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"(Video)Film in Africa and its relevance for development: the Nigerian film production industry as a case study"

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Contents

1. Introduction

The Nigerian film production industry, known outside of Nigeria as "Nollywood", is one of the biggest film production industries in the world, alongside Hollywood in the USA and Bollywood in India. The film production industry in Nigeria has come to represent an important economic sector since the 1980s. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. These are the issues on which I will focus in this thesis.

It is a cultural and social phenomenon due to the fact that society is reflected in the films and a large proportion of the population has the opportunity to watch and understand the films as they are featured in the three main languages of Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, as well as other languages apart from English. According to Foluke Ogunleye (2007: 42), television has the advantage of being able to reach a mass audience and as a result, it is important to think about the power and possibilities of this medium. With the intervention of the eye of the camera, a "world of possibilities" will be opened up. In this way, film has the advantage of being able to communicate in a way that is understood as the truth of life (cf. Sontag 2006: 221-227). Therefore, a recovered truth is mostly demonstrated. Ogunleye (2007: 51) points out that realistic settings and topics that are close to reality in Nigerian films refer to a kind of truth. Here the question of the power of propaganda in the film medium is important because a target audience could be influenced in a positive or negative way. "Media practitioners owe the society a measure of responsibility. There has always been advocacy for freedom to express ideas through the media; but there is a need to realize that there could be an abuse of freedom." (Ogunleye 2007: 52) How free Nigerian filmmakers are and how they deal with their responsibility is an important part of this thesis. Furthermore, the critique on Western models will be discussed in particular in terms of the title "Nollywood". "Nollywood", as I have already mentioned, is the name of the Nigerian film industry as it is known abroad. The people I worked with are unhappy with this title and as such, the discussion here of this title will be of particular interest.

However, before I discuss these issues, an overview of popular culture in general will be given. I will introduce various definitions provided by different researchers. I do not wish to emphasise regional differences but rather to represent the discussion of popular culture and

how it is related to politics, as well as the role of entertainment-education within this field. Entertainment-education programs are interesting aspects in terms of social and political responsibility and awareness. Following this short overview, I will introduce the Nigerian film industry as a regional case study for popular culture and politics. Considering the research question "Why is the medium film used to reflect problems/challenges of the society in Nigeria and how can it be implemented?", a critical film analysis will be done, for which I have chosen the film *Arugbá* by Tunde Kelani, 2010, Mainframe Production. *Arugbá* is a political satire that also includes a love story. Modernity, tradition, politics, and the health care system are central aspects of this entertainment-education production. The subsequent overview of the Nigerian social system, as well as the political and economic history of the country, should support the reader´s comprehension of the interpretation of the film.

1.1. The geographic, economic, political and social background of Nigeria

Nigeria is known as the giant of West Africa and a population of over 150 million[1] makes Nigeria the most populous country of Africa, and the 8th most populous country in the world. The West African country covers 92,768 square kilometres[2] and lies on the Gulf of Guinea, between Benin and Cameroon. Geographical characteristics include both tropical and arid zones that provide the setting for a broad range of natural resources, such as a variety of minerals, agricultural products and large petroleum reserves, which in the 1970s became an important economic resource and made Nigeria the wealthiest country in Africa during this period. However this wealth was not distributed equally and only a small number of politicians and entrepreneurs were able to enjoy prosperity, whilst the majority of Nigerians were left poverty-stricken and struggling to survive (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 2, 181; Schicho 2001: 75, 89, 90; Rotberg: 2004: 1). Since the late 1970s, the mismanagement of petroleum as the main source of Nigeria's wealth has contributed greatly to economic instability, as fluctuations in world petroleum prices and high levels of corruption among government officials in terms of the exploitation of foreign oil companies have made sustainable

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[1] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), World Factbook: Nigeria, updated July 2010, available online at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html?countryName=Nigeria&countryCode=ni&regionCode=af&rank=8#ni

[2] Ibid.

development difficult and have contributed to a continued level of poverty. The agricultural sector is also a source of economic activity, for example cocoa, palm oil and groundnut production provided the basis for the "cash crop" economy during the colonial period. Today, the production of yam, cassava, bananas, plantains, rice, maize, millet and citrus fruits is important in terms of domestic consumption as well as for export. The agricultural sector is one of many areas of employment, including the leather industry, construction, the manufacture of textiles and beer production, to mention just a few. I would like to underline here the huge potential of areas of entertainment: theatre performances, music styles such as juju, the afrobeat music of Fela Kuti and other musicians, the growing popularity of hip-hop and the film production industry, which has become an important area of employment. (Cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 3-6; Schicho 2001: 78, 83)

Abuja is the capital of Nigeria and the country is divided into 36 states. Lagos is Nigeria´s largest city and also one of the largest cities in the world. One reason for such a large population is the migration of mainly young people from rural to urban areas for education, employment opportunities or other reasons (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 5; Schicho 2004: 75).

The Hausa in the North of Nigeria, the Yoruba in the South and the Igbo in the South East, wield the most influence on the country due to the size of their populations[3]. Other groups include the Fulanis, Kanuris, Tivs and Nupes, to mention just a few. Apart from these main language groups, around 400 different languages are spoken in Nigeria. English has been the official language since 1960. Following, Pidgin English, a combination of Nigerian languages and English also became a commonly-used language since the contact with British traders (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 4; Schicho 2001: 75).

There are many religions in Nigeria, with Islam and Christianity being the largest. The majority of Muslims are located in the North of the country, where Islam first appeared between the 11th and 14th centuries and where sharia law[4] is part of the legal system. Christians live mostly in the South, where European Christian missionaries were established from the 1840s onwards (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 3 – 12; Schicho 2001: 76). According to Falola and Heaton (2008: 221), the fact that many Nigerians turned to religion is linked to their hope of finding solutions for their problems: "The redemptive power of fundamental

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[3] About 60 percent of the national population (Sklar 2004: 39)

[4] For Sagay (2004: 88) the sharia law belongs to the contemporary problems beside the violent conflicts between Muslim and Christian religions in the North.

Islam and charismatic and evangelical Christianity, notably the Pentecostal sects, had been increasingly attractive to many Nigerians since the 1970s. This attraction carried on growing through the 1980s and 1990s, and has continued up to the present day, as religious organizations have offered a message of individual salvation through prayer and faith in God. Churches of charismatic movement have grown exponentially […]."

Nigeria gained independence on the 1st October 1960, after the lengthy reign of British colonialism that began in 1861, when Lagos became a Crown Colony (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: xiv; Schicho 2001: 77). In 1914, the modern state of Nigeria was established when the British amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates to form a unified colonial state. Under indirect rule, local chiefs and elite classes were allowed to maintain their local authority, while British subjects came under the authority of a central British colonial administration. Following independence, Nigeria faced instability as a result of the politicisation of regional, ethnic and religious identities, which lead to the Biafra civil war between 1967 and 1970. This instability and the less than ideal platform for sustainable economic development, due to British interests under colonial rule, contributed to the difficulties in forming a government (cf. Lewis 2004: 101.102). The failure to implement a civilian administration in order to create stability provided the military with the opportunity to increase their own governmental power (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 6 - 9). From 1983 to 1999, Nigeria struggled under military regimes lead by Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985), Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (1985-1993) and Sani Abacha (1994-1998) (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: xix-xxiii; Schicho 2001: 75; Rotberg: 2004: 4). In 1993, the transition to democracy was attempted with presidential elections that were won by the powerful businessman Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola, who owned a number of companies. However, these election results were annulled and Abacha became the new head of state: "Abacha has been the most vilified of all Nigeria´s post-independence rulers for his severe oppression in the name of personal power, the further decline of the Nigerian economy, and the relegation of Nigeria to the status of a pariah state in international affairs." (Falola/Heaton 2008: 229). He embezzled a large amount of money and transferred it to various bank accounts all over the world. Since 1999, the government has been in negotiations with European banks for the return of stolen funds. In June 1998, Abacha died due to a heart attack. General Abdulsalami Abubakar came to power and began the transition to democracy. Olusegun Obasanjo became the first civilian president of the Fourth Republic in 1999, and was re-elected in 2003. He was Head of State until 2007. Falola and Heaton (2008: 234-241) identify the greatest success of Obasanjo´s

administration as the reduction of foreign debt, which was possible due to the growth of the Nigerian economy as well as the return of stolen funds. However he failed in other aspects, such as reducing the gap between rich and poor people. Therefore poor and rural communities showed little improvement. Furthermore, Nigeria lacked basic necessities and services such as public transport, electricity, mains water, roads and health care (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 209-242). Following election in 2007, power was transferred from one civilian ruler to another for the first time in history (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 271). After Obasanjo, Alhaji Umaru Yar´Adua (who died last year) became President of the country. The Vice-President Goodluck Jonathan became the new Head of State in May 2010. The next election is scheduled for April 2011.

2. Methodology

During several visits to Nigeria, I became familiar with the Nigerian film industry. Together with my hosts, I had the opportunity of watching a number of films and also of reading film reviews in newspapers and magazines. In order to carry out qualitative research for my diploma thesis, I spent two months (from mid-July to mid-September 2011) in the South West of Nigeria. I was able to benefit from the fact that I had already spent a semester at the Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife, the same university where I did my research. That is how I got to know my key contact Dr. Foluke Ogunleye, who assisted me greatly with my research. She introduced me to other important figures in the field with whom I was able to hold interviews, screenings, discussions and several informal talks, which significantly enriched my work.

During the first week of my stay, I met other key contacts who supported me and gave me useful advice in my search for a suitable film to analyse for this thesis. The screening and group discussion with students and members of staff, which was organized by Roland Ogidan in the second week, was a good opportunity to get an overview of relevant films. Most of these were political satires. Participating in the group discussion helped me to understand the main points and messages, and how these are perceived by the viewers. My aim was to choose a film by a director who was willing to be interviewed. In order to avoid any misinterpretations, it was important for me to work with Nigerian film-makers and to analyse

the film with those who had made it. Before I met Tunde Kelani, the producer and director of *Arugbá,* I watched it several times with friends and colleagues, who helped me to understand particular parts of the film. After preparing well for the interview, I met Tunde Kelani in his office in Lagos. The first part of the interview covered questions on his film-making in general, and the second part involved a discussion of *Arugbá,* which greatly enriched my analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, he gave me the Mobile Cinema Report on *Arugbá,* a survey carried out by the University of Ibadan.

For general information on the Nigerian film industry, I interviewed the following four professionals within the industry: Bayo Afolabi, Hyginus Ekwuazi, Foluke Ogunleye and Victor Okhai, who work as critics, writers, producers and trainers. The interviews lasted between twenty and thirty minutes and were recorded with a digital recorder and later transcribed. The interview guideline included questions on the interviewee's own interests in film, as well as their point of view and perspective on film in Nigeria. I will discuss these interviews in the general section on film-making in Nigeria. I will refer mainly to articles and literature that has been published and edited by Nigerians themselves or researchers who have spent time in Nigeria. Because of the fast-growing industry, it was important to me that I use current materials. I collected literature from various faculties at the Obafemi Awolowo University, including the History, Cultural Studies and Dramatic Arts departments for the theoretical part of my thesis and also for the interpretation of the film, in terms of background information on Yoruba language, culture, and religion.

The quotations from the interviews are shown in italics in order to distinguish them from quotations from secondary literature.

In the second part of this diploma thesis, I will write a critical analysis of a particular film in order to discuss what is possible within the medium of film. I will analyse the film in three steps, based on David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson's "Film Art. An Introduction", whereby in step one I will develop a thesis? that is identical with the general thesis of this diploma thesis.

The second step will include drawing up a segmentation of the entire film. According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 432), to make a segmentation, i.e. breaking the film into sequences, is the best way to grasp the overall shape of the film, including narrative form and the sense of design. It underlines the formal organisation of the film. Segmentation is

therefore important in order to understand how the different parts are connected and to discover the patterns of the film. I will include just a few sections of the segmentation in my thesis, though the complete segmentation can be found in the appendix.

Step three will be to analyse the style of the film in terms of narrative form, film techniques and interpretation. The first point here will be to understand how the film is put together as a whole. For a narrative film it is important to understand the subplot or subplots that construct the story, and to discover how they manipulate causality, time, space and the pattern of development from the start to the finish of the story. With regards to my research question, it is important to identify the following techniques: mise en scène, cinematography (image), editing and sound. All these techniques are used to guide the audience through the film. It is essential to keep the overview in mind in order to trace the progress of each technique. "How does this technique *function* with respect to the film´s narrative form?" (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 260) and how does it contribute to the audience's experience? Those are the questions to be asked in relation to each film technique.

Setting, costume, lighting and staging are the four general areas of mise en scène. Important questions include: "How do they function? How do they constitute motifs that weave their ways through the entire film?" (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 158).

The three aspects of cinematography are "(1) the photographic aspects of the shot, (2) the framing of the shot, and (3) the duration of the shot" (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 162), and this includes a range of tonalities, speed of motion, perspective, frame dimension and shape, onscreen and offscreen space, angle, level, height, distance of framing and the mobile frame.

Editing contributes to the organisation of a film in that it is the co-ordination of one shot with the next one (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 218). In order to discover how two shots are joined together, several questions could be asked: "how are the shots graphically continuous or discontinuous? What rhythmic relations are created? Are the shots spatially continuous? […] Are the shots temporally continuous? […]" (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 260).

Sound guides the viewer through the images and highlights particular things to look out for (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 265). In order to analyse sound techniques, the following questions should be posed: "(1) What sounds are present – music, speech, noise? How are loudness, pitch, and timbre used? Is the mixture sparse or dense? Modulated or abruptly changing? (2) Is the sound related rhythmically to the image? (3) Is the sound faithful or unfaithful to its perceived source? (4) *Where* is the sound coming from? In the story´s space

or outside it? Onscreen or offscreen? If offscreen, how is it shaping your response to what you´re seeing? (5) *When* is the sound occurring? Simultaneously with the story action? Before? After? (6) How are the various sorts of sounds organized across a sequence or the entire film? What patterns are formed, and how do they reinforce aspects of the film´s overall form? (7) For each of questions 1-6, what purposes are fulfilled and what effects are achieved by the sonic manipulations?" (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 300).

In order to identify those techniques, it is important to understand how style shapes meaning. For further interpretation, it is essential to identify how the various techniques are connected and related, so as to be able to analyse the stylistic pattern. During this analysis, it is possible to discover the pattern the film-maker uses in order to deliver a message or to make a statement with the film. "One part of the director´s job is to direct our attention, and so style will often function simply *perceptually* – to get us to notice things, to emphasize one thing over another, to misdirect our attention, to clarify, intensify, or complicate our understanding of the action." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 308)

According to Barber (1987: 54) "[B]y participating in the discourse that surrounds the production and consumption of art, the researcher must learn how to use the language of artistic conventions: […] Communication in art is more than a language – like semiotic process: it is a process which is grounded in the conditions of artistic production, that is, in material reality."

"*Verständigung*, a process of understanding of, and of agreement about, these manifestations based on communicative interaction with their producers and consumers." (Szombati-Fabian, 1976: 1 cited in Barber 1987: 54)

Before I begin the next part of this thesis, I would like to make a short reflection on my research and writing process. Whilst I was in the field, I was just someone who was interested in film and everybody tried to assist me. However during the reading and writing process, I realised that I cannot simply be somebody who is interested in Nigerian film, because my social background and the fact that I am not Nigerian are important aspects. I therefore asked myself what gave me the right to write about the Nigerian film industry, and about issues that are reflected in the films produced there. My thoughts are similar to those of Smith (2007: xi-xvii), who wrote about corruption in Nigeria and who felt that "focusing on corruption stereotyped and oversimplified the lives of people". He also felt that he ran the risk "of perpetuating common Western misrepresentations of Africa". However, at the same time it is

important not to turn a blind eye to the serious challenges and problems in Nigeria, or to downplay them in any way. Just as in any other country, there are good and bad people. My experience was that I was made to feel very welcome and people provided a lot of assistance in a variety of ways. I feel privileged to have had the chance to spend time in the 'giant' of Africa, though I also have ambivalent feelings with regards to Nigeria. I would agree with the sentiments of a Nigerian friend who said that he sometimes loves and hates Lagos all at the same time. Reflecting on the research and writing process is therefore important, because it is a different experience to just visiting a country. To read about Smith´s experience and his ambivalent feelings towards Nigeria helps to legitimise my research. The statement by Reinharz (1992 cited in Scheyvens/Storey 2003: 6) also helps in terms of the legitimacy issue: "Reinharz comments on the way that a lack of cross-cultural research impedes our understanding of complex development issues." She is referring to western feminist research on so-called third world women. It should not be the case that we only study our own society instead of learning about other societies. I also know from personal experience that it is not easy to carry out research on your own community, as there are always people who know better and/or have different points of view. In that sense, it would seem that the exchange of knowledge and the experience of learning from one another are important aspects that should not be forgotten.

3. Theories

3.1. Popular Culture

Before going into detail about film in Nigeria, I would like to give an overview of popular culture and arts in general. This introductory reflection will familiarise the reader with precursor theatre and also with video production in Nigeria:
"Important parts of this concept were developed around Nigerian arts, especially the Yoruba travelling theater and the musical forms of fuji and juju, all three of which have now been transferred into the video medium. The African popular arts are a loose category comprising cultural forms that occupy an indeterminate space between the traditional and the modern-

elite, produced mainly by and for the heterogeneous masses of Africa´s cities." (Haynes 2000: 13)

Stuart Hall (2003: 2) discussed the term culture and put high culture against popular culture, which was the classic way to debate culture at that time. 'High culture' was understood to mean "the sum of the great idea, as represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy", whereas 'popular culture' stood for "widely distributed forms of popular music, publishing, art, design and literature, or the activities of leisure-time and entertainment, which make up the everyday lives of the majority of 'ordinary people`'" of a particular time. In recent year, the anthropological definition has used the term culture "to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group." (Hall 2003: 2, and Hall 1997: 2 cited in Englert 2008: 1) Furthermore, Hall (2003: 2) emphasises the importance of meaning: "[…], culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group."

I would also like to add John Street´s (1997: 7) definition of popular culture, which provides the following summary: "Popular culture is a form of entertainment that is mass produced or is made available to large numbers (for example, on television). Availability may be measured by the opportunity to enjoy the product or by the absence of social barriers to enjoyment of it (no particular skills or knowledge are required; no particular status or class is barred from entry)." Furthermore, Street (1997: 9) concludes that popular culture makes people feel things, it allows them to experience sensations and "[I]t does not simply echo our [their] state of minds", it also moves people.

Popular arts interact with politics, economics and religion: "Popular arts penetrate and are penetrated by political, economic, and religious institutions in ways that may not always be predictable from our own experience." (Barber 1987: 1, 2) Similarly, John Street (1997: 4) understands popular culture as a part of politics, though the connection between politics and popular culture "depends on the conditions and the context, on the type of popular culture and the type of political system" (Street 1997: 16). In this sense, politics is an important aspect for a deeper analysis of Nigerian films. According to Street (1997: 10) "[P]opular culture´s ability to produce and articulate feelings can become the basis of identity, and that identity can be the

source of political thought and action." Furthermore, popular culture is a way to express the wishes and desires of the people (cf. Street 1997: 17).

According to Karin Barber (1987: 2), the social facts are the most evident reason for giving attention to popular arts. Apart from the social, political and economic relationship, popular arts are also expressive acts and one important aspect is their power of communication:

"All art forms communicate, even though many are not verbal, and those which are often encode their messages in oblique, partial, and fragmented ways. […] Many African popular forms make their effects through a combination of music, dance, costume, mime, song, and speech. In these forms the meaning cannot be extrapolated from the words alone but is conveyed by all the elements in combination." (Barber 1987: 2)

Johannes Fabian (1997: 18) summarises in some connotations the reason for his statement that popular culture has a journalistic currency: according to him, contemporary cultural expressions stand in contrast to both modernity and tradition and furthermore, "it evokes historical condition characterized by mass communication, mass production, and mass participation; it implies, […], a challenge to accepted beliefs in the superiority of 'pure' or 'high' culture, but also to the notion of folklore, a categorization we have come to suspect as being equally elitist and tied to certain conditions in Western society; it signifies, potentially at least, processes occurring behind the back of established powers and accepted interpretations and thus, offers a better conceptual approach to decolonization of which is undoubtedly an important element."

In addition, the question of popular consciousness is important. Barber (1987: 4) concludes that art forms do not reflect an already-constituted consciousness, but rather "a window is given onto something is already fully present". Furthermore, it appears to the author that popular art forms "with their exceptional mobility […] will play a crucial role in formulating new ways of looking at things" (Barber 1987: 4). It is also important to point out how this is implemented and influenced by environmental aspects, which is discussed by Karin Baber (1987: 5, 30, 53):

Firstly, she cites Trotsky (Trotsky 1970: 34 cited in Barber 1987: 5), whose opinion is that "[…] artistic creation" is "a deflection, a changing and transformation of reality […]". Barber (1987: 5) then discusses how different environmental aspects influence expression, such as "by whom and by what means, in what circumstances, under what constraints, in whose interests, and in accordance with what conventions, these arts are produced." In addition, the

historical context and economic environment, which according to Barber (1997: 30) is one of dynamic individualism, also hold an important influence: "Popular art forms therefore cannot be understood by a vague general explanatory appeal to colonialism or social change. The new consciousness they articulate is highly specific and their meanings must be read through the details of local social, political, and economic experience which is continually undergoing historical change." (Barber 1987: 53)

In order to understand popular art, Karin Barber (1987: 34) identifies the following:

"If to understand what art forms are telling us about society, we have to understand them as art forms, this means not just appreciating their aesthetic qualities in some vague way, but engaging with them in a specific and detailed attempt to "read" them according to their own conventions. Their meanings, that is, are only communicable through a shared set of understandings between artist and audience, producer and consumer, about what kind of things can be said by what genre; about the significance of formal and thematic elements and relations; about the role of the audience in the event, and so on."

Furthermore, it is important to note that the artwork appeals to the audience by corresponding to something in their own experience or desires (cf. Barber 1987: 39).

The film industry plays a significant role for entertainment. During the 1980s, a great number of American, Chinese and Indian films were screened in every African city. However, the rapidly-expanding Nigerian film industry came to replace these films. In the beginning, dozens of films were produced in Yoruba by travelling theatres, using their own styles and topics. This movement has also had its effect on the travelling theatre: "The television comedy series format, for instance, had the effect of accelerating the Yoruba popular theater´s transition from operatic dramas to naturalistic domestic comedy." (Barber 1987: 25)

According to Birgit Englert (2008: 3), "the liberalisation of radio and TV helped facilitate the emergence of new forms of popular culture which did not have space on the usually state-controlled media."

To use popular culture to make political statements or to express desires and wishes as discussed above, is one way to utilise the medium of video and film. It is also commonly used "to raise charity or raise awareness" (Street 1997: 30). "Implicated in the idea that popular culture can inspire political action is the idea that it can or should be used as a mechanism of social control. Popular culture features here as, on the one hand, the source of dangerous or

anti-social ideas and practices, and, on the other, as a way of inculcating more socially responsible or desirable behaviour." (Street 1997: 32) With the first statement, Street's (1997: 32-34) argument refers to censorship, which should be liable for moral or religious sensibilities, as well as sexual or violent behaviour. The second citation includes topics such as HIV/AIDS, poverty and so on, which are typical subjects for entertainment-education interventions. In the next part of this chapter, I will discuss how these interventions use popular culture as a platform for raising social awareness.

