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Filmic Imaginaries and Myths from Nigeria and Senegal: Exploring Representational Tropes of Africa and Africans in Three Films

Motlhamme, Jeffrey

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Filmic imaginaries and myths from Nigeria and Senegal:

Exploring representational tropes (of Africa and Africans) in three films.

A THESIS

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Dr. Yolo Koba.

By Jeffrey Motlhamme

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Wits School of Arts

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY

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Abstract

This study seeks to explore the ways in which three prominent films: *Tatu* (2017), *Atlantics* (2019), and *The Lost Okoroshi* (2019) imagine and mythologise Senegalese and Nigerian life. The investigation is concerned with how cinematic imaginaries confront issues of identity within the context of the African post-colonial situation and globalized Western cultural hegemony. It is driven by the premise that all artistic works produced within a specific geo-sociocultural milieu are telling of the values and ideologies espoused by that particular geo-specificity. Cultural artifacts such as films made within specific socio-cultural contexts are iterative orchestrations of the ways in which those cultures imagine themselves. I shift attention away from Western filmic excess to African-centric visual modalities as I attempt to excavate cinematic imaginaries of Nigeria and Senegal. In doing this, I lean heavily on the theory of the social imaginary in its analysis of the ways in which filmic imaginaries render various aspects of African life and how such renditions situate themselves alongside hegemonic discourses about the continent. Do they counter, decentre or perhaps augment Western thought? What unique localised iterations and representational possibilities do they proffer in relation to African indigeneities and regional filmic lexicographies? This study made use of mixed research methods in the form of content analysis and multimodal analysis. I proceed to demonstrate that these films do not represent the African imaginary in totality but are bound to values and ideologies that are idiosyncratic to their cultural and topographical positioning. In their temporal representations of Nigeria and Senegal, the films deploy the notion of hauntology to depict the past as a spectral force that destabilizes the present, exposing its vulnerabilities and questioning its claims to progress or coherence. The haunting of the present by the past underscores anxieties that underpin visions of the future. These temporal representations communicate an approach towards decolonial temporalities.

Chapter 1: Background and Introduction

My interest in the study of African films was sparked by my consumption and appreciation of films from different African regions. In 2017, I had the privilege of attending a screening of Fred Kuwornu's *Blaxploitalian* (2016) in Johannesburg with my then Honours supervisor, Dr Anita Virga, after which a discussion was held by the audience about African film industries. The discussion quickly turned into a debate about whether some African films, particularly Nigerian films, were productions worthy of intellectual discussion and consideration. Some members of the audience expressed very strong opinions regarding this question, arguing that these films were not worthy of being considered for intellectual discussion and should not be taken seriously due to being technically challenged. This technical observation was made vis-à-vis Hollywood productions, and it expressed two things: The challenges faced by Nigerian filmmakers and the dominance of Hollywood productions in African spaces and popular imaginations. Film production in Nigeria operated under limited resources and funding, leading to technical challenges, and these challenges were not only articulated because they disrupted the harmony of the story but also because they failed the technical quality test when compared to Hollywood productions. Despite the discussions, the fundamental questions were not articulated: What are the imaginaries of these films? What do they articulate about people, cultures, and spaces from which they emanate? What are their thematic and generic concerns? What role does the political economy play in their production? The questions transcended that discussion, and they have culminated into the expansion of the inquiry.

In this study, more questions are added to contemplate and address the 2017 questions. This study consists of three main questions:

1. What narrative strategies and aesthetic devices do these films deploy in visualising Nigeria and Senegalese spaces and people? Here, I am interested in the archetypal or stereotypical character tropes (if any) that are used, the themes explored by the films, the genre conventions that are utilized, and the indigenous African and Western aesthetics, languages, and cultural practices that are deployed in the visualisation of Nigerian and Senegalese societies.
2. How do these African films depict the people of Nigeria and Senegal? I interrogate how people are depicted through the lens of villainy and heroism to explore the underlying political, cultural, and ideological narratives about Nigerian and Senegalese societies. It also allows for an exploration of the societal and ethical values communicated by the

films about Nigeria and Senegal. This question also enables the study to interrogate how Nigerian and Senegal are portrayed vis-à-vis their colonial pasts, followed by an exploration of how they engage with the colonial legacies of their societies.

3. How do these three films envisage the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western culture? This question is also concerned with the films' engagements with the colonial legacies in Nigeria and Senegal. It is more concerned with how the relationship between indigenous and Western cultures functions in the production of imaginaries about Nigeria and Senegal. I explore whether there are moments of cultural hybridization and negotiation in the three films, investigating whether the films envision a harmonious or antagonistic relationship between indigenous and Western cultures. This also involves exploring how these cultures are deployed in the temporal representations of Nigeria and Senegal.

African and Western cultures have endured mutual contestations primarily due to the destructive character of colonial ideology which was infused with Western cultures. Since the period of colonialism, African modes of being, expression, and thought have been framed as the victims of Western cultural dominance. This continued to be perpetuated by the global system of capitalism which privileged Western cultures, systems, and epistemologies. As such, there is a need to explore the relationship between African and Western cultures in contemporary African films. Its exploration will allow for questions to be posed about what the cultural fissure means about how Africans navigate modernity and coloniality. The post-colonial African films interacted with these contestations between African and Western cultures. The post-colonial films of early African filmmakers could be understood in reference to their various experiences of colonialism and the societies that they inherited from colonialism. These films sought to imagine and understand Africa and Africans within the scope of the post-colonial condition of their societies. They explored the colonial legacies in their respective societies. Sembéne's films are some of the most popular post-colonial films in West Africa.

Ousmane Sembéne was a Senegalese writer, film director, and producer. He received much of his education in France, venturing into literature in the 1950s. He published his first novel in 1956 titled *Le Docker Noir* (Britannica 2025). His interest in cinema began in 1960 and he developed a desire to reach an African audience (Britannica 2025). After completing his studies at the Moscow Film School, Sembéne travelled back to Africa where he produced three short subject films (Britannica 2025). He produced his feature film titled *Le Noir De (Black Girl)* in

1966, and it was considered to be the first major African film to be produced by an African filmmaker. The film is a story about an African girl who leaves Senegal for France, where she is employed as a maid by a French family. The film went on to win a major prize at the Cannes International Film Festival in 1967.

He produced *Mandabi* (The Money Order) in 1968, which was filmed in the Wolof language. *Mandabi* (1968) is believed to be the first African language film (Britannica 2025). The film depicts life as a Senegalese man living with his wives and children in Dakar. The film explores corruption in Dakar and its impact on the daily lives of Dakar residents while confronting issues around neo-colonialism and religion. Sembéne produced *Xala* in 1975, which depicts the life of a Senegalese man, who, upon acquiring financial success, decides to marry a third wife. However, he discovers that he is impotent on the night of his wedding. Sembéne went on to produce *Ceddo* (Outsiders) in 1977, *Camp de Thiaroye* (The Camp at Thiaroye) in 1987, and *Guelwaar* in 1992.

Sembéne's cinema was characterized by stories confronting issues experienced by post-colonial Senegalese society. I want to explore his post-colonial cinema in *Borom Sarret* (1963). In *Borom Sarret* (1963), Semebéne describes Senegal's post-colonial condition. He deploys Dakar as a microcosm of Senegal. In this post-colonial condition, the Senegalese society appears to be engulfed by several issues: inequality, underdevelopment, poverty, and economic divisions/disparities. These disparities emerge not through direct confrontation between the rich and poor, but through the division of Dakar into two areas: Poor informal Dakar and Rich urban Dakar. The former is on the periphery of economic activity and far from city services. There is no security and there are high levels of poverty. There is a sense of alienation that this area engenders, which is closely tied to the erasure of the history of the Senegalese people. This can be seen when the wagoner encounters the Griot performing by the road, who is paid by the wagoner to sing praises of his ancestors. This alienation is a symptom of a complex historical problem, which is the colonization of Senegal. Colonialism functioned to dominate the natives and their lands completely by taking total control of the land and subjugating the natives in all aspects of society, reducing their economic contribution to a labour economy.

Borom Sarret (1963) outlines the effects of this process on post-colonial Dakar. It appears that very little has changed. Similar to the modus operandi of the colonial state, the post-colonial Senegalese state perpetuates a kind of spatial planning where poor black Senegalese people are confined to condemned spaces, which are largely characterized by lack. There is a lack of

services, resources, and security. The bourgeoisie occupy urban areas. The overarching concern for the film is how a change from the colonial to the post-colonial state has not resulted in any meaningful change where natives reclaim their humanity and pride through the development of a sense of self and meaningful contribution to the economy. It brings to our attention several challenges that engulf post-colonial Senegal. The film intelligently demonstrates how the former colonial state, in absentia, continues to influence the political and economic trajectory of Senegal, simply because it has created Senegal in its image; an image yet to be challenged or reconfigured by the ruling elites. A similar account of the post-colonial condition is also evident in other films by Sembéne, such as *Le Noir de.* These post-colonial films communicated a fundamental reality of former colonies: colonial relations continued to shape post-colonial societies. Despite the fragmentation of colonialism, its effects on the political and socio-economic organization of African societies remained. My approach to the study of African films is informed by this understanding that the effects of colonialism are ongoing. A similar representation of Senegal is seen in the films of Djibril Diop Mambéty.

Mambéty was a Senegalese film director, actor, and writer. He was born in Colobane, near Dakar (African Film Festival NY 2022). He attended film school in Senegal and went on to work in theatre. He had no formal training in filmmaking, and in 1969, he produced and directed a short film titled "*Contras' City*". He filmed his subsequent film in 1970 titled *Badou Boy*, which won the Silver Tanit Award at the 1970 Carthage Film Festival in Tunisia (African Film Festival NY 2022). Mambéty filmed *Touki Bouki* in 1973, his first feature-length film, which won the International Critics Award at the Cannes Film Festival and won the Special Jury Award at the Moscow Film Festival (African Film Festival NY 2022). He filmed his second and last feature film, *Hyenas*, in 1992, which was an adaptation of a play by Friedrich Dürrenmatt titled *The Visit*.

His filmography includes *Contras' City* (1969), *Badou Boy* (1970), *Pour ceux qui savent* (1971), *Touki Bouki* (1973), *Parlons grand-mère* (1989), *Hyenas* (1992), *Le Franc* (1994) and *The Little Girl Who Sold the Sun* (1999). I want to discuss his post-colonial cinema in one of his films: *Touki Bouki*. *Touki Bouki* (1973) is a story about a cow herder and a student in Dakar, Senegal, who have a dream of traveling to Paris, France. To realize this dream, they engage in schemes by stealing from the wealthy individuals of Dakar to finance their trip. In *Touki Bouki* (1973) we look at Dakar through the two characters' (Mory and Anta) eyes. Through their gaze, we encounter a Dakar that is overwhelmed by poverty and inequality, necessitating their departure. It is in the gap between their dissatisfaction with the state of Dakar

and their dream to travel to Paris where we encounter Mambéty's interrogation of the Senegalese postcolonial condition. After all, it is their dissatisfaction with the failure of the Senegalese postcolonial state that gives birth to the dream. Mambéty robustly confronts this dream by introducing a problem in its final stage through the summon of Mory by the ship captain, later coming to meet his bull-horned bike destroyed. It is almost as if Mambéty is critical of the dream — which is presented as the solution to the unbearable postcolonial state — by presenting a challenge to it, articulating the fragility of Anta and Mory's approach to a solution. More than this, this desire to leave Senegal reflects the difficult economic and social environment of Darkar. This gaze on postcolonial Dakar echoes that of Sembéne in *Borom Sarret* (1963).

Other key postcolonial filmmakers include Idrissa Ouédraogo, Ola Balogun, Abdarrahmane Sissako, and Souleymane Cissé. Idrissa Ouédraogo was a filmmaker from Burkina Faso who made his production debut in the early 1980s. Some of his filmography includes *Yam Daabo* (1986), *Yaaba* (1989), *Samba Traoré* (1992), and *Anger of the Gods* (2003). One of the dominant features of his films is the engagement with space, which is sometimes dichotomized. They explored the relationship between the rural and urban, the rural often being the imaginative point of departure. This interaction with space is articulated in *Yam Daabo* (1986), *Yaaba* (1989), and *Samba Traoré* (1992). The dichotomy between rural and urban is deployed by Quédraogo to engage with the idea of modernity.

Ola Balogun is a Nigerian film director who is considered one of the pioneers of the video cinema market of Nigeria (African Film Festival 2023). Some of his filmography includes *Ajani Ogun* (1976), *Black Goddess* (1978), *Cry Freedom* (1981), *Money Power* (1984), and *Aiye* (1980). One of the dominant themes of Balogun's films is the exploration of the decay of the Nigerian state in the form of corruption and the abuse of power by corrupt Nigerian politicians, and greed. Balogun articulates his criticism of postcolonial Nigerian politicians in *Ajani Ogun* (1976), *Money Power* (1984), and *Orun Mooru* (1982).

Abdarrahmane Sissako is a Malian filmmaker. Part of his filmography includes *Life On Earth* (1998), *Waiting for Happiness* (2002), *Bamako* (2006), and *Timbuktu* (2014). His interrogation of the postcolonial condition is clearly and strongly articulated in *Waiting for Happiness* (2002). Similar to the work of Quédraogo, Sissako also explores the idea of modernity vis-à-vis the rural-urban dichotomy, and this is best articulated in *Life on Earth* (1998). The film is about Draman, a Malian man who returns to his village from Paris,

France, to visit his father. His encounter with his village sparks a comparison between the village and Paris. In his comparison, he distinguishes the village from the city, with the village representing stagnation and the city representing modernity. It is through the comparison that Draman can contemplate the future of the village. This tale of return is also found in Sissako's *Waiting for Happiness* (2002), which is a story about a man who visits his hometown, whose encounter with the place engenders feelings of a loss of identity and a sense of belonging.

These post-colonial films communicated a fundamental reality of former colonies: colonial relations continued to shape post-colonial societies. Despite the fomal fragmentation of colonialism, its effects on the political and socio-economic organization of African societies remained. I approach the analysis of the films with this understanding of post-colonial relations. This is how this study operates within a decolonial reading.

This work operates within decolonial reading because it foregrounds indigenous experiences with modernity, to reflect on the films' engagement with the relationship between modernity and coloniality. Mignolo and Walsh (2018) argue that modernity is inextricably linked to coloniality, so decolonizing entails the end of the fictions of modernity. Thus, a decolonial approach in this study examines how the films engage with this link between modernity and decoloniality. Through the reading of the films, it explores how African films engage with the legacies of colonialism and how these legacies are understood within African modernity. The concept of African modernity is deployed in its simple form to refer to a contemporary African modus vivendi encompassing modern African experiences. The study examines the interplay between coloniality and modernity in modern African societies through the exploration of the representation of time, cultures, and religious practices. It goes beyond mere representation to explore the visual and narrative strategies deployed in mythologizing about African spaces and people to meditate strongly on not merely what imaginaries are being engendered, but how they are created. The usage of the term "postcolonial" in this study is deployed to refer to a period after the formal end of colonialism as opposed to the end of colonialism itself.

There have been several concerns with how films have imagined African spaces and people. These are primarily interested in how Western films imagine Africa, wherein a critique is levelled at these films for misrepresenting Africa and advancing negative myths about the continent. The films that investigated by such studies are mostly Western films.

Shaka (1999) posits that the British colonial government's introduction of instructional cinema in sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial period was out of a desire to counter the influence

Hollywood had in its colonies as well as exploit the educational capacities of the medium. Shaka (1999) observes that in Nigeria instructional film practice was introduced in the 1920s for a government campaign to end an outbreak of a plague that was in Lagos in 1929. Due to its success the use of film as a medium of instruction was introduced to other British colonies (Shaka 1999:28). According to Shaka (1999) the Colonial Office began to explore the implications the cinema posed in relation to their colonies and colonial power by the second half the 1920s.

The growing influence of Hollywood in colonial territories was of great concern to the British colonial government as other colonial territories entered into contractual agreements for the distribution of commercial films by South African film distributors (Shaka 1999:28). The British colonial government attempted to limit this influence through censorship but to little success (Shaka 1999:28). It is in this way that the British colonial government began thinking of an alternative cinema to Hollywood, one that would merge instruction and entertainment (Shaka 1999:28). Shaka (1999) observes that in 1939 efforts were made to use film to spread war propaganda in support of the British war efforts and that there were already practices of government officials using films to promote policies in the colonies. This was done to counter the German war propaganda films which presented a negative image of Britain (Shaka 1999:35).

According to Shaka (1999), as criticism of the British colonial rule grew larger, they began to employ film in defence of their colonial rule. What these observations demonstrate is that in colonial Africa, cinema was used as an instrument for the dissemination of propaganda, as well as a tool to manufacture consent among colonies about the British colonial rule. What is learned here is that cinema has been an ideological instrument that could be weaponized by the ruling groups. This reinforces Marxist views on cinema, that it is a tool to spread ideas of the dominant class. This is important for this study because it highlights the nature of cinema in colonial Africa, which helps us in understanding the nature of African cinema postcolonialism.

Ukadike (1994) problematized the early representations of Africa by American and European filmmakers. He states that Western filmmakers began making films in Africa due the supposed exotic nature of its customs and its landscapes, which led to the relegation of the African to the background (Ukadike 1994:30). He argues that this was done or driven by the desire to meet the escapist and white supremacist requirements of European investors and audiences (Ukadike 1994:30). He argues that these films invaded the realm of African values

through the imposition of the colonizer's language and culture on the colonized (Ukadike 1994:30). Ukadike (1994) maintains that these films functioned to justify military activity of the West in Africa, as well as their ''civilization mission".

Ukadike (1994) observes that this overt misrepresentation of Africans rose with the increase of fictional films, in which blacks played agricultural labourers, cooks, scrubwomen, and docile servants. Ukadike (1994) also observes that there was also the image of the "threatening black native" in jungle melodramatic settings, in which blacks were presented as superstitious, vicious, and brutal. Ukadike (1994) highlights films such as *The Wooing and Wedding of a Coon* (1905), *The Kings of the Cannibal Islands* (1908), *The Slave* (1909), *The Sambo Series* (1911), *Missionaries in Darkest Africa* (1912), *Voodoo Vengeance* (1913), *The Terrors of the Jungle* (1913) as films that reasserted "the established notion of white superiority over non-whites, whose deeds provided laughable comic relief for the amusement of western spectators". Similar to this investigation by Ukadike (1994), this study will also attempt to ask questions about how African films interact with colonial or anti-black African ideas. This will be done when exploring how Africa has been positioned in relation to its colonial history by these films, as well as in exploring the tensions that exist between African and Western cultures.

Gugler (2003) also observes this in the US, Europe, and South Africa since colonialism, stating that the films' depiction of Africans perpetuated negative stereotypes in that they portrayed Africans as barbaric, evil, and servants. Gugler's (2003) observation adds to the work of Shaka (1999) and Ukadike (1994) to demonstrate that it is the negative myths about Africa by Western films that have dominated film criticism in Africa, and there is a need to move beyond this by subjecting African films to critical inquiry on the subject of mythmaking.

Michira (2002) argues that Western media presents Africa as a homogenous entity. Michira (2002) provides the films *The Air Up There* (1994) and *Endurance* (1999) as instances where this is done. Michira (2002) observed that in these films, any dialogue or singing that is not in English would be referred to, through the use of subtitles, as an "African" language as if only one language exists in Africa. Michira (2002) argues that Africa has been presented as a jungle, a dark continent, a place devoid of history. Michira (2002) does not only read films in their analysis but also news media, such as the New York Times.

Okaka Opio Dokotum traces the myth of Africa as a dark continent in their work titled *Hollywood and Africa: Recycling the 'Dark Continent' myth, 1908-2020*. Dokotum

(2020) argues that the myth of Africa as a dark continent was given birth during the European exploration of Africa and strengthened by colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade. This myth gained strength in the 1860s (Dokotum 2020:11). Dokotum (2020) argues that this myth emerged to justify colonial rule in Africa. Dokotum (2020) speaks of four categories of Hollywood Africa representation. These are Classical Hollywood-Africa films, Neoclassical Hollywood-Africa films, New Wave Hollywood-Africa films, and Africa-rising films. Dokotum (2020) observes that classical Hollywood-Africa films depicted Africans as emotionally and socially stunted, cannibalistic, infantile, and stupid. Neoclassical Hollywood-Africa films have developed African characters and some of these films even problematize colonialism, yet they reproduce and reinforce the Dark Continent image of Africa (Dokotum 2020:32). Dokotum (2020) notes *King Solomon's Mines* (1950) as a film falling under these categories.

Dokotum (2020) also speaks of the New Wave Hollywood-Africa films. These films recycle the dark continent trope of Africa in more complex ways through colonial nostalgia and the human rights/humanitarian genre (Dokotum 2020:32). These films have highly developed African characters and are critical of colonialism and some of them claim to be 'true story' or based on 'true story' (Dokotum 2020:32). Dokotum (2020) notes *Blood Diamond* (2006) as film that is engaged in colonial nostalgia.

Dokotum (2020) also speaks of Africa-rising films. These are the films that manifest as Afrofuturism and Afro-optimism that portray Africa in a positive light, with great emphasis on African agency, glorious future, and hope, yet they still contain dark continent elements due to the ideology of form that influence their productions (Dokotum 2020:33). Dokotum (2020) provides *Queen of Katwe* (2016) as film that falls under this category, as it provides an Afro-optimist vision of Africa. Dokotum (2020) also refers to *Black Panther* (2018) as a film presenting an Afrofuturist vision of Africa. Dokotum's (2020) work demonstrates the evolution of African representations in films, and his formulation of the categories of films allows the study to contemplate the shifts of African cinematic representations. This enquiry is informed by the idea that films are driven by market forces, and Hollywood being an influential industry in the global cinema market, films may tend to reinforce its images of Africa to reach more commercial success.

Urther Rwafa (2015) conducted a study on Rwandan films. In their study, Rwafa (2015) interrogated the language that was used in representing genocide in Rwandan films. Rwafa

(2015) reads for films which are: A Good Man in Hell (2002), *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *Sometimes in April* (2005), and *Keepers of Memory* (2004). Three of these films are not African films (produced by foreign filmmakers) and only one (Keepers of Memory) is an African film. When reading *A Good Man in Hell* (2002), Rwafa (2015) observes that the film challenged Western stereotypes about Rwanda as a place devoid of anything positive. Rwafa (2015) argues that the film demonstrates how African life is viewed as worthless. Rwafa (2015) also observed that the film projected African political figures as people who lack agency and rely on the West to solve their problems. Rwafa (2015) found that Hotel Rwanda was not accurate in narrating the history of the genocide and falsely projected an individual heroic act as the end of the genocide rather than a collective effort. In Sometimes in April, Rwafa (2015) argues that film tropes are used to project the black body as a symbol of uncleanliness, abjection, and social fragmentation. In this study, Rwafa (2015) focuses more on how these films present and tell the story of the genocide and less on how they imagine Africa, although they do passively interact with it.

Perhaps a similar study to what I wish to undertake here is Carmela Garritano and Kenneth Harrow's *A Companion to African Cinema*, especially their chapter titled "*Time/crisis/Uncertainty"*, in which they reflect on the narrative and economic understandings of post-millennial contemporaneity in Francophone Africa. They do this via the reading of Abdaramane Sissako's (Mauritania) *Life on Earth* (1998) and Mohamat-Saleh Haroun's (Chad) *Bye Bye Africa* (1999). They argue that these films signal a set of anxieties and narrative problems, and that both films offer similar narratives of homecoming (Garritano and Harrow 2018:23).

Reading Sissako's *Life on Earth* (1998), Garritano and Harrow (2018:23) observe that the film "communicates Mali's uneven integration into the global cultural and economic landscape by playing with the uncertainty of its ill-defined historical moment". They argue that Haroun's *Bye Bye Africa* (1999) also evokes this sense of anxiety Garritano and Harrow 2018:23). The film asks questions about how cinema can indicate the transition and communicate its urgency, as well as its most pressing filmic stakes. (Garritano and Harrow 2018:24). Similar to *Life on Earth* (1998), "the film connects African cultural production with cinematic attempts to define and characterize the immediacy of a cultural moment that overlaps with the turn of a new millennium" (Garritano and Harrow 2018:24). According to Garritano and Harrow (2018), these films try to locate global economics and the future of film in Africa

within localized and present intensely felt. They indicate a desire to "record, imagine, and narrativize the actuality of millennial transitions" (Garritano and Harrow 2018:24).

Reynolds (2015), just like Shaka and Ukadike, highlights the relationship between the colonial empires and the production of images. Reynolds (2015) details efforts by the Germans, British, French, and Italians in attempting to generate colonial enthusiasm and legitimize their desire for conquest by harnessing cinema to fit their colonial and expansionist ambitions. Reynolds (2015) also observed that the African images of these empires were informed by the stereotypes that dominated the media of the empire.

Dovey (2009) engages with the history of South African cinema to explore contexts of violence and cinema. Dovey (2009) posits that both the Afrikaner nationalists and British filmmakers made films that advanced their agenda to rationalize their claim and control of South Africa. Dovey (2009) cites *De Voortrekkers* and *Zulu* (1964) as films that were deployed in these efforts. Dovey (2009) argues that the impediment to the development of a truly independent national cinema in South Africa is Hollywood's influence and control over the country's film production and exhibition circuits and observes a similar situation in the West African film landscape, where France wields much influence. Dovey's (2009) observations reveal the contexts within which film in South Africa has operated: the colonial/post-colonial condition and Western cultural hegemony. These are the contexts within which this research wishes to discuss African cinematic imaginaries.

In this exploration, I shift the attention to the cinematic productions of Nigeria and Senegal to reflect on how they imagine their societies. It centres how Africans imagine themselves as opposed to how they are imagined by productions outside of their contexts, and this is how this study also operates as a decolonial reading: it foregrounds indigenous lenses and understandings of indigenous realities, decentring Westernized cinematic perspectives on African realities. I draw influences from theoretical frameworks, such as Marxist and psychoanalytic theory, and decolonial criticism to construct my analysis of the films' ideological implications and deeper meanings.

This study creates new ways of understanding how Africans engage with time, history, and postcolonial realities through film. It creates new ways of understanding how Africans imagine themselves and their societies as well as how they interpret their existence within these societies. The study provides insights into how Africans, through film, interpret and understand the relationship between indigenous African and Western cultures within a postcolonial

context. Through the study of the representation of time, it creates a new way to understand how Africans use film to engage with their modernity.

Aims

This study explores the filmic imaginaries and representational tropes of both Africa and Africans in three African films: *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantique*/*Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019). It investigates what and how new myths are being engendered about Africa or Africans by African films, taking into consideration the historical and material specificity of the films (their history and political economy). It explores the ways in which Africans imagine themselves. By 'imagine' I refer specifically to the theory of "the social imaginary", which posits that all social structures, artistic, legal, and educational practices are configured based on how a society envisages its social character. Central to this exploration is the premise that all artistic products produced within a specific geo-sociocultural milieu are telling of the values and ideologies espoused by that geo-specificity. In other words, this study adopts the position that African films made within the African context are iterative orchestrations of the ways in which Africans imagine themselves. It adopts a cultural materialist framework that seeks to situate these films within their specific cultures that are geo-specific.

The scope of this research is limited to only contemporary African films, locating the selected films within the scope of the history of African cinema. The investigation is concerned with how these cinematic imaginaries confront cultural issues within the context of the African post-colonial situation and globalized Western cultural hegemony. Western cultures continue to dominate and influence cultures around the world, including the artistic industries, such as film industries.

Both colonialism and Western cultural hegemony have immensely contributed to the gaze with which Africans understand and think about themselves. As such, it is paramount that one considers how films engage with this gaze to explore how the films under investigation contemplate the identities of their societies within the contexts of these two influences in terms of what constitutes being Nigerian and Senegalese in the post-colonial, and politically, economically integrated or globalized world. This study is of the view that society informs film, thus it is necessary for any study of national films to view society as an important consideration in the understanding of film. This is because societal cultures, values, and norms of a society influence the films that emanate from them. This is the reason that this research considers the histories of Nigeria and Senegal in understanding the trajectory and output of

their films. Nigerian and Senegalese societies, just like many African societies, share the experience of cultural hybridity brought through colonialism and globalization, rendering claims of authenticity unsuccessful. This investigation will proceed with an approach that views national identities as unstable categories in order to explore and challenge various definitions of what constitutes an African film.

It proceeds with the view that the films under investigation do not represent the African imaginary in totality but are bound to values and ideologies that are geo-specific. Here, the term "African Film" is deployed as an imaginary itself in a similar manner in which "Hollywood" is deployed in various writings as a metaphor for Western commercial cinema and the imaginary it constitutes, as opposed to one intended as an objective category based on race, geography, or nationality. I will proceed with a critical approach to Western literary forms, concepts, and theories to ask whether categories such as genre and Western knowledge systems are relevant in African contexts.

This study is aimed at investigating how African societies are portrayed in African films. It explores the various ways in which filmic discourses advance various narratives about African people, culture, religion, spaces, and socio-political realities. I focus on the relationship between film texts and national identity to explore the ways in which filmic discourses promote narratives about African identity and how these film texts construct relationships of power between African citizens within African settings. It is concerned with the discursive and visual construction of national identities in modern African societies. It explores how films promote narratives of self-identity, visibility, and appearance. I compare the three films in my investigation.

The study investigates the ways in which these filmic imaginaries render various aspects of African life and how these renditions either counter or augment Westernized hegemonic discourses about the continent. It is cognisant of the factors that influence film production, such as the political economy, market forces, and socio-cultural context. Thus, in interrogating the engendered imaginaries, the study will take into consideration the role of these factors.

Problem Statement

Research and media discourses about Africa are monopolized by the Global North. Studies have been undertaken on how Western films portray Africa, such as Frank Ukadike's *Black African Cinema* and Okaka Opio Dokotum's *Hollywood and Africa: Recycling the 'Dark Continent' myth, 1908-2020*. They interrogate how African people, cultures, and social realities

are portrayed by Western films. These representations are further linked to their colonial history because it is argued that they began to emerge in the colonial era, presided over by the colonial rulers. However, fewer studies have been conducted to investigate how African films imagine Africa in the context of their post-colonial situation/identity and Western cultural hegemony. Thus, adequate studies need to be undertaken in this area. In essence, there have been fewer studies investigating the question of whether African films counter or augment Westernized hegemonic discourses about the continent. The question of whether African films from Nigeria and Senegal counter or augment Westernized hegemonic discourses is one that should be rooted in the region's history of colonialism. In other words, it should be explored within history. The introduction of cinema in Africa has colonial roots, and as such, modern African cinema should be interrogated within, but not limited to, this context. Exploring new myths being made by African films, and not only through Western lenses, will broaden our understanding of the relationship between Africans and film; that is the different ways in which they engage with cinema to negotiate and present new meanings and perspectives about their subjectivity and geo-specificity.

Rationale

This study reads African films in this way because more focus has been placed on how European and American films imagine or make myths about Africa. These studies have mostly provided an analysis of how films have misrepresented Africa. These are studies such as Frank Ukadike's *Black African Cinema* and Okaka Opio Dokotum's *Hollywood and Africa: Recycling the 'Dark Continent' myth, 1908-2020*.

The films that are analysed in this investigation are *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)*, *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). These recent films are selected by this study to uncover modern African imaginaries. It explores how modern African films advance ideas about African societies. These films are from the West African regions of Nigeria and Senegal. Two films are from Nigeria and 1 is from Senegal. Two films were selected from Nigeria because Nigeria is the largest film industry in Africa and the second largest in the world in terms of the revenue generated, the number of films produced, and popularity (Britannica 2023). Due to their popularity and almost ubiquitous presence in most African societies, Nollywood films make a compelling and adequate contribution to the popular imagination of Africa. The reason a film is selected from Senegal is that the region played a key role in ushering in an era of post-colonial African cinema. One of the first African films to

be produced by an African after colonial rule came from Senegal. This film is *La Noire de*, which was produced by Ousmane Sembéne in 1966.

Both Nigeria and Senegal have contributed immensely to the development and recognition of African cinemas; Nigeria, via Nollywood, has provided new ways of seeing their world to the contemporary global film markets, as Senegal did after colonialism through the post-colonial films of Sembene and Mambéty. They have made significant contributions to the popular imagination of African spaces and people. This is partly the reason for their selection by this investigation. They are also considered due to their complex and nuanced engagement with genre in their imagination of spaces, cultures, and people. They deploy Western generic conventions to explore new cinematic perspectives of their respective societies, and this is indicative of one of the various ways in which these films imagine their societies, one that demands rigorous scrutinization.

These films are selected from Nigeria and Senegal due to my long-standing engagement with films from these countries. My personal experiences as a viewer of Nigerian and Senegalese films, together with my engagement with the discourse surrounding African films, influenced the selection of the films under investigation. The selection is also to attempt to explore the curiosity developed from the 2017 discussions about African cinema. I was inspired by the social and cultural themes of the three films, which reflected important perspectives on societal shifts, postcolonial realities, and visions about the future.

This investigation considers diverse film cultures in West Africa, which are informed by their geo-specific culture and value economy. They are diverse as Nigeria constitutes English-speaking West Africa with a plethora of ethnic cultures, and Senegal is French-speaking West Africa. Nigeria was colonized by Britain and Senegal by France. The consideration of the cultural diversity of these nations, together with the histories with colonialism, makes them case studies worthy of intellectual interrogation.

The selected films also merit scholarly attention due to their level of success in terms of global audience reach and industry recognition in terms of artistic accolades. *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* has a global audience as it is accessible through Netflix. It received 8 nominations at the Africa Magic Choice Awards held in 2018, joint with *Alter Ego* (2017). The film offers a distinct view of African life in that it centers around the evils of African traditions and deities.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) was exhibited in Cannes, Senegal, France, and Belgium. It competed at the Cannes Film Festival, and it was directed by a black woman (Mati Diop), who

made history by becoming the first black woman to direct a film that was in competition at the Cannes Film Festival. The film is set in Africa and deals with the class struggle that exists in Senegal. It also enjoyed a worldwide audience through Netflix (about 209 million Netflix subscribers worldwide). *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) is centred on themes such as spiritual possession and the conflict that exists between tradition and modern conventions in contemporary Nigeria. It is a representation of Igbo culture that has existed for generations. It demonstrates how modern-day individuals cope with the economic and social realities of the city. In essence, it is about life in an African city. It also focuses on the situation of ancient spiritual practices in a world that is modern. The film also enjoyed a worldwide audience on Netflix (209 million subscribers). Another aspect that makes these films worthy of investigation is their genres. Genres shape the ways in which texts are produced and consumed by the audience. *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* is a contemporary epic and adventure drama. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is a supernatural romantic drama. *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* is an action and adventure drama. Together, these films use different genres in their imagination of African people, cultures, and spaces. These genres also play a role in how the audiences will view these films. With this investigation, I will proceed with a critical approach to the genre, as a Western literary form, to interrogate its relevance in understanding African films.

These films are all set in modern African cities. They all confront oppressive religious and cultural systems present in their various societies. They are centred on the challenges and realities of Africans in the increasingly modernizing African societies. For instance, *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* begins its story with a deity (presented as belonging to the past) claiming a monopoly of a young female body in a modernized Nigerian society. *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* begins the story with an African spiritual being (presented as a forgotten entity) also totally claiming monopoly of the body of a working-class Nigerian man in an increasingly modernizing Nigerian city. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) begins with challenges faced by a group of young male construction workers in modern Senegalese society, also with spirits possessing young Senegalese women. In all three films, these possessing spiritual entities do so with the aim of correcting the behaviour of societies or individuals, who are presented as having lost connection with the core values of their societies. It is these reflections, by these films, about African identities (informed by history and current practices) that this investigation is interested in. It is interested in how these are deployed to make new myths about African societies. What makes these films collectively compelling for investigation is their exploration

of mythology and the supernatural in urban African settings, while reflecting on the political and economic challenges and directions taken by their respective societies.

The significance of this study is that it will contribute to the scholarship or intellectual cosmos concerned with the decolonization of knowledge regimes by foregrounding African mythmaking in African films and contributing to new approaches to the study of African films. Through this exploration, I hope to discuss ideas or questions about the decolonization of African cinema. It allows for a critical engagement with how African films imagine African spaces and people. It situates these films within their specific context characterized by the modes of being and histories of their societies. The weakness of this research lies in its insistence on not interrogating issues outside the scope of what the literature has considered African and Western historical encounters. In other words, it engages with elements of postcoloniality that are predominantly of Western origin or point of influence, hence it only explores the interaction between indigenous African and Western forms of being.

