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‘When it No Longer Matters Where You Live’¹: Nollywood Movie Audiences in the United Kingdom and the Declining Fears

Abstract

The decline of production of movies on celluloid owes much to a lot of factors. Primarily among these factors are the challenges associated with exhibition of finished movie beyond the locality where the movies were produced, particularly beyond the shores of Nigeria. The production of movies on videos adopted by Nollywood expunged one of these niggling problems that crippled production of celluloid movies in Nigeria. The ‘global village’ popularised by Marshall McLuhan’s theory found footing in Nollywood ingenuity in adopting the low budget production format which catered for reception problems experienced in the diaspora during the days of Nigerian celluloid movies. With a growing reception and yearning for Nollywood movies in the diaspora, the morale of Nollywood was boosted increasing its confidence against decline forecast and inferiority as decried by critics.

What with parallel production of Nollywood movies in the diaspora; creation of huge earnings to movie makers (at home and in the diaspora), marketers and bootleggers; and the opportunity to tell and showcase our own story? Thanks to a diasporic desire created by nostalgia driving people to want to acquaint and refresh their memories with an imagined culture, distant from them. Nollywood has created such enormous cross-cultural influence amongst Nigerian and Africans in the diaspora, making it easy for particularly Nigerians in the diaspora to get acquainted with images and the changing socio-political culture back home. The multifaceted purpose of the movies in a subtle manner has not only helped to change the erroneous perception of how Africans and Nigerians are seen by the West, but are also used to groom children born to parents from Nigeria, and to them,

it does not bother them where they dwell anymore due to the accessibility to constant movie images of the distant culture they have left behind.

Introduction

... for all its refuge the foreign home
remains a night whose dawn
I wish arrives before its time.²

—Tanure Ojaide

Increase in Home Video Movies reception in the diaspora boosted the morale of Nigerian home video movie [henceforth hvm/hvms] producers in both Nigeria and the diasporic cultures, dispelling apprehensions over its survivability. It has and continued to undergo significant mutations and resilience beyond the expectations and forecast of observers who feared the medium would have disintegrated by now. The resilience of the medium owes much to a diasporic desire of people who want to acquaint or refresh their memories with a culture, which they imagined of belonging, but are disconnected from due to the circumstances that led to their present location outside their original homes.³ The nostalgia to see their ancestral culture or the community they imagined in pictures, has led to an uninhibited quest not just to see these movies, but to be part of the phenomenon as a diasporic culture.

The history of Africans in the diaspora dates back to the periods following the 16th century, which altered the political climate of African history, and the disruption of whichever process of self development the continent would have witnessed. This occurred, when European crusade for empires led to military incursions, and the decline of the great Sub-Saharan African empires. The Trans-Saharan trade famous for its trade in articles gave way to Trans-Atlantic trade, which dwelt in slave trade from which Africans in the diaspora came into being.

The word, Diaspora was initially associated with the early Jewish Christian faith of the "first century CE."⁴ Coined from two Greek words, "Diaspora"—Diasperien—dia,—"across", and—sperien, "to sow or scatter seeds",⁵ or as Baumann puts it, "to disperse, scatter",⁶ is simply defined as "movement—forced or voluntary—

of people from one or more nation-states to another."⁷ The evolution of Diaspora into the disciplinary studies of groups of people removed from their roots was first undertaken within African studies, in now, a classical paper delivered by George Shepperson, at a conference of African historians, held in Dar es Salaam, in 1966.⁸ It was from the Dar es Salaam conference that the word gained prominence in the humanities, but is now proliferated almost beyond proportion, *metastasising* in a lot of disciplines, even the sciences.

The composition of Africans in the Diaspora conforms to Baumann's definition, because after the forced movement of trade in humans slowly, but finally wound-up, voluntary movement by Africans then ensued. There are three notable reasons that necessitated the dispersion of Africans from their roots. The Trans-Atlantic slave trade on the first degree was a major cause for the dispersion. The second degree was necessitated by dictatorial politics in which citizens are made to flee their country to seek refuge from tyrannical governments. The third degree of diaspora is created by the harsh realities of declining economies, which sometimes are necessitated by long periods of war or famine, or poor governance.