3.2.   Entertainment-Education

"The use of edutainment is premised on the hope that people would learn easily in the relaxed atmosphere occasioned by entertainment. Its roots can be traced to the didactic nature of moonlight stories and fireside chats which many felt were better channels of socialization and education than the classroom." (University of Ibadan)

The following information on entertainment-education is based primarily on the research of Arvind Singhal and William Brown.

"Entertainment-Education (E-E) is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members´ knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior." (Singhal/Rogers, 1999, 2002 cited in Singhal/Rogers 2004: 5)

According to Singhal and Rogers (2004: 5), "the general purpose of entertainment education interventions is to contribute to the process of directed social change, which can occur at the level of an individual, community or society". These interventions contribute to social change in two different ways: "First, it can influence members´ awareness, attitudes, and behavior toward a socially desirable end. Here the anticipated effects are located in the individual audience members. […] Second, it can influence the audience´s external environment to help create the necessary conditions for social change at the system level. Here the major effects are located in the interpersonal and social-political sphere of the audience´s external environment." (Singhal/Rogers 2004: 5, 6)

According to Singhal and Brown (1996: 19), there is a high potential for entertainment media to educate the public on a diverse range of social topics. They give five significant reasons why more attention should be given to the educational potential of entertainment media:

1. "Leisure and entertainment represent one of the most important megatrends of the 20th century. […] Entertainment consumption continues to rise steadily in both developed and developing countries. Hence, the educational quality of the entertainment media needs to be considered more carefully."

2. "Entertainment media options, spurred by advances in such new communication technologies as satellites, computers, fiber optics, CD-ROMs, and cable TV are rapidly expanding worldwide. As the hardware of entertainment media expand, the choice of the software it carries becomes an important determinant of whether or not the media will be used responsibly in societies."

3. "Development problems loom large all over the world: Ethnic conflicts, environmental catastrophes, infectious diseases, hunger and famine, and unsupported population growth. […] The communication media represent one important tool to disseminate development messages. However, this tool needs to be harnessed judiciously and pragmatically. The popularity, pervasiveness, and profitability of the entertainment media make them especially suited to carry messages of education and development."

4. "[…]. Audience research in many countries shows that viewers would actually prefer to consume more socially-responsible wholesome entertainment, if only it were more readily available."

5. "Research evidence suggests that carefully-designed entertainment initiatives can reach large audiences, educate them about development topics, promote behavior change among them, and at the same time be commercially viable."

(Singhal/Brown 1996: 19, 20)

According to Singhal and Brown (1999: 266), the edutainment-education strategy has spread worldwide due to its grounding in development media theory. The central focus of this theory is to promote partnership and co-operation between national governments and mass media, with the aim of rural and national development (cf. Musa 1997 cited in Singhal/Brown 1999: 266), significant economic development, social change and nation-building.

I will now give some examples of this, paying particular attention to the Nigerian examples based on the article "Entertainment-Education Media Strategies for Social Change: Promises

and Problems" from Brown and Singhal. Firstly, the strategy for the radio format will be discussed. In comparison to television, film and print media, the radio represents an especially viable medium to carry entertainment-education messages in so-called developing countries as it is very easy to access. The advantages are that a radio program can be produced cheaply and quickly (cf. Gilluly/Morre 1986 cited in Singhal/Brown 1999: 266) and does not require a crew or much equipment. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the John Hopkins University Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) collaborated with family planning associations in a number of African countries, including "Fakube Jarra" in Gambia in 1990, "Family Affairs" in Ghana from 1990 to 1993 and "Ezina-Uno" in Nigeria in 1988, to mention just a few (cf. Singhal/Brown 1999: 267). Close to the radio format is the music format, which can also be produced easily. "Choices" and "Wait for Me" are two examples from Nigeria from the year 1989 made in collaboration with JHU/PCS, which promoted family planning (cf. Singhal/Brown 1999: 271). The education-entertainment can also take many forms in the print media: the most famous example is the use of comics to address issues such as AIDS prevention, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, prostitution etc. India, Mexico, Japan, Thailand and many other countries have a long tradition of utilising comic books for cultural and educational functions (cf. Singhal/Brown 1999: 272). The use of this strategy in television with the soap opera format has been successful in the past and continues to be so today. Telenovelas became particularly popular in Latin America and Asia, but also in Africa, for example, "Cock Crow at Dawn" in Nigeria (cf. Singhal/Brown 1999: 269). As part of the "Operation feed the Nation" program, which was launched by the Nigerian government in 1976 to seek ways of encouraging Nigerians to go back to the land and farm, the "Cock Crow at Dawn" series was designed to promote this idea and to control the rural-urban drift (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 47).

According to Singhal and Brown (1999: 271), educational issues are usually a by-product in feature films due to the economic motives of such films. They provide the following examples of American productions or co-productions with the USA: "Cry Freedom" about Apartheid in South Africa, "Gorillas in the Mist" about preserving the environment, "Mississippi Burning" about the civil rights movements in the American South, "Children of a Lesser God" about physically disabled people, "Schindler´s List" about the Holocaust, and "Philadelphia" about AIDS in the workplace (Singhal/Brown 1999: 271).

Many more examples from different countries all over the world could be given. *Arugbá,* my own example from Nigeria, is a feature film that used the education-entertainment strategy as a basis, in contrast to the above-mentioned films.

With this short introduction, my aim was to illustrate education-entertainment and also to show that there are many forms and ways to use it. It began in developing countries in the form of radio and television programs. Nowadays, various types of E-E exist and the strategy has been applied all over the world (cf. Singhal/Rogers 2004: 8).

3.2.1. Definition of Terms

The term "enter-educate" was first used by the John Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs (JHUCCP) in 1988. Entertainment is the format and education the message. Drama, music and films were produced to make people in developing countries aware of family planning and to promote a birth rate decrease (cf. Laisisi 2008: 179).

"Entertainment-education is defined as the process of putting educational content in entertainment media messages in order to increase knowledge about an issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior concerning the educational issue or topic." (Singhal cited in Singhal/Brown 1996: 21) "The general idea is to use the universal appeal of entertainment to show individuals how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives." (Singhal/Brown 1996: 21) The strategy provides a means to overcome the limitations of entertainment-degradation and boredom-education programs (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 22, 23; 1999: 265). "They [Entertainment-education programs] provide an opportunity to be socially responsible and commercially profitable; further, they can make education engaging and rewarding for audience members." (Singhal/Brown 1996: 23)

An important part of entertainment-education is the integration of local folk theatre, dance forms, puppetry, storytelling and other traditions (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 31).

3.2.2. History

It should be acknowledged that the idea of combining entertainment and education to support social change is not new, but is based on the art of storytelling. An essential part of the informal education of people are folk theatres, dance dramas, fables, moral plays, religious music and so on, all of which include elements of the entertainment-education strategy (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 23, 1999: 263, 264). They are all also forms of storytelling, in countries where a rich oral tradition still persists (cf. Valbuena 1987, 1988 cited in Singhal/Brown 1996: 23). To combine this with modern mass media channels such as radio, television, film, video, rock music and so on, is a concept that began in the early 1950s. This strategy was first institutionalised on radio in 1951, with the broadcast of the popular British radio soap opera "The Archers". It was designed to promote farming innovation in Britain after World War II. Similarly Elain Perkins, a radio scriptwriter in Jamaica, produced radio soap operas on educational-development issues from the late 1950s onwards (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 24).

The conscious use of this strategy in television and rock music began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Miguel Sabido, from Mexico, was a pioneer of entertainment-education on television. He was inspired in 1969 by the educational effect of a Peruvian soap opera called "Simplemente Maria". The story was about a woman called Maria who came from the Andean highlands and worked in the city as a maid, at the same time she attended adult literacy classes in the evening. This training helped her to become a successful seamstress and fashion designer (cf. Singhal, Obregon, Rogers 1994 cited in Singhal/Brown 1996: 24, 1999: 268). The effect of the popular soap opera throughout Latin America was that the character of Maria inspired young women to enrol in literacy classes and sewing schools. Based on this, Miguel Sabido formulated the theoretical basis of the entertainment-education strategy for television, and proposed a method for producing entertainment-education soap operas or telenovelas. This included the incorporation of social learning theory (Bandura 1977), dramatic theory (Bently 1967) and archetypal theory (Jung 1970). He produced seven entertainment-education telenovelas in Mexico between 1975 and 1982, and met most of the educational-development objectives such as promoting adult literacy, a higher status for women, family planning, and better treatment for children among other issues, as well as managing to reach a large audience. This provided the impulse for many other countries to produce similar types of dramatic television series (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 24f, 1999: 268).

As mentioned above, the Johns Hopkins University Population Communication Services, the Center for Communication Programs in Baltimore[5] and also the non-governmental organisation (NGO) "Population Communications-International"[6] based in New York, are organisations that have been important in the development of E-E since the early days, having assisted with the launch of the entertainment-education strategy in media formats such as rock music, radio, television, print and theatre in several so-called developing countries, with generally positive educational outcomes (cf. Singhal/Brown 1996: 24, Singhal/Rogers 2004: 7). The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is also a leader in the effective use of E-E. With their programs, they support national interests through education, information and edutainment (cf. Cody/Fernandes/Wilkin 2004: 243, 244). The BBC World Trust Service[7] established itself "as an effective advocate of both educational and E-E programming around the world, advocating individual rights, tolerance and health" (Cody/Fernandes/Wilkin 2004: 259). Today many organisations worldwide are working with this strategy, with Africa Radio Drama Association[8] being the most famous one in Nigeria.

In 1994, the United Nations Population Conference in Cairo recognized E-E as a viable communication strategy for population communication. Later, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta considered the adoption of this strategy to target adolescents at high risk for drug abuse and HIV/AIDS (cf. Rogers & Shefner-Rogers 1994 cited in Singhal/Brown 1996: 28).

3.2.3. Challenges of Entertainment-Education

Phyllis Tilson Piotrow and Esta de Fossard (2004: 44-46) discuss the seven challenges, which are identified by the John Hopkins University Center of Communication Programs (JHU/CCP), as follows:

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[5] also with the collaboration of USAID (United States Agency for International Development)

[6] For further information: http://www.population.org/index.shtml

[7] For further information: http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/

[8] For further information: http://ardaradio.org/home

1. **Too much education and not enough entertainment.** It is possible that audiences will get annoyed if there is too much education in the media, if their intention is to use media "to escape real-life problems".

2. **Too much entertainment and not enough education.** The problem here could be that the entertainment aspect overwhelms the education side. As a result "the audiences lose sight of the health message".

3. **Poor quality entertainment.** Viewers will not be attracted by inappropriate characters, plots or dialogues.

4. **No credible urgency.** The task for entertainment is to make a message seem credible.

5. **Routine recommendations.** In the case of specific preventive health measures such as taking a daily contraceptive pill or breastfeeding etc., it is more difficult to package them in an entertainment story that has the desired effect and is not boring.

6. **No immediate personal relevance.** If people are not confronted in a direct way with a particular health problem they tend to ignore the E-E message.

7. **Controversies based on culture and tradition.** It is important to be aware of the culture and traditions of a society.

In order to become aware of these challenges, it is important to get training in basic entertainment-education skills. This was a necessary step for JHU/CCP E-E series or dramas (cf. Piotrow/de Fossard 2004: 44-46).

In addition, Brown and Singhal (1999: 272-275) identify structural barriers to effective E-E, such as:

1. **The social structure of communities:** whether or not the E-E is successful depends on the members of a community and their collective values and beliefs, as well as on how homogenous they are.

2. **Social conflict:** this point is similar to point seven in the list above.

3. **The organisations that control information:** it depends on the censorship or political leadership of the institution and/or government as to what kind of knowledge is allowed to be transmitted via the media.

4. **The media environment:** not everyone has access to television or radio. It is therefore necessary to be aware of this in order to be able to create the right story and choose the right form of media.

5. **Language:** the viewer responds more directly if the message is in their own mother tongue.
6. **Infrastructure limitation.**

It is also important to be aware of the ethical aspect: "Who will determine what is right for whom? […] This dilemma is a structural problem because the social structure of each social system and those in control of information will determine what social values or beliefs should be promoter by media." (Brown/Singhal 1990, 1994, 1999: 275)

According to Street (1997: 14), "[N]ot every film 'works', and the way film moves us is different form the way music or television affects us." With this hypothesis in mind, I will introduce the Nigerian film industry in the following chapter. I will also emphasise this hypothesis in terms of the film analysis, in order to discuss the interaction between the narration, sound and image.

4. The Nigerian Film Industry

"The whites are going their own way.
But we too are going their own way!
That is not right.
We should go our own way."
(Akinwumi Isola[9] 2008: 14)

Film is a medium for the promotion, propagation and preservation of culture. Many people have used the potential of this medium to their advantage (cf. Johnson 2000: 200).

According to Jonathan Haynes (2000: 4), there are various reasons why attention should be paid to Nigerian video films, which offer "the strongest, most accessible expression of contemporary Nigerian popular culture, which is to say the imagination of Africa´s largest nation."

4.1. From celluloid to video format

This chapter provides an overview of the negative and positive aspects of the video format, through a demonstration of the modification.

Technology such as video and audio cassettes, photocopiers, faxes and computers, partly constitute what has been referred to by media scholars as "small media" (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi 1994 cited in Larkin 2000: 219). They differ from the older, 'big' mass media such as cinema, television and radio stations, in the following ways:

"Unlike state television networks, which require massive financial investment, or the corporate production of cinema, small media are more decentralized in their ownership. This makes them more like unofficial forms of popular culture, from rumors to jokes and mimicry, in that they create cultural and political spaces of communication that are outside of the control of the state and corporations." (Larkin 2000: 219)

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[9] Akinwumi Isola is a Professor of Yoruba literature, dramatist, novelist, poet, essayist, literary critc, actor and screenwriter. He has a B.A. in French, an M.A. in Yoruba Oral Literature and a Ph.D. in Yoruba Written Literature. He has received many awards, including the Nigerian National Order of Merit. (Cf. Ogunleye 2008: ix)

Similar to this statement, John Street cited John Scott (1990 cited in 1997: 12), who "talks of the way that popular culture provides a 'hidden transcript' in which is written the anger and reciprocal aggression denied by the presence of domination. The hidden transcript can be found in rumor, gossip, folktales, jokes, songs, rituals, codes, and euphemism […]."

The declaration "Video is the AIDS of the film industry" (Rouch cited in Barrot 2008: 3) by Jean Rouch, a French filmmaker who shot many films about Africa, could be seen to reflect the attendant fear of a new media and demonstrate the negative aspects of small media. According to Pierre Barrot (2008: 3), it is not clear what Jean Rouch wants to imply with this statement. On the one hand it could be that he is warning people of the viral nature of piracy, or on the other that he is drawing particular attention to the mass consumption that was beginning to replace the technique of film, whereby just a small group of people have specialized on it. With the medium of video came the possibility for almost anyone to shoot a film with cheap equipment and not very much knowledge, but the fear was that this potential could be misused. However, apart from these negative aspects, the video format has provided great opportunities for Nigeria (cf. Barrot 2008: 6).

As Jonathan Haynes summarised, "from a commercial point of view these video films are the great success story of African cinema" (2007a: 1) and "from a cultural point of view, the videos are one of the greatest explosions of popular culture the continent has ever seen" (Haynes/Okome 1998 cited in Haynes 2007a: 1). Local producers work together with the African audience without governmental or European assistance, and without the help of international film festivals. This initiative has had a great impact on African cinema. In the early years, video films were shot cheaply on video format and were sold or rented as video cassettes, which today have become video compact discs. Furthermore, they are broadcast on television all over anglophone Africa. Apart from that, they were screened in theatres, small video parlors, and even in rural villages where itinerant exhibitors came with televisions, video cassette players or V-CD players and generators (cf. Haynes 2007a: 1).

According to Femi Shaka (2003: 41), the use of the video format as a narrative medium of popular entertainment in Nigeria grew out of the following two impulses: firstly the fascination with modern technology, and secondly the opportunity to take domestic problems and transform them into something creative. The photographic camera was an important equipment for documenting ceremonies and this early fascination with photography is today

complemented by the video camera. The first set of people to commercially exploit the video camera were traditional photographers, who documented private and domestic ceremonies such as weddings, naming ceremonies, burials, community festivals and so on. In this respect, it was useful for the social documentation that is partially reflected in films today and in fact it facilitated the transition (cf. Shaka 2003: 41- 44).

Video film production began in the late 1980s as a result of a general economic collapse that made celluloid film too expensive to purchase (cf. Haynes 2007a: 1). Shaka (2003: 42) also argues convincingly that a significant reason for the transition from celluloid to video was the national economic depression of the 1980s, and the subsequent Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)[10] regulated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) after the oil boom decade of the 1970s: "Essentially SAP came with the devaluation of the Naira. It was the adverse effects of the devaluation of the national currency that stifled the celluloid based budding Nigerian film industry. The creative experimentation with the video camera as a medium for narrative film was therefore a consequence of the post-SAP financial difficulties encountered by the filmmakers." (Shaka 2003: 42)

Celluloid cinema had always been regulated and sometimes supported by the firstly colonial[11] and later national authorities, because of the large investments of capital. They were aware of the power of the medium and utilised it "to project cultural nationalist ideology and a favorable image of the country" (Haynes 2007a: 2). Consequently in the beginning, film was generally not meant for entertainment (cf. Adedokun 2008: 229).

"Film and its literary cohort (theatre) are the most powerful instrument of social transformation with sharp positive and negative edges. Therefore it is a delicate instrument that must be imaginatively utilized. Techniques employed in cinematography so often take to ransom the feeling and emotions of the audience. The theme (message), the camera angle of shooting, the close-up, the flow, the aesthetics and music always whip up human sentiments for or against any issue treated. These are so because film is an expressive means of communication. Its language is the combination of picture, motion and sound. […] The

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[10]The crisis of debt and stagnation of the African economy after 1973-74 was linked to this overall change in the world economy. That was the abrupt end of the rapid post-World War II economic growth. The price of raw materials increased, oil shocks and the rise in real interest rates worldwide etc. were consequences of it (cf. Nafziger 1993: xvii, xviii). Nigeria undertook several SAP´s: 1983-86, 1986-88, and 1989-91 (cf. Nafziger 1993: 129-131).

[11] The documentary was more or less the only film type in the beginning of cinema in Nigeria. The missionaries used the films for proselytizing, the schools for socialisation and the government for mass mobilisation within the colonial ethos (cf. Ekwuazi 2008: 137).

colonial Film Unit propaganda presentations did open the eyes of the Nigerian elites and cultural proponents to use the nascent film tradition to fight racial discrimination, political servitude and injustice." (Adedokun 2008: 229)

Most of the Nigerian films on celluloid that were produced by Nigerians themselves, such as Wole Soyinka´s *Kongi´s Harvest* in 1969, were social-political, being culturally and economically relevant to the country. Celluloid film production is very expensive and as a result, most of these films were financial failures (cf. Adedokun 2008: 230). In contrast, video production was possible as an informal sector activity as the technology was cheap and it was widely available in Nigeria. It therefore flourished as a form of popular culture in perfect indifference to the intentions of the authorities (cf. Larkin 2000 cited in Haynes 2007a: 2).

I would also like to mention some economic effects. In recent times, the film industry has become an important sector of Nigerian economic growth. Film-makers produce films exclusively in the medium of video in order to keep the budget very low. Pierre Barrot made a comparison with the American film industry Hollywood, and discovered that "the total production costs of some 1,600 Nigerian films made in 2006 is estimated to be less than US\$ 60 million, and is thus lower than the budget of a single Hollywood film." (Barrot 2008)

The legal market for films in Nigeria is a huge one and runs alongside the black market. As a result of this, statistics from the National Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB)[12] are just approximations (cf. Barrot 2008: 32). With the production of an estimated fifty films per week, the Nigerian film industry has become one of the major sources of employment and in 2006 had over 35,000 guild association members (cf. Ibitola 2008: 47).

According to Larkin (2000: 221), small media products are both heightened and threatened by the problem of piracy. In Nigeria, piracy has increased the range of media available enormously, particularly in terms of American, Indian and Chinese films. "Piracy is now central to the circulation of media flows within the Third World." (Larkin 2000: 221) The author concludes that "many video entrepreneurs see themselves as latter-day Robin Hoods, robbing the wealthy media conglomerates so that the world´s poor can have access to programs that are otherwise beyond their means" (Larkin 2000: 221).

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[12] The NFVCB has been based in Lagos since 1993, but the Board has subsequently opened other offices in Abuja, Kano and Onitsha.

Consequently, the piracy of Nigerian video productions by Nigerians themselves is a big problem in the country and could even paralyse the Nigerian video industry (cf. Larkin 2000: 221).

In relation to this issue, Haynes (2007a: 3) comments that marketers make more copies of films than they acknowledge to the film-makers and also sell copies of popular films. In addition, television stations broadcast the films without buying the rights and freelancers take them abroad without the permission of the film-makers in order to sell them to countries all over the world. Haynes (2007a: 3) also points out that the biggest problem is the lost revenue from video rentals. There are thousands of shops in Nigeria that rent video films without returning profits to the producers, because no mechanism exists for this (cf. Haynes 2007a: 3). The film producer Amaka Igwe suggests two possible strategies to curb the power of the marketers: one strategy would be to renovate cinema houses and the other would be for producers to collectively organise their own distribution outlets (cf. Haynes and Okome 2000: 70).

4.2.   How free are Nigerian film-makers?

Before introducing some examples of this topic, I will provide an overview of film censorship in Nigeria in order to explain what is permitted to be shown, how censorship tries to control what is produced by the film industry and which other factors influence film-making in Nigeria.

Independence from Britain in the year 1960 brought not only a change to political and economic policies in Nigeria, but also implied a review of the cultural and creative sector. According to Paul Ugor (2007: 4), this new cultural orientation gave birth to the "Cinematographic Act" of 1963. This was the guiding reference for film censors for many years and it was the prerogative of the minister to select the films without criteria (cf. Ugor 2007: 4, 5).[13] In the 1970s, representatives from various unions such as the Federal Ministry of Labour, Lagos state social welfare, the Roman Catholic diocese of Lagos, the Methodist

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[13] Usually the chief federal adviser of education was the president who headed the board. The other participants were to include six official government members, six more members represented voluntary agencies, four members from the Lagos City Council, usually five representatives of the three regions, and some representatives of what was designated as "other interests". (Cf. Ugor 2007: 5)

church of Nigeria, the Young Men and Women's Christian Association and the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs, became new members of the censorship board. These groups were divided into different committees, which covered four geo-political zones in the country. Their duty was to control and select both local and international films (cf. Ugor 2007: 5).

In order to obtain approval, a film should not:

1. Undermine national security

2. Induce or reinforce corruption of private and public morality

3. Encourage illegal or criminal acts

4. Expose people of African descent to ridicule and contempt

5. Encourage racial religious or ethnic discrimination and conflict

(Ekwuazi 1991: 158 cited in Ugor 2007: 5)

The 1987 "Communication Policy" supplemented these five provisions with terms that were related "to the educational and entertainment value of films, its capacity for promoting national unity, and its potential for enhancing national culture" (Ugor 2007: 5). The military extended their political influence to almost every aspect of national life, including the cultural sector. They also had an impact on the Nigerian Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) as it was established in 1993. [14] (cf. Ugor 2007: 5-12)

This board is made up of 48 members[15] and carries out the following functions:

1. To license:

   a. A person to exhibit films and video works

   b. A premises to the purpose of exhibiting films and videos works.

