# 6

## *DIGITALIZATION AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF FILMMAKING IN CAMEROON*

### ALASAMBOM NYINGCHUO

Department of Performing and Visual Arts, The University of Bamenda, Cameroon

**Abstract**

From the early 70s, the film sector in Cameroon has had a long history of obstacles in financing, management, production, distribution and exploitation. The insufficiency of training facilities, funding, distribution and exploitation avenues has seriously obscured the visibility of the film sector in the country. The advent of digitalization and new technologies of Information and communication (NTICs) however has opened up avenues for young enthusiastic Cameroonian filmmakers to acquire knowledge in almost every discipline of film production, and also provided new avenues for funding, commercialization, distribution, exploitation. This paper examined the different ways in which digitalization has influenced the film sector in Cameroon. Through interviews and Focus Group Discussions with Cameroonian filmmakers and cultural entrepreneurs, it became clear that digital technologies have greatly democratized filmmaking in the country by reducing production costs, as granting greater access for the youths to knowledge on arts management, funding and fundraising, production and distribution of films. Also, thanks to digitalization, several local television stations in Cameroon and Africa now exist, which specialize in the broadcast of African and regional films. The major conclusion is that digital technologies have contributed considerably to bridging the infrastructural gap in the Cameroon film sector, especially when it comes to training, production, management and distribution.

**Key words:** *Cultural entrepreneur, filmmaker, digital technologies, intercultural exchange.*

## Introduction

Many efforts have been mustered in the Cameroonian film sector by the government, filmmakers and cultural stakeholders over the years to enable the film sector play a pivotal role in the economic development and social cohesion of the country. However, these efforts have yielded little fruit due to the absence of a veritable enabling environment for a film industry to thrive. For a film industry to be viable, it has to constitute a veritable production chain, from training and funding, to marketing, distribution and exploitation. Unfortunately, more and more sections of the film production chain in Cameroon have become defective over the years, starting with the collapse of FODIC, the first public film fund in Cameroon in the early 70s (Doho, 2005, p.26) to the closure of cinema halls in

the late 2000s; then the eventual obsolesce of DVDs. Without a proper marketing and distribution network, filmmakers in Cameroon find it difficult to design a convincing marketing strategy to attract investors. The advent of digital technologies seems to have bridged some of these gaps, especially in terms of online trainings, sourcing for funds and distribution; and coupled with the advent of cheaper digital equipment, production costs have greatly reduced. This goes in line with the predictions of Daly who described digital filmmaking as "empowering and democratizing, allowing more people into the rich media conversation" (2008.piii). Digital filmmaking here is seen as empowering because whereas filmmaking has always been a very structured, expensive and hierarchical process, digital technologies open up new mechanisms and processes, which can offer alternatives to the stable, traditional hierarchies of national industries like Hollywood.

This paper examines how the digital era and the advent of the new technologies of information and communication has affected filmmaking in Cameroon. Key Informant interviews were carried out with major filmmakers in Cameroon, using open ended questions.

### I.      Definition of Key Concepts

The following concepts are central to this work, reason why there is need to discuss them in context.

**Cultural entrepreneur: -** Usually, an entrepreneur is someone who develops a business idea and invests some money into it, producing or providing particular product(s) or service(s) for a well determined clientele or market. With this understanding, a cultural entrepreneur is the entrepreneur who invests in producing cultural products or services. This does not only include profit-making ventures in the real sense of the word, but also not-for-profit as well as non-profit organizations Cultural entrepreneurs in the film sector will thus include owners of production houses/ studios, distributors, theatre operators, festival and award organizers etc.

**Filmmaker: -** Filmmaker refers to an audiovisual artist who is creatively responsible for the three major areas of the film production process which include conceptualization and scripting; producing and directing. Films produced in this way have been specifically called within the francophone filmmaking community as *'les films auteur'* loosely

translated as *authorial films.* This indicates that the artist, by virtue of his ownership of most of the key conceptualization and creative areas of the film is the author of the film in much the same way as the author of a book. This capacity is particularly extraordinary in film production because the film production process is traditionally handled by different creative minds at different levels of the production. In the context of this paper, a filmmaker is a producer-director of a film, who also happens to have contributed to the development of most of the story.

