncertain future are fought over, drawn, and severed (Rivière, 1971; Straker, 2009). I echo here the work of Edouard Glissant who contends the centrality of language and language politics in historical analysis in postcolonial contexts. The creation of social media content and the affordances of digital technologies offer a new generation of Guineans the possibility to weave together lines of filiations across generations, past and future, and thus, participate in what Bernadette Cailler, drawing on the work of Glissant, calls the ‘acquisition of a feeling of duration’ (Cailler, 1988: 56; Glissant, 1997). My contention is that to make sense of generational politics in the digital age, we need to engage with debates about filiation and genealogy in African and Afro-diasporic scholarship where discussions of ruptures and continuations with the past, present, and future have been taken up with great vigor. Glissant’s work on language and history, Mudimbe’s discussion of ‘false fathers,’ or Kisukidi’s work on ‘grand-motherhood’ provide here particularly useful concepts for thinking through the links between literacy, digital technology, generation, and political power not just in Guinea, or Africa, but across the Global South. Dominant understandings and much scholarship on youth and social media emphasize the newness of the medium, foregrounding change, ruptures, and breaks as categories of analysis.

Categories such as digital natives, millennials, gen z, for instance, tend to divide the world in easily digestible chunks by foregrounding dichotomies, “us” versus “them,” “before” and “after” (boyd, 2014: 179). They act as founding myths for the creation of the digital world,

re-inscribing it within a singular *chain of filiation*, ‘its work setting out upon a fixed linearity of time,’ to borrow Glissant’s words (1997a: 47). As boyd, reminds us, the notion of ‘digital natives,’ made popular by John Perry Barlow, of Grateful Dead fame, in his 1996 “A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace,” has roots in American techno-idealism and cyber-libertarianism (2014: 177). In its original formulation by the likes of Barlow, Douglas Rushkoff, or Marc Prensky, “digital natives” were to be opposed to an older generation made up of “digital immigrants” (boyd, 2014: 178). Within a Western, and *a fortiori* American context, the opposition of “natives” to “immigrants” is deeply fraught, not least because, as boyd notes, ‘throughout history, powerful immigrants have betrayed native populations while destroying their spiritual spaces and asserting power over them’ (2014: 179). Outside of a Western context, the notions of “native” and “immigrant” take on further layers of meanings deeply enmeshed in colonial histories, “native” politics, and migratory politics (Mudimbe, 1988). Turning to African and Afro-diasporic theory, where questions of filiation, distorted histories, and creative compositions have been explored in depth, helps us tell a different story by generational change and digital technologies, one that foregrounds the ruptures of colonial violence but also efforts by youths to move beyond patchy histories and weave together a “feeling of continuity” across generations, past, present, and future (Glissant, 1997: 279) . In that sense this chapter has implications that extend well beyond Guinean borders, themselves only fairly recently drawn up.

My analysis focuses on a small corpus of recent digital media content created by young Guineans on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and personal blogs. This includes over three hundred original posts and several thousand re-posts, likes, and shares selected for the connections this content establishes between literacy and generational change. I also draw on interviews with twenty young adult Guineans, aged 18 to 30, conducted between 2015 and 2019 in Guinea. As

part of this chapter, I situate the current vibrancy with which young Guineans mobilize language and linguistic practices to articulate pointed critiques and demands for social change in generational terms within a long history of age-based politics and literacy in Africa. To that end, I also draw on secondary accounts in academic and literary texts of the historical connections between the politics of language, broadly conceived, and what Mannheim famously termed the “problem of generations” (1927 [1953]: 276). Theoretically, this chapter contributes to recent re-evaluations of generation as a productive unit of analysis for examining processes of social change in the digital age. Cole and Durham’s notion of *regeneration* to highlight the centrality of age-based relationships to processes of social change and the dynamic, regenerative as opposed to reproductive, nature of change is, for instance, relevant (2007: 17). A careful engagement with the emergent digital archive in Guinea points to the possibility of mobilizing language in the digital age to challenge gerontocratic orderings of power and simultaneously enact what Mudimbe calls ‘smooth continuation’ away from the harassment of ‘false fathers’ that continues to suffuse the dispensation of state power and authority across the Global South. Paying attention to young Guineans’ digital production also reveals the creation of relations of mutual care across generations, a way of connecting “trans-generationally.”

### *Satire, Typos, and Generational Politics*

This chapter opened with an example of a young Guinean, Alpha Oumou Sow, using social media to expose an error made in French in an official document, in this case a press release issued by the Ministry of Mail Services, Telecommunications, and New Information Technologies. This resulted in a whole series of content creation on social media platforms

Facebook and Twitter in particular. Although significant enough to have warranted its own hashtag - #TaxeDeSuivisme -, this example is far from unique. Rather, it forms part of a broader trend whereby young Guineans take to social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter in particular, to expose and correct grammatical errors, misspellings, malapropisms, or other semantic or linguistic inaccuracies in official documents, public speeches, and other formal addresses in Guinea. Shortly after #TaxeDeSuivime, for instance, an article on Guineenews.org, Guinea's largest online news outlet, mistakenly replaced the French expression 'en cavale' meaning 'on the run' with the words 'en canal' which can either mean 'in the canal' or 'on the channel'<sup>5</sup>. This led to a series of word plays on both Twitter and Facebook. Some users wondering whether they were witnessing a 'carnival' – 'carnaval' in French – of errors, playing on the similarities between the words 'cavale,' 'canal,' and 'carnaval' in French. Others continued to decline same-sounding words and ironically wondered if such a mistake would have happened on 'Canal+', the French television group, a key media player in the region. Again, the error was quickly corrected. Countless more such examples could be added.

