1989

The Cameroonian journalist at work : influences and attitudes

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Ndogo, Keye, M.S.

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THE CAMEROONIAN JOURNALIST AT WORK:
INFLUENCES AND ATTITUDES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the
Department of Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

By

Keye Ndogo

December, 1989

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ABSTRACT

THE CAMEROONIAN JOURNALIST AT WORK: INFLUENCES AND ATTITUDES

This thesis addresses one basic question: Why has the democratic overture in Cameroon not changed media performance in that country, considering especially that most journalists are highly qualified? Two convergent approaches were used to investigate that issue. The first approach was historical and relied on past research and on the socio-political development of Cameroon. The historical approach revealed that it is mostly the long tutelage under the preceding 25-year regime that ultimately led journalists to a low resistance to political pressures and to an excessive autocensorship. Journalists were, however, given the ultimate responsibility for the news quality. Survey research was the second approach and aimed at testing the claims that emerged from the historical approach. Cameroonian journalists were anonymously interviewed in a self-administered questionnaire. The findings were a strong support for those claims. For example, 81 percent of the respondents rated their resistance to political pressures as "low," and 69 percent admitted "journalists do too much autocensorship." And although 60 percent agreed that a change of the stiff press legislation inherited from the Ahidjo regime is necessary, 75 percent also agreed that journalists should "learn to resist pressures," accepting therefore the ultimate responsibility for the news quality.

To Marie Arlene, my youngest daughter,
who has suffered most from our separation
and whose 4th birthday is this month

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The people at the French Press Institute who allowed me to use their library also deserve my deepest thanks. But without Senator J. William Fulbright who initiated the program of international understanding which bears his name and which funded my studies at San Jose State, none of this could have been possible.

Finally, researchers generally share credits with their families. Perhaps no family has ever deserved more credit than my lovely wife and our children. The long separation has brought along too much sacrifice. I hope that, Marie Arlene, my youngest daughter, too young now to understand why, will forgive me. Her persistent refusal to talk with her playmate over the telephone has been the most difficult pressure to stand. She wanted me by their side. Our common sufferings made me strive more for success.

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Note: Maps 2 & 3 from McEvedy, Colin (1972),
The Penguin Atlas of Modern History
(To 1815), Penguin Books, pp. 67 & 83,
respectively.

FOREWORD

Most of the works quoted in the present study are not available in the United States which inhibits further reference by any interested researcher. Also, most of those works are written in French and not in English. There is one major consequence to that: instead of tightened citations just sending the reader back to the original material, this study will often give a full-length translation of passages cited. Besides, accounts of that kind might help the American reader get better acquainted with such remote realities. It is, we would think, a major requirement of intercultural research. And even though English and French differ profoundly in structure, the translations attempted here will remain as much as possible the accurate reflection of the authors' styles and thoughts. Any mis-translation, however, should remain the sole responsibility of this writer.

Note should also be taken on the peculiar use of last names in this study. Colonization of Cameroon resulted in at least three different patterns in names: (1) some remained typically African such as Keye Ndogo (both family names) and MUST be used together; (2) some became a juxtaposition of African names and foreign ones such as Jean-Pierre Biyity Bi Essam where the WHOLE African part is the last name; in those two cases, authors are catalogued under the first of the African names; (3) some adjusted to a

Western pattern such as Paul C. Ndembiyembe and do not conflict with the APA style.

To the knowledgeable reader of French, we would like to apologize for ignoring the necessary accents in titles of books and articles cited: our computer program did not allow for that and we despised the idea of adding them by hand.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Since November, 1982, Cameroon has been a country on the move. Most observers of the Cameroonian political scene have attributed that move to the rise to power of Paul Biya and the introduction of his national New Deal, mainly characterized by what President Biya labeled "democratic overture." This overture, also known as "democratization and liberalization," was expected to enhance freedom of expression and give a boost to Cameroonian media, both public and private. But for various reasons, things have not moved as far or as fast as they were expected to. Nga Ndongo (1987) argued:

Things have been slow-moving because of those in high circles, the society itself, and journalists. These three categories of agents in the communication process lack the personal resources which would enable them to grasp the information philosophy of Paul Biya and rise up to its proper implementation. (p. 67)

For example, there are what Nga Ndongo called the "survivals of a bygone era which cannot be denied," like continued censorship by the Internal Affairs Ministry. But he quickly brushed those away, and called on journalists not to expect total freedom before they can accept their responsibilities: "There is no country, no matter how democratic, where authorities have ever maintained harmonious relations with the media" (p. 73). Hardt (1983) also argued: "Freedom of

expression and freedom of the press have always been limited by the threat they pose to established order" (p. 306).

This study aims therefore at scrutinizing the Cameroonian journalists, the role they could have played within the new national framework, and why they seem to be failing at it. Cameroonian journalists were asked for their attitudes in a self-administered questionnaire. A look back at the practice of journalism in Cameroon through past research will also help unveil some of the influences that help or hinder journalists in their professional duties.

While looking back, the present study will attempt to become the first bridge for the two realms of research, English and French, on Cameroonian mass media which have so far ignored one another, probably for language problems. In his dissertation at the University of Missouri-Columbia, Wete (1986) contended: "Mass communication studies have, it would appear, consistently ignored Cameroon, the triangular-shaped nation tucked in the armpit of the African continent. There is generally no extensive study of the mass media in Cameroon" (p. 1). Consequently, a look at the list of references in Wete's dissertation shows only five studies specific to Cameroonian mass media, including three unpublished theses (one in 1977, and two in 1984) from the Advanced School of Mass Communications of Yaounde, Cameroon.

Yet existing research on Cameroonian media is far larger than that. Wete was probably ignoring the research undertaken in French, the other official language in use in Cameroon. In his pre-doctoral thesis at the Paris II University, Ndembiyembe (1982) wrote: "Some seventy academic or equivalent research studies have been undertaken, in France and in Cameroon, on Cameroonian mass media" (p. 1). Evidently, Ndembiyembe too was ignoring that research done, in English-speaking countries. However, there is reason to believe that his inventory included the 1977 study in English listed in Wete's references: his source for the inventory done in Cameroon was the 1981-1982 issue of Le Guide de l'Etudiant [The Student Guide] of the Yaounde Advanced School of Mass Communications.

This study will also attempt to bridge the gaps between relevant works which concentrated on different characteristics of Cameroonian journalism. Taking the legal aspect of the issue for example, Ndembiyembe (1982, 1984) explored statutes that affect the journalist and the press. Ngo-Nonga (1975) had instead emphasized the everyday perspective with in-depth interviews on the working conditions Cameroonian journalists faced. And even though Ndembiyembe touched upon it, none of them stressed the socio-political development of the country and its influence on media performance. The present work will go back to socio-political events any time it might help to understand

the attitudes of political leaders, and to explain their expectations from the press and their restrictions to its free expression.

Consequently, this study will be structured as follows: Chapter 2, the presentation of the new Cameroonian framework for freedom, will conclude the introduction. In a chronological progression, Chapters III through VI will then attempt to unveil the influences which have determined and continue to determine Cameroonian journalists' performances and attitudes. Through a survey of the journalists themselves, chapters VII and VIII aim at exploring what is or might be changing. Chapter IX will conclude the study.

Another aim of this study will be the dissemination of up-to-date data which, because of delays inherent to publishing, most previous works could not afford. For instance, Nga Ndongo wrote in 1985 but was not published until 1987. Some researchers also voluntarily limited the time span of their studies from 1960 to 1982, when President Biya took office. For example: Mbida (1984) on the restrictions imposed on the national radio by the political power (1972-1982); Ndembiyembe (1984) on the legal system governing the Cameroonian media (1960-1982). Also, studies which included surveys of Cameroonian journalists did not ask them to rate their own performances, nor to explain their own attitudes. This one will attempt to do so.

The Cameroonian journalist at work is worth study for many other reasons, one of which comes close to the reality (Wete vs Ndembiyembe) illustrated above. Here is a state which has often been counted among African French-speaking countries when it is not. Here is a country which has often been listed with formal one-party states when it is not. And here is a press system which many specialists have often lumped with countries in which the media are a state-owned business when it has never been so in Cameroon. Nicknamed "Africa in Miniature," Cameroon appears to be a unique blend in Africa and the world, with a press experience that can only be unique as well. This uniqueness, of course, draws from the country's natural structure and human mix. It draws from that country's post-colonial English/French bilingualism which has become part of its multicultural identity. It also draws from a public and private press system combining Anglo-Saxon and Latin traditions, any one of which alone would make Cameroonian media worth this other study. In an article published by the Paris-based magazine Jeune Afrique Plus, Gaillard (1989) depicted Cameroon as follows:

It is a total of two hundred peoples. It went through three colonizations, an armed rebellion, and an abortive but bloody coup. The tallest West African mountain rises here next to the ocean. All the climates in the continent too are present in Cameroon, a country which bears the mark of multiple indigenous and foreign civilizations. . . . No other country is like Cameroon in Africa, a unique land that sums up the continent. Cameroon is the interlink between Western and Central, Atlantic and Desertic, Sahelian and

Forest, Animist, Muslim and Christian, Anglophone and Francophone Africas. It integrates within 475,000 km² [183,500 square miles] the geographic and cultural traits of all these contrasted ensembles. . . .

It is only in 1884 that Germans planted their flag in Douala; the future Cameroon was thus, of all the coastal African countries, the last to undergo European colonization. . . . In 1916, victorious French and British unequally shared the territory among themselves, which the League of Nations agreed to, when it granted them with an international mandate. . . .

Led by an authoritarian President in a police state legitimized by an armed rebellion which died out slowly, the progress towards unification [after independence] of the structures was to be painful, violent, and efficient. At each stage, opponents were offered one single alternative: join in without any prerequisite, or be labeled subversive and sent to a political prison. Francophone political parties were progressively swallowed by Ahidjo's Cameroon Union when they were not simply dissolved; the Anglophone ones kept up appearances when they merged with the CU in 1966, to create a single party whose only novelty was the name: the Cameroon National Union. . . .

Cameroon is richer than many countries. It is food self-sufficient, even though its agriculture and animal breeding were not the priorities they appeared to be in political speeches; it has the potential of becoming a food exporting country, which it already is, but modestly. It is, in the Third World, a big energy producer, and its hydraulic potentials remain enormous. Its soil is rich of bauxite, iron, natural gas. . . .

Cameroonians enjoy higher living standards than they did in 1960. The challenge facing planners after independence and which was to double the per capita income within twenty years has been met, despite a rapid demographic expansion. . . .

In a country whose education, from kindergarden to the university, is exemplary, one out of four inhabitants south of the Adamaoua go to school. . . .

Thirty years of an authoritarian regime have them held back and unmotivated; but as liberalization --which suffered a chilling effect but which authorities vow to pursue--goes on, Cameroonians will be able to prove themselves. (pp. 138-158)

For Cameroonians, 1982 marked a new beginning.

CHAPTER II

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR FREEDOM

On November 4, 1982, Ahmadou Ahidjo announced in a national radio broadcast his resignation from the Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon. He had occupied that seat since the country's independence, January 1, 1960. His constitutional successor, Prime Minister Paul Biya, was sworn in two days later. Even though he vowed "continuity" to his "illustrious predecessor's work," Biya said he wanted to renew Cameroonian politics and social life. For the iron fist rule of Ahidjo, he said he wanted to substitute "democratization and liberalization"; to a Cameroonian society plagued with corruption and state funds embezzlement in administrative high circles, he prescribed "rigor and moralization." A revision to the Constitution even made it possible for an independent candidate, provided he [or she] has collected 500 signatures nationwide from dignitaries, to compete for the presidential seat against the ruling party candidate. Daily accounts by the Cameroon Tribune and other sources enable an evaluation of how these prescriptions and directions have fared so far.

Competitive elections have taken place for municipal representatives, for Parliament and within the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement, the only authorized party that

succeeded to the Cameroon National Union in 1985. The Constitution of Cameroon, however, still provides that "political parties [not party] contribute to the universal suffrage." But same party or not, many former officials were defeated. For instance, only 26 out of 59 former Members of Parliament who dared to compete were reelected in April 1989. In total, 324 candidates had competed for the 180 Parliament seats. The party competitive elections for the 49 section presidents, earlier in February and March 1986, had an even higher rate of defeat (72%) for incumbents. The South-West, one of Cameroon's ten administrative provinces, had a record high 100% defeat of incumbents. In the past, voters would have simply been asked to approve, in each case, the single list drafted by the party leaders (CT Nos: 4059, January 21, 1988, pp. 1 & 3; 4140, March 25, 1988, pp. 1 & 3; 4110, April 5, 1988, pp. 9-12; 4130, May 5, 1988, pp. 1 & 9-16; 4297, January 2 & 3, 1989, pp. 4-5; Press File, Ministry of Information and Culture, November 1987, p. 21).

Similarly, many embezzlers have been arrested, some convicted and jailed. The national daily, Cameroon Tribune, reported some of the arrests on its front page: "Fight Against Public Funds Embezzlement: THE HEAT IS ON. Never Will It Be The Same Again" (CT, No 4122, April 21, 1988); "AMACAM Scandal: The Seven Suspects Convicted" (CT, No 4448, August 8, 1989); "Public Funds Embezzlement, Nkolo

Fanga Sentenced: 15 Years in Prison, Properties Seized"
(CT, No 4462, August 30, 1989).

More importantly, some have argued, the liberalization process, and notably press freedom, has appeared to be the key element of President Biya's political philosophy. Voices have risen which have praised President Biya for not reconsidering his democratic overture and vow for more freedom, even though the country had been threatened by a plot in 1983 and the bloody abortive coup of 1984. "Under similar circumstances," Nga Ndongo (1987) wrote, "press freedom has often been the prime victim of the radicalization of political regimes" (p. 66). Undoubtedly, he also noted, the press in Cameroon was at last reinstated to one of its normal functions: "the promotion of democracy" (p. 10).

From the very outset of his rule, Biya has not missed a single occasion to reaffirm the necessity of "democratizing" information. He has constantly stressed how only well-informed citizens will be able to take action in the right direction, "for a better Cameroon." He has also urged journalists to dare and to work towards that goal, despite whatever difficulties they might face. In an interview granted in 1984 to the Cameroon Tribune, Biya told communicators that "to be a journalist requires competence, intelligence, integrity, patriotism, courage, and even

stubbornness" (CI, July 18, 1984, pp. 8-9). An outspoken senior high school teacher reconverted journalist and movie director, Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986) expanded that view, and noted, "The President had meant the courage to dare, to blame, to take stands, and die for it if necessary" (pp. 99-100).

President Biya's will for change has yielded many concrete measures, some of which can be mentioned for illustration. Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986) complained about the abundant and repressive legal system which was set against the press by the Ahidjo regime, in anticipation of political dissent; he also complained about the neglect in which that regime had meanwhile confined key mass communication areas like cinema, advertising, and copyrights (p. 128). Regulatory legislation has since been enacted to govern those previously neglected areas. There is, for example, Decree No 89/1218 of July 28, 1989, organizing the Advertising National Council.

The creation of an Advertising National Council has become a factor of hope for the creation of such a professional association for journalists. On October 12, 1983, Radio Cameroon journalists posted in Yaounde wrote a letter to President Biya. They expressed the feeling that he was their last resort, the only one left within the national hierarchy who could help solve their professional

and material problems and organize their profession. The top measure they suggested then was the creation of a National Press Council. The 1983 letter was written by an elected five-member committee: French-speaking Gerba Malam, Antoine-Marie Ngono, and Keye Ndogo; and English-speaking Sam Nuvala Fonkem and George Tani. For various reasons, some journalists from a total of 50 or so did not sign the letter, but 37 did.

Until recently, the radio and television journalists, unlike their print colleagues, were personally accountable for their stories. And many had been punished for their stories (see p. 48 below). Law No 87/19 of December 17, 1987, brought them some protection. Section 12 of that law provides for the following order in punishment for felonies committed in the audio-visual domain: (1) the Director of the audio-visual body; (2) in his absence, the Deputy Director; (3) in their absence, the closest associates involved in the offense; and (4) in the absence of the first three (a rather unlikely situation), the direct actors.

Similarly, the national radio network, which was just another department within the Information Ministry Central Services, was merged with the newly created national television in an autonomous public corporation (Law No 87/20 of December 17, 1987; Decree No 88/126 of January 25, 1988). Beyond the material benefits it brings along, such an

autonomous structure increases the distance between public journalists and the government. Journalists had complained about their close supervision by the government through the previous statute.

Also worth mentioning is the presidential circular on governmental communication issued June 26, 1989. President Biya urged ministers and other high-ranking state officials to stop withholding news, and start informing the public in a timely fashion. The President reminded them that such withholding of news is contrary to the openness and timeliness inherent to the national New Deal principles. It also favors rumors of all kinds and forces the government into constant denials (CT, No 4419, June 27, 1989, pp. 1 & 3). Abui Mama is the Director of Editorial Staffs at the Sopecam, the Cameroon Tribune publishing company. "The presidential circular," he argued, "is the general code for good manners, to henceforth govern the relationships between news sources, communicators, and the public" (CT, No 4420, June 28, 1989, p. 1). Cameroonian journalists have often complained about the withholding of news by news sources.

Finally, some Cameroonian journalists have, for the first time, risen to important positions, including a Delegate in Charge of Missions at the Presidency of the Republic (Coincidentally, President Biya started his own administrative career at that position back in October,

1962). These appointments culminated in May, 1988, with the nomination of a journalist to the cabinet for the first time ever in that country. Journalism, as one analyst put it, has gained much respect. No wonder Nga Ndongo (1987) urged Cameroonian journalists to step out of the mediocrity in which they had been sinking and prove themselves. He wondered whether journalists could live up to the challenge (pp. 76-77). Recent research on Cameroonian media suggest a twofold answer: the attitude in the public press on one hand, and the reaction of the private press on the other.

The Private Press

In July, 1984, President Biya expressed his satisfaction for what he called the "revival" of the Cameroonian private press. "The birth of many papers within a few months," he declared, "is a true sign of our rediscovered freedom" (Bassek Ba Kobhio, 1986, pp. 84-85). Some 30 local private papers were then circulating in the country. In his article *Cameroon: Le Boom de la Presse Privée* [Cameroon: The Boom of the Private Press], Ewane (1986) talked of some 40 titles, with half of them general newspapers. Nga Ndongo (1987) also listed 47 titles (p. 54). But, as Ewane had probably done for his own inventory, he included 17 periodicals internal to some administrations and enterprises. Ewane also contended that when Biya came to power in 1982, only three general newspapers were

published in Cameroon [as against a total of 12 after]: La Gazette, the Cameroon Times, and the Cameroon Outlook. He had apparently forgotten Le Canard Libere which, like La Gazette, favored the trivial sex and blood event, but still had some room for politics. More importantly, he had forgotten Le Messager, definitely an outlet for political commentary.

Whatever the case, the change in the Cameroonian press was unanimously acknowledged. And it was no exaggeration when President Biya talked of "rediscovered freedom" and "revival" of the private press. But it was not too long before complaints started coming in from everywhere. Some charged the private press of promoting tribalism, fostering the age-old suspicion of authorities towards the press, and therefore endangering the "rediscovered" press freedom (Nga Ndongo, 1987, pp. 78-79). Ewane (1986) reported that "the democratic overture prompted a good mess, with [private] papers carrying fanciful and rumorous articles" (p. 40). In his controversial book La Flamme et la Fumee [Fire and Smoke], Bandolo (1985) added that "tale, novel, and journalism rivaled imagination" (p. 222). For Djiaha (1987), private papers simply imagined, embellished, and hawked authorities' little secrets, instead of reporting the facts: "It led to a confusion fatal to the press and press freedom. . . . And despite the evident will of the Cameroonian authorities to democratize, necessary measures

had to be taken to stop all that mess" (p. 74). Omgba (1984) added: "They [private papers], indeed, justify the so much disparaged censorship against them" (p. 456).

The erring ways of the private press, most analysts agreed, stem from the type of people who work for and run it. Omgba (1984) argued, "With few exceptions, those who run the Cameroonian private press do not know what journalism is all about" (p. 454). Nga Ndongo (1987) noted, "Most of those papers are conspicuous for their shortcomings: faulty design and presentation, rough and bad style, with syntactic, grammar, and spelling mistakes" (p. 77). Ndembiyembe (1984, p. 262) and Djiaha (1979, p. 115) saw the many shortcomings of the Cameroonian private press journalists reinforcing the superiority complex of their public counterparts. Those "unqualified colleagues" are accused of being the door through which the discredit of the profession is perpetuated.

In his survey of the Cameroonian private press since independence, Keye Ndogo (1980) found that none of those working for or running Cameroonian private papers had completed high school; and that only two of those interviewed and working for French language papers, for example, had learned hands-on in a true professional environment. Abodel Karimou, founder in 1974 of the weekly La gazette, had worked for La Presse du Cameroun. The

holder of an Ordinary Level (Junior Secondary School Diploma), he had, however, been its first native editor-in-chief from 1968 to 1974 when the paper stopped publishing. Jean-Baptiste Sipa who defined himself as "a self-taught man" had no degrees at all, and had attended primary school. Co-founder of La Gazette, Sipa learned journalism at two mimeographed periodicals from 1963. In 1966, he obtained an internship in France with the Bayard press group, publisher of the Catholic paper La Croix. He went back to Cameroon in 1967 to manage and edit L'Essor des Jeunes, the paper where he had started his apprenticeship in 1963. From 1969 to 1974, he worked for the Catholic weekly L'Effort Camerounais (pp. 81-84).

Some ten years later, very little seemed to have changed. Apparently, the attitudes of political authorities regarding the qualifications of journalists also remained the same. Commenting on the opening of a school of journalism in Yaounde since 1970, Gerba Malam (1978) noted: "Political authorities now know it. A non-trained journalist is certainly more dangerous than a trained one" (p. 4). Therefore, the mediocrity of the private press legitimizes the need for someone else to decide what can be printed (Nga Ndongo, 1987, p. 74).

There is also the stand taken in 1984 by some Cameroonian private journalists who publicly agreed to

continued censorship, even though they wanted it "less blind." The stand followed a seminar organized for private journalists in Yaounde, only four months after President Biya had expressed satisfaction for the revival of the private press. Some observers questioned such a stand from the victims themselves and wondered whether it was the will by those few to set themselves aside (A. M. Ngono on Radio Cameroon). In his opening speech of that seminar, October 18, 1984, Francois Sengat Kuoh, the then-powerful Minister of Information, told private journalists how their "disqualification" was inevitable if they could not display increased competence (Bassek Ba Kobhio, 1986, pp. 80-81). He also warned them on how the democratic overture initiated by President Biya would be "strongly resisted by the authorities because journalists were not able to determine its limits at each stage" (Wete, 1986, pp. 157-158).