It is crucial that the study of these films is approached with considerable consciousness of the influences affecting producers. In other words, just like the audience, the producers similarly bring their various subjectivities or cultural backgrounds to their productions. The politics that producers subscribe to, or their lived experiences may inform the ways in which they produce films; the ways in which they creatively explore themes or make commentary on societal issues through film as a medium. It is in this spirit that I consider these factors in approaching the films under investigation because these may play a role in how films are produced. The three directors of the films under scrutiny are Don Omope (*Tatu*), Abba Makama (*The Lost Okoroshi*), and Mati Diop (*Atlantics*).

Don Omope is a Nollywood filmmaker known for films such as *The Wedding Party* (2016), *Makate Must Sell* (2019), and *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)*. He acquired his education at the University of Westminster, where he completed a BA in Film and Television, and at Goldsmiths, University of London, where he completed a master's degree in Broadcast journalism and media law and ethics. His films are centred around themes such as African cultural practices, the African family, and tradition. The languages of his film are mainly English, Yoruba, and Igbo and these are complemented by rich African traditional regalia. His films involve a friendly fusion of Western African cultures. For instance, in *The Wedding Party* (2016), which is about a wedding, African culture is evident in the clothing and cuisine,

while the actual wedding ceremony and attires, such as the wedding dress, are heavily informed by Western culture.

Abba Makama is a Nigerian filmmaker with a Business Management degree from State University New York and studied film at New York University. His filmography includes *Visions* (2017), *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)*, and *Juju Stories* (2021). His films are characterized by themes of African spirituality. The languages are mainly English and Igbo. His films interact with African spirituality in a way that exposes how it is utilized for evil. For instance, in *Juju Stories* (2021), it is cast in a negative light in that the film explores how, through 'juju', African spirituality is used to advance evil. This is also seen in *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* where African spirituality is portrayed as an entity that invades the body, leading the victim to a calamitous end.

Mati Diop is a French/Senegalese filmmaker and actress who directed *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)*. Diop acquired her education in France at the Le Fresnoy National Studio of Contemporary Art and the Palais de Tokyo. Diop went on to study at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Her filmography includes *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*), Big in Vietnam* (2012) short film, and *Last Night* (2004) short film. Diop's films are characterized by themes about immigration, and nationalism, with features of magic and supernatural events. Her films are usually in French, Wolof, and English.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this section, I begin by exploring various ideas about the definition of African film. I then provide an overview of the history of African cinema, especially in Nigeria and Senegal. I engage with the concept of the social imaginary and its relevance to the study wherein basic definitions of imaginary and imagination are provided. I then explore ideas presented by different scholarly works on the imaginary to explore how filmic images constitute a social imaginary. Following the conceptual examination of what the imaginary is and exploring ideas around the concept, I then interrogate what the social imaginary entails. In this case, I will invoke the work conducted on the concept by Hume and Charles Talyor. I read Anderson's work on the nation as an imagined political community and how it relates to this concept of the social imaginary. This study is influenced by decolonial theories. Thus, in this chapter, I explore ideas on decoloniality and Marxist ideas that are relevant to this investigation. The three films under investigation explore various temporal constructs of Nigeria and Senegal which involve an interplay between the depictions of the past, present, and future. Thus, Derrida's ideas on hauntology are explored vis-à-vis the temporal representations.

3.1 Defining an African film.

The category "African film" has been deployed in many discourses about film to generally describe films that emanate from the continent, a tendency that has been challenged by various scholars on the basis that it fortifies the problematic view of Africa as a homogenous entity and does not accurately capture the totality of Africa's diversity. African societies have diverse cultures and religions which contribute to the overall configuration of their value economies that inform and shape their creative industries. As this problematized description of African film is not appropriate in defining African film within the scope of diverse film cultures, what, then, is the appropriate description? Moreover, what is the idea of Africa? To answer this question, I wish to invoke Mudimbe (1994) to first interrogate the idea of what Africa is. This work helps us in tracing the creation of the idea of Africa in literature.

Mudimbe (1994) interrogates various texts on the construction of the idea of Africa. In the notes of De Certeau on Africa, America, and Asia, Mudimbe (1994:09) observes that Africa is constructed as "a place of laughable interests", whose inhabitants are "wretched as the Indians of America". Mudimbe (1994), when interrogating other works, elucidates that Africa is constructed as a "refused place" of extremely primitive existence plagued by madness and melancholia. According to Mudimbe (1994:10), these texts, especially "The Anatomy of

Melancholy" by Robert Burton, signify "the negation of any and all diversity and a reduction of every marginal space. What is revealed by this examination of texts by Mudimbe (1994) is the history of the representation of Africa as an idea. Mudimbe (1988) interrogates artistic texts that articulate ideas that, in many ways, relate to the ideas he engages in "The Idea of Africa". Mudimbe (1988) scrutinizes the use of art in the representation of Africa. Mudimbe (1988) posits that art and texts have been used as means through which the African has been Othered. What becomes clear from these arguments is that literature and art have a long history of engaging with the idea of Africa, and that this idea of Africa has mostly been engendered by Western art and literature. As such, it is necessary to investigate the idea of Africa in African artistic productions such as films. By asking how African films make new myths about Africa, this study asks a question about identity, which is centred on being "African". But what does it mean to be African? When we refer to something as African, what characterizes its Africanness? Moreover, what is an African film?

To answer these questions, I seek to invoke the work of David Murphy and Boukary Sawagogo. Murphy (2000) argues against all notions of authenticity concerning Africa and the West, wherein he maintains that there is no authentic Africa or the West. Harrow (2007) in *Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to Postmodernism*, also argues against the notion of an authentic African culture, he maintains the influence of both African storytelling and Western filmmaking models. Harrow (2007) warns against approaching the study of African cinema with the assumption that it responds to colonialism, speaks to Africans, or that it is African. These assumptions are based on Third Cinema Theory, and approaching the study of African cinema with these assumptions might exclude some films, while incorporating others, within rigid definitions of what constitutes an African film. Third Cinema is not defined by geography but by its socialist politics (Wayne 2001:01). Third Cinema emerged in the 1960s and 1970 and entered the film studies curriculum in the 1980 (Wayne 2001:01). According to Wayne (2001:01), "Third Cinema is apolitical cinema about much more than politics in the narrow sense. It is a cinema of social and cultural emancipation". Films that do not neatly fit within these assumptions, which are made by Africans in Africa, may not be considered in the broader study of African cinema.

Murphy (2000) engages with concerns raised by postcolonial theory and proceeds to examine its relevance to the interpretation of both African cinema and contemporary African culture. Reflecting on concerns raised by Third Cinema, Murphy (2000) observes that the cinema's propositions or ideas about 'authentic' Third World films abandoning the thematic concerns

and structures of commercial Western cinema tended to be confined within a reductive opposition between Western and African culture. He states that the proposition made by this argument is that authentic African films must not only exclude everything Western or European but also set themselves in opposition to them (Murphy 2000:241). According to Murphy (2000), cinema, being a Western invention, invalidates this logic, for if followed, would mean that all African films are inauthentic. Murphy (2000) problematizes this opposition and proposes its removal to attain a much clearer view of how various cultures interact with and influence one another. For Murphy (2000), Africa and the West are not mutually exclusive worlds possessing their own authentic and unchanging identities but are hybrid identities mutually influencing and modifying each other, and this process of exchange also stretches to or affects cinema.

Murphy (2000) argues correctly about different identities' influence on one another and wisely concedes that the West, in the current world order, is the dominant force in this process of hybridization. However, there is a danger of simplifying the relationship between Africa and the West. A relationship that is characterized by a history of violence, conquest, and domination of various sectors of African societies by the West. When interrogated, the history of this relationship could be characterized as the West dictating for Africa. The French assimilation in West Africa demanded a total divorce from African identity to assume the French status and the colonial power presided over a system that sought to demonize African ways of life. The British missionary program also sought to erase African belief systems in a quest to maintain colonial rule. These events should be considered in exploring the contribution to this process of hybridization and Murphy (2000) does not explore this enough. This is not to deny Africa's contribution to this process but to explore the factors involved in this process in a way that considers and appreciates the history of this relationship.

In making this argument, Murphy (2000) refers to three African films by African filmmakers: Ousmane Sembéne's *Xala* (1975); Djibril Mambéty's *Touki-Bouki* (1973); and Souleymane Cisse's *Yeelen* (1987). In exploring this process of exchange via cinema, Murphy (2000) only examines how African films borrow elements from the West. He does this in his discussion of *Xala* (1975) and *Touki-Bouki* (1973), where he observes that *Xala* (1975) is a Marxist-inspired attack on the neo-colonial state and that Mambéty heavily borrows from Western experimental films in *Touki-Bouki* (1975). He also highlights local influences on African cinema by highlighting how both *Touki-Bouki* and *Xala* borrow from the oral tradition but also

maintains that the exploration of the cinematic links to orality ignores African cinema's rupture with that tradition.

Murphy (2000) argues that though the oral tradition does inform the work of some African directors, it cannot be referred to as the only determining factor in how African cinematic representations are produced. With *Yeelen*, Murphy (2000) highlights different critical responses to the film and highlights how the film is deeply embedded in the culture of the Bambara people of Western Sudan. The concern with Murphy's (2000) investigation is that he claims that African and Western identities modify and influence one another, but in his exploration of the contribution to the process in cinema, he only demonstrates how African films borrow from the local and Western culture in the production of their various cinematic representations. He does not highlight how, at least at a cinematic level, Western films borrow from African cultures or identities; to at least demonstrate Africa's contribution to this process of hybridization. Murphy (2000) correctly posits that there is no authentic African point of view and that there is no authentic Africa, and I would argue that this is also a result of the colonial experience. In my investigation, I proceed with this view because to insist on the notion of authenticity would prevent one from fully understanding the African identities that have encountered colonialism and Western capitalism. Murphy's (2000) ideas allow this investigation to reflect the definition of what is African. It allows the investigation to deal with the issues of filmic identity.

Murphy (2000) argues that the category of African cinema should be deployed descriptively rather than prescriptively. "Third Cinema' sought to characterize the cinematic production of the entire Third World, not just Africa, as revolutionary and fundamentally opposed to Western hegemony, both in terms of style and content, a characterization that simply did not reflect reality" (Murphy 2000:247). Murphy (2000) believes that the category of post-colonial offers a better framework for the examination of the cinematic productions of countries that were colonized by Western imperial powers. Murphy (2000) recognizes the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation evident in the contest for social and political authority within the modern world and that it is for this reason that the post-colonial is an extremely useful and strategic critical term in the analysis of contemporary African culture (Murphy 2000:248).

For Sawadogo (2018), the term 'African cinema' has been widely used in scholarship to "refer implicitly, unless explicitly specified to include North Africa, to all cinematic productions emanating from sub-Saharan Africa regardless of the differences in the historical developments

of cinema traditions or geographic and linguistic differences that can be seen in the diversity of productions. Sawadogo (2018) argues that the appreciation and understanding of African cinema (s) need to move away from stereotypical perceptions of Africa as a monolithic entity to discern its richly textured artistic expressions. Sawadogo (2018) also maintains that film in the colonial period was used as a pedagogical instrument which was used to educate natives on how to be 'civilized' and that the black subject was often portrayed as a gullible and unsophisticated figure in films.

Sawadogo (2018) argues that the term 'African cinema' needs to be contextualized and understood within the framework of diverse cinematic traditions and practices on the continent. Sawadogo (2018) argues for the definition and understanding of Africa or Africans by considering the iterations and traditions in moviemaking on the continent, which involves the colonial language divide (English, French, Portuguese), the Sahara divide (North and South of the Sahara), art and celluloid French-speaking West African cinema, and the video and commercial Nollywood films. These ideas are helpful in understanding African film as a category, but this presents a myriad of problems. Proceeding with the colonial language divide in understanding and defining African film deepens our dependency on these languages and ignores films set in indigenous languages. It elevates the colonial languages at the expense of African languages. There is a plethora of films in African languages and not to consider this is to commit the very offense of viewing African filmmaking as a very narrow practice that could only be defined and understood in terms of their use of colonial languages. Sawadogo does not contemplate how international productions, such as *Mandela*: *Long Walk to Freedom* (2013) and *Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019)* complicate this approach to understanding and defining an African film. This leads to a question about what constitutes the language of African film. Should an African film be in an indigenous African language? Moreover, are those African films set in colonial languages truly African films?

Ukadike (1994) observes that in West Africa, missionaries deployed film and slide projectors to spread their evangelical messages. They brought such film shows to Sierra Leone, which depicted the life and death of Jesus Christ in the form of slide projections (Ukadike 1994:30). Ukadike (1994) argues cinema in the colonial period was used to encourage Africans to accept colonial rule. Shaka (1999) also observes the use of cinema as a medium of instruction in Nigeria and cites the 1929 Lagos campaign to end a plague as an example. This campaign was undertaken by the government. What we witness here is that the role of films in this period was to maintain colonial control and subjugation of the indigenous inhabitants. They were largely

controlled, distributed, and funded by the colonial government. Hollywood also had a role in the distribution of their films in African colonies. Their content was influenced by the policy and interests of the colonial administration. Film content had to complement the objectives of the colonial masters. This characterized the role and political economy of colonial cinema.

Ukadike (1994) states that genuine African film production only occurred after independence was won. Ayakoroma (2015) states that African cinema was invented to counter the colonial propaganda advanced through film against black Africans. The role of cinema after independence sought to imagine African spaces and people in a new light different from the pro-colonial films of the colonial era. This characterized the role of cinema post-colonialism. Cinema was still informed by policies and regulations set out by the government.

Mano et al (2017) challenge the idea of a singular African cinema. Mano et al (2017) state that the diversity of films produced across genres, different modes of filmmaking, and countries of origin indicates the plurality rather than a "single Africa African cinema". Mano et al (2017) call for the unpacking of the phrases "African cinema/African film" to indicate the nuances that are internal to the vague category, highlighting the specific ways in which cinematic contexts across Africa distinguish themselves and interact with each other, as well as how these systems are related to film industries and political economies outside the continent".

3.2 Africa and Cinema

I want to explore studies conducted on how films imagine Africa. Before I go through works done on how films imagine Africa, it is important that I explore the history of African cinema; how it began, and the reason for its emergence. This is important because it will provide a background or context through which a pattern of representation can be traced; a pattern of how Africa has been depicted by films, thereby allowing this study to explore the influence of this history on how contemporary African films imagine Africa. By exploring this history, the study seeks to ask questions whether there are connections between colonial cinema and contemporary African cinema. This will particularly be useful to the study in exploring or asking questions about how Africa is portrayed in relation to its colonial history. This will involve unpacking the nature of cinema in the colonial period and cinema in post-colonial Africa.

Here, I will explore the role of cinema in both the colonial and post-colonial eras. In this case, I want to invoke Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike's "Black African Cinema". In this book, Ukadike (1994) begins by stating that Western ideologies introduced new values into African life under

colonialism. He also argues that under neo-colonialism, Africa struggled and still struggling to develop distinct national cultures (Ukadike 1994:22). Precolonial Africa, Ukadike (1994) located the existence of oral ways of communicating knowledge and national history in African regions, with the exception of Ethiopia and the Bamum and Vai people, as opposed to written records. Ukadike (1994) compares modern cinema with the oral tradition. He observes that between both, there is a similarity in the method of execution (Ukadike 1994:24).

In cinematic storytelling, Ukadike (1994) identifies several cinematic procedures involved in narrative construction: image organization (editing), camera work, dialogue, mise-en-scene, image sound relationship, and voice-over or off-screen narration. He also observes that the oral tradition is presented in one or a combination of genres, such as the proverb, the riddle, epic, the tale, the lyric poem, and heroic poetry (Ukadike (1994:24). According to Ukadike (1994), oral traditions, whether regional or national, are ingrained in indigenous cultural values. This demonstrates that an African approach to storytelling, different from the Western approaches, has been in existence in Africa. It is important that African films are studied to explore how they imagine Africa because, like the oral tradition, some are also ingrained in indigenous cultural values that are unique to Africa. This study will also ask questions about the influence of the oral tradition on contemporary African films.

Ukadike (1994) states that the abolition of slavery in the 19th century led to a policy change by European colonial rulers, which saw an alliance between Christianity and colonialism, where missionaries were deployed to Africa to neutralize African antagonism and encourage Africans to accept European presence. Ukadike (1994) argues that this alliance involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction or undervaluing of people's cultures and the colonial subjugation of the continent. In West Africa, missionaries utilized film and slide projectors to make it easy for Africans to understand their evangelical crusade (Ukadike 1994:30). In West Africa, Magic Lantern was the first film show that was brought by missionaries to Sierra Leone, which depicted the life and death of Jesus Christ through showing of slide projections (Ukadike 1994:30).

What Ukadike (1994) demonstrates is that the producers of colonial films had a motive for producing films in the manner they produced them, which was to encourage Africans to accept the colonial rule. This was done through the dissemination of ideology, which functioned to destroy and devalue African cultures, simultaneously promoting the colonial subjugation of the continent. This demonstrates that films may have ideological messages, which is why this study

sees the need for an enquiry to be made about the ideological positions African films make about Africa. Unlike Ukadike's (1994) study, this study will be less about investigating the motives behind the ways in which African films imagine Africa and more about understanding how that is done.

According to Edward Horatio-Jones, although there were missionary slide projections in Sierra Leone by 1923, cinema never arrived in other African countries, particularly south of the Sahara, until 1925 (Ukadike 1994:31). Ukadike (1994) argues that as Africa-as-producer of films came late to the cinematographic business, the image of the continent was interpreted and presented by foreigners. He states that genuine African film production did not occur until independence was won (Ukadike 1994:31). He maintains that since film production, distribution and exhibition were in the hands of colonial powers, western ideological and aesthetic concepts prevailed (Ukadike 1994:32).

Ukadike (1994) argues that the influence of Africa was only superficial, limited to the use of the continent as background. It was sometimes presented as exotic, action that is alien to African culture informed by the preconceptions of the producers of the films (Ukadike 1994). In these films, so argues Ukadike (1994), where action included black actors or whites acting in black roles, the black imagined was either presented as stereotyped or demeaned. As Ukadike (1994) shows, western aesthetic and ideological concepts prevailed due to the colonial control of film production, distribution, and exhibition. This study will ask the question of whether the control of film production, distribution, and exhibition by African producers has contributed to a shift from Western to African ideological and aesthetic concepts in films. This will involve reading the films selected by this study, as they were produced by African filmmakers, to answer this question.

Diawara (2019) engages with the visuality of the cinema of West Africa. Diawara (2019:81) argues that France and EEC made efforts to prevent African cinema from becoming cinema. Diawara (2019:82) posits that through their entrance into the multicultural structures of Europe and the United States, African filmmakers took the slots of anthropological films in the theatres and television, which resulted in people going to see African films as realities about Africa, instead of seeing them as films. Diawara (2019) also argues that the structure of the nation-state also produces obstacles for African cinema, as artistic productions such as films are appropriated by the nation, thereby confining them to just one country. Diawara (2019) articulates the need for West African states to adopt a regional imaginary and advocate for the

circulation of goods and cultures that are polarized and limited by the nation-states. Diawara (2019) identifies the oral tradition, the conflict between tradition and modernity, and the representation of the sacred as the narrative elements that are familiar in African cinema. He details how *Touki Bouki* (1973), through the aesthetics and acting of the characters (Mory and Anta) blurs the boundaries between what is traditional and what is Western. He critiques the category "Third World Films" as having precluded the possibility of Pan-Africanism as a preferred cultural option, where African films were not known as African films, but as part of a larger package of Third World films (Diawara 2019:90). Diawara (2019) states that the difference between pan-African and Third World is that the former is geo-specific.

History of film in Nigeria and Senegal

Nigeria was colonized by the British, whose way was paved to colonize the region in 1807, following the abolition of slave trade and the decision to establish a naval patrol to discontinue activities of slave merchants (Falola 2009:02). The colonization of Nigeria was accomplished either through the use of war or surrender due to the threat of war (Falola 2009:01). Falola (2009) maintains that the removal or death of a king and loss of a war translated into the loss of independence and forceful incorporation into the British Empire, which was expanding. The treaties signed with other countries enabled the British patrol to seize ships involved in slave trade activities (Falola 2009:02). The British identified various areas on the West African coast for their naval force stations and Fernando Po became one of the naval stations established by the British, through which liberated slaves were shipped to Freetown in Sierra Leone (Falola 2009:02).

The history of film in Nigeria shares connections with the colonization of Nigeria. Its origins can be traced to the colonial period. According to Ayakoroma (2015), Nigerians only encountered what was widely known as the "magic lantern" in 1903. The first feature film to be exhibited in Nigeria was at the Glover Memorial Hall of Lagos in August 1903 by a European merchant named Stanley Jones (Ayakoroma 2015:27-28). Ayakoroma (2015) observes that the films exhibited then include scenes of the coronation of King Edward VII. Ayakoroma (2015) maintains that film as a medium of communication was deployed as an instrument to disseminate propaganda. The church viewed Christianity and civilization as powerful weapons to subjugate the African traditional religion and culture and they brought films that were relevant in that respect to aid them in realizing their goals (Ayakoroma 2015:28). The colonial government engaged in film production in 1929 in an effort to suppress the outbreak of a plague in the Lagos Protectorate (Ayakoroma 2015:28).

By the end of World War 2, the colonial administration developed a desire to spread propaganda through film, and this desire was constituted by three key needs in line with their administration: the need to present Germany as the common enemy to colonies; the need to encourage colonies to undertake communal developments; and the need to convince the global community that the colonial administration was undertaking sterling work in the "Dark continent" (Ayakoroma 2015:29). Drawing on Shaka (2004), Ayokoroma (2015) identifies three film practices that existed in the earliest period of the emergence of the institution of cinema in Nigeria. These include Commercial productions which were later censored by the Film Censorship Board to prevent upsetting the colonial administration; productions that were sponsored by missionaries; and productions that were sponsored by the government (Ayakoroma 2015:29). Moves were made towards producing local films in 1945 by Chief Hubert Ogunde, but Nigerians only became seriously involved in the production of films after independence (Ayakoroma 2015:30). Bound For Lagos (1962) produced by Federal Films was the first production and Mama Learns a Lesson (1963) produced by Northern Nigeria Film Unit was the first production in any Nigerian language – Hausa (Ayakoroma 2015:30). Ayakoroma (2015), reading Ekwauzi (1987), states that in 1975, the first film produced in a Nigerian language- Igbo- was produced by Afrocult Foundation Limited, and the title of the film was Amadi, which enjoyed success among Igbo and non-Igbo audiences. Ajani Ogun (1976), produced by Afrocult, was the first Yoruba feature film (Ayakoroma 2015:30). A cinematic tradition soon emerged as a film in the local languages thrived among the Yoruba (Ayakoroma 2015:30). This success was because professional traditional theatre practice was prominent in Western Nigeria before the emergence of the cinema industry in Nigeria (Ayakoroma 2015:30). Ayakoroma (2015) observes that with the introduction of cinema in Nigeria, the government was solely interested in the documentary genre. The cinema industry in Nigeria was met with a lack of commitment from the government and censorship (Ayokoroma 2015:31).

Ayakoroma (2015) refers to the 1970-1985 period as the "glorious years" of the Nigerian cinema industry. This period is referred to as the "glorious years" because, during this period, cinema thrived in Nigeria (Ayakoroma 2015:32). Ayakoroma (2015) observes that film practitioners during this period could be classified into 4 categories: Those who obtained their training from the Accra Film School; those who had American and European training in film production; those who began their film production careers from the television medium; and those who moved from the stage medium. The films produced in this period were not well

exposed to Nigerian audiences due to the popularity of foreign films that populated cinema and television screen (Ayakoroma 2015:34). This populated the Nigerian film market to the extent that they influenced production concepts and audience perception of the basic filmic conventions that defined an ideal film (Ayakoroma 2015:34). Ayakoroma (2015) argues that the African cinema was founded as a way to counter the colonial propaganda against black Africans. There was a tendency to ignore the fact that films could be utilized to create social awareness, increase mass mobilization, and sell and promote Nigeria's cultural potential (Ayakoroma 2015:35). Ayakoroma 92015) also maintains that films are exponents of the political, social, cultural, technological, and economic standards of the producing country.

Ayakoroma (2015) states that the Nigerian cinema industry had a short lifespan and collapsed. Ayakoroma (2015) attributes this collapses to a range of issues: the unstable foundation for industry in Nigeria laid by colonial administration; the high urban crime rate; poor condition of cinema theatres; the monopoly of distribution and exhibition channels by foreign companies; the supremacy and popularity of television; and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme in fulfilment of conditions set out for the International Monetary Fund. Ayakoroma (2015) states that Nigerian film scholars acknowledge that the collapse of the cinema industry in Nigeria paved the way for producers to experiment with the video film format. The economic potential of the contemporary Nigerian film industry (Nollywood) received closer attention after the production of *Living in Bondage* (1992) by Kenneth Nnebue (Ayakoroma 2015:50). This was an Igbo language film that enjoyed much success. According to Haynes (2016), Nollywood was announced to the competing entertainment industry by *Living in Bondage*, a film produced in 1992. Haynes (2016) observes that Nollywood films engage with the past through the "cultural epic", which is a film set in the "traditional" past of thatched villages, spears, and fanciful costumes. This genre of the "cultural epic" was introduced and launched in 1996 by *The Battle of Musanga*, a film produced by Gab Onyi Okoye (Haynes 2016:142).

Ayakoroma (2015) states that the business of contemporary Nigerian film production is controlled and monopolized by a group of practitioners called the Executive Producers, who fund the films that are produced daily. In the beginning, they only provided the funds and hired trained producers to produce scripts of their choice (Ayakoroma 2015:52). These films are expected to be released for viewing in the shortest time possible due to the desires of financiers to make returns on their investment (Ayakoroma 2015:53). Today, the Nigerian film industry (Nollywood) is the second largest industry in the world and the largest in African in terms of volume, popularity, and the number of films produced. This means that it reaches the biggest

audience and plays a crucial economic role in Nigeria. The origin of the cinema in Senegal is similar to that of Nigeria because film also emerged in Senegal in the colonial era.

Diawara (1992) states that the history of national film production in Francophone Africa began when the countries achieved independence in the early sixties. Film production apparatus was donated by other countries in Eastern Europe and America to the newly independent Francophone countries as an effort to initiate cultural and economic ties with them (Diawara 1992:51). Diawara (1992:51) states that "national film production in Francophone Africa grew out of a need to produce indigenous newsreels, educational films, and propaganda". After independence, Francophone African countries were equipped with minimal production equipment such as 16mm cameras, electrical cords and lights, sound pickers, film vans, projectors, and stock (Diawara 1992:51). The technicians and filmmakers were usually from the countries that donated the equipment, the postproduction also took place in these countries (Diawara 1992:51).

Diawara (1992) maintains that French African territories were introduced to film activities in 1905 when *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de la ciottat* and *L'arroseur* arose by the Lumiére Brothers were exhibited in Senegal's Dakar by a French circus group and filmmakers. Simultaneously, film pioneer Georges Meliés shot films in Dakar: *Le Marche de Dakar* and *Le cake-walk des négres du nouveau cirque* (Diawara 1992:52). Since then, foreign producers and distributors developed film activities in Africa as a serious industry (Diawara 1992:52). However, so argues Diawara (1992), Africans did not participate as conscious history makers in this development because they remained as consumers of foreign films or as objects of stereotypical images for anthropological and commercial filmmakers. In Francophone Africa, with the Laval Decree, Africans were prohibited from participating in decisions regarding films (Diawara 1992:52). Diawara (1992) observes that in 1958, the French government ordered the production of films for Africans to sustain its assimilationist policy and decelerate the independence process in their colonies.

National film production in former French colonies developed out of a need to produce educational films, indigenous newsreels, and propaganda (Diawara 1992:51). The history of production of films in these former French colonies began with the withdrawal of France from their territories in the late fifties and early sixties, after the dissolution of colonial rule by the French (Diawara 1992:51). Diawara (1992) states that after the attainment of independence by Francophone countries, in the early sixties, the new government developed a desire to

communicate information and explain their political programs to their populace, whose majority was not literate to consume print media in the form of newspapers, so this led to the consideration of utilizing film and radio to achieve this objective. Film was deployed for nationalist purposes. However, so argues Diawara (1992), these countries did not possess the ability to deploy film as a medium. He argues that this was the case mainly due to two reasons: Francophone countries lacked the structures of production and the ability to acquire them, and they also lacked film technicians and directors (Diawara 1992:53).

The French were cognisant of and understood the desperation faced by the newly independent government and as a result, they requested the 4 largest producers of filmed news in France to subsidize a fifth one named the Consortium Audio-visuel International, which would enter into a contractual agreement with the former French colonies to produce their educational films, newsreels, and documentaries (Diawara 1992:53). Partial production apparatus was set up in the capitals of francophone countries, with postproduction facilities in Paris, meaning that newsreels were shot in francophone countries, sent to CAI in Paris for postproduction, and sent back to the member countries in Africa for the projection (Diawara 1992:54).

3.3 Representation and intersectionality

Representation and visibility

This study is concerned with issues of representation. Thus, I will provide a brief discussion of what representation means in media and film, and address why representation is important to be discussed in this study. Thackway (2003) posits that the traditionally negative representations conjured by Western film and discourse can be viewed as elements of a larger hegemonic strategy of Western nations in pursuit of the expansion of their territories. According to Thackway (2003), films produced functioned to reinforce Western perceptions of colonial relations- that is perceptions of the colonial ruler and the colonial subject. They also help to determine how Western audiences imagined Africa and Africans, as well as how the Africans consuming these films imagined themselves (Thackway 2003:31). What emerged in Francophone films was the understanding of Film representation not as a 'neutral' reproduction of reality, but as an active means of defining identities and interrogating reality (Thackway 2003:37).

Nancy Fraser's "*Rethinking Recognition*" offers interesting ideas on this subject, which are important for this study because the study itself asks questions about how certain people are represented. Fraser (2000) speaks of the identity model, which is the approach that is common

to the politics of recognition. For this approach, identity is constructed through dialogue, which involves a process of mutual recognition (Fraser 2000:109). This approach views recognition as a reciprocal process and the individuals participating in this process view each other as equal (Fraser 2000:109). As Fraser (2000) maintains regarding the construction of identity, this study will adopt this understanding of how identity is constructed and proceed to read how discourse is deployed by African films to construct identity. The study will also deploy this understanding in reading how films envisage a relationship between African culture and Western culture.

Elaborating further on this process, Fraser (2000) argues that subjection takes place through an individual's ability to recognize and be recognized by others as an individual subject. In this case, one becomes an individual subject through mutual recognition. Fraser (200) argues that this mutual recognition, from you to others and from others to you, is therefore important in how individuals develop a sense of self. Thus, to be denied recognition itself or to be misrecognized amounts to an attack on an individual's identity and leads to the misrepresentation of an individual's relation to their self (Fraser 2000:109). According to Fraser (2000:109), those who advocate for this model argue that "as a result of repeated encounters with the stigmatizing gaze of a culturally dominant other, the members of disesteemed groups internalize negative self-images and are prevented from developing a healthy cultural identity of their own". Fraser (2000) argues that the aim of the politics of recognition is to repair internal self-dislocation by challenging the dominant culture's demeaning picture of the group. In thinking about how African films imagine Africa, this study will attempt to deploy these ideas in exploring the possibilities of internal self-dislocation where Africans view themselves in a negative light. In other words, this study will attempt to uncover undertones of self-denigration in African films where they may be present.

The study considers multiple factors in its analysis of the films, so intersectionality as an analytical tool is useful. On intersectionality, Collins and Bilge (2020:01) define intersectionality as follows:

> Intersectionality investigates how intersecting power relations influence social relations across diverse societies as well as individual experiences in everyday life. As an analytical tool, intersectionality views categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, class, nation, ability, ethnicity, and age – among others – as interrelated and mutually shaping one another. Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences.

This study will deploy a lens of intersectionality to analyse how gender, class, nation, religion, and ethnicity intersect in the ways in which the films represent Nigeria and Senegal. This approach will allow the study to reflect on the role of these elements in engendering the Nigerian and Senegalese imaginaries, and the implication of their role in the created imaginaries; what it means that Nigerian and Senegal are represented through an interplay between gender, class, religion, nation, and ethnicity. This lens will lead to a deeper understanding of filmic representation in the creation of imaginaries. Hall et al (1997:15) provide a conception of representation:

> Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things.

Here, Hall et al (1997) conceive of representation as involving members of a culture who engage in the process of producing meaning through the use of language, signs, and images. The study proceeds with this understanding of representation. This conception aligns with the objectives of this investigation, as it probes the use of language and aesthetic devices in creating myths about Nigeria and Senegal. It will also allow the study to locate the culture/s within which the Nigerian and Senegalese imaginaries are created.

According to Hall et al (1997:16), "representation is the production of meaning through language". Hall et al (1997) deploys the terms "language" broadly and inclusively to refer to not just the spoken or written systems of a particular language, but also visual images, and it this understanding of visual images as a kind of language that is of interest to this study. Language is able to construct meaning because it operates as a representational system (Hall et al 1997:01). According to Hall et al (1997), signs and symbols are deployed in language to stand for or represent our feelings, ideas, and concepts. Hall et al (1997:01) posit:

> Language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced.

This study foregrounds the importance of language in constructing cinematic meaning. Following on these ideas about language, the study is interested in which languages are deployed communicating ideas and feelings in the three films, and what this means when placed in a context of the political economy and postcolonial realities. Language is one of the

essential components of culture, and this study also considers the role of culture in the creation of imaginaries. In contemplating the operation of power, Hall (1996:261) observes:

> Power not only constrains and prevents it is also productive. It produces new discourses, new kinds of knowledge (i.e. Orientalism), new objects of knowledge (the Orient), it shapes new practices (colonization) and institutions (colonial government).

With this formulation, Hall (1996) engages with the negative and positive conception of power. Negatively, power functions to restrict and prevent actions or people. In the positive sense, power produces new kinds of knowledge and shapes practices and institutions. Hall (1996) understands power as operating in duality, possessing opposite characteristics of repression and production. When reflecting on how black men navigated racist stereotypes, Hall (1996:263) argues that "'victims' can be trapped by the stereotype, unconsciously confirming it by the very terms in which they try to oppose and resist it". This will be useful in contemplating how the films' representations counter or augment Westernized stereotypes about African life. This contemplation will also bring to the fore how the films envisage the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western cultures, and this relationship, which tends to be antagonistic in many ways, exists in African societies mainly as a legacy of colonialism. The antagonism is as a result of the contestation for relevance, and this relates to power, as that which is relevant or legitimized is given the power to shape the present and the future of a society. What we have learned from colonialism is that because European cultures were presented as the progressive cultures, they were given more space to shape the realities of colonized African societies, leading to attempts to constrain indigenous cultural systems. This is the context within which the relationship between African and Western cultures is meditated upon. As the study is concerned with the cinematic production of stereotypes, they are interrogated within the realm of the imagined, of fantasy.

Hall (1996) explores the role of fantasy in the production of stereotypes. Hall (1996:263) argues:

> The important point is that stereotypes refer as much to what is imagined in fantasy as to what is perceived as 'real'. And what is visually produced, by the practices of representation, is only half the story. The other half - the deeper meaning - lies in what is not being said, but is being fantasized, what is implied but cannot be shown.

With this formulation, we understand that stereotypes operate beyond the 'real'. What this means is that they do not only stem from what is visible or exists in reality, but also from

imaginations. For Hall (1996), it is not enough to think of stereotypes in terms of what is perceived or said to be 'real', but also what is covertly imagined and fantasized to be the reality. This study interrogates the imagined vis-a-vis stereotypes.

In thinking about the relationship between stereotyping and power, Hall (1996:264) argues:

> 'Stereotyping' has its own poetics - its own ways of working - and its politics - the ways in which it is invested with power. We have also argued that this is a particular type of power - a hegemonic and discursive form of power, which operates as much through culture, the production of knowledge, imagery and representation, as through other means. Moreover, it is circular: it implicates the 'subjects' of power as well as those who are 'subjected to it'.

Hall (1996) reflects on the entanglement of stereotyping with a hegemonic and discursive form of power. Stereotyping has its own methods and techniques through which it operates. It is made possible by power which operates through knowledge production, culture, imagery, and representation. Reflecting on fetishism in representation, Hall (1996) borrows from the anthropological, Marxist, and psychoanalytic conceptions of fetishism, which foreground the notion of displacement. He argues that fetishism in representation also involves displacement (Hall 1996:267). Hall (1996:267) posits that fetishism involves disavowal. He defines disavowal as "the strategy by means of which a powerful fascination or desire is both indulged and at the same time denied" (Hall 1996:267). Hall (1996:267) maintains that "it is where what has been tabooed nevertheless manages to find a displaced form of representation". Hall (1996) introduces the notion of an 'alibi' or 'cover' in reflecting on how fetishism operates. He argues that "fetishism is a strategy for having-it-both-ways: for both representing and desire. It provides the tabooed, dangerous or forbidden object of pleasure called a 'cover' or a us with what Mercer calls an 'alibi'" (Hall 1996:268).