While the causes of the three are distinct, the consequences are the same because they all involve a dislocation from the original root. In the first and second degrees, human errors of others are blamed for the dislocation, but in the third degree, the dislocation is imposed by the self, even in the face of strict opposition from the *émènilês*/landlords of where they are dis-locating. Due to the circumstances surrounding the third degree, it seems to be more severe than the two others because of the attraction generated by media hype, particularly western media that passionately opposed the influx of economic migrants into their country. In the third degree, citizens leave their homelands willingly in search for better economic opportunities irrespective of the cultural, climate and in most cases, language differences. But no sooner they arrive than they become enmeshed in the nostalgic syndrome experienced by those who have been there earlier. By the observation of Paul White and Robert Woods, "Migrants believe that they will be more satisfied in their needs and desires in the place that they move to than in the place from which they come. [And...] it does not matter if the migrant holds an erroneous view — it is that erroneous view that is

acted upon rather than the objective real — world situation.”⁹ It is these crass misconceptions that necessitated the risk many immigrants take, to go to Europe, and which has led to loss of many lives as depicted in Sorious Samura’s documentary movie, *Exodus from Africa* (2001).¹⁰ As those who arrived safely struggle to overcome the cultural shock, they begin to grapple with two problems, dislocation and integration. While they lost communication with where they originated with the passing of time, they suffer the problems of integration in the new place they have migrated to, particularly due to their nationality, physical and cultural differences. And then nostalgia sets in.

Many of the people in the diaspora who are in such dire situations or even in better situations wish to return to their roots, yet the harsh realities of economic, political uncertainty, and most of the time, *dislocation of communication* with the root, militate against this desire. Even when naturalised, they still feel ostracised, thereby leaving them in nostalgic mood and the desire to want to identify with their cultural roots, or that of their parents. For many Africans in the diaspora, relocating back home is synonymous to relocating back to another land where new tricks must be learnt, due to the horrifying stories that emanate from these societies, but which they are not in position to authenticate. Due to either long period of absence from the imagined home or worst still, born and brought up outside it, there is certainly no place to go even with nostalgic feelings. While some of them cannot relocate back to their original homes, there is a nostalgia borne out of the anxiety to keep abreast of what is happening in the societies they have fled.

It is this nostalgia that has been judiciously catered for by Nollywood through its movies on videos, giving rise to its popularity, and reason, fans interviewed talk about how the hvms evoke memories “of everyday life back home.”¹¹ It is a window through which many see the events back home. The contact with the hvm images generates two opposing reactions on its diasporic audiences. To some, as a reminder of the realities back home creates a romantic aura and the wish to be there, while to some others, their true pictures are horrifying, and this deters them from relocating back, for fear of being caught in the incidents depicted in the movies. By creating an imaginary community, the role played by the hvms

doubles the print and electronic media in telling the stories of Nigeria, to Africans and Nigerians in the diaspora creating a sense of identity by bringing distant memories or a culture that is not known, for the viewing pleasure of the diasporic culture.

Irrespective of these loyal services however, critics at home and in the diaspora continued to feel dissatisfied with the medium, and do not just forecast decline, but declares it. One remarkable attitude displayed by the critics treated in this essay is their wavering judgement unmindful of the gestational period of Nollywood. Some dabbles between criticism of failure and eulogy, while others who had criticised the Nollywood film making medium, later realised the exploit of the industry and turned around to commend the industry. Others who do not take the latter stance, their flirt with the industry in movie releases, betray their critical positions.

Home Video Movies, against all Odds

In his introduction to *Nigerian Video Films*, Jonathan Haynes lauds the commercial success of the movie industry, which he observes had surpassed that of the celluloid and influencing parallel production formats in neighbouring African States. Ghana, which he site as an example, has not only been influenced by Nollywood, but a healthy co-operation exists between the two countries, leading to many co-produced and cross-acting in recent years.¹² Behind the encomiums however, the thirty-five page introduction dwells extensively on the weaknesses and survivability of the hvm production format. He concluded that the "period of tremendous growth and mutation [of the home video movie industry] was not very likely to continue."¹³ But this, as we have witnessed in the unfolding events of Nollywood, is not the case, because the industry has waxed stronger, long after Haynes' declaration and from recent African Movie Academy Award (AMAA), it is very glaring how Nollywood has influenced other African countries beside Ghana. The Nollywood movies have broken boundaries and are continuing to attract people in the movie industry even from the West. He however, submitted eventually that the industry was too young to attract permanent judgement, hence he commended its feat as a "phenomenon in less than a decade old",¹⁴ and in a co-authored essay with Onookome Okome, the duo concluded that due to "their

cultural and commercial elasticity [...], it is hard to imagine what could kill off the video industry."¹⁵ This is the form criticism against the industry has taken. Most critics are usually very constructive and inconclusive. Even though it leaves the readers to make their own judgement, the tone of some of the contributors to the volume are suggestive of failure.

