

Postcolonial Cultural Transfer From Great Britain To Cameroon: The Role Of “The Post And “The Guardian Post “Newspapers

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of Cultural Transfer was first thought in the years 1985 in a French context by well-known writers, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. Over time, the notion knew about a great expansion when studying the relationship between Germany and France especially, the German cultural history located in France. The movement of people from one corner of the globe to another, created a great context of exchanges in the sense that, before the colonial period, people were leaving their country to go and discover the world, the case of Magellan and during colonization, the aim of travelling was to gain many territories, discover the world and colonize all “the indigenous people” in the rest of the world. In the same way that people were moving from Germany to France, from Jerusalem to France, others were moving from United Kingdom to Africa and specifically from Great Britain to Cameroon. It is in between this last movement that the contact between Cameroon and Great Britain occurs; and it is in this relationship that we aim at studying Great Britain’s cultural heritage in Cameroon’s newspapers, especially as far as media are concerned. The problem I wish to investigate here is that of identity: The identity of English newspapers¹ in a multicultural context like Cameroon. How does “Britain styled Newspaper” influence Cameroon? That is, in this country, do we deal with an Anglo-Saxon press in Cameroon or a Cameroonian press in English? The research focus on The Post and The Guardian Post between the periods 2011 to 2014² to

examine in the first section, Cultural Transfers from Great Britain to Cameroon through the Colonization; secondly, The Different Processes of Cultural Transfer Present in “The Post” and “The Guardian Post” and lastly The Different Forms of Appropriation and Adaptation of British Techniques in “The Post” and “The Guardian Post” from which I will draw a conclusion.

REVIEW OF LETTITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

Cultural transfers was first study with Michel Espagne (1952) and Michael Werner (1946) published in the mid-1980s³, both authors pointed out the connection between cultural transfer research and research into colonial cultures; However, these cultural spaces were not treated as objective incontrovertible facts. In “La Construction d’une reference culturelle allemande en France: Genèse et histoire (1750-1914)”, they find out the origin of some archives and libraries that first contained the German cultural history, but located in France. Pangop (2010) mostly focus on cultural transfer from Germany to Cameroon. He talked about the mediation of cultural transfer between Germany and Cameroon, where he pointed out the different vectors of mediation in cultural transfer towards a Cameroonian daily newspaper which is Cameroon-Tribune such as press agencies. In a literature review called “*Lendemains*” Pangop published an article named “*Les transferts germano-camerounais à travers la presse écrite au Cameroun*”⁴, he showed how cultural transfers contributed to a better understanding of the transformation and specificity in African public field,

¹ “The Post” and “The Guardian Post”, are two famous English newspapers in Cameroon, with the difference that, *The Post* is the older and is located in Buea, an Anglophone of Cameroon and *The Guardian Post* is located in Yaoundé, a Francophone zone of the country.

²-The choice of this range is justified by the fact that, 2011 stand as the years of the 50th anniversary of the reunification of Cameroon.

³ In particular, see: Espagne / Werner, *Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer* 1985.

⁴ Pangop Alain, 2010, « Echange Allemagne/Afrique. Les transferts germano-camerounais à travers la presse écrite au Cameroun » *Lendemains* n°138.

precisely in Cameroon. He took examples like translation, correspondent out of the country to relay information, intercultural institutions, cultural service in high commissions and press agencies. In this work, he showed how a daily newspaper like “Cameroun Tribune” struggles to construct a German cultural reference in Cameroon. To achieve his goal he used this discipline that was developed by Michel Espagne and Werner named: **Cultural Transfer**. These previous works do not notice that the presence of many Europeans cultural elements in Cameroon newspapers can bring them to loss; a loss of identity. The problem I wish to investigate here is that of identity: The identity of English newspapers in a multicultural context like Cameroon. How far Great-Britain’s culture or should I say, how does “Britain style” influences newspapers in Cameroon? I mean, in this country, do we deal with an Anglo-Saxon press in Cameroon or a Cameroonian press in English? The situation is very ambiguous and a research needs to be carried out in this sense. In order to solve this problem, we will insist on Cultural Transfer, Appropriation, Newspapers, Cultural Relationship, Cultural Heritage, Anglo-Saxon, Cameroon as key words.

The data on which we intend to apply this study is made of 100 editions⁵ of *The Post* and 100 editions of *The Guardian Post* both published between 2011 and 2014. A visit in the publication offices gave us access to these newspapers; we selected pertinent information from headlines and different titles, where we selected according to the pertinence of their headlines and different titles

I bought 50 samples of *The Guardian* newspaper from Great Britain for the purpose of the study. A comparative analysis was made on the differences and similarities between British newspapers and newspapers of the English expression in Cameroon. I will focus on the house-style book that comprises the physical aspect, the size, the page design, the names, the editorial team, the font, and the pictures and the colours. By doing so, I will use the theory of cultural transfer in a postcolonial approach, to identify

⁵ I wish to precise that, the newspapers on which we worked on, was printed and soft copies, since this journal also do publications online.

British elements in Anglophone newspaper in Cameroon. From a cultural transfer point of view, I will first examine which are the cultural elements present in British newspapers, and also present in Cameroon newspapers in English, and secondly what are the different mediations and even mediators of these transferred elements. Which are the similitude and the differences? The method of cultural transfer offers us many tools of work, questioning and some requirements. It does not aim at proposing a new way of writing the history, but a deconstructive approach associated to a method with a high heuristics capacity. Cultural transfers focus more on the stake of importation, than the importation itself. This method insists on two analyses: that of receiving and target context of transfer, and that of its different vectors

Cultural Transfers from Great Britain to Cameroon

Originally a German colony, the French and British invaded the colony at the outbreak of World War One. By the 19th century Britain had gained control along the Cameroon coastal line and had a lot influence over the area. British troops were among those who drove the Germans out of “Kamerun” after their victory in the First World War. France and Britain established a condominium over Cameroon, after the partitions made by the League of Nations in May 1916, Britain received one fourth (¼) of the territory⁶ and ruled it as mandated territory from 1920 till 1961 until it was granted independence. This part of the country was geographically divided into two parts: a northern portion which was administered as part of the Northern Nigeria⁷, and southern portion administered as one of the eastern regions of Nigeria. The British colonial authorities regarded the Northern portion of British Cameroons as an extension of the Nigerian frontier and as

⁶ Britain received two regions amongst ten according to the actual repartition, the one practices in Cameroon (2018); a strip of land bisected by the Benue River along the border of Nigeria.