In contemplating the counter-strategies which can be deployed to subvert the representation process, Hall (1996) observes that films such as Sweet Sweetback's Baadasss Song (1971) and Shaft (1971) attempted to a counter-strategy against a racialized regime of representation by challenging racialized stereotypes about black people in America, but the judgement of the success of this as a representational counter-strategy was mixed, as such films were viewed as 'blaxploitation' films. From this observation, Hall (1996:272) argues that "to reverse the stereotype is not necessarily to overturn or subvert it" he argues that the escape from one stereotype (blacks are childish, poor, everlastingly 'good', and always shown as servants may

mean “being trapped in its stereotypical ‘other (blacks perpetuate violence and crime, they love bossing white people around, and they are motivated by money’” (Hall 1996:272).

Reflecting on the counterstrategies, Hall (1996:272-273) also maintains “the second strategy for contesting the racialized regime of representation is the attempt to substitute a range of 'positive' images of black people, black life and culture for the 'negative' imagery which continues to dominate popular representation”. According to Hall (1996), this strategy is underpinned by a celebration of difference, and it attempts to read the negative positively; an example of this being the phrase “black is beautiful”. Following on this formulation, the study seeks to ask how the negative (the myth of a dark continent, a place with no history) is being challenged, and whether there are instances where the negative is being read positively in the three films. The third strategy operates from within with the understanding that “meaning can never be finally fixed” (Hall 1996:273). According to Hall (1996:273), “instead of avoiding the black body, because it has been so caught up in the complexities of power and subordination within representation, this strategy positively takes the body as the principal site of its representational strategies, attempting to make the stereotypes work against themselves”. This study will attempt to locate the deployment of these strategies in the film's engagement with Westernized stereotypes.

In interrogating the representation of Egypt at the exhibition, Mitchell (1991:08) argues that “the clearly determined relationship between model and reality was strengthened by their sharing of a common centre”. Mitchel (1991:09) argues that what distinguished the realism of the model from the reality it claimed to represent was that this central point had an occupant, the figure on the viewing platform. The representation of reality was always an exhibit set up for an observer in its midst, an observing gaze surrounded and set apart by the exhibition’s careful order”. Mitchel (1991:09) argues that despite efforts to distinguish between reality and representation, “it was not easy to tell where the exhibition ended, and the world itself began”. This is the manner in which the exhibition presented itself as the representation of the outside world with so much resemblance that the outside world turned out to be like an extension of the exhibition where the world becomes the exhibition which is commercialised (Mitchel 1991:10). Mitchel (1991:12) argues that this “evokes a festival of representation, a celebration of the ordered world of objects and the discipline of the European gaze”. This notion of the world as exhibition articulates several ideas: Certainty of the order; the paradox of reality and representation; and the colonial nature of order age of the world economy and global power. These ideas on representation and reality are useful to the study in exploring the relationship

between reality and the imagined, and this study refers to the political economy and contexts within which the films were produced in thinking about this relationship. Another aspect that the study investigates is culture, which is related to representation in this exploration.

The idea of culture.

Delaney (2017) observes that humans have not only developed along with culture but that they are always within culture. They are situated within culture because they cannot exist at its periphery- outside. Delaney (2017) identifies the Stylites as a group that fortifies this claim. According to Delaney (2017), they separated themselves from society to devote themselves to prayer, but despite this self-imposed isolation, they had been involved in or drawn into the society they rejected, and, in their solitude, engaged in a silent dialogue with it. It is this conditionality of our impossibility to operate outside of culture that makes it a fundamental consideration in the study of how people relate to their spaces through cinema as the medium. In simple terms, since it is not possible for people to exist at the periphery of culture, then the natural conclusion is that films cannot escape this confinement by culture. After all, films are a combination of cultural codes and symbols.

Delaney (2017) further posits that while cultures are shaped by the global matrix of power and resources in which they are embedded, they emanate from different premises about life and distinct values and goals. Following this idea of cultures being shaped by power and carrying within themselves fragments of such power, it is crucial to investigate the extent to which such networks of power make their way to film. Delaney (2017) offers some ideas about space which I believe will be useful for this investigation. Concerning space, Delaney (2017) maintains that space is people's primary means of orientation into the world. According to Delaney (2017), while the need for spatial orientation is universal, the meanings accorded to space are not. In this case, the meanings attached to space change as people traverse different contexts. According to Delaney (2017), physical space encodes values and social meanings. This investigation will proceed with this understanding about space and culture in its analysis. When reflecting on culture, Hall et al (1997:02) posit:

> Culture' is one of the most difficult concepts in the human and social sciences and there are many different ways of defining it. In more traditional definitions of the term, culture is said to embody the 'best that has been thought and said' in a society. It is the sum of the great ideas, as represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy - the 'high culture' of an age. Belonging to the same frame of reference, but more 'modem' in its associations, is the use of 'culture' to refer to the 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' - what is called the 'mass culture' or the 'popular culture' of an age.

Hall et al (1997) provide different definitions of culture from a traditional perspective and modern perspective. The traditional definition relates to a collection of ideas represented by the creative works, and these ideas are presented to represent a culture. The modern definition considers culture as the widely distributed forms of popular artistic expressions and activities that are constitutive of everyday life. The traditional conception of culture is what Hall et al (1997) term "high culture" and the modern notion of culture being "popular culture. These conceptions are similar in their conception of the creative and artistic expressions being reflective of a culture of a particular people. Their distinction is their temporal context: the traditional foreground history, in Hall et al (1997) terms, "what has been thought and said in a society", and the modern emphasizes its modernity as it is articulated in the present as encapsulating the everyday experiences of people in a society. Hall et al (1997:02) add to these concepts of culture:

> In recent years, and in a more 'social science' context, the word 'culture' is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. This has come to be known as the 'anthropological' definition. Alternatively, the word can be used to describe the 'shared values' of a group or of society - which is like the anthropological definition, only with a more sociological emphasis.

This definition takes into account the ways of living themselves as opposed to their reflections as articulated by the traditional and modern definitions provided by Hall et al (1997). Outside of the artistic and creative expressions that represent art, this definition conceives of the way of life of people, community, or nation as culture itself. This study proceeds with the understanding of culture, as formulated by Hall et al (1997), in its analysis of the films. Following on the theory of the social imaginary, it views the three films' representations as reflecting the ways of life of Nigerian and Senegalese people. These conceptions of culture centre a sense of belonging to a particular community and experiential specificity. Hall et al (1997:02) elaborate on this point further:

> Primarily, 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. To say

> that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus, culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways. This focus on 'shared meanings' may sometimes make culture sound too unitary and too cognitive. In any culture, there is always a great diversity of meanings about any topic, and more than one way of interpreting or representing it. Also, culture is about feelings, attachments and emotions as well as concepts and ideas.

Here, Hall et al (1997) elaborate on the notion of members of a particular society interpreting the world virtually the same ways and expressing themselves in ways that will be understood by each other. While members of a particular cultural community may interpret the world in the same ways and express themselves in similar ways, it does not negate the possibility of a distinct interpretation of the world or mode of expression. Hall et al (1997) concede that there is still diversity in any culture. It is important to approach the analysis of films with this understanding; belonging to a particular cultural community does not translate to the absence of agency to choose how you interpret the world. Hall et al (1997:05) returns to the relationship between language and representation with a conception of language as a representational system:

> Language, in this sense, is a signifying practice. Any representational system which functions in this way can be thought of as working, broadly speaking, according to the principles of representation through language. Thus, photography is a representational system, using images on light-sensitive paper to communicate photographic meaning about a particular person, event or scene. Exhibition or display in a museum or gallery can also be thought of as} 'like a language', since it uses objects on display to produce certain meanings about the subject-matter of the exhibition. Music is 'like a language' in so far as it uses musical notes to communicate feelings and ideas, even if these are very abstract, and do not refer in any obvious way to the 'real world'.

This adds to the notion of images as a kind of language. Hall (1997) considers images, music, and visual displays as kinds of languages because they can be used to communicate feelings and ideas. What makes something a kind of language, in Hall et al (1997) terms, is its ability to communicate feelings and ideas, or meanings. Following on this logic, film is also a kind of language because it can also be used to communicate ideas and feelings about people, places, and events. This is a useful lens with which to approach the study of film. However, the

preoccupation of this study is less about how much films fit into this definition and more about how the films, as a kind of language, deploy languages, images, and signs in engendering imaginaries. It is interested in how the films represent power relations in Nigerian and Senegalese societies. Hall (1996) makes a helpful intervention in understanding the operation of power in society.

Cinema and aesthetics

Another thematic concern for this study is aesthetics. It seeks to investigate the role of aesthetics in the imagination of Nigerian and Senegalese people and cultures. Williams (2019) argues that in African cinema, beauty is trouble and that this is not simply due to the complex and deeply contested legacy of colonial ethnographic film's production of racist imagery of black people. According to Williams (2019), beauty was a tainted "marker of oppressive colonial ideology". In studying the films of Sembene, Williams (2019) observed that the aesthetic carried the burden of political desires and ideals. It is this idea of beauty as trouble and as a carrier of political ideals and desires that will underpin the analysis of the role of aesthetics in *Tatu (Don Omope, 2017), The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019),* and *Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019).* The study is interested in the relationship between aesthetics and ideology. It is concerned with how Nigerian and Senegalese films engage with the idea of beauty in the imagination of the societies from which they emanate.

The concept of ideology.

As I have examined the concept of the social imaginary, I want to argue here that every society is driven by its own ideology and this ideology also drives how their respective social imaginaries are engendered. In simple terms, any society, in imagining itself, disseminates its own ideology either overtly or covertly. Thus, it is crucial that we investigate and unpack this concept of ideology in terms of what it entails, how it functions, as well as how it is utilized or makes its way into discourses that seek to produce social imaginaries.

Ideology refers to "a system of ideas, values, and beliefs that make up the basis of a political, social, and cultural system or theory (Perry and Perry 2016:331). Ideology makes its way into film in that the films echo ideologies of their respective social, cultural, and political settings. When this study asks questions about how African films make new myths about Africa, it partly asks a question about the role of ideology in the construction of identity. In this case, what are the ideologies presented by films and their role in the orchestration of narratives? Do the films invite Africa to be viewed differently from the way it has been constructed by the Global North?

If so, in what ways? Speaking of the social imaginary in the film is an admission of the presence of ideology within the medium, for cinema itself is a combination of ideas, values, and beliefs.

Drawing on Gramsci, Louis Althusser speaks of the ideological state apparatus. These are religious (church systems), education, the family, legal, political, communications (Radio, press, television, etc), cultural (Arts, literature, sports, etc), and trade union (Althusser 1970:15). According to Althusser (1970), these are used to disseminate the ideology of the ruling class. What is of interest to this study is the role of communication technologies and media in the dissemination of ideology. According to Althusser (1970), communications achieve this through the daily dissemination of nationalism, liberalism, chauvinism, and moralism through the press, cinema, radio and television, and recently through the internet. There have been instances where African films disseminate nationalism. *White Wedding* (2009), which is a South African film by Jann Turner, imagined South Africa as a rainbow nation, a multiracial society that is still dealing with injustices of the past, which were informed by race. It is in this light that I seek to investigate how ideology is spread in cinema, for any ideology disseminated is telling of a film's particular social reality or nature of its society in terms of its wishes and beliefs. These wishes and beliefs are mainly those of those in the dominant class.

This formulation will inform this study's quest to investigate the role of the political economy in determining how and what ideology is promulgated. In exploring factors that shape how films are produced, this project seeks to interrogate the political economy of film industries in Nigeria and Senegal. In the Althusserian conception of ideology, this investigation makes an inquiry into how the states of Nigeria and Senegal have and continue to use the ideological state apparatus to shape artistic productions, as well as how film industries are structured. Due to the specificity of this scrutiny, this probe will be limited to the state's use of law and regulation to shape or inform communications as one of the ideological state apparatuses in the form of film and television.

Mark Stoddard (2007), drawing on Marx's concept of ideology, states that ideology refers to the ways in which a society undertakes the ideas and interests of the economically dominant class. Stoddard argues that the ideological framework by Marx rests on a historical-materialistic perspective, which treats material reality as the foundation of social consciousness. According to Stoddard (2007), material reality is an important factor in determining which ideas are viewed as dominant or are adopted by society. In this case, those

with better material reality, the economically dominant class, are privileged because their ideas and interests are adopted by other (lower) classes of society. Drawing on Horkheimer and Adorno's work on the culture industry, Stoddard (2007) observes the culture industry as a collection of media forms that disseminate ideological representations of the world to the mass audience. Stoddard (2007) argues that contemporary culture does ideological work by projecting the capitalist way of production as the only possible reality that cannot be changed. Due to its ability to disseminate ideology, it is important that this study explores the presence of ideologies in films because ideologies play a role in how imaginaries are formed.

According to Stoddard (2007), Gramsci's idea of hegemony offers an important reinterpretation of the concept of ideology. Stoddard (2007) that this concept of hegemony is based on Gramsci's differentiation between coercion and consent as alternative ways in which social power operates. This study will not focus on this concept of hegemony, but it is crucial in the understanding of ideology and how ideology operates because it will aid in understanding how individuals participate in reproducing ideological messages intentionally or otherwise, particularly through film, their positions of power being considered.

He argues that hegemonic power functions in a way that seeks to convince individuals and social classes to adopt the norms and social values of an inherently exploitative system, of the dominant class (Stoddard 2007:201). He defines hegemonic power as a form of social power that relies on people to volunteer and participate, as opposed to the use of threat of punishment for disobedience (Stoddard 2007:201). As far as the system of ideology is concerned, hegemony refers to the values that have become common sense, which inform everyday understanding of the world (Stoddard 2007:201). Stoddard (2007) notes the mass media, schools, and the church or the family as institutions that are largely involved in the dissemination of hegemonic power. In this spirit, it is important that an investigation is made about how this is done. The scope of this research is to ask questions about what ideological messages are conveyed by African films. This study will draw from Stoddard's (2007) ideas about the operation of hegemonic power in thinking about the dissemination of ideology by African films.

Imaginary and Social Imaginary

This study focuses on cinematic imaginaries from Africa. For a clearer analysis, it is important that "imaginary" and "imagination" are defined. The two words; imagination and imaginary, do not mean the same thing. In their most simple and general definitions, imagination refers to

the ability of the mind to create concepts or images of objects in the absence of the actual objects (Wilner and Wilman 1975:01). Drawing on Sarte, Giniusas (2018:151) observes that "to imagine is the capacity of consciousness to think or relate to an object by means of image". Films represent this consciousness thinking or relating to an object by means of image because films utilize images to represent objects, people, or socio-political issues, but they are not limited to these. Geniusas (2018) also observes that there is an essential condition to have the ability to think by means of image. This means that there is a crucial condition for one to have the ability to imagine. Geniusas (2018), also drawing on Sarte, maintains that for consciousness to think by means of image, it must conceive of the image or imagined as nothingness. In simple terms, when one is imagining, one must conceive of the imagined as something that is not real, tangible, something that does not exist in the physical world. This is important for this study because it provides an understanding of things that are imagined by films not as necessarily real, but sometimes as reflections of things that are real or as influenced by things that are real.

The imaginary can be defined as referring to something that exists only in the imagination, which is not real and cannot be proven (Garcia 2021:29). Garcia (2021) observes that there has been a change in the understanding of this term over the years. Garcia (2021) observes that the term has recently developed a definition related to psychology and that it has come to be referred to as a 'collective imaginary'. Garcia (2021:29) states that it has been defined as a "symbolic image from which a mental representation takes place". The imaginary dimension of reality is located in the realm of the unreal (Garcia 2021:30).

What we have witnessed with these ideas is how the 'imaginary' has different formulations and uses. This concept is used or thought of differently, but what is similar in its use by these scholars is its basic definition, which is the creation of the image of the object in the absence of the object. Films operate in this nature, which is why I seek to approach it in this study, as an imaginary project. The imaginary ideas discussed here deal with issues of spectatorship, psychoanalysis, and self-consciousness. These are all useful in our understanding of different dynamics of the imaginary. However, this study will not focus on spectatorship specifically. This study will focus on representation and identity, precisely to interrogate how African people imagine themselves through cinema. While these all relate to issues of spectatorship, it is beyond the scope of this study to elaborate on issues around spectatorship. These ideas on the imaginary deal with it as an individual performance, drawing on Lacan's mirror. However,

the social imaginary, similar, but contrary to these ideas, conceives of the imaginary as a collective performance.

What these conceptualizations reveal is that the 'imaginary' has different formulations and uses. This concept is used or conceived differently, but what is similar in its usage by these scholars is its basic definition, which is the creation of the image of the object in the absence of the object. Films operate in this nature, which is why I seek to approach films, in this study, as imaginary projects. This study will focus on representation and identity, precisely to interrogate how African people imagine themselves through film. While these all relate to issues of spectatorship, it is beyond the scope of this study to elaborate on issues around spectatorship. The social imaginary, similarly, but contrary to these ideas, conceives of the imaginary as a collective performance.

Social Imaginary

Hulme (2021:09) provides the definition of the social imaginary as a concept that "embraces a set of values, institutions, laws, discourse and symbols through which people imagine themselves as a social whole in a wider world". Hulme (2021) states that imaginaries can be conceived as the different ways in which societies make sense of their social surroundings, as well as their place in the world. The concept of the imaginary can be traced back to the 1940s to Jean-Paul Sartre and was given recent prominence by Charles Taylor (Hulme 2021).

With his conception, Taylor (2004) focuses on how people imagine their social existence, how they coexist with others, their relationship with others, the expectations that are met, as well as the images and deeper normative notions that underlie these expectations. Taylor (2004) expresses that he adopts the term imaginary because his focus is on how ordinary people imagine their social realities, which are carried in stories, images, and legends. The focus of this study is similar to Taylor's (2004) because the focus of this study is on how films imagine certain social surroundings and how people use films to make sense of their social surroundings. Perhaps distinct from Taylor (2004), this study seeks to focus on how films, as a combination of stories and images, imagine the social existence of people. Taylor (2004:23) maintains that what is intriguing in the social imaginary is that "it is shared by a large group of people, if not the whole society". These observations, so argues Taylor (2004), are what makes the social imaginary different from social theory. Taylor (2003) admits that the social imaginary of people is complex. Taylor (2003) maintains that the social imaginary involves a sense of the normal expectations people have of each other, a common understanding which

makes it possible for everyone to participate in the collective practices that make up their social life. This, so argues, Taylor (2003), includes some sense of how people fit together in participating in the collective practices.

He argues that this understanding is both factual and normative, that people have a sense of how things usually go, which is combined with an idea of how they ought to go, and of what missteps would invalidate the collective practice (Taylor 2003:24). He makes the practice of electing governments through general elections as an example of this. He maintains that part of the background understanding that makes sense of this practice for each individual is the awareness of the entire act, encompassing all citizens, each making an individual choice, but from the same alternatives, and the transformation of all these microchoices into one binding, collective decision (Taylor 2003:24). This formulation by Taylor (2004) cannot be utilized to completely understand the connections between African societies and films because, like many other theories, it is not perfect. However, it is useful to this study. He conceives of the imaginary as a collective performance, and this is useful in understanding the ways in which national identities are deployed by films in manufacturing new myths.

What is crucial to their understanding of this microdecision is the ability to identify what would constitute a foul: threats, buying votes, and certain kinds of influences (Taylor 2003:24). Taylor (2003) the importance of norms in this microdecision. He explains that for this kind of microdecision to be what it is meant to be, it has to meet certain norms (Taylor 2003:24. For instance, so argues Taylor (2003), if others could be forced by a minority to conform to its orders, the outcome would cease to be a democratic decision.

He argues that what he terms the social imaginary extends beyond the immediate background understanding of what makes sense of a particular practice in that as the practice without understanding would not make sense, and thus not be possible, so this understanding supposes if it is to make sense of the people's whole context (Taylor 2003:24). That is how people stand to each other, how they got to where they are, as well as how they relate to other groups (Taylor 2003:24). According to Taylor (2003), this has no limits, and he maintains that this is the very nature of what contemporary philosophers have come to describe as the "background". He describes this "background" as a "largely unstructured and inarticulate understanding of our whole situation, within which particular features of our world show up for us in the sense they have" (Taylor 2003:25).

He explains that this can never be sufficiently expressed in the form of explicit doctrines due to its very nature of being unlimited and indefinite (Taylor 2003:25). Taylor (2003) provides this as the reason he speaks of an imaginary and not a theory. Taylor (2003) argues that the relationship between practices and the background understanding behind them is not one-sided. In this case, if the practice is only possible through understanding, then it is also true that the understanding is largely carried by the practice (Taylor 2003:25).

The last aspect this study wishes to discuss in relation to the imaginary is that of nationalism. Here, I want to invoke Benedict Anderson's work on imagined communities. Anderson (2006) defines the nation as a political community that is imagined as sovereign and inherently limited. He maintains that this political community is imagined because the members or individuals of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, yet the image of the communion lies in each other's minds (Anderson 2006: 06). Anderson (2006) argues that what makes the new communities imagined was capitalism, human linguistic diversity, and technology of communications (print). Anderson (2006) refers to the nation as an imagination, as a mental state shared by or that is common to members of a particular community. It is a psychic performance for it is not tangible but produced and reproduced through imagining.

According to Anderson (2006), nationalism invents nations where they do not exist. This study will attempt to locate such imaginaries where they may be found. It will uncover the imaginaries presented by African films. This study investigates the relationship between mythmaking and nationalism to explore the influence each has on the other. As this investigation is narrowed to Nigeria and Senegal, I will ask questions about the ways in which the selected films advance ideas about Nigeria and Senegal as nations, and this will be linked to the broader question of how the films make new myths about Africa. The nationalism question is one that should rigorously be posed in this exploration, given the geo-specific nature of this study. In essence, this study maintains that the regional realities and national identities inform, to a certain extent, the ways in which films are produced within that geo-specific milieu. Drawing on Anderson's (2006) conception of the nation will aid this project in unearthing how these national identities are engendered.

Communities can be distinguished not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the manner in which they are imagined (Anderson 2006: 06). Here, we understand the nation as a collective psychic performance in which a group or members of a community must participate to create a nation. Having discussed ideas around the social imaginary, it seems here that nationalism,

as articulated by Anderson (2006), resembles an instance of the social imaginary at work. It is a social imaginary because it requires collective participation in the imagination. This is important for this investigation because it will help in identifying other instances where the social imaginary is present in films. Guided by Anderson's (2006) articulations, this study will ask questions about whether such instances occur in the films this study wishes to read. What drives the social imaginary, or what makes it possible is ideology. This is the reason it is important for this study to investigate what ideological messages are disseminated by African films.

Narrative orchestration

On *Toward a Cognitive Theory of Narrative Acts*, Fredrick Luis Aldama explores ideas about narrative. Aldama (2010:38) observes that "narratives exist in dynamic relationships with the minds and imaginations of their creators and audiences". Aldama (2010) also observes that the narrative works as a basic and potent tool for thinking, fitting people to their environment and helping them make sense of it. According to Aldama (2010), narratives reflect the thoughts of creators and audiences, as well as how they make sense of their environment. This study seeks to approach the study of films in this way, viewing film texts as being reflective of the filmmakers' minds and imaginations. As the narrative is reflective of the creators' and audiences' minds and imaginations, it means that the creators may select themes that drive their story based on their own thoughts, which are shaped by their economic or socio-political backgrounds. It is then important that an enquiry is made on how African films imagine Africa because these films also reflect the ideas, beliefs, and values of their creators, which in turn enables this study to investigate how Africans think about Africa.

On Violence American Style: the narrative orchestration of violent attractions, Marsha Kinder asks questions about the cultural specificity of Hollywood's violent representations and in addressing this question, Kinder turns to Sam Peckingpah's work as it "provides a uniquely productive cross-cultural comparison with cinematic representations of violence in Spain (Slocum 2001:64). Kinder argues that the pauses in *The Wild Bunch (1969)* provide the spectators with more time to consider the moral ambiguities of various characters in the film (Slocun 2001:65). Kinder also argues that these pauses lead the spectator to become aware of their own complicity, as they make them realize how eager they are for the violent spectacle to be unleashed (Slocum 2001:65). Kinder also observes that the pauses are utilized to heighten violent outbursts in the film (Slocum 2001:65). Kinder uses these observations of *La caza* (1965) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969) to explain how violence is orchestrated through

various film techniques, as well as the cross-cultural influences on how the orchestration of violence evolves. Kinder also considers the element of music in amplifying themes. Kinder observes that in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1969), the "combination of violence and laughter is amplified by exuberant bluegrass banjo music of Flatt and Scrugg's Foggy Mountain Breakdown (Slocun 2001:71). For this study, narrative orchestration means the orchestration of African identities through narrative techniques. It involves examining the ways in which narrative techniques are used by films to construct African identity.

In approaching the study of African films, I also wish to consider the role played by music, diegetic or non-diegetic sounds in the design of narratives. Kinder observes the different techniques deployed in the orchestration of violence in films and I wished to investigate if there are other techniques used to orchestrate African narratives. Kinder outlines the ways in which filmmakers orchestrate violence, as well as the ways in which these orchestrations affect spectators. Within the scope of my study is to investigate how filmmakers form orchestrations through films and what those orchestrations reveal about the ways in which Africans imagine themselves, or the role it plays in the definition of identity.

Kent Puckett (2016) argues that whenever one talks about the beginning and end of a story, the likeability of its characters, or its believability, they are engaging in some kind of narrative theory, where they try to understand certain narratives in relation to expectations and assumptions that govern narratives. Puckett (2016) states that narrative theory involves trying to understand the role that narratives play in certain cultures and the effects of the beliefs and assumptions of such cultures on the evaluation and development of narratives. Puckett (2016) argues that narrative is what occurs when an effort is made to make imagined or real objects and events meaningful in relation to one another. These ideas maintain that narratives and cultures can have a mutual relationship where they can shape one another. This study seeks to proceed with this understanding. It seeks to proceed with the idea that African cultures shape the way films about Africa are produced and that these films in turn play a role within these cultures. This study proceeds beyond cultures and considers the political, economic, and social environment as one of the factors that also shape narrative construction.

Ideology and violence

This study is also concerned with how the three films deploy violence in their engagement with ideology and representation. It is interested in the relationship between ideology and violence in engendering the imaginary. In essence, it is interested in the ways in which they deploy or

visualize and narrate violence in its imagination of Nigerian and Senegalese people, spaces, and cultures. This task requires an understanding of film violence – what it is and how it operates. Choe (2022) posits that the experience of disruption brought about by violence in a film maintains the quest for assurances that violence will take on a meaningful turn and that through rationalization a moral message may be conveyed. Violent images and effects compel viewers to engage with the ethical issues that envelop them (Choe 2022:02). Choe (2022) argues that the representation of violence functions to encourage spectators to make moral judgements and engage in a politics of blame. Choe (2022) identifies two contradictory ways in which violence may be understood by the spectator. On the one hand, according to Choe (2022:02) "when acts of viciousness are deemed unjust, the who or what that originated them are cast as unsympathetic and judged to harbour evil by the observer who registers the suffering of the victim". The perpetrator of the offense may be represented in the form of an individual, but also by an authoritarian government, an imperial colonizer, a dominant ideology, and even history (Choe 2022:02). On the other hand, the representation of violence may be deemed justified insofar as it responds to a previous act of cruelty.

In Choe's (2022:03) terms, "violence may be considered just when the pain that it produces, as a form of moral currency, serves as recompense for the pain that was received". Choe (2022) refers to this violence as ambiguous since violent acts are deemed loathsome, but violent means, directed at a righteous end, may be deemed righteous and just. Choe (2022) posits that violence in film and media encourages the desire to perceive deeds as meaningful through their connection to the doer and their underlying motives, simultaneously "harnessing their disruptive power for the purposes of narrative drama". These ideas by Choe (2022) are useful for this investigation because they demonstrate the role the representation of violence serves in the narrative structure of films. In this way, the representation of violence may not only be understood merely as definitive of or features of the genre but as acts with ideological and political possibilities. Most importantly, they reveal that the perception of violence in film, its justifiability and condemnation, is shaped by the subjectivities of spectators- their moral economy. The study will proceed with this understanding of the representation of violence in film to explore the relationship between violence and ideology in Nigerian and Senegalese films. Central to this exploration of the relationship between ideology and violence is the belief that violence in film is deployed not only for narrative purposes, as Choe (2022) posits, but for both the overt and covert dissemination of ideology. This ideology hides beneath the moral judgements made by spectators concerning justifiable violence and unjustifiable violence,

forms of violence that are shaped by the narrative structure of the film. Choe (2022) describes how the narrative elements of the film are deployed in the representation of violence and the subsequent moral judgements the spectators make about the acts of violence being depicted, and this is relevant and useful to what the study seeks to unravel.

Kendrick (2010) argues that the definition of film violence varies across different cultures and generations- that what is deemed violent by one culture may not necessarily be understood or defined as violence by another culture. According to Kendrick (2010:16), "film violence is best understood as a perception, a label affixed to cinematic representations of certain behaviours and actions". According to Kendrick (2022), the definition of what constitutes film violence is constructed by the spectator, who is informed by their situation and cultural background at the onset.

Time and space

Another narrative aspect that is of interest to the investigation is that of temporality. The study is interested in the relationship between temporality and visuality. It is concerned with how the three films represent time in their imagination of the people, spaces, and cultures of Nigeria and Senegal. Haynes (2016) observed that Nollywood represented the past through the genre of the "cultural epic". The cultural epic is set in "a traditional past of thatched villages, spears, and sometimes fanciful costumes (Haynes 2016:143). Haynes (2016) states that before the use of this genre, Nollywood films could not represent the past due to technological and economic constraints, and lack of physical infrastructure. Haynes (2016) ties the use and creation of genre with temporal abilities to traverse and represent a different time period, and that the representation of the period or lack thereof was due to the economic and social context in which the films were being produced.

I am interested in Doane's (2002) conception of the different types of filmic time. Doane (2002:30) differentiates typologies of filmic time:

> Temporality of the apparatus itself – linear, irreversible, mechanical. The temporality of the diegesis, the way in which time is represented by the image, the varying invocations of past, present, future, and historicity. The temporality of reception, in which we are encouraged to honour the relentless temporality of the apparatus.

This study approaches the question of temporality in the three films through an understanding of these various filmic temporalities. I am particularly concerned with the temporality of the diegesis in the three films, foregrounding the enquiry into temporal permutations of past,

present, and future in the narrative cosmologies. However, areas where there is disruption and disjunction in the temporal representation of Nigeria and Senegal will also be explored. This will involve a scrutiny of how the films challenge notions of linearity and irreversibility. In *Temporality and Film Analysis*, Matilda Mroz (2012) posits that films can challenge the irreversibility of time through flashbacks or temporal disjunctions, and this is part of what this investigation hopes to trace in the three films.

Doane (2002:31) observed that "in the early days of cinema, the use of camera stoppage and editing allowed the film to construct its own temporality, independent of the external event or situation". It is this very idea of film, through narrative and visual strategies, constructing its own temporality that we wish to foreground in this investigation. Another question of importance to this study is the question of memory. I hope to map out the ways in which the films engage with memory in their portrayal of the past. I locate the place of memory in the temporal representation of Nigeria and Senegal; that is how they are portrayed in relation to their past. According to Kilbourn (2013) cinematic representations are constitutive of memory. To engage in cinematic practice is to evoke human memory at various registers suggested by Doane (2002) i.e. memory of temporality of the cinematic apparatus, of audience reception, of the past, present and of human stories. Kilbourn (2013) posits:

> Memory today derives its primary meaning, its existence as such, from visually based technologies like cinema; that cinema is not merely one of the most effective metaphors for memory but cinema – alongside photography – is constitutive of memory in its deepest and most meaningful sense.

The quality of cinema being constitutive of memory in its deepest sense presents a strong case for the importance of studying temporality in African cinema especially as it relates to nationality, the postcolonial and African culture. What does the treatment of time in these films reveal about the (re)imagination of African life in Nigeria and Senegal?

For example, Haynes (2016) observed that Nollywood represented the past through the genre of the "cultural epic". The cultural epic is set in "a traditional past of thatched villages, spears, and sometimes fanciful costumes (Haynes 2016:143). Haynes (2016) states that before the use of this genre, Nollywood films could not represent the past due to technological and economic constraints, and lack of physical infrastructure. Haynes (2016) ties the use and creation of genre with temporal abilities to traverse and represent a different time period, and that the

representation of the past is embedded in rural mythologies, exotic tribes and exotic traditions linked to various forms of mystic power(s).

Derrida's ideas on hauntology also contribute to our understanding of temporality. Derrida (1994) deploys the terms "hauntology" to describe how the spectre of communism haunts Europe. Derrida (1994) conceives of the spectre as paradoxically absent and present, promising its return in the future. He argues that "at a time when a new world disorder is attempting to install its neo-capitalism and neo-liberalism, no disavowal has managed to rid itself of all of Marx's ghosts. Hegemony still organizes the repression and thus the confirmation of a haunting. Haunting belongs to the structure of every hegemony" (Derrida 1994:46). In this case, the haunting manifests as a result of a repression carried out by hegemonic structures. Once hegemony represses, it simultaneously confirms the haunting. This relates to the psychoanalytic concept of repression. Freud (1913:199) explains that the theory of repression asserts that "repressed wishes still exist, contemporaneously with an inhibition weighing them down". In his analysis of dreams, Freud (1913) argues that dreams are disguised fulfilments of repressed or suppressed wishes. According to Freud (1913), repressed thoughts do not disappear, but they return (disguised) in the form of dreams. In this study, we will draw on this concept of repression in conjunction with Derridean hauntology to reflect on the films' temporal representations of Nigeria and Senegal.

This concept of "the ghosts of the past" engineering a habitation in the present without properly inhabiting the present challenges notions of temporal linearity by foregrounding temporal complexity. It emphasizes an understanding of the past as a temporal element that does not necessarily come to end; it ghosts endure through to the present and promise to emerge in the future. Derrida (1994:201-202) challenges temporal linearity further:

> The commodity-form, to be sure, is not use-value, we must grant this to Marx and take account of the analytic power this distinction gives us. But if the commodity-form is not, presently, use-value, and even if it is not actually present, it affects in advance the use-value of the wooden table. It affects and bereaves it in advance, like the ghost it will become, but this is precisely where haunting begins. And its time, and the untimeliness of its present, of its being "out of joint." To haunt does not mean to be present, and it is necessary to introduce haunting into the very construction of a concept. Of every concept, beginning with the concepts of being and time. That is what we would be calling here a hauntology. Ontology opposes it only in a movement of exorcism. Ontology is a conjuration.

This conception of time is particularly useful to this study in contemplating how Nigerian and Senegalese films represent temporality. The three films have themes of past elements, in this case, ghosts, emerging to intervene in the present to shape the future, and this ability of the present to transmigrate to other temporal realities will be better understood through Derrida's ideas on hauntology. Derrida's (1994) temporal conception, which is arrived at through the analysis of haunting ghosts, privileges the past, representing it as a temporal reality that is beyond parameters, and a reality that is unchanging, but can influence change in other realities, while the present is framed as changeable and susceptible to the manoeuvrings of the past; the past happens to the present. The future remains vacuous, awaiting the habitation of the past, and in the future, the present will become the past, and it is in this sense that the past promises to emerge it the future; it is inevitable. The analysis of the films will go beyond Derrida's conception to interrogate the abilities of the present in shaping the future and speaking to the past.

Harris (2020) follows on Derrida's conception of the past that is embodied by spectres in his contemplation of the spectrality of archive. Harris (2020:35) draws on Derrida's idea of ghosts to argue that apartheid haunts democratic South Africa, as "it is present although it is past". Harris (2020:35) argues that "slavery and apartheid live on through the war on Black bodies being waged by law enforcement in the United States, South Africa and many other countries". In this case, law enforcement in South Africa and the United States acts as a vessel of the past whose gaze is menacingly cast on black bodies, which exists in the present and the future. In a Derridean sense, the ghosts haunt the present, and they will articulate themselves in the future, as they cannot be dissipated. Harris (2020) contemplates this from an archival point of view. He argues that living ghosts or the living dead are created when oppressive pasts are allowed to live, when ideas like decolonisation and transformation are treated as metaphors (Harris 2020:35-36).