2. To censor films and video works.

3. To regulate and prescribe safety precaution to be observed in licensed premises.

4. To regulate and control cinematographic exhibition.

5. To keep a register of all films and video works,

   a. Submitted for approval for exhibiting throughout Nigeria

   b. Approved unconditionally

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[14] Decree no. 85 is the instrument for its establishment and was published in the official gazette no. 25, Vol. 80 on September 1st, 1993 (cf. Ugor 2007: 6).

[15] These members are professionals such as lawyers, sociologists, historians, linguists etc., who are trained usually by the Nigeria Film Institute, a partnership program in film censorship. In special cases language assistants in Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Tiv, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Ijaw, Efik and so forth were contracted (cf. Ugor 2007: 11).

  c. Refused approval subject to such conditions as the board may impose.

6. To keep a register for all:

  a. Licensed films and video exhibition premises.

  b. Film and video distribution companies.

  c. Video shops, centers, clubs or associations.

7. To keep a register of all the film and video exhibitors

8. Keep a record for all necessary information on film and video producers whose work(s) is to be distributed or exhibited in Nigeria.

  a. Keep records of all changes in any register kept by the board.

(Ugor 2007: 6, 7)

The board works with a 22-point list of criteria and a 16-point technical sheet for assessment in order to select the films, and utilises classification symbols for different categories. (Cf. Ugor 2007: 7-12). All details can be found in figures 1.1. to 1.4. in the appendix.

According to Paul Ugor (2007: 11), this process differs from other film cultures. For example, in America the rating board begins to assess a film from the scripted screenplay, whereas in Nigeria the film is completed before the filmmakers have to bring it to the censorship board. The cost for this varies from N15.000 to N20.000.

The board has three operational area offices, which are located in Lagos (South West), Onitsha (South East) and Kano (North), and the headquarters, which are located in the capital city Abuja. These offices are not sufficient to control the film industry across the whole country, which has a population of approximately 150 million people spread across thirty-six states and a film production rate of about one film per day. It is therefore easy for film-makers to avoid the censorship process, selling or screening the censored version only in premises close to the office of the board and showing the original uncensored version in other locations. Another problem is that private TV stations are not interested in this issue and display uncensored films regardless of checks or any potential consequences. This applies particularly to violent films (cf. Ugor 2007: 11-13).

Another important issue related to censorship is the *intrinsic self-regulatory attitude* that Hyginus Ekwuazi called "Hidden Censorship" (1999 cited in Ugor 2007: 14). This includes the marketers, the producers, the two main religions of Christianity and Islam, as well as the audience.

In the Nigerian context, the marketers are businesswo/men who are responsible for the distribution of the films. They also know the distributors, who are in contact with the exhibitors or video club owners and so they have access to audience reactions. They therefore get an idea of what kind of stories do or do not sell and which stories are particularly popular. In some cases they try to tell their own stories as well and become producers or scriptwriters etc. (cf. Ugor 2007: 15, 16). According to Ugor (2007: 17), this has a negative effect on the film industry because they "confuse commerce with aesthetics".

The next group that influences the film industry are the producers. According to Paul Ugor (2007: 16), the boundary between the producers and the marketers is not visible. The important difference is that some of them are trained in the business of film-making, and studied subjects such as drama, theatre, English or fine arts at Nigerian universities. Some of them have their own production studios, with Tunde Kelani, Kenneth Nnebue and Amaka Igwe being the most famous among them. They seek funds from banks, corporate bodies, relatives or stakeholders that are interested in their productions (cf. Ugor 2007: 17). Sometimes they are the producer, scriptwriter and director all at once. Tunde Kelani explains it in this way:

"I just come across a story which I want to share with the cinema audience and I go ahead to do the story. That´s all! You do not need to consult anybody before hand; neither do I need to submit my material to anybody. I´m free. Its all in an atmosphere of freedom." (personal interview with Ugor 2001 in Ugor 2007: 16)

The third factor is religion, which plays an important role in Nigerian society. The history of the church began with white missionaries using theatre to proselytise people, but the implementation is quite different today:

"Unlike their colonial counterparts, the Christian videos are merely intended to evangelize in a "supposedly barren cultural [spiritual] landscape" (Okome and Haynes 1997: 29) but also to rationalize the root of contemporary human travails." (Ugor 2007: 17)

In the early days of cinema in Nigeria, religious topics dominated the market. In the post-war period, elements of sex and violence increased in film, leading churches to suggest avoiding watching such video films as they were "the organ of the devil, the idol of sinners, the sink of infamy, the stumbling block to human progress, the moral cancer of civilization, the number one enemy of Jesus Christ" (Miles 1947 cited in Ogunleye 2003: 106). Ogunleye (2003: 107, 108) identifies Christian video films as a reaction to secular films: "They should be used to

counter some of the negative fare such as sex, violence, apostasy, idolatry, etc. currently visible in the popular video film movement. […] The Nigerian Christian video film utilizes absolutes of good and evil. It outlines what should be permissible behavior within the society to ensure peace and tranquility." According to Adeniyi (2008: 239-244), the aim of Christian video films is evangelism. They are used to teach about morality, i.e. "to correct vices and misdemeanours in the society", and they have two target groups: the believers and the non-believers, so as to influence them towards Christianity. Teaching Bible messages is also an important aspect (cf. Ogunleye 2003: 108). Similarly, Islam has a strong influence on film-making in the North of Nigeria. Islam is not just a religion, it is also a way of life that is reflected in the films. I will discuss these aspects in detail further on (4.3.3.).

The final factor is the audience, which has a significant impact on the film production industry as they decide which stories they prefer and which ones they do not like to see on screen. The Nigerian audience is a very active (Ugor 2007: 19) and heterogeneous one. Emasealu (2008: 146-148) identifies six different categories of Nigerian video film spectators: (1) local language-based audience which prefers to watch films in their own mother tongue, (2) religious audience, (3) illiterate or semi-literate audience is the type of viewers who "use the video films as an escape route form the drudgery of daily existence", (4) "sit-at-home" audience are housewives, house helps, the unemployed, and students on vacation, (5) new elite viewership who can afford to pay for cable service and networks such as DSTV,CMTV, CTL and Trend TV, with channels such as Africa Magic and Nigerian Movies, and the last category is (6) émigré and non-African audience: "[…] Africans who have immigrated to such distant lands as Europe, Asia and America apparently in search of greener pastures. These video films offer them the opportunity to romanticize their past as well as have a glimpse at goings-on back home. Similarly, these video films are invaluable to their children […]." (Emasealu 2008: 148)

In 1997, Ademola James (cited in Haynes 2006: 512), the executive director of the Nigerian National Film and Video Censors Board emphasised that the major issues of the time, such as joblessness, problems within the legal system, justice, equity, freedom, politics, social problems within education, medical services, housing, food, drug addiction and trafficking, should be topics in video films:

"Nigerian film makers should use their genius to analyse and dissect the various urgent social issues facing the nation today and proffer possible solutions via the screen if possible. It is not an impossible task. It is part of their social responsibility." (Ademola 1997 cited in Haynes 2006: 512)

Video film production in Nigeria emerged during the era of military dictatorship. During that time film production, rather than journalism, could be understood as a sign of "freedom of expression" in Africa. Nigerian film producers are not afraid to show problems of drug abuse, criminality and prostitution etc. in their works (cf. Barrot 2008: 45, 46). Including politics as an important topic in video films has become much safer since the end of the military dictatorship in 1999. One year after the end of military rule, films about politics were recognised as a money-making trend (cf. Haynes 2006: 214). As Haynes (2006: 526 - 528) points out, the end of military rule in 1999 was not the solution to Nigeria´s political problems, but it has created an environment for more open political debates in which topics for discussion can be aired. The video industry used this opportunity to place an emphasis on political topics, with different film-makers producing films about presidents, dictatorships, wars, the situation of soldiers, religious conflicts and so on. Nevertheless, it is still dangerous to discuss some topics in a direct way, for example, religious conflicts show wars between Christianity and so-called traditional religions, rather than conflicts between Christians and Muslims as this issue "is too inflammatory to be treated", as Haynes (2006: 529) puts it. To discuss political problems or to make a political statement in feature films, film-makers take a rumour from society, turn it into a script and then throw it back to society. In order to achieve this they use metaphor, as it would be too dangerous to confront the government in a direct way. The Censors Board would not release the film and the film-maker would not be able to make a profit from it. Nigerian film-makers do not have absolute freedom to express their thoughts. The limits placed on this expression depend on how a person tells a story and how another receives it (cf. Ekwuazi personal interview 2010). For example, *The Brave Soldier,* by Don Pedro Obaseki, is a film about the lives of Nigerian soldiers. The Nigerian Censors Board demanded it be edited because of concerns that scenes in the barracks would undermine discipline. The film-maker was also bribed not to show the film in a location close to a military base (cf. Haynes 2006: 529). Amadi Akpabio, a female film-maker, made a film that went against the Catholic Church, which was banned outright by the Censors Board. The film-maker subsequently took the board to court and after about seven years, she managed to

win the case. However, at the same time the Censors Board also won as they did not approve of the film and the film-maker spent a lot of money on it only for it to no longer be relevant. The only positive point was that she was able to say that she had won the case (cf. Okhai personal interview 2010; Ekwuazi personal interview 2010) Another example is the film originally titled *Guns of Biafra* by Simi Opeoluwa, that came out in 2000. It was the first film to deal with the very traumatic subject of the Nigerian Civil War. It is about an Igbo military officer who is posted to the northern part of the country and who is married to a northern Muslim woman. When the war breaks out, he is forced to flee to the South to take up arms. Opeoluwa was forced to edit the film and also to change the title due to strong similarities with the Nigeria/Biafra Civil War, which occurred between 1967 and 1970. In the end, the film was released under the title *The Battle of Love*. "The film was pushed in the direction of melodrama precisely to blunt its political edge." (Haynes 2006: 529)

Agogo Èèwò and *The Campus Queen* are films that deal with government and corruption. They are both directed by Tunde Kelani and were initially banned but later released after an "offensive scene" had been removed, though the second film was banned completely from being shown on television (cf. Okhai 2009).

Victor Okhai´s answer to the question of how free Nigerian film-makers are to express their thoughts is as follows: *"It is a matter of how someone tells his or her story. If a film is okay or a title registered decides the Censors Board in Nigeria. They do not climb down on filmmakers if they show for instance corruption in their movies but if it begins to border the current president in a direct way and if the people who works at the censors board are not feeling comfortable with it they are also afraid of their own jobs."* (Okhai personal interview 2010)

Nigerian film-makers use the medium of film to catch the audience's attention and alert them to their political rights and duties, in order to help them become a critical civil society and to initiate movements against corrupt political leadership in Nigeria (cf. Ogunleye personal interview 2010).

4.3.   Different types of film and genres

"A film like any work of art supposed to entertain, it is supposed to educate, it is supposed to portray society at the way it is. Functionally it is supposed to correct ills in the society. I bring some of these things to limelight and suggesting ways out of these problems. Most Nigerian films don't do that. It is just entertainment and very little education. That is what the majority does. But there are some play writers, some film script writers, some producers that produce high quality films." (Afolabi personal interview 2010)

In the following section, I will discuss the different types of film used to make political statements. The subsequent explanation will demonstrate how these various types of film are used and what kind of social effect they potentially have, or rather just how powerful this medium is. The examples referred to are based closely on Foluke Ogunleye´s (n.d.) list in the article "The good, the bad and the future: Nigerian videos and democracy."

4.3.1. Entertainment

According to Adesanya, newsreels and documentaries are products of a colonial heritage that has been continued, whereas feature films are made more in a Nigerian way:
"While newsreel and documentary production was a carryover from the colonial heritage, the imperative need to produce feature films gave rise to an intellectual movement initiated by a handful of writers and private film and performing arts graduates, not only in reaction to and rejection of alien cultural domination but also to reinstate our own cultural heritage and reorient our own people suffering from a colonial mentality." (Adesanya 2000: 37)

Most of the films that are produced and are well-known in Nigeria belong to the entertainment category. These films address essentially domestic issues, such as love and romance, and include issues of how to find true love, money and poverty in relationships, dating and marriage, inheritance, polygamy, family feuds, business and how poverty in the family can affect choices made by family members. Further topics tackled by film-makers in so-called crime stories and which are commonly portrayed in Nigerian films, include armed

robbery, prostitution, money rituals, the advent of fake spiritualists and so on (cf. Laisisi 2008: 181, 182).

According to Haynes (2006: 511) there are three main types of video genre that constitute politics in Nigeria: *Traditional rulership* films give examples of kingdoms etc. In *crime thrillers,* film-makers display money rituals for example, which have deep roots in Nigerian cultures and have figured prominently in Nigerian video for a long time. The third genre is *family melodrama*, which is highly influenced by soap operas and describes glamour and political issues (cf. Haynes 2006: 521, 522). It is common to formulate melodramatic film titles in order to hide the political undertones of the film, as in the case of the film I mentioned earlier that was originally titled "Guns of Biafra" but was changed to "The battle of Love" (cf. Haynes 2006: 529). Foluke Ogunleye (n.d.: 5) would add *comedies* to this list of genres. They are used to explore sensitive political issues, with one example of this being *Aare Apa'se wa*, which is a caricature of President Obasanjo. Another example is *Night of a Thousand Laughs,* which is a collection of performances by stand-up comedians who use their artistic licence to comment incisively on sensitive political matters.

Videos, especially the genre of melodrama, are influenced by Anglo-American television soap operas, Latin American telenovelas and Indian films. Various melodramatic elements such as the predominantly domestic settings, multiple interwoven plot lines and an emphasis on dialogue rather than action, are common to soap operas, telenovelas and Indian films. A film is also very often split into two or more parts. However, in spite of this similarity of style, foreign influence on Nigerian melodramas is less significant than that of their own precursors, such as the Yoruba Travelling Theatre or the Igbo Onitsha Market literature, which were full of melodramatic elements (cf. Haynes 2000: 22, 23). Thus, in order to analyse Nigerian video films, it is much more important to take a closer look at internal influences. However, it is not easy to ignore influences from abroad as we live in a global world. The film-makers themselves are the only ones who can answer the question of whether they used foreign soap operas as a model for their film productions, or whether they used Nigerian theatre and literature.

4.3.2. Documentaries

According to Hyginus Ekwuazi (personal interview 2010), most of the stories told in entertainment movies are also portrayed by documentary films. In comparison with feature films, it is the documentaries that have the strongest impact and which play a major role in touching peoples' lives. They discuss issues such as female genital mutilation and widowhood. *Uncouth playing with life* is a documentary made by a woman about female genital mutilation, and it has had a positive impact on the legislation relating to the ban on female circumcision in Edo State. These subject areas are also reflected in feature films but those films do not achieve the changes that documentary films do.

Propaganda films are a sub-category of documentary films and in Nigeria are mostly used by people in the government in order to manipulate and influence a target group (cf. Ogunleye n.d.: 5, Ogunleye 2007: 41). The history of film in Nigeria shows that this medium has been used to address many issues. In the early days, colonial masters used the medium for propaganda and it continues to be used in this way by the government today (cf. Ogunleye personal interview 2010). Foluke Ogunleye defined different categories of propaganda movies, which will be described in detail as follows: "Propaganda utilizes a systematic and organized modus operandi with definite sets of goals. The ultimate goal is to persuade the target audience to think or act in a specified way." (Ogunleye 2007: 42) The author utilises the term "hidden persuader", cited in Vance Packard, to describe the relationship between the medium of television and propaganda. This relates to the way in which people are manipulated without them even being aware of it. It has therefore become a primary instrument for governments, public figures, individuals, religious and other organisations, to persuade the target audience of their point of view (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 42). There are several types of propaganda: "moralistic art propaganda, propaganda of integration, agitation, conformist propaganda, rational propaganda and religious propaganda" (Ogunleye 2007: 46) to name just those that are relevant to this study.

In the following part, I will provide some examples presented by Foluke Ogunleye in the paper "The hidden Persuaders: Nigerian Tele-Drama and Propaganda". A positive example of propaganda is *My Father´s burden* by Wole Soyinka, the first play to be broadcast on Nigerian television in August 1960. This play was described as an incisive criticism of the new Nigerian bourgeoisie and their role in bribery and corruption (cf. Olusola 1981cited in

Ogunleye 2007: 46). Ogunleye (2007: 46) includes this example in the "propaganda of agitation" category.

As part of "Operation feed the Nation", a program which was launched by the Nigerian government in 1976 to seek ways of encouraging Nigerians to go back to the land and farm, the serial *Cock-Crow at Dawn* was designed to assist this idea and to control the rural-urban drift. The television program, which can also be included in the "propaganda of integration" category, portrays a family who stays in the city and faces various problems. For example, the father loses his job and the children get into trouble as a result of negative peer influence, which emphasises the disadvantages of urban life. As a result of this, the family moves back to the village and the farm and things change for the better (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 47).

Religious propaganda connected to conformist propaganda is another type of propaganda that is common in Nigeria. For example, *The Beginning of the End* (a Christian tale of morality) by Bamiloye, shows the life of Christians and compares it to how the "non-Christians suffer for their folly" (Ogunleye 2007: 47, 48).

The question of how to use the medium of film is a big responsibility:

"Tele-drama can be a very potent force in propaganda dissemination for good and for evil. In the right hands, it can be used to build a united and morally upright society. In the wrong hands, however, it can be a time bomb which when detonated can blow a whole society apart." (Ogunleye 2007: 51)

4.3.3. Edutainment

This category forms the main part of this study. The film that will be analysed in the empirical part is an example of the *enter-educate* concept, also referred to as *edutainment* films. The producer Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010) was asked by the BBC World Service Trust to make an HIV/AIDS awareness film.

The enter-education concept follows a quantitative and qualitative research method. For the qualitative research methods literature review, content analysis through target media monitoring was used. Quantitative data were generated through questionnaires (cf. Laisisi 2008: 177). Today the enter-education concept is used as an effective communication tool for almost all pro-social educational messages. According to Laisisi (2008: 179, 180), "[I]t is like

a Siamese twin with dual personality. While entertainment attracts and holds audience´s attention by engaging their emotions, education enhances the knowledge and skills of the learners to be able to maximize their potentials."

The author concludes that problem identification, the analysis and involvement of stakeholders, profiling of the problem, participatory script development, as well as production, monitoring and evaluation of such projects, and the suggestion of workable solutions to the problems identified are the major elements of enter-educational films (cf. Laisisi 2008: 180).

The enter-educational format is sub-divided into two main categories, with the first including films produced as conventional commercial films that also address social and developmental issues, for example; *Owo Ale* (topic: HIV/AIDS), *In the Name of Tradition* (topic: female Genital Mutilation and vesico vaginal fistula), *Saving Alero* (topic: violence against women and especially women undergoing widowhood rites in Igbo land) and *The Addicts* (topic: drug abuse among teenagers). The second category is made up of films that are produced by non-governmental organisations, which emphasise the importance of knowledge and skills for the resolution of identified social and developmental problems. Both categories make an important contribution to identified social and developmental problems. Laisisi however (2008: 181) concludes that nearly all of these films fail to propose workable solutions to the problems. *The Slope*, *Eni Awi Fun*, *Vanguard of Change* and *Tomorrows Hope* are examples from the second category, most of which were produced between 1995 and 2007. One disadvantage to these films is that they are not released onto any of the country's commercial markets, such as Idumota, Aba, Onitsha, Kano and Kaduna.

The enter-educate concept also includes an economic component. The process of producing a film in this category would require at least three months in order to identify the problem, shoot the film and then edit it (cf. Laisisi 2008: 183). After identifying the problematic areas of the process, the people who are directly affected by the problem must be identified, a team of professional scriptwriters then works together on the script and shares the synopsis with the target group for validation before the scripting can start. The co-operation with the target group is useful in providing support for the writers, especially in terms of choosing appropriate language, slang and other relevant issues. Once the script has been completed a team of professionals, including the director, actors/actresses and a technical film crew, can start with the production (cf. Laisisi 2008: 180). Hence, this process would reduce the rapid film production to a lower quality and in addition, the universal relevance of the themes and

the higher quality are more attractive to viewers from other parts of the world and this would in turn increase the ratings of Nigerian films (cf. Laisisi 2008: 183).

In relation to this idea, Foluke Ogunleye (personal interview 2010) similarly emphasises two main issues for her theory *"films are the new books today"*. Firstly, she addresses the high illiteracy level in Nigeria and worldwide, as well as general access to books and libraries. Secondly, she is of the opinion that peoples' interests are changing and that the number of people interested in other types of media is high. The transmission of knowledge and culture through books therefore becomes problematic and it is then necessary to look for a medium that people are more fond of than the print media:

"[…] So the video film is one of the new literatures that is getting across to people in a very definite way now. So to be able to pass and cross this information transmit knowledge, and transmit information is important to use this new medium." (Ogunleye personal interview 2010)

4.4.   Differences between the film pioneers Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa

In this chapter, I will give an overview of the differences in the entertainment category between the North, West and South of Nigeria, which goes hand-in-hand with whether the film-makers are Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo etc. There are many other people involved in film production in Nigeria besides the pioneers from the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa people. Victor Okhai gave a few examples in his interview:

"And there are also small pockets of groups in Edo State for instance we have a private cinema but this is restricted in that area in the Edo language or in the Benin language. We have some in Calabar in Efik language and few others like that as well." (Okhai personal interview 2010)

However, these examples are too few in comparison with the number of pioneers among the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, thus the following review focuses exclusively on these three groups.

The Yoruba and Igbo speakers are the pioneers of Nigerian film. Hausa speakers began producing films later in the North of the country. However, the films produced by each group

are completely different, as they each portray their own society. Furthermore, Afolabi (personal interview 2010) concludes that in contrast to Hausa films, Yoruba and Igbo films can freely portray their societies and project the norms and values of that society, whereas the Islamic religion has a profound influence in the North.

4.4.1. Yoruba (from theatre to film)

The Yoruba travelling theatre is the precursor to the video film in general in Nigeria, but this is particularly true of Yoruba productions. As we can find elements of theatre in films today, I will provide a brief introduction to it before linking it to the subject matter.

The Yoruba travelling theatre is based on two major traditions: firstly, the Alarinjo - traditional travelling minstrels and secondly, early church theatrical performances (cf. Adedeji 1998 cited in Ogunleye 2007: 2). The so-called native air operas grew out of this, whereby the performances were organised so that a choir sang a service of songs to raise funds (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 2-5).

The Alarinjo theatre groups performed for the king and his guests of the Old Oyo Empire, i.e., they were financially secure. After the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire[16], theatre art became commercialised and more troupes emerged onto the scene. Furthermore, the themes changed from performances that were designed in favour of the king to topics with a more *social nature* or subjects that included social commentary (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 2, 3). In these theatre performances, some participants were very important to the success of the performance. For example, the bata leader (lead drummer) had to be the linking channel of communication between the actor/actress and spectator (cf. Adedeji 1998 cited in Ogunleye 2007: 4), and the Alagbaa or the cultic head of the masquerade was the one who gave permission to the theatre group to perform in his domain (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 4, 5). Important performing elements, such as the masque dramaturgy, evolved as an offshoot of religious rituals (Ogunleye 2007: 2). This was associated with the fact that people thought they had magical powers. According

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[16] In conjunction with the slave trade a stagnation and disintegration where noticed in Oyo in the latter part of the 18th century finally the Jihad, a Muslim crusade brought the empire to fall in the early part of the 19th century (cf. Götrick 1984: 28).

to Ogunleye (2007: 3), the two world religions thus induced a modification: "Unfortunately, the advent of Christianity and Islam into Yoruba land eroded the importance of this valuable art form. Patronage from the public disappeared, and without a financial base, the Alarinjo theatre also disappeared to be transmuted in later years to the popular Yoruba travelling theatre." (Ogunleye 2007: 5)

Hubert Ogunde, who was inspired by both the Alarinjo troupes and the native air operas, is the leader and "founding father of the Yoruba travelling theatre" (Ogunleye 2007: 2). In the early days of his career, he performed in churches and he later founded the first professional troupe, which, among others, performed the native air operas (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 2-5). His first performance not in a church was at the Glover Memorial Hall in Lagos in June 1944, with his play "The Garden of Eden" (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 5). Due to the fact that the audience was not large enough to keep a commercial theatre afloat, a travelling itinerary was developed for economic reasons. This travelling circuit gave the theatre its name. The West African region was divided into different areas: the troupes travelled around Yoruba land (in the South West), the North and the East of the country, as well as neighbouring countries such as Ghana, Benin, Togo and sometimes the Ivory Coast. A negative aspect of these journeys was the poor infrastructure. The government was not interested in these activities and consequently it was not part of the government's responsibility to assist the troupes in developing for example theatre halls or other places for performances. Therefore the idea of travelling provided a means of surviving (cf. Ogunleye 2007: 9, 10).