The Public Media

There are many who have contended that, despite the new political climate and a specialized training, Cameroonian public journalists have abdicated their mission. For Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986), "There has only been silence, which is unfortunate, or servility, which isn't better" (p. 17).

Tjade Eone (1986) added:

Journalists cannot take advantage of any freedom of action; they are subjected to all kinds of pressures, but do not know how to resist them successfully; they eventually adhere to the maxim that truth does not

always pay, and make of autocensorship not only a reflex, but also a code of professional norms. (p. 214)

Henri Bandolo, the new Minister of Information and Culture, even had to go public with his discontent. During an annual meeting July 27, 1989, he invited senior officers of his ministry to "a task of renovation." He told them that the New Deal is not "a skin fever" or a passing mode before concluding:

Our mission calls for a total change in our past style of operation, a revision of those of our procedures which are outdated and antiquated. The purring must give way to a sustained rhythm. . . . (CT, Nos 4441, July 28, 1989, p. 15; 4450, August 10, 1989, p. 2)

A journalist himself, the new Cameroonian Minister of Information and Culture was, for years, the host of *Dominique*, a very critical radio program. And this was under the often-criticized Ahidjo regime. Commenting on the results of an audience survey undertaken for his dissertation, Biyity Bi Essam (1984) argued:

It is rather of great significance that Henri Bandolo is still among the top ten, six years after he has walked out of broadcasting: the public, undoubtedly, still remembers the host of "Dominique. . ." What people want from journalists is some sort of heroism. (p. 236)

Biya was one of the people who listened to Henri Bandolo every Sunday. In making Bandolo part of his cabinet, the President of the Republic of Cameroon he has since become was sending a confirmation clue to journalists on his 1984 message for "courage." The political power too, this

appointment suggests, is now part of those in Cameroon who have great respect for "non-orthodox" journalists.

Ultimately, it is arguable that what happens next to press freedom and democracy in Cameroon now rests with journalists. And if the private press journalists are declared unfit for the job by both their public colleagues and the authorities, we are left with one question: Why has that claimed competence which public journalists boast not helped public media get out of their chronic content mediocrity?

In an attempt to explain why Cameroonian public journalists could not take advantage of the democratization process, some have accused the "long tutelage" of the press under the Ahidjo regime. Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986) contended: "For twenty-two years, the press had learned only one way of doing things, and could only continue to praise" (p. 63). Philosopher Marcien Towa argued: "Cameroonians have over the years become like that goat which, after being tied for too long, can hardly move, even when the rope does no longer hold it captive" (Quoted in Bassek Ba Kobhio, 1986, p. 17).

Invariably, we are sent to the past to look for some explanations. Wilcox (1975) contended that understanding the nature of the contemporary African press is in large part trying to understand its colonial legacy (p. 1). But as true as this might be, all too often analysts tend to

forget that the African leaders who succeeded the white colonialists were most of the time themselves part of that period; and that they often helped mold the post-independence heritage. Cameroon is a good illustration of this. Ahmadou Ahidjo was prime minister of that parliamentary democracy when the first restrictive law on the press in Cameroon under autonomy was enacted in May, 1959. The country was still headed by a French governor, but the prime minister was head of the government.

CHAPTER III

CAMEROON UNDER COLONIZATION

Historians suggest that modern Cameroon history started in the fifth century B.C. when Hanno the Carthaginian sighted the highest peak in West Africa (Mount Cameroon). That active volcano he called the "Chariot of Gods." Then later in 1472, Fernando Po and other Portuguese sailors were struck by the abundance of shrimps in the Wouri estuary; they called it "Rio dos Camaroes," the "river of shrimps." The trade they initiated with local peoples prospered for centuries as Spaniards, Dutch, French, British, German, and American slave traders, each dominated in turn. The Portuguese word "Camaroes" evolved to "Camerones" for the Spaniards, "Kamerun" for the Germans.

Cameroonians wanted to keep their relations with the white man commercial. And actually, the Duala people at the coast did not allow the foreign traders to walk upon Cameroonian soil. A pontoon had been built in the Wouri estuary and that is where all the trading took place (Temoins de l'Histoire [History Eyewitnesses], Cameroon Television, 1987. In this program hosted by Keye Ndogo, elderly "witnesses" shared their memories of the Cameroon they "saw" undergo German, and French/British rules; the attached maps which show European Overseas Possessions in

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1783 and 1815 tend to support those claims; they indicate that for Cameroon, the Portuguese were present in the Guinea gulf instead. Maps from McEvedy, Colin (1972), The Penguin Atlas of Modern History, Penguin Books, pp. 67 & 83).

Then in 1884, the Duala kings Akwa and Bell thought they had just signed a commercial treaty: "We do not want the white man," they wrote in the document, "to go beyond the Wouri estuary. We will go inland ourselves and have their merchandises exchanged against local products from our people in the bush" (Quoted in Essono, 1989, p. 47). But the agreement they signed with the Woerman company on July 12, 1884, began the German rule of *Kamerun*. Chancellor Bismark's philosophy, "the trader, then the soldier," was in force then. And Cameroon thus became the last coastal African country to undergo European colonization.

The press in "Kamerun" started in 1903 with Evangelishes Monastsblastt, a Catholic periodical published in Germany, in the city of Hamburg. It quickly became a local publication using both German and the Duala language. However, the first "true" Cameroonian paper was Elolombe Ya Kamerun [The Kamerun Sun]. It was started in 1908 by a Cameroonian then living in Hamburg, and published in English, German, and Duala. Elolombe Ya Kamerun advocated native religious beliefs, and especially the "Ngondo," well in force within the Cameroonian coastal territory. That

editorial orientation in itself was a rejection of the Christian values advocated by the Germans, and of their rule as well. Elolombe Ya Kamerun stopped publishing in 1913, a year after the Germans adopted their "presspolizei" regulating the press in Kamerun. No researcher has yet been able to lay hands on that German Ordinance, signed January 15, 1912 (Ndembiyembe, 1984, pp. 505-506).

The Germans lost Kamerun with World War I. The Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, divided the country according to French and British spheres of influence. And the League of Nations gave the French and the British mandates to administer, with the French receiving three quarters of the territory.

But neither the capitulation of Captain (?) Raben, the German troop commander in Kamerun, earlier on February 20, 1916, nor the Treaty of Versailles ended all German presence in Cameroon. The German settlers left behind continued to receive newspapers from Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Berlin. These papers which were available to Cameroonians who could read German devoted long columns and reports to the fightings between German and Franco-British troops elsewhere in Africa. They also reported on the bad conditions under which the German prisoners of war were detained in West Africa. The Allies, they argued, were tarnishing the white civilization in Black Africa by their "inhuman behaviors."

On February 1, 1919, La Gazette de l'Allemagne du Nord reported:

. . . France still detains a large number of German prisoners of war from Kamerun and Togo under ignominious and unhealthy conditions. . . . German civilian men and women in Kamerun were even gathered in Edea [a small city some sixty miles from Douala] and humiliated by Black soldiers. (Quoted in Ndembiyembe, 1984, p. 518)

On February 7, 1919, the same paper reported that Germans missionaries in Cameroon had become French and British war trophies. Meanwhile and under the headline "French Barbarians in West Africa," the Hamburger Fremdensblatt quoted words by (?) Solf, the then-German Secretary of State for Colonies, who had granted an interview to a Special Envoy of the Italian paper La Stampa:

News from West Africa show by which low standards the Allied troops have treated the Germans, especially after they had conquered Douala. . . . Our enemies have trampled underfoot their own traditions and shaken for many years to come the trust in the white race. . . . (Quoted in Ndembiyembe, 1984, p. 519)

Following the German papers' claims, the French government ordered an investigation. The French later reported that there was no foundation to the accusations. They concluded it was an attempt by German newspapers to tarnish the image of France and Britain in Cameroon and in Africa instead. They consequently banned the circulation of German papers in Cameroon.

The decree of October 27, 1923, empowered officials to authorize or ban the introduction and circulation of papers or periodical written material in Cameroon. It also forbade the publishing in the country of a paper, including in local languages, without prior authorization. Also, the publisher of a paper had to be a French national. Until the ban of German papers was lifted in 1927, the papers published in Cameroon belonged either to French settlers or to French churchmen. The first French paper in the country, La Gazette du Cameroun, had started in 1922.

In 1929, the first "true" Cameroonian paper under French rule was started in Paris. The first issue of M'Bale [The Truth, in Duala] prompted a sharp reaction from the French governor in Cameroon who on March 11 requested more power for the control of Cameroonian press. To the Minister of Colonies, Governor (?) Marchand wrote:

. . . M'Bale called on its future readers not only to send in their subscription dues, but also all kinds of news from Cameroon. "Such news" which must be anticipated right away as subversive, since they would likely come from the "educated," would be published in English and German. A French translation would also appear next to the Duala text as well.

Finally, a paragraph at the bottom of the second page of the paper states that the next issue will carry the "hidden truth" ("M'bale ni wutame") on "what Europe thinks of Cameroon." The paragraph ends with the following call to action: "hurry up!" (Quoted in Ndembiembe, 1984, p. 527)

By an order signed on March 22, Governor Marchand banned the circulation in Cameroon of M'Bale. The French government ordered an investigation of the paper at its Paris

headquarters, only to find that M'Bale had not violated the French press legislation. The ban was lifted on September 22, 1929.

In its second issue, in October, M'Bale found it wise to explain its editorial orientation: not subversion as some had claimed, but to give a better idea of France, "mother country," to fellow Cameroonians; to promote French; and to promote and improve the Duala language. However, the successors of Governor Marchand in the country still managed to add restrictive measures to the local press legislation. And from 1916 to 1939, some 20 such decrees and orders were signed, an average of one a year. The French did not only fear the local "subversion." They also feared the campaign by the Germans who had not given up their goals of regaining control of their former colonies of Togo and Cameroon (Ndembiyembe, 1984, pp. 529-530).

Following the arrival of French Colonel, (?) Leclerc, in Yaounde, Cameroon entered World War II on August 27, 1940, under French colors. It thus became the second Black African country after Chad to join what became known as "Free France." Its strategic position, the bravery of its troops, and the financial contributions of its inhabitants quickly earned Cameroon the respect of the Allies. It culminated by the arrival of General Charles de Gaulle in Douala on October 8, 1940 (Ndembiyembe, 1984, pp. 532-534).

The visit prompted the creation of the first radio station in the country on December 16. A gift from the war, broadcast in Cameroon started with military news monitored in Morse from Algiers or Reuters. But World War II also brought more restrictive measures on press freedom, such as the repressive measures against the publishing of "demoralizing news during wartime" (decree of May 15, 1940; decree of August 17, 1944, for example).

After World War II and the creation of the United Nations, the French and British mandates on Cameroon were converted into trusteeships dated December 13, 1946. From then on, each Cameroon went its own way.

Even though it was divided in two provinces and administered as part of Nigeria, British (West) Cameroon went through a smooth and relatively calm post-World War II era. Part of the Nigerian Federation under the Richards Constitution, West Cameroon saw some change in its statute after the Lagos Conference in 1954. During the conference, the representatives of Northern Cameroon, one of the two provinces, expressed the wish that their territory should continue to be part of Northern Nigeria. But the representatives of the Southern province wanted to have their own government. The province was detached from the State of Nigeria and granted with a separate statute within the framework of the Federation of Nigeria. The territory

obtained a Legislative Assembly and an Executive Council presided by a Commissioner. Three political parties went on to dominate political life in West Cameroon: the Kamerun National Congress, led by Dr. Emmanuel Endeley; the Kamerun National Democratic Party, led by John Ngu Foncha; and the Kamerun People's Party. The KNDP which advocated complete separation from Nigeria and reunification with East Cameroon came out victorious in the elections held on January 24, 1958. Foncha, its leader, became Southern Cameroon's Prime Minister (Press File, Ministry of Information and Culture, November 1987, pp. 11-12).

If West Cameroon benefited from the British "indirect rule" which meant greater autonomy for the territories under British administration, the press in that part of the country seems to have taken off only in 1960. Most of the papers known from West Cameroon started that year: for example, the Cameroon Champion which stopped publishing in 1963; the Cameroon Times and the Cameroon Outlook which both still publish.

French (East) Cameroon, on the other hand, went through very shaky pre- and post-independence years. The troubles started with the French wanting to build a vast empire in Western and Equatorial Africa, and to assimilate the Africans under their rule. Even though Cameroon was, supposedly, an international territory, the French in fact

treated it as one of their colonies. They also entertained the dream of integrating Cameroon into their African Community. Cameroonian nationalism and the will to gain independence were born, especially as war veterans who had traveled to Europe had tasted what being independent meant (Omgbu, 1982; Ndembiyembe, 1984).

More importantly, French trade unions and political parties, in the hunt for new members, had created local branches in overseas territories. In Cameroon, these unions merged in 1948 and created *l'Union des Populations du Cameroun* [Cameroon Peoples' Union]. Its claims: unification of the two Cameroons and progression to total independence, as provided by the Charter of the United Nations. But the French would not listen. The CPU radicalized its position and demanded immediate independence. But the French would not grant it either. Instead, they favored rising parties which opposed independence. Bloody riots erupted in Douala in May 1955. The CPU was charged with triggering them, outlawed, and forced to go underground. It was the beginning of an armed rebellion that would last until 1970 when Ernest Ouandie, the movement's last leader, and his key lieutenants were arrested, publicly tried, and executed. Albert Ndongmo, a local Catholic bishop, was charged with plotting with the rebels. The strong backing of Rome saved his life, but he was exiled.

With the creation of the two most important papers in Cameroon for the next 20 years, 1955 was also an important year for the Cameroonian press. On April 1, the daily La Presse du Cameroon was started in Douala by Charles de Breuteuil, a French settler. On October 2, the Catholic church started a weekly, L'Effort Camerounais, in Yaounde.

Following the generalized claims for independence in African French territories, France had to grant internal autonomy: The *Loi-Cadre*, prepared for the future of French colonies by Gaston Defferre, then Overseas Territories Minister, was enacted on April 23, 1956. A year later, the decree of April 16, 1957 repealed all the restrictive measures on the press in Cameroon. The country was put under the July 29, 1881, French liberal law on the press. And both the publishing and the circulation of papers were declared "free" (Ndembiyembe, 1984, p. 565). The first Cameroonian legislative Assembly was elected. And on May 9, 1957, French Cameroon became a state under trusteeship governed by a parliamentary democracy. The first Cameroonian government was formed May 16, 1957, headed by Prime Minister Andre-Marie Mbida, by French standards one of the moderate and acceptable leaders. But he would quickly prove to be not as moderate as expected. And following a governmental crisis, Vice Prime Minister Ahmadou Ahidjo succeeded him in February, 1958.

When Ahmadou Ahidjo was named prime minister in 1958 as a transition alternative, the debate was already hot between those who wanted independence and those who did not. Many political parties had already developed; some have said up to a hundred or more (Omgba, 1982, p. 58). Most were tribe-based, some with their founder as the only member. And virtually each owned its paper or periodical. Wongo Ahanda (1977) talked of 71 papers for 91 parties. Through that abundant literature, political parties struck at each other. Even the prime minister and his government were not safe from the internal bickering. Freedom of expression and of the press were limitless. Only the Cameroon Peoples' Union, earlier forced to underground activity, was using military force. On September 13, 1958, Ruben Um Nyobe, the movement's and local pan-Africanist leader, was killed. There has been so far little agreement on how the killing occurred, even if Omgba (1982) talked of a confrontation with the regular troops (p. 119). The situation got worse. The state of emergency was declared. Several stiff administrative and legal measures were taken, toughening the press legislation.

The May 27, 1959, law established prior censorship and gave more administrative power to the Internal Affairs Minister regarding the ban and seizure of written material of any kind. Seven days earlier, Prime Minister Ahidjo had signed Decree No 59-79 organizing the profession of

journalism and creating a press card. Section 2 of the decree provided, "Only holders of a press card can practice the profession of journalism."

Evidently, the law of May 27 aimed at discouraging the creation of newspapers, while the decree of May 20 aimed at controlling journalists more closely. The only alternative left to newspapers was to surrender or disappear. Most of them chose the fight and freedom which meant repeated seizures. And some, simply banned, disappeared. Fewer than ten survived: Douala Cette Semaine (1953-1963); La Voix des Jeunes (1955-1967); and L'Effort Camerounais (1955-1974). On the other hand, La Presse du Cameroun, Omgba (1982) argued, opted for collaboration to survive, and became the non-official governmental paper; and its front page was more and more devoted to official speeches and communiques (p. 39). Le Courrier Sportif du Benin (1955-1975), a sports weekly, also survived. Ndembiyembe (1984) argued:

The years of internal autonomy in Cameroon led to a rigorous check on the print media (the radio being under total control of the authorities). Eager to wipe out all opposition, seriously shaken in its base [by the armed rebellion], the Cameroonian government will deploy a complete control system over the press, in order to force to silence those newspapers unfavorable to it. That is to say most of them. Needless to stress, most papers of that phase of the Cameroonian history belong to nationals who think the man named by the French governor to succeed Mr. Mbida, namely Mr. Ahidjo, is not the right man. (p. 580)

CHAPTER IV

THE LONG RULE OF PRESIDENT AHIDJO

On January 1, 1960, Ahmadou Ahidjo, the prime minister, proclaimed independence for East Cameroon, and became president of the Republic. British Cameroon had to wait another year. During the United Nations-commanded plebiscites, February 11 and 12, 1961, respectively, the northern and southern provinces had to decide whether to be integrated into Nigeria or reunited as an independent state with French Cameroon. The northern province joined Nigeria. The southern one chose independence and reunification. The Cameroon Federal Republic was created October 1, 1961. English and French became the official languages.

In East Cameroon, internal peace was slow to come. The killing of Ruben Um Nyobe in 1958 had prompted the break up of the Cameroon People's Union into several groups, difficult to monitor. Governmental methods to get rid of both the "rebels" and the legal opposition stiffened. Henceforth, opponents were jailed, when not quickly eliminated. On December 30, 1960, La Presse du Cameroon revealed many details on the death of Felix Moumie, exiled president of the CPU hardliners. Moumie, La Presse wrote, had been poisoned by a journalist named William Betchel, in a Geneva hotel; according to the same report, an

international warrant had been issued for him by the Swiss government. But La Presse confirmed its pro-governmental stand, as the paper went on to criticize that "heady" Cameroonian who finally died "without sepulcher" (Omgbu, 1982, p. 89).

On March 12, 1962, Law No 18 on subversion was enacted. On July 1, 1962, La Presse du Cameroun published a government's communique announcing that Andre-Marie Mbida, Charles Okala, Marcel Bebey Eyidi, and Theodore Mayi Matip, the leaders of the four major legal opposition parties in East Cameroon, had circulated subversive material; and that an important stock of arms and amunitions had been found in their homes. On July 12, a second communique added that those leaders had been convicted and sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison. On December 3, 1962, a third one stated that the Yaounde Court of Appeals had raised the jail sentences to three years. La Presse never reported on that trial which involved a former prime minister, was the major event in the newly independent Cameroon, and drew worldwide attention. La Presse stopped publishing on June 29, 1974. And when the Cameroon Tribune started two days later, the publishers of La Presse owned 15 percent of its publishing company.

L'Effort Camerounais had developed differently. Since its creation, it had chosen its editorial style: to defend public interest, in the face of all opposition, "for a better future," its subtitle said. *Le Camerounais de l'Effort* [The Struggling Cameroonian], its most successful column, was the place to give a weekly account of the abuses by the Cameroonian authorities. And despite growing censorship, L'Effort wanted to maintain its independence: "Neither opponent nor fawning, but strict with everyone," reported Bolap (1975, p. 20). The successive changes in management did not alter that policy.

When Father Bayemi took charge, *Le Camerounais de l'Effort* became *Le Naïf* [The Naive], a column supposedly written by a naive peasant who could hardly understand the new society, its leaders and their evils. President Ahidjo soon listed The Naive among his enemies. He declared during a press conference in 1965, "I have to defend myself against my enemies, and particularly 'The Naive' of L'Effort Camerounais" (Bolap, 1975, p. 21).

By 1966, Ahidjo's Cameroon Union was the only legal party in East Cameroon. The leaders of the legal opposition parties had already "voluntarily" joined in. On September 1, 1966, the Cameroon Union and the three "Anglophone" parties merged and created a "unified" party, the Cameroon National Union.

The first law regulating the press in the Federal Republic of Cameroon was enacted on December 21, 1966. It repealed, along with the remaining liberal articles of laws affecting the press in Francophone Cameroon, the 1917 and 1941 Nigerian Newspaper Ordinances which governed the press in Anglophone Cameroon. The Cameroonian authorities made sure the stiffer measures, such as the March 12, 1962, law on subversion, were kept in effect.

The birth of the Cameroon National Union party marked the beginning of the "law of silence" in the country. La Voix des Jeunes, one of the few papers which had survived autonomy and the first years of independence stopped publishing in 1967. Papers that were left included: La Semaine Camerounaise (1960-1970); L'Essor des Jeunes, started in 1960 by Father (later Bishop) Ndongmo, the man charged with conspiracy against the state and judged with the rebels in 1970; L'Effort Camerounais and, of course, La Presse du Cameroun. Wete (1986) contended: "The fusion of the parties into one apparently facilitated the grip of the authorities on the mass media" (p. 116). The process of unifying the message in the media and their subordination, Nga Ndongo (1987) also argued, were undertaken within the same line of thinking that led to the unification of political parties and workers' unions (p. 32; see also Ndembiyembe, 1984, p. 465; Bassek Ba Kobhio, 1986, p. 132).