What Harris (2020) suggests here is that there are conditions that lead to the spectral return of the past. The ghosts are called into existence by the existence of oppressive pasts. What leads to the creation of ghosts is the unresolved issues of the past. In the case of South Africa, because structures of apartheid still live on, it creates ghosts that haunt democratic South Africa. This formulation about the conditions of a spectral return leads to a curiosity: as unresolved pasts create ghosts; can the phantom be dissipated by resolving the unresolved past? Phantoms are not only engendered by oppressive pasts that live on in the present; they are also called to the

contemporary by the oppressive present. In simple terms, the phantom is always there, with or without the existence of the oppressive pasts, and it called to the present, which it has shaped, when it becomes oppressive or unpleasant. Ghosts are created by oppressive pasts that live on in the present and by the unpleasant or oppressive present. These ideas are also relevant to the study as it investigates how the phantoms of history are represented and understood by the three films under scrutiny. This study also contemplates time in relation to space.

Lefebvre (1974) conceptualizes a trichotomy of space to describe the social production of space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. Spatial practice refers to the physical use and organization of space (Lefebvre 1974:38). Spatial practice "embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure)" (Lefebvre 1974:38). Representations of space refers to conceptualized space, which is conceptualized by professionals who "identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (Lefebvre 1974:38). Representational spaces refer to "space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users" (Lefebvre 1974:39).

Goswami (2004) elucidates the development of colonial space to national space. Goswami (2004:26) posits that "the contradictory form of colonial practices—the tension between its simultaneously homogenizing and differentiating character—in tandem with key global developments made possible the reconfiguration of colonial space as national space".

For Goswami (2004:32), the making of colonial space was an inextricable part of a broader imperial effort to secure and maintain a global British-centred imperial economy. This British-centred imperial economy premised, enabled, and constituted the territorialization of colonial state power after 1857 (Goswami 2004:32). Goswami (2004) highlights the relationship between space, economy, and state power, with economic interests at the forefront of the making of space and the formation of territorial state power. Goswami (2004:45) argues that "distinctive imperial political economy shaped the reconfiguration of the relationship between state and space in colonial India". He argues that the post-1857 colonial regime depended on the occupation and production of space (Goswami 2004:45). It was less concerned with the generation of revenue through tribute and trade expansion and more concerned with the transformation of colonial geographical space of colonial India into "a commodified, "second-order" space embedded within rather than merely tied to the broader imperial economy through

external relations" (Goswami 2004:45). Goswami's (2004) work deepens our understanding of the nexus between imperial power and the commodification of space by highlight the role of British imperial power in transforming the space of colonial India into a commodity that was not only related to its broader imperial economy, but also an integral part of it. These ideas aide this study in understanding the various ways in which space is produced.

Hart (2006:20) argues that in using the work of Henri Lefebvre we get a radical understanding of space and time since:

> Lefebvre's insistence on a conception of space (or space–time) as actively produced through situated, embodied material practices, and their associated discourses and power relations, is far more radical in its analytical bite and political reach.

Hart (2006:20) observes a tendency to think of 'place' as concrete, and 'space' as abstract, and argues that a Lifebvrian understanding of how space is produced decisively rejects this distinction. Hart (2006:21) posits that for Lefebvre, "space and place are both conceived in terms of embodied practices and processes of production that are simultaneously material and discursive. From this perspective, place is most usefully understood as nodal points of connection in wider networks of socially-produced space". This study proceeds with this understanding of space in interrogating mythmaking.

Mythmaking

Singer (2010), in *Cinematic Mythmaking: Philosophy in Film*, explores the role played by myths in film and philosophy. He observes that across human history, myths often had religious origin (Singer 2010:02). In that respect, Singer (2010) highlights three types of myth: Myths of creation, myths of hero worship, and ideational myths which focus on the valuational aspects of behavior and feeling attributed to the either the protagonists or deities in myths. He argues that myths provide crucial insight into the world and people's involvement in it (Singer 2010:02). Singer (2010) demonstrates the deployment of religious myths in the film when reading The Lady Eve, where he observes that the film borrows from the biblical myth of the Garden of Eden in the telling of its story. Singer's (2010) ideas will help this investigation in understanding the relationship between film and myths. There is a need to turn to work on the narrative strategies deployed in African storytelling and Ngũgĩ's discussion on the language of African theatre is useful. It is useful in understanding the narrative devices of mythmaking in African artistic productions.

Decolonial thought

The notion of decoloniality is also important to this investigation. Thus, it is important to elucidate this idea. Mignolo and Walsh (2019:109) argue that without understanding modernity/coloniality, decoloniality cannot be understood, as modernity/coloniality engenders decoloniality. On the same point, Mignolo and Walsh (2019:109) also argue:

> To end coloniality, it is necessary to end the fictions of modernity. You cannot dispense with coloniality and maintain the principles, assumptions, and belief laid out in the macronarratives of modernity. Thinking without modernity, delinking from its fictions, is on major decolonial challenge.

For Mignolo and Walsh (2018), modernity is inextricably linked to coloniality, so decolonizing entails the end of the fictions of modernity. This is useful to the study when contemplating the ways the films engage with the modernity of Nigeria and Senegal within a postcolonial context, how it is understood and defined in relation to temporality and space.

Mignolo and Walsh (2018) elucidate the relationship between the concept of coloniality and decoloniality by maintaining that these concepts shape each other's emergence. They posit:

> The concept of coloniality opened up two trajectories at once: on the on hand, it brought to light the darker side of modernity and, on the other, it mutated decolonization into decoloniality and decolonial thinking. It means that, paradoxically, decolonization during the Cold War was still articulated in terms and sensibility of modern thinking: it aimed at changing the contents rather than the principles in which modernity/coloniality was established. Decolonization focused on specific colonization; the overall logic of coloniality was not yet available. Coloniality is a consequence of decolonial thinking, and decolonial thinking came into being through the concept of coloniality. For all these reasons, coloniality is already a decolonial concept: thinking decolonially made it possible to see coloniality and seeing coloniality materialized decolonial thinking (Mignolo and Walsh 2018:114).

Mignolo and Walsh (2018:114) explain decoloniality as "the exercise of power within the colonial matrix to undermine the mechanism that keeps it in place requiring obeisance. Such a mechanism is epistemic and so decolonial liberation implies epistemic disobedience". They argue that decolonial analytics is the exercise of "understanding the past to speak the present" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018:15). The study is particularly interested in the notion of "understanding the past to speak to the present" in the reading of the temporal representations of the three films, since their narratives involve explorations of the relationship between the past, present, and future. This study deploys the concept of decoloniality in Mignolo and

Walsh's (2018) conception. With the concept of decoloniality, the investigation is also interested in the link between gender and coloniality, contemplating it within a framework of how the films engage modernity.

In thinking about gender and coloniality, Lugones (2008:12) argues that the critical consideration of both biological dimorphism and the idea that biological sex is socially constructed by gender is crucial to the understanding of "the scope, depth, and characteristics of the colonial/modern gender system". Lugones (2008:13-14) highlights the racial bias of twentieth century feminism which "centered its struggle and its ways of knowing and theorizing against a characterization of women as fragile, weak in both body and mind, secluded in the private, and sexually passive", not cognisant that what they characteristics constructed was white womanhood, with those outside of this description excluded and understood "as animals in the deep sense of "without gender," sexually marked as female, but without the characteristics of femininity". Lugones (2008:13) argues that "White feminist struggle became one against the positions, roles, stereotypes, traits, desires imposed on white bourgeois women's subordination. No one else's gender oppression was countenanced". Lugones (2008:13) also observes that "the characterization of white European women as fragile and sexually passive opposed them to non-white, colonized women, including women slaves, who were characterized along a gamut of sexual aggression and perversion, and as strong enough to do any sort of labour". Lugones (2008) highlights the manner in which the gender system was racialised to exclude women of other races. It reinforced the colonial ideology which did know understood colonized people as devoid of humanity. The study will draw on these ideas in its reflection of how the women in the narrative are represented in the temporal representations of Nigeria and Senegalese.

Related to coloniality is the eurocentrism. In thinking about eurocentrism and the media, Stam and Shohat (2014:02) argue:

> As an ideological substratum common to colonialist, imperialist, and racial discourse, Eurocentrism is a form of vestigial thinking which permeates and structures contemporary practices and representations even after the formal end of colonialism.

Stam and Shohat (2014) differentiate between colonial discourse and Eurocentric discourse. They argue that the former explicitly justifies colonial practices and the latter "embeds, takes for granted, and "normalizes" the hierarchical power relations generated by colonialism and imperialism, without necessarily even thematizing those issues directly" (Stam and Shohat

2014:02). Stam and Shohat (2014) argue that the media absorb and reshape colonial discourse. Robert Stam and Ella Shohat (1994) extend postcolonial critique to film and media, analysing how colonial histories continue to shape visual narratives, and this exactly what I wish to do in this investigation.

The investigation of interested in the use of language. Reflecting on the pre-colonial Kenyan society, Ngũgĩ (1986) posits that songs, dance, and mime were central to dramatic expression. He uses the Agikuyu of Kenya's Ituika ceremony as an example of a culture that was characterized by this dramatic expression. Here, Ngũgĩ (1986) discusses the language of African theatre. He argues that in pre-colonial Kenya, drama was part of the rhythm of daily and seasonal life of the community (1986:37). He says that it was a moral instruction and a matter of communal survival (Ngũgĩ 1986:37). It could take place anywhere there was an empty space as opposed to a specific venue, and that this empty space was part of the tradition (Ngũgĩ1986:37).

Ngũgĩ (1986) posits that it was British colonization that destroyed this tradition, and this was accomplished through efforts by missionaries to demonize these traditions. Ceremonies like the Ituika were banned in 1925 (Ngũgĩ 1986:37). From 1952 to 1962 during the Mau Mau struggle, more than five people were considered to constitute a public gathering and therefore needed a license (Ngũgĩ 1986:37). Ngũgĩ (1986) argues that both the missionaries and the colonial administration destroyed the concept of the empty space by using the school system to try to capture and confine it to urban community halls which were supervised by the government, school halls, church building, and theatre buildings with the proscenium stage (37-38). Ngũgĩ (1986) also identifies prisons and detention camps as spaces that were used to confine 'empty space' in which political prisoners and detainees were encouraged to produce propaganda plays that favoured the colonial administration and were essentially anti-Mau Mau. The colonial administration encouraged Shakespeare plays in schools and radio drama where the African was a clown (Ngũgĩ 1986:38).

Ngũgĩ (1986) argues that with independence, more graduates joined schools and universities and that there was a gradual revolt, but it was still confined to the wall of the school, university premises, and the social halls, and to the boundaries of the English language. Ngũgĩ (1986) argues that this revolt took many forms: one was the sheer African petty-bourgeois assertion in the direction, writing, and performance of plays, and secondly, was a more nationalistic patriotic and anti-neocolonial, anti-imperialist content in plays. It also took the form of a more

nuanced criticism of the internal order (Ngũgĩ 1986:39). Ngũgĩ (1986) maintains that the biggest revolt was for the control of the Kenyan National Theatre in the fifties, which was largely dominated by British directors and amateur groups (39-40).

Ngũgĩ (1986) observes that Kenyan theatre in the seventies was attempting to break away from the colonial imperialist tradition whose symbols were the European-dominated Kenyan National Theatre, the Donavan Maule Theatre in Nairobi, and other similar centres in major towns. However, so argues Ngũgĩ (1986), its stumbling block was still its petty-bourgeois base in schools and universities from where came most of its actors, directors, and plays. He also argues that it was limited by the very colonial traditions they were trying to break away from in a sense that English was still used as the main medium of revolt and affirmation (Ngũgĩ 1986:41). "Original scripts, even the most radical, were written from the standpoint of the petty-bourgeois and theatre was still confined within walls" (Ngũgĩ 1986:41).

When it tried to break away from such confines, it proceeded with the assumption that theatre needed to be taken to the people, an assumption which was informed government fiction that the people were there to be given development especially if they behaved themselves (Ngũgĩ 1986:41). Ngũgĩ (1986) argues that the free development of the national traditions of theatre rooted in the ritual and ceremonial practices of the peasantry was stopped by imperialism. Ngũgĩ (1986) was against the use of English in theatre as a medium of expression. He demonstrates not only the pre-colonial modes of dramatic expression but also how such expression was contained by the colonial administration. Through Ngũgĩ's (1986) exploration of the language of Africa, we are given a glimpse of what constituted dramatic expression in pre-colonial Kenyan societies.

Ukadike (1994) made similar observations about pre-colonial African storytelling. Ukadike (1994) maintains that in pre-colonial African societies, oral ways of communication knowledge and national history existed, except among the Ethiopian and the Bamum and Vai people, as opposed to written records. Ukadike (1994) proceeds further to put modern cinema in conversation with the oral tradition. In his observation, there is a similarity of method of execution between the oral tradition and modern cinema (Ukadike 1994:24).

In cinematic storytelling, Ukadike (1994) identifies various cinematic procedures involved in the narrative construction: image organisation (editing), camera work, dialogue, mise-en-scene, image sound relationship, and voice-over or off-screen narration. He also observes that the oral tradition is presented in one or a combination of genres, such as the proverb, the riddle,

epic, the tale, the lyric poem, and heroic poetry (Ukadike (1994:24). Ukadike (1994) argues that oral traditions, whether regional or national, are ingrained in indigenous cultural values. Here, Ukadike (1994) highlights the proverb, the riddle, lyric poem, epic, and heroic poetry as genres of precolonial Africa. The genre also plays a role in the construction of narrative, and it also requires adequate exploration. There are several factors that shape how films are constructed, such as the political economy, everchanging market demands, and genre. I wish to explore how these all play such a role in production.

The notion of genre

Genre is one of the key elements that shape texts and shape audience expectations of texts. For the purpose of this investigation, I seek to uncover the ways in which genre shapes texts in the context of film production. It is for this reason that I wish to invoke Rick Altman for his conceptualization of genre. On *Film/Genre*, Altman (1999) describes genre as a complex concept with a plethora of meanings, which could be identified in four different ways: Genre as a blueprint, as structure, as a label, and as a contract. We might identify "genre as a blueprint, as a formula that precedes, programmes, and patterns industry production; genre as structure, as the formal framework on which individual films are founded; genre as a label, as the name of a category central to the decisions and communications of distributors and exhibitors; genre as a contract, as the viewing position required by its genre film of its audience" (Altman 1999).

Altman (1999) draws on Steven Neale's definition of genre as "patterns/forms/styles/structures which transcend individual films, and which supervise both their construction by the filmmaker and their reading by an audience". He posits that genre serves multiple functions, and that it is this ability to serve multiple functions that grants genre the power to establish privileged relations among cinema's numerous components (Altman 1999:14). Drawing on Thomas Schatz, Altman (1999) observes that film genres express social and aesthetic sensibilities of both the mass audience and Hollywood filmmakers.

Altman (1999) identifies two approaches in the conceptualization of genre: the Ritual approach and the Ideological approach. With the Ritual approach, Altman (1999) posits that the audiences are the primary producers of genres, and their productions are derived from the already existing practices in society. The Ideological approach defines narrative texts as tools operated by the state for ideological purposes vis-à-vis their people. Genres are not static; they change over time and societies also change. Langford (2005), in a chapter 'Before genre: Melodrama', posits that genre is always becoming, it is constantly evolving. Langford (2005),

drawing from Derrida, maintains that texts do not belong entirely to a single genre. Genre may be characterized by three tropes: Visual tropes, Narrative tropes, and Ideological tropes, which are visual, narrative, and ideological themes that characterize a genre.

As genre is considered by this study in its examination of films, it is crucial that it is vigorously interrogated as a Western category and literary form being applied in African contexts to reflect on whether Western concepts and categories of knowledge are relevant in African contexts, especially in understanding the African film. For this exercise, I wish to turn to Maria Helena Lima's Decolonizing Genre. Lima makes a critical intervention to this effect. In interrogating the use of genre in the Latin Americas, Lima demonstrates the coloniality of genre and how Latin Americans interact with genre in unique ways that seek to redefine it and make it relevant to their post-colonial identity. In essence, Lima (1993), in her analysis, shows that the use of genre transforms as it enters different cultural contexts. Films in post-colonial societies will interact with genres in ways that are unique to their situation. The Eurocentric nature of genre needs to be interrogated because film is a Western invention based on Western cultural norms and artistic standards.

Decolonizing Genre

Lima (1993) recognizes that generic categories and conventions are informed by European standards, which ignore issues of race, class, nationality gender, sexuality, and location. She argues that it will always be impossible to read or write any text outside generic conventions, assumptions, or expectations (Lima 1993:432). Lima (1993) argues that the notion of genre becomes central to reading post-colonial literature since literary genres and produced and reproduced by different cultures, at different times, to serve purposes that are specific to those cultures. However, she stresses the importance of redefining generic categorizations to account for the distinction of experiences and representation in similar generic parameters (Lima 1993:432).

According to Lima (1993), narrative forms change as the world assumes new configurations. This means that as new social and political contexts become available, some do new narrative forms. In accounting for generic transformations, Lima (1993) is critical of the reluctance evinced by most European-trained critics to turn to explanations that rely on external sources, opting instead to emphasize what they deem internal, mediated, or literary causes. She argues that post-colonial writers have had to invent their own stories and mythologies to translate their complex heritage (Lima 1993:433). According to Lima (1993), genres function as prisms in

the mirror 'which impose their own shape on the reality they attempt to describe', and as such, the novel form may limit the kinds of subjectivity that can be formed within its generic parameters. This is relevant to this investigation's treatment of genre as a factor shaping how films are produced because it evinces this very ability of genre to shape the form which films are constituted into. In an attempt to bring new stories or their "new" self to being, so argues Lima (1993), many post-colonial authors have contradictorily deployed the Bildungsroman.

In reading Jamaica Kincaid's Annie John (1985), Lima (1993) interrogates this choice by post-colonial writers. She believes that the Bildungsroman reproduces the cultural imperialism that ineludibly sunders the Third World intellectual from the culture and community of his or her birth (Lima 1993:434). Lima (1993:434) argues that "the traditional Bildungsroman goal of accommodation to the existing society, of ending the novel with a character's premise stand and assessment of himself and his place in society is even less possible in the Caribbean context, where a history of foreign domination, slavery, colonialism, and imperialism parallels a not so evident heritage of revolt, resistance, and struggle to assert cultural and intellectual freedom".

This conception by Lima (1993) is useful to this investigation in asking questions about film generic choices and their compatibility with the cinematic locales, which cannot be treated independently of their history. As this study will argue, films are shaped by a plethora of factors, such as history, political economy, culture, or beliefs. By "decolonizing genre", Lima (1993) attempts to offer another story about the Bildungsroman invoked by the novel of Caribbean women writers. Lima (1993) stresses the need to understand the post-colonial condition as a generative principle present in, sometimes constituting the generic centre, various extended narratives. I believe that the post-colonial position is also important in approaching or understanding African cinema. This post-colonial needs to be interrogated to further understand issues reflected upon by this investigation, such as the decolonization of knowledge regimes.

We cannot speak of decolonization without first dealing with colonialism. What denotes coloniality and colonialism? Colonialism refers to an economic and political relation that is characterized by the sovereignty of a nation or people resting on the power of another nation, making it an empire (Maldonado-Torres 2007:243). According to Maldonado-Torres (2007:243), coloniality refers to "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production

well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations". Coloniality survives colonialism (Maldonado-Torres 2007:243). Maldonado-Torres (2007) argues that it is maintained in "books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. As modern subjects, so argues Maldonado-Torres (2007:243), "We breathe coloniality all the time and every day". The principles and politics of decolonial theory will be used to reflect on how the films in making new myths about Africa engage with the colonial legacies of their societies. I also hope to reflect on the need to decolonize film practice and scholarship in African societies.

Mbembe (1992) uses the term 'postcolony' to identify societies emerging out of colonization and the violence that characterizes the colonial relationship. He defines it as "a specific system of signs, a particular way of fabricating simulacra or reforming stereotypes (Mbembe 1992:03). What also makes up the postcolony is various corporate institutions and political machinery which, once established, comprise a distinctive regime of violence (Mbembe 1992:03). In accounting for both the mind-set and effectiveness of post-colonial relations of power, Mbembe (1992) argues for the need to move beyond the binary categories in interpreting domination, such as autonomy versus subjections, resistance versus passivity, totalization versus detotalization, state versus civil society, hegemony versus counter-hegemony. Mbembe (1992) maintains that this clouds our understanding of post-colonial relations.

In my interaction with the leading literature, I have encountered instances where the notion of the West versus Africa has been deployed in the analysis of filmic representations. For instance, such studies have accused Western films of misrepresenting Africa. Thus, the interest of this study is developed from there. It seeks to study such instances of conflict in African films to ask questions about how they make new myths about Africa vis-à-vis their experiences of colonialism, which was brought upon them by European powers. The relationship between Africa and this experience of colonialism is not linear, but one with complexities, as Africans simultaneously embrace and reject features of the colonial regime. Mbembe (1992) argues correctly that postcolonial subjects represent themselves as changing their persona and always undergoing mitosis. It is also evident in the way state power organizes itself, in the way it functions, as Mbembe (1992) posits. What this study is merely asking is how films engage with the legacies of colonialism in the making of new myths about Nigeria and Senegal. Mbembe (1992) helps us in thinking about and understanding the complexities of post-colonial relations of power in modern African societies.

In the postcolonial relationship, the dominant and the dominated are both negatively affected. Mbembe (1992) calls this the mutual zombification of the dominant and the dominated, which meant that each robbed the other of their vitality, leaving both impotent. Mbembe (1992) is concerned with how, in the postcolony, state power functions to manifest itself and he refers to the use of occasions in Cameroonian society. On such occasions, so argues Mbembe (1992), state power dramatizes its magnificence via ceremonies for the spectacle of its subjects. The postcolony consists of many public spaces and people in this postcolony have had to possess the ability to manage multiple identities which are flexible enough for negotiation as and when required (Mbembe 1992:4-5). For Mbembe (1992), postcolonial subjects break from their identities and represent themselves as always changing their persona, hence it would be wrong to interpret postcolonial relationships as a function of binary oppositions.

Mbembe (1992) posits that one of the clear characteristics of post-colonial regimes is the state's obsession to remake the past in its own image. Mbembe (1992) identifies such instances in Ahidjo's presidency in Cameroon through the installation of portraits of the head of state in public places and the renaming of public infrastructure and spaces, as well as the attribution of titles such as 'Father of the Nation'. After leaving office, Mbembe (1992) observed a similar practice in the regime that succeeded Ahidjo by making possible efforts to banish him from official memory. According to Mbembe (1992), the effigy of the head of state can be found in people's houses, as part of the furniture, and as a decorative object, in offices, airport terminals, along avenues, in police stations, and places of torture. It is on people's bodies through the wearing of the party's cloths, and it is in this way that state power finds ways of getting into its people' most intimate spaces (Mbembe 1992:19).

This investigation, drawing on Mbembe's (1992) ideas, will explore how state power, via the use of policies, operating within, to a certain extent, dictating the political economy, finds ways of getting into filmic spaces. This means asking questions about the role of state power in the production of films. This relates to the way state power allocates a set of rules or laws, which are made in its image in inception, to dictate the political space for film, defining its limitations, its dos and don'ts.

Political economy

According to Hardy (2014:03), "the political economy of communications describes all forms of enquiry into the political and economic dimensions of communication". Political economy originally referred to an economic school of thought which sought to address the production, distribution, and consumption of resources used to aid human existence (Hardy 2014:04).

According to Hardy (2014:04), "political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly power relations that manually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources". The critical political economy of the media explores how the political and economic organization of media industries shape the production and circulation of meaning, and links to the distribution of symbolic and material resources that make it possible for people to communicate, understand, and act in a world (Hard 2014:09). The study will proceed with the critical political economy of the media. The concept of the critical political economy and decoloniality share a connection in this study, as the former takes brings into question the context in which the films are produced and the latter foreground issues of history and modernity.

Hardy (2014) argues that this has three main implications for examining media. First, the focus is placed on ownership, finance, advertising, and other support mechanisms, as well as on how government action and policies, and other organizations shape and influence the content and behaviour of the media (Hardy 2014:03). This is the political economy that this study refers to and wishes to explore vis-à-vis African film industries, as one of the factors that influence how films are produced. Secondly, the focus is on how the media is organized: state, public, commercial, and their complex combinations (Hardy 2014:09). Lastly, the emphasis is on the relationships between communication systems and media content, and the wider structure of society (Hardy 2014:09). Hardy (2014) argues that the key to understanding any type of media is to address how it is produced, distributed, and how it is located vis-à-vis the dominant social structure. These ideas are useful to the investigation because they through them, the study can ask questions about why the films imagine Nigeria and Senegal the way they do. They are useful in contemplating the role played by ownership and distribution patterns or structures of Nigeria and Senegal in influencing film productions. The study takes the political economy of Nigeria and Senegal into account when making sense of their imaginaries.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This research analyses three films, *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*), Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), and *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)*. This study is a mixed methods research study because it involves the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods in the form of content analysis and multi-modal analysis. Mixed methods research refers to a research design that employs both qualitative and quantitative data to answer a question or set of questions (Hesse-Biber 2010:03). This combination of methods, according to Hesse-Biber (2010:03), "involves the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative data in a single or multiphase study. Hesse-Biber (2010) argues that mixed methods research is a rich field for the combination of data because, with it, images, words, and narratives can be utilized to add meaning to numbers. According to Hesse-Biber (2010), this research design allows the results to be consolidated for future studies and examinations.

Content analysis refers to the "systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Leavy 2020:541). This type of analysis includes both computer-aided text analysis and human-coded analysis, but these do not apply to this study. This method allows this study to analyse the repeated and quantifiable occurrence of words, or images in these films in how they construct their stories. This will help in explaining the narrative and aesthetic conventions applied by the films in imaging Africa. It is important to have a count of this material because it provides a measurable perspective about the ways in which films manufacture myths about Nigeria and Senegal.

According to Dicks (2019), multimodal analysis refers to the process of interpreting and understanding qualitative data that involves both verbal and nonverbal forms of information. It is concerned with texts that are characterized by interaction and integration of multiple semiotic sources (Bo 2018:01). This method will be used to thoroughly study different aspects of a film, such as images, sound, dialogue, visual symbols, costume, and music. Mixed methods research is appropriate for this study because it poses a complex and layered question. Its ability to integrate multiple data sources can assist in studying complex problems (Dawadi et al 2021:27). This method allows for a comprehensive understanding of the films that might be missed by a single method. It allows the study to identify patterns in the representations of the films. Critics of this method argue that the two approaches are incompatible because they have different conception of reality and truth (Dawadi et al 2021:33). It is also criticised for its lack of focus as it involves a lo of data (Dawadi et al 2021:33).

There are no ethical issues in this study because it interrogates creative works that are publicly available for consumption without intruding on any private or confidential information. There are no human participants in this study, removing any concerns about confidentiality and consent. Since the study only analyses films, no individual is exposed to harm in the completion of the investigation.

This research will analyse 3 films. These films are *Tatu* (2017), *Atlantics* (2019), and *The Lost Okoroshi* (2019). From each film, I will select several scenes to analyse in relation to how they make new myths about Africa. This analysis will seek to answer questions in 4 keys areas: Language, clothing, music, and religious practices. In the analysis, this study will attempt to answer questions how these are deployed in myth making. In this case, I will analyse how they advance ideas about African political realities, religion, and way of life, and how they portray African subjects to reflect on how they construct African identity. I will first analyse these films independently and then contrast them. I will analyse the films from the earliest to latest production. The weakness is that the method only considers the cinematic material (sound, visuals, words etc) provided by the films and does not consider the context in which these films are produced. However, this is adequately explored in the discussion about the political economy of film industries and the general value economy of societies from which these film texts emanate.

Reliability and validity are ensured by ascertaining the accuracy of the data from the film by not merely recording occurrences, but also the context of such occurrences in terms of where they take place and how (see Appendix B).The collected data is analysed through a multimodal analysis to go beyond mere occurrence to consider how the filmic elements that were scrutinized were deployed in the creation of the imaginary.

In the analysis, this study attempts to answer questions on how these are deployed in mythmaking. In this case, I analyse how they advance ideas about African political realities, religions, and ways of life, and how they portray African people. I first analyse these films independently and then contrast them in order to extract patterns of similarities and differences. I will analyse the films from the earliest to the latest production.

The content analysis is structured into several cinematic elements. The elements or categories that frame the content analysis represent a collection of key cinematic elements which form part of the films under scrutiny and are of interest to the study. The aims of the study informed the coding elements. These elements include language, clothing, music, mention or reference

to the colonial past, portrayal of religious practices (indigenous African and Western), portrayal of the conflict between religions, depiction of people, and violence, as depicted by the table below.

Table 1 Coding Labels

Coding Guide

Code 1 – The use of indigenous African languages.

Code 2 – The use of western languages.

Code 3 – The appearance of African traditional clothing.

Code 4 – The appearance of western clothing.

Code 5 – Indigenous African music/sounds.

Code 6 – Western music/sounds.

Code 7 – Mention or reference to colonial past.

Code 8 – Images of Christian practices, subjects, or objects.

Code 9 – Images of African religious practices, subjects, or objects.

Code 10 – The portrayal of the conflict between Christianity and African religious practices.

Code 11 – Nigerian/Senegalese citizen heroes – Nigerian/Senegalese citizens doing heroic things

Code 12 –Villain Nigerian/Senegalese citizen - Nigerian and Senegalese citizens doing Villainous things

Code 13 – Nigerian/Senegalese politicians as heroes – Nigerian/Senegalese politicians doing heroic things

Code 14 – Villain Nigerian/Senegalese politicians- Nigerian and Senegalese politicians doing Villainous things

Code 15 – Portrayal of violence in Nigerian/Senegalese settings.

a) Physical violence
b) Images of weapons e.g. knife, gun
c) Verbal violence e.g. cursing

This study is not only interested in what new myths are created by the films, but also how these myths are created within a context of global Western cultural hegemony and coloniality. It seeks to understand the narrative strategies and aesthetics devices deployed in the making of myths about Nigeria and Senegal, foregrounding how the films engage with the relationship between Western and indigenous African cultures. It is interested in which cultural elements (African or Western) are utilized in imagining Nigeria and Senegal, and what this reveals about their perception of history and modernity. This means investigating the cultural elements that dominate the way the imaginary is created by identifying every occurrence of these elements

to reflect on how the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western cultures is perceived. This makes content analysis a useful method to deploy. The films are analysed visually and narratively, and this analysis is put in conversation with the data.

Most post-colonial African societies are still dealing with legacies of colonialism and Western hegemony in the fields of culture, politics, and economics; and these find their way into filmic spaces. Language is one of the various aspects of the post-colonial African societies where legacies of colonialism are evident. Most of these societies, as Ngũgĩ (1986) articulates in his submission on *Decolonizing the Mind*, find the state of their indigenous languages in a precarious condition where they are subordinate to Western or colonial languages. This subordinate position that these indigenous languages occupy operates at the service of neo-colonialism and global capitalism, and artistic productions are not completely immune from this condition. Global capitalism and its market forces define the terms of participation in the global film economy. Its homogenizing machinery has made it so that in order for films outside the West to participate in the global economy, they have to appeal to Western sensibilities.

The consideration of language as a category of analysis allows this investigation to explore how the three films negotiate the relationship between indigenous African languages and Western languages. Preference of one language or cultural practice over another is not necessarily a matter of cultural hegemony or colonial vestiges but could be seen as a commercial choice to access global markets, as film is business, but it does highlight the legacies of colonialism, as Western languages are available to Nigerian and Senegalese societies as a result of colonialism. This will also frame the approach to categories such as clothing and music. African clothing in this study is understood as indigenous and traditional forms of clothing. Approaching content analysis this way will help this study to answer how these films envisage a relationship between indigenous African and Western cultures.

Religion is also one of the aspects of the post-colonial African societies that continue to be shaped by colonial relations. One of the legacies of colonialism is the conflict between indigenous African religions and Christianity. This is not merely a historical phenomenon; it is also a present condition in some modern African societies. I wish to investigate the portrayal of religions in the three films to uncover how they envisage the relationship between indigenous African religions and Western religions. The category of religion will also aid this research in framing a critical turn in which reductive binary oppositions are challenged in the approach to understanding post-colonial relations.

The inclusion violence as a coding element is informed by the literature, which argued that Western films depicted African spaces through the lenses of a "dark continent, with themes of violence being central to it. The study seeks to investigate the depiction of violence in African self-representations and how they shape the Nigerian and Senegalese imaginaries.

Since the concern of this study is representation, the people of Nigerian and Senegalese societies, as well as their spaces, are crucial considerations. This is in response to the leading literature, whose concern is the misrepresentation and devaluing of black African people. I wish to investigate whether *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)*, *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)*, and *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* counter or augment Westernized hegemonic discourses about Africa.

These categories are selected in order to frame the study to answer questions about how Nigerian and Senegalese films imagine and mythologize Nigeria and Senegal. This investigation is concerned with the relationship between African and Western cultures, as well as their impact on African film production. The weakness that is then revealed in this study is that cultures and practices that do not neatly fit within the scope of what is considered Western are not considered factors shaping the character of African film. These include Arab and Asian influences on African film production. The weakness of these methods is that they only consider the cinematic material provided by the films and do not consider the context in which these films are produced. I address this weakness through my exploration of the political economy and history.

In the above chapters, I have addressed the aim and significance of studying how African films make new myths about Africa. I have discussed different studies about the imaginary and discussed the concept of the social imaginary in terms of what it entails, as well as its usefulness to the study of the cinematic imaginaries and myths of Nigeria and Senegal. I have also explored the history of African cinema. In this case, the study has discussed the origins of African cinema, how it emerged, and the reason for its emergence. The reason for such an exploration is that it is important to understand how cinema in Africa began if we are to understand how African cinema is today. I have also explored how Africa and Africans have been portrayed by the cinema of the Western world, such as Hollywood, wherein it was found that there have been different ways in which Africa and Africans have been depicted by films, and these evolved through time.

I have also discussed different studies undertaken on how films imagine Africa. It was found that these studies mostly focussed on how the Western world or Western films imagine Africa, but when they consider African films, they mostly consider the documentary genre. This study has highlighted this as a gap that it seeks to address by investigating how Nigerian and Senegalese films mythologize about their respective societies by also considering other genres, as these are different film industries with a plethora of films produced, which are worthy of investigating their contribution to the broader imagination of Africa and Africans. The study is driven by a belief that cultural or artistic productions reflect the values, beliefs, or issues of the communities in which they are produced. It is in this spirit that African films are studied in relation to how they imagine African societies, and if studied, these films will reveal how Africans imagine themselves. I have discussed both the advantages and disadvantages of each method and addressed them. I have also discussed the significance of this study on ideas about the decolonization of knowledge regimes and practices. In the following chapters, I present the findings of the content analysis conducted on the films. This is followed by four analytical chapters: Language, space, power, and violence; Culture, religion, and identity; Villainy, innocence, and citizenship; Past, present, and future.