More specifically, references to public and authority figures' ability to correctly write in French is a constant source of both banter and indignation on Guinean social media. One of the most followed and popular Guinean accounts on Twitter is @Prof\_AlphaConde, a *fake* account purporting to be from the ex-Guinean president Dr. Alpha Condé. The account uses the *fake* register common on Twitter (Ferrari, 2020), with similar examples existing across the globe such as the fake accounts of the Queen of England @Queen\_UK or Elon Musk's satiric alter ego @BoredElonMusk. Africa's longest serving head of state Teodoro Obiang @PresidentObiang also has a very active fake account, while the late Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was far outlived

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<sup>5</sup> published on November 1st, 2015,

by his fake Twitter persona @ImmortelMugabe. People who follow the @Prof\_AlphaConde account are understood or expected to be aware that it is not in any way affiliated with former president Alpha Condé, something made clear in the account's short profile description as well as in the highly satiric and humoristic tone of the tweets. In a typical example, the tweet below from 2017 illustrates how *fake* president Alpha Condé professes to be obfuscated by the number of grammatical and spelling errors found in recent tweets by Domani Doré's, a former minister in Alpha Condé's government, noting:

Walaï, bilai<sup>6</sup>, @domani\_dore, tu as quand même été mon Ministre. Pas normal d'avoir des fautes dans chacun de tes 16 tweets. J'aime pas ça goo [Walaï, bilai, @domani\_dore, you have after all been my Minister. Not normal to have errors in each of your 16 tweets. I don't like that boo]

That @Prof\_AlphaConde's tweet itself includes several mistakes and grammatical approximations is a clear indication that the goal here is not to police language or defend proper French, a language strongly associated with Guinea's former colonizer, France. Instead, the humoristic register takes aim at the linguistic ineptitude of a political class, supposedly highly educated, including the former president himself as well as those associated with his generation. Former Guinean president Alpha Condé (2010—2021)—the target of the parody account—occupies here an interesting position: he is an ex-university professor with an advanced degree from the prestigious Sorbonne university in Paris, France, where he taught public and administrative law for several years<sup>7</sup> before joining the private sector as an executive for SucDen, a French-based commodity broker dealing in soft commodities such as sugar, coffee, or cocoa, in the late 1970s. Although there exists a great deal of suspicion in Guinea with regards

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<sup>6</sup> An expression equivalent and directly derived from the Arabic expression *Wallah*, meaning "I swear by God" commonly used to make a promise or express great credibility

<sup>7</sup> For reference, see <https://justiceguinee.gov.gn/president-of-guinea/> ; <https://justiceguinee.gov.gn/president-de-la-guinee-alpha-conde/> and <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/195940/politique/les-finalistes-au-crible-2-alpha-cond/>



to the actual import of his academic credentials and how much he in fact taught in Paris, Alpha Condé has consistently played up his image as an established academic and intellectual, with deep connections to the Parisian *rive gauche* intelligentsia and what is known in France as the *May 68* generation. In Guinea, he is widely known as *Le Professeur* [*The Professor* in English] and consistently uses his honorific title of ‘Professor’ before his name. This is reflected in the *fake* Twitter account’s handle @Prof\_AlphaConde. The account constantly plays with his ambiguous position as both highly educated, and part of an older ruling class representing a generation seen as obsolete and digitally inept.

Whilst typos, orthographic mistakes, and other grammatical shortcomings are a constant source of banter on the account’s timeline, the humoristic register differs greatly depending on whether the object of the joke emanates from an unknown user or a public and official figure. In classic satire studies, the change in register corresponds roughly to a move between Horatian i.e., indulgent or tolerant, and Juvenalian satire i.e., vicious or contemptuous, though, as Nwezeh notes, the relevance of these labels is far from watertight especially when applied to an African context (1982). One of the most common forms of the poking fun at orthographic misgivings, involves @Prof\_AlphaConde replying to tweets in a feigned serious tone yet purposefully repeating the original mistake. In response to a message accusing of him of being a ‘ductatair,’ a misspelling of the word *dictateur* [‘dictator’ in French] from someone who most likely thought he or she was communicating with the actual Guinean president – the *fake* @Prof\_AlphaConde simply replied, feigning seriousness, ‘You too, ‘ductatair’’ purposely reproducing the error to comic effect [INSERT FIGURE ONE]. In repeating the misspelled word, @Prof\_AlphaConde effectively creates a connection with the original error and includes himself in the group of misspellers targeted by the satire. This signals a shared discomfort with regards to French, the

colonial language and a second language to most Guineans. The motif for this joke is common in Guinea. We find it for instance in Thierno Monenembo’s 1979 novel *Les Crapauds-brousse* when Diouldé, the book’s main protagonist, finds himself looking for work upon his return from studying in Hungary enquiring upon the director of some administrative office, referred to here as “Môssieur le dreectaire,” a similar type phonetically sarcastic misspelling for what would correctly be spelled “Monsieur le Directeur” (1979:17). This humoristic register takes aim at the politics of elocution that were central to colonial tactics of government and biopolitics. As Peter Bloom explains, in the late colonial period in Ghana for instance:

English, particularly BBC English, gained an authoritative foothold as a trusted voice of authority capable of commanding an unquestioned power of assertion, suggestion, and judicious judgment. (2014:144)