On November 10, 1969, the 1966 law on the press was amended, and prior censorship reinforced. L'Effort Camerounais became its prime victim. Bolap (1975) analyzed the slow death of the Catholic weekly:

It is censorship which, every week, without mercy and blindly hit L'Effort, wrecked editors' efforts, lowered its readership, and consequently, its value as an advertising medium. (p. 7)

Despite the special conditions offered by the St. Paul printing plant which charged 18 CFA francs instead of 35 for its printing paper, L'Effort underwent its first "stop" in 1970. By then, L'Effort owed the Catholic printing house 6.5 million CFA francs (\$ 25,000). From 1970 to 1974, the paper's debt was soaked up three times: once by subscriptions from Christians all over the country and personal contributions from Cameroonian bishops; twice by a foundation of German bishops. But by December, 1974, the weekly was once again in debt. Its deficit was then 15 million CFA francs. But this time, nothing could save L'Effort Camerounais, a paper that was once self-supporting when it still sold for 12 million CFA and got 3 million more from advertising revenues (Jeune Afrique, November 7, 1975, p. 50). The death of L'Effort Camerounais marked the end of an era. Wongo Ahanda (1978) argued:

With the death of the Catholic weekly, it is the end of a press caring for its quality and its readers. Henceforth, the private papers, like La Gazette which started the same year in Douala, will turn their back on politics and devote themselves to sports and to sensational trivial events. (p. 20)

Other papers started after 1974 include: Cameroun Sports, October, 1975; Le Canard Libere (later Le Combattant), May, 1976; Le Messenger, November, 1979; Football Elite, 1980. Most of those papers operated without headquarters, with an average circulation of 10,000, and employed an average of three people. Most published when they could. And many more, not mentioned here, would start today only to die tomorrow, and reappear at the next occasion, notably major football (soccer) events, sometimes under a different name. Even respectable endeavors like Cameroun Dimanche, a post-independence Sunday weekly that stopped publishing in 1974, and Le Perroquet, the monthly with which the name Bandolo was associated, did not survive. Printed under conditions very much those of a cottage industry, and full of mistakes, post-independence Cameroonian private papers showed a press at zero+, "plus" because it existed at all (Keye Ndogo, 1980). Promoters and journalists of that press alike had little regard for it, considering their appraisals of its performances:

1. Abodel Karimou, manager-editor-in-chief of La Gazette: "The Cameroonian private press stagnates, despite good opportunities for development. . .";

2. Jean-Baptiste Sipa, deputy manager of La Gazette: "The private press development is hindered by the lack of means, but mostly by the lack of press freedom, professional

training, and responsibility";

3. Pius Noumeni Njawe, publisher-editor-in-chief of Le Messager: "In the true sense, the private press does not exist in Cameroon";

4. Joseph Benyimbe, publisher-editor-in-chief of Le Canard Libere: "If compared to other African French-speaking countries, the Cameroonian private press is very dynamic. However, some of the papers should make an effort of presentation and layout. Some colleagues favor sensationalism too much: the two-line development of events never equals their front page big headlines. . . .";

5. Atangana Fouda, co-publisher of Football Elite: "The private press is mediocre, to start with. Papers are started only to disappear the next day, and those which survive lack quality. To improve things, let not just anyone start a paper. This is not any other business, since it involves popular education. There should be a trial period for six issues, then a press council would decide to grant permission to continue publishing or not" (Keye Ndogo, 1980, pp. 121-123).

There was, however, no press council in Cameroon in 1980. And the only sense of organization enjoyed by Cameroonian journalists then came from unions that did not function well. A Cameroon Journalists Union had been

created July 29, 1963, in Buea, West Cameroon, for Anglophone journalists; the *Syndicat National des Journalistes Professionnels du Cameroun* [National Union of Cameroonian Professional Journalists] had been created January 28, 1969, in Yaounde, for Francophone journalists; and the *Syndicat National des Journalistes et Employes de Presse et Information Privees du Cameroun* [National Union of Cameroonian Private Journalists and News Media Employees] had been created September 16, 1972.

The 1972 union was supposedly merging existing ones, in order to set up a single union, for both Francophones and Anglophones. Its birth was an outcome of the political reality of a Cameroon that had become a unified country on May 20, 1972. In addition, there had been the merger of the three existing Workers' Unions which became the Cameroon National Workers' Union, a specialized branch of the unified party. But if the two first unions could not function well, the 1972 group never met to put its statutes together. Since then, finger-pointing has not stopped. Bourdon-Higbee (1975) reported a bitter complaint by Father Bayemi, former manager of L'Effort Camerounais:

Our Association does not have the support of our English-speaking colleagues because they were used to greater freedom when [West] Cameroon was a British colony and they cannot stand the restrictions imposed on our association and consequently its lack of efficiency. (p. 76)

Yet the journalists themselves were aware that without solidarity, nothing could work for them. Ngo-Nonga (1975) reported these words by a graduating Cameroonian journalist: "Press problems are our common concern. If we face them divided, we will always be vanquished" (p. 109).

Ahmadou Ahidjo and Public Media

The Cameroon Tribune, the first paper with direct State involvement, was started 14 years after independence. This suggests a deliberate choice in favor of broadcast media, closer in nature to the local oral civilization. However, Ahidjo wanted Cameroon to master radio before it could begin the television adventure. The logic behind this line of thinking was simple. The many examples of African countries which had immediately embraced television showed a poor experience. Not only were most of those systems black and white, but the TV instrument mostly covered only the capitals. Also, the programming was foreign-fed:

The setting up of a TV network does not automatically mean that rich programmes would be broadcast. In this area, it is necessary to anticipate and to draw up before hand, an elaborate plan and a stock of educative and entertainment programmes with the indispensable help of cinematographic techniques. . . with the aim of adapting. . . our future TV broadcasts to the real needs of our audience, by entertaining them with the greatest number possible of programmes that are truly Cameroonian and African, and, in every way, accessible to the nature and taste of the majority of viewers. (Quoted in Nyamnjoh, 1988, p. 36, from: Ahmadou Ahidjo, Anthologie des Discours 1957-1979, Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, Paris, 1980)

Besides, reasoned Ahidjo, how many Cameroonians could afford a TV set by then? Radio was a cheaper medium, and radio sets even more affordable. Cameroon would develop radio. In addition to the national station in Yaounde, the capital, each of the then-seven administrative provinces was granted its own station.

The penetration of radio in Cameroon was and has remained spectacular. At independence day, there were 10,000 sets in the country as against 55,000 in Ivory Coast, 80,000 in Liberia, 109,000 in Ghana, 125,000 in Senegal, and 143,000 in Nigeria. In 1979, the number of sets in Cameroon had jumped to 1,000,000, while Ivory Coast had gone to only 650,000, Liberia to 315,000, Ghana to 1,125,000, Senegal to only 560,000, and Nigeria to 5,250,000. Those figures become even more meaningful when one considers Cameroon's 10 million inhabitants as against 100 million for Nigeria. From 1979 to 1981, Cameroon saw its number of sets grow by another 100,000 (Tjade Eone, 1986, pp. 117-118).

As early as 1967, the penetration of radio in Cameroon was up to 200,000 sets. Radio was already a powerful instrument, especially if the local phenomenon of collective listening, still in force in 1989, is taken into account. President Ahidjo knew it well. As he inaugurated Radio Yaounde September 30, 1965, he told his audience: "Within the key role devoted to information for development, radio

is the spearhead, especially when there is no television yet, as is the case for our country." In his quest for nation-building, radio would be nothing but that.

President Ahidjo also wanted to make sure that radio remained a voice for peace and unity. As he set out for yet another radio inauguration in Bertoua in 1978, Ahidjo made it clear that

Our radio cannot become an infernal voice that will breed the deadly germs in the minds and hearts of Cameroonian citizens, reinforcing regional and linguistic divisions or nurturing the expectations of special interest groups.

In the speech in 1965, Ahidjo had already pleaded for a healing press. He had then declared:

Our information cannot afford to become, like in those countries where a secular past has the State consolidated, a reflection of clans, interests, factions and small groups. To the contrary, it should apply itself to invigorate and amplify what unites and strengthens, what enriches and revives.

With that prescribed framework, Ahidjo went to war. And many techniques were used to meet the goals. Cameroonian researchers have looked into that question as well. Observing the functionary status of the radio journalist, Nuvala Fonkem (1989), revived the old saying that "he who pays the piper calls the tune" (p. 28).

The most extensive study on that system of control, however, is the Maitrise thesis by Mbida (1984) who reported three main areas in which the regime acted: operating rules

and regulations, the men appointed for gatekeeping, and the methods.

The various rules and service notes prescribed what topics should not be reported: the fall in 1974 of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia; the collision in 1976 of a traveler and a cargo trains between Yaounde and Douala; the fall in 1978 of the Mauritanian Head of State, Mocktar Ould Daddah; the falls in 1979 of Idi Amin Dada in Uganda, and of Macias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea; the assassination of Liberian President William Tolbert and thirteen of his ministers on April 12, 1980; the students' strike in 1980 calling for the resignation of the Yaounde University Chancellor, etc. (pp. 40-43).

As for the gatekeepers, the Ministry of Information and Culture was always headed by a close relation of President Ahidjo or someone who could be fully trusted. And the radio, which was one of the departments within that ministry central services, was headed by people who had very close ties with the regime. Some even had parental ones with the ministers in post. The appointments of editors-in-chief [without excluding a true competence of the appointees] followed the same pattern (pp. 21-37). The use of the domino effect for effective control, Mbida argued, was well planned and carried out.

Journalists who bypassed those preventive measures suffered many harassments and punishments: in 1974, Oumarou Sanda had expressed the hope that the people would this time around receive the crops sent in by the United States to Northern Cameroon, hit at the time by a drought; he got a disciplinary assignment to the South West province; following the defeat in 1976 of Tonnerre de Yaounde, a local football team, Casimir Amassana criticized the team's style; a disciplinary measure sent him to the Northern province; in 1974, Joseph-Marcel Ndi broadcast a Radio France International story which gave account of the wealth of ex-Emperor Haile Selassie who had just been granted political asylum in Cameroon; he received a written reprimand (pp. 45-48).

The ban from the air and the cancellation of programs were also measures which hit "recalcitrant" journalists. Abel Mbengue was banned from the air for three months for "criticizing the Ministry of Youth and Sports." In fact, Mbengue had reported that Radio Cameroon reporters on assignment that Sunday had to pay a gate fee to a football match for its coverage. Journalists were also banned from the air for reasons such as "making unfriendly comments vis-a-vis a friendly foreign country," or "hosting a politically oriented program" (p. 49). Similar causes also led to the cancellation of programs (*R.D.C. Panorama, Les Insolites du Samedi, Radio Trottoir*, etc., pp. 50-53).

Along with silencing the private press, the Ahidjo regime had also quieted the public media. Ahmadou Ahidjo, the "Father of the Nation," the "Great and Wise Guide," "His Excellency," as both state and party officials and most journalists henceforth referred to him, was in full control. And most people have argued that very few could dare raise a dissenting voice, criticize, or disagree. With that perspective, and before L'Effort Camerounais had stopped publishing, a disenchanted Father Bayemi confided: "The President is too sure of himself. He does not tolerate such things now" (Bourdon-Higbee, 1976, p. 15). That self-confidence, however, did not show much through the press legislation. Ahidjo continued to add in more restrictions to an already restrictive law on the press. The 1969 and 1973 amendments of the 1966 law were followed by two more in 1976 and in 1980. The July 14, 1980, amendments brought prior "authorization" instead of "declaration" for the creation of a paper.

Yet many researchers contended that Cameroonian journalists could still inform, and inform well, under the Ahidjo regime. The Cameroonian press system, they argued, combined aspects of the liberal and authoritarian systems, and left room for that. Bandolo (1977) contended:

One could hardly argue that the press system in Cameroon is liberal. The news media evolve, as a matter of fact, within a very restrictive framework. Yet it is also an exaggeration to classify the Cameroonian press system with totalitarian ones. . . .

It is a system that integrates some aspects of the liberal one. . . .

The press legal framework in Cameroon seems to match the political system which is "middle of the road." Incidentally, a survey by the [French] weekly Le Point [No 148, *Où Vit-on Libre dans le Monde?* (Where do People Live Free in the World?)], puts the Cameroonian press system mid-way between the liberal and the authoritarian systems. (p. 95)

Using Lowenstein's approach to press systems, Wilcox (1975) also argued that Cameroon had a social-centralist press system (p. 111). And the social-centralist system is mid-way between the two extremes. More importantly, previous studies show that Cameroon had constantly remained in the intermediate or mixed category of controls (pp. 120-121). Wilcox concluded:

Nixon ranked four nations as having definite tendencies towards controlled press systems: Cameroon, Chad, Somalia, and Sudan. The current data seem to support this, although Cameroon and Sudan have fewer tendencies in this direction than the other two nations. (p. 129)

It is also under Ahidjo that Radio Cameroon aired programs such as *Canne a Sucre et Piment* [Sugar Canne and Pepper] by Jean Vincent Tchinehom, *Radio Trottoir* [Rumors From the Sidewalk] by Albert Mbida, *Dominique* by Henri Bandolo, and "Cameroon Report" or "Where Are We" (see Wete, 1986, p. 178). These programs set out to criticize abuses and wrong attitudes in the society, sometimes using humorous anecdotes, sometimes upfront accounts. For some listeners, "The 70s were the golden age of Radio Cameroon" (Biyiti Bi Essam, 1984, p. 245).

Dominique, the Sunday program hosted by Henri Bandolo, was even so critical that some argued that to dare as he did, Bandolo probably had a protector in high circles, "an umbrella," to use a good Cameroonian expression. Keye Ndogo (1980) reported:

Bandolo does not have a "protector" nor an "umbrella," he says. It is rather a matter of choice, he adds. Either you choose this profession to work for popular education, or you move in just for a good salary and a comfortable career, in which case you keep clapping your hands. The first choice means that popular education does not exclude criticism. The world awaits improvement. That choice is mine. . . . The journalist weighs heavily on peoples' minds. He cannot hope to write without being rapped over the knuckles. In one way or the other, he must be prepared to displease. There will always be people to tell him --more for themselves than for the President of the Republic as they will claim--that he should not have written such and such thing. I have been in this profession for fifteen years. For fifteen years, I have been rapped over the knuckles. If somebody cannot take that, good God, let them change professions! (p. 134)

As for the Cameroon Tribune, Omgba (1981) recounted its front page bold and daring headlines. For example, he wrote, "The major headline of the first issue on July 1, 1974, read: 'Ahidjo is Back,' instead of 'His Excellency, the President of the Republic Ahmadou Ahidjo' as might have been expected" (pp. 30-31). *Grain de Sel* [Some Spice to It] was one of the columns characteristic of that tone. Omgba (1984) concluded:

During its early years, the Cameroonian daily displays a rich and varied content in journalistic genres and content. But as time goes on, most of the national news it publishes are dull accounts of official ceremonies not worth anything for the readers. (p. 329)

Although Omgba did not give a date for that change, the disappearance of the Cameroon Tribune's early tone occurred quickly. Some of the data provided in his 1984 dissertation tend to support that assumption: (1) Towards the end of the first month of operation of the paper, journalists claiming that they be granted with a clear statute went on strike. Acting Editor-in-Chief Jacques Fame Ndongo, spokesperson for the strikers, was charged on that ground with leading the strike, and discharged of his editorial duties; he became a simple reporter; (2) six of the paper's 20 journalists were sent back to the Ministry of Information and Culture, their mother administration; (3) in September 1974, Patrice Nyano, chief of the Foreign News Desk, was also sent back to the Ministry of Information and Culture because he had refused to endorse the paper's editorials with his name (pp. 98-99).

Words by former journalists of the Cameroon Tribune's first team in June 1989 during the paper's 15th anniversary also tend to support an early change in tone: "In the early days, we dared," said Mve Mintsa. (CT, No 4422, June 30, 1989, p. 12).

One-party System and Press Freedom

Ngo-Nonga (1975) reported that for some Cameroonian graduating journalists, press freedom is possible, even in a one-party state:

Question: Within the current situation, can you truly practice journalism?

Answer: Generally speaking, journalism is not an easy job, even in other countries. But, in the final analysis, we know what we have engaged in; at least, it is my hope that we know. Regarding the situation in our country, I have always told my classmates that there is still room for free expression, even in a one-party system. It is an old debate that we have been carrying out at school. But even within the same party, everybody does not see things the same way.

Question: True, everybody does not see things the same way, but everyone must follow the line as set by the party?

Answer: No doubt about that, but people can still express themselves without destroying the party. For instance, during press conferences, one can ask questions which are very close to reality. That would still be a means of expression. And the political leader to whom such a question is directed cannot take the journalist to court. . . . (pp. 104-105)

One of the other interviewees also argued how, in comparison with some other African countries, Cameroon was doing fine:

During some press conferences, journalists dare to ask questions that we are not used to hearing elsewhere. That is certainly not enough--maybe are we expecting too much--but it seems to me that we should fight for that freedom, the way it has always been done around the world. Press freedom is not granted. It belongs to journalists to take it. (p. 109)

The MacBride Commission Report (1980) also stressed the need for journalists to be ready to fight for freedom: "Liberty, even when recognized, is never altogether a free gift; we must be willing to pay the price for it" (p. 44).

The two interviewees quoted above told Ngo-Nonga that they had chosen journalism by passion. One of their colleagues, however, said he "was in" by accident and "would probably quit and look elsewhere for a better paying career" (p. 107). He bitterly complained:

We do not have press freedom, and one must agree that our status will never improve. Believe me, journalists have never been in high demand, as is the case for economists or medical doctors. There is always the belief that we are denouncing political regimes, that we are going to manipulate public opinion. (p. 106)

Also, the two positions represented by these students are a good illustration of what Bandolo (p. 51 above) was saying about who becomes journalist for popular education and who moves in for a good salary. They also represent the two lines of thinking that existed and that still exist within the body of Cameroonian journalists: those who think journalists should take advantage of whatever freedom that is already available, and those who ask for more before anything could be attempted.

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH INFLUENCES

The desire of Cameroonian authorities to integrate the two states inherited from colonization was a prime concern and has remained constant. It led to the creation of the unified state on May 20, 1972. Ahidjo had told his compatriots the national referendum held on that day would reduce the national financial burden by bringing to an end redundant and sometimes antagonistic structures: two federate Assemblies and governments, with their federal replicas; two systems of Justice and Education; even two driving codes. However, the country's bilingualism was declared the one acquisition, not only to safeguard but to promote. Essono (1989) argued:

If on Reunification Day the two official languages were adopted in order to maintain balance between two communities that had to live together, bilingualism has become the distinctive mark which sets Cameroonians aside. It is one of the essential links of their cultural identity. (p. 85)

But Cameroonian journalists have not reacted in an integrated way to the press freedom debate and practice. Their individual Anglophone/Francophone backgrounds have often emerged.

Most of the researchers who have studied the African press generally agree the Anglophone press has fared better. The press in English-speaking countries is noted for being

more developed, and English-speaking journalists are praised for showing more aggressiveness. It is also agreed that the disparity results from the different French and English colonial styles which helped shape different press traditions.

Wilcox (1975) stated, "It is generally believed that Francophone Africa has a much more authoritarian view of the press than Anglophone Africa, where colonial officials allowed a degree of autonomy" (p. 31). In his landmark book Decoloniser l'Information [The Need to Decolonize the News], Bourges (1978) was more affirmative when he concluded:

Compared to Black French Africa, the quicker developement of the press in Black English Africa is obvious. . . . The British press traditions of independence had taken deep roots and allowed newspapers to stay freeer from the new authorities, therefore satisfying the readers better. It is a totally different situation in French-speaking countries where an outrageous obedience and an excessive autocensorship will stark a serious slur on the credibility, attractiveness, and development of the press. No wonder its performances remain to date largely below those of its Anglophone competitor. (pp. 89-91)

Even though Cameroon combines both English and French heritages within one territory, the proximity in space of the two styles has not yet helped create an original system either. It has not yet been possible to move beyond the use side by side of French and English. Even the many attempts to set bilingual structures have successively failed. The Cameroon Tribune, for instance, was a bilingual outlet

during its trial period, with a single editorial staff. It has since evolved to a French daily and an English bi-weekly. Similarly, the experiment of bilingual televised news was discontinued October 6, 1988, in its original form. Since then, the bilingual news has been carried only on weekends, "before a total cancellation can follow," argued Essono (1989, p. 34). The radio has long had two distinct editorial staffs and news shows.

If anything, the proximity in space of British and French press traditions has made of Cameroon a better comparison ground for both styles. Wete (1986) argued: "English language papers, both government and privately owned, would appear generally to be bolder in their editorial policy than their French counterparts" (p. 119). Essono (1989) added:

Even though they generally explore similar topics as their Francophone colleagues, the Cameroon Tribune Anglophone journalists take a different angle. The Anglo-Saxon style is more aggressive, whereas the Latin one draws from subtleties and unvoiced comments. (p. 71)

Wongo Ahanda (1977, p. 60) and Ndembiyembe (1984, p. 25) agreed about the "boldness" of Anglophone private papers, especially the Cameroon Times and the Cameroon Outlook. Without contesting the political power or the guidelines of the government national policy, they argued, those papers raise questions, denounce wrongdoings, and publish stories depicting the administration's shortcomings. They are the

only ones who dare to touch some topics. For instance, the Cameroon Times and the Cameroon Outlook are the only papers which gave accounts of the border incidents between Cameroonian and Nigerian soldiers in 1979. No other Cameroonian newspaper dared present its readers with those events (Ndembiyembe, 1984, p. 25).

The bold reporting of Anglophone journalists did not occur without personal risks. J. F. Gwellem, the Cameroon Times Editor-in-Chief, has been sued several times. He declared:

The only time we lost was at the Buea Military Court. We were found guilty, the court had argued, because we had no right to report on the law enforcement peoples' abuses during their patrols here in Victoria [now Limbe] (Keye Ndogo, 1980, p. 23).

However, Gwellem acknowledged that

English-speaking journalists have a little more freedom to express their opinions than do their French-speaking colleagues. . . . My paper is not censored as much as French-language newspapers because only a third of the population can speak English (Bourdon-Higbee, 1976, p. 12).

He also expressed his "high regard for the English press and its objectivity," and deplored the greater French influence on the Cameroon press system: "Here press freedom will come after 3,000 years of fighting. The French have left their journalistic tradition and that means control of what is printed" (p. 16).

Even though some Francophone journalists such as Bandolo and many others have shown their independence of tone, the greater readiness by Cameroonian Anglophone journalists "to fight" is confirmed by the results of a survey of Cameroonian journalists undertaken by Wete (1986):

The largest group of English-speaking journalists, 49 percent, thought it should be "to critically interpret public policies and actions" followed by a second group, 30 percent, that opted for the role "to purposely foster a development syndrome."