Chapter 4: Coding Data Findings

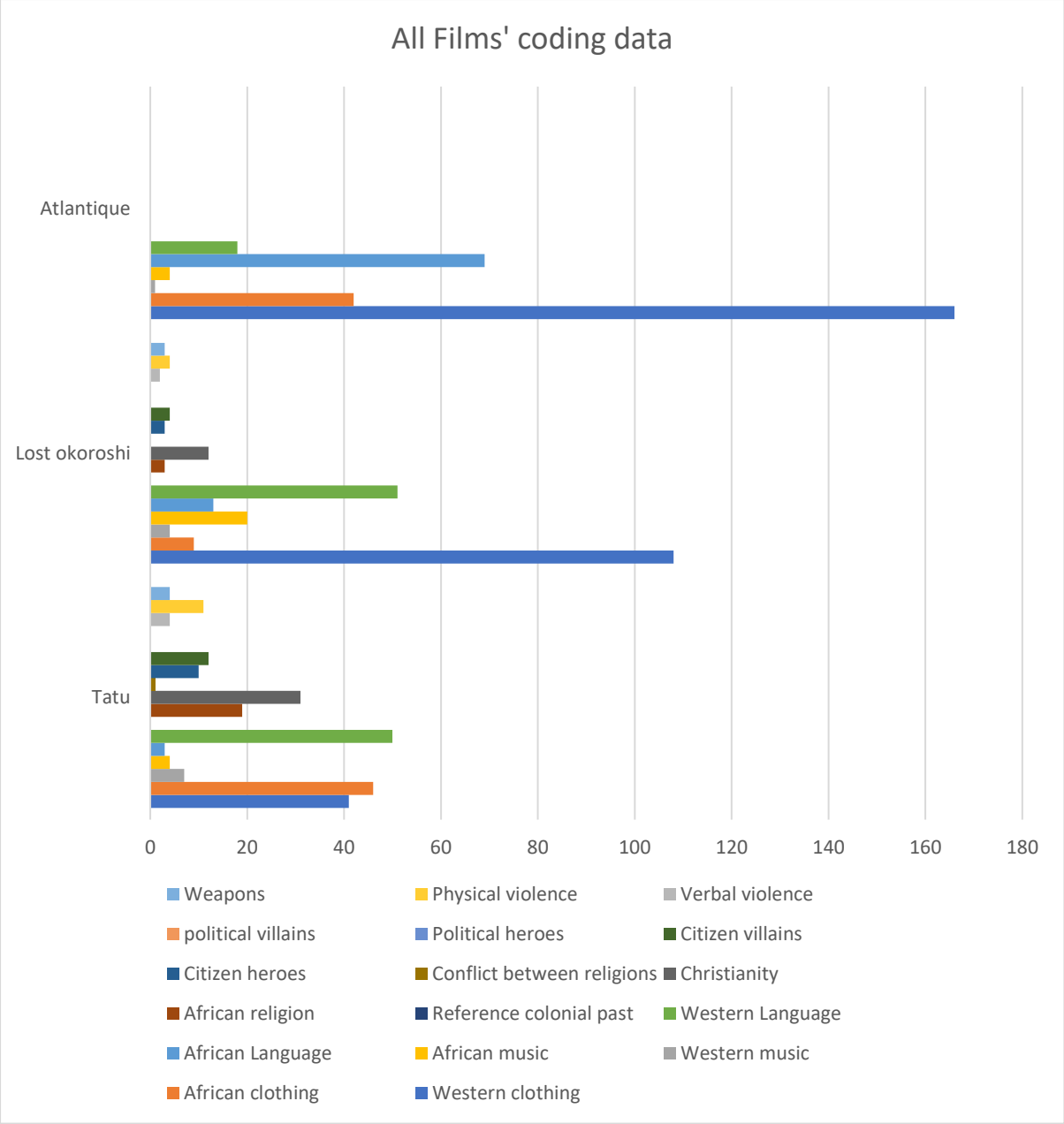
In the beginning of this account, I set out to investigate how Nigerian and Senegalese films imagine Nigerian and Senegalese people, spaces, and cultures. In the process, I sought to answer the following questions through the study of three films: What narrative strategies and aesthetic devices do these films deploy in visualising African spaces and people? How do these African films depict the people of Nigeria and Senegal? How do these three films envisage the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western culture? This study was structured in the form of themes with which content analysis was undertaken. In this chapter, I present the findings of the content analysis vis-à-vis *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)*, *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)*, and *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)*. This presentation of the findings is undertaken in the form of codes. These codes include Language, clothing, music, mention or reference to colonial past, portrayal of religious practices (African indigenous and western), portrayal of the conflict between religions, depiction of people, and violence. The presentation of these findings is followed by a substantiation of how each result relate to the research questions posed by this study. The tables and figures below present a summary visualization of the findings. The numbers represent the number of times that the themes occur in a scene. For a much more detailed and granular account of the data, please refer to page 148.

Table 2 Overview of the results.

Codes	Tatu	The Lost Okoroshi	Atlantics
Code 1: The use of indigenous African languages	**0**	**29**	**40**
Code 2: The use of Western languages	**44**	**49**	**11**
Code 3: The appearance of African traditional clothing	**53**	**46**	**49**
Code 4: The appearance of Western clothing	**40**	**76**	**139**
Code 5: African music/sounds	**9**	**24**	**4**
Code 6: Western music/sounds	**4**	**9**	**3**
Code 7: mention or reference to colonial past	**0**	**0**	**0**
Code 8: Images of Christian practices, subjects, or objects	**34**	**17**	**0**
Code 9: Images of indigenous African religious practices, subjects, or objects	**17**	**39**	**0**
Code 10: Fights (verbal, physical) between Christian subjects and indigenous African religious subjects	**1**	**0**	**0**
Code 11: African citizen heroes/ Africans doing heroic things	**3**	**2**	**1**

Code 12: Villain African citizens/ Africans doing villainous things	**5**	**4**	**1**
Code 13: African politicians as heroes or doing heroic things	**0**	**0**	**0**
Code 14: African politicians as villains or doing villainous things	**0**	**0**	**0**
Code 15: Portrayal of violence in African settings	**24**	**10**	**0**
a. Physical violence	**10**	**3**	**0**
b. Images of weapons e.g. knife, guns	**14**	**2**	**0**
c. Verbal violnce e.g. cursing		**5**	**0**

Figure 1 Coding data comparison.

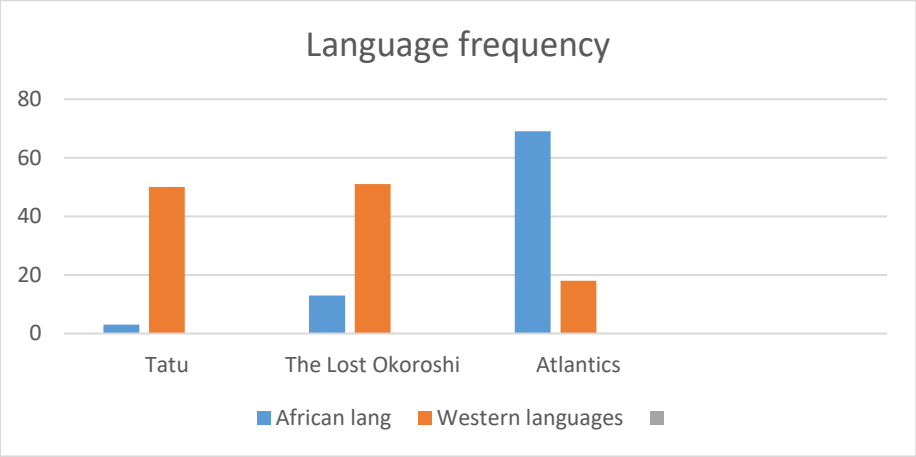


Languages

The data collected through content analysis for *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* shows a disparity in the use of western and African languages. The languages used in the film are Igbo and English. The former has just three occurrences and the latter has 50 occurrences. A similar trend can be observed in *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* where African languages (Igbo) have 13 occurrences and Western languages (English) have 51 occurrences. What can be observed in *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* is a different trend than the one in *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* and *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)*. In *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* there are three

languages used; one is an African language and two are western languages. These languages are Wolof, French, and English. Wolof has 69 occurrences, French has 15, and English has three occurrences. These results will allow this investigation to contemplate the type of relationship that the three films envisage between African and Western cultures. They will also facilitate the answer to one of the fundamental concerns of the research: Do the films counter or augment Westernized hegemonic discourses and views about Africans, their spaces, and cultures. Language is deeply embedded in culture and carries its wealth and memory. Thus, this category of results is considered in addressing this fundamental concern. The first analytical chapter will make reference to this data in the analysis of the three films.

Figure 2 Language frequency.

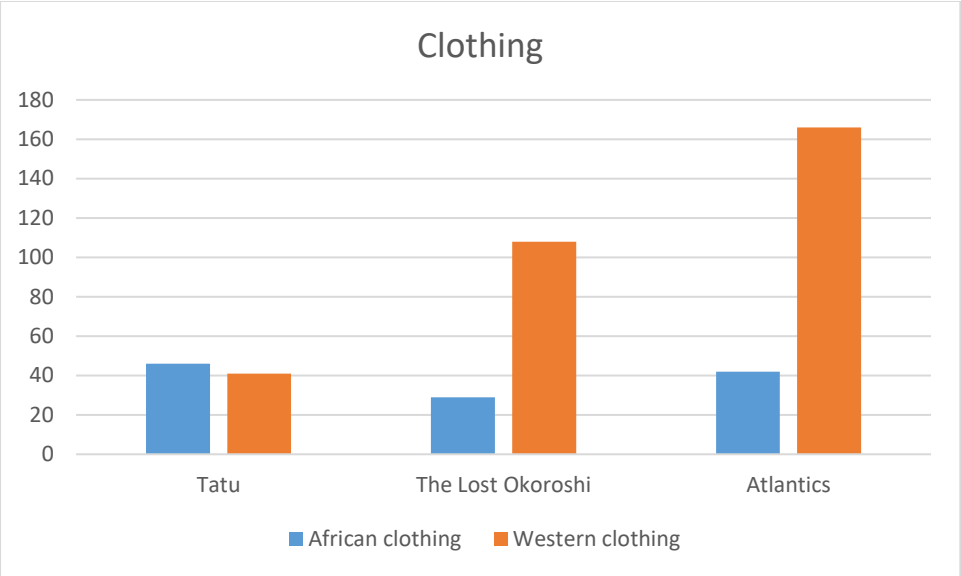


Clothing

*Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* had 46 occurrences of African clothing and 41 occurrences of Western clothing. *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* had total of 29 occurrences of African clothing and 108 occurrences of Western clothing. *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* had 42 occurrences of African clothing and 166 of Western clothing. The data collected on *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* and *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* indicates a huge disparity compared to the data collected on *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)*. This can be attributed to the stylistic approach adopted by the three films. Both *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* and *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* make use of montages, which comprise of a series of shots and rapid succession of images, condensing more information in a short period of time. This category of results relates to the research questions in a way that presents material from which

to discern and distill the relationship between African and Western cultures. It will aid this study in reflecting upon the manner in which the three films navigate the colonial legacies and Western cultural influences in their respective societies.

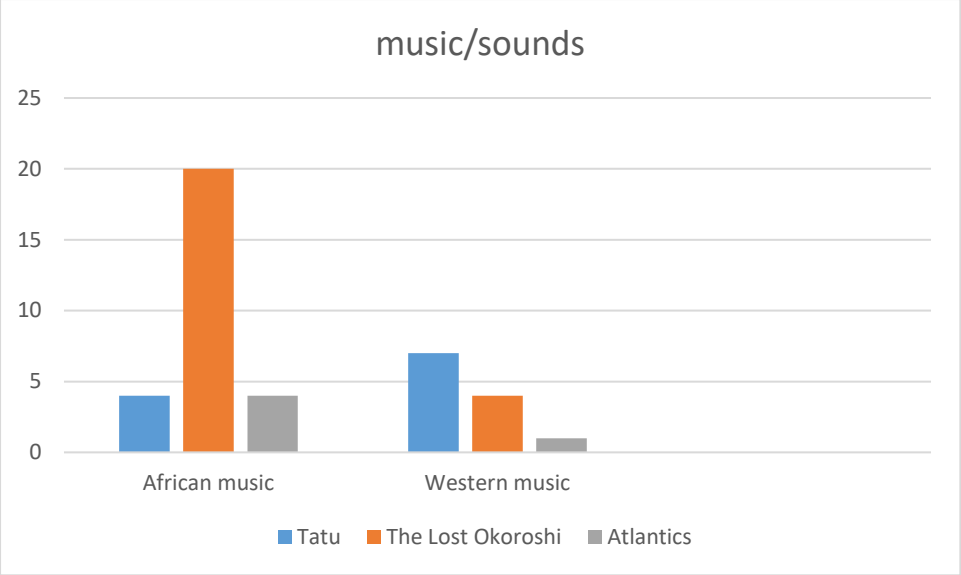
Figure 3 Clothing frequency.



Music

*Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* had four occurrences for African music/sounds and seven occurrences for Western music. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) had 20 occurrences of African music and four occurrences of Western music. *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* had four occurrences of African music and one occurrence of Western music. The rest of the sounds in the films were instruments which could not be easily defined. Music forms part of the broader cultural economy of any society. Thus, the type of music deployed in films, to a certain extent, is telling of the cultural trajectories of the societies from which the films emanate. It is these cultural trajectories that the research is interested in. These results partly reveal the narrative devices that are utilized to visualize Nigeria and Senegal.

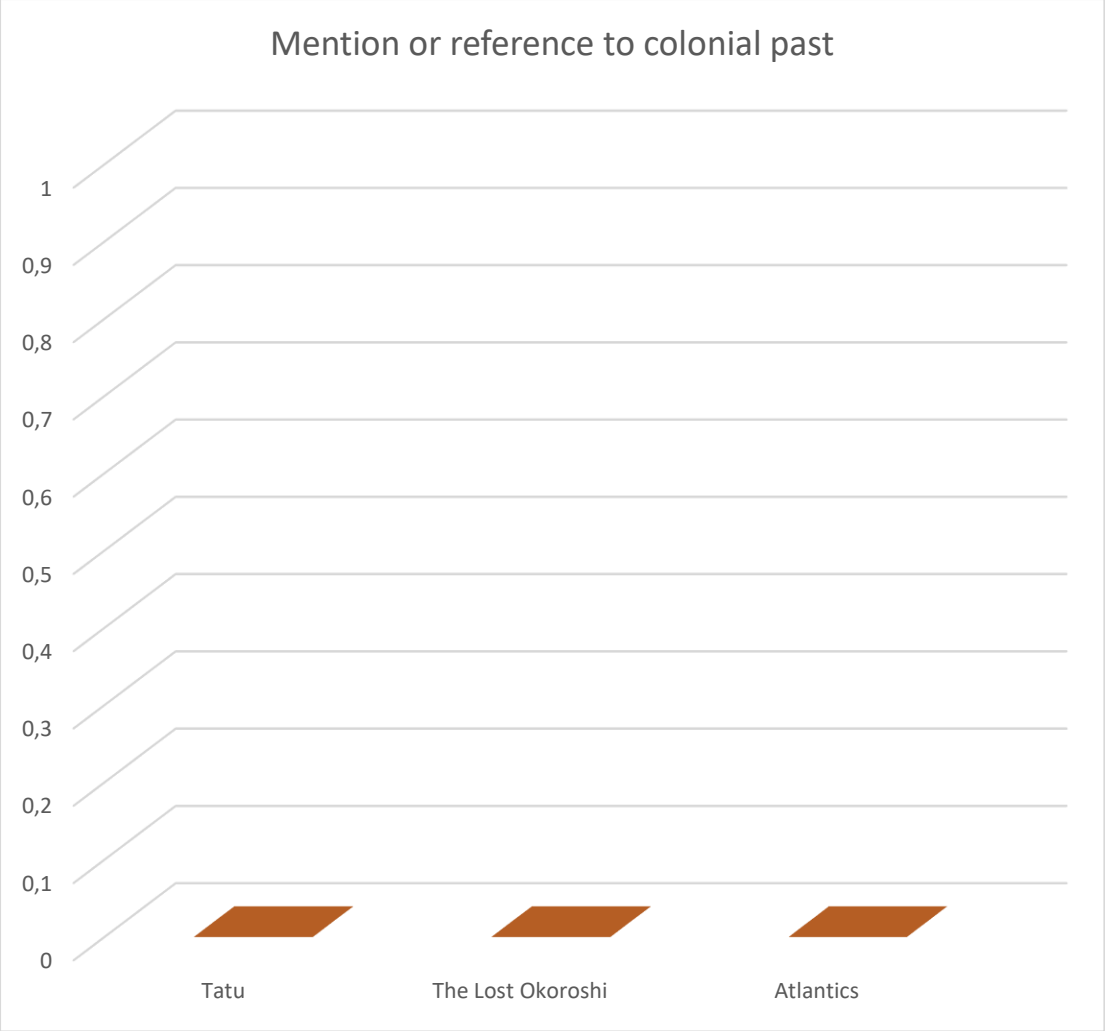
Figure 4 Music frequency.



Mention or reference to colonial past.

Neither of the three films directly mention or make reference to the colonial past of their respective societies.

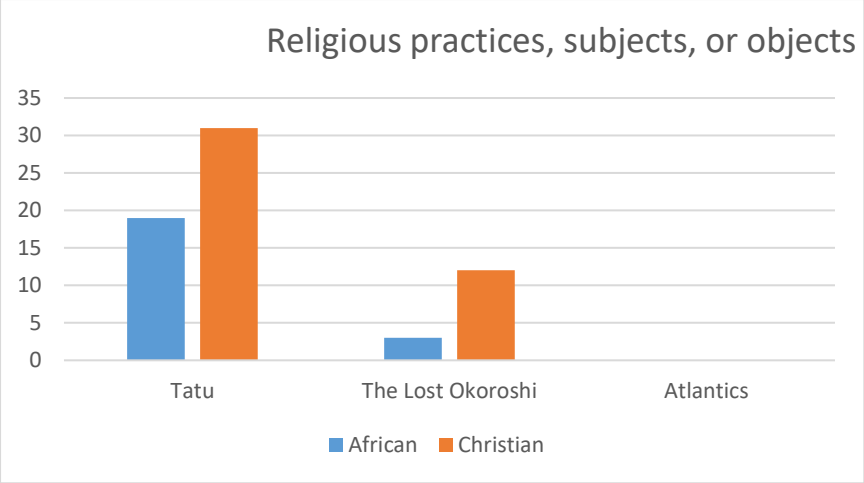
Figure 5 Mention or reference to colonial past.



Portrayal of religious practices

In quantifying the portrayal of religious practices, people, and objects, the data collected indicates that *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* had 19 occurrences of indigenous African religions and 31 occurrences of Christian practices, people, and objects. *The Lost Okoroshi (*Abba Makama, 2019*)* had three occurrences of indigenous African religions and 12 occurrences of Christian practices, people, and objects. In contrast, *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* had no occurrence of both Christian and indigenous African religious practices, people, and objects. The reason Christianity is the only consideration as a Western religion is its colonial genesis in many African societies.

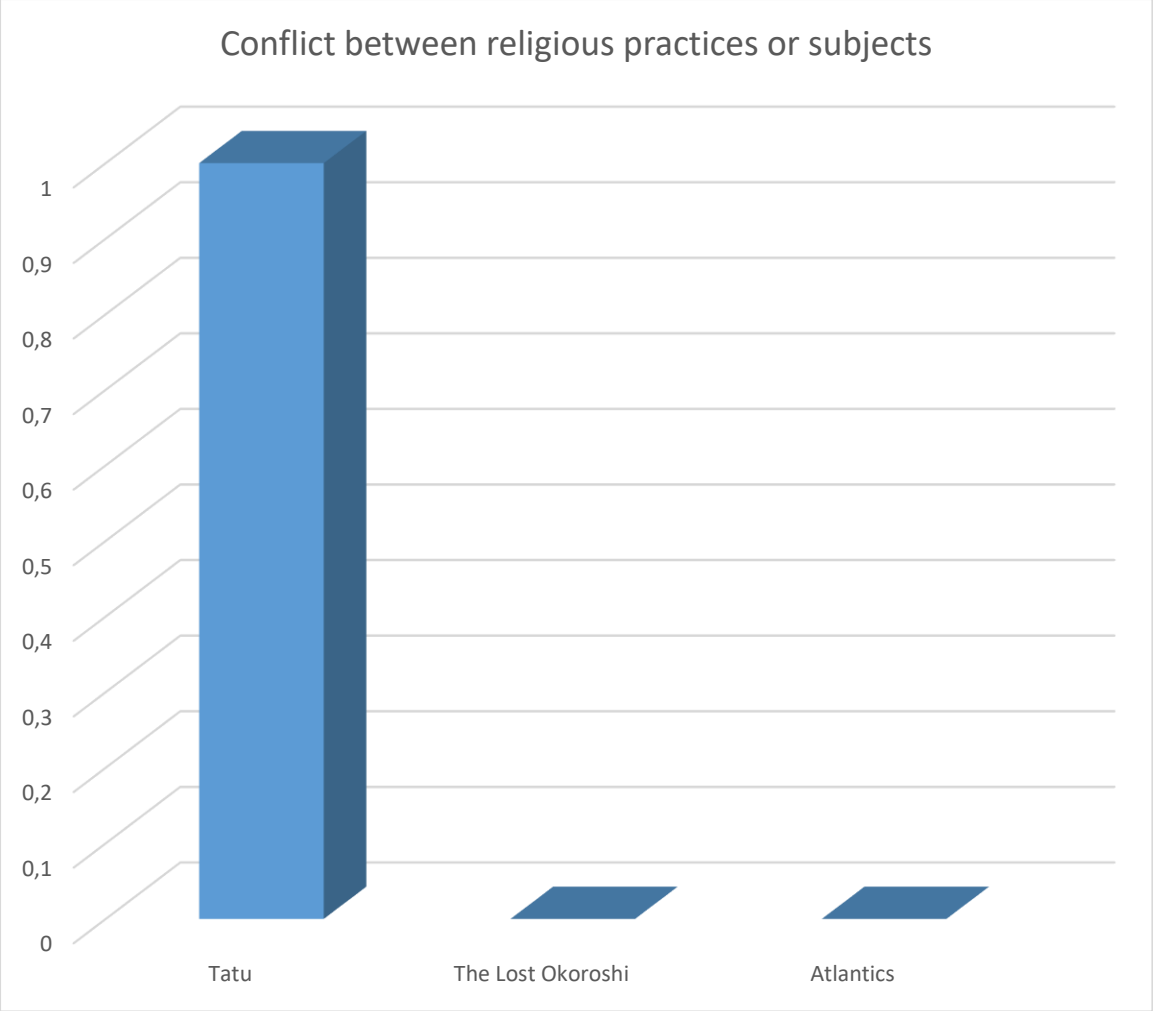
Figure 6 Religious practices, people, or objects.



Conflict between religious practices

In the case of the portrayal of the conflict between indigenous African and Western religious practices and people, *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017*)* had one occurrence. Both *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) and *Atlantics (*Mati Diop, 2019*)* had no portrayal of the conflict between indigenous African and Western religious practices and people. This data relates to the research questions because it reveals how the films directly confront the colonial legacies of the societies in the field of religion. This data also reveals the manner in which the three films visualize and mythologize about Africans in the context their post-colonial situation.

Figure 7 Conflict between religious practices or people.



Depiction of people

For the depiction of citizens, *Tatu (*Don Omope, 2017) had 10 occurrences of citizens being portrayed as heroic and 12 occurrences of them being portrayed as villainous. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) three occurrences of citizens being depicted as heroic, and 4 occurrences of citizens being portrayed as villainous. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) had no occurrence of citizens being portrayed as either heroic or villainous. All the three films had no occurrence of political citizens being depicted as either heroic or villainous. This data will aide this investigation in tracing moments of self-denigration, which relates to how the films navigate the colonial legacies and whether they counter or augment westernized hegemonic discourses about Africans and their spaces.

Figure 8 Portrayal of citizens.

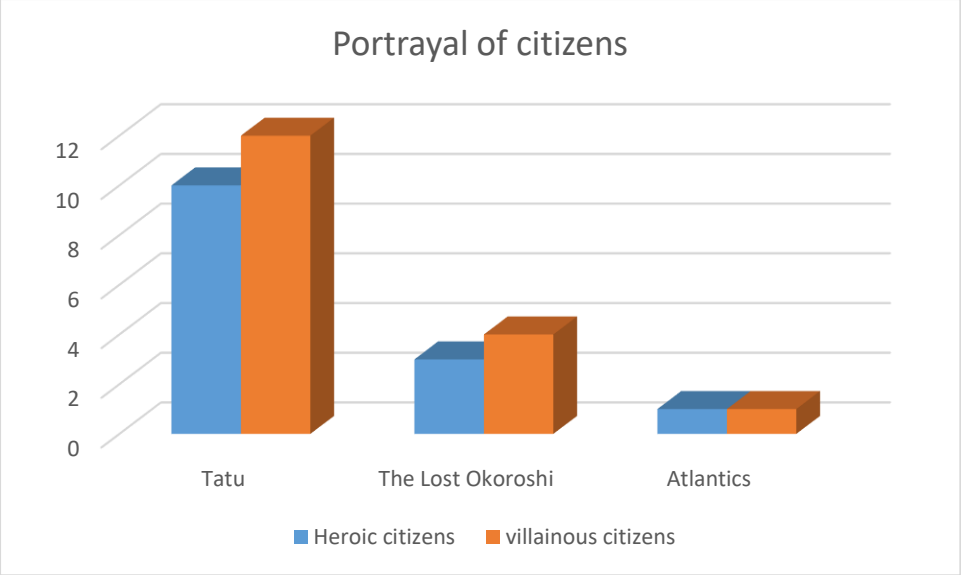
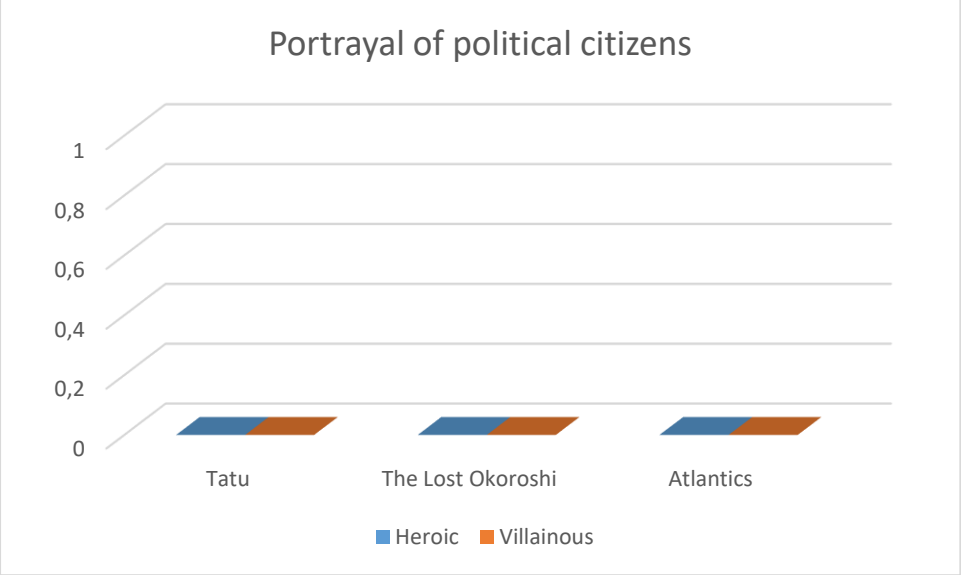


Figure 9 Portrayal of political figures.

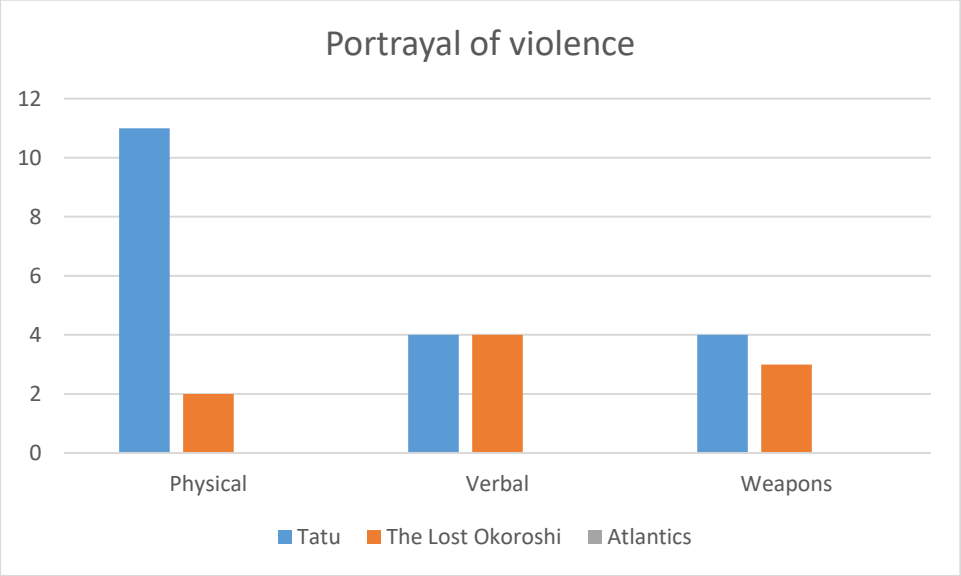


Violence

The portrayal of violence was divided into three aspects: physical, verbal, and weapons. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) had 11 occurrences of physical violence, four occurrences of verbal violence and 4 occurrences of weapons. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) has two

occurrences of physical violence, four occurrences of verbal violence, and three occurrences of weapons. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) had no occurrence of violence.

Figure 10 Violence frequency.



In the next analytical chapters, I will attempt to answer various questions in my analysis of the films. First, I will attempt to answer if there are tensions that exist in the way African films imagine Africa? Here, I will investigate how African films envisage the relationship between African and western culture. I will explore whether this relationship is characterized by conflict or convergence/mutual hybridization. As I had articulated earlier, some films have been found, by various scholarship, to favour western modes of being at the expense of African modes of being. In this way, I will explore the languages and the aesthetics of power and visibility in the films and analyse these vis-a-vis those of powerlessness and invisibility, while moving beyond these dichotomies to reflect on the complexities that make such a condition possible. Secondarily, I will subject these films to vigorous scrutiny to make a determination of how they portray Nigeria and Senegal in relation to their colonial history. I seek to uncover how these films engage with this history in the imagination of their present socio-political, economic, and cultural context. It is important to ask these questions because they will reveal how and why Nigerian and Senegalese film imagine Nigeria and Senegal in the manner that

they do. They also allow for a thorough exploration of their given historical culture contexts, and these contexts inform their imaginations.

The second question that these analytical chapters will address in this analysis is how these films depict the people of Nigeria and Senegal. The literature has provided a critique of how western films have portrayed African people. It was found that western films produced negative myths and stereotypes about African people, spaces, and cultures. Thus, I will attempt to unravel whether *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) are complicit in reinforcing western hegemonic interpretations and depictions of African people. I will explore if there are any archetypal or stereotypical character tropes that are deployed by these films in the imagination of the people of Nigeria and Senegal. It is important to address these questions because they will enable this study to make a determination on whether these films counter or augment westernized hegemonic discourses about Africans.

The third question that will be addressed by the next chapters is concerned with the narrative strategies and aesthetic devices deployed by these films in visualizing African spaces and people. Here, the study is concerned with generic conventions and the aesthetic economy that drive the imaginations of Nigeria and Senegal. The narrative strategies, within the confines of genre, determine the moral parameters, which in turn inform the ideological direction of the film. At the heart of narratives exists the dichotomy between good and evil, and it is in this domain that certain contestations take place for the success of ideology. First, people and objects are subjected to critical observations to define what is good and evil. Secondly, after the successful determination of good and evil, various ideological positions are made about each, and this forms the larger ideological message of the film.

Chapter 5: The matrix of language, space, power, and violence.

Language, space, power, and violence.

In this chapter, I explore the relationships between language, space, power, and violence. The purpose of this is to uncover how the three films represent relationships of power in African societies through language, space, and violence. This will contribute to the broader question which underpins this study: how Nigerian and Senegalese films imagine and mythologize Nigeria and Senegal. The representation of these relationships will be interrogated within the context of Nigeria and Senegal's post-colonial situation and globalized Western cultural hegemony. The aim is to investigate how these films confront issues of identity through the relationships between language, space, power, and violence within a context where Western ideas and cultures are hegemonic. This action is not meant to uncover how Nigerian and Senegalese films respond to post-coloniality and Western cultural hegemony, but to investigate what they make of their identity as African societies existing in these circumstances. This will be undertaken by interrogating the use of language in the three films and how they relate to space, power, and violence. It is intended to explore the extent to which the legacies of colonialism are embedded in African cultural contexts, especially in African films.

I first deconstruct the imagery of violence, as presented by the films. This includes a description of how *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) portray violence. Here, this investigation dissects different forms of violence, such as verbal and physical violence, as well as the depiction of weapons. These depictions of violence will be contemplated vis-à-vis language. This analysis will attempt to interrogate the visual strategies that are deployed by the films to imagine Africans and their spaces. It is interested in what these films articulate about violence in relation to modern Nigerian and Senegalese societies. Approaching the analysis of the films in this way will answer questions about the kinds of narrative strategies deployed by the films in visualizing African people and spaces.

The second sub-chapter is concerned with the relationship between language and violence. It seeks to investigate the extent to which violence is embedded in language. In this case, this study is interested in how both language and violence function to reinforce each other. In other words, the intention is to uncover how language becomes a medium through which violence is committed or articulated in the films' narrativization of Nigerian and Senegalese geo-specificities. I will analyse the films in terms of what they present as the language of violence; that is the language that is deployed in the performance and amplification of violence. This will

be situated in the exploration of how the films envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures. The investigation will also explore how the three films engage with the legacies of colonialism and Western cultural hegemony – how they negotiate the use of African and Western languages brought through the colonization of their societies. This will entail exploring the relationship between African languages and Western languages.

The third sub-chapter is concerned with the relationship between language, space, and violence. The interest is in how language interacts with space. It will explore the languages that are used in various spaces and their relation to the performance of violence in the three films. This study is also interested in the spaces of violence, and this will involve an interrogation of how space interacts with violence; uncovering where violence largely takes place and simultaneously unravelling the dominant languages in these venues of violence.

The fourth sub-chapter will analyse the relationship between language and power in the three films. The interest is in the languages that are utilized in spaces and moments of power. It will investigate the languages that are deployed in official communication, institutions, offices, religious practices, and cultural ceremonies. I will address all three films in each theme that is explored by this investigation thereby putting the films in conversation with each other. In this way, the films will be compared. The analysis will begin with *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019).

Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) is a contemporary epic and adventure drama about an African mother (Larayi) in an African village, desperate to conceive. She approaches a local native doctor (Narimana) for a solution. Narimana, through deception, offers to make this possible only if the child conceived will serve the local deity as a human sacrifice when she reaches 18 years of age. This is done without the consent of the mother, who was poisoned by the native doctor when she attempted to refuse this proposal. The result of this deception is the birth of Tatuma, who is born with a strange tattoo on her chest, the mark of the deity. This tattoo marks her destiny as a sacrifice for the deity. A few years after the birth of Tatuma, her mother connives with the Catholic Reverend to secretly move her out of the village to protect her from the deity. She is successfully relocated to the city where she stays at a monastery as a nun in training. While in the city, she turns 18 years of age, and a warrior from the village is sent to the city to forcefully bring her back to the village for the sacrifice, where she will be burnt alive. Tatuma is then aided by her romantic interest, and together, they escape seeking shelter at the monastery. Despite all efforts to protect her from this warrior, she is eventually captured and

taken to the village for the ritual. The reverend and Tatuma's boyfriend then journey to the village on a rescue mission, where they engage in both a physical and spiritual battle with the subjects of the deity to rescue Tatuma from the deadly ritual. In this battle, the warrior betrays the chief priest to stop him from proceeding with the ritual and eventually overcomes the chief priest to rescue Tatuma from the ritual. The story concludes with the birth and Christian baptism of Tatuma's child.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) is an action and adventure drama film about a married Nigerian security guard, Raymond, navigating life in the city of Lagos. He is tormented by a series of dreams about masquerades, which are ancestral spirits. His life is disrupted by the physical manifestation of the ancestral spirit "Okoroshi", whereby he transforms into the masquerade and roams the streets of the city, engaging in acts associated with this ancestral spirit called Okoroshi. As Okoroshi, Raymond attempts to protect civilians and punish injustices, such as crime. In the process of punishing evil in the city, he is discovered by a group of Igbo men, belonging to an Igbo secret society. This group tries to negotiate the mandate of Okoroshi, with some arguing that he should stay in the city and others arguing that he should return to the Eastern part of Nigeria. Ultimately, Okoroshi remains in the city and makes enemies with criminals in the city, who eventually stab him to death.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) is a supernatural romantic drama film about a group of young men working for a construction company in Dakar, which has not paid their wages in months. One of the construction workers, Souleiman, is in a romantic relationship with Ada. Her parents want to marry her off to a wealthy family against her wishes. His romantic partner, Souleiman, travels to Europe by sea with his friends, but they die on the journey. Their spirits possess young women in Dakar to torment the owner of the construction company to compel him to pay them their wages. The spirit of Souleiman possesses a detective to disrupt Ada's engagement ceremony by causing a fire in the house, and the same detective is assigned a task to investigate the cause of the fire. In the process, the detective discovers that the perpetrator that he has been investigating for the cause of the fire is himself, as he had been possessed by the spirit of Souleiman.

The visual representation of violence in the three films.

A considerable amount of time has been spent in attempts to understand violence and the role of cinema in advancing or promoting violence by theorists from various disciplines. However, there have been a few attempts made to understand the ideological character of violence in

cinema; that is how violence is deployed in films to advance very specific ideological positions. With this investigation, I wish to explore the ideological character of violence in relation to language, space, and power in the three films. I want to begin by exploring the imagery of violence articulated by the films. The concern here is how violence appears in the films; that is how it is portrayed. This limits the scope of this scrutiny to only physical violence and weapons. As presented in the previous chapter on findings, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) had 10 occurrences of physical violence, and I intend to provide a descriptive explanation of these occurrences to describe how they relate to the central argument and address larger questions of this study.