Take Afolabi Adesanya's conclusion as an example of those inconclusive treatments of the topic: "the battle for the minds and pocket of the screen may have been won and lost already. One can only just hope the gains of this decade will blossom into the next century."¹⁶ Being a filmmaker [celluloid], Adesanya did not write in support of the hvms because of its mode of production, the proliferation and particularly, opportunists who have swooped on the industry. He however failed to acknowledge the spirit of survival of the video industry like the other critics in the same volume irrespective of his knowledge on the failure of celluloid movies. Even Eddie Ugbomah, who has thirteen¹⁷ celluloid movies to his credit, has not only slipped into the hvm production format with, *Aba Women Riots* (2000), but has appeared as guest actor in other hvms. This happen to be the production format he once criticised as not good enough,¹⁸ and rebuffed being tagged a home video movie man,¹⁹ in 1998. Barely three years after the rejection however, he saluted the courage of the producers "for not only filling the yearning gap, but for keeping the dream alive."²⁰ This sudden change from criticism to valorisation was certainly borne out of the astounding performance of Nollywood.

In the UK, the perceptions of decline emanating particularly from diasporic home video moviemakers are not any different. The responses from two marketers and two filmmakers throw more light on this. While the marketers were full of praises for Nollywood, the two filmmakers had their reservations about the poor performance of the movie industry. Incidentally, the factors that led to the sudden surge of Nigerian hvms in the streets of the UK share similarities with the factors that influenced the advent of hvms in Nigeria. Nigerian produced soap operas and television drama was a major factor that gave rise to the popularity of Nigerian hvms in the two cultures. Olusegun Akindayini, owner of African Video Centre in Peckham London, revealed:

We restricted our ideas and titles just strictly to television programmes such as the comedy and drama that is available on the Nigerian television industry and the Ghanaian film industry at that time. So it was like amalgamation of the Nigerian films and Ghanaian films in conjunction with the Caribbean films and the African-American films. So we pull all these resources together to have like, the African Video Centre — a source where you can have Black films.²¹

Drawing inference from Akindayini's brief history, the audience in London had been introduced to Nigerian drama through pirated television dramas. This made the reception of hvms less arduous to introduce to the Black diaspora in the UK. Those born in the UK and who had little, or no knowledge of Nigerian culture, including those who initially regarded the quality of the hvms with disdain, gradually took interest in the medium because of the huge alternative it offered to mainstream productions which includes its edifying and nostalgic narratives.²²

Akindayini narrates that the Nigerian video distribution industry started in the UK in 1989, running as mail orders, until the first video rental shop opened in 1991. Statistically, he estimated that 50% of the customers are Nigerians; 20% African Blacks; 15% Caribbean whilst 10% are Whites/light skin of whatever origin and this includes Asians.²³ Phillips Dada's response also corroborates Akindayini's, though not as comprehensive. He claimed that a lot of people including Caribbean patronise the hvm rentals, and that the patronage has surged. He did not fail to mention that there is a stronger market for Yoruba language movies due to the presence of a large Yoruba population in London.²⁴ Philips however conceded that this escalated reception was in rentals, but not in sales. This however will include those who understand the language and those who just want to associate with the culture.