Most French-speaking journalists, on the other hand, were split between "foster a development syndrome," 39 percent, and "serve as a link between citizens," 36 percent. In other words, English-speaking journalists were inclined toward a critical role for the media, albeit including some developmental functions while their French-speaking colleagues opted for developmental duties. It had been hypothesized that English and French [language Cameroonian] journalists would, as a result of different cultures inherited from British and French colonization, have different perceptions of the role of the media. This finding support that hypothesis. (p. 272)

Some have blamed the continued foreign influence on the training and refresher courses offered in the former colonial powers. It favors, they argued, the subsequent integration of foreign values by students. Anglophone Cameroonian Nyamnjoh (1989) wondered:

Just how could African students trained in a French school by French teachers and French values, about techniques whose origin they could barely understand, behave differently from their French masters and counterparts on their return to Africa? Just how. . . ? (p. 89)

Keita (1977) saw a more general problem and argued:

The African journalist is trained in European, American, or Soviet schools, or even in Africa, but on foreign standards. Once he has graduated, it takes him only a few months of practice in his country to get disillusioned, despite his reserve of energy and initiatives. The reason is, the conception of the press he has acquired is fully out of phase with what he confronts in the field. (p. 22)

As for Cameroon, Gerba Malam (1978) similarly depicted how "field realities" can temper the young journalist's drive for change. Contrasting the graduating student in journalism and the Cameroonian journalist after a few years of practice, he wrote:

What a difference between the graduating Cameroonian student in journalism and the practicing journalist a few years later!

The first one is enthusiastic, full of ideas, very sincere in his convictions: Things must change. But what exactly? The style of doing things, the news coverage, and the job itself in its conception. When a student, he had not spared his future colleagues. They lacked initiative, imagination, creativity, he had argued. They were quick to give in to routine. As soon as he graduates, he will put his acquired knowledge to help change his compatriots' access to news.

Once in the field, the same journalist is hardly recognizable. His deception equals his hopes. He is bitter, resigned to his fate, blasé. He could not change any thing at all. To the contrary, he is the one to have changed. To a point where he has, in turn, become the force standing between newcomers and their initiatives. He should be able to temper their drives. Over time, he had convinced himself of one thing: Where he had failed, who could succeed? (p. 48)

"He should be able to temper their initiatives." Tjade

Eone (1986) concluded: "That is how the journalist becomes a self-appointed gate keeper" (p. 214).

The training of African journalists on African soil was supposed to educate them in an "adapted way to local realities." Herve Bourges was the French and first director of the Yaounde International Higher School of Journalism. During the school's first graduation ceremony in October 1973, he had outlined those objectives:

Train agents of development, conscious of their role, profoundly aware of African realities and socio-political problems of their societies; journalists capable of forging their own tools of analysis and action, adapting and, why not, recreating in the context of their environment, the professional informer. Agents who have also acquired a sufficient latitude to play a role of impulsion, incitement to development while rejecting servile detraction and cheer leading (see also Bourges, 1977, p. 17).

Evidently, the training of African journalists on African soil has been slow to yield the expected results, in addition to the die-hard reality of prejudice. Bourges told a press conference at the Yaounde school of journalism in 1979: "You will not be able to truly practice this profession until you have succeeded in wiping out the lingering suspicion of incompetence and irresponsibility that weighs on you" (Keye Ndogo, 1980, p. 149).

One of the things which still weigh on Cameroonian journalists in 1989 is the image they inherited from those Cameroonians who preceded them on the job: that of ignorant people who disseminate nonsense on issues and matters beyond their understanding. It was also well established that this was a profession anyone could embrace: no training was

required to be a journalist. Gerba Malam (1978) gave this description of the early Cameroonian journalist, notably after independence:

People generally knew his background: former junior high school student, he had not learned much, and to the best had an Ordinary Level. He did not voluntarily end his studies to move into journalism. Most often, it is because his school had dropped him out that he had moved in. (p. 8)

That image has haunted Cameroonian journalists ever since. Tjade Eone (1986) noted, "To executives, Cameroonian journalists are far from being trustworthy" (p. 97). Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986) contended, "For many Cameroonians, especially intellectuals, the journalist is a failure who could not get a job elsewhere, and who will never live up to his mission" (p. 110). Ndembiyembe (1984) noted that intellectuals really look down on journalists whom they blame for pretending to a knowledge they do not have. Some even claim that journalists are "dangerous ignorants," in fact, as much dangerous as they are unaware of their ignorance.

Ndembiyembe acknowledged that for the public at large, journalists are very important people with a wide range of knowledge and an enviable social status:

For instance, most people think that the journalist earns one of the highest salaries in the country. Whatever is broadcast is therefore held almost for a definitive truth. That is why the journalist is attentively listened to. . . . It is no accident if these are the men who watch after the radio, they think. This is to avoid the inevitable deterioration

radio would suffer, should this precious instrument be left under the protection of careless hands [other people]. (p. 254)

But how much worth is this other picture of the journalist? For as Ndembiyembe himself stressed, the larger public combines the rural populations, the less fortunate ones, and the middle classes in urban areas. These are certainly not the circles where those decisions which count are taken. Besides, even that larger public does express good grief against the Cameroonian journalist. Nga Ndongo (1987) noted, "For being too lenient to the government, the journalist is, to the public eye, a fearful, disappointing, and even irritating character" (p. 34). Omgba (1984) added:

Public opinion has tended to regard journalists as "cheer leaders" or "public jokes," whereas the political power which they supposedly were praising looked down on them, with much suspicion and disdain. (p. 442)

The journalists themselves are well aware of the low esteem which both the government and the public has for them, according to survey findings by Wete (1984:

The respondents thought the government had little regard for journalists. Almost three-fourths of the respondents [74%] thought that whatever esteem the government had for journalists was less than 'high. . .'. Public esteem for journalists also was rated low [56%], although it was slightly better than the government esteem for people in the news profession. (p. 283)

The Training of Journalists Hits the Continent

Bourges (1977) reported that after independence, various training sessions were organized in several European specialized schools, in order to confront, as quickly as possible, the lack of qualified staffs in the African information field. From 1960 to 1970, about one thousand African information staffs were trained in France alone. Bourges also argued that UNESCO played a very important role. As early as 1957, UNESCO created in France the International Centre for Higher Teaching in Journalism of Strasbourg. The centre opened its doors October 15, and helped train the first African journalists. Several training sessions on African soil quickly followed. And in the '70s, many African countries created regional schools, including the International Higher School of Journalism of Yaounde.

The school of Yaounde was created in 1970 by Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic, and Rwanda. In 1972, Togo signed the school's convention and joined its Board of Directors. But on September 4, 1984, due to the non-payment of their dues by most of the members, the IHSJY became the Advanced School of Mass Communications, an institution fully supported by Cameroonian funds. However, the school kept its doors opened to foreign candidates, both African and non-African, "on the basis of space available."

Cameroonian candidates take a competitive examination either in English or in French, in order to get admission. Application for admission for foreign candidates are submitted by the governments of their respective countries. The ASMAC expanded in 1986. The three-year program for journalists became Division II as the school opened two more divisions. Division I trains assistant journalists in two years. Its first graduates joined the field in 1988. Division III is a post-graduate 2-year training program for journalists who want to specialize in a given area. It is also open to graduates holding degrees from other fields who would want to embrace specialized journalism. It was expected to graduate its first 12 in 1989. Rumor has it that Division III will become a Department of Mass Communications delivering doctorates. As is the case for the University of Yaounde in general, courses at the Yaounde school of journalism are given either in English or in French. Students submit their papers in the language they master best.

From November 1970 when IHSJY opened its doors, to 1981, 138 Cameroonian men and six women graduated from the school: 106 Francophones and 38 Anglophones. From 1982, when the school became ASMAC, to 1988, Division II has graduated 109 males and eight females: 86 Francophones, 31 Anglophones. In the meantime, 78 Cameroonians graduated from foreign schools: 41 Francophones (38 males, three

females), and 37 Anglophones (31 males, six females). Of the 339 Cameroonians who hold a degree in journalism, 316 are males, and 23 females; 233 Francophones, and 106 Anglophones. Nearly all of them were recruited by the public service although Le Republicain is said to have enlisted the services of some of them on a part-time basis. Ndembiyembe (1982) reported that 98 percent of Cameroonian journalists holding a press card were functionaries. That is where job security was. Apparently, things have not changed much in 1989.

However, not all Cameroonian public journalists are school of journalism graduates. The 20 or so trained every year makes it hard to employ only qualified journalists in the public media. There are therefore those who still move in with different backgrounds. These backgrounds vary from university graduates to those with high school, sometimes less education. That disparity creates "teams of unequal worth" (Ongba, 1984, pp. 355-357). In his *Le Francais de/dans nos Media*, a study on the type of French used in Cameroonian public media, Onguene Essono (1989) argued:

For most people, a journalist is any one who writes in or works for a paper, who speaks over or works for the radio, who works for or hosts a program on television. And people believe both Elvis Kemayo and Dieudonne Oyono are journalists [Kemayo is a singer with a very bad command of French who, until he was ousted in 1988, hosted *Tele Podium*, a program on Cameroonian modern music. The holder of a doctorate, Oyono is a teacher at the Cameroon International Relations Institute who hosts a program on classical music, also on Cameroon TV]. (p. 105)

There are also unprofessional behaviors depicted by

Ndembiyembe (1984):

Journalists do not always project an image to be proud of, should one consider some of their behaviors. There is for example this journalist of Radio Yaounde who is known for conducting interviews with butchers at year-end; this would spare him some expenses foodwise for the Christmas and new year celebrations. . . [sic]. How about this one from the Cameroon Tribune who often read his article over the phone to the official who presided over a ceremony he had covered; and who sometimes simply asked the official which themes of his speech he best wanted to see commented on. . . . Journalists, it must be added, do not consider themselves a body. Some say they are politicians, while others claim to be "intellectuals." (pp. 264-265).

Grounding his contentions on later testimonies and on personal experience when he was still the Cameroon Tribune's editor-in-chief, Omgba (1984) argued that many obstacles still hinder Cameroonian journalists' performances. But this cannot, he added, "hide the real passivity of many of them. The output of some journalists, even those trained in specialized schools, is not always what can be expected from staff members with such resumes" (pp. 358-359). Bandolo (1977) had already argued: "A degree from a school of journalism, no matter how big that school might be, is not necessarily a quality label, as far as the professional and moral values of those who boast such degrees are concerned" (p. 181).

Bandolo had also stressed the "poisonous atmosphere" which prevailed at the radio and which left journalists with one alternative: "fight each other with backstage

maneuverings or quit" (p. 218). On October 12, 1983, in their letter to President Biya, their "last resort" to help organize their profession, Radio Cameroon journalists stated:

Journalism in Cameroon has become an unethical profession, ruined in the quest for the few posts available by denigration, denouncement, and all kinds of backstage maneuverings and banana skins. . . . The duties of editor-in-chief which are elsewhere considered to be the highest professional achievement have lost their attractiveness in our country. And the best of Cameroonian journalists continue to quit, including three editors-in-chief recently. If information is as important as it is said to be, is it not about time that professional and material measures are taken that can help keep the Cameroonian journalist where the country needs him most?

CHAPTER VI

CAMEROON UNDER THE SECOND REPUBLIC

Whatever methods he might have used to achieve peace and unity, it is a peaceful and united country that President Ahidjo handed over to Paul Biya, his "worthy successor," when he resigned in November 1982. That change of leadership, however, came after some 25 years.

Ndembiyembe (1984) argued:

The resignation of Mr. Ahidjo brought to an end a regime that was heavy-handed, authoritarian, and highly personal for some; wise, prudent, and realistic, for the others. But whatever the case, however, a twenty-four-year-long regime creates habits, shapes attitudes. (Preamble)

Nga Ndongo (1987) also noted, "After a quarter of a century, habits were created and attitudes shaped which cannot be wiped out easily" (p. 70). That persistence of realities can be illustrated by three major events under the Second Republic: (1) the political turmoil of 1983 and 1984; (2) the adventure of Le Messager; and (3) the problems-ridden launching of the first private daily in Cameroon in 15 years.

When President Ahidjo resigned from office in 1982, Cameroon had been long become a sort of island of peace on troubled waters. In an African continent known for its political instability and military coups, this was a country which had gone through more than a decade of total

stability. In a continent where leaders are known to clinging to power for life, President Ahidjo made history, following his voluntary resignation from office. Only President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, later the first non-French member of the French Academy, had done so a few months before him. But following Ahidjo's attempts to regain power in 1983 and 1984, most Cameroonian political analysts argued that he had gotten too used to running Cameroon. Both attempts which came after continued and public disagreements with his successor, were viewed as a result of his successor's will to be his own man.

In June 1983, President Paul Biya revealed a plot against the state to the Cameroonian people. The plot aimed at creating a government crisis. The "Northerners" in the cabinet, including the prime minister, would resign, force a collapse of the Biya regime, and eventually bring back to power Ahidjo who had kept the party presidency when he resigned in 1982. In 1958, Ahidjo, then vice prime minister, had already used a similar strategy against Andre-Marie Mbida to gain power.

But if few, very important things had changed in 1983. Cameroon was no longer the parliamentary democracy under trusteeship. It was an independent country, with a de-facto one-party system. The new plan therefore included a military sequence. Of course, Bello Bouba, the prime

minister by then, would have officially taken over the vacant presidential seat. The country's Constitution provided that "the prime minister would take over, in case of power vacancy." Biya himself had reached the top spot through that disposition (Amendment of June 26, 1976).

So here he was, President Biya, on the National Radio airwaves, unveiling the plot to the people of Cameroon, telling them the necessary measures he had decided, politically, administratively, and militarily. Among others, the post of prime minister would be suppressed through an amendment to the Constitution. The country would now move up to ten provinces: the former president's huge native province, the North, was split in three new ones; the Centre-South, the second largest, was split into two. Also, the army would now have a more centralized structure. The plotters, including the former head of state, would be publicly prosecuted. And they were. But, in Cameroon and abroad, many people thought this was some sort of trick by Biya and his team. But it was no trick on April 6, 1984. There was a coup. And the affair, unfortunately, was organized and carried out by the "Northerners." The coup eventually failed. But some 1,500 Cameroonians had already lost their lives.

Whatever the case, the three provinces born in 1983 from Cameroon's administrative restructuring were granted their own radio stations. Already one of the few African

countries covered by an efficient radio network, Cameroon was making it even better. Of the country's neighbours, only Nigeria seems to have organized its Federal Radio Corporation similarly. To Cameroon's ten provincial stations correspond Nigeria's 21 state stations. For example, War-torn Chad, the neighbor in the North, saw its Radio Chad and its three regional stations destroyed almost completely at the height of civil war, in 1979-1980. Adoum Moussa, former student at the International Higher School of Journalism of Yaounde and Chadian Minister of Information and Civic Orientation, visited Cameroon from October 29 to November 1, 1989, in order to seek that country's technical assistance in the restructuring of Chadian media, including its television and first true daily, both to-be (CT, No 4509, November 3, 1989, p. 12).

The Cameroon national radio broadcasts in French and English, the two official languages, while provincial stations also broadcast in local languages, some 40 of them. The weekly French language programs (416 hours) account for 56 percent of the total airtime; the English language ones (210 hours) for 28 percent; and those in local languages (117 hours) for 16 percent (Tjade Eone, 1986, pp. 154-7). The provincial stations hook up to the national station for news, news programs, and some other magazines, according to their importance or national character.

Television came later in March, 1985, when the first images were broadcast on an experimental basis, during the party New Deal Congress in Bamenda, North West province. Other trials followed with the national day celebration on May 20, and the visit to Cameroon of Pope John Paul II in August. Since December 23, 1985, television has become part of daily life in Cameroon, Wednesday through Sunday.

The programs of Cameroon Television are broadcast only in English and French from the single Yaounde production center. The time shares vary every two weeks and show a more balanced airtime division between the two official languages. The more balanced week in the variance shows French language programming receiving 19 hours (55%) against 16 hours (45%) for English language programming (Essono, 1989, pp. 25-26).

Cameroon chose the German system PAL for its television, and became the only "Francophone" Black African country to have bypassed the French system, SECAM. Tjade Eone (1986) argued that the Cameroonian government choice was "courageous," and also "judicious, since the German system, both for its prices and its technological performances, beats its French and American [NTSC] competitors" (p. 34).

Television was merged with radio in a public corporation, Cameroon Radio Television, by Law No 87-20 of December 17, 1987, and its application decree of January 25, 1988. Three days later in Yaounde, the head of state inaugurated its luxurious headquarters worth 82 billion CFA francs (\$ 270 million).

It is not possible here to give figures on the penetration of television in Cameroon. But a few elements can help attempt a reasonable evaluation. First, video preceded TV in Cameroon, and many families already owned a TV set when television arrived. To face the growing demand which followed the arrival of television, an assembly line of TV sets had to be started in Douala in 1987. Also, unlike many other African countries, Cameroon did not develop one single city. There are several small towns and about ten medium size ones, such as Bamenda, Bafoussam, Garoua, and Maroua, which each has between 100,000 and 200,000 inhabitants. The cities of Douala and Yaounde have 1 million and 700,000, respectively. Finally, with relay stations all over the country, Cameroon TV can be monitored anywhere in the country, especially with the extensive rural electrification undertaken these recent years. The program was started under President Ahidjo but has continued with renewed energy. Almost every single village crossed by the high voltage lines carrying hydraulic power to cities now has to be connected.

Some have questioned whether the long wait for television in Cameroon was worth it. Nyamnjoh (1988) gave a negative answer. Cameroonian authorities behaved as if all TV was really about were technicalities, he argued. The training of personnel and program conception and production, he added, were completely ignored. He concluded that less than ten percent of programs offered on Cameroon Television were Cameroonian, "which was far below the target of 80% Cameroonian programmes bureaucratically set out on paper" (p. 39). Those figures differ from the ones given in a recent issue of the Cameroon Tribune (No 4459, August 25, 1989, p. 7). Here we are told that 55 percent of the programs are local, and 45 percent foreign; and that those quotas will not change despite the agreement under which Cameroon Television will now carry some of Canal France International programings. Essono (1989) has also given a similar and more positive account of Cameroon Television's performances:

The Cameroon Television programs which are fairly well-made, if compared to Nigerian programs, are taped and sold in the black market in Nigeria. Programs such as Tele-Podium and Afri-Sanaga which, of course, are in French, are watched in nearly every Nigerian household. To the contrary, Cameroonians are not familiar with a single program from the Nigerian television. Nigerian TV [Nigerian TV Authority] is not monitored in Cameroon, whereas Cameroon Television is received deep inside Nigeria, as far as 600 km [375 miles] from the common border. French has even become part of life in Equatorial Guinea, a Hispanophone country, since Cameroon Television is received throughout that country. The other countries, of course, are in a similar situation: the north of Gabon, the north of Congo, the west of the Central African Republic, the

south and Center of Chad. To listen to foreign news and learn about what is being said on their country, authorities in Ndjamena have to tune into Cameroon Television. In all these neighbouring countries, including Nigeria, the inhabitants watched the 1986 Football [Soccer] World Cup on Cameroon Radio Television. (p. 91)

Inside Cameroon, television was an immediate and huge popular success. And many are those who have expressed the hope that television will become a social and political means for more change in the Cameroonian press system. Unlike print or radio where journalists need to commit themselves in their stories, it has been argued, television pictures speak for themselves. The recent misfortunes of Le Messenger can help illustrate the case better.

Nga Ndongo (1987) accused the Cameroonian private press of tribalization. He noted, "Some private papers which the reader can easily identify, even became a tribune for tribal and ethnic claims" (p. 79). Nga Ndongo was probably referring to Le Messenger, a paper that reported on a legal case opposing the state to a local bank whose promoters and the paper's publisher happened to belong to the same ethnic group. For several consecutive issues, Le Messenger also served as the forum of a debate between two groups of Cameroonian University teachers: those who sharply criticized their colleague's book they said was too favorable to President Biya and those who did not. It also happened that those in favor of L'Idee Sociale chez Paul

Biya [Social Concern in Paul Biya's Thinking by Hubert Mono Ndjana], its author and President Biya were from the same larger ethnic group, while those against it and the paper's publisher belonged to another. Ewane (1986) reported that with the perceived freedom the paper's circulation soared to 25,000 issues in 1983 before falling to 15,000 in 1986 with the revival of censorship. Djiaha (1987) noted that it quickly came back to Cameroonian authorities that the country's press was still governed by the stiff 1966 law and its subsequent amendments (p. 74).

As for Pius Noumeni Njawe, the publisher of Le Messenger whom Wete (1986) labeled "an independent minded Cameroonian journalist" (p. 109), he denied the charges of tribalism and accused a "merciless censorship." But he recently admitted that censorship has softened and declared that the orientation of his paper is the application, in face of all opposition, of the president's agenda:

If by some unlikely chance President Paul Biya did not mean what he professes regarding the renewal of our society, we had the duty, and more, the moral obligation to have him stick to those orientations, inasmuch as they are what the peoples of Cameroon crave for. (Jeune Afrique, No 1491, August 2, 1989, p. 58.)

The misfortunes of Le Messenger showed how vulnerable Cameroonian journalists remained. And even though some of them, like Njawe, keep trying to beat the odds, most analysts agreed that the press legislation inherited from the Ahidjo era is chilling journalists' enthusiasm. Until

that legislation is changed, they argued, journalists will not feel secure enough to criticize, even "constructively." The uncertainty of their protection is too great for them to risk their lives. Ndembiyembe (1984) argued: "A renewed legal status for press freedom should follow the true will for change expressed by the new Cameroonian leaders" (p. 470). Bassek Ba Kobhio (1986) also stressed that the only true will of President Biya cannot suffice for at least two reasons. First, between the president of the Republic and the mass, there all kinds of officials, including "go-getters," "profiteers," and "loafers." And because some of these bad seeds are sometimes "in a position to conduct the national partition, they can hardly favor loyal competition which would take them out of the game" (p. 15). The description of the offenses punished by the old press legislation is too vague, he added, and these offenses could mean anything, putting the journalist at the mercy of the moods of state and police officials:

Think of how just anything can expose someone to the same risks: disagreeing with the government policy or even a single aspect of it, commenting on a cabinet reshuffle, even favorably, anything becomes subversion. . . .

That such a legislation was deployed under the hard Ahidjo regime should not surprise anyone. That the Biya regime puts up with it is scary. Within the democratic overture, the will to transform our society which comes through the new president's speeches calls for a change of the press legislation. . . .

It is an unavoidable necessity. . . .