In French colonial Africa, the imposition of standard French, as regulated by the French Academy in the metropole, was seen as central to colonial domination and France’s civilizing mission. As Jérémie Kouadio N’Guessan explains, phonology and the politics of pronunciation between ‘French from France’ and local popular varieties were central to colonial power and resistance to it (2007), with media in the form of radio, press, and television, at the heart of these struggles. The Caribbean philosopher Edouard Glissant describes at length a similar linguistic phenomenon in Martinique and the pleasures that come from watching politicians and leading public figures *spin* [Glissant uses the French word *filer*] French language in television (1997: 142). As he explains, for popular masses as opposed to officials and elites, playfully subverting the ‘master’s idiom’ by conjointly butchering its standardized pronunciation is a way to generate a shared vocabulary for and a distinctive means of ordering and evaluating oppressive experiences, telling the master a few home truth in passing (Glissant, 1997: 142). This situates the digitally mediated humor examined here within a broader, cross-generational, history of

language politics that extend far beyond literary practices to encompass pronunciation, elocution, and standards as terrains upon which youth stake their claims to forge different sorts of futures and affiliations. By repeating the misspelled ‘ductatair’ – a phonetic literal transcription of the commonly mispronounced word ‘dictateur’ or dictator in Guinea – @Prof\_AlphaConde pokes fun at an internet user who is clearly less versed in the correct pronunciation of standard French by demonstrating his own mastery of academic French elocution. This participates in the continued chasm between those educated in a Western system and those not, as instrumentalized by both the late colonial regime and the First Republic (Rivière, 1971; McGovern, 2013). Yet, the repetition and light motif of the joke also invite us to consider a shared discomfort vis-à-vis French as the colonial language, a phenomenon Glissant describes as *diglossic discourse* (Glissant, 1997: 143). The parodied Guinean president on Twitter consistently used the same humoristic motif of repeating misspelled and ‘mispronounced’ words when the original error comes from a regular, often young, or unknown internet user, thus positioning himself as also cojoining in the butchering of standardized French.

The tone and motif of the satire, however, changes drastically when the errors are committed by a government official, politician, or public figure with varying degrees of authority. It tends to be even more pointed when the orthographic offender is seen as part of the same generational ruling class as former president Alpha Condé. In such cases, not only did @Prof\_AlphaConde rarely repeat the orthographic mistake as in the examples noted above, but the satire also tended to be much somber in tone and more incisive, what classical linguists might call Juvenalian satire. For instance, when Lamine Guirassi, the head of Hadafo media, Guinea’s largest media group, and well-known presenter of *Les Grandes Gueules*<sup>8</sup>, Guinea’s most listened

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<sup>8</sup> Translates as The Loud Mouths

to radio show, mistakenly tweeted “A *nous* réalités?” instead of the correctly spelled “A nos réalités?” @Prof\_AlphaConde immediately noted the error and tweeted:

« A nous réalités »? J'avais dit et je confirme ici, la priorité de mon 3e mandat sera la formation @lamineguirassy [‘To we (*sic*) realities?’ I had said and I confirm here, the priority of my 3rd term on office will be education @lamineguirassy]

Whist the error is here repeated, it is followed by an added question mark that clearly creates a distance between @Prof\_AlphaConde and the author of the tweet, a very different satiric motif than the repetitions noted above, which aim to create a shared position vis-à-vis the language. What’s more, here, the focus of the joke is not so much the typo itself, but the mention of octogenarian Condé’s third term in office. At the time, Condé had gestured that he might amend the constitution to allow himself to remain in power for a third term—which he ultimately did. This was a vividly contentious issue at the time leading to dozens of heavily repressed protests and dozens of deaths to government-orchestrated police brutality. The tone of the tweet, therefore, is not only more incisive but also conveys a serious message. In reply to a tweet laden with typos by prominent politician Sydia Touré, a member of Condé’s political generation who served as Prime Minister under Lansana Conté in the 1990s, @Prof\_AlphaConde tweeted in grammatically perfect French:

C’est ce tweet bourré de fautes qui est une plaisanterie (aucun respect des ponctuations). Pour une aussi immense personnalité de la république comme vous, le langage SMS n’a pas sa place dans vos propos. Donnons l’exemple quelles que soient les contraintes du nombre de signes. [It is this tweet laden with errors that is a joke (no respect for punctuations). For such an immense figure of the republic as yourself, SMS language has no place in your statements. Let’s be exemplary regardless of the constraints of the number of characters [*allowed on Twitter* – ndlr].

This is an unusually serious message for the satiric @Prof\_AlphaConde and one of the very few instances when the author(s) behind the account did not attempt to be funny. Similarly, the account’s ‘pinned’ tweet, chosen as the one that all newcomers to the account’s timeline see

first, includes a photograph of a minister in the then government of former President Alpha Condé sitting at his desk visibly absorbed in reading a book: Alpha Condé’s very own *Un Africain Engagé* [A Committed African]. The photograph is headed by a note that declares: ‘this is what ministers do when they feel the imminence of a new presidential decree’ [INSERT FIGURE 2]. Clearly, the tone is here highly humoristic and pointed, yet the replies to the tweet do indicate a kind of seriousness uncharacteristic of the account’s discussions. Many simply noted, matter-of-factly, that ‘ministers in Guinea do not tend to read.’