⁷ Govern by Britain’s, although some incumbents had the rank of District Officer, Senior Resident or Deputy Resident with the town of Buea as headquarter. The administration system here was the “indirect rule”, the British allowed native authority to administer population according to their own tradition, what was not the case with the French part of the country. This particular way of administration constitutes a particularity in the British mode of administration; after the reunification of the two or should I say the three Cameroons, this system of administration will be upstage in favour of the French mode of administration which was assimilation. This statement will be well detailed in the following chapters to show the cohabitation of the two systems in Cameroon.

a natural part of the Fulani dominated Northern Nigeria⁸ till 1946. Contacts between Cameroonians and Britain during colonization initiated a sort of exchanges that can be seen on different views. During their presence in Cameroon, they established commercial relationships, where different exchanges were being made between the foreigners and Cameroonians. *Pidgin English* had evolved and developed as a lingua franca to facilitate communication amongst citizens⁹. People started receiving British education in schools, using local languages at the beginning while teaching them the English language which later on became the second official language of the country. At the economical level, some of the societies that formerly belong to Germans were renovated, like the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) which positively influence the development of this part of the country, the South West serving as a maritime door for different exchanges between Cameroon and the rest of the world. In 1954, Buea became the capital of British Cameroon where they started controlling their administration, and after the referendum organised delete in by the ONU, Northern Cameroon joined Nigeria in 1961 while the Southern Cameroon joined the Republic of Cameroon. Once they join the other part of the country, they started using the same flag, same capital, same administrations, with an Anglophone system of education in French town of Cameroon, a national television and other media using the English and French as language of communication; this how the Anglo-Saxon culture will take a larger place in Cameroon.

THE DIFFERENT PROCESSES of CULTURAL TRANSFER PRESENT in “THE POST” and “THE GUARDIAN POST”

Culture as a whole, has variously been defined and from different contexts: like “cultivation”, as “a whole way of life”, “like a language”, as “power” and as a “tool” just to name few. That is the abstraction “culture” covers a

variety of ways of looking at human conduct and can be used for a range of purpose¹⁰. One can understand that culture is a collective phenomenon, and it cannot be removed from a social environment. So we can only talk of culture according to specific group of people, it is what distinguishes people of one area from others. In this work, we consider culture as the different ways of doing and seeing things.

According to Hans-Jurgen Lurebrink (2002), “cultural transfer” aims at studying the different forms of intercultural appropriation of texts, discourses, practices and institutions of other cultures¹¹. If we all agree that transfer refers to the material movement of an object from one place to another, we then understand that, this implies that we should take into consideration the movement of human beings, travelers, translators, teachers, migrants, artisans, musicians, traders which serve as catalyst between cultures and they have a productive action on cultural variety. We should not forget about the immaterial things that these mediators take with them while moving from one area to the other¹². Cultural importation enables us to justify or to question relations existing in the importing country. In this case study, informations passes through journalists, ambassadors, press agencies like REUTERS and the Commonwealth organization that constantly serve as representative of Great Britain’s culture.

CULTURAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND CAMEROON: BRITISH CULTURAL ELEMENTS PRESENT IN *THE POST* AND *THE GUARDIAN POST* FROM 2001 TO 2014.

I-Physical Presentation of *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*: A Qualitative Analysis

A newspaper is first seen before being read; meaning that, when looking at these two newspapers, we are

⁸ Mbur Anna Baninla, (1993), *The British Council and Human Resource Development in Cameroon: 1970-1993*, PhD defended at the International Relations institute of Cameroon (I.R.I.C), Yaounde, Cameroon.

⁹ Idem p. 57

¹⁰ Barker, C. (2001) *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

¹¹ Hans-Jurgen Lurebrink, (2002) *Of ‘Contact Zones’ and ‘Liminal Spaces’: mapping the Everyday life of Cultural Translation-Diversity*.

¹² For instance, when a scholar move from a context B (Great Britain to Cameroon) to a context C (Cameroon), he move with a knowledge, a new manner of doing and seeing thing that will influence people of context C; this influence is not properly touchable, but can be qualified.

somehow captivated by their presentation and colors in the first place. This fact of presenting British elements in Cameroon newspapers in English can tell us more about the selection of cultural elements that have been made at the beginning of these newspapers. As Lawrence Bardin think, in a qualitative analysis, it is the presence of a characteristic of a message that is taken into consideration¹³, so, we look at the present elements in *The Post* and *The Guardian Post* that characterize those of Britain. So, it will be judicious to look and identify the physical presentation, the colors, the name, the headlines, the police, the pictures, the number of pages and the place where the author of the article signs and the mention “**cout’d on p...**”¹⁴.

I.1- The Colours

As we can see on Annexe1, *The Post* has at its front and last pages, three main colors which are: black, white and red. The middle pages generally have two colors: black and white. As far as *The Guardian Post* is concerned, the colors are the same as in *The Post*: black, white and red. To make a particular difference, Ngah Christian stated that their logo is red, the name *The Guardian Post* is unique and the editorial is always advertised on the top right of the newspaper. This is what makes the difference and the physical uniqueness of the newspaper¹⁵. The newspaper *The Post* in Great Britain also carries these colors, the name is written in red, and the headlines are in black and white¹⁶.

I.2- The Names of Newspapers:

I.2.1- The Post

The Post is the name of the Cameroonian English newspaper edited by Francis Wache. When reading this name for the first time, it makes us to think immediately about the newspaper *The Post* in Great Britain. For us, this sounds so familiar and so similar to what exists in Great Britain. In the theory of cultural transfer, this phenomenon

is called assimilation. *The Post* in Cameroon is totally assimilated, structurally speaking, to *The Post* that existed in Great Britain. Why this assimilation? If we carry a name in Great Britain that we decide to use in Cameroonian context, does it sound the same? To explain this resemblance, Bouddih Adams said: “*The Post* was guided by our former employer which is *Cameroon Post*. When they decided to move their page to Douala, we took the resolution to keep the name because we are the former employees of *Cameroon Post* we wanted to have an Anglo-Saxon ideology”. And the second reason he gave is that, they wanted their readers always posted with the flow of information they can find in the newspaper; and since they are always posted, the editorial was ready to give readers the best of the service that can exist.

