Examining Alterity Dynamics Through the Conceptualisation and (Re)Construction of Social and Political Enemy in Post-Independent Francophone African Literature

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ABSTRACT: The exploration of alterity in francophone African literature offers a rich and multifaceted understanding of identity dynamics and cultural hybridity. By examining the impact of post-independence socio-political landscape, this study provides critical insights into the complexities of otherness. Through the lenses of conflict and postcolonial theories, functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and comparative analysis, the thematic perspective provides a deeper understanding of how the concept of the enemy is constructed, negotiated, and redefined within the alterity framework in francophone African narratives. Using a corpus of five novels, this study not only enriches our understanding of francophone African literature but also contributes to broader discussions on identity, power, and socio-political representation in post-independent Africa. It concludes that the enemy's identity is fluid, continuously shaped by social interactions and cultural practices, which construct and redefine individual and collective identities in response to evolving social and political contexts.

KEYWORDS: alterity, conflict theory, francophone African literature, functionalism, postcolonial theory, symbolic interactionism.

INTRODUCTION

As Denise Jodelet (2005) rightly says, « Au plan conceptuel, la notion d’altérité renvoie à une distinction anthropologiquement et philosophiquement originaire et fondamentale, celle entre le même et l’autre » (p28) [Conceptually, the notion of otherness refers to an anthropologically and philosophically original and fundamental distinction that exists between the same and the other]. While alterity is generally understood as the recognition of the Other in their difference
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in relation to shared realities (Dewitte, 1995; Jeudy-Ballini, 2010; Jodelet, 2005; Vulbeau, 2006), it is also addressed in the understanding and interpretation of the difficult coexistence of differentiated identities in a specific social and political space where feelings of belonging are particularly strong. Alterity is a multifaceted concept that goes beyond mere recognition; it relates to the profound complexities of identity, alienation, and the socio-political dynamics that govern human interactions.

The study of alterity often involves examining the forms of identity alienation. This process can lead an individual to become so "other" that they feel foreign to their social and political space and even to themselves. This alienation can be both a personal and collective experience, leading to a negative identity where the alienated individuals or group are subjugated within their own society. This subjugation creates a dichotomy between the self and the other, where the other is often marginalised and dehumanised. This dynamic is particularly evident in postcolonial contexts, where the legacy of colonialism continues to influence the (re)construction of identities and social hierarchies.

When alterity is associated with conflict or a desire to assert authority over the Other, a process of rejection often ensues. This process is marked by distancing, antipathy, and selfishness, which further entrenches the divisions between different groups. In the context of francophone African literature, this rejection is often depicted through the narrative discourse on the (re)construction of the image of emblematic characters who maintain conflicting relationships. These relationships evolve along the complex paths of identities and ideologies, leading to conflicts where alterity is associated with either the individual or collective enemy.

This study examines the ways African literature represents identity formation and its impact on alterity. Through an analysis of various literary works, the research will unveil the diverse approaches African writers employ to depict identity negotiation. This will provide a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between identity and alterity in francophone African literature.

Since the concept of otherness has often been a source of exclusive practices, deeply rooted in colonialism's divisive nature, this study will explore how the colonial perspective entertained a binary framework of the 'self' and the 'other,' creating rigid boundaries that marginalised African identities. The study explores how this framework, hybridity, assimilation, and alienation have emerged as alternative responses to otherness, each with its own implications for identity, acceptance, and rejection. By re-evaluating African identities beyond the confines of colonial mindsets, this critique seeks to uncover the complexities of identity structures and their governance in Africa. The analysis will highlight how these structures oscillate between asserting the right to be different and adopting survival strategies in response to systemic pressures. This duality reflects a broader struggle for recognition and autonomy within postcolonial contexts, where individuals and communities often navigate the delicate balance between maintaining their identity distinctiveness and conforming to external expectations.
Alterity through the lenses of double consciousness

The concept of "double consciousness," first articulated by W.E.B. Du Bois in the context of African American identity (Reed, 1997), is also applicable to the African diaspora in francophone literature. It describes the internal conflict experienced by individuals who are forced to reconcile their African heritage with the cultural demands of their host countries. This double consciousness is a source of both tension and creativity, as it fosters a unique perspective that enriches the literary landscape.

Alterity in African literature has been approached through the ways in which identity dynamics and cultural hybridity are represented (Mouralis, 2007; Imorou, 2011; Patzioglou, Zouyané, 2015; Zouyané, 2015). Studies have often examined the impact of colonialism on African societies in relation to the imposed sense of otherness on African peoples. This imposition, characterised by economic exploitation, cultural domination, and political subjugation, has had long-lasting effects on the identities and social structures of African societies. The literature from francophone Africa has been particularly rich in exploring these themes, providing a nuanced critique of the colonial legacy and its aftermath.

Colonialism created a profound identity crisis among African peoples. Traditional cultural identities were undermined by the imposition of European educational systems, languages, and religions. This cultural imposition created a fragmented sense of self, where individuals and communities had to navigate between traditional practices and the newly introduced colonial frameworks. Francophone African writers like Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor used their works to articulate this crisis, blending African cultural motifs with European literary forms to reclaim and redefine African identity.

As the reclamation of cultural identity became a form of resistance against colonial oppression, writers and intellectuals of the Négritude movement were seen as a beacon of the celebration of the otherness. African heritage was used to counteract the dehumanising stereotypes propagated by colonial discourse. Their works emphasised the richness of African cultures and the resilience of African peoples, challenging the notion of African inferiority and henceforth celebrating the richness of alterity.

However, the experiences of Africans in the diaspora have further complicated the dynamics of alterity. Migration, whether voluntary or forced, always introduces new layers of identity negotiation and cultural hybridity. Early Francophone African literature often explores themes of displacement, belonging, and the search for identity in foreign lands. As migrants frequently find themselves caught between multiple worlds, belonging fully to neither the homeland nor the adopted country, the in-between space is marked by feelings of alienation and hybridity, as individuals negotiate their identities amidst different cultural expectations and social norms. Writers like Léonora Miano ((2006; 2008; 2013) and Fatou Diome (2003; 2006; 2010) examine
these experiences, portraying the struggles and resilience of African migrants as they forge new identities while maintaining connections to their roots.