Democracy, for a large part, needs to be institutionalized, primarily by laws protecting individual and collective freedoms. (pp. 131-3)

The recent story of Le Combattant is another illustration of the survival of old ways and realities. Le Combattant changed from weekly to daily in June 1989. It was a greatly celebrated event. In one sense, Le Combattant daily was breaking up the monopoly of the Cameroon Tribune, "The Great National Daily." But not only is it too soon to tell what is in store, the first recorded signs of the challenge facing Le Combattant daily are not reassuring either. The account the Cameroon Tribune gave June 23, 1989, of its birth went as follows: "At last, it is here. Le Combattant daily, whose first issue was scheduled for Monday June 19, is in local newstands since yesterday [this means June 22]" (CT, No 4417, p. 19).

The paper had thus missed its very first rendez-vous with the public, probably not for political or administrative reasons. The paper's editorial, quoted by the Cameroon Tribune, stated, "Le Combattant daily is also a response to President Paul Biya's will to intensify Cameroonians' access to news." Le Combattant daily must have had printing problems.

The 1989 printing problems of Le Combattant spring from the legacy of the Ahidjo regime which could not allow the existence of a newspaper beyond survival. Even the Cameroon Tribune was kept alive only through state subsidies of all kinds. Jeune Afrique (No 774, November 1975, p. 50)

reported that at the end of its first fiscal year in 1975, the Tribune already owed AGRACAM, its printing company, 100 million CFA francs (\$ 334,000). Sales and advertising revenues for private papers in Cameroon, like the 12 and 3 million CFA francs (\$ 40,000 and 10,000) of L'Effort Camerounais in expansion days, could hardly pay for today's media printing equipment. Printing systems are extremely expensive and would require long savings of sales and advertising revenues of such amounts. Besides, the only Web printing system in the country is already busy printing the Cameroon Tribune.

There were, however, some miscalculations in the change of Le Combattant from weekly to daily. Management had underestimated the requirements inherent to running a daily. First, such a change implied a change in editorial orientation, since stories on "blood and sex" could hardly be found daily in Cameroon. They would quickly bore the reader anyway. And on the ground of "sound" news, Le Combattant could hardly compete with the Tribune. People would choose the paper with a better presentation and fewer mistakes. According to a survey of readers undertaken in Douala and Yaounde by Keye Ndogo (1980), the Cameroon Tribune outscored the private press by more than nine to ten for design and presentation, and nearly two to one for a better news treatment. With smaller margins, the private press ranked first for the two content categories (Table 1).

Table 1

How the Cameroon Tribune and the Private Press Compare

Readers' Preferences	<u>CT</u>	PP
Better Layout	95%	5%
Closer to the truth	37,5%	57,5%
Better News Treatment	52,5%	27,5%
Closer to the Reader	37,5%	52,5%

Note: There were 5%, 20%, and 10% "No Responses" in the last three comparison categories. CT = Cameroon Tribune, PP = Private Press (Keye Ndogo, 1980, p. 127).

Table 2

Readers' Monthly Expenses

Paper	Readers' Expenses	
	< 1000	> 1000
<u>Cameroon Tribune</u>	24,25%	25,75%
Private Press	30,33%	09,06%
Foreign Press	09,06%	31,81%

Note: Even the foreign press came ahead of the private press for the higher spenders (31,81% vs 09,06%). Also the percent here did not total 100%, because most readers were all three types consumers. CFA francs currency used: 1,000 = \$ 3.3 (Keye Ndogo, 1980, p. 129).

It is true Le Combattant weekly had reached the 20,000 issues and came first in sales for all local private papers (Ewane, 1986, p. 40). But its management also failed to understand that becoming daily meant more financial sacrifices for the readers. Besides, Cameroonian readers already spent more for the Cameroon Tribune in 1980 than for the entire private press monthly (see table 2).

Whatever the case, Biya was prime minister when L'Effort Camerounais, living proof then of an agonizing private press, applied in vain for government help in 1975. He is already President as Le Combattant goes through its problems. In the same time, the Cameroon Tribune has improved and risen to the second rank of French language dailies in Africa. Its 70,000 average circulation is second only to that of Fraternite Matin, the Ivorian daily. The Cameroon Tribune's continued progresses resulted from the use of a better qualified personnel, better and quicker printing equipments, and an improved distribution around the country and abroad. The Tribune benefited from much direct governmental help. For Le Combattant and the entire private press, as was for L'Effort Camerounais, "A revision of postal, printing, and other related costs could help lighten the burden" (Jeune Afrique, No 774, November 1975, p. 50). When in 1984 President Biya praised press pluralism and debate in his private press revival speech, he probably knew the need to have such a pluralism guaranteed.

Wilcox (1975) predicted, "The concepts of factual reporting and use of the press as a forum for divergent ideas would not take hold in Africa until a second generation of leaders, who can perceive the role of the press in different ways, has taken charge" (p. 134). Nga Ndongo (1987) confirmed that prediction, when he wrote:

A quarter of a century after independence, the second generation of African leaders, who are mostly university graduates, perceive the future of the society in different ways. National unity, of course, still needs to be strengthened, and the political power has to remain strong in order for the state as a whole to survive. But the leaders show no intention in grounding their rule on fear, rather on a true social contract and democratic overture. Furthermore, their priorities seem to have shifted towards new goals: the promotion of a modern society, very open to progress. (p. 84)

The Need for an Efficient Union

Press freedom is not only the freedom to write, but also that of unionizing which provides the security to write. Cameroon is a state governed by laws. Let the journalist face the law. Let him, eventually, take the responsibility of his writings in court. To force and squeeze him to silence is creating a martyr. Besides, let people stop giving the impression that you cannot claim your rights in Cameroon without losing them forever. What hurts President Ahidjo [Biya now], I would think, is to realize that, wherever he goes, there are dirty newspapers full of mistakes that are being published in Cameroon. Not credible ones which expose abuses.

These words are those of a Douala-based journalist, as reported by Keye Ndogo (1980, p. 143). And in fact, many rules and regulations in Cameroon then and now grant both public and private journalists the right to get organized.

As for public journalists, Ndembiyembe (1982) wrote:

Section 36 of the Public Service Code states that the functionary enjoys the benefits of all the liberties granted to every citizen. He can, notably, join a professional association or union legally created, in order to protect the representation and defense of his career interests. (p. 127)

Section 3 of the Work Code, he added, also grants private journalists "the right to freely organize in a professional union aimed at studying, defending, developing, and protecting their interests."

Should public journalists be too scared to take advantage of that legislation because of potential administrative harassments, Djiaha (1987) suggested at least the creation of a union by private journalists:

Freedoms of gathering and unionizing are effective in Cameroon. There is a taxi drivers union, there is one for bar owners; there is an association of barristers, and many other associations of the kind. When will private journalists start one? (p. 117)

Nga Ndongo (1987) also suggested unionizing, but for both public and private journalists:

To be strong, respected, and highly regarded in society, Cameroonian journalists have to get organized. They have to follow the example of barristers, lawyers, bailiffs, medical doctors, pharmacists, architects, expert accountables, etc. It is the price, not only for a brighter future for journalism in the country, but also for democracy in Cameroon.

In any other event, Cameroonian journalists will keep giving up their freedom, abdicate their share of responsibility in the fight for democracy, and leave to others the privilege of speaking for them. (p. 81)

If journalists want to become a social group that can be reckoned with, Ndembiyembe (1984) added, they need to show a greater solidarity and more confidence in the accomplishment

of their mission, in addition to improving their performances:

One should not wait for the regime to grant all freedoms to journalists. It is up to them to take advantage of any opportunity that can arise, impose a way of doing things and forms of expression that do not only tend to amplify and echo official speeches. (p. 276)

Mytton (1977) also argued:

Why discuss freedom of expression if people cannot courageously express their opinions and make use of the freedom already at their disposal. . . . "What can you if people do not express themselves? When a thirsty horse gets to the watering place and refuse to drink, the rider cannot take its place and drink." (p. 14)

Can Cameroonian journalists satisfactorily use the freedom at their disposal in 1989? And if press freedom does not necessarily mean disagreeing with the government nor agreeing with it all the time, what should it be in an African or a Cameroonian context? Bandolo (p. 51 above) argued for something in-between. But finding that relative balance seems to be where African journalists do not agree. Yet, between those who praise the system and those who run it down, there must be a compromise, if not on the attitude to adopt, at least on the responsibility that falls in the journalist's share. Bandolo, then deputy director at the Cameroon Tribune, maintained:

The journalist has the responsibility of the news quality. He is obligated towards the public to whom the news are destined. The journalist, however, lives in a given economic and socio-political environment. He is part of it. He cannot pretend to be a simple witness, an observer. Indeed, his problem is not so much that of knowing if "it can be said" and "what to say." Only one question should guide him in his work: "How to say it?" (Keye Ndogo, 1980, p. 132)

Bandolo was appointed Minister of Information and Culture in May 1988. The man who already held the many views above and hosted critical programs under Ahidjo has been, since then, calling for less purring by Cameroonian journalists. He has also called for change in their attitudes. The results of the survey of Cameroonian public journalists in the next chapters will show where they stand in 1989.

CHAPTER VII

TIME FOR SELF-APPRAISAL:

SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Survey research appeared to be the most appropriate methodology to find out what Cameroonian journalists' current attitudes are, and what the influences on those attitudes could be. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time Cameroonian journalists have been given the chance to rate themselves (questions 6, 7, 15, 17, 20). In a similar systematic fashion, they were asked to explain (questions 8, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26) their attitudes (questions 9, 14, 16). The questionnaire was constructed using general principles for items such as job satisfaction or demographic data. However, most questions were situation-specific and based on events mentioned in introductory or background chapters. For example, President Biya told journalists in 1984 that their profession requires "courage." They were asked to indicate how courageous they are. Journalists have been accused of being too submissive to political power. They were asked if and why it is so. Cameroonian public journalists have also been accused of not taking advantage of the democratization introduced by President Biya. They were asked about it. For the purpose of doublechecking respondents' opinions, several questions probing the same idea were often introduced. And to ensure

that the respondents would not become predictable in their answer selections, questions probing such ideas were scattered throughout the questionnaire. The complete questionnaire is available in the appendix.

Intercultural Research and Questionnaire Design

The first constraint in intercultural research rests in the language and other signs of the communication process used for two different audiences. A questionnaire destined to survey Cameroonian journalists had to use conventions with which they are familiar. And yet, it had to satisfy the academic requirements of a U.S. faculty. To reduce the above problem to manageable proportions, this researcher designed a questionnaire combining technical requirements and cultural factors. The questionnaire aimed at measuring attitudes from a good American perspective, using the Likert-item response categories. In order to ensure that *Strongly Agree* conveyed the same degree or level of intensity for Cameroonian journalists, carefully selected scores were added, so as to carry the necessary sense of position a Cameroonian would need. For instance, Cameroonians know that a score below 5/20 in one subject at an official examination will cause the elimination of the candidate, regardless of other marks. They would better understand scores like 20/20, 15/20, 12/20, 08/20, and 05/20 which are approximations of standard Likert response

alternatives. It was decided that only frequency distributions and cross-tabulations would be used to describe responses. The absolute scores are therefore irrelevant.

The second constraint for doing intercultural research is accessing the designated population. The various attempts of this researcher could not yield a trip to Cameroon and, by his presence there, force a high response rate. He had to rely on colleagues and friends in Yaounde to have the questionnaire distributed: (1) Abui Mama, director of Editorial Staffs at the Sopecam, the Cameroon Tribune printing company; (2) Ebokem Fomenky, deputy editor-in-chief at the bi-weekly English language edition of the Tribune (The Anglophone editorial staff is headquartered at a different location); (3) Doctor Boyomo Assala, teacher at the Advanced School of Mass Communications of Yaounde and sub-director in charge of press at the Ministry of Information and Culture; (4) Thomas Babikussana, chief of service of Radio entertainment programs in French; (5) Rene Dieudonne Foudda, journalist at the Yaounde provincial radio station; (6) Denise Epote, chief of service of TV news and news programs editing. Mrs. Keye Celine Dorothee, a student in France, took the questionnaires to and from Cameroon where she was vacationing. She mailed the completed questionnaires once back to Paris.

Sample

The only journalists involved in this survey were those employed in the public media. There were two reasons for doing so. First, Cameroonian private journalists were declared unfit for the mission of informer by both their public counterparts and the authorities. More importantly, it is public journalists who were accused of not being able to make full use of the country's "rediscovered" freedom (see chapter 2). Because most of them work in Yaounde, the country's capital, only a sample of those public journalists residing there were surveyed. Yaounde is where the Cameroon Tribune is published. The single national TV production and broadcast center is also located in Yaounde. Even the national radio network employs most of its journalists in at the national station in Yaounde. Besides, one of the provincial stations is located in Yaounde. The Ministry of Information and Culture Central Services were also included in the target news organizations. Journalists working for the Tribune or the Cameroon Radio Television can be (and have been) transferred at any time to the Ministry of Information Central Services and vice-versa (see p. 52); now and then, they come to taste the pressures of daily public judgment when their performances are submitted to the public scrutiny of news media. But this is not the case for journalists working elsewhere.

For the purpose of this study, the colleagues in charge of the survey in Yaounde were told that a journalist is: (1) anyone who received a specialized training and is working for the above-mentioned organizations; (2) regardless of the instructional level, anyone who joined the profession through a parallel path, and whose daily activity is news gathering and reporting, including sports.

Of the 339 Cameroonian trained journalists to date, five have died, and 14 are still overseas for further studies in Mass Communications. Many have quit and moved to other careers after further studies such as international relations for diplomats. About 300 trained journalists therefore remain, 186 of whom work in Yaounde. This last figure includes journalists who work for administrations and enterprises not included in our target population. But those who joined journalism through a parallel path probably compensate for that. Questionnaires were distributed in English and French, according to the language known best by the individual journalist.

Response Rates

Although some 200 questionnaires were sent, fewer were actually distributed. There is only so much that can be expected from volunteers. Babikussana said 35 was what he could manage to hand out. Without being positive about it or the number of questionnaires passed out, Epote talked of

35 journalists at Cameroon Television. Boyomo said he received returns from all he had contacted. The Cameroon Tribune daily is the only organization from which the feedback suggested an upfront reluctance by most journalists to answer the survey. Some sources indicated that journalists there had not liked an earlier critical letter to the editor by the author on the Tribune's performances.

Table 3

Questionnaires Allocation, Distribution, and Response Rates

Colleague	Questionnaires		
	Sent	Distributed	Returned
Abui Mama	40	?	4
Ebokem Fomenky	20	?	8
Boyomo Assala	30	13 ?	13
Babikussana	50	35	23
Foudda	10	10	8
Epote	45	35 ?	18
Totals	195	143 ?	74

Two were discarded for inadequate responses. The final sample is 72 (or 51%), assuming Abui Mama and Ebokem Fomenky contacted all 50 employed at the Tribune. In 1986, 96 out of 134 responded to the survey conducted by Wete (1986).

Sorting

First, each questionnaire was assigned a number. Instead of strokes, these numbers were then used for the tabulation within categories of answers. Easy double-checking was the primary advantage for doing so. If for one question the totals were greater than the sample size, a quick check showed which answer had been entered twice or more. A verification then enabled the right tabulation of the answer.

Other Methodological Problems

The issue of how to minimize personal involvement in a scientific study remained constant throughout the drafting of this work. There is no mystery about the fact that this researcher was still, only two years ago, a Cameroonian journalist himself. That probably added a perspective a more "neutral" researcher would have not had. It is, however, evident that "mutilating" the facts just for the purpose of portraying more detachment would have been worse. For example, there is nothing that could be changed in the fact that Keye Ndogo was one of the five members of the elected committee who prepared Radio Cameroon journalists' letter to President Biya (pp. 12 & 68). Similarly, it simply happened that he was associated with every single ban from the air inflicted upon Gerba Malam (p. 124 below).

CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Demographic Data

Out of 72 respondents, 54 were Francophones (75%) and 18 Anglophones (25%). Considering that Anglophones represent 20 percent of the Cameroon's 11 million general population, the survey proportions are quite on target. They also remain close to those of the population of Cameroonian trained journalists who account for 69 percent Francophones and 31 percent Anglophones.

Sex. Ten respondents were females (14%), and 62 were males (86%). The representation of women in the sample was quite high, considering their total weight in the profession (23 trained journalists or 7%). But women who accounted for 51 percent of the country's general population in 1976 remain underrepresented in Cameroonian journalism.

Age. The ages of the respondents ranged from 24 to 52. One respondent was 24 years old. The 54 between 25 and 34 accounted for 75 percent of the sample. The other 17 were 35 or above (24%). In the group of 35 or above, only two out of 17 were over 40. In the group between 25 and 34, 30 out of 54 were under 30. The average age was 31.

Experience. Professional experience ranged from one to 25 years. Thirty-two respondents (44%) had four years experience or less. Those with experience ranging from five to ten years accounted for 35 percent. Eight others (11%) had more than ten years experience. Two respondents were on internships. Four others had gone back to school for further studies but were ignored, despite prior work experience. One respondent failed to answer.

News Organization, Occupation, and Position.

Twenty-seven respondents (37.5%), including the four of the Yaounde provincial station, worked for the radio. Eighteen (25%) worked for television, nine (12.5%) for the Tribune, and 11 others (15%) for the Ministry of Information Central Services. One person did not answer the news organization question, and the six "students" were not classified. The 38 respondents who worked in the news department of their organization represented 53 percent of the sample. Five others worked for the radio or TV production departments (7%), and seven for programs (10%). For 21 others, the daily occupation was not direct news or program "manufacturing." Four did layout and design at the Tribune, eleven were staff at the Ministry of Information and Culture, and six were students. One respondent failed to answer the occupation question. Two of the respondents were directors (3%), 29 were at least chief of desk (40%), while 31 were staff members (43%). Six (8%) were students.

Education. Sixty-four respondents (89%) held a university degree or its equivalent, and 11 among them held a graduate degree. The remainder (11%) held secondary school degrees, and six of those had completed high school.

Summary. Cameroonian journalists are predominantly males, well-educated, relatively young, with an average length job experience. Mostly devoted to news reporting and editing, with half of them in a position of responsibility, they are more likely to be Francophone than Anglophone, by a 2:1 ratio. These findings are corroborated by the statistics provided by the Ministry of Information and Culture regarding the training of Cameroonian journalists. They are also similar to those obtained by Wete (1986).

Competence and Job Performance

The demographic data indicate that Cameroonian public journalists are well-educated. How does that reflect on media performance and how do Cameroonian journalists rate themselves? Respondents were asked to rate both the competence and the performance of the Cameroonian journalist in general and to rate themselves as individuals.

Competence. While generally speaking, 74 percent of the respondents agreed that Cameroonian journalists are *competent* or *very competent*, 14 percent less rated themselves positively (Table 4).

Table 4

How Cameroonian Journalists Rated Their Competence
(Question 7)

	VC	C	SC	I	VI	NR
All Journalists						
N	1	52	19	0	0	0
%	74%		26%	0%		0%
Individually						
N	1	42	22	0	0	7
%	60%		30%	0%		10%

Note: VC = Very Competent; C = Competent; SC = Somewhat Competent; I = Incompetent; VI = Very Incompetent; NR = No Response. N = 72

Performance. Generally speaking, 65 percent of the respondents said the performance of Cameroonian journalists is *good or very good*, while nine percent less rated personal performance as *good or very good* (Table 5).

Table 5

How Cameroonian Journalists Rated Their Performance
(Question 6)

	VG	G	SG	B	VB	NR
All Journalists						
N	1	46	22	3	0	0
%	65%		31%	4%		0%
Individually						
N	2	38	27	1	0	4
%	56%		38%	1%		5%

Note: VG = Very Good; G = Good; SG = Somewhat Good;
B = Bad; VB = Very Bad; NR = No Response.

Summary. Cameroonian public journalists unanimously rated their colleagues as *competent* rather than *incompetent*. Only 26 percent settled for *somewhat competent* (just above average). Yet journalists were less thrilled with their performances, down by nine percentage points. Also, more respondents settled for just-above-average performances than they did for competence.

Job Satisfaction

Cameroonian journalists were provided with seven items measuring job satisfaction (Table 6): overall; material (salary and other benefits); professional (working conditions); career opportunities; moral (what they write or say); image (how the public judges them); and esteem (how their employer judges them). Journalists were also provided with five response alternatives: Totally Satisfied (TS); Satisfied (S); Somewhat Satisfied (SS); Dissatisfied (D); and Very Dissatisfied (VD).

Overall, 81 percent of the respondents put themselves on the positive end of the scale. However, 67 percent of those said they were only *somewhat satisfied*, and none indicated total satisfaction.

Fifty-four percent of the respondents declared themselves more or less satisfied with their salary and other material benefits. Female respondents were strikingly consistent in their answers for this item. From a total of ten, only three said they were *somewhat satisfied*. Seven (70%) said they were *dissatisfied*.

For their working conditions, 65 percent of the respondents said they were on the negative end of job satisfaction. Fourteen of those (30%) even said they were *very dissatisfied*.

Fifty-one percent of the respondents, 33 percent of whom were *very dissatisfied*, expressed dissatisfaction with their career opportunities. Fifteen from the 18 Anglophone respondents (83%) were in that category.

Sixty-five percent of the respondents expressed moral satisfaction (what they write or say) but 62 percent of those were only *somewhat satisfied*.

Eighty-one percent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the image they enjoy from the public. Fifty-five of those were either *totally satisfied* or *satisfied*. Meanwhile, 79 percent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the esteem they enjoy from the government. Sixty-one percent of those were either *totally satisfied* or *satisfied*.

Table 6

How Cameroonian Journalists Rated Their Job Satisfaction
(Question 1)

	TS	S	SS	D	VD	NR
Overall						
N	0	20	38	8	0	6
%	81%			11%		8%
Material						
N	0	10	29	25	4	4
%	54%			40%		6%
Professional						
N	0	5	18	33	14	2
%	32%			65%		3%
Career Opportunities						
N	0	16	16	25	12	3
%	45%			51%		4%
Moral						
N	1	17	29	18	4	3
%	65%			31%		4%
Image						
N	5	27	26	10	3	1
%	81%			18%		1%
Esteem						
N	9	26	22	8	6	1
%	79%			20%		1%

Note: TS = Totally Satisfied; S = Satisfied; SS = Somewhat Satisfied; D = Dissatisfied; VD = Very Dissatisfied; NR = No Response.

Summary. If Cameroonian journalists expressed a great (81%) overall job satisfaction, they agreed that the worst of their lot comes from working conditions, which were overwhelmingly said to be unsatisfactory. A slight majority (51%) agreed that career opportunities were limited. Journalists were about evenly divided (54% vs 40%) on their material satisfaction. Public and government esteem for journalists were rated high. This is a total reversal of the findings by Wete (1986, p. 283) wherein both public (56%) and government (74%) esteem were rated low.