The first occurrence of violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) appears 15 minutes and 47 seconds into the film. In this scene, Tatuma's mother (Larayi) is captured by the subordinates of the village chief priest (Narimana). The scene is set in a village. The camera angles switch between wide shots, close-ups, and medium shots. The blocking of the scenes consists of Narimana (chief priest) and his subordinates standing in front of Larayi as a group in black clothing. The wide shot shows Larayi in white clothing, standing in front of this group, which casts an evil gaze at her. This shot portrays Larayi as a vulnerable character and alludes to the evil of Narimana and his group. It creates a sense of Larayi as isolated and helpless. The subordinates of Narimana, who are all persons of short stature, forcefully drag Larayi, who is trying to resist, out of her yard. The vulnerability of Larayi in the face of evil African religious practitioners introduces the audience to the flaws of African religious practices. This image of violence challenges the idea of a pure African religious practice. As a result of colonialism, many African religious practices were demonized and almost erased from the discourse of religion. Some efforts to bring these practices into the religious discourse often presented an antagonistic relationship between African and Western religious practices, whereby African religious practices are presented as inherently good and Western practices as evil to Africans. However, while demonstrating the fallacy, the film simultaneously implicates itself in the same act in the opposite extreme: While rejecting the notion of a pure African religious practice, it promulgates a flawless religion in the form of Christianity, returning to an antagonism between African and Western religions. This is affirmed by the second encounter with violence in the film.

The second occurrence appears 18 minutes and 20 seconds into the film, and this is where Tatuma dreams of being set ablaze in her village while sleeping at the monastery. In this dream, the medium shot shows Tatuma tied to a pole, in white clothing, screaming for help while she is being set on fire. The white clothing is positioned as a signifier and innocence as the

signified, and this is amplified by Tatuma's scream. These construct Tatuma as innocent and helpless. She then wakes up to see her fellow students praying for her. This scene of Tatuma's dream is symbolic of the trope of witches being set ablaze alive in medieval films. Tatuma's supposed identity and ultimate destiny resemble that of a witch who is destined to be burnt alive. This scene presents the antagonism between African and Western religions. It introduces the first contestation between African religion and Christianity. It operates on the duality of village and city to present Tatuma with options about two religions: If she were to return to the village (African religion), what awaits her will be condemnation in the form of flames, and if she remains in the city (Christianity), she will be saved from death. This image of violence depicts a relationship between African and Western religions as one characterized by conflict and contradiction. These two encounters of violence are against women, who are portrayed as helpless and innocent; they are the first recipients of violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017). Following on the theory of the social imaginary by Taylor (2003), this could be read as a reflection of how Nigerian women experience the Nigerian society. Their encounter with this society elicits pain and suffering. In Tatuma's case, there are always two choices: the first choice and the second choice, which are controlled and belong to others. There is never a third choice, which belongs to and is controlled by her. She is stuck between this duality of choice due to the threat of violence or bodily harm, which exists in the narrative as a punitive instrument in policing her behaviour. In this image of violence, the duality reinforces a chasm between indigenous African and Western religions.

This deadlock between indigenous African and Western religions continues to the fifth appearance of violence 1 hour 30 minutes and two seconds into the film. A wide shot shows Kamani strangling the priest (Father Hano), who was trying to protect Tatuma. The lighting of the scene is dark, with most of the light provided by a burning fire. This is the first physical fight between African religious individuals and Christian individuals. This scene reflects the ongoing conflict between these religious practices, adopting a simple binary opposition between good and evil. The image of the African religious subject strangling a Christian priest is a metaphor for the tension that ensues when African and Western religions encounter each other: they engender conflict through contradiction and contestation. This image of violence is ideological, as it privileges certain ideological positions. They suggest that African religious practices are oppressive, and Christianity is liberating and just. Beyond this, it highlights the struggle of modern Nigerian people in making sense of a legacy of colonialism, and this struggle leads to frustration, metaphorically portrayed as the strangling of the priest. The

strangling of the priest is a powerful imagery for indigenous African religious subjects as it foregrounds their dissatisfaction and suffocation.

The final image of violence and the deadlock between African and Western religions takes place 1 hour 34 minutes and 40 seconds into the film, and the film presents it as the final solution to the antagonism. This is the scene where the village chief priest engages in a physical fight with Kamani at the sacrificial site. The final solution to the deadlock, the film suggests, is for subjects of the 'evil' African religion to reject their evil characteristics, and this physical fight is a metaphor for this rejection. However, the image of violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is not only constructed in religious terms. The film also constructs other images of violence outside of the scope of religion, and this is seen 31 minutes and 12 seconds into the film. Here, Tatuma is attacked by men on her way from a nightclub, who try to rape her. These men are then physically assaulted by Kumani, whose intention is to take Tatuma back to the village. In this scene, the film presents crime as an image of violence. Violence is also portrayed in the form of weapons. The first occurrence of weapons is on 17 minutes and 31 seconds into the film, and it portrays a man carrying a bat as a weapon. The second one is a group of men attacking Wally with bats. The third one is a bat, and it appears 1 hour 32 minutes and 10 seconds into the film. The last one is also bats and they appear 1 hour 34 minutes and nine seconds into the film. Collectively, the violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is portrayed in the form of crime, religion, and weapons.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), violence is informed by religion. It is committed against innocent and vulnerable women by powerful religious people and criminals. It takes place between indigenous religious subjects and Christian individuals. It is amplified by semiotic elements such as camera angles, blocking, and the mise-en-scene. The violence in the film is characterized by religious antagonism, whose final solution is mutilation – the destruction of one religious practice in favour of another.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) had 4 occurrences of physical violence. The first one appears 44 minutes and four minutes into the film, and it depicts a man strangling a prostitute by the road in an attempt to avoid paying for her services. Okoroshi then emerges to save the prostitute from this situation of violence by attacking the perpetrator. In the film, women are also the first recipients of violence. In this instance, the film depicts violence stemming from immoral acts of the citizenry. The film also constructs violence as a means through which

justice is obstructed, and this is seen in the third occurrence of violence 1 hour 25 minutes and 29 seconds into the film. In this scene, a man is depicted kicking Okoroshi in the stomach to retaliate for his fellow gang member who was punished by Okoroshi when he committed a crime. The man is depicted wearing black clothes. Another scene that fortifies this construction of violence as a tool to entrench injustice portrays a male gang member stabbing Okoroshi, and this appears 1 hour 26 minutes and 10 seconds into the film. This is the final injustice in the film because a being that embodies justice is killed by criminals who do not want to be held accountable for their crimes. Following on the theory of the social imaginary, this image of violence depicts the Nigerian urban totality as a space dominated by malevolent forces who insist of their evil going unpunished. There are also occurrences of weapons in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). A machete is shown lying on the ground next to a male gangster. One man is depicted carrying a machete and another is shown stabbing Okoroshi with a machete. The violence in the film is depicted in the form of crime and weapons, which are shown to have a direct relationship with each other, as the weapons are used to commit criminal offenses.

Unlike *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) does not construct any image of violence. There are no physical or verbal forms of violence. The lack of violence could be attributed to the genre of the film. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is a supernatural romantic drama, a genre that tends not to have more violent content. What is present in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is the threat of violence, which is displayed by the young women possessed by the spirits of the dead workers. In this scene, the possessed young women force the man responsible for paying the workers to dig their graves and pay what he owes them in order for them not to hurt him. It is through this threat of violence that the wages of the dead workers are finally paid, and justice is served. The film suggests that to experience any form of justice in a Senegalese city, one needs to resort to the threat of violence. The imagery of violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) could be understood in relation to language. The images become comprehensible through their association with language.

Language and violence

Tatu's (2017) occurrences of verbal violence all involve the characters cursing. The verbal violence that appears in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) also involves characters

cursing. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) the first form of verbal violence takes place 22 minutes and 37 seconds into the film. In this scene, a man is shown cursing while standing next to Tatuma. These curses are not directed to any individual, they are primarily deployed to express frustration. This is also the case in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). However, the interest of this study in this sub-chapter is the language of violence in the three films. The concern is with what languages are deployed in the performance of violence and how these languages are deployed. This involves the analysis of the use of languages in committing verbal violence and the languages used when committing physical violence. The final analysis of these relationships between language and violence will be utilized to reflect on how the films envisage the relationship between African and Western languages, locating these in the history of the societies within which the three films emerge, as well as their present socio-cultural contexts.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), all the occurrences of verbal violence are in English, and this is the case for all occurrences of physical violence. This pattern is found in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). In the two films, English is deployed as the language through which violence is articulated. As there is no form of violence in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there is also no discursive construction of violence in the film. Beyond verbal violence, there are languages that are deployed in the performance of physical violence. In the scene where a man tries to sexually assault Tatuma, English is used. While his two friends hold Tatuma down, the man articulates "Calm down. The lord loves a cheerful giver". This assertion reveals that these men are aware of Tatuma's identity. In the scene where Tatuma is slapped by the nun, she responds "Thank you for taking care of me, mother. I trust God will reward you. I have made my decision; I don't want to be a nun". This statement by Tatuma constructs the Nun as an uncaring religious subject who is fixated on her desire to enforce rules instead of being a fair and righteous subject.

In the scene where Kamani fights with the chief priest, he tells him that he was born to protect her and "plague the wrath of the gods against all her enemies". This constructs the chief priest as not only Tatuma's enemy but all that she represents with her identity. In the two films, language plays a complementary role because it functions to amplify the performance of violence. Only Western languages are deployed in the expression of and performance of violence in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). There is no single instance where African languages are utilized in the articulation of violence.

According to the two films, Nigerian people only express their personal frustrations through Western languages.

Language, space, and violence.

This sub-chapter aims to explore the relationship between language, space, and violence. In this case, it seeks to uncover the manner in which the three films represent language and violence in relation to space. The interest is in the spaces that the films associated with violence and the languages deployed in these spaces of violence.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), violence occurs in both the village and the city. There are 5 occurrences of physical violence in the village and 4 occurrences in the city. In the village, violence takes place at Tatuma's residence and at the sacrificial site. In the city, it takes place at the convent and in the streets of the city. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), Western languages such as English are predominantly used in urban and rural settings. African languages are deployed in urban settings, such as in the city. The film portrays the village as a primitive space devoid of any meaningful development, whose culture and religion are oppressive to its citizens, but the language that is used in the village is English. This pattern in the use of language introduces a complication to the negative depiction of the village. How is it that a place constructed as deeply traditional and backward finds itself occupied by a colonial language, which is associated with development? How is it that the colonial language finds ways to exist in this space, but Western cultures and religions do not? The construction of the village as an inherently violent and conservative space is not consistent with the language deployed in this space. The urban and rural are treated as a duality, with antagonistic characteristics. The urban area is constructed as a space of advancement, development, and modernity. Here, the film engages with Lefebvre's (1974) Representations of space which refers to conceptualized.

The rural area is constructed as a space that lacks development, is not modern, and refuses to cut ties with the past. In the final analysis, the languages utilized in these areas do not determine the status of the areas themselves, as modern or primitive. They only construct them as spaces whose characteristics are in constant conflict. This conflict is also best articulated in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019).

In the film, conflict emerges in the scene of the protagonist sitting under a tree with his friend. The friend appears to be sick, and in trying to understand his sickness, in a conversation with the protagonist (Raymond), the friend suggests that his sickness is caused by the city –its spiritual energy- and he wishes to go back to the village. This scene also introduces the binary of good and evil relating to space, which presents the village as the former and the city as the latter. The scene constructs the city as a site of sickness which, in the later stage, necessitates the emergence of Okoroshi, the ancestral spirit. This is reinforced later in the film when Okoroshi is captured by a group of Igbo men, who take him to their organization's meeting. In their discussion, different factions of the organization make a case for where Okoroshi should perform his "divine'' duty. Others maintain that he should remain in the city where he is greatly needed, and others argue that he should return to the East (Igbo land) where his home is. The difference between the two factions is that one prioritizes the battle against the anomie that exists in the city, and another is concerned with the restoration of their deity in his spiritual home. These intentions further reinforce the duality between the Nigerian village and the city. This relates to Lefebvre's (1974) representational space which refers to the lived experiences of space.

The city is constructed as a space of violence, sickness, and immorality. There are various encounters with violence in the city. The city is constructed as a space of overwhelming sickness which transcends modern medical intervention. This construction is witnessed in the scene where Raymond engages in conversation with his sick friend about going to the hospital. The friend refuses to go to the hospital, suggesting that his sickness does not require the intervention of modern medicine. He eventually commits suicide to avoid dealing with the unbearable effects of the sickness. Immorality is articulated by the scene of the prostitute engaging in sexual intercourse with a man in a public space. The city is constantly portrayed as a condemned space where daily life constitutes a perpetual struggle for survival against agents of violence and oppression in the form of gangs and corrupt business officials. This is seen in the scene where Okoroshi is attacked by gang members. Okoroshi is attacked by gang members while walking in the street, and this attack on Okoroshi serves as a metaphor for the attack on justice, something the film presents as definitive and characteristic of the modern Nigerian city. It is an attack on justice because Okoroshi is portrayed as the enforcer of justice and any attack on him is an attack on justice.

In the film, he is depicted punishing crime and defending the weak. For instance, Okoroshi is depicted punishing a man by flogging him for stealing a woman's purse. He is also depicted saving a prostitute who was almost strangled to death by punishing the perpetrator. His intervention is to aid women who are wronged by men in the city. Thus, it could be argued that beyond the existing anomie, Okoroshi has also emerged to protect women against the violence mitted against them by men. The corruption of business officials is seen at Raymond's workplace where his boss is depicted as someone who does not care about his employees, violates work ethics, and abuses prostitutes. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), English is the language through which violence is articulated and performed. It is a tool used by the characters to engage with and understand their spaces.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) does not explore the duality between the village and the city, it only explores the city without referring to a rural area. However, it still portrays the city in a similar manner to which *Tatu* (2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) depict the city. It portrays the city as a space of corrupt business officials, relating to Lefebvre's (1974) representational space and spatial practice. This is immediately communicated in the first scene of the film, which is preceded by a montage of workers on a construction site. In the scene, construction workers are seen arguing with the office staff over their unpaid salaries. This is later reinforced in the scene where the spirits of the construction workers, who had died, possess young women, who then go to the residence of the man responsible for their payment. The luxurious house of the man suggests that he lives comfortably and could afford to pay the wages of the construction workers, but he chooses not to for his own selfish reasons.

The city is also constructed as a site of hopelessness. The construction workers, frustrated at the state of their lives as workers in the city, decide to migrate to Europe on a boat, and they lose their lives in the process. The intention to migrate reflects the economic challenges experienced by Senegal and the lack of economic progress to improve the lives of its citizens, who finally resort to migrating to Europe for a better life. This predicament is presented as being caused by corruption because these men, as the film suggests, would have never decided to migrate had they been paid their wages. The film also depicts an under-resourced police department, that, to solve the crime of a home being set on fire, requests the services of Americans. This a critique of the idea of independence in Senegal. It suggests that Senegal is not independent enough that its police force has to rely on a foreign country to resolve a minor crime.

Despite the non-existence of the duality between rural and urban, the city still proceeds with a binary of formal and informal. For instance, the film depicts different neighbourhoods that show high economic disparities. The residences of the construction workers are in informal settings and the wealthy live in luxurious neighbourhoods. They are informal in the sense of them being in spaces of poverty, which lack resources and have poor infrastructure. The language that is used in all of these spaces is Wolof.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), African languages are used in informal settings, in the streets, and in the village. In the city, a man is shown singing in Igbo in the township. Tatuma's mother is also depicted singing in an indigenous language. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), African languages are used for singing in informal spaces and spaces of confinement. It could be argued that the African language in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is subordinate to the Western language. It is a language of powerlessness because it is used in powerless spaces by powerless people. There were three occurrences of an African language and 50 occurrences of a Western language in the film. This is the binary that emerges in the film relating to language and space: language in powerful and powerless spaces.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), there is also a pattern in the use of languages in different spaces. African languages are largely used in intimate spaces such as the home, and Western languages are used in formal settings such as business environments. However, African languages are also used in formal settings such as meetings. This is seen when a group of Igbo men is shown in a meeting about Okoroshi. They are also used in moments of knowledge acquisition. This is seen when Dr. Dauda interviews a man in his office.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there is also a pattern in the way languages are used in different contexts. Despite the film largely being in an African language (Wolof), Western languages find their way into powerful spaces, such as restaurants and police stations. At the restaurant, the waiter is shown addressing customers, Ada and her fiancé, in French. A police officer is also shown interacting with an American counterpart in English on the phone. A police captain is also shown addressing a detective in French at a police station. The African language in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is used in more contexts than Western languages. The films do not make a clear distinction between languages used in official settings and languages used in casual spaces. Both African and Western languages are used in spaces of power. The film

evenly negotiates the use of languages in different contexts, as African and Western languages are used in both formal and informal spaces, powerful and powerless spaces. There is no physical or verbal violence in the films, thus no language is associated with violence. There is no relationship between violence and language in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019).

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the interaction between language, space, and violence is as follows: African and Western languages are both deployed in the city and only a Western language is used for communication in the village. More violence takes place in the village than in the city. In the village, violence takes place in intimate spaces such as the home, and religious spaces, such as the sacrificial site. In the city, it takes place in religious, social, and intimate spaces, such as convents, roads, and the home. The reason more violence takes place in the village than in the city could be attributed to the narrative structure of the film, which treats the village as the source of conflict and the final place for the resolution of the conflict. The narrative is orchestrated in a way that portrays the village as the obstacle that the protagonist should overcome.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the village is not seen, it is only discursively constructed by the characters in relation to the city. An African language (Igbo) is used in religious and social spaces. A Western language (English) is used in social, corporate, official, and educational spaces. Violence takes place in the city, in informal spaces, such as on the roads and informal settlements. It never makes its way into the official, corporate, and educational spaces. The only moment where violence is associated with corporate space is when corporate agents extend violence to people in informal spaces. Powerful agents possess the ability to invade informal spaces, but powerless agents do not possess the ability to invade official and corporate spaces. They can only achieve this temporarily when they attend to their duties as subordinates of these powerful individuals.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), an African language, Wolof, is dominantly deployed throughout the film in various contexts. Western languages only appear for minor expressions in business, official, and intimate spaces, such as restaurants, police stations, and the home. Violence does not occur in the film, but in moments of confrontation, Wolof is the language that is deployed for expression.

The relationship between language and power.

In *Decolonizing the Mind*, Ngũgĩ (1986) speaks of the different roles of language in African societies. He identifies language as communication and language as a tool for learning. In essence, there is a language that people use to communicate and there is a language they use for learning. In post-colonial Kenyan societies, he observes that the languages used for communication at home were mostly African languages and those used for learning at the schools were colonial languages. The consequence of this, so argues Ngũgĩ (1986), is the perpetual inferiority of African languages, which become subordinate to colonial languages. In the case of the three films, I wish to interrogate the languages used in different spaces and contexts such as religious practices, schools, workplaces, and urban and informal communities to reflect on how the three films negotiate the use of language and the extent to which they reveal relationships of power within the societies they emerge from.

The first factor to consider is the languages in which the films a set. The languages in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), as previously stated, are English and Igbo, but the film is largely in English. As such, there will be more contexts in which English is used compared to African languages, and this is the same for *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama,2019). The languages in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) are Wolof, French, and English. The aim is to deconstruct the relationship between language and power in the three films. I wish to interrogate the role of language in the articulation of power. I have already highlighted instances where languages interact with space, wherein it is observed that some languages seem to feature more in spaces of power than others. Here, the investigation is concerned with how discourse is used to construct power; that is how discourse is used to construct people with power and the spaces of power. A deconstruction of the concept of power will not be irrelevant.

In this case, I proceed with the understanding of power as "the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their own circumstances and fate" (Barnet and Duvall 2005:03). I approach this understanding of power through four forms of power: compulsory, institutional, structural, and productive. Compulsory power relates to traditional forms of power involving one agent that has direct control over others (Bengtsson 2009:33). Institutional power refers to an indirect form of power where individual actions are impacted by the designs of the institutions (Bengtsson 2009:33). Structural power corresponds to "the ability to influence or alter the positions and interests of actors that stand in a direct relationship to each other" (Bengtsson 2009:33). Productive power relates to the

capacity of actors to interpret or define symbols terms other actors and events according to their own beliefs and paradigms (Bengtsson 2009:33). Below, I will attempt to connect these various streams of power to the ways in which language operates in the films.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), language is used to construct the chief priest as evil. The chief priest is a powerful character because he is an authoritative religious figure who oversees the spiritual affairs of the village, simultaneously possessing the ability to determine the destiny of others. His character relates to the compulsory form of power as formulated by Bengtsson (2009). The construction of the chief priest as evil is first articulated in the scene about the rescue of Tatuma by the parish priest. The fact that Tatuma needs to be rescued from her destiny, which is shaped by the chief priest, to begin with, is a clear articulation of the evil of the chief priest. Every scene where the chief priest appears in the film is constructed with horror tropes, such as dark music and sound effects. Discursively, this construction is witnessed shortly after Tatuma's escape from the village. The chief priest, along with his subordinates, meet with Tatuma's mother to discuss the reason for sending her out of the village. In this discussion, the chief priest tells Tatuma's mother that "She has no hiding place, she cannot run away from her destiny". This construction is also seen fifteen years later in the film when the chief priest demands the return of Tatu from the city, wherein he threatens the mother with death if Tatuma fails to return to the village. He tells her that "Then, it should be death for you for testing the patience of the gods". Tatuma's mother also describes the chief priest as having evil eyes in the scene where she is inside a pit. Discourse is also used to construct the convent as a safe space. This is firstly done in the scene where Tatuma's mother is in a pit, and she yells "You can try all you want; you will not find her. She is with a higher God. She will be kept hidden from your evil eyes".

The village was constructed as a place of underdevelopment. This is witnessed in the same scene when Tatu's mother, explaining why she has sent Tatuma away, says "I just want her to see something different from what exists in the village. There is no harm in her truly living a life". This suggests that there is no "life" in the village, and for Tatuma to experience it, she must migrate to the city. It constructs the village as a place where nothing changes; where there is no development for its inhabitants to "truly live a life". This is the first manifestation of Productive power. In this instance, the productive power operates in direct confrontation to Compulsory power, with the agents of these forms of power and their relationships constructed

through language. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) deploys a Western language (English) in the articulation of power and the construction of its relationships.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), discourse is used to construct the city as a place that is overwhelming. This is expressed in the scene where Raymond is seated under a tree, speaking to his friend. In this scene, his friend tells him that he is tired of the city and wishes to relocate to the village. The idea of the city as overwhelming suggests the operation of an outside agent, which seems to be hidden, in the creation of an overwhelming atmosphere spiritually, socially, and economically. This agent appears to be hidden because it is never discursively constructed, through language, as the thing that creates this difficult environment. Thus, it is through the relationship between the construction of the city as a place of overwhelming sickness and the hidden thing that causes it that the collaboration between two forms of power emerges: structural and institutional forms of power. It relates to Structural power because it has altered the interest of the character, and it is institutional because his fate is dependent on the role of an institution. This collaboration is later fortified by the unfolding events of the film, where the character commits suicide to escape the unbearable reality, and his friend fails to secure funds from his employer to save his sick friend. While at the office, Raymond tells his friend that he is tired of the work that he does (being a security guard), and that after working, he will still have no money to buy food. In this scene, Raymond reveals the exploitative nature of the relationship between him and his employer. His expression constructs his workplace as a site of exploitation. Through language, Raymond highlights his relationship and engagement with the institutional form of power, which is unbearable and inescapable because he stills endures the work despite its poor remuneration. This is articulated in Pidgin English, which is a creole language spoken in Nigeria.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the businessman responsible for paying construction workers (N'diaye) is discursively constructed as an exploitative man who lacks knowledge of the labour through which he exploits workers. This is articulated in the scene where he is digging graves for the deceased workers. While he digs, one of the girls says to the others "Look, he doesn't even know how to dig. That's real work". The expression "That's real work" implies that the position that N'diaye occupies does not constitute "real work" because it is only the workers that engage in "real work", and his role is to exploit workers for this "real work". In this scene, the film deploys the Marxist notion of the exploitation of the proletariat to describe the relationship of power between N'diaye and the deceased workers. This expression is articulated

in Wolof. This discursive articulation of the relationship between the workers and N'diaye reveals a collaborative operation of two forms of power: Compulsory and Institutional power. This power is compulsory because it is individualized to conclude that one character is ultimately responsible for the difficulty faced by the workers. It is also institutional because the original problem emerges from an institution (construction company), which N'diaye also represents. The discursive construction of N'diaye is also witnessed at the beginning of the film in the scene where construction workers have occupied an office demanding their salaries to be paid. In this scene, Souleiman confronts one of the office staff members regarding the matter, and he responds to him by saying "In this office, we're working, just like you". In this way, the staff member reveals to Souleiman that they, too, are employees of the "powerful" N'diaye; subject to compulsory and institutional forms of power. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) deploys an African language (Wolof) in the construction of power in the film, and this language is ipso facto the language through which power is articulated.

In the three films, there is a pattern in the way language is used in different contexts. There is a relationship between language and spaces of power. English is used in spaces such as the workplace, as seen in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). It is also used in religious spaces both in the village and the city. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), this is seen in the first scene of the film where a voice of a deity speaks to a young man at the river. The chief priest also uses English in his communication with both the deity and village people. English is also the language used at the convent. The language is also used at a nightclub. It could be argued that films also deploy English as the language of leisure and entertainment, as the language of expression. The language is also used in informal settings as seen in the scene where Tatuma and her friends serve children food by the road.

In the three films, Western languages are presented and positioned as the languages of power; they are the languages through which power articulates itself in various spaces. They are depicted as the languages of authority, religion, and science. This is consistent with the coding data which reveals that Western languages are deployed in more contexts than indigenous African languages, In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the usage and ubiquity of European languages is accepted through their adoption by powerful individuals and their usage in spaces of power in the narrative. They are deployed in the construction of powerful people and spaces of power. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), these languages are also deployed by powerful people in business, official/authoritative, and religious contexts, such as office staff, the police

at the police station, and a native doctor in Raymond's dream. Thus, their usage and ubiquity are also accepted. In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), both African and Western languages are deployed by powerful individuals in business, ceremonial, and authoritative contexts such as at construction sites, wedding ceremonies, and police stations. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) takes a different trajectory in relation to the operation of power through language. It attempts to introduce a complication into the simple duality between power and powerlessness because both African and Western languages are deployed in spaces of power. However, there are more instances of the use of Western languages in spaces of power compared to instances of African languages. Thus, it could be argued that despite *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) being predominantly in Wolof, it depicts Western languages as the languages of power.

The relationship between language, space, power, and violence in the three films largely addresses the question of how the people of Nigeria and Senegal are portrayed. It also relates to how the three films envisage the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western cultures. The three films' representations of Nigerian and Senegalese people can be understood or interrogated in relation to their depictions of violence and the various relationships of power, which, in some instances, are embedded in language. Through the interaction between space and power in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), it could be argued that the Nigerian people are depicted as people negotiating between multiple identities. Their religious practices are portrayed as oppressive and their spaces as condemned localities, where only powerful actors determine the destiny of others. Their languages are deployed in intimate spaces while Western languages are used in spaces of power. A similar depiction of Nigerian people and their spaces is also dominant in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). In the film, the Nigerian people are portrayed as immoral and unjust, and their spaces (the city) are presented as overwhelming spaces of violence, sickness, and immorality, which favours those in positions of power. Their indigenous languages are deployed in indigenous and cultural spaces while Western languages are deployed in corporate and public spaces. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) portrays the people of Senegal as powerless and exploited by powerful agents. Their spaces are depicted as sites of economic underdevelopment and class inequality. Their indigenous languages are utilized in spaces of power and deployed to construct the relationships of power. This is how the three films represent the relationships between language, space, power, and violence.

Chapter 6: Culture, religion, and identity.

Clothes and cultures

Clothing is a fundamental aspect that is to be considered in the marking of cultural identity, the organization of cultural and ethnic identity, and the configuration of the value and norm economy. It also forms part of the fundamental aspects of the semiotic language through which films represent cultures and people. Thus, it is paramount that questions are posed about the manner in which films deploy clothes in the representation of cultures and the construction of identities. With this analytical approach, I hope to address this question concerning the relationship between clothes and cultures in the films' imagination of the Nigerian and Senegalese societies.

The interest here is in the relationship between clothes and cultures; that is how clothes are deployed in films to indicate cultural identity and facilitate cultural performance. In this case, I proceed with an approach to culture as an identity and a performance. Before proceeding with the analysis, it is important to clarify this concept of culture. According to Bendixen (2010:33), culture can be defined as comprising of all the beliefs, behaviours, arts, and institutions that exist in a population and are transmitted across generations. Culture "includes codes of manners, dress, language, religion, rituals, norms of behaviour such as law and morality, and systems of belief as well as the arts and gastronomy" (Bendixen 2010:33). Bendixen (2010:33) explains that culture represents the patterns of living and ideas that have been adopted by members of a society as valuable and preferable and that have been commonly accepted as valid and shared by majority of the inhabitants of that society.

This investigation considers the post-colonial identity of Nigerian and Senegalese societies, and it is contemplated within a context where Western cultural ideas and performances are hegemonic, and as such, the analysis of the relationship between clothes and cultures will be characterized by an approach which seeks to uncover the relationship between African and Western cultural identities and performances toward a comprehension of the manner in which the three films imagine African cultures and identities.

There is a pattern in the portrayal of clothes in the three films. Western clothes are deployed in more contexts than African clothes. In this case, Africa clothes refer to traditional clothing of African societies, and Western clothing refers to the traditional clothing of Western societies. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), African clothes are deployed or portrayed in rural settings such as the village and they are worn by both ordinary villagers and those who wield political power,

such as the chief priest, Narimana. Western clothes are deployed in the scenes depicting the city by all citizens, including those in positions of power and control. This pattern in the utilization of clothes reinforces the duality of rural and urban which I have articulated in the previous chapter. It also follows a similar power dynamic in that *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), as previously articulated, visually, and discursively constructs the village as a space of underdevelopment and primitive people, and the city as a geo-specificity of development and modernity, thus positioning cultures and aesthetics prevalent in these topographies as opposite extremes. In other words, the result of these constructions is the inferiority of indigenous cultural expressions and the superiority of Western cultural expressions. The indigenous cultural expressions are inferior because they are deprived of any meaningful appearance in spaces of "development'' and "modernity". Western cultural practices are depicted as superior because of their ubiquitous presence in spaces of influence. The superiority of Western cultural expressions, despite the data showing more representation of African clothes (46 occurrences) than Western clothes (41 occurrences), is not only marked by their dominance in the city space, but by their ability to invade all other spaces where Western cultures are not dominant.

Western clothes also make an appearance in rural settings in the form of religious clothes, and this is also the case with African clothes. However, these appearances are passive. Western clothes enter the rural space because they are worn by urban people who temporarily inhabit the village. African clothes also enter the urban space through rural people who visit the city. It is in this respect that these appearances are passive and do not complicate the scale of power which positions Western cultural expressions as dominant in Nigerian societies. There are instances in the film where African and Western clothes converge in the representation of personalities. In other words, there are moments where African and Western clothes are worn by an individual in a single scene. In this way, the depiction of the relationship between African and Western clothes is complementary rather than antagonistic.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), a similar trend can be observed about the depiction of African and Western clothes. There are more appearances of Western clothes in various contexts compared to African clothes. However, unlike *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), there is no duality of rural and urban because the film is only set in the city; both African and Western clothes are deployed in the city. African clothes are deployed by followers of the indigenous religious practices and deeply traditional men in religious and social spaces. Western clothes are deployed by citizens in professional, social, and intimate spaces. This also reveals the extent to which Western aesthetic elements are embedded in indigenous expressions of identity. The

film presents African and Western clothes in a similar manner in which *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) presents them because it depicts Western clothes as dominant over African clothes. Western clothes in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) are the uniform of power because they are worn by influential people in spaces of power. The role of Western clothes is central in the articulation of identity in the imaginary society of Nigeria in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) and the role of African clothes is peripheral because Western clothes are used in more contexts to indicate identity and social status compared to African clothes. The only association between African clothes and power is in the role they play in reflecting the statuses of people. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), African clothes are utilized to mark the chieftaincy status of some members of the Igbo society who are depicted wearing red caps. Despite the film not operating on the duality between rural and urban, it takes a similar approach in the imagination space and clothing; there are spaces occupied by influential people and those inhabited by less influential people, with Western clothes dominant in the former and African clothes in the latter.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), western clothes constitute daily regalia in intimate, social, and professional spaces. For instance, the film depicts these clothes being worn in the home, night club, and police station. Indigenous clothes are depicted as being deployed in ceremonial spaces such as the engagement ceremony and intimate spaces such as the home. Similar to *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the role of African clothes is peripheral and that of Western clothes is central in the articulation and expression of identity in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019). Unlike *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), there is no emergence of the duality between rural and urban, but there is one in the form of public and private spaces. I use these terms in their general sense to refer to social and intimate spaces. Western clothes are utilized in more contexts than African clothes, just as it is the case in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). What this reveal is the extent to which Western cultures inform the personal, social, and professional expressions of the people of Senegal. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) not engage with how Senegalese people interact with their cultures but largely attends to how these people negotiate daily life and expression within the parameters of Western cultures. Ultimately, through the use of clothes, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) imagine the people of Nigeria and Senegal as people alienated from their cultures, and this representation of cultural alienation reflects the cultural legacies of colonialism in both Nigeria and Senegal. The three films present the relationship between clothes and cultures in various ways.

The relationship between clothes and culture could be understood in terms of cultural identity, norms and values, symbol economy, region and ethnicity identification, and globalization. Culture is dynamic and always becoming, adapting to new contexts. This dynamic character is witnessed with the emergence of globalization which introduces or leads to cultural hybridity. In many African societies, we also witness this dynamic character through the negotiation of the markers of cultural identity post-colonization. The criteria of what constitutes being "African" changes in the context of the history of colonialism. As such, with this understanding, I seek to uncover the operation of the three films in presenting the relationship between clothing and culture.

Certain clothes are deployed in the performance and representation of specific cultures. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), African clothes are deployed in the performance of culture in the village. As articulated earlier in this chapter, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) deploys a duality between rural and urban in its imagination of spaces. This duality concerning space and the degree of distinction between these spaces is partially amplified by the use of clothing. For instance, the film depicts the villagers wearing traditional clothes in a world that has robustly modernized where societies are supposedly widely reached by the modernization. The film makes this modernization known through its imagination of the city where there is a plethora of fashion choices seen in the various clothes across cultures worn by the citizens. In this way, the village's primitiveness and the city's modernity are communicated through the strategic use of clothing. Thus, it could be argued that beyond the cultural economy, clothing can function as a marker of space where cultures are performed and sometimes contested. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) highlights the nexus between clothes and space; that is how clothes interact with space to shape the venue in which the performative character of culture emerges. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), clothing is not only deployed as a marker of the venue for cultural performance, but also strategically utilized to indicate cultural identity. To make this point clear, I wish to return to the film's creation of the duality between rural and urban. In order to be able to make a distinction between urban and rural people, the film informs our judgement through its binary between modern and unmodern by constructing people, via the use of clothing, as belonging to a particular space. As it has conjured the image of the village as primitive, the clothes that are utilized also reflect this status. In the final analysis, we come to understand the identity of people through their appearance in clothing. This operates within the semiotic analytical framework of Signifier/Signified which relies on the cultural and ideological baggage that the audience brings to the film. It will not be irrelevant to clarify these semiotic concepts of

Signifier/Signified. This will first require clarifying our understanding of the concept of semiotics. Semiotics refers to the study of signs and how they function in conveying meaning (Leeds-Hurwitz 1993:07). A signifier refers to any material element that signifies something and signified is the idea that the signifier represents (Saussure 1983:101).

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), clothes are also utilized in the representation of the Igbo culture in the city. This is seen in how the film portrays the Igbo cultural society, which is comprised of Igbo men. The indication of this identity is not merely communicated in the name of their society but also communicated through the use of clothing. In their interactions, these group of men are depicted wearing Igbo cultural regalia in the city and this is how the audience come to understand their identity. The film does not make a distinction between various spaces to define cultural individuals just as what is done is *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017). In other words, clothing is not presented as a marker of the venue for cultural performance. In the film, clothes are deployed to reflect the power dynamics between people in the city. Let's consider the office space in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). At Raymond's workplace, there is a clear articulation of the degrees of power between professional individuals through their clothing choices. Raymond's position as a security guard and subordinate is cemented and articulated by his uniform, and the superiority of his manager is indicated by his suit. In Raymond's case, the uniform (signifier) signifies him as a security guard (signified). The film adopts clothing as a marker of the power dynamics; that is an indication of the powers that individuals wield or their lack thereof. However, the understanding of this semiotic choice also relies on the cultural background and understanding of the audience. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) complicates the understanding of African clothes. Dr Dauda reveals in the interview/monologue that the return of the spirit of the Okoroshi is seeing the people in the city returning to wearing African traditional clothing like agbada, and the interviewer, who is wearing modern clothing, wearing a suit, points to the tie and says it is African fabric. African clothing is understood to be traditional clothing of an indigenous African society. In this case, the concept of African clothing is not only challenged, but the traditional is brought into conversation with the modern, suggesting that African clothing is what Africans say it is. It constitutes clothing that is used in the everyday life of Nigerians in the city.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there is no clearly articulated indigenous culture of the people in Senegal. In fact, the only instance of the articulation of an indigenous culture is the depiction of Ada's engagement ceremony. At this ceremony, people are depicted wearing traditional

clothing. The audience know that it is a cultural ceremony not only because the film reveals it, but because cultural regalia is worn by all who have attended the ceremony. In this case, clothing interacts with space as well. Throughout the film, indigenous clothing is only seen in social spaces such as the cultural ceremonies and intimate spaces such as the home. Indigenous clothes never make their way into professional spaces because they are never worn by professional people in their spaces. Indigenous clothing is mostly seen in the social gathering of cultural individuals and in the performance of cultural activities. However, the intention here is not to merely highlight the relationships of power in the portrayal of Western and African clothing, but to describe the relationship between clothing and culture. In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the relationship between culture and clothing is as follows: Western clothes are deployed to express ideas about individualism and freedom because the Western fashion choices are flexible as opposed to African clothes, which are restrictive. African clothes are utilized to define cultural ceremonies and indicate communalism. Western clothes are deployed to indicate professionalism and moral ambivalence. The various ways in which African and Western clothes are used in the three films lead to an inquiry into how the films envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures.