The quest for authenticity is therefore a recurring theme in postcolonial literature. Writers seek to decolonise the mind by promoting traditional knowledge systems and cultural practices. This process involves a critical interrogation of how colonial mindsets often drive postcolonial identities formation, aiming to promote the construction of a more authentic and autonomous sense of self in diversity. Francophone African literature seeks to amplify marginalised voices and provide a platform for authentic representation. Francophone African writers often position themselves as representatives of the subaltern, giving voice to those who have been silenced by colonial and postcolonial power dynamics. The question authenticity focuses on who gets to tell stories and whose voices are heard, which is central to the theme of alterity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The exploration of alterity and the conceptualisation of the social and political enemy in francophone African literature takes many forms, reflecting the diversity of experiences and perspectives across the continent. Key authors and works provide rich examples of how these themes are articulated and examined. Aimé Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1956) addresses the themes of identity, colonialism, and alterity. Césaire's poetry reflects a deep sense of cultural pride and resistance against colonial domination. By reclaiming African heritage and celebrating black identity, Césaire challenges the imposed otherness of colonial discourse. Mariama Bâ's *Une si longue lettre* (1979) explores the intersection of gender and culture identities in post-independence Senegal. Through the experiences of her protagonist, Bâ addresses the challenges faced by African women in navigating traditional roles and modern expectations. Her work highlights the double marginalisation of women and critiques the patriarchal structures that perpetuate their subordination. Bâ's narrative emphasises the importance of female empowerment, advocating for gender equality and social justice.

Ahmadou Kourouma's novels, such as *Les Soleils des indépendances* (1968) and *En attendant le vote des bêtes sauvages* (1998), offer an excellent critique of post-independence African politics. Kourouma uses satire to expose the corruption, greed, and incompetence of political leaders, portraying them as new forms of enemies to the people's welfare. His works reflect the disillusionment with the promise of independence and highlight the enduring impact of colonialism on contemporary African politics.

Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) is one of the cornerstones in the exploration of alterity and colonial impact. While Achebe primarily wrote in English, his influence extends to francophone African literature, given his thematic focus on the collision of traditional African societies with colonial forces.

However, the examination of alterity extends beyond the mere critique of colonial legacies to include the internal dynamics within African societies. In post-independent Africa, the emergence of new forms of otherness is evident in the way political and social power dynamics...
shape identities and alliances. The construction of the enemy is fluid, often reflecting shifting political landscapes and power struggles. The enemy can be a political rival, an ethnic group, or a perceived external threat. This fluidity highlights the instability and complexity of post-independence African states, where allegiances are often transient and opportunistic.

As literature serves as a powerful tool to explore these themes, it provides a reflective and critical space where the complexities of identity, power, and alterity can be examined. Writers use their narratives to question and critique the socio-political structures that perpetuate inequality and otherness. They provide insight into the lived experiences of individuals and communities, offering a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of alterity in African contexts.

Throughout what has been labelled literature of engagement (Munyangego, 2000, 2001, 2010, 2012), Francophone African writers (Ngoye, 1993; Beti, 1994; M’Fouillou, 1994; Tchichellé, 1997; Diarisso, 2014; Tshibila, 2020; Diarisso, 2021; N’Kaloulou, 2021) have examined portrayed corruption, dictatorships, clientelism, and political exclusion in Francophone African literature as a multifaceted and deeply entrenched narrative of alterity. Through their works, writers reflect on the ways in which these forces shape and are shaped by ethnic, tribal, political, and regional identities, creating a dynamic and often fraught landscape of division and conflict that (re)construct the concept of identity.

The texts used for this study highlight how corruption stands as one of the most pervasive themes in this body of literature, serving as both a symptom and a cause of deeper societal rifts. Francophone African writers illustrate how corruption (Tchichellé, 1997) undermines the very foundations of society, fostering distrust and resentment among different groups. Government officials and political elites often manipulate ethnic and tribal affiliations to secure their power and wealth, creating a vicious cycle of corruption and division. This manipulation not only exacerbates existing tensions but also creates new forms of otherness, as those who are excluded from the benefits of corruption become increasingly marginalised and disenfranchised.

Another prevalent theme in the literature of engagement is dictatorships (Tchidjo, 1993; Mbailao, 2021). African writers highlight the destructive impact of unchecked power on social cohesion. They depict how authoritarian regimes use coercion and violence to maintain control, often targeting specific ethnic or political groups as scapegoats. These dictatorships perpetuate a climate of fear and suspicion, where allegiances are constantly shifting, and loyalty to the regime is enforced through intimidation and repression. The narratives of these writers often show the human cost of such regimes, illustrating how ordinary citizens are caught in the crossfire of political power struggles and forced to navigate a landscape of constant danger and uncertainty.

Clientelism (Mbailao, 2021), which is a system of patronage where political support is exchanged for material benefits, is another critical aspect explored by Francophone African
writers. This system entrenches divisions by creating a hierarchy of loyalty based on access to resources and favours. Those who are part of the clientelist network receive preferential treatment, while those outside it are enemies that much be marginalised. Writers highlight how this system perpetuates inequality and fosters resentment, as communities and individuals vie for the favour of powerful patrons. The otherness feeds into competition for resources, which often leads to intergroup conflicts, as clientelism undermines meritocracy and reinforces the idea that success is dependent on personal connections rather than ability or effort.

Political exclusion (Sinta, 2021) is also a recurring theme in Francophone African literature, reflecting the struggles of those who are systematically marginalised from the political process. Writers document how certain groups, often based on ethnicity or regional identity, are deliberately excluded from political power and decision-making (Munyangeyo, 2022). This exclusion not only disenfranchises large segments of the population but also fuels a sense of alienation and otherness. Those who are excluded often become the 'other,' viewed with suspicion and treated as outsiders or enemies within their own countries. This dynamic is further exacerbated by political rhetoric that demonises these groups, portraying them as threats to national unity (M’Fouillou, 1994; 1997), security, and stability.