Public/Press Relations

The public/press relations were further examined through questions three and four. Question 3 was on how the public feels about Cameroonian journalists, and question 4 was about what the public values most in them. Fifty-one percent of the respondents agreed that Cameroonians think "journalists are too submissive to political power," and 75 percent admitted that what the public value in their journalist is "the courage to criticize" (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7

How the Public Feels About Journalists
(Question 2)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"They say journalists do not give full account of news events"	15	21%
"They say journalist are incompetent"	3	4%
"They say journalists are too submissive to political power"	37	52%
"They say journalists are competent"	0	0%
"They rate journalists on an individual basis"	15	21%
No Response	2	3%

Table 8

What the Public Value Most in Their Journalist
(Question 3)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"The ability to write and read well"	6	8%
"The courage to criticize"	54	75%
"The originality of topics explored"	4	6%
"The ability to praise"	7	10%
No Response	1	1%

Government/Press Relations.

As far as those in a position of power are concerned, 33 percent of the respondents agreed that "journalists are judged on an individual basis." However, 27 percent said that journalists are viewed as "young people too critical of the government," while 22 percent thought journalists are viewed as "parrots just good to 'echo' what authorities say" (Table 9).

The scattered distribution of the respondents within the five alternatives suggests rather complex relationships between Cameroonian journalists and political power. The cross-tabulation with language reveals even further complexity. While 37 percent of the Francophone respondents said that authorities judge journalists "on an individual basis," only 22 percent of the 18 Anglophones agreed. Forty-percent of the Anglophones respondents thought journalists are primarily seen as "parrots just good to 'echo' what authorities say," while only 15 percent of the Francophone respondents agreed. And while only 17 percent of the Anglophones thought journalists are seen as "young people too critical of the government," 30 percent of the Francophone agreed that is the case.

Table 9

How Authorities Feel About Journalists
(Question 4)

Alternatives	Respondents			%
	Anglo	Franco	Total	
"Incompetent and irresponsible who cannot be trusted"	2	3	5	7%
"Competent and responsible who should be trusted"	1	6	7	10%
"Young people too critical of the government"	3	16	19	27%
"Parrots just good enough to 'echo' what they say"	8	8	16	22%
"Journalists are judged on an individual basis"	4	20	24	33%
No Response	0	1	1	1%

Note: Anglo = Anglophones; Franco = Francophones.

The different perception between Anglophone and Francophone respondents persisted with the question on what authorities value most in a journalist. Although both groups overwhelmingly (72% and 67%, respectively) agreed that authorities primarily expect "the ability to praise" from journalists, they disagreed on their second and third choices (Table 10).

Table 10

What Authorities Value Most in a Journalist
(Question 5)

Alternatives	Respondents			%
	Anglo	Franco	Total	
"The ability to write and read well"	4	5	9	13%
"The courage to criticize"	0	3	3	4%
"The originality of topics explored"	1	11	12	16%
"The ability to praise"	13	35	48	67%

Note: Anglo = Anglophones; Franco = Francophones.

Journalists' Attitudes

Questions 9 and 21 aimed at discovering how attitudes of Cameroonian journalists confront political power. While 69 percent of the respondents agreed that they do too much autocensorship, 53 percent expressed their readiness to criticize if everybody was ready to do so (Tables 11 and 12, respectively). For functionaries whose careers depend on the government, only three percent said they were not ready to risk their careers (Table 12).

Answering question 21, one respondent wrote: "I do take into account my environment which I know well so as to criticize moderately. That answer was classified with the praise alternative for one reason. The same respondent had earlier written that what authorities expect from

journalists is "the capability of explaining governmental decisions." And when governments want their decisions "explained," they tend not to expect criticism.

Table 11

Cameroonian Journalists' Characteristic Attitude
(Question 9)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"We are too critical"	0	0%
"We are too submissive"	8	11%
"We just praise too much"	13	18%
"We do too much autocensorship"	50	69%
No Response	1	2%

Table 12

Journalists' Individual Attitudes
(Question 21)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"I know many journalists are not ready to 'dare' but this cannot stop me: I will criticize"	19	26%
"Since most journalists tend to praise, why should I be the only one to criticize?"	13	18%
"I am not ready to take a risk in my career no matter what: everybody can criticize, I am not ready to do it"	2	3%
"If everybody was ready to criticize, I would too"	38	53%

Following President Biya's call for "courage" inherent to the profession of journalism, question 17 aimed at testing Cameroonian journalists' courage. Respondents had to rate Cameroonian journalists in general and themselves (Table 13).

Table 13

How Courageous Cameroonian Journalists Are
(Question 17)

	VC	C	SC	NC	NAAC	NR
All Journalists						
N	1	19	33	15	4	0
%		74%		26%		0%
Individually						
N	4	27	25	9	1	6
%		78%		14%		8%

Note: VC = Very Courageous; C = Courageous; SC = Somewhat Courageous; NC = Not Courageous; NAAC = Not At All Courageous; NR = No Response.

Seventy-four percent of the respondents agreed that, as a group, Cameroonian journalists fall in the range between *very courageous* and *somewhat courageous*, while 78 percent rated individual courage positively. However, large numbers of respondents settled for just above average (*somewhat courageous*) in both cases. Question 20, which also aimed at measuring the courage of Cameroonian journalists, purposely deprived the respondents of such a gray area. Respondents

were asked how well Cameroonian journalists resist political pressures. Eighty-one percent of the respondents rated collective resistance to political pressures as low, while 62.5 percent agreed their individual resistance was also low (Table 14).

Table 14

How Well Journalists Resist Political Pressures
(Question 20)

	VW	W	B	VB	NR
All Journalists					
N	2	12	32	26	0
%	19%		81%		0%
Individually					
N	0	24	28	17	3
%	33.5%		62.5%		4%

Note: VW = Very Well; W = Well; B = Bad; VB = Very Bad; NR = No Response.

Question 23 aimed at determining whether or not the democratization of social and political life in Cameroon has inspired some change in journalists' attitudes. It stated:

How much would you agree with a contemporary thinker that the Cameroonian journalist is "like that goat which, after being tied for too long, cannot take the step forward towards the better and greener pasture, even when the rope does no longer hold it captive," in other words that he or she does not seem to be willing to make use of the "democratization" process?

The four response alternatives were: Strongly Agrees (SA); Agrees (A); Disagrees (D); and Strongly Disagrees (SD).

Question 23 was also testing the "long tutelage" or "goat" theory. That theory was somehow rejected since 60 percent of the respondents expressed disagreement. But at the same time, a strong minority (40%) also expressed agreement. In anticipation of such an outcome, a backup question (question 24) was submitted to the respondents that had them less personally involved. It asked them to state how much they would agree with the statement that "whatever the country, journalists can only execute their work the way it has always been done in that country." The results did not change much (Table 15).

Table 15

Cameroonian Journalists Have Lost the Sense of Movement like the Goat that has Been Tied for too Long: "The Goat Theory" (Question 23)

	SA	A	D	SD	NR
Cameroon					
N	5	24	26	17	
%	40%		60%		
Any Country					
N	6	24	27	12	3
%	42%		54%		4%

Note: SA = Strongly Agrees; A = Agrees; D = Disagrees; SD = Strongly Disagrees; NR = No Response.

Four of the respondents who expressed a strong disagreement with the goat theory added some comments to their answers. The Francophone of the group stated: "There has been no democratization at all. The repression has never been stronger." One of the respondents simply underlined the word democratization and wrote "false" under it. The female respondent of the group also underlined it and stated: "Cameroon is a closed system. There is no such thing as democracy in practical [sic]. It is merely political jargons." The last one contended: "Nothing changed from the past, and if any, then perhaps worse [sic]."

Other Influences

Nine other questions aimed at examining the question of influences on journalists' performances. These questions explored in the following directions: professional code or training, the government, the public, administrations, peer pressure and emulation, and again, the weight of the past. Question 8 was about how Cameroonian journalists execute their professional duties (Table 16).

Cameroonian journalists do not have a written professional code. That "there is no common way of doing things" ranked strong second (39%) tend to suggest that they have not been able to develop a tacit one in their everyday practice. Forty-seven percent of the respondents agreed on

past experience shaping performance. But the fact that only one of the Anglophone respondents picked that alternative is intriguing.

Table 16

Job Execution
(Question 8)

Alternatives	Respondents			
	Anglo	Franco	Total	%
"There is no common way of doing things"	9	19	28	39%
"There are strict guidelines which everyone follows in similar situations"	8	3	11	15%
"Journalists keep past experiences and stories in the field for adjusting their own style"	1	33	34	47%

Note: Anglo = Anglophones; Franco = Francophones.

Question 19 was a specific return to the issue of tutelage. The respondents were asked to state how often they happen, when they are preparing their stories, to think of problems they have, or that a colleague has, encountered in the past.

With the respondents, once again, about evenly divided (33% vs 29%), question 19 yielded no clear-cut answer to the goat theory (Table 17).

Table 17

Past Problems Interferences in Journalists' Stories
(Question 19)

	VO	O	S	R	VR	NR
"Think of past problems while preparing stories"						
N	4	17	26	14	10	1
%	29%		36%	33%		

Note: VO = Very Often; O = Often; S = Sometimes;
R = Rarely; VR = Very Rarely; NR = No Response.

Question 14 also aimed at surveying the weight of past problems on media performance. It stated:

Some people say the right attitude after living or seeing a colleague go through problems is to adopt the philosophy, "Better a live coward than a dead hero." Would you say you "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree" with that line of thinking?

Fifty-one respondents (71%) disagreed, 20 of whom (39%) selected *strongly disagree*. Twenty respondents (28%) agreed, only four of whom (20%) selected *strongly agree*. The "live coward" theory was therefore rejected.

Question 10 inquired whom of the journalists had had problems for their stories, question 11 how many times it had happened, and question 12 the source of the most reaction. Forty-two respondents (58%) indicated they had had problems. Twenty-seven respondents (38%) said they had never had a problem, while three (4%) gave no answer.

Thirty of the 42 respondents (71%) who said they had had problems indicated it had occurred between one and two times. All eight Anglophones with past problems were in that category which supports the contention by Gwellem (p. 58) that Anglophone journalists are not as scrutinized as their French-speaking counterparts. Six respondents (14%) said they had had problems between three and five times. And four others (10%) that it had happened more than six times.

Eleven times out of 42, the most reaction had come from "an administration" (26%). With ten times (24%) each, both "the person involved in the report" and "the government" ranked second. The most reaction had come from "another journalist" six times (14%), and from "a reader/listener" four times (10%). One respondent (2%) gave no specifics. Both administration and government accounted for 21 interferences (51%), while the other three categories accounted for 20 cases (49%).

The next step was to try to find out whether past problems made any difference in the way respondents reacted to questions 14 and 19 on journalists' subsequent attitudes. These results emerged from the cross-tabulation:

1. Thirty out of the 42 respondents (71%) with a history of past problems rejected the live coward theory. Eighteen out of the 27 respondents (67%) who never had a problem also rejected it.

2. Fifteen out of the 42 respondents (36%) with a history of past problems indicated that they *often* or *very often* think of those episodes when preparing their stories. Thirteen (31%) said they sometimes do, while an equal proportion said they do not. Of the 27 who never had a problem, nine (33%) said they do not think of their colleagues' past troubles. Twelve others (44%) said they sometimes do, while only five (19%) indicated they often do.

The decrease in percentage in the rejection of the live coward theory between those with a history of past problems (71%) and those without (67%) certainly indicates a trend. But the margin is too small to trigger the conclusion that journalists with past problem experience become immune to fear. However, they are more likely to show caution in the preparation of their stories. Thirty-six percent of them said they *often* or *very often* think of those episodes when preparing their stories. Under similar circumstances, only 19 percent of those without past problem experience think of their colleagues' past troubles.

Question 18 was an even more explicit attempt to get the respondents to indicate which guidelines they keep in mind while they are writing their stories. They were asked to rank in order of importance six response alternatives, with the sixth one open for them to specify (Table 18). Fifty percent of the respondents ranked "make sure all

relevant details are included" first. None of the other five alternatives came in a strong second. Three respondents selected the alternative which required specification. One wrote, "To be in peace with myself." The second added, "To be honest." The other stated, "Make sure I remain easily understood by the public."

Table 18

Journalists' Individual Guidelines Ranked First
(Question 18)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"Make sure all relevant details are included"	36	50%
"Make sure what is included will not displease the hierarchy"	13	18%
"Want to please the audience"	4	6%
"Want to be perceived as a brilliant writer"	7	10%
"Avoid any move that might jeopardize my career"	9	12%
"Other (Please specify)"	3	4%

The tabulation of second choice alternatives (Table 19) revealed that the largest group of respondents (39%) gave no opinion. The 28 respondents in that category felt so strongly about their first choice that they did not bother to attempt a second selection. The respondent who specified noted, "To help uncover the truth."

Table 19

Journalists' Individual Guidelines Ranked Second
(Question 18)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"Make sure all relevant details are included"	7	10%
"Make sure what is included will not displease the hierarchy"	12	17%
"Want to please the audience"	9	12.5%
"Want to be perceived as a brilliant writer"	9	12.5%
"Avoid any move that might jeopardize my career"	6	8%
"Other (Please specify)"	1	1%
No Response	28	39%

When the first and second choices were combined for each response alternative, "make sure all relevant details are included" still came first with 43 votes (37%) out of a total 116 expressed. "Make sure that what is included will not displease the hierarchy ranked second with 22 percent. "Want to please the audience" still came last, just before the alternative which called for specification (Table 20).

Table 20

Combination of Journalists' Individual Guidelines
(First and Second Choices)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"Make sure all relevant details are included"	43	37%
"Make sure what is included will not displease the hierarchy"	25	22%
"Want to please the audience"	13	11%
"Want to be perceived as a brilliant writer"	16	14%
"Avoid any move that might jeopardize my career"	15	13%
"Other (Please specify)"	4	3%

Note: N = 116

The two alternatives which mentioned not displeasing the hierarchy and not jeopardizing the career actually stood for the same reality: the weight of administrative pressures. They were combined in the next step to see if it would make any difference. The combination gave them 22 selections (31%) when only first choices were considered. This figure still remained way below the 50 percent of the alternative which advocated that all relevant details be included. The combination including both first and second choices with 40 selections (34%) out of 116 did not change much in that trend. And although the gap was tremendously narrowed, the relevant details perspective still ranked

first with 43 selections (37%). This is a strong suggestion that the major influence on Cameroonian public journalists' performances in 1989 is primarily professional, with administrative pressures coming a strong second.

It can also be argued that Cameroonian journalists are torn between the ideal of staying professional and practical needs of surviving as workers; that because the ideal side of that dilemma remains a little stronger, journalists find it difficult to feel totally at peace with the way they perform. Had the practical aspects dominated, most respondents would have shown greater compliance, and not as many as 58 percent would have indicated problems in the past.

However, the poor ranking of pleasing the audience could suggest at least two things: (1) when forced to choose whom to please between the public and the authority, Cameroonian journalists do not think twice; (2) Cameroonian journalists produce programs that do not necessarily hit home, since their audience is not one of their priorities. And since being perceived as a brilliant writer ranked relatively high in their daily professional worries, journalists' self-centered attitudes are an additional supporting evidence of that assumption.

Professional Solidarity

Three questions (13, 15, and 16) were aimed at testing professional solidarity among Cameroonian journalists.

Question 13 asked the respondents who had had problems to indicate whether they "were sort of 'quarantined' by [their] colleagues." Only ten respondents (21%) out of the 42 with past problems history said they had been. The 32 others (79%) did not believe so.

Question 15 was addressed to all respondents. It stated, "Would you say Cameroonian journalists tend to stand by their colleagues 'in trouble'? How would you rate the degree of solidarity among your colleagues?" While only eight respondents (11%) ranked solidarity among Cameroonian journalists as *very strong* or *strong*, 46 others (64%) were evenly divided between *weak* and *very weak* (Table 21).

Table 21

Solidarity Among Cameroonian Journalists
(Question 15)

	VS	S	SS	W	VW	NR
N	2	6	15	23	23	3
%	11%		21%	64%		4%

Note: VS = Very Strong; S = Strong; SS = Somewhat Strong; W = Weak; VW = Very Weak; NR = No Response.

Question 16 (Table 22) stated, "Keeping in mind what you did the last time it happened, which of the following attitudes would you say comes closest to what you would do if a colleague was in professional trouble?" Fifty-six percent of the respondents selected "I would organize a support move among my colleagues because in this profession every one of us can face problems." No single respondent settled for the alternative that read "I would barely hide my joy at his problems."

Table 22

Journalists' Support to Colleagues in Trouble
(Question 16)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"I would avoid any move that might associate me with him/her and which might set me too in trouble"	19	26%
"To show my full support, I would offer to share the punishment inflicted upon my colleague"	9	12%
"I would barely hide my joy at his problems"	0	0%
"I would organize a support move among my colleagues because in this profession everyone of us can face problems"	40	56%
No Response	4	6%

By a large majority, respondents declared they would organize a support move for their colleague in trouble. But this seems to be a majority emerging from some self- but unmerited-gratification since 64 percent of the respondents deplored the lack of solidarity among Cameroonian journalists. Not surprisingly, the alternative that ranked second with 26 percent was: "I would avoid any move that might associate me with him/her and which might set me too in trouble." However, the claim could well mean that there is a potential of solidarity at the individual level which just awaits proper channeling within a union for example.

Peer Pressure and Emulation

Questions 22, 25, 26, and 27 aimed at measuring peer pressure and emulation. Question 22 asked respondents to state which group of journalists they thought was more to blame for the profession's unsatisfactory performances. Putting aside the neutral alternative which made everyone equally responsible, both alternatives putting the blame on the "elders" outranked the one blaming the younger generation. But considering the relative youth (age and job tenure length) of Cameroonian journalists, that outcome was predictable. Of more interest is the comparison between the two alternatives on the older generation. The one which stressed everyday pressures was rated twice as influential as the one stressing the weight of the past (Table 23).

Table 23

The Most to Blame Group of Journalists
(Question 22)

Alternatives	Respondents	
	N	%
"The 'elders' because they did set the wrong tone which isn't easy to alter"	7	10%
"The younger generation which lacks the courage of the '70s (with programs like 'Dominique,' 'Canne a Sucre et Piment' on Radio Cameroon, and columns like 'Grain de Sel' at the <u>Cameroon Tribune</u>)"	4	5%
"The 'elders' because they are always ready to discourage the smallest initiative"	17	24%
"Everyone in the profession is EQUALLY responsible"	44	61%

Question 25 asked respondents to list in order of preference four names of their past or present colleagues they would want to identify with. Question 26 asked them to indicate which quality they admired most in their colleague they ranked first. And question 27 asked them to indicate the types of program they would best identify with.

Twelve respondents (17%) did not answer question 25 on the colleague they would best identify with. Some of those simply ignored the question while some stated such reasons as: "There is none really, I try to build up my own image"; "My professional ideal, I keep it for myself"; "I do have models, but will not name names"; "None"; "Nobody"; "Myself,

but since I cannot give you my name, sorry!" Another one wrote that he did admire some of his colleagues for their talent. But none of them, he added, could truly represent his professional ideal whose criteria are: honesty rather than objectivity; courage; professionalism; and unusually high writing skills.

The tabulation of the nominations was made according to the language of the nominees and not to the language of the respondents. The total number of nominations accounted first in the subsequent classification. In case of a tie, the sum of first place nominations was introduced, and in case of further ties, the second place nominations and so forth. Alphabetic order prevailed in the event of a complete tie. It yielded the following results for Francophones:

1. Gerba Malam ranked first with a total of 28 nominations, two of them by Anglophone respondents. Gerba Malam received eight first place nominations, six second place, nine third place and five fourth others. Five times the word *risk* appeared when he was nominated first, *talent* appeared three times, and *writing skills* one time. Some respondents combined two qualities in their selection.

Gerba Malam is a Ph.D. student in Mass Communications at the *Universite du Quebec a Montreal*, Canada. Former editor-in-chief of Radio Cameroon, he is a journalist whose

talent has often been overshadowed by his independence in tone. His permanent quest for credibility often cost him dearly. Three times under the Biya regime, Keye Ndogo and he were banned from the air for "overspeeding the New Deal," that is, for advocating quicker changes than the authorities could afford. In all three cases, he was accused of condoning stories prepared by Keye Ndogo and broadcast with him, Gerba, hosting. Accused of "trouble-making and irresponsibility," both journalists pleaded they were simply born believers in the principles of honesty, integrity, and patriotism which the New Deal happened to stand for. Their third suspension in 1984-85 lasted ten months and confirmed their image of "martyrs and freedom fighters." No wonder Gerba would be nominated mostly for his courage.

2. Jean Claude Ottou ranked second with 24 nominations, two of them from Anglophone respondents. Ottou received nine first place nominations, seven second place, five third place, and three fourth place. Six times, *talent* was the selection reason, *risk* was the reason two times, and *writing skills* one time.

Ottou, the runner-up, is also a former editor-in-chief of Radio Cameroon. Gerba succeeded him when he was sent on special assignment with the Cameroon National Water Company. Ottou was probably at some point the most popular journalist in Cameroon. Beyond his courage in its own

right, he earned himself the reputation of the one who made news accessible to the man in the street, "the man in Mvog-Ada." To explain the system of apartheid to his average and uneducated listeners, for example, Ottou would tell them, "This means you in Mvog-Ada [a Yaounde quarter] would not have the right to cross over and go to Mvog-Mbi. . . ." No wonder his nominations came mostly for "his talent."

3. Henri Bandolo received 20 nominations. Bandolo obtained nine first place nominations, two of them from Anglophone respondents. He received five second place nominations, three third place, and three fourth others. Five times the word *risk* appeared for his selection, *talent* appeared twice, and *writing skills* one time. One respondent had combined *talent* and *risk*.

4. Jean Vincent Tchinehom obtained 16 nominations, three of them from Anglophone respondents. Tchinehom received six first place nominations, four second place, four third place, and two fourth place others. Four times he was nominated for his talent, one time each for "his ability to take risks," and for "his ability to write or read well."