**Digital technologies: -** An umbrella term for computer-based products and solutions. ... Digital technology may refer to using new algorithms or applications to solve a problem even if computers were used to develop solutions in the past.

## II.      Evolution of Challenges in the Cameroonian Film Sector

The film sector in Cameroon has never benefited from any substantial private sector funding. Until date, this is still the greatest challenge the sector faces. For an industry to survive, there has to be a circle of investors who stake their money in products or services with the hope of yielding profits at the end of the production chain, but it has never been the case in Cameroon. In the early sixties, the sector was considered too new for local businessmen to invest in, as they did not master its workings. As a consequence, there were not enough funds to sustain the industry, such that most funds came from foreign agencies, especially from France and the European Union (Tcheuyap, 2011, p18). In the 60s too, only analogue equipment existed and were too costly for the local filmmakers, such that production equipment had to be rented from Europe, especially France.

For these reasons, most businessmen in Cameroon at the time preferred to invest in theatres across the country where they showed foreign films. Locally produced films were very rare. Providentially, the French Ministry of Cooperation (former Ministry of French Overseas Territories during the colonial era) maintained some development aid to former colonies in diverse sectors including filmmaking. This aid helped kick start the film industry in Cameroon, producing several feature films. The success of these pioneer productions coupled with persistent requests from filmmakers to provide a framework for the industry and to promote the birth of a real motion picture industry in Cameroon spurred the Cameroon government at the time to create a film fund which could sponsor more films a year. The Film Industry Development Fund best known by its French

acronym as FODIC (*Fonds du Développement de l'Industrie Cinématographique*) was thus set up to support local film production through financing, and also through organized and controlled ticketing. FODIC was not just about financing, marketing and exploitation of films.  It was within this scheme that a film like *Muna Moto* by Jean-Pierre Dikonguè Pipa, which received the Golden Stallion (Étalon d'or de Yennenga) at the Panafrican Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou (FESPACO –F*estival Panafricain de Cinéma et de Télévision*) in 1976, was produced. FODIC however soon collapsed amidst accusations of misappropriation by filmmakers. From every indication, producers were not able to repay loans from FODIC's loan guarantee mechanism within the required two years.  (Ngantsop, 1987). The system required that 40 percent of the ticket price be returned to the government and 30 percent to the distributor, but most films did not make any profit in the local market, while revenue from showing films abroad would arrive too late such that the producers could not meet the repayment deadlines.

With the collapse of FODIC, Cameroonian filmmakers once again found themselves in the same difficulty they faced at independence- no consistent local funding, further compounded by dwindling management, marketing distribution and exploitation infrastructure in the country. Though there were thirty-two theaters in 1973 across Cameroon, they gradually ran out of business and by 2009, the last three closed down- Cinema Abbia in Yaoundé, Cinema Le Wouri in Douala, and the Empire in Bafoussam. Frantic efforts to save the situation by the then Minister of Arts and Culture, Ama Tutu Muna led to the refurbishing of the Cameroon Cultural Centre and the auditorium of the Ministry of Communication, but this was largely insufficient to solve the infrastructural problem of the Cameroon film sector.

In terms of Knowledge acquisition and training in filmmaking, training facilities were almost nonexistent. The lone performing Arts and cinematography section of the then Federal University in Yaoundé in 1961 had no cinematography equipment, hence students had no hands-on experience. When five other state universities were created in 1993, similar departments therein were even worse equipped. The next move by the Cameroon government was the creation of two Fine Arts institutes in the country in 2013, which in essence are professional schools with courses in film studies. The effect of these schools is still barely felt in the industry, as the same deficiencies in hands-on training persists.

With the plethora of challenges as outlined above, the film production in Cameroon was thus a close circuit, reserved for a few privileged individuals who had opportunities to get trained abroad and who managed to get the heavy funding needed. This is apparent from the fact that most, if not all filmmakers in Cameroon before 1980 got their training abroad, and got funding either through the *Cooperation Francaise* or through FODIC, which were both very reserved circles. However, technological developments have gradually led greater access into the film sector such that from the early nineties till date, the sector is becoming more and more liberal.