Contrary to the observation above, Ayo Sonaiya emphatically, described the Nigerian hvm industry, as "dead or at least, [...] in the mud."²⁵ Ayo Sonaiya is very doubtful of the success story ascribed to Nollywood in Nigeria or its parallel influence in the UK. Ayo strongly felt that the sales figure and the cultural integration caused by Nigerian hvms in London were mere speculations. He sounded

tired and seemed to have lost hope in the industry due to proliferation, untrained personnel and recycled stories, but he cannot, but get involved in more productions. Chuks Modi on the other hand felt very disappointed at the turn the industry has taken in the UK. "It is not interesting I am sorry because this is UK, this is not Nigeria. I least expected that by now only our Nigerians and other African countries would be clamouring for our films, this is now like an extension of home".²⁶

Modi did not consider the *tender age* of Nollywood, the cultural barriers, the narratives in the movies and very importantly, that there are Britons or people of other culture living in Britain that would not have heard of Nigeria or where it is situated in world political map. He did not see the minority culture as posing great challenges, and that it needed some nurturing before the feat of broad-based reception he outlined above, could take effect. His passion stems from the fact that the Nollywood is still very impoverished. He feels that all the necessary machineries that would publicise the image of Nollywood artists abroad (UK) were not instituted. As a result, Nigerian movie artists are not recognised outside Nigeria, so are their movies. He spearheaded the motion, by forming the Directors Guild of Nigerian Movies in London, which was already liaising with the Directors Guild of the UK. His ambition is to see Nollywood movies compete side by side Hollywood's and Bollywood's. Modi was however more positive than Sonaiya. Surprisingly, both filmmakers after this interview had released numerous movies on videos.

Modi's criticism of the patronage accorded Nollywood productions runs contrary to years of observations by Phillips Dada, a marketer now turned producer. In an interview, Dada boasted, "I am an executive producer, because I have been putting money down for people shooting for me."²⁷ If there were no huge profits accruing from marketing Nigerian hvm, these marketers would not have ventured into it. As marketers, they know the rudiments of the market and the profits that accrue to producers, and this could be the reason why they decided to embark on production. The marketers occupy the pivotal position to determine the performance of the industry, which very often artistic producers are not aware of.

Technical Quality of Nigerian Home Video Movies

There are possibilities that some of the situations which necessitated the comments made by the diasporic filmmakers and marketers interviewed, would change in the course of time due to the fluid nature of 'popular art' which the hvm productions happen to have fallen into. It is out of this escalating confusion pervading the critique of the hvm productions that prompted Haynes to conclude that the industry has no model for criticism. It neither "fit comfortably within the North American structures",²⁸ nor does it "fit easily into the structures of African film criticism in still another way."²⁹ What Haynes expected, was an art cinema that could be critiqued by the tenets of Hollywood, French art cinema or Third Cinema, which largely dwells on racial and post-or colonial subjugations. Third Cinema is a "reflexive political and transnational project." The films have "political orientation within the hegemonic structures of post-colonialism."³⁰ It will be preposterous to disclaim the embedment of postcolonial narratives in Nollywood movies in its countless numbers.

While celluloid did not present a fantastic cinematic effects or technicality, the home video movie also with its low budget production and proliferation, is yet to satisfy the technical criteria expected of standard movies even in a digital age. Irrespective of its resounding success, the hvm is still evolving and because it is commercially oriented, technicalities and visuals have not really engaged the creative minds of the producers, and where visuals are employed, it is overtly mis-applied making the movies appear like they are meant for kids. A typical example is Ifeanyi Onyeabor's *Fulani* (2009?). Camera movements are still very static in some of the movies, often one angle of view which invariably means that shooting is carried out by one camera. This does not mean that there are no sophisticated equipments and dolly in Nigeria, but the urge to recoup more than invested capitals is a great limiting factor to some producers. They cannot afford to hire this sophisticated and costly filming equipment owing largely to the fact also that piracy has posed a greater obstacle to the industry particularly in a corrupt socio-political system.

This has given vent to why many have looked on to the censors board, getting down to its responsibility as the only way forward,

out of the shabby productions witnessed. In his keynote address at the 2nd National Film Festival, held on the 27th November 2003, Odia Ofeimun quoted the Minister of Information and National Orientation, Chukwuemeka Chikelu appealing to filmmakers to desist from the negative portrayal of the country in their narratives, applauded also by some of his political colleagues.³¹ The negative portrayal or juju glamorisation by Nollywood was also decried by Governor Timipre Sylva of Bayelsa State, in his opening speech to the 2010 AMAA Award. In June 2006, in what Shaibu Husseini captioned, "Ministerial oath to re-invent Nollywood", similar comments were passed on the visual contents of Nigerian hvms by a new Minister of Information and National Orientation, Frank Nweke Jnr.³² Subtle as these comments might seem, they directly chide the nation's censors board, and that aroused Ofeimun to entertain some fears. He was not certain of the form the controls would take, and with the government's kindled interest and concerns, bad government could hide under the cloak of censors board to institute a control that would victimise its oppositions. He suggested rather, that the industry should be left alone to channel its own course, with optimism that those that are not capable would eventually crash out of business leaving the fittest in the manner of the nation's print media industry.