Albert Mbida ranked fifth with seven nominations. Paul Celestin Ndembiyembe and Charles Ndonga both ranked sixth overall with six nominations each. Antoine-Marie Ngono,

Patrice Etoundi Mballa, Alain Belibi, and Keye Ndogo ranked eighth with five nominations each. Joseph Marcel Ndi and Zacharie Ngniman obtained four nominations each and ranked 12th. Tjade Eone ranked 14th with three nominations, while Abui Mama Eloundou, Gilbert Tsala Ekani, Paul Ngougou, Daniel Anicet Noah, Jean-Pierre Effouba Onana, late Michel Essang, Gervais Mbarga, Abel Mbengue, and Ahmadou Vamoulke each got two nominations. The following obtained one nomination: Barbara Nkono, Lucien Mamba, Bechir Ben Yahmed (Tunisian-born journalist and publisher of Jeune Afrique), Agnes Ndoumbe, Jacques Ferrand (a French journalist), Fouda Onambele, Atangana Sandy, Jacques Fame Ndong, Pierre Mabe, Jean Mboudou, Evelyne Ngono a Ribama, Jean-Baptiste Sipa, late Dieudonne Tokim, Thomas Babikussana, Romain Roland Eto, Eloundou Nzie, Pascal Mebe Abah, Emmanuel Mve Mintsa, Jean-Paul Nanga Abanda, and Pius Njawe.

Atangana Sandy, Albert Mbida, Jean-Pierre Efouba Onana, Paul Ngougou, and Keye Ndogo all got nominations across the language barrier. The nomination of two journalists from the private sector, Jean-Baptiste Sipa and Pius Njawe, can also be singled out. Sipa joined Njawe a few years ago at Le Messager when disagreements emerged between him and Abodel Karimou, the man with whom he launched La Gazette in 1974. Their nominations become even more significant considering that they came from two school of journalism graduates, one of whom is the holder of a graduate degree.

Akwanka Joe Ndifor tied for first with six nominations among the Anglophone nominees. He obtained four first place nominations, one of which came from a Francophone respondent. His other two nominations ranked him second. Three times, he was nominated for his "ability to take risks." One of the respondents who nominated him first gave no indication on which quality he admired most.

Sam Nuvala Fonkem also got six nominations and shared the first spot. He got one nomination each for second, third, and fourth place. His three first place nominations came for his "ability to take risks."

Both Akwanka, host of Minute by Minute on Cameroon Television, and Nuvala Fonkem, now instructor at the school of Mass Communications of Yaounde, earned themselves a reputation of independence in tone. Nuvala Fonkem was even jailed for some time four to five years ago.

Richard Nyamboli ranked third with three nominations, two of which were first place nominations. Eric Chinje also obtained three votes, including one first place nomination.

Fai Henry Fonye and Charly Ndi Chia each obtained three nominations, but no first place one. Herbert Boh, Emmanuel Tataw, Zachary Nkwo, Peter Essoka, Julius Wame, and Gideon Taka each got two nominations. Late Bryant Ako, Luke Ananga, Lawyer Dinka, Pius Mello, Tata Mentan, Francis Wete,

Jonas Guida, Sylvester Gwellem, John Njowo, Forbinake Nkemdeng, Emmanuel Jackai, Adamu Musa, Ben Berka Njovens, Nkong Makoge, and Shasha Ndimbie each got one nomination.

Other Anglophone journalists who obtained nominations across the language barrier are: Zachary Nkwo, Peter Essoka, and Gideon Taka.

The nominations for the quality respondents admired most totaled 75. Although twelve respondents did not indicate a model, some of them indicated which quality they admire. *Talent* ranked first with 34 nominations (45%), *risks* ranked second with 27 nominations (36%), and *writing skills* ranked third with 14 nominations (19%). No single respondent thought that "the ability to praise" was something worth admiration.

Fifty-five percent of the Anglophone respondents favored the "ability to take risks," whereas only 31 percent of the Francophones did. Conversely, only 17 percent Anglophones favored *talent* while 57 percent Francophones did (Table 24).

Table 24

Admired Quality by Language
(Question 26)

Quality	Respondents			
	Anglo		Franco	
	N	%	N	%
"His/her ability to take risks"	10	55%	17	31%
"His/her talent"	3	17%	31	57%
"His ability to praise"	0	0%	0	0%
"His ability to write well"	5	28%	9	17%

Note: The percent for Francophones exceeds 100 because the number of qualities nominated (57) exceeded the number of respondents (54).

Question 27 dealt with the type of program respondents thought they can best identify with. For French language programs, *Dominique* by Henri Bandolo obtained 24 nominations, three of which came from Anglophone respondents. *Dominique* was a Sunday radio program in the '70s that emphasized socio-political criticism. *Canne a Sucre et Piment* [Sugar Canne and Pepper] by Jean Vincent Tchinehom, and *RDC Panorama* by Joseph marcel Ndi, each obtained five nominations. *Canne a Sucre et Piment*, as the title suggests, aimed at crusading against the bitter side of the Cameroonian society while entertaining. *RDC Panorama* was a radio weekly recap of major international news that aired features obtained from foreign radios. *Union, Verite,*

Democratie, the party program, obtained two nominations. Receiving one nomination each were: *Le Debat* [The Debate], a program by Keye Ndogo that aired on Cameroon Television only once in 1987 before it was abruptly cancelled by management; *Regards sur le Monde* by Dieudonne Tine Pigui, a continuing weekly TV program on foreign main events; and *Dimanche-Midi*, a radio newsroom magazine on the week's events aired Sundays at mid-day.

Cameroon Report topped the list for English language programs with 19 votes, six of which came from Francophone respondents. *Cameroon Report*, a Sunday radio news program using commentary to criticize social ills, has been around for about two decades. It has been cancelled now and again on political orders. But new hosts whenever it was allowed to come back on the air have not been able to change contributors' commitment to "independent" commentaries. In second place and hosted by Akwanka Joe Ndifor, *Minute by Minute* is a television magazine in the style of CBS's *60 Minutes* that emphasizes investigative reporting. It obtained five nominations, one from a Francophone respondent. *Sports Panorama* came third with one nomination.

For both Francophones and Anglophones, only journalists who displayed some independence in tone stood out in their colleagues' esteem. None of the "practicing" journalists, including TV anchorpersons in both English and French, had a

strong showing as might have been expected. For example, Charles Ndongo got six nominations, Eric Chinje three, and Barbara Nkono, the only female nominated, one. For both the programs in French and those in English, the critical ones also ranked first, with other types coming distant second. Finally, the two nominations for the party program came from respondents with no college education.

Driving for Collective Excellence

Question 28 aimed at inquiring what should be done to improve the Cameroonian press performance. Respondents were provided with five solutions that have been often suggested. For each solution, they were given four response alternatives to select from: Strongly Agrees (SA); Agrees (A); Disagrees (D); and Strongly Disagrees (SD). Many respondents indicated their position only for one of the solutions, therefore suggesting that anything else was irrelevant. Hence, the many abstentions (Table 25).

Table 25

Suggested Solutions to Improve Journalists' Performances
(Question 28)

Alternatives	SA	A	D	SD	NR
"Changing the legislation would be enough"	18	25	11	2	16
	60%		18%		22%
"Journalists should stop doing autocensorship"	24	22	9	4	13
	64%		18%		18%
"If experienced journalists stayed active and worked with younger ones, the press would command respect"	33	18	7	3	11
	71%		14%		15%
"Journalists should show more professional solidarity"	41	20	0	0	11
	85%		0%		15%
"Changing the legislation is just a small step; journalists should 'learn' to resist pressures"	35	19	6	2	10
	75%		11%		14%

Note: SA = Strongly Agrees; A = Agrees; D = Disagrees; SD = Strongly Disagrees; NR = No Response.

All five solutions scored high in the respondents' selections. Further comparison of the degree of agreement reveals that journalists are called on to take their share of responsibility. While no single respondent disagreed with it, "Journalists should show more solidarity" ranked

first with 85 percent positive selections. A stiff legislation might be an important chilling cause for journalists' enthusiasm, but the solution urging for its change ranked last with 60 percent. Seventy-five percent of the respondents agreed that changing the legislation is just a small step, and urged "journalists to 'learn' to resist pressures." With 75 percent, that call ranked second overall. The solution calling for experienced journalists to keep practicing for Cameroonian journalism to command respect ranked third with 71 percent. The call on journalists to stop doing auto-censorship ranked fourth with 64 percent.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Journalism in Cameroon is a male-dominated profession where journalists are more likely to be Francophone than Anglophone by a two-to-one ratio. It is a profession that has tremendously gained respectability. Within three years, the perception journalists have of the esteem they enjoy from both the public and the government has been completely reversed. In 1986, Wete found that journalists thought public and government esteem for them were low. In 1989, journalists feel both public and government have them in high esteem.

Although Cameroonian journalists rated themselves as competent, they appeared less thrilled with their performances. Their major problem in that regard rests in the news content since they are torn between their public's tastes and the government's expectations and prescriptions. The public accuses journalists of too much submission to political power and expects them to display more courage and to criticize. Meanwhile, the government expects praise from them. And when compelled to choose between those two contradictory demands, Cameroonian journalists would rather please authorities than their audience. Even being perceived as a brilliant writer preceded pleasing the

audience in their daily professional worries. The journalists themselves, who otherwise value professionalism more than anything else, are well aware of the responsibility they bear for that situation. In three questions out of four trying to establish responsibilities, they overwhelmingly selected the self-incriminatory response alternative. They admitted they are more to blame for the immobility of their country's press system and called for a change in their attitudes: less autocensorship and more professional solidarity.

Those survey findings corroborated conclusions presented in introductory and background chapters as they were earlier reached by those researchers who operated from a European (or qualitative) perspective. For example, Tjade Eone (1986) argued:

Journalists cannot take advantage of any freedom of action; they are subjected to all kinds of pressures, but do not know how to resist them successfully; they eventually adhere to the maxim that truth does not always pay, and make of autocensorship not only a reflex, but also a code of professional norms. (p. 214)

"Low resistance to pressures" and *"autocensorship"* are the two major points made by Tjade Eone (see also pp. 18-19). By a large majority of 81 percent, Cameroonian journalists surveyed rated their resistance to political pressures as *low* or *very low* (p. 108). Sixty-nine percent of the respondents also admitted "journalists do too much autocensorship" (p. 106).

Ndembiyembe (1984) and Bassek Ba Khobio (1986) both agreed on the need for the new Cameroonian authorities to change the stiff press legislation inherited from the Ahidjo era. Until that legislation is changed, they argued, journalists would not feel secure enough to criticize, even "constructively" (pp. 77-78). Sixty percent of the respondents thought changing the legislation is necessary. However, 75 percent (pp. 132-133) agreed that it would just be a small step, and that journalists should learn to resist pressures. Ndembiyembe (1984; see p. 85 above) had also reached a similar conclusion:

One should not wait for the regime to grant all freedoms to journalists. It is up to them to take advantage of any opportunity that can arise, impose a way of doing things and forms of expression that do not only tend to amplify and echo official speeches.
(p. 276)

Ndembiyembe (1984), Nga Ndongo (1987), and Djiaha (1987) agreed on the lack of solidarity among Cameroonian journalists. They then called on them to get organized and to display greater solidarity (p. 84). Sixty-four percent of the respondents rated solidarity among Cameroonian journalists as *low* (p. 119). Many more (85%) agreed that journalists should show more solidarity (pp. 132-133).

Also at the heart of Cameroonian journalists' abdication of their mission probably lies the erroneous idea that until journalism becomes systematic criticism, there will be no press freedom. Some of the respondents argued

that there has been no positive change with the introduction in Cameroon of what President Biya labeled democratization. Unless they can shout, some journalists think they cannot communicate. Yet, between silence and shouting, there are many intermediate stages such as murmuring, speaking, and many other forms of body language. As recommended in the preamble of the convention creating the International Higher School of Journalism of Yaounde, Cameroonian and African journalists should avoid the traps of systematic criticism and systematic approval. This means the journalist does not ignore the negative aspects of life, but rather seeks them, while offering suggestions on how they must be dealt with. This means a necessary balance between successes and failures. But achieving that balance means that African journalists learn to ignore the protests by officials who, as is human, expect constant approval.

More importantly, nobody who understands African traditions would advocate a Western approach to journalism for African countries. Not because those countries are young or fragile, as has been advanced by many governments, but because they belong to what we would call "memory civilization." It probably derives from the African oral tradition. In Africa, people do not forget, and a disgraced individual is disgraced forever. Journalists must therefore make sure no dishonoring claim is made that is without foundation. To the contrary, a dishonored governor can

still be elected president, and a fallen president can still go back to public life in the west. People can call today for a boycott of this supermarket's grapes and go shopping there the next day. The press can suddenly become positive on this country or individual without the public questioning the move on the ground of previous negative reportings by the same media. It seems to be a matter of following the tide. No single culture is better. They simply function differently, and African journalists should learn to perceive it. It is an irony that those who have so far advocated a genuine press model for African countries are non-Africans (Bourges, 1973 & 1977; see page 71 above; Wilcox, 1975, pp. 101-103).

Ultimately, so much could be added to this study if the memory theory was further tested and its weight measured empirically. An adapted replication of the survey undertaken here with a larger sample (or the entire population of Cameroonian journalists which is small enough to allow that) could provide more confidence in the many generalizations of respondents' opinions attempted here.

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was accused by many of betraying former Northerners' friends who had confided in him when he revealed in his book private conversations they had had among friends over dinners.

Bassek Ba Kobhio. Holder of a Maitrise in Sociology from the Yaounde University, was still in 1989 sub-director in charge of Cinematographic Arts at the Ministry of Information and Culture. His book quoted in this study was his second. Served as an assistant to the French director of Chocolat, a film on Cameroon under colonization which received warm reviews in the U.S. in the Spring of 1989.

Biyity Bi Essam, Jean-Pierre. Holder of a doctorate in Mass Communications from the Paris VII University, was appointed in 1989 Director of the News Division at the Cameroon Radio Television.

Bolap, Henri-Paul. Was still in 1989 a doctoral student in Mass Communications at the *Universite du Quebec a Montreal*, Canada. Was heading towards organizational communication for his doctoral dissertation.

Bourges, Herve. Is considered an advocate for Africa. Was the French and first director of the International Higher School of Journalism of Yaounde. Later became the director of the Journalism School of Lille in France; General Manager of Radio France International; President of TF1, the French first TV channel prior to its privatization. Was in 1989 President of Radio Monte Carlo.

Essono, Thomas. Was still in 1989 a pre-doctoral student in Mass Communications at the Paris II University.

Gerba Malam. Was still in 1989 a doctoral student in Mass Communications at the *Universite du Quebec a Montreal*, Canada. Interested in audio-visual campaign effectiveness, and was planning on working on the effectiveness of AIDS awareness media campaigns in Cameroon.

Mbida, Albert. Was still in 1989 a doctoral student in Mass Communications at the Paris II University.

- Ndembiyembe, Paul-Celestin. Holder of a doctorate in Mass Communications from the Paris II University and teacher at the Yaounde Advanced School of Mass Communications, was also in 1989 Deputy General Manager of the Sopecam, the Cameroon Tribune publishing and printing company.
- Nga Ndong, Valentin. Holder of a doctorate in Sociology from the Paris X University and teacher at the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences (Yaounde University), was appointed in 1989 Director of the Party News Organizations.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis B.. Was still a doctoral student in Mass Communications at Leicester University, England. Was planning to complete his doctoral dissertation (Broadcasting in Cameroon: Development and Constraints) in late 1989.
- Ongba, Marc J.. Holder of a doctorate in Mass Communications from the Paris II University and teacher at the Yaounde Advanced School of Mass Communications, was also in 1989 Sub-Director of Information at the Ministry of Information and Culture.
- Tjade Eone. Holder of a doctorate in Mass Communications from the Paris II University and teacher at the Yaounde Advanced School of Mass Communications, was named in 1989 Deputy Director in Charge of Production and Programing at the Cameroon Radio Television.
- Wete Francis. Holder of a doctorate in Mass Communications from the University of Missouri-Columbia and a teacher at the Yaounde Advanced School of Mass Communications.
- Wongo Ahanda, Antoine. A doctoral student in Mass Communications at the Paris II University, was expected to defend his dissertation in October 1989.

APPENDIX

Dear Colleague,

It has been argued that studies undertaken so far on the Cameroonian press have virtually ignored the opinions of journalists whose profession was being investigated. The present questionnaire is part of research which aims at exploring our profession, this time solely from the perspective of the journalists. It is undertaken for a Master's thesis at San Jose State University, California, United States of America.

In order to ensure that the results of this survey truly represent the opinions of journalists in Cameroon, your full cooperation is needed. Please note that your participation remains voluntary and will be anonymous.

And since there is no way your answers could be traced back to you, make sure you are as candid as possible. Please follow the directions provided for each question, making sure you answer all questions by selecting the alternative that comes closest to your true position.

For your convenience, I have provided an envelope to ensure that your opinions remain confidential when you hand back your completed questionnaire. So please, make sure the envelope bearing my address is sealed before you return the survey. It is for obvious financial reasons that those sealed envelopes will be later sent to me in a single parcel.

Let me thank you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Keye Ndogo', written over a horizontal line.

Keye Ndogo

PART I: YOU AND YOUR JOB

In this part, we would like to know your general feelings and impressions about your job. For each question, and wherever applicable, a scoring over 20 has been provided to give you a clearer idea of each position.

Section I: Job Satisfaction

In this section, we would like to explore your job satisfaction overall and in specific areas.

1. Overall and in the specified areas, how would you rate your job satisfaction? FOR EACH, state whether you are "Totally Satisfied" (TS), "Satisfied" (S), "Somewhat Satisfied" (SS), "Dissatisfied" (D), or "Very Dissatisfied" (VD).

	TS (20/20)	S (15/20)	SS (12/20)	D (08/20)	VD (05/20)
- Overall	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Material (Salary and other benefits)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Professional (Work conditions)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Career Opportunities	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Moral (With what you write or say)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Image (How the public judges you)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Esteem (How your employer judges you)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Section II: How Journalists Are Rated

In this section, we would like to know you think the Cameroonian journalist is perceived.

2. From what you know of your audience, which of the following alternatives best describes how the public feels about the Cameroonian journalist? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ They say journalists do not give full account of news events.
- ☐ They say journalists are incompetent.
- ☐ They say journalists are too submissive to political power.
- ☐ They say journalists are competent.
- ☐ They rate journalists on an individual basis.

3. What would you say the Cameroonian public values most in their journalist? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ The ability to write or read well.
- ☐ The courage to criticize.
- ☐ The originality of topics explored.
- ☐ The ability to praise.

4. From what you know of those in a position of power, which of the following alternatives best describes how authorities feel about the Cameroonian journalist? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ Incompetent and irresponsible who cannot be trusted.
- ☐ Competent and responsible who should be trusted.
- ☐ Young people too critical of the government.
- ☐ Parrots just good to "echo" what they say.
- ☐ Journalists are judged on an individual basis.

5. What would you say those authorities value most in a journalist? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ The ability to write or read well.
- ☐ The courage to criticize.
- ☐ The originality of topics explored.
- ☐ The ability to praise.

Section III: Job Performance

In this section, we are more interested in what the Cameroonian journalist thinks of his/her performance and that of his/her colleagues.

6. How would you rate the Cameroonian journalist's performance? Would you say it is "Very Good" (VG), "Good" (G), "Somewhat Good" (SG), "Bad" (B), or "Very Bad" (VB)?

	VG (20/20)	G (15/20)	SG (12/20)	B (08/20)	VB (05/20)
- Cameroonian Journalist's	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Your own	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

7. By the same token, would you say the Cameroonian journalist is "Very Competent" (VC), "Competent" (C), "Somewhat Competent" (SC), "Incompetent" (I), or "Very Incompetent" (VI)?

	VC (20/20)	C (15/20)	SC (12/20)	I (08/20)	VI (05/20)
- Your Colleagues	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Yourself	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Section IV: Job Execution

In this section, we would like to explore the everyday execution of your job.

8. How would you say Cameroonian journalists execute their work? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- [] There is no common way of doing things.
- [] There are strict guidelines which everyone follows in similar circumstances.
- [] Journalists keep in mind past experiences and stories in the field for adjusting their own style.

9. Which of the following describes best the Cameroonian journalist's attitude? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- [] We are too critical.
- [] We are too submissive.
- [] We just praise too much.
- [] We do too much autocensorship.

10. Have you ever had a problem for a story that you wrote? ☐ Yes ☐ No
11. If yes, how many times? IF NO, GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION 14. ☐ 1-2 ☐ 3-5 ☐ 6 or more
12. Where did the most reaction come from? SELECT ONLY ONE.
☐ Listener/reader ☐ Another journalist ☐ Government
☐ An Administration ☐ The person involved in the report
13. Were you sort of "quarantined" by your colleagues? ☐ Yes ☐ No
14. Some people say the right attitude after living or seeing a colleague go through problems is to adopt the philosophy, "Better a live coward than a dead hero." Would you say you "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree" with that line of thinking?
Strongly Agrees
(20/20)	Agrees
(15/20)	Disagrees
(08/20)	Strongly Disagrees
(05/20)
☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Would you say Cameroonian journalists tend to stand by their colleagues "in trouble"? How would you rate the degree of solidarity among your colleagues?
Very Strong
(20/20)	Strong
(15/20)	Somewhat Strong
(12/20)	Weak
(08/20)	Very Weak
(05/20)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Keeping in mind what you did the last time it happened, which of the following attitudes would you say come closest to what you would do if a colleague was "in professional trouble"? SELECT ONLY ONE.
- ☐ I would avoid any move that might associate me with him/her and which might set me too in trouble.
 - ☐ To show my full support, I would offer to share the punishment inflicted upon my colleague.
 - ☐ I would barely hide my joy at his problems.
 - ☐ I would organize a support move among my colleagues because in this profession every one of us can face problems.

17. President Paul Biya told Cameroon Tribune in 1984 that "Being a journalist requires a lot of intelligence, drive, . . ., and courage." Would you rate the Cameroonian journalist as "Very Courageous" (VC), "Courageous" (C), "Somewhat Courageous" (SC), "Not Courageous" (NC), or "Not At All Courageous" (NAAC)?

	VC (20/20)	C (15/20)	SC (12/20)	NC (08/20)	NAAC (05/20)
- Cameroonian journalist	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Yourself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section V: Influences on Performance

In this section, we would like to explore what you consider as influences on the way you perform daily.

18. When you are writing your story, which of the following guidelines do you keep in mind? RANK THEM IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE.

- ☐ Make sure all relevant details are included.
- ☐ Make sure that what is included will not displease the hierarchy.
- ☐ Want to please the audience.
- ☐ Want to be perceived as a brilliant writer.
- ☐ Avoid any move that might jeopardize my career.
- ☐ Other (Please specify) _____

19. When you are preparing your story, how often do you happen to think of problems that you have, or that a colleague has, encountered in the past?