A similar movement between harshly realist and lighthearted humor can be found in several other popular digital publications. The blog *L’évolution de la Guinée selon A.O.T. Diallo* for instance is a humoristic blog that has provided a monthly commentary on Guinean politics since 2007, thus covering the end of the Lansana Conté regime, the military transition of 2008-2009, and the first and second terms of the presidency of Alpha Condé, the latter period renamed sarcastically *Condécratie version 2.0* [*Condécracy*<sup>9</sup> *version 2.0*] by the blog’s author. Since 2010, the blog follows a similar format each month, picking out quotes from former president Alpha Condé’s public intervention during the month covered, and analyzing them according to ‘For’ and ‘Against’ categories, providing biting commentary on the state of governance in Guinea rendered with a characteristically pointed humor. The monthly chronicle always ends with some semi-serious advice, again delivered in a highly humoristic tone. In November 2020, for instance, following the re-election of Alpha Condé for a third term in a widely contested election, the blog’s author wrote:

Tic-tac, Tic-tac, la montre tourne ; aujourd’hui est le 3631e jour de l’ancien « Guinea is back » et du nouveau « changement radical » – déjà 09 ans, 11 mois et 10 jours ! Aladji-Professeur-Président Alpha Condé (PPAC) voici mes dernières suggestions SMART (Spécifique, Mesurable, Atteignable, Réalisable et Temporellement définie) du mois pour améliorer un peu votre tout nouveau – tout beau « Gouverner Autrement » : votre

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<sup>9</sup> The contraction of Condé (the former Guinean president’s last name) and démocratie [democracy in French].

Majesté, grâce à vos deux décrets lamentablement lus par les présidents de votre CENI et de votre Cour constitutionnelle, vous êtes devenu le 07 Novembre « Empereur PPAC III », à l’image de votre frère en matière de gouvernance Jean Bédel Bokassa. Votre rêve d’ancien RMiste français est enfin réalisé mais à que prix ? [Tick-tock, tick-tock, the clock is ticking ; today is the 3631<sup>st</sup> day of the old “Guinea is back” and the new “radical change<sup>10</sup>” –9 years, 11 months, and 10 days ! Aladji<sup>11</sup>-Professor-President Alpha Condé (PPAC) here are my last SMART (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realizable, and Time-specific) suggestions of the month to improve a little your brand new “another way to govern” : your Majesty, thanks to your two deplorable decrees read by the presidents of your Electoral Commission and your Supreme Court, you became on November 7<sup>th</sup> “Emperor PPAC III,” mirroring your brother in terms of governance Jean Bedel Bokassa<sup>12</sup>. Your dream as an ex-job seeker in France is finally realized, but at what price?]

Whilst the post is characteristic of the blog’s content, the tone switches from plainly sarcastic and mocking towards seriousness when discussing Alpha Condé’s re-election. The ending question “at what price?” for instance reads as a serious question. In fact, this blog post marks the final post on the blog, A.O.T. Diallo explaining that he would not be continuing the blog after more than thirteen years. As he noted, he felt too ‘tired and discouraged’ to carry on for Condé’s third term in office, which he noted, ‘will inevitably be a repetition of the same, as nothing more can be expected from autocrats of a certain age.’ Again, there is a seriousness of tone when the target of the joke is imbued with officialdom and even more so when that official is older. A similar idea can be found in prior texts such as in *Les Crapauds-brousse* for instance, in which Monenembo notes of Gnawoulata<sup>13</sup>, a shadowy government official that has made his fortune through petty traffics, “*l’humour lui allait décidément comme une tenue de deuil*” [“humor clearly suited him as well as a mourning outfit”] (1979: 111). As Mudimbe explains, in

<sup>10</sup> Both “Guinea is back” and “radical change” are references to Condé’s campaign slogans

<sup>11</sup> Aladji or El-Hadj is an honorific title indicating Muslims who have gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Here connoting an additionally long title.

<sup>12</sup> The military leader of Central African Republic who declared himself Emperor, reigning from 1976 to 1970, before being overthrown.

<sup>13</sup> Gnawoulata is a made up name, the negative form of the Fulani word *gnawou* – to give credit, hence the name equates in English to ‘does not give credit,’ a satiric name given the character’s prominent wealth.

postcolonial Africa:

[Those who] have wrongly usurped their position of authority' i.e., the African politicians who betrayed the initial project of independence, become 'incapable of playing.'  
(1994:197)

Mudimbe calls these imposters *false fathers*. Their power, for Mudimbe, can be questioned 'in a smile.' As Nadia Yala Kisukidi explains, this notion of *false fathers* and the question of filiation as a political and collective question is central to Mudimbe's work. As she notes:

In Mudimbe's thought, the figure of the father, his silences, his odor, are linked to the structuring of the colonial order on the African continent: this order rests on the erasure of filiations; It replaced the ancient order with the reign of *false fathers*—"abusive fathers"—, those that imposed a new memory, new belief and kinship systems, a new territorial orderings, the importation of new modes of productions (2020: 86)

For Mudimbe, the figure of the father is therefore intimately linked to the colonial ordering power and its reproduction. He invites us to consider the colonial situation as an instance when the lines of continuity and filiation are ruptured and when African fathers have been displaced by white Europeans fathers who imposed their own regimes of truth and memory (Mudimbe, 1982: 12). "What if the father to which you have subjected yourself is an imposter?" he invites us to ask (Mudimbe, 1994: 192).

The creative content produced by young Guineans online often respond to this central question, creatively contesting the authority of *false fathers*. That the fake Twitter account of former Guinean president @Alpha\_Conde uses the *fake* genre to contest the authority of *false fathers* further highlight the creative potential afforded by digital technologies. For Mudimbe, however, the rejection of *false fathers* in Africa has been coded in advance to necessarily take place itself with the language of the colonizer, in the case of Guinea, French (Mudimbe, 1994: 191). This points to important limitations in the kinds of language play described here, where the playful subversion of the former colonial language French, also ends up reinforcing its

power. The next section further explores the politics of language and the ways in which text-centric forms of humor are also bleeding into the image-centric content created on digital platforms such as YouTube or Instagram.