Whether the Nollywood failed to conform to certain 'models of criticism' or it has invented its own models of criticism, is not the issue with the fans and the producers as long as the movies are visually entertaining and means of livelihood is being made from them. What seem to matter to the industry's player at the moment is the audience. In a chat with Emem Isong, voicing her disappointment over AMAA shoddy treatment of Nollywood artistes in the 2009 award ceremony, she said that she was not bothered about awards, but was satisfied with the fans patronage and the joy she brings upon those who watch her movies.³³ This is given credence by Barbers definition of the popular arts as "the large class of new unofficial art forms which are syncretic, concerned with social change, and associated with the masses. The centres of activity in this field are the cities, in their pivotal position between the rural hinterland on the one hand and the metropolitan countries on the other."³⁴ In the undocumented principles of the popular arts culture,

knowing the taste of the audience is crucial to successful and successive productions. This is the thin line between the good movies and the 'others'.

The hvms present "real life",³⁵ narratives of the daily activities of the socio-cultural life of Nigerians. Fans see its didactic aspect before its entertaining values hence a video shop owner likened the performance of the actors to "prophets and preachers."³⁶ Another declared his love for the hvms "because it gives knowledge and wisdom."³⁷ Belated as the information which the video movies disseminates in comparison to electronic and the print media, Haynes was struck by the burgeoning culture, which overwhelmed the public in a short period of time, rivalling the electronic broadcasting media.³⁸ The fulfilment of this goal accounts for why Nigerians at home and in the diaspora ignored issues of quality regarding Nollywood movies. The narratives were more honest than other media in telling the socio-political story of Nigeria at a time when the country was experiencing a political impasse and either the media took sides or where too petrified to boldly critique the authority.

This insurmountable magnitude of the industry has attracted people of all dispositions — from entrepreneurs to national and international observers like Nick Moran who started by shooting a football documentary, *Nick Goes to Nollywood* for BBC Three Television with Jeta Amata and later, a feature — *The Amazing Grace* [2006] in collaboration with same Jeta Amata. These, including Wesley Snipes' visit to Nigeria are all under the auspices of Nollywood.³⁹ Whilst the press and academics were engaged in the discourse of the hvm phenomenon, it took a different dimension in metropolitan London and has spread rapidly to other cities in the UK — Nottingham being a specific example. At the time of commencement of this research in 2001, there was no shop where Nigerian video movies could be sourced, but presently, there are over six African food shops that incorporate sales of Nigerian hvms besides bootleggers that operate from their living rooms.

'Reception of Home Video Movie in the Metropolis of London

Economic factors are one prime motive for resorting to hvms as the only option to movie production in Nigeria, in-lieu of celluloid.⁴⁰

This consequentially reflected in forms of aggressive marketing, which eventually saw home video movies marketed beyond the shores of Nigeria and Africa. The sales of Nigerian home videos, which have now become a steady and viable trade in Western countries, actually originated from the stalls of pirates, who initially, pirated Western movies to Nigeria. But with the growing trend of the hvms, these same pirates have turned around to pirating Nigerian hvms to the other parts of the World.