Concerning the name, *The Post* that sounds very familiar to the newspapers *The Post* in Great Britain and “Washington Post” in the USA, we can see a great resemblance and we are really tempted to talk of assimilation in the sense that, *The Post* in Great Britain simply moved to Cameroon without any sort of modification, a resemblance that was justify by the editor as the result of using the same language: English. This is clearly an aspect of the cultural transfer we are studying in this newspaper.

I.2.2- The Guardian Post

In the interview we had with Ngah Chistian, the editor in chief of the newspapers *The Guardian Post*, we tried to understand the origin of this name, by asking the question: “why the name *The Guardian Post*? Is there any relationship with *the guardian* in Great Britain?” and Ngah Christian told us that, *The Guardian Post* is an original name: “we have “the guardian” and we have *The Post* in Britain, and we put the two together it gave an original name. You have “The Guardian” like in Nigeria also, there you can talk of similarity, but “*The Guardian Post*” has nothing to do whit “the guardian” in Great Britain. From this declaration, we can simply refer to what Cultural Transfer call Adaption. We can see an element of two British newspapers that were compiled to give a new one.

¹³ Lawrence Bardin, (2013), l'Analyse de contenu, PUF, Paris.

¹⁴ This expression means Continued On Page... It is the fact of beginning an information at the front page to end it the following pages of the newspaper; this is called in French “les suites à l'Américaine”.

¹⁵ Ngah Christian is the editor of TGP

¹⁶ See Annexe 1

3- Headlines and Heading

The Post and *The Guardian Post* almost have the same manner of presenting their information which is a British manner. They all begin their information at the first page and end them in the following pages of the newspaper. In British newspapers, they lay out information in the first page, it is not only the headlines, and we carry some gray, for the fact that our story begins from the first page; that is how we look different from other newspapers¹⁷. In these two newspapers, the headlines are highlighted on the first page meaning many details are given on the first page. This manner is typically Anglo-Saxon. We can find it in every foreign newspaper in English and in Cameroonian newspapers like *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*. The following chart draw a list of all articles talking about Great Britain, or talking about Cameroonian's history or organization that is in relation with Britain, in *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*.

II- Quantitative Analysis: the quantity of elements related to Great Britain

The quantitative analysis of Elements related to Great Britain in TP and TGP was made by counting the number of time each topic identified appeared in the newspapers and its gave the following result: 3% for Britain in Cameroon's elections (presidential and Senatorial) represents; 3% for Britain in independence of Southern Cameroon; 2% for Commonwealth of Nations in Presidential elections; 8% for Commonwealth Journalist Association; 1% for environment (Aid in protecting biodiversity); 6% for economy (aid to development); 1% for bilingualism; 6% for the national unity and 20May; 10% for reunification, 10% for independence; 19% for the Anglophone problem in Cameroon; 24% of sport; 5% of press release and 2% of diplomatic. This help to notice that, Britain is really present in these two newspapers, even if we cannot say with exactitude that it is more present than other countries in Europe and Africa. These news are published in specific columns and can occupy the first to the last pages, according to the importance of the event

¹⁷ From the interview I had with Bouddih Adams editor of "*The Post*", Buéa, January 2014.

that is described and the fare reaching the publisher of the edition wants it to have.

Elements that are mostly attached to Great Britain are close to specific domain like sports, where they talk about English football clubs like Manchester City and Liverpool, just to name a few. These newspapers give information about English clubs even more than African clubs and precisely Cameroonian clubs. It is true that football is part of the identity of a country, and can help more than arts in selling the image of a country. The fact that Cameroonian newspapers in English give them many recurrences in their daily articles can be a relevant argument for us to testify that *The Post* and *The Guardian Post* have in their grounds, the root of British culture or we should better say Cameroonian newspapers in English carry in their blood, the gene of British culture. This testify what Bouddih said: "we will defend the Anglo-Saxon virtues, the Anglo-Saxon culture [...] what orientate the interest of British information in the newspaper *The Post* is the interest of the public"; could this mean that Cameroonians are more interested in British football clubs or British culture than Cameroonian football clubs? This quantitative evaluation allows us to put a figure on the type of information that surrounds Cameroon newspapers in English, and we discovered that Great Britain is more present especially when it comes to talks about Cameroon's issues like colonization, independence and Cameroon's reunification¹⁸ that are the roof of what is commonly called the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon.

THE DIFFERENT MEANS OF MEDIATION OF CULTURAL TRANSFER FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THE POST AND THE GUARDIAN POST

When talking about Cultural Mediation, we refer to what put a public in contact with an element of culture. It federates art and public with the objective to learn and

¹⁸ - It is important to note that, the Southern Cameroons never agreed with reunification of the 20th May 1972, which they considered as a trick, according to this part of the country, they were duped. An article titled **Britain rules out possibility of S. Cameroons independence!**, written by Amindeh Blaise Atabong in *The Guardian Post* newspaper's edition N°0654 of the 19February – Sunday 21, September 2014, pp.3; reveals that: "What happened in Fouban was a come-we stay agreement and not a marriage between two parties"; because "no documents exist to show that there was a reunion between the two states".

appreciate. Mediation, in the sense of Michel Espagne (1999), is interpreted a foreign object that is integrated into a new political system or community¹⁹. We simply understand that at this level, there are still foreign elements that intervene into the process of transferring. But the very sensitive thing here is the journey of the information from the origin of its location to the public which uses it; those in charge of transferring these are called in French, “passeurs culturels” or mediators.

1- Press Organ and Newspapers

French press agency AFP, meaning “Agence France Presse”, occupies a hegemonic position in Africa, a hegemonic position, because it produces up to 70 to 80% of elements used by French African countries; while the British press agency REUTERS and the American A.P (Associated Press) share the rest of the market. REUTER is a news agency founded in Britain in 1841 that became one of the leading newswire services in the world. Reuters is one of the world’s major news agencies, supplying both text and images to newspapers, others news agencies, radio and television broadcasters. Directly or through national news agencies, it provided service to most countries, reaching virtually all the world’s leading newspapers and many thousands of smaller ones. Cameroon is one the countries that greatly benefits from these services.