### III. Digitalization and the Cameroon Film Industry Today

**Training**

Training can be considered as the backbone of every film industry. A greater part of filmmakers in Cameroon start their careers with little or no training, struggling all along to learn on the job. Notwithstanding, at a certain point those who wanted to take some courses. Talking with filmmakers in Yaoundé, Douala and Buea, the observation is that they have benefited from both paid and free online training. BillyBob Ndive Lifongo, a producer, director and writer, founder and CEO of BILIF Pictures said he took several paid online trainings:

> I for one, I have done about three online courses, yes three online courses. I have done one for screen play and screen writing and two for film directing. Those are things that boosted my filmmaking. So, the digital world is so enabling for us, it helped me a lot. Where I am today I don't make such mistakes as I used to make before when I am writing a script or doing a movie. I had to study from my room in Buea while taking a course in America. I did one course in America, another one in Nigeria. So the digital era has really helped me, I for one; if it is not helping other people, it has helped me".

BillyBob Ndive's recent work Rumble *(2018),* an award-winning TV series broadcast on the national television the CRTV, testifies to how much the filmmaker has grown in the craft, as it received much acclaim in Cameroon and the rest of the African Continent. Tanwie Elvis aka Dedadies, writer, producer, Director and CEO of NALEVEL EMPIRE seems to have had the same career trajectory as BillyBOB:

> I did a lot of online work, though it was expensive, I did a lot of online studies. I had to pay online to study. I had eh…James Lambert…its actually like a

> foundation in which I was training, it's in the USA. I did directing and screenplay there, and even cinematography. I did it only for 7 months because it was very expensive. During that period, I just had to take the basics then I started to experiment myself.

Dedadies' most recent work *Bad Angel (2017),* a 512-episode TV serial broadcast over the CRTV received a lot of positive comments from critics and the public alike, and contributed enormously to draw the attention of the Cameroonian public to the potentials of local filmmakers.

However, other Cameroonian filmmakers seem to have benefited even more from free online training. Besides distance learning as indicated by BillyBob and Dedadies, there also exists other social media platforms where free knowledge can be acquired. Yibain Aime-Emile Chah aka Ancestor is a typical example of Cameroonian filmmakers who have gathered a lot from such platforms.

> There is what we call "no film school". It is actually a kind of free online training in filmmaking and on the latest gadgets that come out and all those things, and updates, such that even if you don't have the equipment you can always be abreast with the rest of the world. And time and again there are tips that come up. And then there are also the various social media that have propped up, like you have stage 32 which looks like Facebook for filmmakers, you also have other stuffs like indie wire, eh…in fact there are so many of them. There is even a cinematographers' online platform, same as actors' online platform and all those things. So when we go online now we are able to read even the history of cinematography…I mean for those who are quite interested…since a lot of people are more concentrated on their WhatsApp, but for those who are interested, there is a lot out there, actually more than a school, in the internet and social media groups".

Looking at the career of Ancestor, bachelor's degree holder in Biochemistry who has won awards in Rotterdam, Berlin, Cannes, the Black Screens Festival (Ecrans Noirs) of Yaoundé, FESPACO (Burkina Faso) among others as a cinematographer based on his free studies over the internet, we could agree that the "no film School" is actually more than a school.

These personal experiences clearly indicate that the advent of digital technologies has, to a considerable extent bridged the knowledge gap that existed in Cameroon in the

filmmaking sector. It is thus expected that as internet connection becomes more extensive in Cameroon and as the proliferation of digital filmmaking equipment gains more ground, there would be better days ahead for the Cameroon film sector.

**Financing**

From the early post-independence days, filmmaking in Cameroon was costly due to the scarcity and cost of celluloid at the time. For this reason, filmmaking in Cameroon was mostly state dominated, hence centered around state propaganda and French imperialist ideologies (Doho 2005.25). This made it doubly difficult for filmmakers to get funding, especially those whose ideologies were not clearly favorable to the regime in place. However, with the proliferation of digital equipment and technologies in the late 90s, the film sector has become more and more democratized. With the existence of online platforms for film funding, young Cameroonians now have possibilities to benefit from or organize online crowd funding expeditions. According to Ancestor, online funding is possible but not easy to acquire:

> I would say it's easier for people who have already been there, and who already have a name. When you are a beginner, the difficulties are always the same. Yes, it's true that we have online grants that keep launching calls for submissions of projects, whether at the preproduction, production or postproduction levels. And there are even training grants that come up. Yes, but it is also very challenging because you have to compete with thousands of people to have a chance. They may launch a call and need just a few people, which means you have to be exceptional… as for go-fund-me programs …upstarts can also organize it. It just depends on how they do their campaigns and how convincing they are, how compelling they are. And there are also producers online also waiting for projects to invest in, which usually means you need to know how to do excellent loglines, excellent treatments and so on, to be able to entice them to want to finance your movie.