*From Deathly Chronicles to the Media King: Text-centric Humor in the Multimedia Age*

A.O.T. Diallo’s blog, *L’évolution de la Guinée*, or the fake account @Prof\_AlphaConde, both operate on text-first digital platforms, WordPress and Twitter respectively. As such, they echo long-standing forms of text-centric political humor in both literature and the mainstream press. To Thierno Monenembo’s novel *Les Crapauds-Brousse* noted above, we can add, amongst others, the novels of Guinean author William Sassine which give centerstage to those excluded from power, rebels, marginals, madmen and women, lepers, or youths in particular (Chevrier, 1995; Valgimigli, 1997). His work is peppered with satiric wordplays that operate as focal points for Sassine’s scathing political critique. His 1985 novel *Le Zéhéros n’est pas n’importe qui*, written in the wake of Sékou Touré’s passing in 1984, centers around the made-up word ‘zéhéros,’ a combination of zero and hero—zéro and hero in French—who is the book’s main protagonist, ‘a zero who think himself a hero.’

A famed wordsmith, Sassine is widely known in Guinea for his weekly column called *Chronique Assassine*—a pun combining his last name Sassine and the adjective *assassin* [assassinate or murderous in English]—which he wrote from 1992 until his death in 1997 in *Le Lynx*, a popular satiric newspaper that occupied a particularly important place in the Guinean media sphere and public imaginary in the pre-internet years during the 1990s. His *Chronique Assassine* include countless puns, neologism, and word plays that crystalize Sassine’s ‘killing’



humor. Examples include “*dépités*” [the disheartened] instead of “*députés*” [deputy/ members of parliament], “*minus-tres*” [combination of “minus” and “minister”] instead of “*ministre*” [minister], “*gouverne-menteur*,” the contraction of *gouvernement* [government] and *menteur* [liar], or “*Mystère des Télécomplications*” [Mystery of Telecomplications] instead of “*Ministère des Télécommunications*” [Ministry of Telecommunications] [INSERT FIGURE 3]. This resonates deeply with the form of text-centric humor examined in the previous section including the parodic account @Prof-AlphaConde. However, as this section will show, a similar focus on word play, mispronunciations, and malapropism is also bleeding into new forms of time-based digital media, on image-centric platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube. This is akin to the movement from orality to the written – and back to orality – that Glissant has identified in the Caribbean with regards to Creole language (Glissant, 1989:186). However, in the digital age the movement back to orality in literary practice is increasingly a movement towards multimodality rather than simply back to orality.

Iva Le Roi, for instance, is a young up-and-coming comedian from Labé, in the Fouta Djallon region of Guinea, whose videos have in recent years gathered over 5 million views on YouTube, one of the few Guineans to have reached that number of views. His name is the contraction of his full artist’s name *Ivarien Le Roi des Medias* [Ivarien the Media King in English], *Ivarien* being an intentionally ironic misspelling for the French word *Ivoirien* [Ivorian] in English, a reference to the fact that he lived in Ivory Coast as a youth. His 2021 video entitled *Le Chef act 1* [*The Chief part 1*] illuminates how the unique entanglements of literacy, officialdom, and generational politics that were central to the administration of late colonial biopolitical power continue to resonate with today’s generation through everyday encounters with authorities. The video opens with Iva, in character, dressed as a soldier in military gear,

leaning nonchalantly against a wall, twirling his hair, in a position clearly indicating a kind of bored and up-to-no-good idleness, vaguely standing guard whilst waiting to find his next victim. As a young man walks up near him, the soldier heckles him, asking rudely where his *bavette* [face mask] is, a requirement in Guinea at the time due to the coronavirus pandemic. The young passer-by, clearly unphased by the unnecessarily harsh tone of the soldier's question, replies, somewhat defiantly, asking whether the uniformed man is a *policier* [police officer] or a *gendarme* [military police]. Iva's character, the soldier, seems confused by the question and not knowing how to answer it, walks up to his superior who is sitting on a bench in a shady spot nearby. 'You are a *corps habillé*' clarifies the higher-ranking officer, using a uniquely colonial term to designate all uniformed officers regardless of affiliation. Taken literally the term *corps habillé* means 'clothed body' and is usually used in the plural *corps habillés* or 'clothed bodies.' It emerged in colonial times to designate all uniformed colonial officials and points to colonial power's instrumentalization and fetishization of uniforms and their symbolic and signifying powers (See Glasman, 2014 for a detailed discussion of *corps habillés*). Despite its clear association with a colonial past and the failures of the initial postcolonial projects of independence that continued to use the lauded term, it remains widely used today throughout francophone West Africa where the humoristic potential of the term's literal meaning is rarely lost on the enunciator. Armed with an answer, Iva's character, the soldier, returns proudly to the passer-by to proclaim his proper designation as *corps habillé*. Unimpressed, and somewhat dismayed by the officer's lack of self-awareness, the young passerby asks in French: "As-tu fais les bancs?" This expression literally translates as "Have you done the benches?" A common expression in West Africa, *doing the benches* means 'having gone to [Western-style] school?' and refers to the wooden benches commonly found in school classes. Again, unable to answer