2- Press Release

Press Release coming from institutions like World Press Freedom 2014; the British High Commission and the Commonwealth Journalists Association (CJA) tells more about the type of document journalists consult in order to have more knowledge on topics they focus on. Apart from information that they gather on the field, we here have information about the CJA who calls all on its members to pay their membership in order to guarantee their accreditation from the headquarters in Canada, prior to elections. These press releases also serve as a billboard to the British High commission of Yaoundé, where they permanently post all their information concerning the great

public. At this level, it is necessary to notice that we find all the press releases only in the newspaper “*The Post*”; and this confirms what Bouddhi Adams told us in Buea:

“The British High Commission subscribes to our paper (...) we are using their mother tongue language, and have many things in common, their culture: the British culture of transparency; the British culture of responsibility, that culture they let us with, when we attained independence by joining *La République* in 1961, we are trying to preserve that culture that they left us with, so we have many relationship with them. We have had received visits from the British High Commissioners here in our office here, the head office in Buea. When they have their announcements, messages, all information they send to us here, and we publish them.”

We then understand that *The Post* consciously publishes information coming from Great Britain because according to them, they have a “Britishness” to preserve and valorize. “We are going to defend, protect and promote that culture” he added, simply because they find many advantages, or let us say many virtues in British culture. The type of relationship they have with all these institutions tell us more about the British cultural element that we find in newspapers in English, especially *The Post* in Cameroon. We can focus on this analysis to say that the newspaper *The Post* in Cameroon is a result of what cultural transfer calls assimilation. We can say with many reservations that *The Post* is assimilated to *The Post* that existed in Great Britain and serve in this country as a shift work, and behaves as an object that continues to assure Britain’s sovereignty in Cameroon. As far as “*The Guardian Post*” is concern, Ngah Christian told us that:

“We have no particular attachment with Great Britain. But, due the fact that it is an English speaking country, if we have the priority, we will give it to Great Britain or United State of America, I say it because the newspaper is English speaking oriented, I meant, the leadership of *The Guardian Post* is mainly English. We have no particular relationship with British institutions in Cameroon, except from the fact that, when we have invitations to cover their events, we do; and we have the feeling that their institutions in Cameroon subscribe to our newspaper.”

From this explanation, it is apparent that the intention when publishing numerous elements about Great Britain is not the same as far we are moving from *The Post* to *The*

¹⁹ Michel Espagne, (1999), les transferts culturels franco-allemands, PUF, Paris.

Guardian Post are not the same: *The Post* in its editorial line thinks of keeping the British tradition, the British way of doing things; while *The Guardian Post* publishes these information, without any special intention of valorizing or giving a light to Britain.

3- Journalist and Correspondents

Actors of transfer or cultural mediators, whether they are tourists, writers, correspondents or journalists, always use a certain canal in order to attain their goals and particularly newspapers as we said earlier, the cooperation between British institutions in Cameroon and journalists can prove it. We can also mention interviews that they realized after press conferences or during diplomatic passage in Cameroon. Taking the case of *The Post* especially, they have people who are resident in Great Britain: correspondent, “when there is news, we ask them to find the report or when they see something that is worth reporting they file the report”²⁰. Journalists also read other newspapers, which necessarily influence their own way of writing, adding to their editorial line and today the internet is a smooth mediator of cultural transfer that considerably modify or that considerably modify or change the meaning of distance on a daily basis.

The Different Forms of Appropriation and Adaptation of British Techniques in “The Post” and “The Guardian Post”

1- Names, Structures and places of Authors Signature

From the analysis above one can easily see that Cameroonian newspapers in English generally carry foreign names. As far as *The Guardian Post* and *The Post* are concerned, they both carry the name of Britain newspapers that are *The Post* and *The Guardian*.

The Post first existed in Britain in 1988. It was a national newspaper in the United Kingdom, owned by Eddy Shah. It went operational for five weeks only, in November and December 1988 and was produced at Messenger Newspaper, Warrington, UK. With the ancient

Apple Macintosh computers and Quark Xpress²¹ software giving it a “what you see is what you get” page design, it had the most advanced production techniques. We also have to mention that the pages were transmitted by phone line to the print shop, which gave extra lead time. After this, many people decided to continue and to modify what this newspaper was trying to conduct as ideology.

➤ *The Post*

The Post in Cameroon carries this same name even though they are written differently; and their reason is that they were first working with *Cameroon Post*, and decided to move away in order to create a newspaper that will allow them to really express what they think. As the title indicates “we wanted to stay posted and to give to the readers the prior of national and international information; *The Post* is the breakfast everyone needs in order to have a good day.” Charly Ndi Chia, the editor-in-chief of *The Post* is a former journalist of the Cameroonian national television, CRTV (Cameroon Radio Television). He resigned in order to break with the tradition of the “Francophone style” and wants to have a purely Anglo-Saxon newspaper in Cameroon with their own values which are transparency and freedom of speech in the sense of saying the truth, without fear of press censorship by the government²². It has the objective to conduct an Anglo-Saxon ideology in Cameroon. This is where the reason of the cultural transfer in our context lies.

➤ *The guardian*

Formerly known as *The Manchester Guardian*, *the guardian* is a daily British national newspaper founded in 1821 by John Edward Taylor (1791-1844). Its editorial line is focus on social liberalism.... Its ISSN number is 0261-3077, located in King Place, 90, York Way, London N19GU and published by *the guardian news and media*. The newspaper was nationally and internationally recognized under the direction of Charles Prestwich Scoot (1846-1932) who bought the journal in 1970 after the

²¹ - Is a computer application for creating and editing complex page layouts in a [WYSIWYG](#) (What You See Is What You Get) environment. It runs on [Mac OS X](#) and today we know it as [Windows](#).

²² - This is what Bouddih Adams told me during the data collection in Buea, in November 2014.

²⁰ Bouddih Adams Op. Cit.

death of Edward Taylor and promised to respect and continue with the wishes of the principal founder, thereby defending the independence of *The Guardian*. This wish was generally published during the celebration of the centenary of the newspaper: "Comment is free, but facts are sacred... The voice of opponents no less that of friends has a right to be heard" in order to give the opportunity for everybody to speak; this corroborates one value defended by the Commonwealth of Nation in Cameroon- the freedom of speech.