This indicates that sourcing for funding online is also very competitive, and as outlined by Ancestor, excellent loglines and treatments are the key. Fortunately, knowledge on most of these key skills can readily be obtained online, a situation well exploited by Cameroonian filmmakers.

Dedadies is one of such young filmmakers who has benefited from online funding:

Digitalization and the Democratization of Filmmaking in Cameroon

> Only yesterday, I was talking to somebody about something I just did, thanks to the social media or those social media platforms. If not of it the person would never know that I am existing, that I am able to do this, so its thanks to those platforms that he got to me, and now he is actually interested in investing in the production. So somehow, I think that it has actually helped to bridge that gap and facilitated a lot of things in terms of finances, because now a lot of producers get to meet those that they are working with online, then they start to make a deal from there. And if you look at the trend at which the industry is going you will see that production has drastically increased. The awareness now is there thanks to the social media. So, I think that when it comes to funding, I think we are benefitting.

Despite this, some filmmakers in Cameroon are very skeptical of online funding schemes due to negative personal experiences with online fraudsters masquerading as investors. Billy Bob is one of these. He reported to have spent up to $150USD trying to complete requirements for the funding of one of his projects, only to realize that the supposed investors were fraudsters. Though he admits to have seen other colleagues benefit from online funding schemes, he is not ready to try any again. However, sourcing for funding bodies online as well as crowd funding remain very popular financing mechanisms for filmmakers in Cameroon.

**Production**

Production here refers mainly to bringing cast and crew together and effectively overseeing the production of a film. This also includes keeping investors, partners and sponsors up to date about the ongoing project. All the filmmakers interviewed were unanimous that the digital era has made production not only easier but far cheaper than in the past. Dedadies for example has experienced more in the ease of gathering a team of cast and crew, sometimes from different continents, a thing that would have been very costly without the social media. By creating WhatsApp groups, vital information is passed to every member of the team in real time, at very little cost. BillyBob shares a similar experience, further adding that:

> Initially you had to call people every day, tell them Mr. X, you are shooting tomorrow 10am, but now when you create a WhatsApp group, the production manager makes a program, drops it there and everybody sees it. It is easier. I remember when I used to shoot a series, my communication budget used to be 50 to a hundred thousand (200dollars) just for calls, because at times we

> call a lot, you call an actor you need to explain a lot of things. WhatsApp is easier, you just buy a data bundle for a day, maybe 500frs (1dollar). At first even SMS were 50frs each and many had to be sent. So, the internet has really helped to reduce our production costs.

They also strongly agree that cheap digital equipment have greatly reduced production costs, and moreover; it's easier to buy online or send pictures and screenshots of equipment requested to merchants for them to buy with reassuring precision. It should be noted that the drop in production costs due to digital technologies has been a welcome relief in the filmmaking milieu since the late 2000s. Daly explains:

> … a Super 8 mm film cost $15 for three minutes of raw film, no sound and no way to edit. Now, $15 buys five hours of digital tape, and the cameras and editing systems are everywhere." Increasingly, cameras are recording to hard drives, making even the purchase of tape unnecessary. HD [high definition] cameras have dropped in price as has the ability to edit in HD. Digital technologies have brought down the cost of the moviemaking tools to a point where they are increasingly available to a more general public (2008, p52).

Despite these advantages, some other filmmakers in Cameroon have been quick to point out certain discrepancies in the Cameroon film industry arising from the loose access to filmmaking due to digital technologies. Ancestor for example, was very categorical:

> …those who had been there before and who have adopted the digital technologies are doing extremely well. They are using it as a tool, they are seeing it as some king of opportunity. The only opportunities those who are beginners see is that equipment is cheaper. But in terms of production value, they just want to depend on the strength of the equipment, the abilities of the equipment, and artistically they are empty. So you have these two groups of people: those who have been there before-those who know the artistic value of filmmaking, who use the modern digital technology just to enhance their abilities; and those who are just depending on it because, it is easy to use, and the whole creative process is absent

Ancestor argues here that some new generation filmmakers just get into filmmaking because of the ease of access created by digital technologies but make no efforts to use the same technologies to train themselves. The result is a serious drop in production value, as they depend more on the capacity of the equipment than in their own creativity.