The video format initiated a new era for the Yoruba travelling theatre. Wole Ogundele (2000: 91 in Haynes 2000) describes the change as an abrupt transition from the stage to the video, something that involved a lot of transformations. It was not seen as a rival to the stage but rather as an enhancement – a new alternative medium (Ogundele 2000: 94) – and a way of reaching urban audiences. This succeeded in particular in the 1970s when the oil boom meant that more lower middle class and working class homes could afford a television. (Cf. Ogundele 2000: 94)

The Yoruba traveling theatre film-makers spearheaded video film production in Nigeria: "As has been aptly observed, "the Nigerian video-film industry rose out of the ashes of the Yoruba Traveling Theatre which has been the most visible and pre-eminent form of popular

entertainment from the early 1960s to the early 1980s, at least in the Southern part of the country." (Ogundele 2002: 1 cited in Oyewo 2003:143).

The plays of the early theatre are classified by Ogundeji (2000 cited in Akangbe 2008: 209) as religious and social plays. The religious ones are mythological and totemistic and the social ones include *the handicapped, stranger, topical, didactic and historical plays* (Ogundeji 2000 cited in Akangbe 2008: 209). According to Oyewo (2003: 144) and in a similar way to the previous categories, the Yoruba video film production style could be divided into two major categories: *Cultural* and *Modern*. Oyewo (2003: 144) describes the *Cultural* as productions that focus on Yoruba tradition, history, myth and legend, metaphysics, witchcraft and oracles, the same as the travelling theatre subjects. By *Modern,* he is referring to productions that are based on contemporary issues. The style of the productions, utilising many aspects of dramaturgy and sociology, binds the two major issues together. Gabriel A. Oyewo cited Ogundele, who summarised it in the following way: "a symbol of the culture of postmodernism which highlights the uneasy cohabitation of pre-colonial/traditional, the colonial/modern, and the post-colonial/postmodern." (Ogundele 2002: 1 cited in Oyewo 2003: 144) Furthermore, Oyewo concludes that "this assertion is premised on the fact that the video films constitute a melting-pot of cultural elements of ancient and newly created myths, old and new societal ethos, and they make use of modern technologies of camera, television, video-player, computer, projector, batteries and electricity to celebrate the ethos of consumption which the modern society indulges in." (Oyewo 2003: 144)

One of the most famous Yoruba film-makers is Tunde Kelani, who deals with both aspects of cultural and modern, though more information will be provided on him and his work in the next chapter.

4.4.2. Igbo

The Igbo people also have their own film-making tradition. In comparison with the Yoruba and Hausa people, they produce films mostly in English. The most famous Igbo film that is cited is the film *Living in Bondage.* The title is in English, but the language used is Igbo. According to Hyginus Ekwuazi (2000: 133, 132), the perceived role or place of the individual

in the Igbo community, and the high value the community places on achievement, gave the film its imaginative intensity and its high emotional appeal. Elsewhere he argues that the individual and his/her inordinate quest for achievement is significant for the narration. In such films, this ambition becomes the "ultimate expression of individuality" (Ekwuazi 2000: 137). According to Hyginus Ekwuazi, this inordinate quest for achievement comes directly from what the American economist Thomas Sowell described as "the whole constellation of values, attitudes, skills and contacts that many call a culture and that economist call ˊhuman capitalˋ" (Sowell 1981: 282 cited in Ekwuazi 2000: 134). This is very dynamic and turns the characteristics of the traditional Igbo community into the characteristics of a modern Nigerian society (cf. Ekwuazi 2000: 134). Furthermore, Ekwuazi describes such urges as socially defined, and in this case it is influenced from outside, especially by the western world. As such, a culture provides goals and adequate means for attaining such goals. If the goals are related to money, money becomes the definitive status symbol. There are many examples of films such as *Living in Bondage*, *Circle of Doom* and *Dirty Deal,* where the film-makers show the audience how people become rich and how relevant money is for them (for the individual). Ekwuazi summarises how this is implemented in Igbo film as follows: "The films present us with a motley collection of characters who, while adopting the goals of success as defined by their society, react against the unavailability of the means for achieving such goals by devising means of their own." (Cf. Ekwuazi 2000: 138)

The different individuals form a network of complex relationships where action and interaction are related to the spiritual world of African peoples, such as to the belief in magic or witchcraft etc. As a result, the films reflect "that the spiritual and the physical are the continuum of a common world" (Ekwuazi 2000: 139). To explain the spiritual and physical relationship, Ekwuazi provides the following citation: "The spiritual world of African peoples is very densely populated with spiritual beings, spirits and the living dead. Their insight into spiritual realities, whether absolute or apparent, is extremely sharp. To understand their religious ethos and philosophical perception, it is essential to consider their concepts of the spiritual world in addition to concepts of God. […] The spiritual universe forms a unit with the physical, and these two intermingle and dovetail into each other so much that it is not easy or even necessary, at times, to draw the distinction or separate them." (Mbiti 1975: 75 cited in Ekwuazi 2000: 139, 140)

The style of Igbo film is extremely simple, as it is more economically valuable to reduce the story to the lowest common denominator in order to achieve the widest spectrum of viewers. However, this is not only confined to Igbo film as other Nigerian productions are also affected by it. In terms of the form and content of a film, simplicity means to make a simplified representation of the narrative style and to link one scene to another by means of simple cuts or dissolves (cf. Ekwuazi 2000: 140 - 143).

A position that is taken in the films is that "the Igbo personality is seen as a victim of extreme egotism and crass materialism which have combined, effectively, to disrupt the balance of the community" as Ekwuazi (2000: 147) calls it.

4.4.3. Hausa

In comparison with the Yoruba and Igbo film producers, the Hausa-film producers are latecomers to the film business. Hausa productions have therefore lagged far behind the others (cf. Johnson 2000, Larkin 2000). Nevertheless they spread rapidly all over northern Nigeria, creating their own audiences and fans, as well as generating their own critics (cf. Larkin 2000: 210).

In contrast to other parts of Nigeria, going to the cinema seems to be a popular leisure activity among the Hausa people of northern Nigeria. They enthusiastically consume different kinds of films even in languages they do not understand, in most cases Indian and Chinese films (cf. Johnson 2000: 200, 201). According to Victor Okhai (personal interview 2010), the Hausa people have a very strong tradition of watching cinema that was influenced largely by the Chinese and Indian people. This is also reflected in their own productions:

"Manly Indian films if you watch films by the North's by the Hausa language it is never complete without the music like Bollywood. They sing Bollywood-style, perform Bollywood-style." (Okhai personal interview 2010)

Significant for Hausa films is the didacticism, since language and religion are major elements of the culture. Islam is the dominant religion among the Hausa and as such, the films usually present mainly Islamic culture. The producers do not pay much attention to artistic works and

according to Johnson (2000: 203, 204), it appears that the film-makers are officious in their desire to preach their own culture and the Islamic religion. Furthermore, according to Johnson (2000: 207), other Nigerian film-makers and producers are more tolerant of other cultures than the Hausas. An important aspect of the style is the use of traditional Hausa music. If foreign music is used it is presented as an intrusion into the culture. This is also used to represent public functions such as weddings, name ceremonies, funeral ceremonies and so on, in their full traditional colours together with costume and music are elements that make the Hausa videos *distinct and original* (cf. Johnson 2000: 207).

Brian Larkin (2000) specialised in Indian film and compares it to the northern Nigerian film productions. He gives examples of how the Hausas adapt and rework different styles of Indian film to fit to their own local culture and religious values. He uses the term "creative creolization" to describe the three external cultural influences: "[…] the West, the Islamic world, and Asia have been incorporated into African expressive traditions and their representational power subordinated to an African aesthetic." (Larkin 2000: 233)

Melodrama and romance are the current genre used to portray conflicts that arise around arranged marriages and love marriages. Sexuality is a delicate subject: "Northern Nigeria is a conservative Muslim society with strict sexual segregation and strong limits on sexual interaction, even for actors and actresses." (Larkin 2000: 236) The producers display such scenes in a way that is acceptable in terms of culture and religion. For instance in a scene where a man wants to express his love for a woman, instead of singing the song directly to her he records the song on tape instead for his beloved to listen to in privacy (cf. Larkin 2000: 232-236).

The above review of Hausa films illustrates mainstream productions only, but there are also exceptions. For example, the film-maker Adbulkarim Mohammed is responsibility for the technical execution, acting and directing in his productions. His main interests are to show themes such as cultural conflicts and conflicts surrounding religious practices. On the one hand he is successful in making a powerful social statement, but on the other hand he fails to make them a commercial success. Another good example is Ado Ahmed, with his film *In Da So Da Kaun,* as Johnson (2000: 205) concludes, that he wants "to point out that film is not a medium for preaching religion". Another film, a comic titled *Kuturun Danja* by the Yakasai Drama Group, "does not sacrifice art for the sake of a cultural crusade", according to Johnson (2000: 207).

The overview above reveals that although there are similarities within the Nigerian film industry, there are also significant differences. Furthermore, these differences exist not only between the Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa etc., but also between individual film-makers.

4.5.   Languages and Translation

I have previously discussed in part the languages used in Nigerian film and also how they are translated. In this chapter, I would like to take a closer look at this as language is an important aspect when it comes to identity formation, an idea strongly supported by the Nigerian author Akinwumi Isola and the Kenyan author Ngugi Wa Thiong´o. Both are of the opinion that people continue the neo-colonial structure if they do not use their own local language to express themselves in their work (cf. Wa Thiong´o 1994: 26, Isola 2008: 12). Ngugi Wa Thiong´o summarises the conjunction between culture and imperialism as follows: "The oppressed and the exploited of the earth maintain their defiance: liberty from theft. But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people´s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves." (Wa Thiong´o 1994: 3)

Accordingly, language is a salient factor in its different forms: "Language in its various forms, verbal and non-verbal, formal and informal, because of its social and historical nature, is readily perceptible and comprehensible among the people who are capable of recognizing the signals. At the center of Culture is language because language is inter-related with other concepts such as politics, philosophy and economics, in other words, the social organism of the society all of which come under the concept-life." (Oyewo 2003: 144f)

Akinwumi Isola (2008) comments that the Yoruba films suffer in particular from language mixing and switching: "They reinforce the wrong impression that our mother tongues cannot effectively sustain modern story telling. Scriptwriters have a duty to choose a language and stay with it." (Isola 2008: 13) His (2008:13) recommendation is thus to choose an African language and provide English subtitles.

Bayo Afolabi (personal interview 2010) outlines two main problems concerning translation. Firstly, he addresses the difficulty of translating and transliterating in general. Most African languages are tone languages, which implies that they are tonal. This means that with an inflection on the tone, the meaning of a word changes. He concludes that there is no way to translate certain words, phrases and especially proverbs, into English because there is no room for them in the *"colonial master language"* (Afolabi personal interview 2010). Furthermore, there are some mythological things in the various cultures that do not exist in English. Translators are forced to use a lot of neologisms because there is no word in the English language that matches the original meaning. There are also many examples of terms that cannot be translated in the Yoruba language, as meaning is based on sound pattern (cf. Afolabi personal interview 2010). According to Karin Barber (2000: 2 cited in Oyewo 2003: 145), the video film productions "share a love affair with the Yoruba language in its fullest sense – its idioms, archaisms, innovations, slang, dialectal peculiarities, and its sacred and secret registers".

In light of these arguments, Victor Okhai (2010) discussed the problem of literal translations of local languages into English that only Nigerians would understand but which could be confusing for non-Nigerians. He gave examples such as "mo mbo" ("I am coming"), which is a phrase that Nigerians use when they are leaving (cf. Okhai 2010). The solution for such problems is just to provide a translation when the meaning is close to the original intention. Due to these issues, it is not possible to graphically represent spoken words.

Secondly, there are many grammatical errors in the subtitles, particularly from film-makers who do not care and are just interested in making money. They do not spend enough time on a film before getting it ready to put on the market. However, there are film-makers like Tunde Kelani, who gives films to trustworthy translators. He takes their reputation, their image and their name into account (cf. Afolabi personal interview 2010, cf. Okhai 2010).

Victor Okhai (2010) concludes that translation is an art and if the translator is not qualified enough, there will be spelling, interpretation and translation errors in the subtitles. "Language is an integral part of a people´s culture and communication is not only a unifying factor but also a vital contributive factor to the success and acceptability of the various genres of the video film productions." (Oyewo 2003: 145)

Thus according to an important statement made by Ngugi Wa Thiong´o (1994: 26), to utilise foreign language - in this case English - excludes people who do not read or understand this

language. He stressed that Africans should produce their work in their own mother tongue "to carry along the peasants on the society" (Wa Thiong´o cited in Oyewo 2003: 145).

Furthermore, according to the film producer Victor Okhai (2010), African languages in films are important for people who form part of the diaspora. They use them as a tool for teaching their children the language and culture of their people back home. Okhai also discusses the economic opportunity to dub Nigerian films in order to break language barriers. Neighbouring Francophone countries are interested in the films as they have a similar culture and traditions. In order for them to enjoy Nigerian productions, some people began to dub their films into French. Interestingly, there is a market for Chinese and American films that have been dubbed into Yoruba. According to Victor Okhai (2010), the prospects are huge in terms of sales potential and employment opportunities for voice actors/actresses in the various languages. Furthermore, he emphasises that it is not restricted to French alone, it could also include Hausa to Yoruba, Yoruba to Igbo, Igbo to Efik etc., so as to reach a large number of audiences.

4.6. The Name "Nollywood"

The previous description presents the different types of films circulating in Nigeria besides entertainment films, which are mainly categorised under the term "Nollywood".

"Nollywood" is the name by which the Nigerian film industry is known abroad. However, if you look closer at the Nigerian film-making you can find a lot of differences in the film types, styles, names, genres and so on. This is because they are not only divided by geographical area and by the fact that they belong to a particular population group, there are also differences between the film-makers and film producers themselves.

Matt Steinglass invented the name "Nollywood" to describe the Nigerian film industry, and the first time it appeared was in an article written by him in the New York Times in 2002. Since that time the name has continuously been used to describe the industry, especially to foreigners (cf. Haynes 2005 cited in Onuzulike 2007).

With reference to the name "Nollywood", Akinwumi Isola holds a clear position and this opinion is shared by many other people who are part of the Nigerian film business. In his article "In Whose Image?", he wonders: "What is Nolly? And from where comes the wood?"

(Isola 2008: 12). To split the term into these two parts, its connection to the Indian Bollywood and to the American Hollywood is clear. Isola (2008: 12) gets to the heart of the matter and writes: "It is a banal extension of the Indian Bollywood, which is a corruption of the name of American movieland, Hollywood." Due to the association with the western world and the American lifestyle, some film-makers and film producers feel uncomfortable with this name, and Ogunleye made this clear in an interview. According to Ogunleye (personal interview 2010), the term "Nollywood" is just another coinage from Hollywood, just like Bollywood. However, the Nigerian film industry does not necessarily have to be tied to Hollywood. Moreover, she emphasises that they are looking forward to establishing their own aesthetics in their films, to creating a type of film that is absolutely and specifically Nigerian, and with which they can identify themselves: *And we look of an idea of this video film industry that it is something that is strictly Nigerian. I mean that is something what has involved from Nigeria and is gradually spreading of other parts of Africa. So why can we not have a name that shows its nigerianess rather than hyphenating it onto Hollywood again.*" (Ogunleye personal interview 2010)

The film producer Tunde Kelani is also against the name "Nollywood":

"I hated Nollywood. I totally hated it but just like the name Nigeria you can do nothing about it. After all the Nigerians did not named the country Nigeria, some other historical something and then Nigeria was born. And so that´s how Nollywood is born. But the identity of Nollywood is in this group films they are made in English language. You know so and they are direct to home video VCD but I am passionate about the cinema. And I love to work in the indigenous language and culture. So strictly speaking I am not Nollywood I could not be. But I think I am just an independent filmmaker or a free filmmaker apart from Nollywood. But when you talk about Nollywood as to describe the Nigerian when you come close you realize that there are other types. And it is getting the idea of Nollywood is gradually embracing the concept what comes out from Africa which is even a bigger dilemma." (Kelani personal interview 2010)

Akinwumi Isola (2008: 7-15) criticises this point particularly by referring to the fact that Africans are making themselves connection dependent on the western world again. "The fatal effects of interventions such as the slave trade, colonialism and two foreign religions, overwhelmingly undermined the development and progressive capacities of African cultures." (Isola 2008: 12) Isola is worried about the Nigerian Film industry due to the aforementioned

points: "The worry about the Nigerian Film industry therefore is that many filmmakers seem not to care about the necessity to struggle against the economic, cultural and psychological exploitation of Africa by the West in conjunction with the oppressors at home. An objective look at the type of stories we tell, the language we use, the appearance of the characters - costume, hair-do and make-up, tends to indicate that many filmmakers are mindless copycats and shameless imitators." (Isola 2008: 12)

Moreover, he criticises the fact that "the white man´s black image type" (Isola 2008: 10) is reproduced in Nigerian films. Isola´s (2008: 13) appeal to film-makers points out that it is not enough to reflect on what is going on in the society but that they should also join the struggle to free Africa from cultural and economic domination. Furthermore, he holds the definite opinion that anything that is set to hamper the development or the capacities of African culture deserves the attention of the African film-maker (cf. Isola 2008: 13). One of the problems Nigerian film-makers face is that if, for example, they make social statements, their chances of making a profit are endangered because the film could be banned and so on. Because of this, Isola suggests finding artistic methods to mask messages. He argues that it is a decision that must be taken to defend the oppressed and the exploited, as well as to present the right African image in the film-maker's work (cf. Isola 2008: 14).

5. Critical Analysis of Arugbá

Before I begin my analysis of the film, I would like to provide some background information on the director Tunde Kelani, who is one of the most famous Yoruba film-makers. I will elaborate on an interview of Kelani by Jonathan Haynes in New York City, April 2004, that was part of the African Film Festival of New York (AFFNY)[17], as well as my own personal interview with him in Lagos, August 2010.

5.1. The director

Tunde Kelani was born in Lagos in 1948. At the age of five, he went to live with his grandfather in Abeokuta, a town that is about 100 kilometres from Lagos. He grew up in the period when free primary education was introduced by the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo. His father admired Chief Awolowo and his revolutionary programs. At around the age of eight, he was reading Yoruba literature to his grandfather, who was illiterate. This was also the time when the Yoruba theatre was thriving (cf. Kelani personal interview with Haynes 2007b: 1-4). Becoming familiar with various, important Yoruba writers had a great influence on his work. He co-operated with Wale Ogunyemi,[18] who wrote the screeplay for *Ayo Ni Mo Fe* Part 2, and the script for the film *Kòseégbé,* written by Akinwumi Isola and Adebayo Faleti[19] was incorporated into *Saworoide* and *Agogo Èèwò*. These collaborations are an important element of his work (cf. Haynes 2007b: 5).

He started his career in photography immediately after finishing primary school, at the beginning of secondary school. Together with a friend, he formed his own team and did a lot of student photography. In the late 1960s and at the age of twenty, he became an apprentice

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[17] Tunde Kelani was honoured with a mid-career retrospective of his work by this festival. It is based at the Walter Reade Theater in the Lincoln Center on Broadway. This retrospective of Kelani´s work included *Saworoide* (1999), *Thunderbolt – Magun* (2001), *Agogo Èèwò* (2002), *The Campus Queen* (2003), and the short film *White Handkerchief* (1998). Two short films on which the film-maker worked as a cinematographer, were also shown. (Cf. Haynes 2007: 1)

[18] Wale Ogunyemi was a major figure in Nigerian theatre. He was a film and television actor, a scriptwriter for theatre and film and a scholar of the Yoruba world, who brought its history, myths and lore into his writings. (Cf. Banham)

[19] Adebayo Faleti is a poet, writer and actor. For further information: http://web.archive.org/web/20061214111650/http://africaservice.com/adebayofaleti/index.html, last accessed: 05.11.2010

photographer to Dotun Okunbanjo, an internationally known Nigerian photographer. He therefore abandoned his "West African School Certification" scholarship. Later, he qualified for a place at the former Western Nigerian Television (WNTV/BS) as a trainee cine-cameraman. It was there that Tunde Kelani obtained an idea of different types of films, such as newsreels, sport, social documentaries, television drama[20] and so on. He was noticed very fast and was transferred by his employer, Western Nigerian Television, to the Lagos office, where he met a lot of talented people working in the business (cf. Kelani personal interview with Haynes 2007b: 4-9).

From 1973 onwards, his dream was to attend the London Film School. He struggled to get the money to fulfil his dream in 1976, but he only had enough to cover the fees for one year. After one year he returned to Nigeria and made a deal with the WNTV/BS. They paid for the final year and he had to work for them for two years after the course. When those two years were over, Kelani decided to work freelance and founded a production company with a friend called *Cinekraft*. They worked in particular with the Yoruba traditional travelling theatre groups. Circumstances changed and he began to work in video production. He founded the company *Mainframe,* in order to make video productions to document the rich cultural heritage of Nigeria. Chief Rashidi Ladoja provided funding for the necessary production equipment so that *Mainframe Productions* could begin (cf. Kelani personal interview with Haynes 2007b: 9-11). For Kelani, it is important that he capture images of his society and culture before they disappear in the course of globalisation:

"I am part of and I grow up in the community, I have seen things they are no longer there. So I just use my work in part to entertain and then to quickly document these things before they disappear." (Kelani personal interview 2010)

5.2. The film

The following important questions need to be asked in order to understand the relationship between the different scenes of the film:

- How does each scene set up causes and effects?

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[20] These dramas were by travelling theatre people. (Haynes 2007b: 9)

- At what point do we understand the characters´ goals, and how do those goals develop in the course of the action?
- What principles of development connect one scene to another?

(Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 432)

I would first like to provide a short summary of the film *Arugbá,* and then describe the content in detail in connection to the narrative form and techniques used. Following this analysis, I will describe the narration and the techniques for the understanding of emotions and meanings. Questions regarding the design will be considered in order to underline the development of the story, and how it is connected to the relaying of the message.

5.2.1. Content

On the one hand side *Arugbá* is a political satire[21] and it deals with the corruption of the country. A king (Kabiyesi), together with his corrupt chiefs, pretends to fight against corruption. As he is also corrupt, he plans to leave the country by using his foreign bank accounts in western nations. Parallel to this political commentary is the story of Adetutu, the King´s niece, who is culturally tied to becoming the next Arugbá - the maiden who carries the sacrificial calabash to the river at the annual Osogbo Osun Festival. This position requires responsibility and respect for both the maiden and her family. However, since the current King wants the prestige only for his own immediate family, he begins to plot his niece´s downfall. Adetutu thus becomes involved in various situations where she has to pay particular attention to her responsibilities. She is also a leader at her school, and has her own female group that performs at different events on campus. In awareness of her responsibilities, Adetutu tries to keep her virginity. The film also includes a love story between Adetutu and a young male dancer, Makinwa, who intends to win her heart.