Very Often (20/20)	Often (15/20)	Sometimes (12/20)	Rarely (08/20)	Very Rarely. (05/20)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. How well would you say the Cameroonian journalist resists political pressures?

	Very Well (20/20)	Well (15/20)	Bad (08/20)	Very Bad (05/20)
- Cameroonian Journalist	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Yourself	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Which of the following comes closest to your own attitude? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ "I know many journalists are not ready to 'dare' but this cannot stop me: I will criticize."
- ☐ "Since most journalists tend to praise, why should I be the only one to criticize?"
- ☐ "I am not ready to take a risk in my career no matter what: everybody can criticize, I'm not ready to do it."
- ☐ "If everyone was ready to criticize, I would too."

22. Some people have argued that "If journalists themselves don't take their responsibilities, nobody will." Who do you think is to blame most among journalists?

- ☐ The "elders" because they did set the wrong tone which isn't easy to alter.
- ☐ The younger generation which lacks the courage of the '70s (with programs such as "Dominique," "Canne a Sucre et Piment" on Radio Cameroon, and columns such as "Grain de Sel" at the Cameroon Tribune).
- ☐ The "elders" because they are always ready to discourage the smallest initiative.
- ☐ Everyone in the profession is EQUALLY responsible.

23. How much would you agree with a contemporary thinker that the Cameroonian journalist is like "that goat which, after being tied too long, cannot take the step forward towards the better and greener pasture, even when the rope no longer holds it captive," in other words that s/he does not seem to be willing to make use of the "democratization" process?

Strongly Agrees (20/20)	Agrees (15/20)	Disagrees (08/20)	Strongly Disagrees (05/20)
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☐	☐	☐	☐
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24. Using the same scale as above, how much would you agree with the statement that "whatever the country, journalists can only execute their work the way it has always been done in that country"?

☐	☐	☐	☐
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25. Who are your past or present colleagues that you would want to identify with? List four names in order of preference:

1.	3.
2.	4.

26. Please select the ONE quality that you admire most in the one ranked number 1 above.

- ☐ His/her courage to take risks.
- ☐ His/her talent.
- ☐ His/her ability to praise.
- ☐ His/her ability to write well.

27. Regardless of the language used, which of those program types would you say you best can identify with? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ Dominique
- ☐ Canne a Sucre et Piment
- ☐ R.D.C. Panorama
- ☐ Union, Verite, Democratie
- ☐ Cameroon Report
- ☐ Other (Please specify)_____

Section VI: What Should Be Done

In this section, we would like to know what you think should be done to improve the Cameroonian press performance.

28. Many people have suggested the following alternatives for improving the Cameroonian media performance. FOR EACH, state whether you "Strongly Agree" (SA), "Agree" (A), "Disagree" (D), or "Strongly Disagree" (SD).

	SA (20/20)	A (15/20)	D (08/20)	SD (05/20)
- Changing the legislation would be enough	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Journalists should stop doing autocensorship	☐	☐	☐	☐
- If experienced journalists stayed active and worked with younger ones, the press would command respect	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Journalists should show more professional "solidarity"	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Changing the legislation is just a small step; journalists should "learn" to resist pressures	☐	☐	☐	☐

PART II: YOU, YOUR EDUCATION AND BACKGROUND

In this part, we would like to know more on you, your education, and background; your news organization, and your position there. Please be reminded that the information given here remains anonymous and cannot be traced back to anyone on a personal basis.

Section VII: Your News Organization

In this section, we would like to know more about your news organization, your role there, and your professional background.

29. What is your current news organization?

- ☐ Cameroon Tribune
- ☐ Camnews
- ☐ CRTV (Radio)
- ☐ CRTV (TV)
- ☐ MINFOC Central Services
- ☐ Other (Please specify) _____

30. If you work with Cameroon Tribune or CRTV, which of the following describes best your daily occupation?

<u>Cameroon Tribune:</u>	☐ Newsroom	☐ Secretariat de Redaction
CRTV:	☐ News	☐ Programs ☐ Production

31. What is your current position?

- ☐ Technical Adviser, General Inspector, or above.
- ☐ Director, Deputy Director or equivalent.
- ☐ Chief of Service, Assistant-Chief of Service or equivalent.
- ☐ Chief of Desk or equivalent.
- ☐ Simple staff member.
- ☐ Other (Please specify) _____

32. For how many years have you been a journalist? _____

33. When did you join the profession? 19_____

34. Of the following paths towards journalism, which comes closest to yours? SELECT ONLY ONE.

- ☐ Classic (BAC + School of Journalism)
- ☐ Semi-classic (Professional + School of Journalism)
- ☐ Parallel (Bac + University)
- ☐ Professional (Professional + Various Trainings)
- ☐ Semi-Professional (Professional + No Additional Training)

Section VIII: Your Education and Personal Data

In this section, we would like to learn more about your education and personal data.

35. What is your highest degree or highest instructional level?

- ☐ Ph.D.
- ☐ Master's
- ☐ Maitrise
- ☐ Diplome Supérieur de Journalisme or equivalent
- ☐ B.A. (Licence) or equivalent
- ☐ A Level
- ☐ First Living Certificate with some high school
- ☐ First Living Certificate
- ☐ Primary school

36. For the B.A. only, where did you attend University, if any?

- ☐ In Cameroon
- ☐ Elsewhere in Africa (Please specify) _____
- ☐ Overseas (Please specify) _____

37. What is your sex?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

38. How old are you? _____

I would like, once again, to thank you for your help.
If you have any additional comments, please feel free to use the space below.

Cher confrère ou consœur,

Il a maintes fois été déploré que les travaux de recherche sur la presse Camerounaise à ce jour se soient peu intéressés aux opinions du journaliste lui-même et dont pourtant le travail était l'objet desdits travaux. Le questionnaire qui suit fait partie d'une recherche qui se donne pour ambition de jauger notre profession, exclusivement cette fois du point de vue des journalistes eux-mêmes. Ce travail s'effectue dans le cadre d'une thèse de Master's à l'Université d'Etat de San José, en Californie, aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

Afin que les résultats de ce questionnaire puissent valablement représenter les opinions du journaliste Camerounais, votre entière coopération est capitale. Notez cependant que votre collaboration reste et demeure volontaire et garantie d'anonymat.

Et parce qu'on ne pourrait d'aucune façon remonter à qui que ce soit à partir de ces réponses anonymes, il s'agit alors de rester aussi sincère que possible dans votre évaluation. Vous voudrez bien aussi respecter scrupuleusement les directives telles que données pour chaque question, veiller à répondre à toutes les questions, en choisissant notamment l'alternative la plus proche de votre position véritable.

Pour votre convenance et afin de garantir la confidentialité de vos opinions, on vous aura donné une enveloppe à utiliser au moment où vous devrez remettre votre questionnaire complété à mon intermédiaire. Vous voudrez alors vous assurer que l'enveloppe portant mon adresse est bien scellée avant de retourner votre sondage. C'est bien entendu pour des raisons financières évidentes que vos différentes enveloppes me seront par la suite retournées dans un paquet plus large.

Permettez-moi de vous adresser mes remerciements anticipés.

Confraternellement,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Keye Ndogo', written over a horizontal line.

Keye Ndogo

PREMIERE PARTIE: VOUS ET VOTRE TRAVAIL

Dans cette partie, nous aimerions avoir une idée de vos sentiments et impressions sur votre travail. Pour chaque question, une notation sur 20 a été adjointe au besoin, afin de vous donner une idée plus claire de chaque alternative.

Section I: Satisfaction Professionnelle

Dans cette section, nous aimerions jauger votre satisfaction professionnelle dans l'ensemble et par secteur.

1. Dans l'ensemble, comme pour les secteurs indiqués, comment jugeriez-vous votre satisfaction professionnelle? DANS CHAQUE CAS, dites si vous êtes soit "Totale^{ment} Satisfait" (TS), "Satisfait" (S), "Juste Satisfait" (JS), "Insatisfait" (I), ou "Très Insatisfait" (TI):

	TS (20/20)	S (15/20)	JS (12/20)	I (08/20)	TI (05/20)
- Dans l'ensemble	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Matérielle (Salaire et autres avantages)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Conditions professionnelles	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Perspectives de carrière	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Morale (Ce que vous écrivez ou lisez)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Image (Celle que le public a de vous)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Respect (Celui de votre employeur)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Section II: Comment les Journalistes sont Jugés

Dans cette section, nous aimerions savoir comment vous croyez que le journaliste Camerounais est perçu.

2. Laquelle des opinions ci-dessous est, d'après vous, la plus caractéristique de l'attitude du public vis-à-vis du journaliste Camerounais? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ Ils disent des journalistes qu'ils ne donnent pas un compte-rendu complet des événements.
- ☐ Ils disent des journalistes qu'ils sont incompétents.
- ☐ Ils disent des journalistes qu'ils sont trop à la solde du pouvoir politique.
- ☐ Ils disent des journalistes qu'ils sont compétents.
- ☐ Ils jugent les journalistes cas par cas.

3. Quelle est, d'après vous, ce que le public Camerounais attend le plus du journaliste? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ La capacité de bien lire ou écrire.
- ☐ Le courage de critiquer.
- ☐ L'originalité des sujets explorés.
- ☐ La capacité de chanter les louanges.

4. D'après votre connaissance de ceux au pouvoir, laquelle des opinions ci-dessous diriez-vous que les autorités locales ont du journaliste Camerounais? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ Des incompétents et irresponsables à qui il ne faut pas faire confiance.
- ☐ Des compétents et responsables à qui l'on peut se fier.
- ☐ Des jeunes gens toujours prêts à critiquer le gouvernement.
- ☐ Tout simplement de bons perroquets prêts à les répéter.
- ☐ Ils jugent les journalistes cas par cas.

5. Quelle est, d'après vous, ce que les autorités attendent le plus du journaliste? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ La capacité de bien lire ou écrire.
- ☐ Le courage de critiquer.
- ☐ L'originalité des sujets explorés.
- ☐ La capacité de chanter les louanges.

Section III: Performance Professionnelle

Dans cette section, nous nous intéresserons davantage à ce que le journaliste Camerounais pense tant de ses prestations que de celles de ses collègues.

6. Comment jugeriez-vous la performance du journaliste Camerounais? Diriez-vous qu'elle est "Très Bonne" (TB), "Bonne" (B), "Juste Moyenne" (JM), "Mauvaise" (M), ou "Très Mauvaise" (TM)?

	TB (20/20)	B (15/20)	JM (12/20)	M (08/20)	TM (05/20)
- En Général	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- La vôtre	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

7. Dans le même ordre d'idées, diriez-vous que le journaliste Camerounais est "Très Compétent" (TC), "Compétent" (C), "Juste Moyen" (JM), "Incompétent" (I), ou "Très Incompétent" (TI)?

	TC (20/20)	C (15/20)	JM (12/20)	I (08/20)	TI (05/20)
- Vos collègues	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Vous-même	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Section IV: Exécution des Tâches

Dans cette section, nous aimerions examiner l'exécution quotidienne des tâches qui sont les vôtres.

8. Comment diriez-vous que le journaliste Camerounais s'acquitte de ses tâches? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- [] Il n'y a pas une manière commune de travailler.
- [] Nous avons un code rigide que chacun se doit d'appliquer dans des circonstances similaires.
- [] Chaque journaliste garde présent à l'esprit toutes sortes de précédents et de problèmes rencontrés sur le terrain afin de réajuster son style.

9. Laquelle des positions ci-dessous décrit au mieux l'attitude du journaliste Camerounais? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- [] Nous critiquons trop.
- [] Nous sommes trop serviles.
- [] Nous sommes trop enclins à chanter les louanges.
- [] Nous faisons trop d'auto-censure.

10. Avez-vous jamais eu des problèmes pour l'un de vos articles? ☐ Oui ☐ Non

11. Si oui, combien de fois? SI NON, PASSEZ DIRECTEMENT A LA QUESTION 14. ☐ 1-2 ☐ 3-5 ☐ 6 ou plus

12. D'où venait la réaction la plus marquante? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

☐ Lecteur/auditeur ☐ un (e) collègue ☐ Gouvernement
☐ Une Administration ☐ La personne objet du reportage

13. Vos collègues vous avaient-ils comme mis en "quarantaine"? ☐ Oui ☐ Non

14. Certains soutiennent qu'après l'avoir vécu ou vu un collègue se faire taper sur les doigts, il faut adopter la philosophie selon laquelle "mieux vaut être un lâche vivant qu'un héros mort." Diriez-vous que vous "Approuvez Fermement", "Approuvez", "Désapprouvez", ou "Désapprouvez Fermement" cette façon de concevoir les choses?

Approuve/Fermement (20/20) Approuve (15/20) Désapprouve (08/20) Désapprouve/Fermement (05/20)

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

15. Comment caractériseriez-vous le degré de solidarité du journaliste Camerounais vis-à-vis de son collègue faisant face à des problèmes?

Tres Elevé (20/20) Elevé (15/20) Juste Moyen (12/20) Faible (08/20) Très Faible (05/20)

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

16. Avec présent à l'esprit ce que vous fîtes la dernière fois que c'est arrivé, laquelle des attitudes ci-dessous vous semble la plus proche de celle que vous adopteriez si un collègue devait faire face à des problèmes professionnels? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ J'évitais toute attitude qui pourrait m'identifier à ce (tte) collègue et me créer aussi des problèmes.
- ☐ Afin de prouver mon total soutien, je me porterais volontaire pour partager son sort.
- ☐ J'aurais du mal à cacher ma joie devant ses problèmes.
- ☐ J'organiserais un mouvement de soutien parmi mes collègues, car dans cette profession, nous sommes tous exposés.

17. En 1984, le Président Paul Biya déclarait à Cameroon Tribune qu' "il faut à l'exercice de ce métier [journalisme] des qualités d'intelligence, ... de coeur, et de courage". Diriez-vous du journaliste Camerounais qu'il est "Très Courageux" (TC), "Courageux" (C), "Juste Courageux" (JC), "Lâche" (L), ou "Très Lâche" (TL)?

	TC (20/20)	C (15/20)	JC (12/20)	L (08/20)	TL (05/20)
- Journaliste Camerounais	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Vous-même	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Section V: Influences sur les Prestations

Dans cette section, nous aimerions savoir ce qui, selon vous, influence les prestations quotidiennes du journaliste Camerounais.

18. Quand vous rédigez vos articles, lesquels des principes ci-dessous gardez-vous présents à l'esprit? CLASSEZ-LES PAR ORDRE D'IMPORTANCE.

- [] M'assurer que tous les détails qui comptent sont intégrés.
- [] Ne rien introduire qui soit de nature à déplaire à la hiérarchie.
- [] Plaire au public.
- [] Prouver que j'écris bien.
- [] Eviter tout ce qui est susceptible de nuire à ma carrière.
- [] Autre (Préciser S.V.P.) _____

19. Quand vous préparez vos articles, combien de fois vous arrive-t-il de penser aux problèmes que vous avez ou qu'un collègue a eu par le passé?

Très Souvent (20/20)	Souvent (15/20)	Quelquefois (12/20)	Rarement (08/20)	Très Rarement (05/20)
[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

20. Comment jugeriez-vous l'aptitude du journaliste Camerounais à résister aux pressions, notamment politiques?

	Très Elevée (20/20)	Elevée (15/20)	Faible (08/20)	Très Faible (05/20)
- Journaliste Camerounais	[]	[]	[]	[]
- Vous-même	[]	[]	[]	[]

21. Dans laquelle des attitudes ci-dessous vous reconnaitriez-vous le plus? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ "Je sais que la plupart des journalistes ne sont pas prêts à le faire, mais cela ne saurait m'arrêter: je critiquerai".
- ☐ "Pourquoi serais-je le seul à faire bande-à-part si tout le monde tend à chanter les louanges?"
- ☐ "A aucun prix, je ne suis disposé à mettre ma carrière en jeu: tout le monde peut critiquer, moi pas".
- ☐ Si chacun était prêt à critiquer, je le ferais aussi".

22. Certains ont soutenu que "si les journalistes eux-mêmes ne prennent pas leurs responsabilités, personne ne viendra le faire à leur place". Qui, à votre avis, est le plus à blamer parmi les journalistes? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ Les "ainés" parce qu'ils ont donné le mauvais ton qu'il n'est guère aisé de changer.
- ☐ La jeune génération à laquelle il manque le courage des années 70 (quand on avait des émissions comme "Dominique", "Canne à Sucre et Piment" et à Cameroon Tribune des rubriques comme "Grain de Sel").
- ☐ Les "ainés" parce qu'ils sont toujours prêts à décourager la moindre initiative.
- ☐ Chacun a une EGALE part de responsabilité.

23. A quel point seriez-vous d'accord avec ce penseur contemporain qui comparait le journaliste Camerounais à cette chèvre qui, après avoir été retenue par une corde à un pieu vingt-cinq ans durant, aurait perdu le sens du mouvement et continuerait, "bien que libérée, à brouter sur place, incapable d'avancer vers l'herbe verte, riche et abondante de la prairie démocratique", autrement dit que le journaliste Camerounais ne semble pas prêt à prendre avantage de l'ouverture démocratique?

Totalement d'Accord (20/20) D'Accord (15/20) Pas d'Accord (08/20) Pas du tout d'Accord (05/20)

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

24. En vous servant de l'échelle ci-dessus, à quel point seriez-vous d'accord avec la position selon laquelle "quel que soit le pays, les journalistes continueront à s'acquitter de leur tâche selon la pratique antérieurement établie dans ce pays"?

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

25. Citez, par ordre de préférence, quatre de vos collègues, actuels ou passés, qui représentent votre idéal professionnel .

1. 2. 3. 4.

26. Indiquez la qualité que vous admirez le plus en celui classé No 1 ci-dessus.

- ☐ Sa capacité à prendre des risques.
☐ Son talent,
☐ Sa capacité à chanter les louanges.
☐ Sa maîtrise de l'écriture.

27. Indépendamment de la langue de travail, lequel des types de programmes ci-dessous représente au mieux votre genre? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ Dominique ☐ Union, Vérité, Démocratie
☐ Canne à Sucre et Piment ☐ Cameroon Report
☐ R.D.C. Panorama ☐ Autre (Préciser S.V.P.) _____

Section VI: Ce Qui Devrait Etre Fait

Dans cette section, nous aimerions avoir votre avis sur ce qui devrait être fait pour améliorer les performances des média Camerounais.

28. Plusieurs milieux ont avancé les solutions ci-dessous en vue de l'amélioration de la performance des media Camerounais. POUR CHAQUE ALTERNATIVE, dites si vous êtes "Totalelement d'Accord" (Td'A), "d'Accord" (d'A), "Pas d'Accord" (Pd'A), ou "Pas du tout d'Accord" (Pdtd'A).

	Td'A (20/20)	d'A (15/20)	Pd'A (08/20)	Pdtd'A (05/20)
- Changer la législation ferait l'affaire	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Aux journalistes d'arrêter l'auto-censure	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Si, à côté des jeunes, les anciens continuaient à écrire, la presse commanderait plus de respect	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Aux journalistes d'être plus solidaires	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Changer la législation n'est qu'une étape; aux journalistes d'apprendre à résister aux pressions	☐	☐	☐	☐

IIème PARTIE: VOUS, VOTRE EDUCATION ET VOS REFERENCES

Dans cette partie, nous aimerions en savoir davantage sur vous, votre éducation, vos références, ainsi que votre position dans la compagnie qui vous emploie. C'est aussi le lieu de vous rappeler que les informations recueillies ici le sont sur une base d'anonymat et ne pourraient en aucune façon permettre de remonter à qui que ce soit.

Section VII: Votre Compagnie-Mère

Dans cette section, nous nous intéresserons à votre organisme employeur, à vos fonctions et rôle, à vos références.

29. Où êtes-vous présentement affecté?

- ☐ Cameroon Tribune
- ☐ Camnews
- ☐ CRTV (Radio)
- ☐ CRTV (TV)
- ☐ MINFOC (Services Centraux)
- ☐ Autre (Préciser S.V.P.) _____

30. Si vous travaillez pour Cameroon Tribune ou pour CRTV, lequel des secteurs ci-dessous désignés définit au mieux votre rôle quotidien?

- Cameroon Tribune:
- ☐ Rédaction
 - ☐ Secrétariat de Rédaction

CRTV: ☐ Nouvelles ☐ Programmes ☐ Production

31. Quelles sont vos fonctions?

- ☐ Conseiller Technique, Inspecteur Général, ou au-dessus.
- ☐ Directeur, Directeur-Adjoint, ou équivalent.
- ☐ Chef de Service, Chef de Service-Adjoint, ou équivalent.
- ☐ Chef de Bureau ou équivalent.
- ☐ Simple agent.
- ☐ Autre (Préciser S.V.P.) _____

32. Quelle est votre ancienneté en tant que journaliste? _____

33. Depuis quelle année travaillez-vous comme journaliste? 19_____

34. Laquelle de ces voies vers le journalisme aura été la vôtre? COCHEZ UNE SEULE CASE.

- ☐ Classique (Bac + Ecole de Journalisme)
- ☐ Semi-classique (Pro + Ecole de Journalisme)
- ☐ Parallèle (Bac + Université)
- ☐ Professionnelle (Pro + Divers stages professionnels)
- ☐ Semi-professionnelle (Pro + Aucune formation en plus)

Section VIII: Education et Autres Informations Personnelles

Dans cette section, nous aimerions en savoir davantage sur votre éducation et sur vous-même.

35. Quel est votre diplôme ou niveau d'instruction le plus élevé?

- ☐ Doctorat d'Etat
- ☐ Doctorat 3ème Cycle
- ☐ Maîtrise
- ☐ Diplôme Supérieur de Journalisme ou équivalent
- ☐ Licence ou équivalent
- ☐ BAC
- ☐ Probatoire
- ☐ B.E.P.C.
- ☐ C.E.P.E. et quelques années de collège
- ☐ Ecole primaire

36. Pour la Licence uniquement, où êtes-vous allé, si oui, à l'Université?

- ☐ Au Cameroun
- ☐ Ailleurs en Afrique (Préciser S.V.P.) _____
- ☐ A l'étranger (Préciser S.V.P.) _____

37. Quel est votre sexe?

- ☐ Masculin
- ☐ Féminin

38. Quel âge avez-vous? _____

Une fois de plus, merci beaucoup pour votre coopération. Et si vous avez quelque chose à ajouter, faites-le dans l'espace ci-dessous.