This British newspaper has an online edition on the site theguardian.com. The paper is greatly influential in the design and publishing arena, sponsoring many awards in these areas (The guardian Film). The newspaper's online edition was the third most widely read in the world as of June 2012. Its combined print and online editions reach nearly 9 million readers. Since its creation, *the guardian* was edited by many Britons, but it is only now that it has a female as editor: John Edward Taylor (1821–1844); Jeremiah Garnett (1844–1861; jointly with Russell Scott Taylor in 1847–1848); Edward Taylor (1861–1872); Charles Prestwich Scoot (1872–1929); Ted Scoot (1929–1932); William Percival Crozier (1932–1944); Alfred Powell wadsworth (1944–1956); Alastair Hetherington (1956–1975); Peter Preston (1975–1995); Alan Rusbridger (1995–2015); Katharine Viner (May 2015–present).

This newspaper seems to be one of the most admired newspapers in Europe and even in the world, and it is one of the oldest in the world. In August 2013, *the guardian* in paper form had an average daily of 189,000 copies behind *The daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. In January 2015, the circulation of the newspaper was 185,429 copies per day. In London, it is renowned as "the newspaper of intelligentsia", the newspaper of teachers, professors and unionists even though, it is nicknamed "The Grauniad" (an anagram of the guardian) sometimes abbreviated as "Graun" because of its frequent typographical errors including the misspelling of its own name.

British newspapers have many features in Common with Cameroonian newspapers in English. Apart from similar names, there are also structural similarities: the ways items are placed in the newspaper and the place

where authors sign their articles are same. The layout is almost the same; articles are written in column with images that can be placed in the lefts, right or in the middle of the page according to the importance of the information that is relayed, the impact or the emotion the editor wants to create in the reader's mind, and the ideology that they want to transfer.

In French newspapers, the names of journalists carry the articles. This means that we find it at the end of the article. But, in English newspapers, it is not the case; if we take the case of *The guardian*, we will discover that at the beginning of each article, we have the name and generally the picture and the email address and at times a small bibliography of the journalist who wrote it. The position of the picture can change, but never the position of the journalist's names. It is almost at the beginning of the article. In Cameroonian newspapers in English, it is the same presentation; the name of the journalist is at the beginning of the article, immediately after the headline, with the difference being that they don't give further information about the author.

2- The Position of Pictures and Colors

In journalism, pictures have a great role to play in the sense that they add more sensation and knowledge to the information that is highlighted. They add the importance of the text, and ameliorate the visual arts, and their position generally reveals their importance.

As far as the position is concerned, if we consider the newspapers *The Guardian Post* and "the guardian", we will realize that in "the guardian" pictures that are generally placed at the center of pages have bigger sizes than the others. The position gives more details about the accent the editorial wants to lay on. In the edition of Wednesday 14 January 2015 published in London and Manchester, (see in Annexes) the first page, where the top stories are unrolled, shows a big picture placed at the center of the page, and talking about Paris victims buried in Israel. The image provides by Reuter shows the mother of Yoav Hattab, one of the four victims killed in the attack on a kosher grocer in Paris. The pictures in Britain's newspapers are in color, attractive colors, the design are

more presentable, they put more emphasis on the images and the fact that we can rarely have a page without images proves that the information is not just about the characters, but also the images that goes with. If we take “the guardian” particularly, we will understand that they give a certain value on pictures, generally well colored and well placed to complete the information that goes with it. Out of 282 pages of “the guardian” precisely that we identified, just 11 pages were without pictures. This is significant and sufficient argument for me to say they give a great importance to images in newspapers’ articles.

If we take the quality of images, we can see that, Britain’s newspapers have their pictures with many colors. Making a small comparison between *the guardian* and *The Guardian Post* will allow us to see that *The Guardian Post* tries to copy the model of *The guardian*: the position of pictures on the front page.

In *The guardian*, pictures are numerous and in colors, they are much spaced, the mixture of colors is much contrasted and creates a visual sensation that captures the attention of the readers. These pictures generally occupy strategic positions that for one reason or another help the reader to have the complete information. It is also important to point out that *the guardian* is very ancient, and comes from a developed country; so, their positions as newspaper allow them to have a certain standard that others cannot pretend to have. Furthermore, *The Guardian Post* has all their pictures in blacks, the space out information and the treatment of pictures is not really sophisticated. We can see through the previous example that they want to emulate the British model Britain’s model, with the size which are tabloid A3, smaller than those of foreign countries, the position of pictures etc... Those in Cameroon aim for the British standard, but their financial position does not allow them. It is evident that they still have many things to do in order to reach the British standard, as far the quality is concerned.

INDIGENEOUS PRACTICES IN *THE POST* AND *THE GUARDIAN POST*

1- Reception: the position of information talking about Great Britain and the Role of Pictures

The fact that information is placed at the front page shows how “important” it is. Or, let us say it reveals all about the importance and the effect of the information they give to it. This information is more valorized if we find it in the first pages of the newspapers.

The first appearance of information concerning the Commonwealth of Nation, in *The Guardian Post*, is in the edition N° 0096 of Monday 29-30 March, 2004; first information of the top stories. Here, Ngah Christian Mbipgo, reported that, the Commonwealth police monitor voter’s registration and the Commonwealth is called to ensure that all Cameroonians of voting age should be enrolled in the electoral register, irrespective of their political inclination in order to better organize the presidential election of the year 2004. According to this analysis, the Commonwealth police was sent to monitor and expel Cameroon’s membership, if authorities violate the declaration which compels members to organize free and fair elections, respect human right, and promote freedom and the values that guide the international organization.