this question, the confused soldier returns to his commanding officer for clarification. Playing on the difference between the literal meaning of the phrase and its common metaphorical use in West Africa—which also can be traced to the colonial occupation—the higher ranked officer gestures toward the bench he is sitting on and retorts with feigned impatience: ‘*Oui! Tu es assis avec moi tous les jours ici!*’ [Yes, you are sitting here with me every day!]. Again, humoristic form intervenes in a politics of language with a colonial history by mobilizing literacy broadly conceived—both as an object and subject of humor in the form of the benches and the illiterate soldier—to mount a pointed critique of officialdom. Subtly, by playing with words resonant with the failures of previous generations, the critique is also articulated in generational terms. ‘Working the material of the past,’ to borrow Mudimbe’s terminology, it names ‘objects and subjects of desire,’ discarding versions of officiality that remains tainted with past generations’ failures (Mudimbe, 1994: 196). In this case, the expressions *corps habillés* and *faire les bancs* become focal points for humoristic content that pokes fun at contemporary officialdom in Guinea while mounting a serious critique of colonial legacies that continue to taint daily encounters in Guinea. A direct line between Iva Le Roi’s multimodal productions on YouTube and the text-centric humor of prior generations of Guineans such as Sassine or Monenembo can be traced. Both, re-work the materials of the past to reassemble versions of the present away from colonial legacies. Glissant’s work helps illuminate the importance of humor within post-colonial contexts in piecing together a history marked by the rupture of colonial violence. As he notes, in the Caribbean plantation economy, a vibrant popular culture that made ample use of humoristic registers was a necessary reflex for enslaved population to regain some historical consciousness, following the absolute rupture of the Atlantic crossing, which Glissant calls the ‘abyss’ (1989: 66) to emphasize the brutality with which enslaved African populations were dispossessed or

syphoned out of their cultural pasts and histories in being forced to cross the Atlantic on slave ships. As he notes, ‘the humor of popular expression is what kept us from extinction,’ from the ‘erasure of collective memory’ (Glissant, 1997: 224; 310). Glissant’s work also alerts us to the centrality of oral traditions or what he calls *oral literature* to these collective efforts by formerly colonized people to weave together histories beyond the ruptures imposed by colonization that tried to eradicate their past as ‘non-history’ (Glissant, 1997: 224). Iva Le Roi’s digital productions are contemporary examples of this longer tradition of oral literature, now multimodal literature, that re-works the materials of the past to piece together a collective memory beyond the erasure of colonial violence.

In his *chronique assassine* from January 1995, entitled ‘*Un poulet à la conscience tranquille*’ [Chicken with a clear conscience], Sassine writes:

Mais il faut reconnaître que si les vieux du pays sont c... [*cons* ndlr], les jeunes portent malheur. Regardez avant l’indépendance, c’était un peu mieux. Et même quelques années après. Il y avait de l’eau, du courant, la traite du café, du travail. [...] Mais quand on a commencé à fabriquer les jeunes comme des boîtes de sardines, le malheur est à tous les coins de rue. Les écoles sont pleines. Les rues sont encombrées, les familles surpeuplées... [...] Moi, si j’étais le prési, j’allais procéder par générations. Je prends par exemple une génération. Quand elle atteint l’âge de la retraite, je la massacre. Ensuite, je fabrique la génération suivante. [We have to recognize that if the elderly in this country are s... [*stupid* ndlr], young people spell trouble. Look prior to independence, it was a little better. And even for a few years after. There was water, electricity, coffee production, work. [...] But when we started producing youths like cans of sardines, trouble began on every street corner. Schools are filled up. Streets are overcrowded, families overpopulated... [..].] If I were president, I would operate generationally. I would for instance take a generation. When it has reached retirement age, I’d slaughter it. Then, I’d build the next generation.]

Sassine’s chronicle uses a feigned obfuscated tone and satiric form to mount a particularly scathing critique of generational politics in Guinea. A similar concern with the ‘problem of generation’ to borrow Mannheim’s phrase also occupies a central place in Iva Le Roi’s videos. His video entitled *J’ai échoué face au vieux* [I lost to the old man] features him playing a trick on

an older man to rob him of his money, only to find himself clearly outsmarted by the elder. The video opens with Iva spotting the older man receiving money from a friend, which prompts Iva to follow him and rob the elderly in a back alley. Hearing the old man protest, a group of three youths come running to intervene. Iva, having seen the old man count the money, try to play a bluff telling the youths that it was he who had been robbed of exactly GNF300,000, hoping that giving the exact amount in the old man's possession would add credence to his story. The old man, slyly, retorts by mounting a bigger bluff of his own: he tells the youths that Iva is his son and that he has been looking for him for days, only to find him womanizing, smoking drugs, and drinking, prompting the youths to turn on Iva and proceed to give him a heavy-handed correction. A similar focus on intergenerational relations is found in several other of Iva Le roi's videos including *Iva Le Roi & Le Vieux Sage* (Iva Le Roi & the Old Wiseman), *Le Secret de ma Famille* [My Family's Secret], or *Le Vieux Connaît La Nouvelle Technologie* [The Old Man Knows New Technology]. A direct line can be traced across these different humoristic productions of popular culture, from Monenembo's fictional stories of youth rebellion under the leaden shroud of authoritarianism, to Sassine's scathing critiques of the corruption of both the 'false fathers' and their progeniture in the Guinean postcolony of the 1990s, to recent digital content such as Iva Le Roi's videos, A.O.T. Diallo's blog, or the Twitter account of @Prof\_AlfaConde, to which we should add the collective *Guinée Nouvelle Génération* or productions of @hadya\_presi amongst countless others. All participate in collective efforts to weave together popular memories away from colonial erasure. They do so while containing scathing critiques of generational politics that are equally critical of the older generation of the post-independence, the discredited 'false fathers' noted by Mudimbe, and of their peers, the contemporary post-colonial generation. To illustrate this difficult balancing act, between

generational conflict and historical depth, I now turn to a series of Facebook posts centering on the figure of Koumba, a well-known figure in Labé, Guinea’s third largest city.