Ethnicity (Tchidjo, 1993; M’Fouillou, 1997; Nzamboung, 2018) and tribalism are deeply embedded in the narratives of Francophone African literature, reflecting the historical and cultural complexities of the continent. Writers explore how colonial legacies have shaped ethnic identities, often turning them into sources of division rather than unity. The arbitrary borders drawn by colonial powers, which grouped diverse ethnic groups into single political entities, have left a lasting impact on postcolonial states. Francophone African writers highlight how these historical divisions are manipulated by contemporary political elites to serve their interests, fostering a sense of otherness based on ethnic identity. Tribalism, in this context, becomes a tool of political manipulation, used to mobilise support and marginalise opponents. Political allegiance (Mbailao, 2021) is another critical factor in the construction of alterity, as depicted in Francophone African literature. Writers examine how political loyalties are often tied to ethnic and regional identities, creating a complex web of affiliations that shape social and political dynamics. Political parties and movements frequently align themselves with specific ethnic or regional groups, reinforcing divisions and perpetuating a cycle of exclusion and marginalization. The literature of engagement shows how these allegiances are fluid and opportunistic, shifting in response to changing political circumstances and power dynamics. This fluidity adds another layer of complexity to the narrative of alterity, as individuals and groups navigate a constantly shifting landscape of political loyalty and betrayal.

Regionalism (Tshibila, 2020) as the emphasis on regional identities and interests, also plays a significant role in the narratives of Francophone African writers. The literature often reflects the tension between national unity and regional autonomy, highlighting how regional disparities in wealth and development can fuel a sense of otherness. Writers document how regions that feel neglected or marginalised by the central government often seek greater autonomy or even secession, leading to conflicts and further divisions. These regional tensions
are compounded by the clientelist networks and corrupt practices that funnel resources and opportunities to favoured regions, exacerbating inequality and fostering resentment. The literature of engagement in Francophone Africa thus offers a significant critique of the ways in which various forms of alterity are constructed and perpetuated within postcolonial societies. Through their vivid and often pessimistic narratives, writers expose the deep-seated divisions that corruption, dictatorships, clientelism, and political exclusion create. They highlight how these forces exploit and exacerbate ethnic, tribal, political, and regional identities, turning them into sources of conflict and alienation. The portrayal of these dynamics in literature serves as a call to action, urging readers to recognise and address the underlying causes of division and to work towards more equitable societies where alterity and inclusion are not incompatible.

Through a sociological lens, the study of alterity in francophone African literature reveals the interplay between individual and collective identities, power dynamics, and social structures. Conflict theory, postcolonial theory, functionalism, and symbolic interactionism offer valuable frameworks for analysing how these elements interact and shape the conceptualisation of the enemy. These theoretical perspectives help to uncover the underlying mechanisms that drive social cohesion, conflict, and identity formation.

**METHODOLOGY**

To fully understand the dynamics of alterity in francophone African literature, it is useful to refer to the sociological theories such as functionalism, conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, and comparative analysis. These theories provide different lenses through which we can examine the conceptualisation and fluctuation of the enemy.

Functionalism theorist Talcott Parsons (Parsons, 1937; 1951) views society as a system of interrelated parts that work together to maintain stability. From this perspective, the concept of the enemy can be seen as a mechanism for social exclusion. While the otherness can be defined a tool that societies can use to create a sense of unity and purpose, in post-independence African literature, alterity can be seen in the ways groups and communities rally against common enemies, whether they are allies of colonial powers or internal threats to stability.

As for symbolic interactionism (Goffman, 1959; Blumer, 1969), with its emphasis on meanings and social interactions, it highlights the negotiated nature of identity and alterity. The identity of the enemy is not static but is continuously shaped and reshaped through social interactions and cultural practices.

In relation to conflict theory (Mills, 1956) with its focus on power and inequality, it provides a critical lens through which to examine the construction of the enemy. In this view, the enemy is often a tool used by dominant groups to legitimate their power and maintain control. The literature reflects this by depicting the ways in which political and social elites manipulate identities and allegiances to reinforce their positions of authority. The construction of enemies
serves to divert attention from internal issues and consolidate power. On one hand, this perspective reveals the ways in which individual and collective identities are constructed and redefined in response to changing social and political contexts.

On the other hand, conflict theory emphasises the role of power and inequality in shaping social relations. It views society as a site of continuous struggle between different groups competing for resources and power. In this context, the enemy is often constructed as a means of legitimising the dominance of one group over another. This theory highlights the pragmatic fluctuation of alterity and the ways in which individual and collective identities are constructed through everyday practices. This is reflected in the shifting alliances and identities that characterise post-independence African societies. Francophone African literature frequently explores these power dynamics, revealing how the construction of enemies serves to maintain the status quo and perpetuate inequality.

Furthermore, comparative analysis through sociological reading (Moore, 1966) will allow the study to explore similarities and differences in the representation of identity and alterity across different francophone African literary texts. This approach will provide a broader perspective on the themes of identity formation, showing how they manifest in different cultural and historical contexts. By comparing works from different authors and regions, the study highlighted the diversity of African experiences and the varied ways in which writers respond to postcolonial undemocratic practices.

Finally, postcolonial theory provides a critical framework for understanding alterity in francophone African literature. It examines how the enduring effects of colonialism, such as economic structures, political systems, and instability, continue to shape African societies. Postcolonial literature critiques these legacies and re-evaluates their impact on the creation of new forms of bourgeoisie by which opulence and corruption widen social class divisions.

Postcolonial theory can hence help with the understanding of the ways neo-colonial structures that perpetuate inequality and hinder true independence. From Ahmadou Kourouma to the authors of the study’s corpus, African novelists analyse the disillusionment and struggles of post-independence African states, revealing how colonial practices have contributed to the fragility of political and social institutions, which has brought to light the dynamics of alterity in new ways.