There are very specific ways in which the three films envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures. The three films depict African and Western cultures as antagonistic cultures whose encounter elicits conflicts which cannot be resolved as long as they exist alongside each other. The three films are heavily informed by Western cultures and advocate for the diminishing of indigenous cultures and advancement of Western cultures. This is fortified by a high number of occurrences of Western clothes and languages reflected by the statistical data. Western cultures are imagined as dominant in these African societies. The films do this in various ways through clothing and language.

Western cultures inform more contexts in the films and have a direct relationship with power. The three films represent power through the lenses of Western cultures; that is their interpretation and understanding of the unfolding events in the film. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), Tatuma's predicament is understood through the lenses of Christianity, which is informed by Western culture, as an evil act against "God's child". In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), Raymond's transformation is understood through the African understanding of spiritual phenomena, but this is ultimately masked by Western culture through language and methodology. In fact, the film offers two reactions to Raymond's transformation: the response of the Igbo society and Dr. Dauda's response. In the case of the Igbo society, this

transformation is understood as an intervention by the ancestors to set society on the righteous path. It is also understood as restoration of the ancestral link with the Igbo population. Dr. Dauda's response to this is within rational thought. He attempts to understand this transformation rationally through literature. Within Dr. Dauda's interpretation, Raymond's transformation into Okoroshi is understood as possession and intrusion of Raymond's body. Dr. Dauda predicts Raymond's demise through careful scrutiny of other similar case studies, and this comes true.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019), through the cultural understandings of the manifestation of the ancestral spirit by the Igbo society and Dr. Dauda returns us to and rearticulates the antagonism between two cultural perspectives: African and Western cultural perspectives. Through the successful prediction of Dr. Dauda and the demise of Raymond, the film suggests a swift from the indigenous cultural understanding and interpretations of events toward a more Western and rational approach to understanding spiritual phenomena. The issue for this investigation is not the judgement on which perspective is right or wrong but on the contradiction in trying to understand spiritual phenomena through rational means, attempting to interpret indigenous cultural moments through Western cultural lenses. This hegemony of Western cultures in the Nigerian city, as depicted in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), reflects the legacies of colonialism in various Nigerian societies. As articulated by a plethora of studies on the subject, colonialism greatly advocated for the erasure of indigenous modes of being or cultures and the emergence of Western modes of being and ways of expression. This was achieved through the deployment of religion, language, and cultural ideologies. This dominance of Western cultures and the push toward Western understandings and interpretation of African phenomena is present in the post-colonial Nigerian society portrayed by *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). More than this, the contestation signals the creation of an African barbaric 'other' and a Europeanized 'civilized' Nigerian in Dr. Dauda.

A similar trajectory is explored in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019). There is a mysterious fire in Ada's supposed matrimonial bedroom on the night of her formal engagement and the approach considered in understanding this event is also rational as a police investigation is carried out and international investigators are involved in the case. There is no consideration of the indigenous understanding of the event. The Western rational approach presupposes the involvement of criminal elements seeking vengeance in the cause of the fire. This understanding is later proven false by the film's revelation that the fire was caused by the detective investigating the event because he was possessed by the spirit of Souleimane, Ada's

deceased significant other. Similar to *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017*)* and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) reveals the extent to which legacies of colonialism are embedded in the consciousness of the citizens of Dakar, Senegal. It demonstrates that in their encounter with strange phenomena, this Senegalese society attends to the issues the events present by drawing from the Western cultural repository. The three films construct Nigerian and Senegalese people as people who deploy Western categories of knowledge and concepts to understand indigenous events or issues. This is a reflection of the cognitive dominance of Western paradigms which are pervasive and predominant in post-colonial Nigerian and Senegalese societies.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) takes a radical stance in the conversation about attending to African issues through Western lenses. It appears to reject the notion that African issues can be understood through the Western understanding or interpretation of cultures. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), on the contrary, does not reject this notion. In fact, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) advocates for the utilization of the Western cultural and religious paradigms to understand indigenous African religious issues. The film depicts the Nigerian society as comprising of people who wish to preserve their indigenous cultural practices and others who advocate for a total divorce from these practices. It puts African indigenous approaches to religion and Western approaches in conflict in order to take a stance for Western expressions of religious belief in the final analysis of the film, which is marked by the defeat of Narimana (village chief priest), whom the film portrays as the antagonist of the film. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) takes on a similar approach. The film suggests that in the encounter with the robustly modernizing Nigeria society, indigenous understandings of cultural phenomena become irrelevant. The film advocates for the adoption of Western categories of knowledge in understanding indigenous spiritual moments and presents indigenous approaches as unreliable to this end. This is how the three films envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures; they present this relationship as highly competitive and extremely opposed to one another. There is little depiction of this relationship as complementary.

Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) imagines Nigerian cultures as comprising of evil elements. Before the film reveals the evil of the chief priest it constructs him as evil through the use of sounds and visual strategies relating to the camera and lighting. It depicts Nigerian cultures as unmodern hence they are only present in the village and rarely utilized in the city. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) only explores the negative elements of the indigenous cultures. Beyond clothing, the three films deploy music and sounds in the representation and construction of identity.

The role of music in highlighting cultural identity.

Music, just as clothes, form part of the fundamental aspects of cultures and any attempt to understand the representation of African cultures, Nigerian and Senegalese cultures in particular, needs to treat music as a crucial consideration. This sub-chapter is concerned with the utilization of music to highlight cultural identity. It is also interested in how music is used to advance very specific ideological positions in the context of African and Western cultures – that is the role of music in the promulgation of ideologies about Nigerian and Senegalese cultures in relation to Western cultures. They are read in relation to Western cultures because this investigation foregrounds historical contexts in the analysis of the films, such as the history of colonialism in Nigeria and Senegal. As indicated earlier in the study, it is not meant to suggest that these Nigerian and Senegalese films respond to colonialism or even suggest that this is the direction of the scrutiny of the study. This section will also consider the use of sounds (diegetic) in constructing cultural practices and people. This will facilitate this study's additional discussion of the ways in which the films envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures and how they represent Nigerian and Senegalese people.

Music or sounds are utilized in the framing of religious individuals in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017). Sound effects are deployed in the construction of Narimana, the indigenous religious leader, as evil. There is the use of horror sound effects deployed in scenes where Narimana is depicted, which solidifies his status as a villain. African sounds are deployed in scenes where the village is represented. Western sounds and music are deployed in the city to reflect its modernization. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) deploys music and sound within its engendered rural-urban duality to link space and identity. African music and sounds are associated with the village and indigenous cultures, and Western music and sounds are associated with the city and its cultures which largely consist of Western cultural elements.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), African music and sounds are utilized in scenes depicting Okoroshi and other ancestral spirits. They are also used in the scenes depicting traditional indigenous people who are wearing Igbo traditional clothing. The film deploys African music as a marker of indigenous cultural identity. Western music is used in the depiction of the city flats to emphasize the city as a modern space of Western cultures. In this way, the film presents space as having a relationship with identity.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), Western music is deployed in the scene depicting young women at a night club wearing Western clothes to highlight the influence of Western cultures in the

self-expressions of the young women in Senegal. Western music is also utilized in the scene depicting Ada and her fiancé at a restaurant. A group of women are also depicted singing an indigenous song at Ada's marriage ceremony, and this is the only instance in the film where elements of indigenous music are deployed in framing a cultural ceremony.

The imagination of religious people, objects, and practices.

This analytical section is interested in the representation of African and Western religions. It seeks to scrutinize the tensions that ensue in the confrontation between religious people and practices. This approach to film analysis will facilitate the discussion on how the three films imagine Nigerian and Senegalese societies in relation to their history. The emergence of Western religious practices in most African societies coincided with colonial rule, thus every recollection of the origin of Western religions in African societies always carries a baggage of historical violence and brutality. As such, this investigation is interested in how the three films imagine indigenous Nigerian and Senegalese religious people, objects, and practices within the context of this history and hegemony of Western religions in their societies.

Tatu's (Don Omope, 2017) representation of religion operates on the antagonism between African and Western religion. It presents the indigenous religion and Christianity as antagonistic practices whose people are opposed to one another and their encounter demanding confrontation. This is achieved through the discursive and visual construction of the religious people in the film. In the previous chapter, when discussing the ways in which language is used to construct people in the film, I made arguments about how discourse was used in constructing specific characters in the films. Here, I focus on how these strategies are used to construct religious practices and people toward a comprehension of the manner in which the three films engage with the issues of identity within the context of religion.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the tension between religious practices is seen in the first scenes of the film where a catholic priest facilitates Tatuma's escape from her destiny as a sacrifice for the village god. The antagonism between religious people is seen through the physical fights between indigenous religious and Christian individuals in Narimana and Catholic priest, Father Hano. An interesting turn in the conflict between religious people takes form when two indigenous religious people fight one another in the final scenes of the film. It marks a moment of identity negotiation. One indigenous religious subject, Kamani, negotiates between being an upright religious subject and saving Tatuma from the evil sacrifice led by Narimana, the village chief priest. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) portrays the indigenous religious practice negatively as

led by manipulative people who deploy it to further their own selfish quests. The only moment in which the film makes a positive representation of the indigenous religious practice is when Kamani rescues Tatuma from being sexually assaulted by a group of men in the city.

The film positions the indigenous religious practice as the enemy of its own people and Christianity as a religion through which salvation is realized. The objects of the indigenous religious practice are mostly sighted in closed and dark spaces such as the shrine, and they are always carried by the chief priest. Christian objects, such as the crucifix, are seen in public spaces worn by Christian individuals and on the walls of the convent. Christian individuals are depicted performing good deeds in the community, and this is seen in the scene where students of the monastery are offering underprivileged children food next to the road. The opposite is depicted about the followers of the indigenous religious practice. Their encounter with others is always uncomfortable and threatens destruction. When Kamani reaches the city, his posture and fashion are depicted terrifying the citizens in the city. He also attacks everyone who attempts to prevent him from taking Tatuma back to the village. The village chief priest is also portrayed threatening Larayi, Tatuma's mother, and confining her to a pit. The film is a critique of the indigenous practices and an affirmation of Christianity. It demonstrates African films' ability to perpetuate negative myths about African religious practices in favour of Western religious practices.

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), there is a depiction of religious people, but this is only seen once when the native doctor attends to Raymond in shrine in his dream. There is no other depiction of religious people such as Western religious people and practices. However, despite the lack of depictions of Western religious practices, there are Western religious objects seen in the film. At Raymond's house, there is a crucifix hanging on the wall and a bible seen in their house. The film, through these religious objects, introduces a kind of negotiation between elements of African religious practices and Christianity. The film presents Raymond, who is intrigued by the masquerades, as an African spiritual devotee, but his house is seen with objects of Christianity. The relationship between African religious people and Western religious objects becomes complementary because the film portrays them as existing within the same environment with no clear conflict between them. The film engages with the subject of religion differently from *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) in this respect because *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) emphasizes antagonism while *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) proposes coexistence.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there is no portrayal of both African and Western religions, there is a depiction of an Arab religious practice in the form of Islam. There is a depiction of an Imam holding religious objects and praying at Ada's marriage ceremony. This is the dissimilarity between *Atlantics*' (Mati Diop, 2019) interaction with the subject of religion and *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi's* (Abba Makama, 2019) engagement with the subject; it does not depict African and Western religious practices even when the three films emerge from localities with histories of European colonization. In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there are no tensions that exist between religious practices, people, and objects.

In this chapter, the study has described the relationship between clothes and culture in the three films by analysing how clothes are utilized in the representation and performance of cultures. It has uncovered how the films under investigation envisage the relationship between African and Western cultures, highlighting the envisaged relationship as complementary and confrontational. It has also described various ways in which the three films imagine religious practices, people, and objects. The analysis of the films, through these themes, has revealed the visual and aesthetic strategies used in imagining Nigerian and Senegalese societies. The films do not directly make reference to their histories, especially of colonialism, but they reinforce the antagonism between African and Western cultures, which indicates an engagement with the cultural legacies of colonialism. The genres of the films and the socio-political situations of the industries from which they emanate are dissimilar and have led to different imaginations of their respective societies. Despite their different imaginations of their societies, the three films indicate moments of cultural alienation where indigenous people are depicted as alienated from their cultures and constantly negotiating between multiple identities. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) demonstrate how African cultures have been at the periphery of the modernization efforts of their societies hence they are portrayed as rural cultures with no social relevance in increasingly urbanizing Nigerian societies. These films constitute ways in which Nigerian and Senegalese people imagine their cultures and understand their identity within the context of the hegemony of Western cultural ideas and expressions.

Chapter 7: Villainy, innocence, and citizenship.

The analytical approach of this chapter is threefold. The first aspect of the analysis is the elucidation of the construction of indigenous forms of villainy and heroism articulated by the film texts. The analysis will be decoding the manner in which the films imagine people through discourse and visual strategies. The second aspect of the analysis will entail the uncovering of the ideological subtleties embedded in the film's narrative and the visual design of villainous and heroic people or elements. The third dimension of the analysis is the delineation of the relationship between the mythology of indigenous heroism and villainy and the imagination of the nation. In essence, this investigation is concerned with how the three films advance ideas about Nigeria and Senegal as nations. This approach to uncover attempts at national imagination will be rooted in the histories of Nigeria and Senegal.

The concept of nationalism is invoked to scrutinize the social imaginary attempts by the films to imagine nations. Hulme (2021:09) provides the definition of the social imaginary as a concept that "embraces a set of values, institutions, laws, discourse and symbols through which people imagine themselves as a social whole in a wider world". Hulme (2021) states that imaginaries can be conceived as the different ways in which societies make sense of their social surroundings, as well as their place in the world. Beyond the construction of citizen and political individuals, the investigation is also interested in the relationship between the imagined people and the imagined nation; that is how the films deploy these people in their nationalist imaginary project.

In the previous chapters, I provide an outline of how the three films constructed religious people through discourse and semiotic material. In this section, I wish to extend that gaze further by scrutinizing the various ways in which the film constructs citizens and political individuals within the context of the statuses of villainy and innocence masked by heroism.

The representation of African heroism and villainy.

In many stories of the modern world, especially in African societies, lies the contest and chasm between the hero and the villain. It is on this contention between these forces which are in direct opposition that the ideological foundation of the story rests. This is true for traditional forms of storytelling, such as oral storytelling, and films. In films, semiotic strategies, discursive approaches, and sounds have been operationalized in the construction of the contention between the hero and the villain. These elements are crucial in conveying the ideological message of the story, and their importance to the story warrants an investigation

into their relationship with the film hero and villain, as the carriers of ideology. Ideology refers to "a system of ideas, values, and beliefs that make up the basis of a political, social, and cultural system or theory (Perry and Perry 2016:331). In this section, the study will attempt to explicate the ways in which *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) deploy these elements in the mythology of indigenous forms of villain and heroism.

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), there is a relationship between the construction of people and space in the articulation of villainy and heroism. There are two settings that are represented, which are the city and the village. These two spaces consist of distinct and sometimes conflicting people. In both settings, there are people that are in leadership positions and those who are subject to this leadership. Those in leadership positions are not political in the sense of taking politics as a vocation but are religious authorities. The film constructs these people in different ways. In the case of the village, the citizens are portrayed as incapable of exercising agency – their lives are merely shaped and determined by the decisions of the otherwise powerful subject in the form of religious authority. These people who lack agency are predominantly women. The film achieves this construct by its consistent portrayal of village people not engaging in any dialogue. In fact, there are only three village people that are seen engaging in dialogue: Narimana (chief priest), Larayi (Tatuma's mother), and Kamani. The film's construction of these people also becomes successful through its lack of portrayal of dissenting people. It depicts these people blindly obeying the instructions of the authoritarian village chief priest without any opposition or articulation of conflicting views. The dissent represented is that of Larayi when she sends Tatuma out of the village in direct opposition to the instruction of the chief priest. While women are predominantly portrayed as lacking agency in the village space, Larayi's dissent breaks the parameter to transform her from an inactive subject to an active agent. This is where she exercises her agency. Her agency can be understood as a breaking point between the people and the prevailing dominant structure of religion embodied by the domineering chief priest. She comes to the realization that to remove the veil of suppression, which is embedded in her obedience, she must oppose. Although the suppression that is lifted is not hers but Tatuma's, her dissent effectively transforms embrace to dismal. Her opposition is meant to liberate Tatuma from the ill fate, fully aware of the consequences of her actions, which culminate to the rage of the chief priest. What this also demonstrates is the erosion of the structures of power and the threat of punishment in pre-empting Larayi's disobedience.

Another form of dissent takes place in the final scene of the film when Kamani prevents the chief priest from harming Tatuma. There is a sense of the background that is articulated in that the village people are constantly portrayed as background characters with no direct role in the religious direction of their society. In the village, the film imagines only one subject whose decisions determine the social direction of the community, decisions that are almost binding on the people of the village. The film utilizes these categories of people to frame its view of villainy and innocence. It depicts the people of the village as innocent and victims of the brutality of power exercised by the villainous chief priest. The film envisages a complicated relationship between people and power, which is characterized by oppression and a lack of agency to combat oppression. Innocence is amplified by the film's insistence that these people cannot not do anything about their plight, and the sense of villainy is marked by the unchallenged and unchecked power of the chief priest to make decisions that are binding. The film introduces and articulates a sense of heroism through the dissent of Larayi. However, it is not her courage to challenge the power that is presented as the main act of heroism, but it is the action of the catholic priest - a city subject - escaping with Tatuma from the village and ultimately preventing her death at the sacrificial site of the village. Here we seen an interplay between gender and religion, which conceives of heroism through a patriarchal and religious lens.

Ultimately, the status of villainy and heroism is between two religious authorities from different social settings, both of whom are male. The village chief priest is portrayed as the villain of not only the village people but of the religious people of the city. He is also presented as an obstacle to modernization in Nigerian societies. The catholic priest is portrayed as a heroic figure in both the village and the city. This is because he is depicted engaging in acts of heroism in the village and depicted as the head of a monastery that trains young girls to become righteous people in their society. To clearly comprehend the status of the catholic priest, there is a need to turn attention to the varying status dynamics of the city in terms of the people who are portrayed as innocent and villainous.

In the city, villainous acts are carried out by male gang members. This is portrayed in the scene where a group of men tries to confiscate the food that was served to children in the city by girls from the monastery. Their villainous act is also witnessed in the scene of their attempted sexual assault on Tatuma. Villainous acts are also carried out by village people who traverse through the city. This is depicted in the scene when Kamani enters the city to search for Tatuma wherein he physically assaults inhabitants of the city and threatens violence against people who attempt

to protect Tatuma and prevent him from taking her back to the village. His status as a villainous agent is complicated by his rescue of Tatuma from a group of men who were attempting to sexually assault her. Villainy is also gendered as villainous acts are enacted by male agents and experienced predominantly by women. Women are portrayed as the main victims of violence. They are also the agents who are portrayed to need saving. As they are depicted as the victims of violence and people who need to be saved, it suggests that the modern Nigerian society and its structures of power are aggressive against women.

In the film, women are neither villainous nor heroic, and men are both heroic and villainous. Following on the theory of the social imaginary by Taylor (2003), what this reading suggests is that women are powerless in modern Nigerian societies, as both villainous and heroic acts require power to exercise. For instance, in the film, villainous and heroic agents occupy positions of authority, in the case of the chief priest and the catholic priest, and, in the case of the gang, have the currency of violence. These depictions of villainy and heroism reinforce the binary of power and powerlessness, which is gendered. However, not all male agents who are heroic are powerful in the sense of have some authority over others, and this is seen with Tatuma's romantic interest. He holds no authority over others, nor does he possess violence as a currency, like the gangs do, but what grants him his power and makes him somewhat powerful is his agency. Unlike the women in the film, the question of power is completely absent in his actions. He acts as he pleases, much contrary to the women, who things happen to with no power or agency to stop them and are ultimately denied the ability to do as they please, with their destiny decided by powerful male agents. However, not all women in the film lack power and agency. Larayi has the agency to choose to disobey the chief priest in the village, though she cannot escape him or the village. In the city, the catholic nun is depicted with some authority, overseeing the running of the monastery. However, the film does not depict her actively exercising her power to aid Tatuma in the bid to escape the ill fate like the catholic priest does. She is always inside. She is always inside the monastery, as if she is constrained by her responsibility. As the only woman with religious authority in the film, she remains less active compared to other characters who are in positions of authority.

Heroic acts are performed by religious people and Tatuma's romantic interest. The heroic acts by Christian individuals are portrayed in the scene where girls from the monastery feed hungry children food in the city. The film depicts these people in their Christian regalia serving food by the street. Another heroic act by Christian individuals is represented in their attempt to protect Tatuma from Kamani at the monastery. The film depicts these Christian subjects in

their Christian regalia and space, contemplating ways to keep Tatuma safe. The film articulates a pattern in the construction of villainous and heroic people vis-à-vis space: It is only religious characters and a romantic partner that are portrayed possessing the ability to perform villainous and heroic acts in multiple and conflicting spaces. Father Hano and Tatuma's romantic partner are depicted attempting to protect Tatuma both in the village and the city. Kamani is also represented as having the ability to perform villainous acts in the village and the city.

Kamani's invasion of the city space, as a villainous character, to threaten and assault citizens in the city, and Father Hano's invasion of the village space to enlighten and protect village people reinforce the conflict between indigenous religious practices and Christianity – between the village and the city, which represent conflicting ideas about culture and modernization. This simple opposition between good and evil is complicated and challenged by the mythology of villainy and heroism in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019).

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), villainous acts include crime, gang violence, physical assault, and corruption. The film portrays crime being committed by petty criminals in the streets of the city who mushroom around the locality snatching purses of venerable women. The environment in which these villainous acts take place in some parts of the city that seem to garner less developmental attention from the state because they are dirty, and the buildings are dilapidated. Essentially, crime, as a villainous act, is depicted taking place in informal spaces or dwellings. The villainous actor, the criminal, is projected as engaging in his life of crime due to the financial situation in which he finds himself. Thus, in its imagination, the film does not adopt a simple binary between good and evil, but it offers a nuanced representation of the villainous subject. The film deploys this villainous act to highlight the socio-economic reality of the Nigerian city; that of the deterioration of the security situation which is compounded by the lack of economic opportunities in this urban locality.

The film represents corruption in terms of the abuse of power by business or corporate individuals. A corporate individual, Raymond's manager, is portrayed as maltreating his employees, speaking to them in a tone that suggests contempt and impudence. His conduct in the workplace is seemingly careless and unprofessional, and the film deploys clothes to highlight this conduct. For instance, he is depicted at his office wearing black trousers and a white vest, with his blue shirt hanging by the wall behind him, smoking a cigarette in an encounter in which he refuses to grant his employee, Raymond, a salary advance in order to aid his ill friend in seeking professional medical attention. This villainous actor is also

portrayed engaging in an altercation with a prostitute. In the scene, this subject is portrayed receiving oral sex from a prostitute inside his vehicle, a service for which he shortly refuses to remunerate the sex worker. This refusal to compensate the sex worker results in a verbal altercation between the two people in which the male subject strangles the sex worker in an effort to avoid paying her. The heroic act that emerges in this situation is by Okoroshi, the ancestral spirit. Okoroshi rescues the prostitute from this assault by flogging the male perpetrator with a cane. Here, much like in *Tatu* (Dan Omope, 2017), the woman is the victim of violence and exploitation, and she is saved by Okoroshi. This is Okoroshi's first encounter with the prostitute.

The third villainous act is related to gang violence. In the film, Okoroshi, having been able to neutralize crime in the city, becomes the nemesis of a city gang. The film depicts gang members wearing black shirts and jeans, carrying weapons, and upon learning of the feats of Okoroshi, deciding to attack the ancestral spirit. In their attack, they use their machete to stab Okoroshi, leading to his death. This scene signals the moral decline of the Nigerian urban totality which the emergence of Okoroshi sought to counter. It indicates the triumph of evil over good, as Okoroshi, the embodiment of justice and righteousness, is defeated by criminals, who are the antithesis of all that Okoroshi represents.

The enemy of the Nigerian urban totality is not merely villainous individuals who terrorize innocent people, but specific aspects of the culture of the city which foster the desire of citizens to pursue immorality and injustice. In the first scenes of the film, Raymond and his friend are depicted expressing a negative view of the culture of the city. Their discussion is utilized to frame the focus of the film, and it provides a basis for the justification of the emergence of Okoroshi. This ancestral spirit emerges to counter the immorality and injustice of the city by punishing crime and defending the helpless people of the city. However, Okoroshi, in embarking on his ''holy'' mission, does not proceed with a simple binary between good and evil, especially in his perception of the city's moral decline.

Despite his advocacy against sexual immorality, Okoroshi still protects a prostitute from harm and befriends her. With the prostitute, he attends nightclubs, which are portrayed as spaces where immorality is prevalent. The film utilizes this relationship to not only indicate the contradiction but to provide a nuanced perspective of socio-cultural issues of the city outside of the construct of the reductive opposition between good and evil. Okoroshi is drawn to the prostitute seemingly because he is against sexual immorality and injustice, and the prostitute,

who practices sexual immorality and is a victim of injustice and violence, creates a dissonance in Okoroshi where he has to simultaneously condemn and protect, leading to a moral impasse within him, which leads to his inertia with regard to the condemnation of the sexual immorality that characterizes the work of the prostitute. Okoroshi protects the prostitute from external threats, but, as far as his mission is concerned, he fails to protect her from herself, as she is depicted carrying on with her work in the final scenes of the film. This is another way in which the film rejects the simple binary of good and evil. It suggests that issues of immorality, injustice, and violence, which Okoroshi is concerned about, transcends the self and are symptoms of a much larger problem than the problem itself, and the problem is the culture of the city itself. Ultimately, Okoroshi is overwhelmed by the evil of the city as crime continues to be rampant and immorality prevails. The film, in its projection of the relationship between Okoroshi, justice, and righteousness, communicates that the evil of the Nigerian urban totality has no ultimate saviour and no permanent resolution. There is no final solution to the socio-cultural issues of the urban space, every solution and intervention is provisional. It is a kind of post-Marxist view of the issues that engulf the Nigerian urban space.

Okoroshi is a force from the past that has no relevance in the modern Nigerian city.

Even though this ancestral spirit is perceived as the solution and a heroic force necessary in the city, there are instances where some characters perceive him as a villainous force. This is determined through the depiction of the reaction of two people to the transformation of Raymond into Okoroshi: His wife and Dr. Dauda. His wife is distraught and saddened by the loss of her husband to this ancestral spirit, which ultimately leads to his death. When searching for answers and a solution, she consults with Dr. Dauda who tells her of the dangers of the manifestations of the ancestral spirits on the host's body. Dr. Dauda details the calamitous and deadly results of all the people that have been possessed by the ancestral spirits. These two people do not perceive Okoroshi as the final solution to the social ills faced by the Nigerian society. They perceive and understand the manifestation of the ancestral spirit as a danger to the society from which it emerges.

Raymond's wife is portrayed as indifferent to the things that Okoroshi is preoccupied with. She is never depicted attempting to intervene in combating the negative aspects of the city. She is trying to save Raymond from Okoroshi while Okoroshi lays claim to Raymond to save the city. The transformation of Raymond into Okoroshi means the loss of her husband and raises concerns of agency as far as Raymond is concerned. Raymond does not necessarily choose

Okoroshi, but he is given no option but to submit to the entity. His wife struggles to reconcile with this and wishes to claim Raymond from Okoroshi, as she sees them as two separate beings. While Okoroshi insists that the city can be saved from its immoral and decadent ways, the wife's existence refuses this outlook by insisting on reclaiming Raymond. Okoroshi and the wife become rivals over Raymond, and this rivalry reinforces the contest between two perspectives: one views Okoroshi as the final and only solution to the ills that plague the city, while the other views the city as a space that needs no saviour.

In *Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019),* villainous acts are performed by powerful individuals in the business sector of Senegal. In the first scenes of the film, we are introduced to the hard work of the construction workers through a montage of their labour at a construction site, and this site is presented as the venue of marginalization and villainy by the montage of the workers protesting for their salaries to be paid. The construction of these characters functions on the dichotomy between villainy and innocence. The former montage constructs the innocence of the hardworking construction workers, and the latter montage depicts the villainy of the management staff.

The portrayal of heroism is derived from the way in which the film frames villainous people. The very first act of heroism in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is by the workers challenging the exploitative tendency of the construction company by demanding to be remunerated for their labour through protest. The second act of heroism is witnessed in the possession of young female citizens by the spirits of the deceased construction workers to seek justice by pursuing the owner of the construction company to pay their wages, and by burning his property. The film deploys a Marxist framework in constructing villainy and heroism through the division of labour. It depicts these statuses through the antagonism between two classes: the bourgeois dominant class and the working class. This fissure between the two classes is also indicated by the economic disparity that is reflected by the distinct infrastructural contexts in which the two classes of people exist. The solution to this antagonism and the resolution of the conflict between villainous and innocent characters also follows the Marxist notion of solution-revolution because it suggests a total upending of the order of the dominant class, which is personified by the exploitative owner of the construction company. Žižek (1989) elucidates the notion of solution-revolution as a Marxist notion of an effective solution of all particular problems.

This solution-revolution is personified by the actions of the possessed female citizens in coercing the exploitative owner to pay what he owes the workers and dig their graves in an attempt to retaliate for their physical exploitation. This solution is presented as the final measure because it is propelled as a course of action that resolves all conflicts and antagonisms in the film. For instance, the death of the workers plunges Ada into an undesired arranged marriage, and the possession of the female citizens signals the invasion of their bodies, which translates into the plight of the exploitative owner. All of these conflicts and dilemmas are resolved by the payment of the workers by the exploitative owner. When they are paid their wages, the spirit of Souleimane, Ada's true love, is able to resolve her romantic void; the spirits of the deceased workers cease to possess the female citizens, thereby removing the suffering of the exploitative employer by the possessed female citizens.

Nationalism, villainy, and heroism.

These constructions of people in relation to the mythology of indigenous heroism and villainy have a relationship with nationalism – that is the way in which the film imagines and advances ideas about Nigeria and Senegal as nations. Anderson (2006) defines the nation as a political community that is imagined as sovereign and inherently limited. He maintains that this political community is imagined because the members or people of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, yet the image of the communion lies in each other's minds (Anderson 2006: 06). Anderson (2006) argues that what makes the new communities imagined was capitalism, human linguistic diversity, and technology of communications (print). Anderson (2006) refers to the nation as imagination, as a mental state shared by or that is common to members of a particular community. It is a psychic performance for it is not tangible but produced and reproduced through imagining.

Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) imagines Nigeria as a split nation in terms of culture and religion. It is a split nation precisely because it constantly attempts to negotiate between indigenous and Western cultures and religions, and these cultures and religions are in constant conflict, competing for relevance. Beyond this, the film depicts this contradictory element of the Nigerian identity through its people. It achieves this through the character of Tatuma who is represented as forming an identity (training to become a nun) and attempting to discover her true self through understanding the meaning of the tattoo on her chest, which is related to her indigenous roots. The Nigerian nation is also represented as a religious community because the film portrays such people practicing religion and their daily lives shaped by the dominant religions in their society.

It is also imagined as a modernizing nation in relation to the aesthetic economy and cultures that are dominant in the city space, as a location of modernization. In this city space, Western fashion choices, such as clothes, are emblematic of modernization in the Nigerian society. In its articulation of modernization, the film appears to reject indigenous cultural expressions and mark them as obstacles to this modernizing Nigerian nation. This modernization is articulated through the depiction of modern infrastructure in the city. The film imagines the city, which is made up of modern infrastructure, in relation to the village, which consists of old indigenous infrastructure, such as huts, positioning these spaces as conflicting localities, and alluding to the relationship between past and present, with the village representing the past and the city representing the present. The film suggests that this past should not be embraced because, in its imagination, the film portrays remnants of the past, such as the village and its culture, as oppressive, unjust, and evil. This modernization is not only articulated in relation to infrastructure but vis-à-vis people. The film portrays the Nigerian people as modern people because they are depicted speaking Western languages, wearing Western clothes, and practicing Western cultures and religions. According to the film, the threat to this modernization is the reluctance of the village people to abandon indigenous cultural and religious practices that are situated outside of the scope of modernity. The result of this reluctance is the disunity and disharmony of the Nigerian society. Ultimately, the vision of Nigeria, as a modern nation, rests on the contestation between indigenous and Western modes of being.

The film offers a solution to the disharmony and disunity of the Nigerian nation in its final analysis of the religious conflict in the final scene. In the final scene, the film utilizes the character of Kamani to resolve the antagonism between indigenous and Western religious practices by depicting Kamani, an indigenous religious subject, aiding Christian characters in defeating the antagonist of the film, which is the chief priest of the indigenous religion in the village. However, this resolution of the antagonism is provisional because it does not propose convergence, but indigenous people's submission to the will of the Western religious practice, opening the possibility for opposition in the later stage. This image of the Nigerian nation is flawed because its basic requirement for the fantasy about the nation is consensus, which is intrinsically exclusionary. The result of this exclusion is the othering of other religious practices outside of this fantasy of Nigeria. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the mythology of the city is deployed in the imagination and advancement of ideas about Nigeria as a nation. The film advances certain ideas about Nigeria as a nation through its construction

of the city. It deploys the concept of multiculturalism to construct the Nigerian nation. It depicts multiple cultures coexisting in the same locality. There is a presence of indigenous cultures and Western cultures in the city, and this is evidenced by the variety and multiplicity of cultural clothing, languages, and social conventions.

The film also depicts the Nigerian society as comprised of people who are in constant negotiation of their spiritual positions – that is their perception of various spiritual practices. For instance, in the case of the transfiguration of Raymond into Okoroshi, the film provides indigenous and Western views and approaches to understanding spiritual phenomena. The indigenous approach to understanding the spiritual conundrum in which Raymond finds himself is articulated by the Igbo People's Secret Society. The indigenous approach presents Okoroshi as the "messiah" who has come to restore the moral economy of the Nigerian society. The indigenous gaze on Okoroshi's emergence is unsuspecting and celebratory compared to the Western gaze cast by Dr. Dauda, which is sceptical and signals caution. Dr. Dauda's approach to comprehending the resurgence of Okoroshi relies on the use of reason and consultation with Western methodologically derived data, ignoring any possibility of this spiritual phenomenon being beyond objective intelligibility. This reinforces Mbembe's (1992) argument about postcolonial subjects. Mbembe (1992) argues that postcolonial subjects represent themselves as changing their persona and always undergoing mitosis. This is a condition that is reflected by Nigerian people in their negotiation between indigenous and Western modes of being.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) conceives of the Nigerian nation through ethnicity. Despite the cultural diversity articulated by the film, it presents Okoroshi, an ancestral spirit associated with the Igbo ethnic group, as a saviour of all citizens in the city regardless of their distinct cultures and ideological orientation. It deploys this ethnicity as a lens through which Nigerian society could be viewed and defined. The film, in contemplating national identity, emphasizes restoration, diversity, and tolerance.

It also depicts Nigerian society through the city as a society struggling with the effects of modernization. On the one hand, modernization has resulted in the multiplicity of cultural expressions and economic development, and on the other, it has led to a decline of the moral economy and alienation of the indigenous approaches to knowledge and ways of being. When Raymond's wife turns to the police to report the plight of her husband, she is rather laughed at instead of receiving the desired assistance. In this scene, the film portrays the Nigerian police

as lackadaisical, negligent, and incompetent. It is a critique of one of the fundamental markers of national identity – the law.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) imagines the Senegalese locality as a society engulfed by economic inequality. In the film, this economic inequality is seen in the context of infrastructure and labour. The housing infrastructure of the poor and working-class people is poorly developed as compared to those of the wealthy people. The labour of the workers is exploited without remuneration by members of the dominant class without any legal consequences. This relates to another idea that is communicated by the film about the Senegalese nation: inequality before the law.