Digitalization and the Democratization of Filmmaking in Cameroon

**Management**

Most of the filmmakers interviewed also own film houses. Although the names of these enterprises may look and sound quite big, almost all of them just comprise of the president/founder and about three permanent staff, sometimes with no office space. Some of them are just operated from the home and laptop of the president/founder. However, these enterprises carry out a number of activities with local and international partners with the hope of growing to the point of setting up in the real sense of the word. Furthermore, these enterprises also regularly carry out training in the different disciplines of filmmaking, in a bid to raise the next generation of filmmakers. All these activities necessitate a lot of managerial skills and constant networking and communication between the team members of the organization/company as well as with partners and sponsors. Major findings here indicate that digital technologies are basically the lifeline of these small and precarious cultural entrepreneurs who are most of the times poor enough to have serious challenges with paying minimal bills. BillyBob for example says he is constantly moving from one town to another but still succeeds to keep his team together and follow up set objectives thanks to the social media:

> Nowadays those of us who travel a lot leave people back who work for us. It is very easy to do video calls, video conferences…not with Mr. X but you have an online meeting with all of your staff, very easy. You are in Nigeria and something comes up, or you are supposed to have your normal Monday meeting that people hold in their offices…you can still do that while out of the country. That way, you give instructions to everybody at the same time, instead of sending others staffs. You know sometimes when you keep sending one staff to the others it leads to conflict as they start thinking that you value that staff member more, even if it's your secretary. When you do a video conference, you are able to personally confirm from each staff if all has been understood so as to give further explanations if necessary. That is what the digital age can do, that you must not rush back from Yaoundé to come and solve a problem in Buea.

Some of the filmmakers focus more on their websites, updating every activity carried out on the website, so that members, employees, partners and sponsors all over the world can keep abreast with the activities of the company. From their reports, this increases their credibility in the eyes of potential investors.

Other advantages highlighted include the ease to produce, sign and ferry official documents across the globe just from one's phone. Issues like grant applications, sending of invoices etc. can now be done at very little cost as opposed to the past when DHL was frequently used. Yibain Chah (Ancestor) recounts a similar success story with digital technologies in terms of management, as he is presently working on a co-production in which he is also standing in as director. They have been working with people from different countries, and working online through the idea development and script development right to sourcing for finances just by communicating online. Some of them are in Nigeria, Kenya and others in South Africa, and they are also reaching out to desired crew members. They simply go online since most of these artists have their show reels online, they verify and see the strength of their abilities, see the strength of their works and are able to tell which crew person they would want for their project.

**Marketing and Distribution**

The marketing and distribution system for films in Cameroon is nonexistent, a veritable headache for local filmmakers. The closing down of theatres in the country was caused by the advent of Television in the late 80s which offered alternative audiovisual entertainment in an economy where per capita income is about a dollar per day. The advent of cable distribution in the early 90s put the final nail to the coffin of film distribution in the country as Cameroonians now had a multiplicity of channels showing African films all day long (Butake, 2005, p.40). The Cameroon Film Industry (CFI) organization tried to set up a distribution networks for DVDs as a solution, but DVD players got outmoded. BillyBob explains it in the following terms:

> Before we used to do the normal…a producer produces a movie and tries to see how he can print CDs from Nigeria or China, then he gets out there and moves from door to door or puts them in a shop like what MagicTouch used to do, you either buy or rent from there. But that DVD technology is dying down. How many people have DVD players in their houses? Very few people have them. If one million people had DVDs yesterday, then just about 20 thousand will have it today. The percentage is really low.