The struggle for power and resources often leads to the formation of alliances and coalitions that reflect shifting identities and allegiances. In the absence of stable political institutions, alliances are often formed based on personal and group interests. These alliances can be fluid and opportunistic, leading to the constant redefinition of friend and enemy. The literature of this period reflects the precarious nature of these alliances and the ways in which they shape social and political realities.

The following five novels will be used for reference:
Congo-Brazzaville
- Dominique M’Fouillou, *La salve des innocents* (Salve), 1997
Cameroon
- Stanislas Ouomah Tchidjo, *Par décret présidentiel* (Décret), 1993
- Eugène Nzamboung, *L’amour à l’ombre des guerres tribales* (Amour), 2018
Chad
- Jean-Marie Mbailao, *Le prostitué politique* (Prostitué), 2021
Guinea Conakry
- Alimou Sinta, *Le sang pour l’alternance* (Sang), 2021

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

African literature serves as a critical reflection of complex social dynamics, offering profound insights into how identity and otherness are constructed and negotiated in post-independent African states. Through their works, authors use various narrative techniques and themes to explore the fluidity of otherness and the intricacies of identity formation. By examining issues ranging from ethnicity to political divides, they portray alterity through characters who navigate the challenges of identity formation and struggle against both external and internal forces of exclusion.

This study focuses on five novels representing specific regional areas in Francophone Africa, including Central Africa with Congo-Brazzaville, Cameroon, and Chad, as well as West Africa with a country like Guinea Conakry. The novels selected were published between 1993 and 2021, offering a broad temporal perspective on the evolving themes of identity and otherness in African literature.

**Anthropological context of otherness through ethnicity**

Understanding the dynamics of alterity through ethnic identities in African literature requires anthropological considerations, as it reflects on how individuals and groups perceive and interact with those that they consider different from themselves. This exploration is pivotal in African literature, where themes of identity, belonging, and otherness are central to many narratives. By examining how different authors depict ethnicity, we can gain insights into the complex and multifaceted nature of ethnic identities. In *L’amour à l’ombre des guerres tribales* (2018), Nzamboung, explains how anthropologically, ethnicity in Africa transcends national boundaries from the colonial era where ethnic groups are typically defined ethnolinguistically. Ethnic groups share language, culture, and historical experiences, which do not always align with the arbitrary borders established by colonial powers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:


Bishio, un « sous-ensemble de la population Kwashio, aujourd’hui principalement installée en Guinée Équatoriale » (Amour, p.31)
Bishio « s’étaient ainsi dirigés vers le sud, à savoir, le Gabon, la Guinée Équatoriale, l’Angola… et les Mabi vers le nord, en suivant la plage, accompagnés des BVOUUMBO qui s’étaient repliés vers l’intérieur du continent » (Amour, p.33).
« quelques Mabi avaient rejoint les Bishio au sud quand ils avaient fui les affres de la colonisation : impôts sur les personnes physiques ; travaux forcés et pauvreté » (Amour, p.33).

[The myth of the history of the Kwassio, who left South Sudan from time immemorial, until their arrival on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean via the island of Dipikar and their settlement in Central African countries (Amour, p. 30). Bishio, a subset of the Kwashio population, today primarily settled in Equatorial Guinea (Amour, p. 31). The Bishio thus moved southward, namely to Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Angola… and the Mabi moved northward, following the beach, and accompanied by the Bvoumbo who retreated inland (Amour, p. 33). Some Mabi joined the Bishio in the south when they fled the horrors of colonisation: personal taxes; forced labour and poverty (Amour, p. 33)).

This case reflects the anthropological nature of ethnicity across Africa. For instance, the Yoruba people are predominantly found in southwestern Nigeria but also have significant populations in neighbouring Benin and Togo. Similarly, the Maasai live in both Kenya and Tanzania, maintaining a cohesive cultural and social structure that disregards national borders. These cross-border ethnic affiliations are rooted in pre-colonial times when these communities occupied continuous territories and had established social and trade networks.

Postcolonial states have attempted to forge national identities to unify diverse ethnic groups within their borders, yet ethnic identity often remains a primary mode of social organisation and belonging. This can lead to both cooperation and conflict. Ethnic solidarity can provide support and a sense of belonging, but it can also lead to tension and competition for resources and political power, particularly when national policies favour certain groups over others:

« Il paraît que les Bonua ont tué une fille mabi à Mbamba Bonua. Le tam-tam africain avait fonctionné et quelques heures plus tard, alors que la fête battait son plein de l’autre côté du pont de la rivière Kienke, la triste information meubla toutes les conversations. Des versions aussi invraisemblables les unes que les autres étaient rapportées. Et l’ire générale saisit la foule des Mabi » (Amour, p.131).

[It seems that the Bonua killed a Mabi girl in Mbamba Bonua. The African traditional communication channels worked fast and a few hours later, while the party was in full swing on the other side of the Kienke River bridge, the sad news filled all the conversations. Various improbable versions were reported. And shared ire seized the Mabi crowd].
Ethnic rivalries have been a significant factor in the construction of other
ness in post-independent African states. The colonial practice of drawing arbitrary borders without regard to ethnic and cultural boundaries exacerbated tensions, which often surfaced violently after independence. Political leaders have sometimes exploited these ethnic divisions for their own gain, framing certain ethnic groups as enemies to consolidate power and rally support:

« Ces fondamentaux, développés dans le cadre de la ville de Kribi, sont partagés par les deux communautés batanga et mabi depuis leur lointain passé sans véritables heurts, mais se trouvent subitement perturbées par les égoïsmes politiciens des temps modernes qui vont malheureusement tacher la quiétude de ces paisibles populations avec du sang vif » (Amour, p.5)

[These fundamentals, developed within the framework of the city of Kribi, have been shared by the two Batanga and Mabi communities since their distant past without any real clashes, but are suddenly disrupted by the political selfishness of modern times which will unfortunately stain the tranquillity of these peaceful populations with real blood]

For many writers, ethnicity is indeed portrayed as a toxic element that undermines social and political cohesion. Chinua Achebe’s novel, Things Fall Apart (195) also illustrates how ethnic identities can be a source of tension and conflict. The protagonist, Okonkwo, belongs to the Igbo ethnic group, which sees itself as distinct from and superior to neighbouring clans. This sense of otherness is so ingrained that it fosters animosity and mistrust, leading to conflicts that disrupt the social fabric of the community.