Still in the “*The Guardian Post*”, precisely in the edition N°0281 of Monday 18-24 February 2008, the first information in the headline carried the caption “Opposition to Life Presidency Bid”: “British Gov’t mobilizes international community against Biya” which describes a sort of warning against clampdown on opponents of constitutional revision. Here the author Ngah Christian explained how despite several attempts by militants of the opposition Social Democratic Front (SDF) party in Douala against the planned constitutional changes, Biya’s government was still committed to amend the constitution. In relation to this, the secretary of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Lord Malloch-Brown while speaking at the British upper parliamentary chamber, the House of Lords, said his government is mobilizing

international partners to make it clear to the Biya regime that expression of legitimate dissent on the issues of the constitutional amendment should not be prevented. He added this: “we are in discussions with our international partners including the question of possible amendment to the constitution”²³. All this was to show to the Cameroon government the importance they attach to a full, free, and fair debate about altering the constitution to preserve the Commonwealth’s values which are maintaining freedom of expression including lobbying against the imposition of any kind of restriction of press freedom. This article is one of the top stories with the first information on the front page.

The fact that information is placed at the front page is a selection criteria, it proves that the information is highlighted and this information is more important if the details are given in the first pages of the newspaper. In page 2 where the story continues, we can see a picture showing Paul Biya speaking on a microphone. We called attention of this information in order to show the role of pictures that come to support and endorse an idea that is important. It gives a sort of proof and plays a role of complement of the information. Pictures also come break the monotony of writing a long text that might distract the reader. Moreover, a picture can also help the reader to read the facial expression of the person talking or of the person the newspaper is talking about, like a dictum usually says, “A picture is worth a thousand words”.

Moreover, the edition N°0540 of Thursday 13 June 2013 of *The Guardian Post* proposes a top story on the front page entitled: “British gov’t compiling confidential documents to back S. Cameroon’s case” Page3²⁴. In this article, Mbom Sixtus expresses how the British diplomat Bharat Joshi announced that Britain has been gradually compiling some important confidential historic documents that will help bring clarity to reunification squabbles; Bharat Joshi certified: “We gave Cameroonians their full independence. We still have British companies which are

contributing to the development of the Anglophone part of Cameroon and the whole country in general”. In this same article, he also welcomed the current debate on the biometric recompilation of electoral lists and noted that the fact that political parties openly criticized Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) showed that democracy is growing in the country.

In the edition N°0514 Yaoundé, Thursday 07-Sunday 10, March, 2013; we also have in the top stories a sentence talking about Great Britain: “Britain endorses Biya’s senatorial calendar!” where the British government welcomed the announcement to hold a maiden senatorial elections in Cameroon on April 14, 2013, that was before the twin municipal and parliamentary elections scheduled later in 2013. By this announcement, that government tacitly invalidated the argument put forth by opposition political parties in the country as well as the vast majority of Cameroonians that it was unacceptable for municipal councilors whose mandate had expired to vote for senators.

The fact that this information was put in the first place shows that it was valorized and it also demonstrated the level of bilateral relations between Cameroon and Great Britain and precisely to put in the first place the cooperation between Cameroon and Great Britain. This proves the warm relationship that exists and contributes in selling Great Britain to the potential reader.

As far as *The Post* is concerned, Great Britain is very present through their activities in Great Britain and in Cameroon. Page 10 of the weekender’s edition N° 01302 Friday December 2, 2011 of “The Independent Newspaper at the Service of the People” talks about Britain that donates £35 million to support family planning to the United Nations Population Fund, (UNFPA) for “urgently needed contraceptive supplies” in Senegal. In this article, the journalist Helen Ngoh talks about Britain’s aid to Senegal. It has been proven that 215 million women around the world want to avoid or delay pregnancy, but do not use or have access to modern contraception. And as a result, women die in pregnancy or childbirth every two minutes, 99 percent of them in the developing world,

²³ See it on P2 of N°0281, 2008 of *The Guardian Post*.

²⁴ - I added the precision of the page where the information is found in order to clarify the fact that, the position of information talking about Great Britain is chosen not at random. This information is giving on the top stories and details are giving in page3, meaning it will appear within the first information that the potential reader will get in contact with.

according to British Department for International Development. This situation is disturbing many African countries, and the fact that a former colonial country is putting in place some activities in order to fight against it seems not sufficient. Britain is present in Cameroon through humanitarian activities like the one we previously mentioned and the fact that a former colonial country is putting in place some activities in order to fight against it, raises a lot of debate or makes it suspicious. Here, we can also read a commercial option to mean that Britain is being commercialized to the readers, and these types of activities automatically change the way readers of the newspaper perceive Britain. These types of actions allow them to stay in Cameroon's day to day life; and newspapers serves as a medium and assure the publication of Britain's sovereignty in Cameroon.

Still in *The Post* weekender's edition N°01362 Friday July 27, 2012, the first information of the column "Society" report about "UK based Insurance Company To Boost Cameroon's Economy"; *Ernst and Young*²⁵, the UK-based insurance company has promised to boost Cameroon's economic sector. The promise is the result of the merging of a Cameroonian firm, "Experts et Conseils Associes", ECA, into Ernst and Young Cameroon. The occasion was aimed at celebrating the 30th anniversary of ECA, (which exist in 33 African countries) union between the two firms and the launching of results on the African economy. During this solemn occasion in Yaoundé Hilton Hotel, officials of both companies announced the amalgamation. To them, the fusion between ECA and Ernest and Young is to enable ECA's structure to survive its actual associates. They said the country is still ailed by poor governance, corruption and a judiciary that lacks independence. But, they also recognize that Cameroon has all the potentials of a strong economy but lacks the enabling climate that would attract foreign investors. These business mergers testify the type of relationship that Cameroon has with Britain. British organization came to merge with Cameroonian institutions and business in order

²⁵ - Ernst and Young is a global leader in assurance, tax, transaction and advisory services. Its services in Cameroon include insurance services in accounting, compliance and reporting, financial statement audit amongst others.

to develop Cameroon even though they earn a lot of profit from their development assistant activities; action that calls on the attention of other institutions or investors.

Elsewhere, in the weekender's edition N°01283 Friday, September 23, 2011, in the column "News" a headline announced that "British Business Education Creates jobs – Educationist". Here, a British educationist specialized in building skills in business that contribute to growth in companies; said education can also create jobs.

In this article, Jon Swindell, the marketing manager of the Association of Business Executives-ABE highlights the fact that their education program does not only aim at empowering beneficiaries with knowledge to boost their companies, but it also creates jobs. "The professional qualification that ABE offers give students the qualifications that are not just going to benefit the companies that they are going to work for or have been working for, but will endow them with skills to open their own businesses" Swindell said; Page 9 of "*The Post*" N°01283. Such skills are good enough to help save Cameroon from the nagging problem of youth unemployment. If it is true that "informations that generally figure on odd pages are always advantaged and valorized and consequently more important" Pangop (2010); I can take the risk to say that this announcement figures between the more important information of this edition. Its position is not a fact of change seeing the type of information the Editorial intends to reveal.