The phenomenon has currently taken centre stage in pirates' merchandise, following the proliferation of the medium in Nigeria, in which over fifty-four titles could be spun out in a single week. The industry had to be reorganised, which brought the number of releases down to about four hundred a year.⁴¹ This led the producers to look beyond the shores of Africa to populous international cities (like London and Atlanta), where there are large numbers of African immigrants. This is why pirates are now having a field-day with the hvms overseas. A lot of them catch in on large African gatherings particularly in churches and places of work, to perpetuate their acts. This is substantiated by the reports in *Movie Nigeria*, that it was no longer news to bootleggers from UK, as every film released in Nigeria finds its way to London within twenty four hours. Besides the fact that these movies are unlawfully duplicated for sale, so much money is made by these pirates who also rent them out.⁴² The growing popularity of the home grown Nigerian hvms, accounts for why it was showcased in the African Film Festival held on the 17th to 24th October, 2003 in London. Reports have it that the festival also focuses on the hugely expanding Nollywood, where there are about 600 hvm releases yearly, and watched by millions of audiences. It is this popularity that made the organisers to specially dedicate one week of its programme, to give the British Film Institute's audience its own taste of Nollywood.⁴³

The Black Film Magazine (BFM) also attests to the popularity of Nigerian hvms abroad, with reports that, "Nigerian 'films' are now available internationally [...] wherever there are a sizeable Nigerian community, Nigerian shops spring up and these videos [...] increasingly become part of the stock. However viewers extend beyond the primary target which is people of Nigerian origins."⁴⁴ People from other African countries and the Caribbean owing to its

large population in the UK have displayed incredible interests for Nollywood movies. As the UK offers a ready market for the promotion and sales of these Nollywood movies, it is this growing popularity that legitimate marketers and pirates are taking advantage of.

Reporting for *The Washington Post*, Steven Gray writes that, "Many African immigrants cling to these Nigerian films because of small cultural nuances, such as the tradition in some African cultures of children lowering their heads in deference to their parents during conversation or even spanking as an accepted form of discipline"⁴⁵ as opposed to western cultures, particularly British legislation. Nostalgia was the most recurring reason given for why those in the diaspora watch Nigerian films. While the few that stated entertainment as their reason, still inferred nostalgic emotions as being important, as they were able to wax lyrical about their home country. Of the thirty-two questionnaires received, about only half of the respondents actually spent their money in purchasing these movies and this of course leaves the remaining half to renting from video shops and borrowing from friends and families in the UK. But irrespective of the means by which the video movies were seen, there is evidence that the market is growing with people identifying more with the movies due to narratives, which many agreed were a constant reminder of African ethos.

The very good movies are sold out quickly, although no one has made a survey of the most popular genre of the movies. Movie collectors tend to collect the well received films like the comic movie, *Osuofia in London* (2003) parts I & II, from personal observation. The African food shop Kunmoj, in Nottingham, sold out and some of the popular video shops in London sold out too. When I finally came across the film, the video jacket was blank. No movie photograph of the *Osuofia in London*. A case of piracy was obvious. This incident adds weight to the fact that the better Nigerian films sell quickly, whereby all others are doomed simply for rental in the UK. As Nigerians in London launch new artistic bodies that will closely monitor the performance of the video industry to yield expected returns, fear of collapse as experienced by cine-filmmaking in Nigeria is not a perceived threat, due to the current job opportunities the industry holds.



Movie Award Handbills, Posters and Event Programme London. (2003) Fig. 01

With Marshall McLuhan's theory of the "global village",⁴⁶ applicable to world media, there is another phase to the success and popularity of Nigerian hvms as four different television (BEN, OBE, ACTV, Classics, Nollywood Star and AIT International) transmission stations, accessed through Sky Digital televisions, transmit these video movies on a very regular basis. To add to the long list of stations transmitting Nollywood movies on satellite television is, DSTV with its four transmitting channels – Africa Magic, Africa Magic World, Africa Magic Hausa. With these, and the ease of accessing images and culture from 'back home', Nigerians and Africans in the diaspora feel much at home and to them, it does not bother them where they dwell anymore due to the accessibility to constant movie images of the now distant culture they have left behind.