Similarly, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s The River Between (1965) explores the divisive impact of ethnicity. The novel is set in Kenya during the colonial period and focuses on the Kikuyu people, who are split into two antagonistic groups over the issue of cultural and religious changes brought by colonialism. The protagonist, Waiyaki, attempts to bridge the gap between these groups, but the deep-seated ethnic animosities prove challenging to overcome.

The role of colonialism in using ethnic otherness as a tool for divide and rule has been portrayed by many Francophone novelists. Stanislas Tchidjo Ouoham, in his novel Par décret présidentiel... (1993), exposes this tactic used by colonial authorities to sow discord among communities by exploiting ethnic differences. By dividing communities along ethnic lines, colonial powers were able to weaken collective resistance and maintain control more effectively. This strategy did not vanish with the end of colonial rule; instead, it was inherited and refined by postcolonial politicians.

« L’histoire du colonialisme est d’ailleurs jonchée de ce genre de retournement. Toute civilisation qui lui résistait, tout peuple entreprenant dont le dynamisme menaçait les intérêts coloniaux étaient présentés à leurs compatriotes moins dynamiques et sans ambitions à long terme, comme l’ennemie du pays, et le Colon comme le protecteur avec qui il fallait sceller une alliance solide
et durable. Compte tenu de l’efficacité de cet argument ethnique—
les colons étaient passés maîtres dans l’art de la manipulation—
et des dispositions toutes naïves de ces Vilaniens à se croire les
amis du Blanc, le message n’eut pas de peine à passer » (Décret,
p.54).

[The colonial history is, moreover, littered with such manipulations. Every civilisation that resisted it, every enterprising people whose dynamism threatened colonial interests, were presented to their less-dynamic compatriots, those without long-term ambitions, as the enemy of the country. The Coloniser was portrayed as the protector with whom a solid and lasting alliance had to be fostered. Given the effectiveness of this ethnic argument -the colonisers were masters in the art of manipulation -and the naïve disposition of these Vilanians to believe themselves as friends of the Whiteman, the message had no trouble getting through]

In his novel, Ouoham illustrates how African leaders astutely adopt the colonial playbook, leveraging ethnic divisions to secure and consolidate power. The perpetuation of ethnic manipulation underscores the enduring legacy of colonialism in post-independence political landscapes, revealing how historical strategies of control continue to shape contemporary governance and societal structures in Francophone Africa.

In contrast, other African writers portray ethnicity as a potential bridge for building connections and fostering unity, particularly through ethnic intermarriages. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2026), provides a nuanced view of ethnic identities and relationships. Set against the backdrop of the Nigerian Civil War, the novel features characters from different ethnic backgrounds who form deep, meaningful connections despite the surrounding ethnic conflict. The relationship between Olanna, who is Igbo, and Odenigbo, who is from a different ethnic group, exemplifies how love and mutual respect can transcend ethnic boundaries. Adichie’s portrayal suggests that while ethnicity can be a source of division, it can also be a means of fostering understanding and unity when individuals embrace their shared humanity. The triumph of lover over ethnic tensions is also represented in Nzamboung’s *L’amour à l’ombre des guerres tribales* (2018):

« les mariages intertribaux sont la solution idoine au fléau de tribalisme qui étouffe notre pays, car d’après vous, les enfants de parents venant des tribus différentes ne peuvent pas facilement développer de regrettables replis identitaires. Ils vont constituer du fait des croisements une population purifiée de cette peste qu’est le tribalisme » (Amour, p.144).

[Interethnic marriages are the ideal solution to the scourge of tribalism, which is suffocating our country, because according to you, children of parents from different tribes cannot easily develop regrettable identity withdrawals. As a result of crossbreeding, they will constitute a population purified of this plague that is tribalism]
Mariama Bâ’s *Long a Letter* (1979) also explores the theme of ethnic intermarriage as a bridge between communities. The novel, set in Senegal, follows the life of Ramatoulaye, a Senegalese woman reflecting on her life after the death of her husband. Through her narrative, Bâ addresses the complexities of ethnic identity in a multicultural society. Ramatoulaye’s marriage, which crosses ethnic lines, symbolizes the potential for unity in diversity. Bâ highlights how, despite the challenges, such unions can foster a sense of belonging and interconnectedness, challenging the rigid boundaries that often divide communities.

Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Changes: A Love Story* (1991) also explores the intersection of ethnic identity and personal relationships. The novel is set in Ghana and follows Esi, a modern, educated woman navigating her career, love life, and cultural expectations. Esi’s relationships, particularly her marriage and subsequent divorce, highlight the tensions between traditional ethnic norms and contemporary individual desires.

In African novels, ethnicity often serves as a double-edged sword, representing both a source of division and a pathway to unity. On one hand, otherness driven by ethnic differences can lead to animosity, mistrust, tensions, and exclusion. On the other hand, many African narratives also emphasise the fluidity and adaptability of ethnic identities (Mbama-Ngankoua, 2019; Koné and Soro, 2017). These stories often highlight how individuals navigate and negotiate their ethnic identities through personal interactions that serve as bridges, fostering personal growth and societal cohesion. Through interactions, Characters from different ethnic backgrounds form deep, meaningful connections despite the surrounding ethnic conflict. Their relationships demonstrate how love and mutual respect can transcend ethnic boundaries, suggesting that ethnic identities are not fixed but can evolve through positive interactions.

**Opportunistic dimension of alterity in African politics**

The representation of political allegiance as the otherness in ideological alienation is a recurring theme in Francophone African novels of the post-independence period. This period is marked by the complexities of newly independent states struggling with their identity and governance.

« Certains politiciens opportunistes intègrent des partis dits d’opposition dure. Ils tiennent des propos très durs et parfois même méchants contre le parti au pouvoir. Ils taxent le chef de l’État d’être un individu vorace qui accapare tout et confisque tout. Les mots ne sont jamais assez violents pour le qualifier. C’est lui la cause de tous les malheurs du pays. Ils ne sont d’accord avec aucune des réalisations du système. Ils trouvent toujours un défaut à tout » (Prostitué, p.221).