### *Political Grandmotherhood meets Facebook*

The following series of posts on Facebook regularly circulates among young Guineans living in the medium-sized city of Labé in the Futa-Jalloh. The posts tend to follow a specific format: they feature a photograph or selfie taken by a young Labékas [inhabitants of Labé] posing next to a woman known as Koumba or Coumba. Koumba is well-known in Labé. An older woman, presumably in her seventies or older, she suffers from mental illness and is regularly seen roaming the city streets wearing different and often extravagant makeshift outfits. One photograph for instance showed her wearing a bright pink wig, large sunglasses. Often the outfits include army slacks and pieces of uniforms. What is particularly significant about these posts is not so much that the youths post pictures of her to highlight her idiosyncratic ways or draw a clear boundary between them as young, male, digitally literate and her as perhaps the epitome of an older generation, but rather the extent to which the youth want to be seen with her. Most posts include selfies taken by her side. And despite the humoristic tone of the posts, the jokes that accompanied the photographs always remain full of genuine affection for Koumba. One post for instance included a caption above the photograph of Koumba wearing an army uniform that read ‘Combatiquement vôtre’, a word play combining the expression *Cordialement vôtre* [Sincerely Yours], the word *combatif* [combative], and her name *Koumba* or *Coumba*. Another selfie included a note that read ‘Avec mon Amiral Komba’ [Together with my Admiral Komba], a reference of her army clothes, but also a clear expression of wanting to be together with her, transcend the differences that may seem obvious at first, and perhaps express a desire to claim a

piece of what she represents. It is unclear what exactly is to be gained immediately from this, perhaps ‘street creds’ or simply projecting the image that one ‘circulates’. Yet the exercise, including often complex and playful wordplays also has something to do with transcending social categories. Another post in the series, posted on Facebook in 2019, included a photomontage of five photos: one of the author posing next to Koumba who is sitting in a chair holding a photograph of a younger woman alongside four photos of the iconic Simson motorbike, a 50cc motorcycle made in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) that was ubiquitous in Guinea until recently and is strongly associated with the First Republic [INSERT FIGURE FOUR]. Here, it is nostalgically remembered by the youth as an object from the past that was still popular during his own childhood, presumably in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when German-made Simson motorbikes began to be steadily replaced by Chinese and Indian-made models. Again, this clearly resonates with Mudimbe’s insistence on the importance of ‘working the materials of the past’ and of memory as ‘an invention of the present’ (Mudimbe, 1994: 195). As he notes:

[...][ memory remains, master, sovereign, working the material of the past, naming subjects and objects of desire. In the writing that can reflect, it becomes a proposition of a will for truth and a history yet to come. (Mudimbe, 1994: 196)

For Mudimbe, this work of memory also opens another realm, one through which ruptured relations of generations can be mended, repaired and through which collective lines of descent and generation can be weaved. As he notes:

[...] daily experience of the Caribbean or the African speech, the opening out onto make-believe, establishes another reign and a unique regime: those of the power and the love of the grandparents, and particularly of the grandmother, often perceived and defined as depository and matrix of the memory of the family, the social group, and the community. (*ibid*: 197)

Of key significance here is Mudimbe’s mention of grandparents and particularly of grandmothers

as figures that can help bridge the gap across generations and create what Glissant calls the ‘acquisition of a feeling of duration.’ For Mudimbe, the symbolic and relational power of the grandmother to create a bridge across generations comes under the sign of play:

[...] through the “joking relationship,” attested to in the Caribbean as well as in Africa, which links [the grandmother] to her grandchildren, she signifies, under the sign of play, the materialization of a smooth continuity. [...] the reign of the grandmother is the other side of the presence of the father [...] whose power is questioned in a smile and the memory of the grandmother. (*ibid*)

Building on Mudimbe’s brief mention of the figure of the grandmother, Nadia Yala Kisukidi proposes the concept of *political grandmotherhood* to contest the voluntary amnesia caused by memories ruptured by colonialism and recompose a genealogy beside or even in opposition to the corrupt authority of fathers. As noted above, Iva Le Roi regularly features grandfathers in his videos. In videos such as *Iva & Le Vieux Sage* [Iva & The Old Wiseman]; *Le Vieux Connait La Nouvelle Technologie* [The Old Man Knows New Technology], or *J’ai Echoué Face Au Vieux* [I Lost to the Old Man], amongst others, he offers a vision of grandfathers outsmarting the younger Iva, a contrast to his other videos featuring ‘father’ figures of authority and officialdom.

Yet, as Mudimbe and Kisukidi note, while the grandfather can carry some of that power to bridge the gap of generations, it is really the grandmother that is the materialization of ‘what was and what will be again’ to borrow Mudimbe’s words (1994: 197). Mudimbe and Kisukidi’s work here helps us understand the significance of the Facebook posts described above with Koumba playing for Labéka youths the role of a political grandmother, one that through humor and a culturally sanctioned “joking relationship”, enables them to bridge generational gaps and propose a history ‘yet to come.’

In generational terms, we see here Mannheim’s theory of generation and his concept of



*fresh contact* at play. Cole and Durham’s more dynamic emphasis on process through the notion of *regeneration* also adequately describes the multilayered ways in which young Guineans invest the digital space to actively participate in processes of historical change. To put it in ‘Mannheimian’ terms, a new generational unit coalesces around a set of creative practices—in this case using digital technologies—. These act as ‘crystalizing agents’ binding the generation together into a ‘spiritual community.’ This forms the basis from which they can collectively re-evaluate, re-appropriate, or reject historical events (Mannheim, 1927[1952]). Often, the emphasis is on distancing themselves from a version of the collective i.e., national project, which they see as having failed them. Yet, this process of creating distance is imbued with ambiguity. Figures such as Koumba, uniquely positioned as a grandmother understood as a political category, emerge as enablers of a different kind of historical work, one marked by the desire to recreate lines of filiations across ruptured histories. Koumba’s figure, alongside elder figures in Iva Le Roi’s videos, is multilayered and complex. She is often seen and portrayed as wearing army uniforms such as slacks or a beret. This subversion of officialdom inscribes her image and body within the long history of *corps habillés* noted above, yet in a way that offers an alternative reading of history, away from –and in fact critical of– the blind conformity and submission to authority *corps habillés* are supposed to convey. Her alternate use of official clothing invariably generates a flurry linguistic wordplay on Facebook such as the few examples shared above. A hyper-local ‘mega-star,’ she is a driving force for the questioning of state authority represented here by the uniformed body (Mudimbe, 1994: 197). As Mudimbe notes:

The reign of the grandmother is the other side of the presence of the father (false or true, it matters little), whose power is questioned in the smile and the memory of the grandmother. (Mudimbe, 1994: 197)

Or, as Alpha Ibrahim Sow, a youth from Labé, explained it to me: *Elle est comme une*

*masquote pour les jeunes ici, elle est trans-générationnelle* [she is like mascot for local youths, she is trans-generational].

### *Conclusion*

The chapter focused on a corpus of digital content created and shared by youths in Guinea on platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, or in the case of A.O.T Diallo's blog *L'évolution de la Guinée selon A.O.T. Diallo*, WordPress. Other examples included the Twitter account @Prof\_Alpha\_Conde which uses the *fake* genre common on the platform to impersonate the former president of Guinea, Alpha Condé, the YouTube video skits of young comedian Iva Le Roi, or a series of user-generated content on Facebook that focused on the figure of Koumba or Coumba, a well-known elderly woman in Labé, a secondary city in Guinea. In various ways, these examples from the emergent digital archive in Guinea, all created after 2010, reappropriated older forms of humoristic language play. In particular, they draw on text-centric forms of humor as found in the first generation of postcolonial authors such as William Sassine or Thierno Monenembo who mobilized wordplays, malapropisms, or errors in elocutions to mount scathing social critiques and commentary. As Bloom (2014) and others have noted, such humoristic forms appear as reactions to specifically colonial politics of language not only in Guinea, but across both francophone and anglophone West Africa, and across the colonized world more generally. Interestingly, the more recent examples under examination here repurpose these previous text-centric humoristic registers for the multimedia and multimodal digital age. Glissant noted a reinvestment in orality in the first wave of postcolonial literature production during the 1970s and 1980s to reclaim a historical depth ruptured by the colonial encounter in Africa, and, even more forcefully the abyss of the Atlantic for Caribbean writers.

As I have argued, young creators and users extend this return to orality beyond the oral towards multimodal forms as afforded by digital media.

Furthermore, in drawing on these older forms of language play, the current generation of digital content creators operates a complex and dual movement, simultaneously reaching out to prior generations while much of the content created is also a critique of prior generations, including those that carried and failed the initial project of independence. The examples under scrutiny here enabled a nuanced examination of these multilayered processes. They highlighted the direct lines of descent that can be drawn between the satiric chronicles of William Sassine that captured the imagination of a whole generation of Guineans during the 1990s or Thierno Monenembo's novels beginning with the highly satiric *Les Crapauds-Brousse* and the recent digital creations of Iva Le Roi, @Prof\_Alpha\_Conde and so on. Yet, at the same time, much of the humor produced by this new generation is also a vigorous critique of prior generations including those of Sassine and Monenembo. As I noted, the critique of prior generations, for all of its vigor, is also complex and follows specific modalities. It is especially trenchant when the prior generation becomes associated with officialdom and corrupted forms of authority that have come to define much state/citizen encounters in the postcolony, with youths as specifically positioned on the sharp end of officialdom and authoritarian power in much of the Global South. Yet, linguistic play and humor was also repeatedly mobilized to draw historical lines of continuation with prior generations as in the case of some of Iva Le Roi's videos wherein the elder figure would outwit the clever youth or even more clearly in the practice amongst youths from Labé to shared pictures of them posing next to Koumba. As I noted, the work of Mudimbe on *false fathers* and of Kisukidi on *political grandmotherhood* are particularly useful for making sense of the generational politics at play in the digital content created and shared by youths in

Guinea since the early 2010s. Contradicting easy binaries such as digital natives and immigrants, transgenerational figures such as Koumba emerge in digital Guinea as multimodal political figures, the *political grandmother* par excellence. The digital generation, then, is not just characterized by rupture or newness as implied by discourses of digital natives versus immigrants. Instead, for those whose lives unfold in a context itself shaped by the historical ruptures of colonialism, the digital is also often a terrain onto which a new generation can reach for the past away from those external determinations. This echoes, James Yékú's work in Nigeria, where he notes:

The implication of the many digital media-propelled narratives is the renegotiation of the webs of powers in Nigeria and a redefinition of political apathy – as many more youths now use the many textual possibilities in internet environments in a counter-hegemonic way that maps and remaps a new media ecology that promises novel socio-political pathways. (2016: 254)

Mounting scathing critiques of prior generation, in line with understandings of the digital as a rupture, young Guineans also concurrently reach out to longer histories, thereby rebuilding a history, a history yet to come.

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LIST OF FIGURES :

Figure One :



*Figure 1: Humoristic Tweet by @Prof\_AlphaConde replying to a post by repurposing the original misspelling 'ductatair' instead of 'dictateur,' the French word for 'dictator.'*

Figure Two :



Figure 2: Pinned Tweet on @Prof\_AlphaConde's Twitter account

Figure Three :



Figure 3: Sassine, Williams, 155. Constats ou tas de cons ?, 1995/03/06.

Figure Four :



Figure 4: Photomontage of Koumba alongside the famed GDR-made Simson motorbike