Notes

1. Tanure Ojaide. "When it No Longer Matters Where You Live." Calabar, University of Calabar Press, 1998: 77.
2. Ibid.
3. *Ben. Television*, 12 Jan. 2005. The narration given by the producer of Sango is a pointer to the disconnection affecting so many, especially Africans in the Diaspora who do not have the opportunity due to absence of effective cultural contact, which could relay the correct information to those who are interested to know. According to him, he was shocked to see the legendary Sango on video game in a shop in Atlanta, portrayed as a Ninja. This he claimed motivated him to produce the movie to correct the wrong impression.
4. Martin Baumann. "that word 'Diaspora.'" 2 Feb. 2004. <File://C:My %20Documents\vp01.htm>.
5. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. "Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Concentration in Diaspora Studies." *Theorizing Diaspora*. ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur: 1.
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7. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. "Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Concentration in Diaspora Studies." *Theorizing Diaspora*. ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur: 8.
8. Martin Baumann. "that word 'Diaspora'" 2 Feb. 2004. <File://C:My 20Documents\vp01.htm>.
9. Paul White and Robert Woods. "The Foundations of Migration Study." *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. ed. Paul White and Robert Woods. London: Longman Group Limited, 1980: 7. 1-20.
10. Sorious Samura a Sierra Leonean, "follows migrants from West African countries as they set out to breach the walls of Fortress Europe. They face death in a desert journey across the Sahara, before an equally hazardous voyage across the sea to Spain. The refugees willingly risk death to build a new future, because they don't see one in sight in Africa or their homelands saturated with bad politics or in most cases, endless civil wars. Sorious attempts to understand why they feel there is no hope for them in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. He asks why they think Europe, if they survive their perilous journey, will have more to offer them?" 21 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.insightnewstv.com/store/>>.
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12. Jonathan Haynes. "Introduction." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes and Onookome Okome. xv. "Introduction." *Modes of Seeing and*

- the Video Film in Africa*. ed. Till Foerster and Onookome Okome 2001: 6-7.
13. Ibid.
 14. Jonathan Haynes. "Introduction." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes and Onookome Okome. xv.
 15. Jonathan Haynes and Onookome Okome. "Nigerian Video Films." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes. 88.
 16. Afolabi Adesanya. "From Film to Video." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes. 50.
 17. Kate Amam. "I am not a home video man." *Daily Champion*. 17 June 1998: 10.
 18. Oji Onoko. "Beyond the Trauma of the Riots." *ThisDay*. 24 July 2000: 39.
 19. Kate Aman. "I am not a home video man." *Daily Champion*. 17 June 1998: 10.
 20. Segun Ajayi and Nwogbo Nnen Yelike. "Eddie Ugbomah Unspared the Reel Problems at 60." *Daily Times*. 16 May 2001: 20.
 21. Olusegun Akindayini. Personal interview. 10 Apr. 2004.
 22. Ola Opesan. Telephone interview. 18 Mar. 2004.
 23. Olusegun Akindayini. Personal interview. 10 Apr. 2004.
 24. Philips Dada. Personal interview. 15 Nov. 2003. The large population pointed out by Dada, is not necessarily of Yoruba descent, but the case of Lagos discussed in page 174 there are, a large number of non-Yoruba descents who understands and speaks the language, due to association and place of birth, or the Yoruba environment where they are nurtured.
 25. Ayo Sonaiya. Personal interview. London: 14 Nov. 2003.
 26. Chuks Modi. Personal interview. London: 10 Apr. 2004.
 27. Philips Dada. Personal interview. 15 Nov. 2003.
 28. Jonathan Haynes. "Introduction." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes. 1.
 29. Ibid. 9.
 30. Michael T. Martin. *Cinemas of the Black Diaspora: Diversity, Dependence, and Oppositionality*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995: 2-3.
 31. Odia Ofeimun. "In Defence of the Films We Have Made." *West Africa Review*. 19 May 2006. <<http://www.westafricareview.com/issue5/ofeimun.htm>>.
 32. Shaibu Husseini. "Ministerial oath to re-invent Nollywood" June 15 2006. <www.guardiannewsngr.com/arts/article>.
 33. Emem Isong (Personal Interview) 14th February 2010
 34. See Karin Barber. Referenced by Jonathan Haynes and Onookome Okome. "Nigerian Video Films." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes. 53.
 35. Olusegun Akindayini. Personal interview. London: 10 Apr. 2004.

36. Alicia Arce and Brenda Goldblatt. "Nick Goes to Nollywood." *BBC Three*. 15 Jan. 2004.
37. Ibid.
38. Jonathan Haynes. "Introduction." *Nigerian Video Films*. ed. Jonathan Haynes. xv.
39. "As Wesley Snipes Comes to Nigeria ..." *ThisDay*. 9 June 2006. <Http://www.odili.net/news/source/200>.

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