[Some opportunistic politicians join so-called strong opposition parties. They make very harsh and sometimes even nasty remarks against the party in power. They accuse the head of state of being a voracious individual who monopolises everything and confiscates everything. Words are never violent enough to describe it. The supreme leader is the cause of all the misfortunes]
The construction of the enemy in post-independent African states is influenced by shifting political landscapes. Political allegiances in many African countries are often transient and opportunistic, shaped by the need to navigate complex and unstable political environments. As political power shifts, so too does the construction of otherness. The alternation of power being a major challenge and political issue faced by democratic struggles, the concept of otherness is reflected in the subtle game of alliances that acts as the umbilical cord linking members of the political class while branding opponents as enemies.

In this context, political allegiance is often portrayed as a form of otherness, where one's political identity becomes a defining feature that can lead to social and ideological alienation. The political landscape in Francophone African countries during the post-independence period was tumultuous, characterised by the fragility of institutions. This leads to instability which is mirrored in the novels exploring the deep and often painful implications of political allegiance.

[Politics has something inexplicable. Once you put one foot there, you tend to put there the second one rather than pulling back the first. You almost become enslaved. You become politically prostitute. By political prostitution you must wholeheartedly obey your master with hope to have a place in the administration. And if, despite this, the nomination is delayed, you join satellite political parties for benefits. With each new wave of nominations, these satellite parties which are allies of the ruling party are consulted to nominate a few activists to occupy political seats for a few months].

In this novel, Jean-Marie Mbailao created characters whose narratological navigation suggest that to avoid having the otherness associated with enmity, political and ideological conversion is realised through joining the dominant political party. This act of joining is not a simple membership but rather a profound transformation, where one must become "other" in the eyes of the new political community. This entails a complete resocialisation, tied to a radical break in political and social life. The previous identity, with its affiliations and beliefs, must be
replaced with a new identity that aligns with the ruling party's ideology. This change of life ensures access to the socio-economic benefits that political power provides.

This experience, generally motivated by politico-economic interests or a call to ethnic or regional alliance, is often depicted as a rebirth in Francophone African literature. It is not merely a change of political stance but a metamorphosis into a new being. This rebirth is symbolised by adopting a new member name and embracing new slogans of mobilisation discourse. Slogans and mobilisation discourse further entrench the new identity. Characters learn and repeat the party's slogans, integrating them into their speech and thought patterns. These slogans are more than just words; they represent the values and beliefs of the new political order. By adopting and using these slogans, individuals demonstrate their ideological conversion and commitment to the new cause. The previous political experience is either demonised or forgotten, as if the individual has undergone a complete transformation into someone else.

The novels of this era frequently illustrate the otherness as a harrowing and intricate process of this ideological conversion. Characters often grapple with their sense of identity and belonging, torn between their past convictions and the lure of new affiliations that promise material and social rewards. This conversion is not only an internal struggle but also a social performance, where the external markers of allegiance, such as names, clothing, and public declarations play a crucial role in validating one's new identity.

The new political identity is often marked by wearing specific clothing associated with the ruling party. These outfits are not merely practical garments but symbols laden with ideological significance. They signal to the community that the individual has undergone a transformation and now subscribes to the new political order. The adoption of new attire is a visible, daily reaffirmation of one's allegiance and an erasure of the past.

The transformation is often portrayed as a survival strategy in a politically volatile environment. The socio-economic benefits that come with political allegiance are significant motivators for this change. Access to jobs, social services, and political protection is often contingent on demonstrating loyalty to the ruling party. In this way, political allegiance becomes a means of accessing vital resources and securing one's place in society. Alimou Sinta’s Le sang pour l’alternance suggests that to access political opportunities, one must always be vigilant and ready for a metamorphosis:

« Il faut que tu aies plusieurs visages, il faut que tu sois comme un renard c’est-à-dire un vrai malin qui observe tout autour de toi pour détecter les ennemis et les menaces que tu vas dévorer avec ton visage de lion. Il faut que tu regardes avec attention chaque homme surtout celui qui rôde autour de toi ; il faut avoir un véritable œil pour connaître au peigne fin toutes les organisations qui sont sur ton territoire, qu’elles soient publiques ou privées, il faut les observer dans l’ensemble sans en négliger
aucune ; il faut aussi observer et analyser toute situation qui se présente pour comprendre tous ses contours, ne néglige aucun détail… » (Sang, p.12).

[You must have multiple faces; you must be like a fox, truly cunning, observing everything around you to detect enemies and threats, which you will devour with your lion's face. You must watch everyone carefully, especially those who loiter around you; you need to have an eagle eye to thoroughly understand all the organisations on your territory, whether they are public or private, observing them wholistically without neglecting any. You must also observe and analyse every situation that arises to understand all its nuances, without neglecting any detail...]

However, this transformation is fraught with tension and conflict. Characters often face moral dilemmas and internal conflicts as they navigate their new identities. The abandonment of previous beliefs and affiliations can lead to feelings of guilt and betrayal, both towards themselves and their former comrades. This internal struggle is a recurring theme, highlighting the personal cost of political survival in a changing landscape. This means the transformation to the other is not always complete or genuine. Nevertheless, francophone African novels depict political allegiance as otherness serving as a powerful commentary on the socio-political realities of the post-independence period. They reflect the pressures and challenges faced by individuals in navigating a rapidly changing political landscape. The themes of transformation, resocialisation, and ideological conversion are not only literary devices but also reflections of the lived experiences of many Africans.

**Conceptualising alterity within the discourse of enemy.**

In Francophone literature, the representation of the discourse of the enemy has been a very recurrent theme. For many novels, dictatorial regimes have executed innocent citizens who were seen as potential opponents and hence a threat to their regimes. Many of these individuals have been accused of being in collusion with or working for external powers to topple the leadership. These supposed threats to the governance have been labelled as enemies of the state. Other political activists have also been accused of plotting against supreme leaders, while others were excluded for simply not exhibiting allegiance, as their silence was seen as reflecting negative forces. In any of the above cases, undemocratic practices have always seen alterity as being or belonging to another side whose agenda matches enemy plots.