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[21] To identify the genre or just one genre is almost impossible as Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010) concludes: *"I don't know how to really label it because it is a combination of everything. There are elements of traditional theatre and the usual Yoruba theatre of dance, music, song, drama and some cinematical expressions. I don't know what to say what this is I think it is something that it´s at a difference."*

5.2.2. Exhibition form

First of all, I would like to introduce the edutainment format that is used according to the Argubá Mobile Cinema Report.

The film *Arugbá* was screened via mobile cinema in all fifty-seven local government and local council development areas of Lagos State, Nigeria. The events were sponsored by the Lagos State Government[22].[23] Twelve messages from Lagos State Government pertaining to environmental sanitation, tax payment and land fraud were inserted. After the screening, a short questionnaire was given to gather information on enjoyment, mobile cinema, the government messages and what people gained from the film. The audience was also encouraged to make comments and advise the government.

Film production has to do with the place in which film art begins. Both distribution and exhibition play a significant role and affect the viewer´s experience. The common ways to see a film are to buy a ticket for the cinema, to buy the DVD and/or VCD, or to go and rent a video (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 39). Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 39) introduced two different forms of exhibition, the *theatrical* and the *nontheatrical*. Commercial movie houses, city arts centres, museums, film festivals and cinema clubs belong to *theatrical* exhibition, whereas *nontheatrical* exhibition includes all other forms of presentation such as home video, cable and satellite transmissions, as well as screenings in schools and colleges. I would therefore say that the above-mentioned mobile cinema belongs to the nontheatrical form of exhibition. The audience welcomed the way in which the film was screened and according to the Report (University of Ibadan n.d.: 3), 87.5 % would like to have such a mobile cinema experience every month or at least twice a year. Furthermore, respondents appreciated the government sponsorship of the mobile cinema as a social service. On the one hand it could be that it was successful because it was accessible to everyone in the various districts of Lagos and was free, though it could also be due to the revival of this popular cultural leisure activity, which was based on the Alarinjo masquerades in the days of the Oyo Empire: "It was into the context of this existing outdoor spectatorship in Western Nigeria that

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[22] The current Governor of Lagos is Mr. Babatunde Raji Fashola, SAN.

[23] Therefore, it also could be seen, as Street (1997: 14) pointed out, that "[P]oliticians increasingly borrow the techniques and skills of popular entertainment to communicate their message or promote their image." He refers to the USA but it is common everywhere, as I can show with the example of *Arugbá*.

the stage drama and later the cinema were brought in the late 1960's. And this, more than any other factor, explained their wide acceptance. The cinema culture became a popular culture in Western Region […]" (University of Ibadan u.d.: 4)

These practices began to diminish in the mid-1980s, and by the end of the 1990s they were almost over. Reasons for this include the growing insecurity in cities and villages, increasing economic problems occasioned by the failed economic policies of the military governments, and thirdly, the growth of the home video industry. Cinema houses became churches, warehouses or whorehouses (cf. University of Ibadan u.d.: 4).

5.2.3. Narrative form

Expectations

An important aspect of narrative form is also the expectation of the spectators:

"[…] our experiences of a film depends heavily on the expectations we bring to it and the extent to which the film confirms them." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 96)

For this reason it is important to ask how much people know about a film before they watch it. A spectator takes all of the information including the topic, the genre, the director and his style, and dependent on that information, he/she will have special expectations. I would therefore like to start with a closer look at Tunde Kelani´s approach as a director. I am aware that as a foreigner, I have other expectations in comparison to what a Nigerian brings to a Nigerian production. If I compare previous productions of Tunde Kelani, such as *The Narrow Path*[24], *The Campus Queen*[25] and *Thunderbolt 'Magun'*[26], it is noticeable that all of the main protagonists are female. Kelani confirms in a personal interview (2010) that he prefers to work with strong female characters, because women are misrepresented or underrepresented either culturally or in modern Nigerian society. According to Anyanwu (2003: 84), "[I]t is

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[24] It is a movie about rape before marriage which is a powerful taboo. Awero, the female protagonist, is raped. Before her wedding day she plays with the idea of committing suicide, because it is a duty to kill oneself if this happens, but she does not do it and it is discovered that she is not a virgin on her wedding night, which has different consequences.

[25] Banke is the main female protagonist who tries to uncover the corruption of the military governor and risks her life.

[26] Ngozi, an Igbo lady, is married to Yinka, a Yoruba man. It is a marriage against folk wisdom. Soon they get into trouble because of rumours and Ngozi is laced with 'Magun', the mysterious and fatal chastity control.

however disappointing to note that a great percentage of home videos produced in Nigeria portrays women as evil, witches, husband poisoners, greedy, prostitutes, etc, as well as being prone to all the other vices that anybody can imagine. Even when they are portrayed as the epitome of love and understanding, they still end up as victims of their men who use them for rituals in order to make money."

Both *The Narrow Path and Thunderbolt 'Magun'* discuss tradition and modernity. Other films[27] such as *Kòseégbé*[28], *Saworoide*[29] and *Agogo Èèwò*[30], as well as *The Campus Queen,* are critiques of the political situation in Nigeria. The viewer's expectations are fulfilled by the film-maker with the film *Arugbá*, as this film includes the above-mentioned aspects: a strong female character, cultural and modern Nigeria, and a critique of the political situation of the country.

These aspects bring the style analysis closer to the technical implementation, which is important for underlining basic messages. According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 305), the film´s style results from a combination of historical constraints and deliberate choices. The style also depends on the technical possibilities, because they can limit the choices of the film-maker. It is significant that historical circumstances also impose limits. For instance, an older movie such as *Kòseégbé* from 1995 has a much lower quality than the current film *Arugbá,* whose documentary elements are in black and white whilst the feature story is in

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[27] The story is summarised as follows on (http://www.mainframemovies.tv/movies.php).

[28] "Mako, a very intelligent custom officer has just been appointed to the top post in his department. As a clean, diligent and principled officer, he decides to wage war against corruption, fraud and all other forms of illegal acts. That decision sets him on a collision course with certain redoubtable enemy groups."

[29] "Lapite, the King-elect of Jogbo has decided to enrich himself on ascending the throne. He eliminates all opposition by sending hired killers or by harassing them into exile. His rival Adebomi is killed and Ayangalu, the official drummer has escaped into exile. He takes a new wife and embarks on a massive exploitation of the enormous resources of forest trees. Protests by the townspeople and the farmers are ruthlessly suppressed. In desperation, the youths march on the palace and seize the royal crown which by tradition must not leave the palace. Lapite in desperation seeks military help by engaging the mercenary Lagata a retired military officer who however kills him and takes over his kingdom. Lagata who is now determined to become a proper king imposes an oppressive administration on the people. The mercenary usurper falls dead during the installation process in public view. The people have learnt a bitter lesson. No King will henceforth be allowed to side-step any correct."

[30] "The death of Lagata, the military usurper of the Jogbo throne, sets off a nervous search of a credible Onijogbo. Hopes are high that Arese, a very young man, if elected will bring back the golden age of Jogbo. Some entrenched interest in Jogbo however, hijack the process and install Adebosipo, a retired police officer whom they think will not rock the boat of greedy exploitation of Jogbo resources. Adebosipo's resolve to serve the people and his refusal to loot the treasury set him on a collision course with the powerful chiefs who are bent on bringing down his rule."

colour. Furthermore, Kelani uses 3D elements, which were neither common nor able to be implemented in the past as they can be today. The choice of style and technique also depends on what somebody would like to express in a film. Many film-makers use techniques in ways that conform to our expectations: for example, if we see two characters on a long shot we expect a cut-in to a closer view, or if a character speaks we expect to listen to diegetic sounds that are realistic, or if a character walks we expect the camera to keep the person in the shot (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 305). In general, Tunde Kelani uses these camera techniques but he experiments with the film type, that is the documentary and 3D elements. The documentary at the beginning of the film has the effect that the spectator guesses that the following feature story might be true. In order to underline this idea, the actress who plays the main character Adetutu in the feature story, looks like the girl who was chosen to be the next Arugbá in the documentary part. Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 305-306) found out that the viewers could follow unusual technical choices and concluded that new stylistic expectations had to be constructed: "In other words a director directs not only the cast and crew. A director also directs us, directs our attention, shapes our reaction. Thus the filmmaker´s technical decisions make a difference in what we perceive and how we respond." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 306) This argument stresses the previous statement of propaganda films, and also how films can influence the audience.

Style then, is the patterned use of techniques which are chosen by the film-maker throughout a film (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 306).

As Kelani mentioned in his interview, the Yoruba language also plays a significant role in his work:

"All the elements and components that I need are in the Yoruba language and culture. Which I could not express any other way. It is not possible for me to work in a foreign language. I do not think that I know enough from the foreign language and certainly the aspects of the culture are in me it is in my blood." (Kelani personal interview 2010)

Moreover, he loves to work in relation to his own mother tongue because he sees it as a reorientation. In his opinion, society needs to go back to its own language and culture and people need to develop through it, instead of copying the British and/or the Americans. At the same time he succeeds in being authentic in the language use in the movie *Thunderbolt 'Magun',* which is about a marriage between an Igbo woman and a Yoruba man whose common language is English.

This discussion on language use is also connected to the sound and music the film-maker applies. Tunde Kelani makes music particularly important in some of his films. Special diegetic sounds, such as song texts[31] in scenes that include messages that fit with the main message of the film, are typical of him. For example, a song in Pidgin English in *The Campus Queen*, or in *Arugbá,* where the refrain of the song is a mix of Pidgin English and Yoruba:

"*Mi o ni choice,* (I have no choice)

Mi o fe rob (I don't want to rob)

Ebi n pa mi (I am starving)

Ki le fe ki n se? (What do I do?)" (University of Ibadan: 6)

The use of music and dance is one aspect of Kelani´s unique style[32] with regards to the Nigerian film landscape. This is related to the Traditional Yoruba Theatre, where according to Kelani (personal interview 2010), music and dance form are important aspects of dramas. According to Oyewo (2008: 227), music and dance are functional and critical, whilst at the same time ridiculing the political and social misfits of Yoruba society. Tunde Kelani uses traditional dance and music as metaphors for values and wisdom in *Saworoide*: "Its focus is the parable of the talking drum as representing the voice of the people, while dexterity in dance is portrayed as a salient component and determinant of the aesthetics of the African people." (Oyewo 2008: 227)

According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 306-309), viewers register the effects of film style but seldom notice it. In the preceding section, the stylistic features were explained, whereas in the following part, attention will be paid to analysing the style of the film *Arugbá* in three steps: narrative form, technique and interpretation. The primary objective in the following analysis will be to emphasise how the education message is integrated into the narration. The film covers many different topics through its plot. As this is an Edutainment film, my main aim is to analyse how the basic message of HIV/AIDS awareness is connected

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[31] That are written and produced for films.

[32] As Oyewo (2008: 223) criticises that the irony of the Nigerian theatre is that the eye of the Video camera has not adequately captured the totality of Nigerian art forms regards to dance forms which are not well represented in spite of its diversities and varieties in Nigerian cultural. There are just few who integrated them as a part of the film (cf. Oyewo in Ogunleye 2008: 223)

to the different issues. To enrich my analysis, I will also use the results of the *Arugbá* Mobile Cinema Report by the University of Ibadan.

Determining the organisational structure

In this part, I will explore the question of how the film is put together as a whole.

I will now delve deeper and explain some parts of the film where Tunde Kelani illustrates the different levels to the audience.

Arugbá has several narrative strands through which to present the main message. The narrative form of this film is divided into two lines of action, where the different storylines are brought together: (1) Modernity (Adetutu´s life in school, the HIV/AIDS issue, gender, Christianity and Islam), and (2) Tradition (Adetutu and her responsibility to become the next Arugbá, the Yoruba culture, Ifa and the various deities, traditional rulers, Kabiyesi, chiefs, the contemporary political challenges are transferred to their own Yoruba traditional rulers so the Kabiyes represent the president and the various chiefs represent the ministers).

The film-maker provides different ways of understanding the two story lines, but the main link to connect modernity and tradition is the female protagonist, Adetutu. The actress has two main duties: on the one hand she has to take responsibility to be the next Arugbá, and on the other hand she is a leader at her school and the main singer of a female group. With various scenes of school life and life in the town, both modernity and tradition are explained. The scenes jump from one location to the other and the various plots come together in the final part of the film.

In the following section, the characters surrounding the protagonist are introduced through short scenes. The various topics of religion, politics, education, the health system and migration, appear in different ways as subplots.

In *Arugbá,* the characters and especially Adetutu, are the agents of cause and effect. How Adetutu acts will be described in the following analysis of the narration. Atedutu´s special traits are the power that she gets from the water and her leadership role. Causes and effects are the basis for a narrative, but they also take place in time and space (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 80). Most of the plots are presented in a chronological, temporal

order, while just a few are presented outside of the story order in the form of dreams or flashbacks. In terms of the temporal duration, the director gives the audience enough time to get to know each character and to understand their relationships to each other. The restriction of the period of time is made clear in the first part of the film, so that the viewer can understand the relevance of the film, i.e. the Osun Festival. As viewers, we know that the different plots are connected with that in mind and that is why the temporal duration is made clear. This feature is necessary to motivate all other events (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 103). It is an excerpt from an important phase of life of a young woman. According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 87), space can also become the basis for a plot pattern. *Arugbá* is a good example of this because the director utilises two different locations for the two subplots. As such, it is easy for the audience to recognise which action is part of which plot.

The film starts with a documentary on the Osun Festival from ten years earlier. After about ten minutes, it then changes to a fictional/feature plot, which is related to the present. With this documentary at the beginning of the film, the director gives the audience an introduction to the historical background[33] of the plot and initiates the viewers into the narrative. However, in the feature film the director changes an important part of the story so that it is suitable for the main message of HIV/AIDS awareness:

"I could only approach the HIV issue from a cultural point of view. And then of course I had done documentary work of Oshogbo festival and I said the qualification of the Arugbá add the ceremony. She has to be a virgin throughout the period when she is involved. And I thought that would be abstinence, in modern whatever. That's how I want to conceive an idea of an Arugbá that is undergraduate. She is a virgin. She is in the university she is a leader and then she is culturally tied. She is tied to the culture and all that. So I thought I will make an Arugbá that is different from the documentary." (Kelani personal interview 2010)

The story includes the documentary introduction as well. After the background information, the first plot line (university/modernity) starts with Adetutu´s dream about the Yoruba deity Yemoja (mermaid), which is a linking part to explain her two main duties to the audience: on the one hand she is a leader at her school and on the other hand she is responsible for

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[33] This includes the explanation about the Arugba´s responsibilities and attitudes and how someone is chosen to become one. This information is given in the form of text, interviews and voice over.

becoming the next Arugbá for the Osun Festival. She wakes up in her room on campus and in this first scene the audience gets a brief introduction to the two main locations.

At the beginning of the second plot line (town/tradition), the film-maker portrays the different religions: the so-called native religion (in this case the Yoruba religion with its different deities), as well as Christianity and Islam - the two big religions brought in from the western world.

Further, in this plot the king´s palace and his residents are introduced and the relationship between the king and Adetutu is illustrated. However, at this time it is difficult to understand the meaning of the discussion. A flashback later in the movie explains it better. The king wants to find a reason for Adetutu to not become the next Arugbá as he wants one of his daughters to take on this responsibility. He asks her to confirm her virginity merely because she stays on campus for a long period of time. Adetutu is consistent and consults the Ifa-Oracle with regards to this issue.

The next scene shows some people preparing a performance for the next masquerade festival, which is coming soon. The viewer becomes aware of the dream to leave Nigeria for the USA due to a telephone conversation between two female friends about the phenomenon of Obama and that everyone will get a green card. Adetutu´s female group performance introduces one of her interests besides her traditional duty. Furthermore, the spectator gets to know about the relationship between Adetutu and Makinwa, a boy who is already in love with her. He is enthused by her talent for performing and wants her to take part in his own performance for the next festival.

The political part appears in the next scene, where there is a meeting between Kabiyesi and the chiefs. The chiefs are complaining about the Kabiyesi´s strategy of governing the country. They mention different problems and challenges such as unemployment, the economy, suffering, poverty, corruption etc. via dialogues, and they try to give some advice. These scenes mark the introduction of the two subplots. As previously mentioned, spatial form is separated into the two locations of life in the town and life on campus. The film continues to switch between them until the plots become more and more involved until at the end of the film, they become one plot. This switching between locations increases the suspense.

The HIV/AIDS topic appears for the first time in the second scene at the market place. Two female traders are talking about the illness (HIV/AIDS) of a young boy´s parent, who is on the way to buy food from them. The next cut shows that his mother is already dead and the nurses discuss the fact that that was the fifth patient that they have lost within a short space of time. The doctor of the hospital, who tries to do the best for his patients, is Makinwa´s father. The HIV/AIDS topic is present in different ways in the various plots. There are scenes where doctors, who are specialists of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, meet the king. They present their idea to join with him on these serious issues and tell him that they need a building in which to hold seminars on preventive education, to identify symptoms of the diseases and to work out strategies to help infected people. Furthermore, Adetutu has a friend Bolatito, who is a widow with a small child that dies. The main protagonist herself does an HIV test and forces Bolatito, who is pregnant again, to do one, which turns out to be positive.

This short abstract illustrates how the main stories are connected through the edutainment method and presents briefly how the different characters are connected.

The particular scenes which are important for the main messages will be described in detail in chapter 6 (Interpretation). It will be easier to understand them with the explanations that are connected to the current situation in Nigeria.

I would now like to continue with the end of the story, in order to describe how the two subplots become one plot. Adetutu is kidnapped on the way from her hometown to the masquerade festival, where she is to take part in Makinwa´s performance. She is taken by strangers who have also kidnapped some other children. The audience does not discover how Adetutu could escape from the kidnappers until Makinwa provides a hint with the newspaper, which has published a picture to illustrate the case. That is how Makinwa becomes aware of why Adetutu stayed away from the performance. Consequently, he tries to find her in her hometown, where he gets to know of her duties for the first time, previous to that it had been a secret.

Due to the kidnapping, Adetutu has to prove again that she is a maiden before the festival can continue. Via flashback she explains what happened and tells how she managed to escape with the young children.

The story dissolves all the different plots of the film in the final ten minutes. Kabiyesi meets someone from the church as he has plans to build a church next to the palace and is not interested in taking part in the festival anymore as his wishes cannot be fulfilled. Furthermore, it is shown that he is watching the election of Obama, as somebody enters the room to give him the visa and travel documents that will allow him to leave the country. He is also anxious to confirm his foreign bank account. In the last scene of the film, Adetutu and Makinwa go for a walk and talk about the events that have happened. Adetutu tells him her future plans to establish a non-government organisation that will cater for the development of women and children. Makinwa confesses his love and the film ends on a happy note.

5.3. Techniques

5.3.1. Mise-en-scène

In this chapter, I would like to start to analyse the mise-en-scène as according to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 112), it is the most familiar technique of all the cinema techniques and was first applied to the practice of directing plays. It is the director´s control over what appears in the film frame: "[…], mise-en-scene includes those aspects of film that overlap with the art of the theater: setting, lighting, costume, and the behavior of the figures. In controlling the mise-en-scene, the director *stages the event* for the camera." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 112) In other words, the four general areas are setting, costume and make-up, lighting and staging (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 115).

According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 113), viewers criticise film by judging mise-en-scène against standards of realism. Therefore, they see realism as a standard of value which change over time and varies across cultures and among individuals. Not every film wants to create an impression of realism, such as comics for example. However, in my case the director emphasises the realism effect with the documentary.
Starting with a documentary has a special effect on the feature part of the film as it makes it appear a true story. It means that the spectator imagines that the following feature story might be true. The fact that the actress who plays the main character of Adetutu looks like the girl

who was chosen to be the next Arugbá in the documentary part, underlines this idea, as previously mentioned. The documentary part cuts to the scene almost at the end of the film, where the Osun Festival is shown, and the film-maker makes similar cuts in the feature film (images 6.1-6.6). Using this same point of view, Kelani illustrates how close the relationship between the fiction/feature and the reality could be, and emphasises again what the spectator is imagining. This point comes under the question of what power the medium of film has and whether it constructs truths. The film-maker separates the two types of films completely through their tonalities. The documentary is captured in black and white while the feature part is in colour. This is a tactic to illustrate the one scene that happened in the past (the black and white part), and the other is the present (in colour). This is a cinematographic style. Colour plays a particular role in *Arugbá*: black and white stands for the past/shows a historical period, colour stands for the present and sepia represents dreams.

It is therefore important to analyse the function of mise-en-scène in the whole film: how it is motivated? How does it vary or develop on the screen and how does it work in relation to other film techniques? (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 113).

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In the case of *Arugbá,* the setting and costume are also interesting issues for my analysis. First of all, I will describe the two main settings and will look closer at the costumes, which emphasise the messages.

According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 115), setting plays a more active role in cinema than it normally does in the theatre: "The human being is all-important in the theatre. The drama on the screen can exist without actors." (Bazin cited in Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 115) This statement fits with Tunde Kelani´s establishment of modernity and tradition. Both of the locations would also show the differences without the actors or actresses, but it is seldom used in the film. Examples would be the extreme long shot of the town and the long shot of the palace (images 6.7, 6.8), which enter the narrative action in a dynamic way.

6.7

6.8

The festival is shown at the original location in Osogbo[34] and the forest and the Osun river can be seen. It is easy to recognize the location because of Susanne Wenger´s[35] art works.

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[34] A town in Osun State, South West Nigeria.

With these images, the film-maker emphasises the significance of authenticity. The documentary part is used to research the Osogbo Osun Festival for details on dance, music, costume and locations etc. As I cited above, the director wants to document images of his society before they disappear. He is seeking to duplicate the original scene in both the location and the costumes.

Costumes have a specific function in *Arugbá,* as well as the locations. They are divided into traditional clothes or clothes with Nigerian materials and so-called western clothes. This assists audiences in recognising who is part of which plot and who is part of the two subplots. For example, Makinwa's interest in the Yoruba culture can be recognised through his dress, dancing and performances. In the performances, the actors and actresses wear different types of clothes that fit to the song text (6.9, 6.10).

6.9   6.10

A further example is Adetutu´s way of dressing. She wears blouses made of typical Nigerian materials and jeans at university. During the festival, she wears traditional clothes adapted to the Arugbá in the documentary. The costumes are co-ordinated with the settings. The first plot line (university/modernity) is established with typical places on campus like classrooms, surrounding area, the canteen and so on. The different costumes are conspicuous, people who are close to Yoruba tradition wear traditional clothes on campus also, as we can see in image 6.11. The teacher, who explains the differences in the Yoruba language and places, is dressed

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[35] Susanne Wenger was a famous Austrian artist and active founding member of the Vienna Art-Club in 1947. She has had exhibitions all over the world. She arrived in Nigeria in 1950 and finally moved to Osogbo in 1960. She was interested in the Yoruba poetry, mythology and religion and was initiated as a priestess. From this time onwards, she dedicated her efforts to the restoration and recreation of derelict shrines of the Yoruba religion (cf. Denk, English version by Merzeder-Taylor n.d.).

in *bùbá and sokoto*[36] for men, in comparison the students wear so-called western clothes. This can be seen in image 6.12.
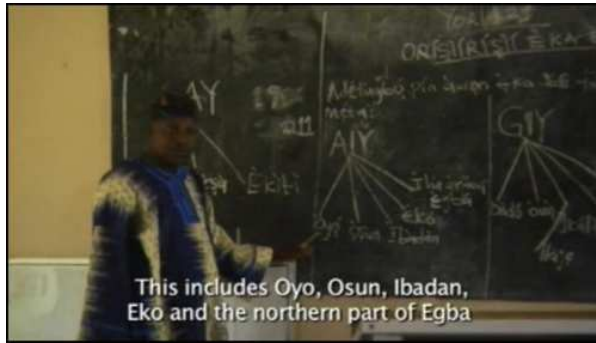
6.11   6.12

Another good example of this is image 6.13, where two friends of Makinwa are walking with their drums, wearing *bùbá and sokoto*[37], whereas the other people in that area also wear so-called western clothes.