The fact that these pieces of information are placed on the top stories is a testimony of the climate that exists between English newspapers in Cameroon and Great Britain and also, it helps the potential reader to know the kind of activities Great Britain does in Cameroon many years after the latter's independence. This is a technique of eye catching. Apart from the "top stories" that occasionally focus on major events in order to give them an international dimension; the main columns under which information about Great Britain are placed are very strategic in these English newspapers. Let us say that columns are very important aspects in the structuring of a newspaper. So, the editorial staff certainly says in these pieces of information some cultural values for the

Cameroonian readers. Knowing that Cameroon and Great Britain have many cultural similitudes through the Commonwealth with whom they share the same values and especially the English language that is the first pillar of this association. We all know that language is a cultural aspect and a great mediator of cultural transfer.

Historically speaking, Cameroon was colonized by Germany, France and Great Britain; but, I realized that Britain is more present in these newspapers **more** than any other of these countries. The proportion that is reserved for Britain is larger than the others. The column named “Sport” that occurs 25 times in our data, 22 times in “News”, alternates with “News/Advertising”, “Society” and “Message”.

At the end of this chapter, we can easily notice the limits of this theory of cultural transfer in the sense that it does not propose any axes on which one should focus in order to select transferred elements. Elements that are present in these two newspapers and that day by day contribute in sealing the image of Great Britain are transferred by journalists, high commissioners and translators, just to name a few. They select information according to their personal interest, or according to the relationship they have with institutions that are represented in their home country. While in Buea, Bouddih Adams of “*The Post*” submitted that, what guides their choice of information is first of all the English language: “we are using their language and we share the same culture. British culture of transparency, British culture of responsibility, that culture that they left us with, when we attained independence by joining *La République du Cameroon* in 1961, the culture that they left us with, it is that culture that we are trying to preserve”. They are guided by intrinsic values and they have many positives to gain from Great Britain; while the extrinsic values are field by the sponsoring they can receive: “We had a visit from the British high commissioner, here at the head office in Buea. (...) I know my External chief has been sponsored by British high commission in England, he has been there several times; we have a kind of warm relationship with Britain, I might not name the particular institutions, but I

know we have a warm relationship”. We then understand that the choice of information is not a fact of chance.

The English language is the first element that guides their choice: “if we have a priority, we will give a private place to Britain, because they are English Speaking like the newspaper which is English speaking oriented” said Ngah Christian of *The Guardian Post*. The second element that guides their choice is the relationship that they have with British institutions which can bring them to stay on “the master’s voice”. This article question if these two elements cannot swindle the professionalism of these journalists or of these press organs. Is there not a politic of interest that falsifies the choice and the treatment of information that are published in Cameroonian newspapers? Will they not join what Thomas Atenga calls “the new journalistic paradigm”, in French “le nouveau paradigme journalistique” that consist in coping with the master’s ideologist in order to survive, even if the professionalism will take the second place? This practice is called “gombo” or “tchoko” in Cameroon and might really influence the choice of the editorial as far as information is concerned.

Illustrations which are constituted of photography, maps, and charts add more importance of the text and many times also have informative values which can even inform more than the text itself; the image can make the reader to have another sensation that will make him like or dislike the situation. All this come to complete the other functions of images which are to decorate, light up the page, enlighten the reader, and add a visual justification to what has been said. So, the position of these pictures was intentionally chosen by the editors. In the analysis, all the articles talking about Britain have pictures and maps. This is a proof that Britain is physically present in Cameroon, and most of the time the image of British representatives in Cameroon are posted. They give to newspaper the sense of reality, and as Roland Barthes mentioned in *La chambre Claire*²⁶, photography is an ontological proof that lets us to see and suggest a story. And one can observe and see in

²⁶ Roland Barthes, (1980) *La Chambre Claire*, Paris Gallimard, France, in Pangop 2010.

these two newspapers that the positions of pictures are almost the same.

Images are carriers of a certain communication project that guides the journalist's or the editor's vision. In *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*, images that refer to Britain cope with the contents that are expressed; knowing that images constitute medium of knowledge. Just the picture itself is not sufficient to express to the reader the exact information they would like him to know without any misinterpretation. Photographies propose three messages: "a linguistic message (legends), an iconic message without code (the pictographic character of the image), and an iconic message with code (the cultural message)" Pangop (2010:49). The linguistic message or let us say the legends situates images and place it in a precise cultural context. Jean A. Keim in "La photographie et sa légende", communication n°1, vol.2, 1963 thinks that the picture does not narrate anything and it cannot make the object of a history without any narration, without any words besides. It is indispensable that the legend explains in which context the photo was taken²⁷. These two English newspapers do not use caricatured pictures like *le popoli* for example; they do not make use of fiction, but they choose the institutional option by presenting illustrated personality of Britain according to their position in the society and their influence in the history that is narrated. The legends of these pictures come and complete the information that we found in the articles taking into consideration the event which is narrated. In the newspapers that constituted our data, we can conclude that pictures have a journalistic value; they are not only objects of decoration. As far as great events are concerned, these pictures always have a little title or let us use a scientific term, a heading that captivates the attention of the reader and makes the reader eager to discover what the article is talking about.

Almost all the pages where information about Britain was found were illustrated with images that have a role of "testifier" that is, they clarified what the writings were talking about.

²⁷ - I am the one who translated this passage.

It is worth to mention here that this technique of using pictures in articles is very strategic because a newspaper is first of all looked at before read. Most of the time, when they are exposed in kiosks, just a picture or a headline can push someone to buy and read it. In these newspapers, the position of pictures are also very revealing in the sense that they come to add more precision and authentication to what have been said before or below on the one hand. On the other hand, a picture on a newspaper might really need many comments, a picture itself can be sufficient to express many words or to create anxiety in the potential reader. Apart from all these adaptations, we also found some specific marks that identify *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*.