The persistent exploration of this theme in Francophone literature not only reflects historical and political realities but also serves as a powerful tool for critiquing oppressive regimes. Through the fictional narratives, authors provide a voice to the silenced and marginalised citizens, offering insights into the complex dynamics of power, resistance, and survival.

In *Par décret présidentiel...* (1993) by Stanislas Ouomah Tchidjo from Congo-Brazzaville, the narrative reflects accusations and their dire consequences on innocent lives. The story is set against the backdrop of a paranoid regime, where even the slightest hint of dissent can be seen as a threat to the national security:
Les dirigeants voient des complots partout ; toute protestation, tout comportement jugé non conforme est pris pour une atteinte à la Sureté de l’État, alors qu’en fait il s’agit de défendre les voleurs » (Décret, p.211)

[Leaders see conspiracies everywhere; any protest, any behaviour deemed non-conforming, is taken as a threat to State Security, when in fact it’s about defending the thieves].

The construction of otherness in post-independent African states is not limited to internal dynamics but also extends to perceived external threats. The legacy of colonialism and the ongoing influence of global powers in African affairs continue to shape national identities and perceptions of external others. In some cases, external actors are framed as enemies to rally national unity and distract from internal challenges. Furthermore, the fostering social cohesion and national unity is among the excuses that justify undemocratic practices and repressive measures:

« L’Unité Nationale avait été la raison évoquée par le Grand Camarade pour interdire l’existence d’autres partis politiques que le sien en Vilanie. L’existence de plusieurs partis aurait contribué, selon lui, à la guerre civile, on disait ici ‘tribale’. […] En dressant les tribus les unes contre les autres, il détournait l’opinion des problèmes les plus urgents et soumettait tranquillement le pays dans l’arbitraire » (Décret, 186).

[National Unity was the reason given by the Great Comrade for banning the existence of political parties other than his own in Vilanie. The multiple parti system would have contributed, according to him, to the civil war that we called here “tribal”. […] By pitting the tribes against each other, he diverted public opinion from the most pressing problems and smoothly subjugated the country into arbitrariness].

Tchidjo’s portrayal of the mechanisms of fear and control employed by the regime is chillingly realistic. The novel exposes the arbitrary nature of justice in such regimes, where accusations are often based on flimsy evidence or personal vendettas. Through Solam, the protagonist, and his harrowing experiences, Tchidjo highlights the pervasive atmosphere of fear and suspicion that permeates society, stifling any form of dissent or opposition.

Similarly, La salve des innocents (1997) by a Cameroonian author Dominique M’Fouillou explores the devastating impact of political persecution on the lives of ordinary people. The novel presents a harrowing account of a group of political activists are targeted, imprisoned, subjected to unfair trials, and summary executed based on unfounded suspicions and fabricated evidence. The regime’s tactics of intimidation and violence are laid bare, exposing the lengths to which authoritarian leaders will go to silence opposition and maintain their hold on power.

« Cette tragédie était le grand événement qui, à l’époque, avait passionné le peuple congolais. Il surgissait dans chaque discussion, en fonction de laquelle s’ordonnaient les observations des gens et de leur jugement. […] Je cherchais une
explication à la condamnation de ces innocents, non point seulement comme une source de leur souffrance, de leur mort, mais aussi comme un bouleversement, une dégradation de la morale humaine » (Salve, p.34).

[This tragedy was the biggest event which, at the time, captivated the Congolese people. It dominated every discussion, shaping people's opinions and judgments. […] I was seeking an explanation for the condemnation of these innocent people, not only in relation to their suffering and death, but also as an upheaval, a degradation of human morality].

This novel's depiction of the suffering innocent citizens serves as a vivid storytelling that captures the emotional and psychological toll of living under a repressive regime, where fear and uncertainty are constant companions.

In Jean-Marie Mbailao's Le prostitué politique (2021), the theme of betrayal and survival is integrally built into the fabric of the narrative. The protagonist Jean-Jacques Bahi navigates a treacherous landscape where loyalty is a commodity, and trust is in short supply. The novel explores the moral complexities and ethical dilemmas faced by African elites who dare to challenge the status quo. It highlights the precariousness of life under a dictatorship, where alliances are fleeting, and the line between friend and foe is constantly shifting.

« En effet, Isidore Dacoby, puisque c’est lui le cerveau, avec quelques officiers et sous-officiers, préparait un complot contre ma personne avec pour objectif, prendre le pouvoir. Nos vaillants agents de la Division de la détection et de la surveillance du territoire ont eu vent de cette préparation et les ont mis sous surveillance tout en prenant soin de ne pas mêler les membres zani de cette division dans cette surveillance » (Prostitué, p.143).

[Indeed, Isidore Dacoby, since he is the mastermind, along with some officers and non-commissioned officers, was preparing a plot against me with the objective of seizing power. Our valiant security service agents from the Division of Detection and Surveillance of the Territory were informed of this preparation and put them under surveillance, ensuring no involvement of the zani tribe members of this division in this surveillance.]

In Mbailao's work, the protagonist Bahi’s journey is marked by moments of hope and despair through themes loyalty, betrayal, and survival. Through his experiences, Mbailao paints a picture of the psychological and emotional toll of living under constant threat of being labelled enemy of the State.

« Il est mis fin aux fonctions du ministre de la Communication, porte-parole du gouvernement et chargé de propagande du parti, Jean-Jacques Bahi, pour trahison et intelligence avec les ennemis de la République. L’intérim est assuré par le directeur de cabinet civil du chef de l’État. » (Prostitué, p163)
[Jean-Jacques Bahi, the Minister of Communication, government spokesperson, and party propaganda officer, is relieved of his duties for treason and collusion with the enemies of the Republic. His interim replacement is the chief of staff to the head of state].