6.13

Simultaneously, the people in the second plot line (town/tradition) wear traditional Yoruba clothes only, such as *Agbada*[38] and *Ìró ofì*[39] for dancers.

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[36]Information about Yoruba clothes, personal talks Fakayode 2011; Raimi 2011.

[37] Information about Yoruba clothes, personal talks Fakayode 2011; Raimi 2011.

[38] High class native dress for Yoruba men (Information about Yoruba clothes, personal talks Fakayode 2011; Raimi 2011.)

[39] Information about Yoruba clothes, personal talks Fakayode 2011; Raimi 2011.

The different settings with the corresponding costumes assists the viewer in knowing which action is part of which plot: "Costumes can play important motivic and causal roles in narratives." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 122)

The mise-en-scène has different spatial and temporal options. The screen space is important for offering cues to guide the viewer's attention and to underline elements in the frame (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 142). Tunde Kelani distributes various points of interest evenly around the frame. He utilizes balanced compositions, such as the scene of the meeting between the chiefs and the king. In the first cut, one of the chiefs stands in perfect balance of the region on the right of the shot. The chiefs beside and behind him have their eyes on him (the chief who stands and talks) (eyeline match). The whole image composition, including the acting, is concentrated on the main actor in this scene. In the following cut, the camera position changes so that the camera eyes are behind the main actor and the spectator can also watch the person to whom the chief is talking. The chief appears again in perfect balance but in this frame in the shot´s left region. This shot gives the audience a closer look at the subsequent reaction of the king (6.14, 6.15).

6.14   6.15

Other examples of a balanced composition would be to place the figure at the centre of the frame, with the eyes placed more in the upper half of the frame, as it depends on the viewing habits of the audience. They are more concentrated on the upper half of the frame because that is where they tend to find the faces of the characters (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 143, 144). For instance, in image 6.16 the main protagonist is in the middle of the frame and her eyes are in the upper half, the other characters are minimised by cutting them and/or positioning the people in the background through distance. A further example is image 6.17., where two female traders are talking about the boy who loses his parents to HIV/AIDS. As

they are talking, the next cut to their point of view shows the boy, who is coming to buy something to eat from them. The boy is placed in the middle so that the viewers are solely concentrated on him. The single-colour clothes of the boy, in comparison to the multi-coloured dressing of the women, assist this effect. "The filmmaker can guide our attention by use of another time-tested strategy, the principle of contrast. […] Color contrasts don't have to be huge, because we´re sensitive to small differences." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 144)

6.16   6.17

These are also good examples of depth cues. The scene space includes the spectator´s impression of seeing the edges and masses on screen as a three-dimensional space: "The elements of the image that create this impression are called *depth cues*. […] We develop our understanding of depth cues from our experience of real locales and from our earlier experience with pictorial media. […] Depth cues also pick out *planes* within the image. Planes are the layers of space occupied by persons or objects. Planes are described according to how close to or far away from the camera they are: foreground, middle ground, background." (Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 145, 146) As we see in the examples above (6.14, 6.15), the main protagonists are placed in the foreground and the surrounding objects appear smaller in the background. The advantage of cinema in comparison with paintings is movement, such as depth cues, as it strongly suggests both planes and volume (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008:147). In these examples, I was able to describe how compositional elements and depth cues have functioned in focussing the viewer´s attention on the narrative elements.

The image of the boy is also a good example of temporal possibilities, as during the dialogue of the market women, the viewer gets to know the person about whom they are talking through the displaying their point of view. According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 150), "the director´s control over mise-en-scene governs not only *what* the spectator sees but

also *when* he/she sees it and for how long". To underline this statement connected to narration, a good example would be the "kidnapping scene" in the film. Adetutu has an important appointment on campus, which is to join Makinwa´s performance, but she is also busy in her hometown. She is therefore under stress to get there on time and as a result she carelessly ends up taking a bus that appears to be public transport. However, it is not and she is kidnapped by strangers. The next scene displays her in front of the location of the performance. Fast cuts and cross-cutting are used to specify the time factor. At first it is difficult to understand how Adetutu could be at the masquerade festival so quickly after the kidnapping, because it is out of chronological temporal order. The information on how Adetutu is able to escape is given via flashback, when she has to prove again that she is a maiden. Therefore, this plot is much more important for the scene in which people judge her whether she has lost her virginity due to the kidnapping. This way of implementation is a good strategy for maintaining the rhythm of the film, which is an important issue in terms of the time.

The two aspects of cinematographic qualities and editing are important for the mise-en-scène. How they assist with the mise-en-scène will be described in the following part of the analysis using various examples.

5.3.2. Cinematography and editing

The director uses a wide range of cinematography qualities[40] and editing possibilities. In the following section, I will discuss the most important one for further interpretation.

As mentioned above, the use of tonalities has a special role in expressing dreams and historical periods in *Arugbá*. As in image 6.18, a chief´s dream about how to govern the country is illustrated in sepia, and image 6.19 which shows the story of the best dancer Sango, and Batá, the best drummer in Yoruba mythology, is in black and white.

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[40] This includes tonalities, perspectives, angle, level, height, distance of framing and mobile framing.

6.18   6.19

The opening of the film is a montage sequence that includes a three-dimensional animation (3D animation) of a photo album, which is supposed to represent the director Tunde Kelani and his "cultural documentary Oroki which highlights the annual Osun Osogbo festival"[41]. Fade-ins and fade-outs segue from the black and white documentary to the photo album and vice versa.

The film-maker applies different perspectives to give a message. Most of the time the images are in deep focus, with the exception being a discussion between two protagonists in close-up that is edited with a shot/reverse shot. In such a case, the protagonists are in sharp focus and the background is out of focus. This selective focus draws the spectator´s attention to the main characters (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 173). Special effects include superimposition, as shown in image 6.20.

6.20

This extreme close-up is a shot from the flashback to the "kidnapping scene". Adetutu asks the kidnapper to bring her water, and in order to remind the audience of Adetutu´s relationship with water, the director superimposes the Yemoja image, from her dream at the

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[41] Text sequence of the movie

opening of the plot, over her face. This is a simple montage to guide the audience through the water mythology.

Most parts of the film are shot with a straight-on angle, which is the most common one (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 190). High angle or low angle shots are used in just a few situations. High angle framing is utilised when the director wants to portray a whole location, for instance the dancing around the fire, or sometimes he uses it for spatial establishment. In a few scenes, the low angle provides the opportunity to look up at a character's face. This gives the statement by the character more power, as, for example, in the first market sequence when the prayer talks about religion. Furthermore, camera distances are important for framing. In *Arugbá,* extreme long shots are used to establish locations in the viewer´s spatial imagination, i.e. the spectator has to know where he/she is at all points in the film. The use of establishing shots during dialogues is also important in this aspect. Close-ups focus the viewer´s attention on the character's mimic, in order to read their reaction. Shots that zoom in and zoom out increase the suspense, as, for instance, when Adetutu has to prove at the festival that she is still a virgin. A zoom-in from medium close-up to a close-up of Adetutu´s face opens the dissolve to the flashback. Different types of mobile framing, such as pan, tilt and hand-held camera, give the possibility of emphasising movement. For example, in the Yoruba tradition respect for elders is important, thus there are special ways of greeting: the women have to kneel and the men have to prostrate. At the beginning of the meeting between the king and the doctors, the doctors greet him using these special ways and the camera swivels with their movements (tilt movement).

As for the editing, fade-out and fade-in or dissolves are important for dreams, historical background information and flashbacks. On one occasion, the director also uses a wipe to introduce a memory (image 6.21 and 6.22).

6.21   6.22

In this case when armed robbers enter one of the chiefs' rooms, they accuse him of being a traitor and to remember why they would get this on their minds he starts to remember a discussion with the king. This discussion is introduced as a flashback via wipe in black and white.

For the common editing, cuts are used to join two shots. The axis of action (180° area), establishing shots as mentioned above, shot/reverse shots, eyeline match and cross-cutting, are utilised to continue the editing and to guide the viewers through the narration.

5.3.3. Sound in the film

The final technique to analyse in this chapter is sound. The power of sound should not be underestimated. Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 264) summarise that "most films create the impression that the people and things onscreen simply produce an appropriate noise. But, […] the sound track is constructed separately from the images, and it can be manipulated independently. This makes sound as flexible and wide-ranging as other film techniques." If I start with Bordwell and Thompson´s (2008: 264) assumption that people are accustomed to ignore many of the sounds in their environment, because the primary information comes from sight and therefore sound is often just secondary to visual attention, then it is important to discuss the influence of sound in a film to ask how sound guides the audience through the images to deliver the messages.

There are three types of distinguishable sound effects: speech, music and noise. These three types are seen in a combination of loudness, pitch and timbre (cf. Bordwell/Thompson 2008: 267, 268).

Diegetic as well as non-diegetic sound plays a particular role in introducing, accompanying and ending different scenes. As Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 269) point out, film-makers utilise sound unrealistically in order to shift the attention to important aspects of the narration and visual images. Tunde Kelani uses sound in this way as well. In addition, Kelani applies special melodies, which are associated with a particular character, setting, situation and/or idea. Adetutu thus has two non-diegetic signature tunes, one of which is played in connection with her duty to be the next Arugbá. Examples are during meetings with the king, talks with

her mother and in situations on campus that are connected to the water motif. Her other signature tune is the melody of the refrain from the song that she performs with her female group and which is played in connection with her female group.

The king is recognisable by the sound of drums, inserted both as diegetic and non-diegetic sound depending on the situation. It is also the music for the town scenes. The rhythm and the chosen music, for example dramatic or calming and romantic, accompanies the protagonist´s emotions, as Lensing concludes: "[…] hat die Musik auch die Aufgabe, quasi die Seelenlandschaft zumeist der Hauptprotagonisten zu illustrieren […]"[42]. In combination with editing, rhythm is an important aspect. How music supports the underlining of the rhythm of editing is best seen in the two performance scenes. The cuts and the music are adapted to each other, which includes underlining the messages. As mentioned above, Tunde Kelani gives songs a special importance in his films. Furthermore, he makes use of sound bridges to introduce the next scene, whereby the image of the current scene is onscreen but the music and/or noise of the subsequent scene is already playing offscreen.

As I have presented with this analysis, and according to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 117), "The overall design of a setting can shape how we understand story action" and bring us further in the interpretation.

6. Interpretation

I explained earlier the different possibilities of mise-en-scène, cinematography, editing and sound. This explanation is important for the following interpretation. I will therefore emphasise the technique patterns through the messages.

Arugbá is a co-operation between Mainframe Productions, the Lagos State government and the BBC World trust Service. Its objective is to raise HIV/AIDS awareness. This interpretation therefore focuses mainly on this edutainment aspect. Furthermore, the film includes other social issues that are particularly important in terms of the point discussed earlier, of making critical statements with a film.

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[42] […] music also has the ability to illustrate the protagonist's emotions […]" [translated by J.K.]

The Arugbá Mobile Cinema Report focuses on five key societal problems, which are explored in the film: corruption, the health system, the education system, unemployment and violence. In particular, I will use this report to confirm my own interpretation of those key problems. Furthermore, I will describe the film techniques that are used to deliver messages and to explain the challenges, in order to show how the medium of film can be used for edutainment.

6.1.   HIV/AIDS

This topic is discussed directly and implicitly in the film. The whole story of Arugbá and her duty to be a maiden is an implicit way to talk about HIV/AIDS. In the first dialogue of the market women in the feature story, it is respond relating to the political leaders are mentioned directly for the first time: *"Is it not true that our leaders are behaving like robbers? Or are we not threatened by incurable disease?"*[43] Likewise, various posters appear in order to raise awareness, one with the slogan "Secure your future, overcome your fear of HIV/AIDS" and an information line is provided. This poster hangs centrally in the background of the scene where Makinwa and his group prepare themselves for their performance. After they leave the room, the location is shown for a few seconds without the protagonists, so the audience is able to look at the poster (image 7.1 and 7.2).

7.1

7.2

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[43] English Subtitle

In a direct way the topic is discussed in the following eight scenes:

1. Market: two market women are talking about the illness (HIV/AIDS) of the parents of a small boy, who comes to get food. His father died and now his mother is on the brink of death.

2. Hospital: the mother has died. Nurses are talking about how many AIDS cases they have already lost. The doctor goes back to his office and looks worried.

3. Kabiyesi meets with the doctors who are specialists in the HIV/AIDS pandemic. They present their idea to join with Kabiyesi on the following serious issues: seminars on preventive education, identifying symptoms of the diseases and how to care for those that are infected. They need a building and Kabiyesi agrees.

4. Adetutu does an HIV test and talks to the doctor about it. She asks her if she can send a friend for a test as well.

5. In the room of Adetutu´s friend: her daughter Pelumi dies.

6. Meeting: Chief Aigoro (advisor of Kabiyesi) and the doctors meet with regards to the HIV/AIDS project. They have obtained money from the World Health Body. When Aigoro hears about the money he sends his followers out of the room in order to speak in private with the doctors. His followers co-operate and leave.

7. Adetutu and her friend meet the doctor. Adetutu has to leave early because she wants to attend Makinwa´s performance.

8. Adetutu´s friend meets the doctor again to talk about her test results. She is HIV positive. She reveals her situation because of the fact that she is a widow. She talks about how she was treated by her husband's family.

Various aspects associated with HIV/AIDS are addressed in these scenes, such as the high rate of orphans, stigmatisation, mortality rate and modes of transmission, as in mother-to-child transmission and sexual transmission. Additionally, general information about HIV tests, information lines and so on are given via the dialogues of the protagonists and through the display of posters.

The dialogue of the two traders in **scene one**[44] reveals the family background information of the boy. It refers to sexual transmission: *"That sickness that took his father has afflicted his*

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[44] Disc A: minute 34:13 - 34:49.

mother too. He might end up losing his mother too."[45] The audience is listening to the dialogue offscreen while the boy is onscreen. The next cut displays the two market women and the small boy in a medium long shot, when he wants to buy food. One of them asks him about his mother´s health condition and in order to see the reaction of the boy, the camera distance changes to a medium close-up. This scene cuts between these two camera distances. In the same medium long shot as described before, the audience can see the worried reaction of both traders.

Two men who are waiting in front of the hospital introduce **scene two**[46]. The next cut displays the hospital room as the doctor enters to announce the death of the patient, who is the mother of the young boy in the scene just described. Slow music accompanies the act, medium close-up, close-up and medium shots enable the spectator to see the sorrowful faces of the nurses and the doctor. The dialogue of the nurses addresses the high mortality rate in Nigeria: *"That makes it fifty AIDS cases that we have lost."*[47] The following cut displays the doctor in his office. He seems tired and worried.

These two scenes are good examples of selected images combined with a few words that manage to describe the main aspects of HIV/AIDS. The woman who died was the widow of an AIDS patient and left behind a son, who represents one of the million AIDS orphans in Nigeria. According to the Report (n.d.: 5), the boy is the archetype of many AIDS orphans in the country. The hospital scenes introduce the high death rate of HIV/AIDS patients in Nigeria. According to the UNAIDS Global Report (2010: 8), Nigeria is one of the five Sub-Saharan African countries besides South Africa, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Zambia, where the epidemic has either stabilised or is showing signs of decline.

In summary, scenes one and two address sexual transmission, the high rate of orphans and the mortality rate in Nigeria. According to the United Nation General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) Country Progress Report (2010: 28), the increase in the number of orphans, which was estimated at 2.12 million in 2008 and 2.175 million in 2009, is one of the most notable social and economic impacts of HIV/AIDS. In 2005, the mortality rate began to decline in Sub-Saharan African countries and it is possible to achieve positive effects with antiretroviral treatment (cf. Global Report 2010: 19, 107).

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[45] English subtitle

[46] Disc A: minute 34:49 – 35:45.

[47] English subtitle

Scene three[48] enables the audience to get information about necessary issues, in order to create an environment for the prevention, treatment and fight against HIV/AIDS. As mentioned in chapter 6.3. (technique part: Sound in the film), the director uses sound bridges. This act is introduced with diegetic drums offscreen. Onscreen in the following cut, the drums are played to accompany the meeting of the king and the doctors. They are also used as the signature tune of the king. Via shot/reverse shot, the audience can follow the talk between the king and the doctors, who represent the health system. They need a building for holding seminars on preventive education, the identification of symptoms of the diseases, for the treatment of infected patients and for the essential blood screening. The World Health Body provides the funds for the project but to achieve their aim, the doctors need the co-operation of the king. Also needed is the co-operation of the people to attend the seminars, which is an absolute must. In this scene, the main aspects of provision and treatment are explained via the dialogue. Furthermore, an important message is the responsibility of the civilian population. In the plot of this scene, the spectator can recognise that the king was more interested in the female doctor´s beauty than in the request being put to him. As the author Daniel J. Smith concludes: "Though Nigeria´s leaders have publicly recognized the presence of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria and promised government assistance in stopping its spread, and though President Olusegun Obasanjo has gone further than previous leaders in creating government programs designed to address the epidemic, neither the president nor other powerful politicians have given HIV/AIDS a particularly prominent position in their public rhetoric." (Smith 2004: 199)

Scene six[49] is a continuation of scene three. It gives information about the amount the World Health Body is providing for the clinic facility. This act deals more with issues of corruption but at this point it is interesting to discuss the connection between official funds and the interests of the government. It could be interpreted that people are interested in making money for themselves and do not care about cures (Adewale/Otsemobor personal talk 2010). In summary, the government, which is represented with the king and the chiefs around him, does not face these problems and furthermore, they feel no shame at embezzling the funds.

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[48] Disc A: minute 39:09 – 42:07.

[49] Disc B: minute 06:03 – 08:08.

Scenes four[50], **five**[51]**, seven**[52] and **eight**[53] are connected and form parts of the same plot. Scene four displays Adetutu in the doctor´s office when she gets the results of her HIV test. The doctor congratulates her about the fact that her status is negative. Via shot/reverse shot, the audience can follow the dialogue where the doctor provides the main information on the importance of regular blood screening, as HIV is not transmitted through sexual intercourse alone, and invites her to attend seminars. At the end Adetutu asks if she can send her pregnant friend Bolatito, who has never had her status checked, to see her. During this talk, the doctor emphasises the importance of finding the status out because of the pregnancy.

In the second of these four scenes, Bolatito utters her daughter´s name continuously, who has already died before Adetutu arrives. Close-ups of the faces help to show the mother´s desperation and Adetutu´s compassion for the situation, and via medium long shot the spectator is able to follow the whole act in Bolatito´s room. The non-diegetic music underlines the situation.

Scene seven is already a part of the crosscutting that I explained above. Adetutu is late for her appointment for Makinwa´s performance. The non-diegetic music is fast and does not fit to the talk between Bolatito and the doctor. Thus, the music can be heard at the beginning of the scene and is played again while Adetutu waits for the public transport. During the short talk the music fades and the audience just listens to the dialogue. In comparison with the fast music that accompanies Adetutu´s stress, the doctor´s good nature is emphasised through the sound technique and makes her appear trustworthy.

In the last scene of these four, Bolatito goes to see the doctor again to get her results. It starts with a medium close-up shot/reverse shot and Bolatito´s simultaneous explanation of her status as a widow. She was stigmatised by her in-laws and had no other place to go. As a result of that, her daughter became sick and died. Now she is pregnant again and full of fear that she will lose her child. Bolatito is diagnosed as positive and the medium close-up displays her reaction. The next two cuts change the camera distance to a medium long shot and a close-up to show the doctor´s care as she touches Bolatito's hands. Offscreen the

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[50] Disc B: minute 02:49 – 04:02.

[51] Disc B: minute 05:33 – 06:03.

[52] Disc B: minute 08:30 – 09:07.

[53] Disc B: minute 23:34 – 25:19.

audience is listening to her voice, which says: *"It is not the end of the world."*[54] Soothing music accompanies the situation.

In the following part of the film, Bolatito also participates in the Osun Festival and medium shots show her among the attendees. This character represents how a normal life can be lived in society with this immunodeficiency syndrome, as the University of Ibadan (n.d.: 7) identifies in the Report: "Throughout the rest of the film, Bolatito appears prominently. A truly robust person, she continues to look healthy and cheerful, and is actively involved in the activities of the society showing that indeed one can be living with HIV and still functions perfectly as a member of the society."

Implicitly, the director responds to stigmatisation with this character. Likewise, the theme and the accompanying fear appear with the poster cited above. According to Adeokun, Okonkwo and Ladipo (2006: 213), getting information on stigma in Nigeria is limited to a number of abstracts published in international HIV/AIDS conference proceedings. The reasons for people living with HIV/AIDS being stigmatised are a result of ignorance. One example is the prevailing myth that HIV can be contracted through normal social contact. The other common reason is the impression that HIV/AIDS is an illness of homosexual people, sex workers and drug addicts, as well as of those that have sex outside marriage or are promiscuous (cf. Adeokun/Okonkwo/Ladipo 2006: 215). Furthermore, modes of transmission such as mother-to-child transmission and sexual transmission, and in an implicit way other modes of transmission, as well as the importance of regular blood screenings and treatments, are discussed in these parts of the film.

According to the action items under chapter 4 "HIV-treatment" of the UNAIDS Report (2010: 115), the following three points are important with regards to children and mortality in general:

- Maternal and child health services must be strengthened so that all pregnant women living with HIV can access comprehensive services for preventing maternal and child mortality and infants from becoming newly infected and providing antiretroviral therapy for mothers.
- Children´s access to antiretroviral therapy must improve. This will require maternal and child health and antiretroviral therapy centres to work closely. In addition, better

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[54] English subtitle

diagnostic tools and antiretroviral therapy formulations for children continue to be needed.

- Investments in treatment have brought results for AIDS-related mortality and reducing the number of people newly infected with HIV. These investments must be continued and sustained over the long term.

In connection with the HIV/AIDS topic, I also see the empowerment of women portrait in terms of the female protagonist. The actress illustrates to the spectators that women have the power to be responsible for their own sexuality, they do not have to let themselves be exploited, humiliated or subordinated by men.

With this interpretation on the HIV/AIDS topic, I was able to present how much information can be given via some selected images and dialogues, and how the audience is guided through the messages with the various camera positions/distances and sound. I will now provide some information on other statements that also come under edutainment. According to the Report (n.d.: 6), the edutainment aspect is employed directly and implicitly in the film as well. Examples of direct use include Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) and different references to HIV/AIDS that I have already discussed. Furthermore, the Report summarised that the implicit use of edutainment occurs throughout the film through the aspect of chastity and cultural revaluation. The topic of cultural revaluation is a particularly important aspect in order to the director´s opinion to go back to their culture relating to the discussion about solutions in the personal interview. According to Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010), people should be aware of their problems and the solutions and they should think about them. He tries to give the solution of change, a change related to reorientation, i.e. for people to be aware of their own culture. The film therefore includes historical background information on the Yoruba culture such as Sango and Batá, the dancer and the drummer, Yemoja, and of course the Osun Festival, the importance of water, Arugbá´s (the sacrifice carrier) duties and so on. "The Yoruba worldview is a complex network of interdependent relationships among ènìyàn (human beings) and òrìsà (deities)." (Badejo 1996: 47) In the Ifa Divination Corpus, an elaborate body of knowledge is found in which mythology, philosophy, and history exists along with other fields of knowledge (cf. Badejo 1996: 48).