Further advancements in digital technologies led to the availability of online marketing and distribution platforms. Marketing over the social media has become trendy, easy and cheap; such that once a producer makes a new film, information about it circulates in a matter of hours. But distributing the films still constitutes a real problem. Despite the

upsurge of pay-per-view platforms and other online distribution systems, local filmmakers still do not realize great sales. BillyBob blames this on the culture of the Cameroonian public:

> Now the bottom line is this digital marketing. America is succeeding a lot with Netflix, Nigeria is making a name with Iroko, and other countries that we cannot recall. And all of us need to come up with our own because we spend a lot of time today on our phones than on our TV sets. It's like you are moving with the world in your palm. But in Cameroon it's not yet the case. For example, there is one platform called Yabadoo, which is a pay-per-view platform, but believe me, up to this juncture there is no traffic in that thing because Cameroonians…I don't know what is happening with them…they are still behind with the analog kind of stuff, and we cannot be boasting of analog when we don't have cinema halls again…with Yabadoo, with 350frs you can watch a movie for one week, after which you can buy a different one, 350 is not up to a dollar, and I think that is the new packaging that all of us should embrace, not only those who produce movies but the public as well because we produce movies for the public to consume. But we are still lacking. It's a win-win thing…while you are relaxing at your break time, on your bed, you want sleep to come and take you off, on your phone, you watch a movie even half, tomorrow you come and continue. That's the new trend and there is a lot of money in it. That's why Netflix is making a lot of money.

This view is echoed by Yibain Chah, who still maintains that the influx of foreign films through the TV and cable systems as well as the existence of films online is a huge impediment to the success of online distribution platforms in Cameroon:

> Well, I would say marketing and distribution, especially when we are talking about these ancillary markets, maybe the pay-per-views, even the DVDs I think they are still under digital, and all those things- it's really not doing well in Cameroon. I think it's just because of a matter of culture.… people don't really go for the pay-per-view, because if I remember what MTN Cameroon is struggling to do with the Yabadoo project, it's really kind of slow. It's really kind of slow for Cameroonian movies, but then consumers in Cameroon are consuming a lot of foreign serial movies. And they get them from the net.

Apart from training which is a very serious problem, distribution thus seems to be a very serious issue, especially with no organized distribution system. That is why Daddies even goes further to argue that there is no film industry in Cameroon:

> …that is why it is not yet an industry to me, if you want to follow the right definition of what an industry is. That link is not there, a place where producers and filmmakers meet. We don't even have cinema halls, we don't

> even have a distribution network, no markets, no marts…so we really have a very big problem when it comes to that. So, as you are talking, we are still in the problem, we are really into it…

The marketing and distribution challenges thus seem not to emanate solely from the lack of infrastructure and organized networks but also from the lack of patronage of the film sector by Cameroonians themselves. From the views of the local filmmakers, if Cameroonians really opted to consume Cameroonian films, they would have made good use of the existing online distribution points which, at present, are still largely ignored.

## Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate the impact of Digital technologies on the film industry in Cameroon, especially how it has affected filmmaking processes in the country. This is against a backdrop in which lack of funding, expensive equipment and lack of film distribution and exploitation networks has greatly limited access to the craft. The observation is that digital technologies have greatly democratized filmmaking in Cameroon as it has not only led to the advent of cheaper digital cameras and other equipment that have reduced production cost, but has also provided virtual platforms for marketing, distribution, knowledge sharing and cultural exchange. Furthermore, the cost of the production process itself has been greatly reduced as production meetings as well as essential communications during production are done online with little cost.

Having documented experiences from front line filmmakers in Cameroon with the highest frequency of film productions, this paper has thus presented some of the most efficient ways of taking advantage of digital technologies to reduce costs while at the same time optimizing efficiency at all levels of the film production process. These experiences are particularly important for film students and younger filmmakers in Cameroon and elsewhere who find themselves in a context in which funding and distribution opportunities are rare.

## References

Butake, Bole. (2005). Cinema, CRT, and the Cable Television Syndrome in Cameroon. In Cinema as Social Discourse in Cameroon, by Alexie Tcheyap (eds). Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies.

Daly, Kristen M. (2008). How Digital and Computer Technologies are Changing Cinema. Columbia University, ProQuest LLC

Digitalization and the Democratization of Filmmaking in Cameroon

Diawara, Manthia. (1992). African cinema: Politics and Culture. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana university press.

Doho, Gilbert. (2005). The Illegitimate State and Cinematographic Discourse in Cameroon. In Cinema as Social Discourse in Cameroon, by Alexie Tcheyap (eds). Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies.

Ngansop, Guy Jermie. (1987). Le Cinéma Camerounais en Crise. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Tcheyap, Alexie. (2011). Post nationalist African Cinemas, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.