Alimou Sinta's *Le sang pour l'alternance* (2021) presents a stark depiction of the lengths to which dictatorial regimes can go to retain power. The novel's narrative centres around the violent suppression of political opposition and the brutal tactics employed to quash any semblance of dissent in a fictional Republic of Guiny which, in fact, reflects the political realities of the author’s country of Guinea Conakry. Through the eyes of the characters, readers are taken on a journey through harsh realities of life under an authoritarian government.

« Depuis que Décon est venu au pouvoir, beaucoup de jeunes sont tués sans aucune justice, des femmes et des vieux sont martyrisés au quotidien. Maintenant nous voyons, Décon veut s’éterniser au pouvoir, et il va continuer à tuer et à martyriser les gens » (Sang, p.29).

[Since Décon came to power, many young people have been killed without any justice, and women and the elderly are tormented daily. Now we see that Décon wants to stay in power indefinitely, and he will continue to kill and torment people].

Sinta's storytelling is marked by its unflinching portrayal of violence and repression. The characters in the novel strive for democratic change.

The fluidity of otherness in post-independent African states unveils the instability and complexity of these societies. Allegiances and identities reflect the opportunistic nature of political solidarity and the shifting nature of power dynamics. This fluidity can be both a source of coping strategies and a cause of instability, as it allows for adaptation to changing circumstances but also fosters uncertainty and conflict. A critical and sociological reading of these narratives can demonstrate how the theme of the enemy in Francophone literature extends beyond the specific national contexts of the novels. It offers valuable insights into the broader historical and cultural factors that shape these narratives. These literary works draw upon the historical experiences of their respective countries to create stories that resonate with contemporary readers. Furthermore, these novels highlight the psychological and emotional toll of living under constant surveillance and suspicion. The characters’ experiences reflect the pervasive sense of fear and uncertainty experienced in daily life under such political regimes. Through their narratives, Francophone literature authors expose the injustices and human rights abuses perpetrated by dictatorial regimes. The portrayal of the discourse of the enemy in these novels serves as a tool for highlighting the mechanisms of control and repression used by authoritarian leaders for whom alterity means a threat to be eliminated. By examining the experiences of those labelled as enemies of the state, these works reveal the arbitrary and often capricious nature of justice in such regimes, where personal vendettas and political expediency often trump the rule of law.
CONCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION

This study has shown how African writers use their fictional narratives to celebrate the plurality of African identities (Munyangeyo, 2022), emphasising the importance of diversity and the richness it brings to the human experience. This celebration of diversity is not merely a literary device but a profound statement against the forces of homogenisation and cultural suppression. African writers use their stories to explore and highlight the vast array of identities that exist within the continent. These narratives often feature characters from different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, showcasing the multifaceted nature of African societies. By doing so, they challenge monolithic representations of African identity and underscore the value of embracing multiple perspectives. As the richness of these diverse identities is portrayed as a source of strength and resilience, alterity should enable individuals and communities to navigate the complexities of their socio-political landscapes rather than entertaining relationships of enemies.

The study confirmed that the historical context of colonialism in Francophone Africa left a significant impact on the cultural, linguistic, economic, and political landscape of the continent. The imposition of colonial rule disrupted traditional structures and imposed new ways of life that often clashed with African traditional practices. Francophone African writers often portray the dual legacies of African and colonial cultures, negotiating their identities within this complex interplay. Furthermore, African writers address issues of alterity through class and social stratification. Their narratives often reflect on the struggles of marginalised communities and the impact of socio-economic disparities on individual and collective identities. By focusing on the experiences of the poor and disenfranchised, these writers draw attention to the need for greater social justice and inclusivity.

Finally, by examining identity negotiation for an inclusive alterity as a dynamic and ongoing process, this study confirmed that characters in African literature often find themselves at the intersection of various cultural influences, navigating the tensions and opportunities that arise from their multifaceted identities. The process of negotiating identity is depicted as fluid and ever-evolving, reflecting the changing realities of African societies. As characters navigate multiple affiliations, the alterity and hybridity sometimes become a source of tension and conflict, while they should emerge as a space of creativity and innovation. The tension often arises from the pressure to conform to dominant cultural narratives or the struggle to assert one's identity in the face of external challenges. However, these moments of conflict also serve as catalysts for growth and transformation. Through their stories, African writers illustrate how characters draw on their diverse backgrounds to create new forms of expression and forge unique paths forward.

**Contribution of the study and future research avenues.**
A key contribution of this study is its emphasis on the importance of alterity in embracing plurality and fostering inclusive practices. In a world increasingly marked by globalisation and
cultural exchange, the recognition and celebration of alterity through diverse identities are essential for building more inclusive and equitable societies.

The study's findings suggest that the ongoing efforts to redefine African identities in a postcolonial world must prioritise alterity as a plurality leading to inclusivity. This involves acknowledging the multifaceted nature of identity and resisting simplistic or reductionist narratives that seek to homogenise or erase difference.

The insights gained from this study contribute to the broader understanding of the ongoing efforts to redefine African identities in a postcolonial world. The process of redefining identity is not static but dynamic, constantly evolving in response to changing social, political, and cultural contexts. African literature plays a crucial role in this process, providing a platform for voices that challenge dominant narratives and offer alternative visions of identity.

One important implication is that while the works of prominent writers are essential, it is also crucial to recognise and study the contributions of lesser-known authors. Expanding the corpus could provide a more comprehensive understanding of African literary traditions and the diversity of experiences they reflect. Furthermore, future research could benefit from interdisciplinary approaches that draw on insights from history, anthropology, sociology, and other fields. By integrating different disciplinary perspectives, readers could gain a more holistic understanding of the complex processes of identity formation and representation in African literature.

Finally, examining African literature in global contexts through comparative lenses is another important area for future research. The experiences of African diasporic communities and the impact of globalisation on African identities are themes that warrant further exploration of alterity and its relevance in inclusive practices. By studying Francophone African literature in global contexts, the study of alterity can uncover the ways in which African identities are negotiated and represented in relation to global flows of people, ideas, and cultures.

REFERENCES