The explanation of how to prepare ORT is a step-by-step demonstration in the scene when Adetutu visits her friend Bolatito for the first time. Her daughter has diarrhoea and does not want to eat anymore. The details are emphasised through the camera distance. A close-up of the baby shows how much it is suffering. A medium long shot portrays the whole room and the spectator is able to see how Adetutu is looking for the ingredients needed. The camera distance changes to an extreme close-up in order to follow the preparation in detail. In Adetutu´s dialogue, she conscientiously explains the steps of preparation of first aid for the baby.

An important part of the Report of *Arugbá* Survey (n.d.: 7-9), is the breakdown of the twelve messages by Lagos State government, which are inserted into the film. To recognise and to understand those messages was not easy for me, in fact it was almost impossible, but it is interesting to point them out. Therefore, the following part is mainly based on the interpretation of the Report and also provides some background information. According to the University of Ibadan, six of the messages focus on the environment, four on taxes and two on land purchases, as follows:

The five **messages of the environment** are sponsored by the Lagos State Ministry of the Environment (LSME), and one is sponsored by the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA). The first message is a jingle in Yoruba: "Àjàkálè àrùn ti inú ègbin sàn wá."[55] (University of Ibadan n.d.: 7) It is a request to clean up the environment in order to avoid the spread of disease. The second one is in Pidgin English and reminds people to be concerned about garbage disposal and to pay their bills. The next message is especially for market wo/men and urges people "to clean their stalls daily and specially every Thursday when they are supposed to close their markets for hours for a thorough clean-up" (University of Ibadan n.d.: 8). The fourth environmental message explains the link between a dirty environment and the spread of disease. It should be a warning especially for "those who urinate indiscriminately in the open public places to discontinue the act" (University of Ibadan n.d.: 8). The fifth one is a nostalgic straight talk rendered in English where chief Alhaji Femi Okunnu paints a picture of the old, clean and orderly Lagos and is also a request to maintain

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[55] "Unsanitary milieu results to diseases." (Translation by Raimi personal talk 2011)

the environment for a clean Lagos. Related to this is the final message, a jingle in Pidgin English that talks about how Lagos State is beautiful but that it can be made even more so.

The second categories of government **messages focus on taxes** and are sponsored by the Lagos State Internal Revenue Services (LSIRS). The first one is connected to religion. A pastor encourages people to pay their taxes, not only because of civic responsibility but also because of "being obedient to the words of the Lord". The next message is connected to good things that are done by the government, which will continue if people pay their taxes. The third message reminds people to pay taxes regularly and the last one features Mr. Yemi Cardoso, former Commissioner for Economic Planning, who gives a list of government plans for the environment, power supply and other aspects of infrastructure. To execute these plans the government needs the public to pay their taxes.

The two **messages on land fraud** are supposed to warn the audience "of buying land from fraudulent land speculators who specialize in selling government lands illegally" (University of Ibadan n.d.: 9). The first message is in English and the second one is in Yoruba and is just a translation: "They contain a list of areas of Lagos where land speculators are selling government´s lands illegally. They teach people how to begin the process of acquiring lands legally and give them addresses and names of government officials to contact if they have enquiries." (University of Ibadan n.d.: 9)

Including government messages in films is interesting, but at the same time it has implications. It is interesting because it discusses the specific problems of Lagos State and gives information about them, and it also uniquely defines a target group. It has implications because government messages can have negative consequences: if you consider that the film is supposed to raise HIV/AIDS awareness, too many messages could overwhelm the audience. Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010) concludes that *Arugbá* is an overload and some people were disappointed because they wanted to be entertained and not to have their ways of thinking affected. According to the Report (University of Ibadan n.d.: 9), "the viewers may feel ambushed by the film producer and the government". By means of the questionnaire it was discovered that the audiences were content with the different messages, and according to the Report (n.d.: 19), it shows that film "can indeed bridge the gap between the government and the people if properly employed."

6.2. Other aspects for social and political awareness

The following interpretation concludes the discussion of chapter four in criticising the politics of the country and emphasising the challenges of the Nigerian population. I will give a brief overview of the topics that are addressed in the film.

The political parts of the film illustrate the problems of the country, including how they used to be and how they continue to be today: *"From film to film I have pointed how massive corruption is getting worse and worse."* (Kelani personal interview 2010) Nigeria is one of the most corrupt countries, according to the Corruptions Perceptions Index 2010 Transparency International[56]. Kelani addresses this in various ways and from different areas, thus it is not just a portrait of Obasanjo´s regime, for instance. He also uses examples from Abacha´s[57] military regime, Babangida´s time and so on. Hence, he tries to portray the existence not only of differences between the individual areas but also between the military regime and the switch to democracy in Nigeria. He shows examples of corruption, deceit, assassinations and money transfers to foreign bank accounts all over the world. Kelani addresses the general leadership problem in Nigeria (Adewale/Otsemobor personal talk 2010). The corruption issue is reflected in different parts of the film, for example, it appears in the story of Aigoro, a chief who embezzles funds donated by a World Health body and is later arrested by the king. The king himself transfers money to his foreign bank account and at the same time he pretends to fight against the corruption.[58] Furthermore, the film represents meetings of the king and the chiefs with physical fights, which are close to the reality in parliament (Adewale/Otsemobor personal talk 2010). Here a recurrent question is: *"Why are we suffering in the midst of plenty?"[59]* This question is used in different films by Tunde

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[56] Online at: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results, last accessed: 04.02.2011.

[57] It is estimated that he has looted between $3 billion and $5 billion during his dictatorship. He transferred the money to several banks in different countries such as Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Jersey, and the Bahamas (cf. United Nations/World Bank 2007: 18).

[58] For the Obasanjo administration, its anti-corruption campaign was an important item. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was established to fight against corruption during Obasanjo´s period. According to Falola and Heaton (2008: 272, 273), many people criticised it and argued that he was the corrupt one.

[59] English subtitle

Kelani. According to him (personal interview 2010), the idea behind this question is that he wants to express his amazement at the mismanagement of capital in Nigeria, and he further emphasises that Nigeria could have a lot of economic opportunities in terms of oil and gas production, agricultural possibilities and so on. This is also in the film itself, where one of the chiefs mentions that they are shameless giants. For the Nigerian people, corruption has become "normal" not only in politics but also in everyday life: "From paying policemen at highway checkpoints to bribing public officials for legitimate or falsified document, Nigerians deal with corruption on a daily basis." (Falola/Heaton 2008: 240)

Parallel to the main plot, various forms of violence are introduced in the course of the film. A political form of violence is represented by the assassination of a chief, who was accused of high treason by the king. A further theme is kidnapping. Adetutu is waiting for public transport on her way to the campus, but unfortunately she gets on the wrong bus and she and a number of young children are kidnapped. This scene illustrates the problem of kidnapping for the reason of occultism, for example (Adewale/Otsemobor personal talk 2010). Violence on the campus is expressed in a weakened form, when some boys harass the girl s on their way to a lecture room.

As discussed above, song texts are an important medium for Tunde Kelani to stress the main issues of the film. In *Arugbá,* he did this in particular with the song *Mi o ni Choice,* which discusses the two main challenges of the country: the education system and unemployment. The former is criticised in particular due to the fact that the language used is English, i.e., to speak English means to be educated. This issue is also demonstrated when the king´s grandchildren do not know other Yoruba words and to excuse themselves they tell him that they are forbidden to speak Yoruba (to say *jaga-jaga things*[60]) at their school. This issue was discussed in a personal interview (Kelani 2010), where Kelani argued that it should be an important part to *"work with people who do not have a western education but are educated in another way otherwise"*. As an example, he took the story of Sango and Batá, the dancer and the drummer: *"They cannot dance without drum and the other one cannot drum without dance. So we need each other. It is a world of symbiosis."*

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[60] English subtitle

A further example would be "Osun´s mythology and her festival drama [which] embody a belief in woman power and sacrifice, that is, in the belief that to give is to get, and to get is to give, while to give and to get is empower." (Badejo 1996: 185)

Furthermore, parts of this song discuss leaving Nigeria and beginning a life in the USA because of the hopeless situation: "[…] thinking of Nigeria […] makes me wanna say bye bye. Ibe yen titi làiyè. Òri nothing ri omo yi mà nlo rè è. [61]"

In the film, the aspect of migration is mainly associated with the 2009 American election and with the director´s statement about the desire to be American. One girl mentions to her friend on the phone that everyone will get a green card because of Barack Obama. Likewise, almost at the end of the film in a close-up, the king´s television broadcasts the election of Barack Obama. According to Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010), the election was just a coincidence, and as part of the current events at that time it simply became a part of the story.

On top of the five problems that are explored in Arugbá, others are introduced in short scenes, but are nevertheless important: widowhood, infrastructure and poverty. The problem of widowhood is discussed through the character Bolatito. She lost her husband and was then abandoned by her in-laws. As a result of this stigmatisation, she has to struggle alone to take care of her daughter and her pregnancy. In the dialogue with the doctor, her troubles as a widow are clearly illustrated. The collapsed infrastructure and especially electricity is shown when the king´s wife lights kerosene lanterns in the palace, though the setting is reduced to almost nothing in order to put the message across. The endemic poverty could be seen as a result of the various problems.

The topics of gender and religion should also not be left out. As discussed above, it is normal for Tunde Kelani to work with a strong female character in his films. In *Arugbá* in particular, he wanted to emphasise the two powers of women in relation to the water motif. Here, water can be understood as a metaphor: *"On one hand women are mothers and it is their duty to protect their children and on other hand they have marvelous temper like the sea, the ocean. One moment everything becomes peaceful and suddenly it could turn to thunderstorm, tsunami and incredible destructions as a consequent. And for the Arugbá in the story it is her*

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[61] English translation – subtitle: Government, this girl is checking out.
English translation: Over there forever. She´s seen nothing before. This child is leaving (translated by Raimi personal talk 2011).

responsibility to draw attention to these two powers of women." (Kelani personal interview 2010)

The Osun Festival by itself is a good opportunity for the director to illustrate female power. The annual festival and oral literature of Osun demonstrate women´s power in Yoruba cultural history. In the Yoruba language there are different terms to describe that gender and sex roles are frequently asymmetrical and obscure. Badejo (1996: 178) identifies the messages of the festival´s drama as balance, reciprocity, and the sanctity of gender roles, and points out that: "Osun as a model establishes that African women are historically part of the political, social, cultural, and economic sectors. It shows that Osun as a mythical image of womanhood, is queen mother and ruler, the subject of political and economic actions, the challenge and the support of the social order." (Badejo 1996: 180) These aspects are combined with the image of an elegant woman of wealth, power, femininity and fecundity. Consequently, she concludes that the festival drama and oral literature of Osun "codify these complex images of African womanhood as a source of empowerment for women globally", as a theoretical framework for African feminist criticism. (cf. Badejo 1996: 183)

As I have already mentioned in my analysis of the narrative form of the film, the director addresses the three religions: Christianity, which includes Pentecostalism, Islam, and the Yoruba religion. This is shown especially in the first market scene where a mad man is shouting and different people are commenting on this. The two main religions of Islam and Christianity teach morals and talk about morals in society. These three religions, Islam, Christianity and the so-called native religion (which is mentioned at the beginning with the Yemoja) share certain similarities.

The success of the Pentecostal and Islamic movements since the 1970s, lies in the desperation of people who turned to religion expecting it to be the answer to all social problems. The success of Pentecostal churches mainly continues today in the South of Nigeria, whereas Islam is more popular in the North (cf. Falola/Heaton 2008: 221). The scene almost at the end of the film, where the king is talking to a person from the church and saying that he wants to build a church beside the palace, could be understood as the film-maker wanting to implicitly addresses the relationship between politics and churches.

In summary, the items I have discussed above are, according to the director himself (personal interview 2010), understood in the same way as things he is confronted with in his everyday

life and that are published in the newspapers. He just put these themes in a historical time context away from entertainment. He finds it important to include these social and political aspects in his films. Furthermore, besides the entertainment aspects the documentary aspects add extra values: *"I am not an activist. I am just telling a story. […]One is maybe a mirror maybe a poor reflection of the real thing."* (personal interview Kelani 2010)

This overview represented and reinforced some aspects that were discussed earlier (cf. chapter 4 part 4.2. "How free are the Nigerian filmmakers"). According to Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010), he was able to express himself in a free way and he is content that *Arugbá* was certified as an eighteen and above film by the Censors Board. He is aware of his responsibility as a film-maker and thinks that *"film is the most powerful medium of communication"*. It depends on the spectator as to which part of the film is important for him/her, and what kind of topic she/he wants to pick out to discuss. As I have portrayed in the course of this chapter, *Arugbá* has many aspects to be discussed and we can learn a lot about politics and social problems/challenges in Nigeria. By extracting several topics of the film, I was able to show that this film provides various possibilities to discuss and to criticise one topic or another in further detail. As Kelani (2010) emphasises in the personal interview: *"[…] the story in Arugbá in comparison with the contemporary Nigeria is a never never ending drama."*

After this analysis and interpretation of *Arugbá* and following the definition of Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 70), I would like to say that *Arugbá* "has unity": "When all the relationships we perceive within a film are clear and economically interwoven, we say that the film has *unity*. We call a unified film tight, because there seem to be no gaps in the formal relationships. Every element present has a specific set of functions, similarities and differences are determinable, the form develops logically, and no element is superfluous. In turn, the film´s overall unity gives our experience a sense of completeness and fulfillment."

7. Conclusion

Film and its various types, such as documentary, edutainment and entertainment, with different genres such as crime, thriller, melodrama, comedy and so on, provide the opportunity of representing the social and political aspects of a society. Therefore, film and video technique is a tool to manipulate people in a positive or negative way. The discussion on propaganda stresses these issues. In this respect, Ogunleye (2007: 51) concludes "[N]ot only is it possible for television to present real life as it is, it is also possible to use the medium to re-create another type of reality by the propagandists", which is how it is/was often used by politicians. The power of film should not be underestimated by film-makers. Consequently, they have to be aware of their responsibility and not use the media in a negative way. Some form of regulation is thus imperative in order to balance film production. However, the questions of who should be responsible for this and who can decide what is right or wrong in relation to ethical aspects, are obvious. According to Senghal and Brown (1999: 273), censorship bodies that control the flow of information can create structural barriers for effective edutainment productions, especially if they are controlled by political leaders or development funding, the pool of technical expertise and the availability of policy-makers for strategic planning. With the description of the Nigerian censorship body, I was able to discuss how free the Nigerian film-makers are and what kind of possibilities they have to deliver messages. According to my research, it depends on how film-makers tell their stories and how they implement them. A common way is to use metaphors instead of making a critical statement in a direct way. These are opportunities to sensitize audiences to their political rights and to criticise issues such as corruption, violence, unemployment and so on.

With the case study "The Nigerian film industry", I was able to discuss the different possibilities of a country with a film and/or video industry, in connection with popular culture, art and entertainment-education interventions. According to Barber (1997b: XII), "at some level, all the plays produced by concert parties and popular theatres in Ghana, Togo, and Nigeria are about the transformation of society wrought under colonialism […]." As I have described, the film industry increased particularly after the oil boom during the military regime. In this respect, most of the films I have discussed in this thesis could be seen as the transformation of society under military regime. Obviously popular art needs to be aware of the political situation and circumstances of a country where the art form develops.

Concerning the message and function of cultural art, Fabian (1997: 23) concludes that cultural expressions also symbolise, and are more than social and political reflections, or mirrors of the society: "[…], any living culture must be viewed as a communicative process in which a society not only expresses but also generates and forms its world view."

For non-Nigerians, the film Arugbá gives a minimum insight into just a part of Nigeria and its people, their life, culture and politics. On one hand, film can provide an incorrect and partial expression that emphasises stereotypes. Afolabi (personal interview 2010) describes that negative aspects of a society are usually interesting and therefore spread easily. Consequently, a lot of negative things are portrayed in Nigerian films, which gives the wrong expression of Nigerian society to foreigners. However on the other hand, film also works the other way round to oppose stereotypes. Tunde Kelani has the ability to discuss various problems and challenges in Nigerian society, without emphasising stereotypes. He calls attention to such issues and then provides the space for reflection and discussion. According to Tunde Kelani (personal interview 2010), it is not a film-maker's task or aim to give solutions with their films, but rather to give suggestions so that viewers think about the problems and the solutions: *"They should be aware of them."* The films are therefore open-ended and provide an input for personal reflection. After screening *Arugbá* via mobile cinema in different areas in Lagos, the questionnaires are a good way to underline such ideas. As mentioned, the co-operation with Lagos State Government could be seen as a bridge between government and civil society. Therefore, such entertainment productions seem future-orientated.

It was an interesting part of my research to get to know Nigerian society better, through the film *Arugbá* and the various themes that are portrayed. I realised that to filter the different topics demands an intensive historic, economic and political analysis of the country. In this respect, it was an important discovery that I could not and that I do not need to understand any aspects that are portrayed in this film. Furthermore, it is not necessary for me because the target groups are first and foremost Nigerians themselves. Therefore, it is important, especially for education-entertainment productions, to be aware of the culture and tradition of a society, as Senghal and Brown (1999) noted on the list of entertainment-education challenges. Hence, I would suggest that people who are in the film business or any media business should design and produce edutainment productions for their own society without any external influence.

The audience interprets films. According to my research, little has been written about how and in what way the Nigerian audience does this. However, with my participant observation and the results of the Report on *Arugbá* by the University of Ibadan, I determined that dialogues and discussions about films are important parts of a screening. Also according to Barber (1997a: 8), the spectators "see expressive genres as inviting attention, discussion and decipherment." I tried to interpret a Nigerian film with the awareness of the difficulty of understanding its details. I know that the different themes I mentioned in the interpretation could be analysed in a more profound way, but during my stay in Nigeria I realized that it is not important for me, as a foreigner, to perceive the different topics portrayed in detail. As for my research, it was important to give an example of a Nigerian film to discuss how the medium of film could be used in a positive way and how it contributes to development. Therefore, the demand on this thesis was not to analyse each metaphor and each scene in detail, it was sufficient to give an overview of the challenges and problems of the society portrayed in the film, in order to represent how they are illustrated so as to make the society aware of them. The detailed interpretation could vary from spectator to spectator, because it also depends on what kind of previous knowledge someone has and his/her personal views of a film, as Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 63) conclude: "Films have meanings because we attribute meanings to them. We cannot therefore regard meaning as a simple content to be extracted from the film. Sometimes the filmmaker guides us toward certain meanings; sometimes we find meanings the filmmaker didn´t intend. Our minds will probe an artwork for significance at several levels. One mark of our engagement with the film as an experience is our search for referential, explicit, implicit, and symptomatic meanings. The more abstract and general our attributions of meaning, the more we risk loosening our grasp on the film´s specific formal system. In analyzing films, we must balance our concern for that concrete system with our urge to assign it wider significance."

With the interpretation of *Arugbá,* I was able to show possibilities for the medium of film to deliver messages and to make the audience aware of urgent issues such as HIV/AIDS, the health care system, corruption, violence, education, unemployment, migration, infrastructure, poverty, religion, widowhood and gender. In summary, films have the capability to reach the masses to educate them in terms of political consciousness and health care systems, as well as environmental and social aspects, which are important parts of development.

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9. Appendix

9.1. National Film and Video Censors Board Criteria

Fig. 1.1.: National Film and Video Censors Board criteria for film and video censorship

S/NO	CRITERION	REMARKS	
I	Does it have educational value?		
II	Does it have entertainment value?		
III	Does it promote Nigerian culture?		
IV	Does it promote Nigerian unity?		
V	Does it promote Nigerian interests?		
VI	Does it have potentials for undermining national security?		
VII	Does it have potentials to include or reinforce corruption of private or public morality?		
VIII	Does it have potentials to encourage violence?		
IX	Does it glorify violence i.e. violence for violence sake? Is it replete with sexual violence?		
X	Does it expose African people to ridicule or contempt?		
XI	Does it have potentials for encouraging illegal or criminal act i.e. crime without punishment/retribution?		
XII	Does it have potentials for encouraging racial conflict or discrimination?		
XIII	Does it have potentials for encouraging ethnic conflict or discrimination?		
XIV	Does it have potentials for encouraging religious conflict/ discrimination?		
XV	Is it blasphemous? Does it indulge in profanity/vulgarity?		
XVI	Does it promote obscenity?		
XVII	Is it indecent?		
XVIII	Is it sadistic?		
XIX	Could it be injurious to morality (public and for minors)?		
XX	Is it likely to encourage or incite public disorder?		
XXI	Is it likely to encourage or incite crime?		
XXII	Is it un-desirable in the public interest (in its entirety)?		
XXIII	General comments/approval		
XXIV	Categorization		
XXV	Signature/Name		
XXVI	Date		
XXVII	Title		

source: Ugor (2007: 8)

Fig. 1.2.: National Film and Video Censors Board technical details

TITLE		DATE	LANG:
	ITEM	Observation	Score
1 Lighting			
2 Sound/Audio			
3 Production/Duration/Artistic design			
4 Story Line and development/dialogue			
5 Editing			
6 Videography/photography			
7 Music			
8 Graphics/Opticals/Effects			
9 Acting/Continuity			
10 Direction			
11 Make-Up/ Costumes			
12 Sets			
13 Acting/Characterization			
14 Poster			
15 Trailer			
16 Cassette Package Design			
17 Classification			
Name			
Signature			
Date			

source: Ugor (2007: 9)

Fig. 1.3.: National Film and Video Censors Board film censors log sheet

TIME	SHOT/SEQUENCE/ SCENE	COMMENTS	OBSERVATIONS
1-5mn			Story Situated
6-10 mn			Story Not Situated
11-15 mn			Theme Music
16-20 mn			Foreign Music
21-25 mn			Stock Names
26-30 mn			Commenced
31-35 mn			Ended
36-40 mn			Education Value: Yes/No
41-45 mn			
46-50 mn			Missing Establishment Shots
51-55 mn			
56-50 mn			
61-65 mn			Presenter's Name
66-70 mn			Profession
71-75 mn			Organization
76-80 mn			Membership No
81-85 mn			Director
86-90 mn			Producer
91-95 mn			Writer
96-100 mn			Editor
101-105 mn			Gauge
106-110 mn			Language
111-115 mn			Love Sc
116-120 mn			Sex Sc
121-125 mn			Violent Sc
126-130 mn			Advertisements
131-135 mn			
136-140 mn			
141-145 mn			
146-150 mn			Synchronization problem
Name			Duration
Signature			
Date			Genre

source: Ugor (2007: 10)

Tab. 1.4.: National Film and Video Censors Board classification symbols

    a. "G" for general Audience—Brown colour code

    b. "C" intended for children—Green colour code

    c. "NC" not recommended for children—Purple colour code

    d. "18" for mature Audience – "yellow ochre" colour code

    e. "RE" restricted exhibition - "Blue" colour code

source: Ugor (2007: 11)

9.2. Segmentation

1. Flashback – 10 years earlier:

1.2. starts with an animation (photo album)

1.3. Fade-in: black and white image (dancing people) + text about Tunde Kelani and his work on Osun Festival.

1.4. Photo album -> turn over the pages (imagination of "to revive in the past")

1.5. Fade-in: black and white image (documentary) + text: background information

1.6. Photo album

1.7. Fade-in: black and white images (documentary) + text: background information

1.8. Interview: school teacher, she talks about the behaviour of the next Arugbá. Fade-in: different pictures of the girl and her behaviour in school

1.9. Imagination: Osun Festival + voiceover gives background information

1.10. Interview with current Arugbá: talks about how she was chosen and what kind of responsibility she has. (fade-in: her mother twice)

1.11. Osun Festival

1.12. Explanation: the responsibility of Arugbá

1.13. Osun Festival

1.14. Interview Arugbá

1.15. Arugbá carries the calabash

1.16. Photo album zoom out, the photo album is closed

1.17. Text: experiences of the film-maker

2. Presents: 10 years after

Introduction to the fictional movie

Crossing over from the documentary to the fiction

3. Arugbá at the Osun River; animation: environment and twinkle stars in the river

    3.1. Images: dancing and singing women, and Yemoja the deity appears suddenly.

    3.2 Adetutu woke up in her bed in the student hostel (the scene before seems to be her dream)

4. A painting in black and white (Arugbá) + credits

5. Market scene: a priest seems to be mad – talks about land problems and religion; 2 market women are discussing his behaviour and statements;

6. House of the royal highness Kabiyesi (place is set)

    6.1. Talk about Ifa

    6.2. Quarrel between women in the palace because of stolen beads; a man would like to settle the quarrel

    6.3. A woman alights from a car (Kabiyesis wife)

    6.4. The same woman complains about this behaviour to Kabiyesi

    6.5. Adetutu enters the room: conversation between Kabiyesi and her about her Arugbá responsibilities to become the next Arugbá (later this scene is a flashback)

    6.6. Other Arugbá candidates talking to the Ifa-priest (virginity)

    6.7. Adetutu consults the Ifa-oracle.

7. Drums, dancing people; conversation between two guys (Makinwa and his friend) about the masquerade festival, which is coming soon.