2- The Number of Pages and the "References"

Cameroon newspapers in English notably *The Post* and *The Guardian Post* have 12 pages like many other daily newspapers in Cameroon, but they have a particular manner to place their "references" on each page. When talking of "references", I refer to the name, number of the edition, the date, the number of pages that are placed at the beginning of each page.

In *The Post* for instance, we can see that these information are placed **at** in the same manner in their entire edition. If we take the example of the publication of Monday the 19th of February 2013, we will see *The Post* N° 01408 Monday, February 19, 2013 then preceded by the page number for the peer number and follow by the number of pages for odd numbers; at the end of each page, there is the web address (www.thepostwebedition.com).

Another peculiarity of *The Post* is that they specify which is the *Monday edition* and which is the *weekender* and this last is recognized on the first page by the way the name will be written, with the mention *weekender* on *The Post* as we can see on the picture below.

3 The Presentation of the Editorial Staff and the Frequent Themes

The composition of the staff in *The Post* and in *The Guardian Post* is not automatically the same; the table below broadly shows their particularities.

Composition of the staff	
<i>The Guardian Post</i>	<i>The Post</i>
Name of the Newspaper: <i>The Guardian Post</i>	Name of the newspaper: <i>The Post</i>
Publisher: Ngah Christian Mbipgo	Executive Editor: Francis wache
Deputy Editor: Ezieh Sylvanus Acha'ana	Editor-in-Chief: Charly Ndi Chia
Desk Editor: Mbom Sixtus	Managing Editor: Bouddih Adams
Production Manager: Abdurahman Nformi	Copy Editor: Azoro Opio
Office Manager: Tar Beri Vivian	
Head office: Chapelle Obili-Yaoundé (Cameroon)	Editorial office: Buea, Former GCE Board (Cameroon)
Date of the first publication: 21 July 2001	Date of the first publication: 11 th July 1997
The newspaper's address: Tel: 22 14 64 69; Email: guardianpop@yahoo.com / guardianpostnews@gmail.com ; Website: www.guardianpostonline.blogspot.com	The newspaper's address: Tel: 677 51 79 00; P.O. Box 91, Buea Email: thepostnp@yahoo.com WebSite: www.thepostwebedition.com
Size and page numbering: Tabloid of colors written in 12pages	IDEM
Selling price: CFA 400, but in 2001 it was CFA 300, with time, the price has gradually changed.	Selling price: The price is CFA 400 since the first publication
Printing: The newspaper is printed and distributed by Messa Presse since its first publication.	IDEM
Distributors: <i>The Guardian Post</i> and Messa Presse	Distribution: <i>The Post</i> and Messa Presse
Print-run: 7000 copies	Print-run: 5000 copies per issue, and up to 1000 copies for hot news like the GCE edition.
Linguistics Option: English	IDEM
Target population: Nnational and international.	Target population: Nnational and international.

All these efforts are to please the readers that are generally constituted of Cameroonians. So they adapt these entire foreign elements in a Cameroonian context in order to preserve more than material benefits but, first of all the Anglo-Saxon cultural values that can help us to go forward.

CONCLUSION

The notion of cultural transfer implies the movement of people, objects, population, words, ideas, and ideologies between two cultural spaces, which can be states, nations, and ethnic groups, linguistic, cultural and even religious spaces, just to name these. Medias and notably newspapers are the ones concerned in this context. This research ought to look at what the identity of Cameroon newspapers is through *The Post* and *The Guardian Post*. These two newspapers shows specific elements of British newspapers that we find in Cameroon newspaper in English: similarities and especially the ideologies they convey.

The principal hypothesis was stating that there are no physical aspects that allow us to recognize Cameroonian newspaper in English, since they generally carry foreign names and follow foreign "methods". This study, then focus on cultural transfer as a theory, that permitted to identify which are the transferred elements and what the result is. The first result of this analysis reveals that colonization of Cameroon by Great Britain was the first means of cultural transfer; during which the transfer of the English Language and culture were introduced.

A qualitative analysis permitted to evaluate the amount of element that are found in these two newspapers and images used as illustration shows that similitude with British newspapers are very significant and worth of sense. From the names, to the contents, passing through the colors and pictures, etc. amongst other, Cameroonian newspapers in English can still be considered till certain extend as a good student of Britain colonization. At this level, we discovered that, these elements passes through internet, television, and notably comes from the need to have Anglo-Saxon newspapers in Cameroon where, there is the opportunity to claim Anglophone's rights. From the previous analysis, these newspapers serve as mediums to

claim certain “Anglophonism²⁸” that in certain sense turn to “Britishness²⁹”. And this attitude contributes in better selling the image of foreign countries more than those of Cameroon. Using names that immediately indicate that the newspaper is coming from Cameroon can contribute to valorize this other country.

At the quantitative level, the analysis shows that, Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations are really present in these newspapers, through many columns: the participation of Britain in senatorial and presidential in Cameroon; the aid in the environment development; the Commonwealth’s involvement in presidential election in order to institute transparency and equality. The presence of articles talking about Britain, and above the fact that this might appears in the column dedicated to foreign news, is not a fact of chance, it is due to the fact that these newspapers have as one of their priority the defense of all what is Anglo-Saxon. According to the number of article talking about Cameroon culture, we realized that newspapers really neglect Cameroonian culture in their columns; financially the editors are unable to carry all the charges alone, reason why we assume the ministry of culture have to encourage them to add in their newspapers columns a page or at least an article dedicated to Cameroonian culture.

These newspapers seems to assimilate British model, and this is a result of intercultural dialogue, but in the context of globalization, assimilation is no worth, is it not better to add something to what we receive from “the other”. Can “Anglophone” be a manner of doing things? This research brings us to this questioning: the fact that some newspapers in Cameroon are written in English predisposes them to the “Anglo-Saxon way of doing things; which can be seen as a total assimilation. Further research will bring us to study what type of expressions in Cameroon newspapers in English shows the British manner of thinking, then which expression really allow us to see a cultural transfer as Michel Espagne defined it.

²⁸ This is a neologism used to talk about the fact of speaking English.

²⁹ The term Britishness is used here to express the British character given to the newspaper by the presence of English identity elements.

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INTERVIEW

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- Ngah Christian Mbipgo, **Publisher** of *The Guardian Post*, interview realised by me, on October 2014 in his office in Yaoundé.