8. (14:59) Palace: a girl finds the beads and recognises that her mother stole them; quarrel between daughter and mother; daughter leaves the palace and moves to the university campus.

9. Evening in school:

    9.1.   Telephone conversation between two ladies -> topics: complaining about their boyfriends' behaviour, the Obama phenomenon, going to America where everyone will get a green card.

    9.2.   Performance in school -> female group

    9.3.   Girls in the dressing room (Umkleideraum), a man (Makinwa) who is interested in Adetutu's talent (lead singer) enters.

9.4.   Telephone conversation between the same two ladies: complaining about her boyfriend (Makinwa)

10. Meeting between Kabiyesi and the chiefs: the chiefs complain about Kabiyesi's strategy of governance. They mention different problems such as unemployment, the economy, suffering, poverty, corruption etc. They would like to advise him.

11. Dream (imagination): discussion about: what exactly is our problem? Change for the country. (This person would like to bring the people on his side and wants to become the next president.)

11.1.   Man wakes up from the dream (imagination)

12. Adetutu and two friends are on the way to a lecture room. Suddenly two men harass them. Adetutu is able to overwhelm the men because of her relationship with water and is able to protect her friends. Afterwards she goes to a watering place. Friends are surprised.

13. Dancer and drummer (Makinwa and his friend) + imagination (black and white): deity Songo the best dancer and the best drummer

14. Lectures about the Yoruba history (region, language); Makinwa stands at the window and watches Adetutu.

15. Adetutu meets Makinwa: conversation about the idea of performing together.

16. Market (same market place as at the beginning of the film): two market women are talking about the illness (HIV/AIDS) of a small boy's parent, who comes to get food. His dad died and now his mother is dying.

17. Hospital: the mother has died. Nurses are talking about how many AIDS cases they have already lost (50th case), doctor goes back to his office and looks worried

18. A man (chief Alasa) lies in his bed, suddenly arm robbers entered the room; imagination (to remind him about something): conversation between two men; he didn't want to be a minister anymore, he resigned, that's why he became an enemy of the government. He was killed because he knows too much.

19. Palace: Some people enter the room, a woman asks if it is true that chief Alasa has been murdered, Kabiyesi ignores this question; grandchildren meet their grandfather who is the Kabiyesi, he complains about the language problem of the kids. They can´t speak Yoruba anymore. The kids leave the room; the woman starts again to talk about the assassination of chief Alasan. He replies that these were armed robbers and that he was not assassinated.

20. Meeting: Kabiyesi with doctors who are specialists in the HIV/AIDS pandemic. They present their idea to join hands with Kabiyesi about these serious issues: seminars on preventive education, identifying symptoms of the diseases and how to care for those that are infected. They need a building. Kabiyesi agrees.

21. Makinwa sits under a tree on campus and reads a book about Obama; two friends come and one of them takes him along with him and the other stays behind under the tree to fix the drum.

22. Makinwa asks Adetutu for a date. Adetutu refuses because she is travelling.

23. Adetutu is back in her mother's house in the village. Mother-daughter-talk about her responsibility because of being the next Arugbá (votary maiden).

24. Adetutu visits her friend who is a widow and has a sick baby. Adetutu explains first-aid by diarrhea (when a child is dehydrated). Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT)

25. His apparent girlfriend enters Makinwa´s room and complains. After the girl leaves, his friend enters the room.

26. Palace: meeting between Kabiyesi and some chiefs. Discussion about who should be the Arugbá this year. (End of Part A)

27. (Part B) Palace

28. Makinwa and Adetutu in a restaurant, three friends of Adetutu enter and complain about her behaviour, she follows them.

29. Kabiyesi´s wife lights the entry of the palace with candles and goes to Kabiyesi´s office, which works through the night.

30. Adetutu did an HIV test and talks now to the doctor and she also asks her if she can send a friend.

31. Makinwa meets his dad, who is the doctor at the clinic to ask for money (financial matters), because he needs useful things such as clothes, drums and so on for the performance.

32. In the room of Adetutu´s friend; her daughter Pelumi dies.

33. A meeting concerning the HIV/AIDS project between a chief (adviser of Kabiyesi) and the doctors. They got money from the World Health body. When he hears about the money he sends his followers out of the room to be alone with the doctors. They co-operate.

34. Makinwa gets dressed for the performance in his room. His friend enters: they are not sure if Adetutu is coming to this performance.

35. Adetutu and her friend are meeting the doctor. Adetutu has to leave early because she would like to attend the performance.

36. Adetutu waits for public transport because she wants to get to campus.

37. Makinwa and his group prepare themselves for tonight´s show. They meditate with their team spirit.

38. Adetutu enters the wrong car. These men kidnap some young children and her as well.

39. Performance on campus

    39.1.   The performance was successful. Adetutu arrives too late.

    39.2.   Makinwa accompanies his apparent girlfriend home.

40. In Kabiyesi's sleeping room: his wife enters; they are discussing different things. (They don't want Adetutu to be the next Arugbá this year again, he prefers a niece of his. He talks about his brother Adewale.

    47.1.   Flashback: he remembers his brother´s success.

    47.2.   Discussion with his wife.

    47.3.   After the wife leaves the room: flashback: meeting with Adetutu.

    47.4.   Close up: Kabiyesi wondering.

48. Palace: meeting: Kabiyesi and the chiefs; they are fighting over various disagreements; Kabiyesi leaves the meeting earlier than the other participants. They are fighting.

49. Adetutu´s friend meets the doctor again to talk about her test results. She is positive. She describes her situation because of the fact that she is a widow. She tells about how she was treated by her husband's family.

50. Adetutu and Ifa-priest: the Ifa oracle advises her to control her temper because of the power she has.

51. Makinwa arrives in Adetutu´s hometown and looks for her because he saw the article in the newspaper that she rescued the kidnapped children and herself.

52. The festival starts. Dancing around the fire. Adetutu recognises Makinwa but she is not allowed to talk. He shows her the newspaper article.

53. Next day at the festival. A man and a woman accompany Adetutu to a place where they can check her virginity because some people are sceptical about it and can´t trust her because of the kidnapping. They believe that she was raped. They want to be sure and ask her to tell them exactly what happened.

    53.1.   Fade-in: the kidnapping scene (because of water she gets power again and is able to rescue the kids and herself).

53.2.   One of the elder women has to verify her testimony.

53.3.   But she still passes to be their bearer.

53.4.   Everyone is happy and dancing.

54.   Kabiyesi meets someone from the church. (They didn't accept his own niece and so he is not interested anymore in the festival). He wants to establish a church next to the palace so that he can be the head of his own church.

55.   Festival: She dances with the calabash.

56.   Someone interrupts the meeting and reminds Kabiyesi about the festival. But he is not interested anymore.

57.   Festival scene.

58.   Some people arrest the chief because they became aware of the fact that he was involved in the case to embezzle the World Health body money.

59.   Festival scene; all the different chiefs take part in it.

59.1.   Speech of one of the chiefs: jokes about virginity; talk about unity, as if the resolution was not centred on unity.

59.2.   She carries the calabash to the Osun river.

60.   Kabiyesi watches the election of Obama in the USA; someone enters and they talk briefly about this change; this man has the visa and travel documents for the Kabiyesi to go abroad. He can´t wait to go abroad because of his bank accounts overseas.

61.   Last scene: Makinwa and Adetutu go for a walk. She tells him about her future plans to create an NGO that will cater for the development of women and children. Makinwa confesses his love.

61.1.   Imagination (both of them): the same woman such as at the beginning, on a chair and dressed up in white cloths.

61.2.   Hugging, both of them are happy.

62.   In Memoriam: Gani Fawehinmi (1938-2009)

63.   "wisdom": A word is enough for the wise …

64.   Credits

9.3.   Glossary

Definition of key terms used in the film analysis provided in this thesis, as defined by David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson (2008: 477-481):

animation Any process whereby artificial movement is created by photographing a series of drawings, objects, or computer images one by one. Small changes in position, recorded frame by frame, create the illusion of movement.

axis of action In the continuity editing system, the imaginary line that passes from side to side through the main actors, defining the spatial relation of all the elements of the scene as being to the right or left. The camera is not supposed to cross the axis at a cut and thus reverse those spatial relation. Also called the 180° line.

cinematography A general term for all the manipulations of the film strip by the camera in the shooting phase and by the laboratory in the developing phase.

close-up A framing in which the scale of the object shown is relatively large; most commonly a person´s head seen from the neck up, or an object of a comparable size that fills most of the screen.

contrast In cinematography, the difference between the brightest and darkest areas within the frame.

crosscutting Editing that alternates shots of two or more lines of action occurring in different places, usually simultaneously.

cut 1. In filmmaking, the joining of two strips of film together with a splice. 2. In the finished film, an instantaneous change from one framing to another.

deep focus A use of the camera lens and lighting that keeps objects in both close and distant planes in sharp focus.

diegetic sound Any voice, musical passage, or sound effect presented as originating from a source within the film´s world.

dissolve A transition between two shots during which the first image gradually disappears while the second image gradually appears; for a moment the two images blend in superimposition.

distance of framing The apparent distance of the frame from the mise-en-scene elements. Also called camera distance and shot scale.

distribution One of the three branches of the film industry; the process of marketing the film and supplying copies to exhibition venues.

duration In a narrative film, the aspect of temporal manipulation that involves the time span presented in the plot and assumed to operate in the story.

editing 1. In filmmaking, the task of selecting and joining camera takes. 2. In the finished film, the set of techniques that governs the relations among shots.

establishing shot A shot, usually involving a distant framing, that shows the spatial relations among the important figures, objects, and setting in a scene.

exhibition One of the three branches of the film industry; the process of showing the finished film to audiences.

extreme close-up A framing in which the scale of the object shown is very large; most commonly, a small object or a part of the body.

extreme long shot A framing in which the scale of the object shown is very small; a building, landscape, or crowd of people will fill the screen.

eyeline match A cut obeying the axis of action principle, in which the first shot shows a person looking off in one direction and the second shows a nearby space containing what he

or she sees. If the person looks left, the following shot should imply that the looker is offscreen right.

fade 1. Fade-in: a dark screen that gradually brightens as a shot appears. 2. Fade-out: a shot gradually disappears as the screen darkens. Occasionally, fade-outs brighten to pure white or to a color.

flashback An alternation of story order in which the plot moves back to show events that have taken place earlier than ones already shown.

focus The degree to which light rays coming from the same part of an object through different parts of the lens reconverge at the same point on the film frame, creating sharp outlines and distinct textures.

form The overall system of relationships among the parts of a film.

frame A single image on the strip of film. When a series of frames is projected onto a screen in quick succession, an illusion of movement is created.

framing The use of the edges of the film frame to select and to compose what will be visible onscreen.

function The role or effect of any element within the film´s form.

genres Various types of films that audiences and filmmakers recognize by their familiar narrative conventions.

long shot A framing in which the scale of the object shown is small; a standing human figure would appear nearly the height of the screen.

medium close-up A framing in which the scale of the object shown is fairly large; a human figure seen from the chest up would fill most of the screen.

medium long shot A framing at a distance that makes an object about four or five feet high appear to fill most of the screen vertically.

mise-en-scene All of the elements placed in front of the camera to be photographed: the settings and props, lighting, costumes and makeup, and figure behavior.

mobile frame The effect on the screen of the moving camera, a zoom lens, or certain special effects; the framing shifts in relation to the scene being photographed.

montage A synonym for editing.

montage sequence A segment of a film that summarizes a topic or compresses a passage of time into brief symbolic or typical images. Frequently dissolves, fades, superimpositions, and wipes are used to link the images in a montage sequence.

motif An element in a film that is repeated in a significant way.

narration The process through which the plot conveys or withholds story information. The narration can be more or less restricted to character knowledge and more or less deep in presenting characters´mental perceptions and thoughts.

narrative form A type of filmic organization in which the parts relate to one another through a series of causally related events taking place in time and space.

nondiegetic sound Sound, such as mood music or a narrator´s commentary, represented as coming from a source outside the space of the narrative.

offscreen space The six areas blocked from being visible on the screen but still part of the space of the scene: to each side and above and below the frame, behind the set, and behind the camera.

order In a narrative film, the aspect of temporal manipulation that involves the sequence in which the chronological events of the story are arranged in the plot.

plot In a narrative film, all the events that are directly presented to us, including their causal relations, chronological order, duration, frequency, and spatial locations. Opposed to story, which is the viewer´s imaginary construction of all the events in the narrative.

point-of-view shot (POV) A shot taken with the camera placed approximately where the character´s eyes would be, showing what the character would see; usually cut in before or after a shot of the character looking.

production One of the three branches of the film industry; the process of creating the film.

scene A segment in a narrative film that takes place in one time and space or that uses crosscutting to show two or more simultaneous actions.

segmentation The process of dividing a film into parts for analysis.

shot 1. In shooting, one uninterrupted run of the camera to expose a series of frames. Also called a take. 2. In the finished film, one uninterrupted image, whether or not there is mobile framing.

shot/reverse shot Two or more shots edited together that alternate characters, typically in a conversation situation. In continuity editing, characters in one framing usually look left, in the other framing, right. Over-the-shoulder framings are common in shot/reverse-shot editing.

sound bridge 1. At the beginning of one scene, the sound from the previous scene carries over briefly before the sound from the new scene begins. 2. At the end of one scene, the sound from the next scene is heard, leading into that scene.

space Most minimally, any film displays a two-dimensional graphic space, the flat composition of the image. In films that depict recognizable objects, figures, and locales, a three-dimensional space is represented as well. At any moment, three-dimensional space may be directly depicted, as onscreen space, or suggested, as offscreen space. In narrative film, we can also distinguish among story space, the locale of the totality of the action (whether shown or not), and plot space, the locales visibly and audibly represented in the scene.

story In a narrative film, all the elements that we see and hear, plus all those that we infer or assume to have occurred, arranged in their presumed causal relations, chronological order, duration, frequency, and spatial locations. Opposed to plot, which is the film´s actual presentation of events in the story.

style The repeated and salient uses of film techniques characteristic of a single film or a group of films (for example, a filmmaker´s work or a national movement).

superimposition The exposure of more than one image on the same film strip or in the same shot.

technique Any aspect of the film medium that can be chosen and manipulated in the making of a film.

tilt A camera movement with the camera body swiveling upward or downward on a stationary support. It produces a mobile framing that scans the space vertically.

wipe A transition between shots in which a line passes across the screen, eliminating one shot as it goes and replacing it with the next one.

9.4. Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit befasst sich mit dem Medium Film als Sprachrohr der Gesellschaft. Es werden positive sowie negative Aspekte von Film und das Filmemachen selbst am Beispiel der nigerianischen Film-und Videoproduktionsindustrie diskutiert. Ziel dieser Abschlussarbeit ist es mit Hilfe den von mir durchgeführten Interviews mit nigerianischen Filmemacher_innen und –kritiker_innen und einer Filmanalyse der Frage, warum wird Film in Nigeria verwendet um Herausforderungen und Probleme der Gesellschaft aufzugreifen und auf welche Art und Weise wird dies umgesetzt, auf den Grund zu gehen.

Seit den frühen 1980er Jahren zählen Videoproduktionen zu den wichtigsten Ausdruckformen von populärer Kunst und Kultur des westafrikanischen Landes. Austausch von Meinungen der Zivilgesellschaft, Bewusstseinsbildung und Kritik üben sind besondere Elemente von populärer Kultur, welche auch Entertainment-Education Konzepte weitgehend in ihrer Strategie aufgenommen haben. Entertainment-Education Produktionen bedienen sich einer Bandbreite von Medienformaten wie Radio, Musik, Fernsehen, Printmedien und Film, um gleichzeitig unterhaltend und bildend sein zu können. Die Idee hinter diesen Projekten ist dem Publikum zu zeigen, wie ein gesünderes, sichereres und glücklicheres Leben geführt werden kann, indem Themen wie Gesundheit, Bürger_innenrechte, Bildungssysteme, und ähnliches aufgegriffen werden.

Der hier analysierte Film *Arugbá,* des bekannten nigerianischen Regisseurs Tunde Kelani, ist eine solche Entertainment-Education Produktion, welche sich zum Hauptziel gemacht hat, die nigerianische Gesellschaft hinsichtlich HIV/AIDS aufzuklären und zu sensibilisieren. Weiters werden verschiedene sozialkritische Themen wie Korruption, Bildung, Arbeitslosigkeit, usw., in einem nigerianischen Setting, wo die Diskussion um Tradition und Moderne eine wichtige Rolle spielt, aufgegriffen. Ebenfalls hat die Regierung von Lagos State Beiträge zu Umweltfragen, dem Steuersystem und Grundstückserwerb, welche vor allem die Bewohner_innen von Lagos als Zielgruppe haben, geleistet. Diese wurden weitgehend in die Narration des Filmes miteinbezogen. Der Film wurde mittels *Mobile Cinema* den Einwohner_innen von Lagos State zugänglich gemacht. Anhand von Fragebögen, die nach dem Screening ausgeteilt wurden, wurde Raum für Diskussionen, Anregungen und Kritiken

gegeben und eröffnet. Dieser Schritt kann als wichtige Brücke zwischen Regierung und Zivilbevölkerung gesehen werden.

Von nigerianischen Filmkritiker_innen wird weitgehend die Meinung vertreten, dass Filme einen wichtigen Beitrag für Bildung leisten können, indem eine Vielzahl von Menschen erreicht wird. Eine Unterstützung dafür ist auch, dass viele Filme neben Englisch in verschiedenen Sprachen, wie beispielsweise Yoruba, Hausa und Igbo, produziert werden. Film ist zu einem Instrument für Bewegungen der nigerianischen Gesellschaft geworden, welche informierend, allgemein- und bewusstseinsbildend sind. Für den Erfolg ist es wichtig, dass sich die Zielgruppen mit den Themen selbst identifizieren können.

9.5. Abstract

This thesis focuses on film as a message for the people. The Nigerian video and film production is used as a case study to discuss the positive and negative aspects of the medium. With the help of interviews with Nigerian film-makers and critics and through a film analysis, this study examines why the medium of film is used to reflect the challenges of society in Nigeria and how it can be implemented.

Since the early 1980s, video productions have been an important expression of contemporary Nigerian popular art and culture. The exchange of meaning, public awareness and social and political critiques are special elements of popular culture. Entertainment-education productions use such ideas in their concepts, which are implemented in media formats such as radio, music, television, print media and film, to both educate and entertain their target groups. The general idea of such projects is to show the audience how they can live a healthier, safer and happier life, with illustrating themes such as the health system, civil rights, the education system etc.

In this study, the film *Arugbá* by the famous Nigerian director Tunde Kelani is analysed. It is an entertainment-education production. The major aim of this movie is to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS in the West African country. Furthermore, different themes such as corruption,

education, unemployment and so on are discussed in this film, which shows a Nigerian setting where the discussion of modernity and tradition plays an important role. Various messages from Lagos State Government concerning environmental sanitation, tax payment and land fraud were also inserted into the film. Here especially, the inhabitants of Lagos State were the target group. The film *Arugbá* was screened via *mobile cinema* in all the local governments and local council development areas of Lagos State. After the screening, a short questionnaire was given to gather information on enjoyment, government messages and what was gained from the film. The audience was also encouraged to comment on governmental issues and room for criticism was provided. The co-operation with Lagos State Government could be seen as a bridge between the government and the society.

Nigerian film critics advance the view that the medium of film is important for spreading education as it reaches the masses. A large proportion of the population has the opportunity to watch and understand the films, as apart from in English, they are also rendered in languages such as Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. Film became a tool for the Nigerian society to inform, educate and to make the civil population aware of current social and political challenges and the problems of the country. For the success of a film, it is important that target groups can identify themselves with the subject matter.

9.6.   Curriculum Vitae

Name	Julia Margarethe Krojer
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Education

October 2005 until present	International Development, University of Vienna
July 17th – September 17th 2010	Research abroad
	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria,
	Department of Dramatic Arts
November 2008 – February 2009	Semester abroad
	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
	Department of History

Course specialisation: Africa, Film and German as a Foreign Language

1999-2004	Höhere Graphische Bundes-, Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt,
	Vienna XIV, Dept. of Photography and Audiovisual Aids
	Final Exam: Kenya, images of handicapped people
1998-1999	Commercial High School, Eisenstadt
1994-1998	Secondary School, Theresianum Eisenstadt

Employment

February 2010 until present	assisting disabled people
January 2006 until present	artist assistant to Helmut Kand
November 2009	Horizont 3000 (Austrian NGO)
	Archive work/Dept. Public Relations
October 2004 - March 2005	NN-Fabrik (Gallery & Artist factory), 7061 Oslip/Bgld.

Voluntary Service

Since March 2007 until present	Addiction Prevention Project "čejnž" in Wulkaprodersdorf
April 2009 – June 2010	private lessons for children with a migration background
August 2010	German language lessons,
	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
November 2008 - February 2009	German language lessons,
	Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Film- and Photoprojects

2011 *"In der Dammstraße. Chronologie einer Bürger_inneninitiative"*,
    film project, University of Vienna, Dept. of Contemporary History
2010 *"A Spritzer Krowodisch. Begegnungen in Wulkaprodersdorf/Vulkaprodrštof"*,
    film project, University of Vienna, Dept. of Contemporary History
2006 *"Schule – ein Weg aus der Kinderarbeit"* – Nigeria, film- and photoproject –
    exhibition: Wulkaprodersdorf
2004 *"Habari gani, ndugu?"* – Kenya, photoproject – touring exhibition: Vienna,
    Eisenstadt, Innsbruck