The film portrays the Senegalese police unequally attending to the legal needs of the Senegalese people. The film provides three main acts of injustice which are depicted receiving different responses from the police. These acts include the exploitation of the labour of the construction workers without remuneration, the attempted burning of Ada's future matrimonial bedroom, and the trespassing of the possessed female citizens into the home of the exploitative owner of the construction company. In the case of the unpaid workers, there is no intervention or attention given to the matter by the police, and the film does not portray this as an option for the exploited workers because they do not explore it. The film depicts unpaid workers having to explore their own forms of justice to be paid their wages. The trespassing of the possessed female citizens is reported to the police by the owner of the property and an intervention is made by way of stationing a few police officers to patrol near the area of the property. In the case of the fire at Ada's wealthy in-laws' home, the legal option is also explored, and the police make an intervention. In investigating the cause of the fire, the police officer is portrayed as corresponding with his American counterpart to locate the perpetrator. The police officer is also seen visiting the homes of the suspects in his pursuit of the truth. What the film suggests with these imaginations is the inaccessibility of justice and legal services by poor Senegalese people.

Senegal is also portrayed as a nation engulfed by underdevelopment. I deploy this term carefully to refer to the economic situation of the Senegalese society. The film imagines this society as one without any meaningful economic progress. This is evidenced by the unpaid workers' attempt to migrate to Europe. Their decision to migrate to Europe reflects their nation's inability to cater to their needs and the lack of economic opportunities. The film utilizes the plight of the workers to engage with the idea of citizenship. The manner in which

it engages with the idea of citizenship suggests an approach to citizenship as a national identity that could be negotiated according to one's needs. The film highlights the ability of citizens to momentarily abandon their citizenship in pursuit of other forms of citizenship to fulfil their economic desires. It highlights the issues of migration that engulf the Senegalese nation, with some members of society opting to migrate from the country for an improved standard of living elsewhere.

The analysis of the mythology of villainy and heroism in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) has revealed a relationship with the fantasy of the nation which follows narrative and visual patterns. These films imagine their respective nations through distinct and, sometimes, similar cinematic devices. For instance, in its imagination of Nigeria as a nation, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) articulates the nation in three ways: Nigeria as a split nation, as a religious community, and as a modernizing society. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) portrays the Nigerian nation in terms of culture, spirituality, law, and ethnicity. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) depicts the Senegalese nation as an unequal society and economically challenged. The similarity between the three films' construction of the nation is their engagement with modernity. The three films depict their respective nations as modernizing societies.

In their mythology of villainous and heroic characters, the three films deploy a Marxist and post-Marxist approach. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) deploys a Marxist approach to depict the contestation between villainous and heroic characters because it suggests a single and permanent solution to the antagonism between these people. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) takes on a different approach to constructing these people. The film adopts a post-Marxist stance in the resolution of the fissure between villainous and heroic characters and elements by rejecting any possibility of a final and single solution for all antagonisms between these people and elements. The ancestral spirit is presented as a single solution to counter the immorality and injustice of the city, but its attempt to address societal issues is challenged by other members of the Nigerian urban society who have different interests and identities which are in conflict with all that Okoroshi represents. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) strongly deploys Marxist principles in imagining villainous and heroic people and resolving their conflict. In imagining these people, the film deploys the Marxist notion of the division of labour to indicate the fragmentation of the Senegalese society through distinct and conflicting classes of people. The resolution of this fragmentation also relies on the idea that all problems require a single solution, and this solution is for the exploited group to confront their oppressor.

Both *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) engage with the concept of citizenship as a stable identity that is not contested and negotiated, and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) approaches the idea of citizenship as a dynamic and always becoming concept that can be negotiated, depending on the various needs of the people who has assumed the status of citizenship. This is how the three films have portrayed heroic and villainous characters, and through their depictions, they have articulated their view of their respective nations.

Chapter 8: Past, present and future: Iconographies of time

In this chapter, the study is interested in the manner in which time is represented in the three films. It is concerned with the relationship between visuality and temporality. In investigating the films' interaction with the concept of time, the discussion will take on a threefold approach to temporality: the representation of the past, present, and future of Nigeria and Senegal. Beyond the interest in the three films' temporal representation of Nigeria and Senegal is the narrative and visual strategies deployed in constructing Nigeria and Senegal vis-à-vis time. In other words, this chapter will attempt to uncover how Nigeria and Senegal are portrayed in relation to their histories, how their present is depicted, and how their futures are imagined. In order to decode and understand the operation of these discursive and visual strategies, it is paramount that the representations of these strategies are articulated; that is what they represent.

In order to comprehend how the three films represent Nigeria and Senegal vis-à-vis time, there is also a need to outline what the past and present of Nigeria and Senegal are. In other words, it is paramount to be cognizant of the histories and present contexts of these societies. Thus, a brief outline of the histories and present contexts of Nigeria and Senegal will not be irrelevant.

Nigeria and Senegal in history

Nigeria and Senegal are complex and diverse nations with various historical moments. However, due to the focus of this investigation, which is underpinned by discourses on the antagonism of the relationship between African and Western cultures, this chapter will engage with the histories of Nigeria and Senegal from the colonial period to the present.

Nigeria was colonized by the British, whose way was paved to colonize the region in 1807, following the abolition of slave trade and the decision to establish a naval patrol to discontinue activities of slave merchants (Falola 2009:02). The colonization of Nigeria was accomplished either through the use of war or surrender due to the threat of war (Falola 2009:01). Falola (2009) states that the economic and political interests of the British created the violent confrontations that led to the colonization of Nigeria, and that the goal of the conquest was to establish imperial rule and control. The colonial domination was accompanied by violence and exploitation, which involved the use of violence power to pursue narrow economic objectives and the transfer of wealth outside of Nigeria (Falola 2009:16). Nigeria gained its independence from British colonial rule in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. The country has a population of over 200 million people (World Population Review 2023). It is a secular state with over 300

ethnic groups, with the Hausa, Yoruba, and the Igbo as the three largest groups (Statista 2022. Nigeria has been plagued by poverty, slow economic growth, economic inequality and security challenges (World Bank 2023). The Gini Coefficient Index of Nigeria's economic inequality is 42.7 as of 2019 (World Economics 2023).

Senegal was colonized by France from 1659 through the establishment of Saint-Louis and the seisure of the Island of Gorée in 1677, which was controlled by the Dutch (La Boda 1995:303). France imposed a policy of assimilation on the indigenous inhabitants of Senegal, which sought to transform indigenous people into French subjects through the deliberate education of the indigenous people in the French language and culture (Crowder 1962:01). According to Gellar (2020), the country gained independence from France in 1960. Senegal has a population of over 16 million people. It has approximately over 20 ethnic groups, with the Wolof, Fula, and Serer representing the three largest ethnic groups (World Bank 2023). Senegal is a secular and democratic state, with a large portion of the population practicing Islam. Some of the challenges that face Senegal are high levels of poverty, inadequate health, and education systems (Social Watch 2010). Senegal is also plagued by economic inequality, with its Gini Coefficient Index at 52.2 as of 2019 (World Economics 2023). These factors indicate the political economies of both Nigeria and Senegal, and function to contextualize the discussion of the temporal representation of Nigerian and Senegalese societies.

Nigeria and Senegal in past, present, and future

In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the temporal representation of Nigeria is engendered through the discursive and visual construction of culture and religion, and the representation of infrastructure in different contexts of the Nigerian society. The film does not directly make reference to Nigeria's past or history, but remnants of its history are represented in the form of religion. As articulated in the previous chapters, the film operates within a radical duality between two opposing religious practices, indigenous religion and Christianity, and the past is embodied by an indigenous religious practice, which is practiced in the village. The film attaches a sense of remoteness to the space in which this religious practice is dominant by depriving the space of any element of modernity, presenting it and all that it represents as the link to Nigeria's past. The film relies on the understanding of Nigeria as a postcolonial totality to frame the temporal categorization of religion. This is relative in that the construction of the indigenous religion as a remnant of the past can only be achieved in relation to other forms of religion representing a distinct idea of time: Christianity as Nigeria's present. When interrogating the colonial history of Nigeria, it has been discovered that religious practices such

as Christianity entered the Nigerian space as a result of colonialism. The film relies on this understanding of history in its representation of time.

The very space of this indigenous practice, the village, is deployed in its construction as Nigeria's past. The architectural trajectory of this rural topography is depicted as stagnant and sedentary. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), a sense of the past is articulated through the depiction of indigenous infrastructure, such as huts, which represent the cultural identity of the village. The present is communicated through the modern infrastructure of the city, such as the church and monastery, which are representative of the Western religious identity embraced by modern people in the city. The people are portrayed living in huts made of grass, wood, and mud in relation to the city's modern architecture. In this way, there is a relationship between religion, space, and time.

Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) utilizes religion and space in its construction of Nigeria's past, and the manner in which this past is narrativized suggests a very specific radical antagonism. The indigenous religion and its space, as elements of and the only link to the past in the film, are not depicted as forms of being that should be embraced and revisited. Instead, the film advocates for the total destruction of this religious practice and its modernization thereof because it is portrayed as representing injustice and oppression. It suggests that based on what this religious practice and its space represent, it should be rejected. It attempts to proceed with the view that African forms of religious expression should be beyond reproach, and any religious practice that fails to adhere to this quality merits rejection and condemnation. Functioning on the duality between indigenous and Western religions, the film represents Christianity as an antithesis of the indigenous religion, representing justice and liberation. Through its narrative strategy, it articulates the fiction of Christianity's perfection in order to introduce another temporal dimension in the imagination of the Nigerian totality: the present.

In imagining Nigeria's present, the film deploys Christianity as a religious practice dominant in contemporary Nigeria. This religious practice also has a relationship with space because the film portrays it as belonging to modern spaces, such as the city. In this way, a religious practice is associated with space and the idea of modernity. In this present Nigerian society, Christianity is presented as a force for good, attempting to solve social problems within the city space. This religious practice, unlike its opposite indigenous religion, is versatile. This is because it is depicted as possessing the ability to invade different and conflicting spaces; it is portrayed being practiced in urban and rural spaces. A modern Nigerian subject in the form of Father

Hano and a liberal subject in the form of Wally are seen invading the village in an attempt to solve its religious problems and eradicate injustice and oppression, encouraging the confrontation between the past and the present; the indigenous and Western forms of religions, modern and unmodern spaces, to advance a view that the past should be forgotten, and the village, its people and all that it represents, should be modernized. In this case, the modernizing power for this village is Christianity, and this is affirmed by the defeat of the village chief priest by Christian characters and the Christian baptism of Tatuma's child in the final scene of the film.

The future of the Nigerian society, as imagined through religion, is the unification of all spaces and people toward a society sharing common ideas and vision. The film articulates this through the portrayal of the religious turn of the followers of the indigenous religion to aid the interest and quest of Christian individuals. An indigenous religious subject is depicted in a physical fight with his religious leader to rescue Tatuma from her terrible fate orchestrated by the leader, thereby aligning with the interests of the Christian characters. This unification attempt is also amplified by the Christian baptism of Tatuma's infant in the village. The child is a metaphor for the end of duality to a state of oneness, and I use the term "oneness" very carefully here. It is a resolution of the antagonism that has characterized the Nigerian society. It signals a revision of the way of being, especially in the village, which has made its vulnerable members victims of oppression. It is not only the child who is new; the old have also become new through the child. From the antagonism, a modus vivendi has been created.

The film also represents time through culture. As previously articulated, the film depicts two spatial dimensions to temporality. In the spatial formation that is the village, cultural elements such as clothes are deployed in the imagination of the time: past, present, and future. In terms of the past, the film represents people wearing old traditional clothes in the village to portray ways in which time has progressed for different people. These clothes are mostly depicted in the village, and they only enter the urban space through a subject from the village who invades the urban space to capture a Christian subject. In the city, the film represents a sense of modernity through the depiction of characters wearing Western clothes.

Beyond clothing, the film represents time through the depiction of cultural behaviours and ideas. In the city, which is represented as the present, the film portrays characters that are morally ambivalent and liberal characters erotically dancing to music in a night club. The village people are represented as conservative because they are portrayed subscribing to a

moral code that forbids them from deviating from their moral principles and defying a religious authority. The film introduces liberal and modern people into the village to imagine the Nigerian future as consisting of modern and liberal individuals in both the city and the village. This sense of time is also depicted through the use of diegetic sounds. Sounds associated with Western music are predominantly utilized in the portrayal of the urban space and people, while those associated with the indigenous cultural expressions are deployed in the representation of the rural space and its people. However, some Western sounds are also utilized to represent people in the rural space.

Various semiotic techniques are also deployed in the temporal representation of the Nigerian society in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017). In portraying the village, which is dominated by remnants of the past, wide camera shots are deployed to accentuate the rurality of the space. These camera shots are used to show the vegetation of the space and the interaction between people and the space; that is the activities that the people perform in the space. These wide shots depict a boy walking by the river and running in the forest. They also portray violence between religious people. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) engages with a possibility of a calamitous future for Tatuma through the use of a dream sequence. This temporal reference depicts Tatuma having a dream about what awaits her at the village. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) deploys similar visual strategies in its temporal representation of Nigeria.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) engages with the concept of time through cultural aesthetics, symbols, and architecture. It deploys dream sequences in its engagement with the idea of time. In the first scenes of the film, Raymond is depicted in a dream, interacting with the ancestral spirits of the masquerade. These first scenes in which these dream sequences occur represent the simultaneous representation of the three temporal dimensions that are of interest to this investigation. The ancestral spirits, as beings of the past, and as entities who preserve it, interact with Raymond, a subject in the present, predicting and influencing his future action. The film makes it very clear at the beginning that Raymond is fond of the tradition of the masquerade, and the dreams about the ancestral spirits influence his decision to halt his hostility to the fate that they propose to him about the present. Through these dreams, Raymond is able to traverse two worlds of distinct but interrelated temporal dimensions. The film represents this tradition of masquerades as the past of the Nigerian Igbo society. Through this ancestral tradition and Okoroshi, the film is reminiscent of the past through its critique of the moral decadence of the Nigerian totality, suggesting the existence of an opposite moral economy in the past, which is contemplated comparatively in relation to the present society. These dreams

signal the intervention of the past in the present. The Nigerian urban space is portrayed as morally distinct from the vision of the ancestral spirits.

The present Nigerian urban totality is also represented through cultural elements. The film depicts the people of the city wearing Western clothes in various spaces, such as in professional settings, spaces of leisure, and the streets. In this present Nigerian society, Western ideas about beauty, knowledge, and professionalism inform the manner in which people represent themselves through fashion choices, as well as how they behave in various contexts. For instance, the film portrays female characters wearing weaves and dresses in different spaces. Male characters are also represented wearing jeans and shirts. In professional spaces, Western clothes are used as work uniform, and they dominate and determine whether people in these spaces appear professional or not. Professional characters are depicted wearing Western clothes, such as suits and dresses at an office in the city. These Western fashion choices also dominate spaces of knowledge, such as Dr. Dauda's office, in which people are portrayed in Western clothes. The film also portrays the attitudes of the people in these spaces as informed by the Western idea of liberalism. At the nightclub, male and female characters wearing Western clothes are represented engaging in morally questionable acts, such as dancing erotically, excessively drinking liquor, and smoking. In spaces of knowledge production, the attitudes of knowledge-producing people, such as Dr. Dauda, are critical of the manifestation of the past of the Nigerian society in the form of the transformation of Raymond into Okoroshi.

The emergence of Okoroshi through Raymond represents the effort by forces of both the past and the present to shape the future of the Nigerian society. The future that is imagined by the film, through the interaction between two different temporal dimensions, is one devoid of moral decadence and injustice. By attempting to correct the ways of a society that has supposedly lost its way, the future of this society is thus positioned as requiring the destruction of elements that enable the moral decay of society to prevail.

The future of Nigeria is also imagined through justice. The film depicts past and present interventions to circumvent injustices in the city in order to make way for a more just Nigerian society in the future. The purpose of the emergence of the ancestral spirit in this urban totality is the restoration of the morality and justice of the Nigerian society, as defined by the ways of the ancestral spirits. Thus, in essence, *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) represents the future of Nigeria as a return to the past. The past as not referring to regression, but a return to an indigenous system that ensures adherence to moral standards and justice by people in the

Nigerian urban space. This attempt by past and present forces fails to create this future for Nigerian, as the film depicts the demise of Raymond to criminality, consequently constructing the future of this Nigerian totality as its present. In other words, the film propels the Nigerian present as the inescapable and inexorable trajectory into the future. Thus, the temporal representation of Nigeria in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) is characterized by the antagonism between past and present characters, contending and competing for the determination of the society's trajectory into the future.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) depicts high-rise, multistorey buildings in the city to articulate the modernity of the Nigerian present. It conveys a sense of the past through the portrayal of old multistorey buildings in the midst of very modern buildings to communicate the temporal contrast through architecture. It also depicts indigenous figurines as symbols of the past in the urban Nigerian society, and the symbols of the present, in the form of Christian accessories, dominate the spaces of city. In the film, there are 12 occurrences of Christian objects and no occurrence of indigenous religious objects.

Okoroshi is a possibility in the future, as Dr Dauda confirms that he will return. Okoroshi retains a special status in this Nigerian society. He is part of the past, present, and future. He emerges from the past to intervene is the present to shape the ideal future. It is not his last occurrence because the anomie still exists in the Nigerian society, and as long as it does, Okoroshi must return.

The visual techniques deployed in visualizing time in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) is the flashback and the montage. Maureen Turim, in *Flashbacks in film: memory and history*, explains the flashback as "an image or filmic segment that is understood as representing temporal occurrences anterior to those in the image that preceded it. The flashback concerns a representation of the past that intervenes within the present flow film narrative" (Turim 2013:01-02). The montage is deployed to represent the fast paced and bustling city, and functions to emphasize the central role and importance of time in the city. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) deploys these techniques in their representation of time.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) also represents time through cultural aesthetics and architecture. In its engagement with the concept of time, *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) takes on a similar dimension to that of *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). This is because *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) also depicts the convergence of two distinct temporal dimensions: past and present. This temporal convergence is articulated through spiritual possession. This spiritual possession

involves the interference of the dead in the affairs of the living. This is the overlapping of the past and the present to solve issues that were in the past and still in the present. In the film, the spirits of the deceased construction workers are portrayed possessing young female citizens in an effort to seek justice. Similar to *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the collaboration of the past and present functions to correct errors of the present. However, contrary to *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the proposition in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is not the return to the past because the issues of the Senegalese society are not attributed to any deviation from a historic mode of being, but to the corruption and inequality fostered by the modern capitalist society. The past also intervenes in the present through the spiritual possession of the inspector to influence present events. The inspector is depicted being possessed by the spirit of Souleimane to attempt to sabotage Ada's engagement.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) represents the present through modern elements, such as clothes. The film portrays the modern Senegalese society as one informed by Western modes of being because it depicts the people of this society wearing Western clothes in various spaces. The entire present Senegalese space is dominated by Western clothes. For instance, there are 166 occurrences of Western clothes compared to 42 occurrences of indigenous African clothes. The film deploys the montage to interact with the concept of time. The film uses the montage to highlight the pace of time in the urban totality. It uses the montage to capture the labour of the construction workers, their issues, and their relationships with their society.

The future in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is represented through the engagement of Ada. Women and men are portrayed wearing traditional clothes both inside the house and outside at the venue of the engagement ceremony. This ceremony is the only link to the future presented by the film. It is an element of the future because it assures and guarantees future possibility in the form of a marriage. However, this future is not embraced by all people. Ada's deceased significant other possesses a police inspector to prevent this future from taking place by setting fire to Ada's future matrimonial home. This force from the past, through spiritual possession, imprints himself on Ada's future through constant interference in her life through the spiritual possession of the police inspector. In this way, a past entity and a present subject amalgamate to manipulate the future to suit the interest of the past entity in the form of the spirit of Souleimane.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the present past, which is manifested through the spirits of the deceased, returns to haunt what I call the regressive present, symbolized by an unequal and

exploitative Senegal. The film evokes the memory of slavery, with the Atlantic Ocean serving as a site of both death and renewal, and the return of the workers for their wages serving a metaphor for reparations. In fact, before the spectral return of the deceased workers, tension-inducing music is consistently used in wide shots of the ocean to communicate a sense of anxiety and discomfort about the ocean. The music is deployed to transform the ocean from a simple force of nature to phantom-producing waters. The ocean does not merely create or carry phantoms that will appear to haunt Senegal; it does the haunting itself. The spectral return of the past functions as a reformatory force, challenging the regressive nature of the present. It also emerges as an empowering force, transforming vulnerability to strength. For instance, in the film, we encounter female characters who have their own individuality, but they have their ability to exercise choice hindered. An example of this is the arranged marriage of the main female character, Ada. She strongly opposed to marriage, but she is ultimately unable to avoid due to the pressure from her mother and the disappearance of her romantic partner. Her opposition signifies her individuality and agency, and her inability to avoid the marriage signifies the hindering of choice.

The possession of the women in the narrative removes the barriers to choice, while simultaneously transforming the women into active agents in the narrative, playing an active role in shaping the future. This possession, which could be read negatively as an invasion of the body, emerges in this context as a positive force. This haunting goes beyond the critique of social and economic injustices in the modern Senegalese society to expose a deep-seated anxiety about the future, which, prior to the spectral intervention, remained an unsettling moral void.

The present's belligerence towards the past articulates a desire for a Generic City. Koolhaas (1995) defines the Generic City as an urban space that is devoid of any cultural identity or any distinctive characteristics. Koolhaas (1997:1249-1250) posits:

> The Generic City is the city liberated from the captivity of centre, from the straitjacket of identity. The Generic City breaks with this cycle of dependency: it is nothing but a reflection of present need and present ability. It is a city without history. It is big enough for everybody. It is easy. It does not need maintenance. If it gets too small, it just expands. If it gets old, it just self-destructs and renews. It is equally exciting, or unexciting, everywhere. It is "superficial", like a Hollywood studio lot, it can produce a new identity every Monday morning.

This desire for a Generic City also articulated by both Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) and The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019). This desire leads to a contest between the past and the present, as each insist on its own existence and relevance.

Harris (2020:35) draws on Derrida's idea of ghosts to argue that apartheid haunts democratic South Africa, as "it is present although it is past". Harris (2020:35) argues that "slavery and apartheid live on through the war on Black bodies being waged by law enforcement in the United States, South Africa and many other countries". He argues that living ghosts or the living dead are created when oppressive pasts are allowed to live, when ideas like decolonisation and transformation are treated as metaphors (Harris 2020:35-36). This is what is seen in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). The spectral return of the deceased workers is necessitated by injustices that prevail, which are closely linked to issues of labour and gender. Okoroshi emerges because of the existing anomie, which he is tasked with addressing. The spectres also appear to introduce new forms of being that are different to those that habit the present, and once these spectres charge forward, they refuse to retreat until they are exorcised, and exorcising it entails addressing the very thing that leads to the haunting. Ultimately, the exorcism becomes the task of the haunted, but they must understand why they are being haunted, or the ghosts never retreat. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), it is the past that is sullied, so it emerges not to address a wrong, but to forcefully impose its will on the present. It appears to oppress, hinder, and punish those who disobey and deny it.

We can understand the cause of the haunting through intersectionality as an analytical tool. In the film, issues of class, gender, and labour intersect to create conditions for the phantom to manifest and haunt the present. The representation of women, as possessed by the phantoms, challenges the coloniality of gender by depicting them as strong characters with the ability to enact violence. They exist in contradiction to the colonial gender system that was observed by Lugones (2008).

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) also represents time through the representation of old buildings near the beach and residential areas, as well as modern buildings, such as the on-going construction of new buildings, and modern residential and commercial buildings, capturing a sense of the past, present and future of the urban Senegalese society. The old infrastructure is deployed to represent a sense of the past, while modern residential and commercial buildings represent the present. The depicted construction of buildings in the opening scenes of the film convey a sense of the future, and the cost that modernity demands to construct the future.

While Harrow (2007) argues correctly for an approach to African film studies outside of the assumption that African films respond to colonialism, the three films reveal, in an overt and sophisticated manner, nuances to the understanding of the relationship between film and coloniality and introduce a complication to this approach to African film studies. These films reveal that despite not responding to colonialism, some African films are still marred by colonial relations. They reveal the extent to which some African films operate within a virtually inexorable colonial matrix of power. This is because some of the dominant notions propelled by colonialism about African modes of being, culture, and religion are maintained by these three films, and this is embedded in their imagination of temporality.

The three films articulate a hostile position regarding the relationships of their societies with the past. The films advocate for the bastardization of the past, which is represented through indigenous religions and cultures, on the basis of them being indigenous and "unmodern". This has some relation to their imagination of the future: the three films suggest a departure from the past, from the 'backward' indigenous religions and cultures to the modern future characterized by the adoption of Western cultures and religions. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is clear about this precisely due to its operationalization of the duality between the village and the city. It positions these spaces as antagonistic in relation to the temporal trajectory of the Nigerian society, reducing them to a confrontation between regression and progress, functioning on the colonial notion of civilization. The film advocates for the "civilization'' of the past, through Christianity, into a modern present and future. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) achieves this through its construction of an entity from the past, Okoroshi, who possesses the present to shape the future. The efforts of this entity are rejected on the basis of nonconformity to reason and logic. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) also deploys this notion of an entity from the past possessing and manipulating the present to impose itself on the future. The nuance of this construction of the past in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) is that the past is not represented as a culture, religion, or an indigenous mode of being, but represented as an indigenous subject who is a victim of the brutality of the present, which ultimately relegates him to the past.

In this respect, it could be argued that these films are complicit in the production of negative myths about African cultures, religions, and the indigenous people who subscribe to them. These films suggest that these indigenous cultural and religious expressions belong to the past, discouraging their progression into the future. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) represent Nigeria and Senegal vis-à-

vis time through cultural and religious aesthetics, architecture, and through film techniques, such as the montage, flashback, and dream sequences. The temporal representations of Nigerian and Senegal by the three films indicate the ongoing legacies of colonialism in these African societies, and the ideological tensions between indigenous and Western cultural and religious expressions as a result of these legacies. They demonstrate, in great detail, the coloniality of power that characterize the modernity of the Nigerian and Senegalese societies. At a fundamental conceptual level, their representation of these societies vis-à-vis time reveals the dichotomization of cultural relations as a result of the contention between indigenous and Western ways of being and the constant negotiation of identity by subjects in postcolonial Nigerian and Senegalese societies.

In each of the three films, the past operates as a spectral force that destabilizes the present, exposing its vulnerabilities and questioning its claims to progress or coherence. The haunting of the present by the past underscores anxieties that underpin visions of the future. They also express very strong feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction with the present. In all the three films, the past is represented through esoteric spiritual practices and phenomena. To understand the reason for this representation of the past, we need to understand the intention of the resurgent past. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the past emerges to reclaim what it considers its own. It insists on fulling a destiny. In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the past emerges to address an injustice by persistently haunting the present. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), the past appears to cleanse the immoral and criminal city. It articulates itself as a force that remains in the shadows, but with its gaze perpetually cast on the present; it is always watching. There is a sense of omnipotence that it attaches to itself where it is paradoxically absent and present at the same time.

By interrogating these manifestations and intentions of the emergent past, it becomes clear that the esoteric spiritual practices are deployed to represent the past to articulate a sense of purity of the past and its superiority, as it emerges to discipline and restore, suggesting that because it possesses this ability, it is superiority to that which it disciples and whom it teaches. It only restores itself by taking from its past self to multiply in the present. In the films, the past insists on being present, and it intends for its presence to be haunting to the present. It opposes the present, as it understands it as an unpleasant temporal moment, which amplifies feelings of anxiety and fear culminating into a belligerent nostalgia. The present past is aggressive towards the present because it insists on being remembered simply because it is pure, and the present is

sullied. The deployment of the esoteric spiritual practices also functions to foreground indigenous gnosis.

In *The Lost Okoroshi*'s (Abba Makama, 2019) present, the past is persistent; it refuses to disappear completely. Efforts to remove it from the present succeed temporarily, as it can only be sealed but never completely destroyed. In the Derridean sense, there is no possibility of dissipating the phantom. Derrida (1994:21) refers to a haunting as an elusive spectre that engineers a habitation without proper inhabiting". Derrida (1994) argues that the phantom, which represents the past, cannot be made to disappear as it is simultaneous present and absence. In the film, it is revealed that the occurrence of Okoroshi will not be the last. The present is equally belligerent to the past, as its agents (criminals) lead to the demise of Raymond, the vessel of Okoroshi. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the past is able to disappear when its demand is met and when the guilty turn from their sinful and decadent ways. In these three films, the present is triumphant, and its triumph articulates a desire toward what Koolhaas (1995) refers to as a Generic City, which functions and exists beyond cultural identity.

The return of the past in the three films signals the "return of the repressed" in a Freudian sense. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the esoteric spiritual practice/fate of the Uzaburu, which is represented as the past, is repressed through Christian teachings and ways of life. The site of the repression is the monastery, which is filled with Christian symbols and figurines and prayerful followers, and it is in this space that Tatuma's "darkness" is being repressed and cleansed. The repressed first weaponizes Tatuma's curiosity about the tattoo to articulate itself in the present before it fully returns through Kamani's invasion of the city and the monastery. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), Raymond is depicted in a home with Christian symbols on the wall and a bible on a table. Every time he is haunted by dreams about the masquerade, his wife intervenes as a "repressing agent" by dismissing the dreams. Christianity operates as a repressing or sealing mechanism that works against Okoroshi's manifestation. Okoroshi finally confronts this sealing Christianity in the scene where he directly stares at the virgin Mary statue, confronting Christianity's claims to purity and his condemnation as a sullied agent. In the two films, modernity also acts as a repressing agent, as the characters ignore or repress the persistent past by clinging to their modernity, being modern individuals. There is no relating to the past in the modern city that embodies the present and future. This is why Okoroshi is given money in the city, a practice that he is against, as people do not know how to relate to him except the Igbo People's Secret Society, and this is why he is attacked by

criminals. It is the reason Tatuma is taken to the village for the ritual, as space that embodies the past, as the city is filled with Christian subjects and objects that repress it. It returns Tatuma to its stronghold. The past appears in the present despite attempts to repress it. The temporal representations of the three films echo Mignolo and Walsh's (2019) notion of "understanding the past to speak the present", as all the three films consist of narratives about the return of the past to the present.

The temporal representations of the three films communicate approaches toward decolonial temporalities. Maphosa and Makama (2024:08) define decolonial temporalities as "any notions and theorizations of time that lie outside the hegemonic nature of linear, colonial/Western conceptualization of time". The films emphasize temporal cyclicality as opposed to Western notions of time as progressive and linked to growth by foregrounding temporal balance and regeneration. The films communicate a reality of multiple temporalities. In the three films, we see multiple temporalities existing simultaneously: the past being present in the present. The films advocate for a decentring of the present by foregrounding the continuous impact of the past on the present, confronting past injustices and uncomfortable histories.

The films also speak to ancestry and temporality by availing, through ancestral memory, various temporal contexts which the characters are reconnected to. They are reconnected to ancestral memory and knowledge through possession. The commodification of time is also challenged by *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). The two films consist of workers in the narrative whose time is commodified, but they are taken from its constraints by ancestral spirits and death to transform them into phantoms that haunt the present as a temporal reality.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

At the beginning of this project, I set out to investigate three main questions in relation to how Nigerian and Senegalese films imagine and mythologize their societies: What narrative strategies and aesthetic devices do these films deploy in visualising Nigeria and Senegalese spaces and people? How do these African films depict the people of Nigeria and Senegal? The study considered the historical representations of African societies by Western films, which often produced negative messages about the continent. In this concluding chapter, I wish to revisit the 2017 questions and reflect on how they were addressed by this study.

The 2017 discussions claimed that Nigerian films were technically challenged when compared to Hollywood productions, making them unworthy of intellectual enquiry. This clam was clearly a generalization, which was ignorant of the totality and diversity of films being produced in Nigeria. The two Nigerian films that were interrogated by this study operated beyond the technically challenges raised in 2017, indicating that they were produced with a higher level of creative and financial investment. While technical quality is important to the film, it is not enough to evaluate a film's intellectual cogency solely based on its technical quality; a more nuanced assessment should take into account its thematic depth, cultural relevance, and its overall artistic merit. The thematic concerns of the three films include religion, indigenous traditions, labour, and morality, and these were contemplated within a postcolonial framework, as the films engaged with the legacies of colonialism and the state of their modernity. The study has responded to 2017 questions about the thematic concerns of Nigerian films by highlighting their thematic depth. The three films provided a rich account of how Africans imagine themselves and their spaces, which is far more important than the technical question.

The films offer new forms of resistance. In the terms of Spivak (1988), the subaltern only manages to speak after death, as phantoms. This reinforces Spivak's (1988:104) argument that "the subaltern cannot speak". They cannot speak in existence, as there is no platform, and those in power disregard their voices. Their voices become stronger through their spectral return to the present, simultaneously empowering the women in the narrative. Hauntology makes it possible for forms of resistance to emerge and for agency to be reclaimed.

The question concerning how the three films imagine African spaces was posed in relation to the leading literature's detailing of the representation of Africa in Western films. Dokotum (2002), Michira (2002), and Ukadike (1994) articulated that some Western films advanced

negative myths and stereotypical images of African people and spaces. The literature discovered that Western films perpetuated the negative notion of Africa as a "dark continent", a space in desperate need of civilization and modernization, and these concepts were not only informed by Western thought but were accompanied by Western interests of imperialism and colonialism. According to these scholarly works, the African characters in these films (*The Wooing and Wedding of a Coon* (1905), *The Kings of the Cannibal Islands* (1908), *The Slave* (1909), *The Sambo Series* (1911), *Missionaries in Darkest Africa* (1912), *Voodoo Vengeance* (1913), *The Terrors of the Jungle* (1913), *The Air Up There* (1994), and *Endurance* (1999)) were also portrayed as primitive, gratuitously violent, and incapable of objective intelligibility, fitting this imperial and colonial characterization of people who should be "civilized". These observations were made from reading early films of the colonial period and the post-colonial films made in America and Europe, and in Africa by Europeans.

In the reading of modern films, such as those of Hollywood, other scholars observed that despite the superficial appearance of positivity, Western films still perpetuated negative myths and images about African people and spaces. They maintained that though Hollywood films such as *Black Panther* (2017) appeared to represent African people and spaces positively, their analysis revealed the ideological subtleties and narrative strategies that functioned to maintain the Western negative image of African spaces and people. This literature traced the continuation of negative myths about Africa in modern Western films through the development of categories of representation. This is how early and post-colonial Western films narrativized and visualized African people, spaces, and cultures. As such, this research sought to extend the gaze further to the study of African films in other to shift scholarly attention from investigating how Western films imagine Africa to how these selected African films imagine their continent.

This investigation took on a multimodal approach by taking into consideration filmic elements such as clothing, music/sounds, language, and the narrative structure and development of *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019). In investigating the narrative strategies and aesthetic devices deployed in the imagination of Nigerian and Senegalese spaces and people, the study found that at a narrative level, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) narrativized Nigerian people and spaces through the deployment of antagonisms. The film relied on the operation of the fissure between indigenous African and Western cultures, religions, and spaces. It further radicalized this antagonism by suggesting that its resolution is the destruction of one form of being (which is indigenous African) to make way for another competing one (which is Western). In *Tatu* (Don Omope,

2017), this antagonism was depicted through the ideological conflict between indigenous and Western cultures and religions. The followers of these cultural and religious identities were portrayed as engaging in conflict against one another. The investigation also observed this antagonism in the film's interaction with the idea of space where a dichotomy between rural and urban was utilized to construct these spaces as conflicting totalities comprising of colliding people: good and bad spaces.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) did not deploy this dichotomy relating to space, but it did maintain the antagonism between indigenous and Western cultures. The only attempt to dichotomize space takes place through character dialogue, but there is no consistent visuality to maintain it. However, in relation to culture, an antagonism is introduced in the form of distinct and conflicting interpretations of the manifestation of the ancestral spirit, Okoroshi. On the one hand, there is an indigenous interpretation, which views and understands Okoroshi as a force for good, as well as an important cultural symbol and source of pride. On the other hand, there is a Western interpretation, which interprets and understands the ancestral spirit as a complicated and misguided entity whose actions ultimately lead to the destruction and demise of the possessed body. This construction is also radical because it advocates for the destruction of one perspective, which is the indigenous perspective espoused by Igbo cultural society. It is ideological and does not involve a direct contestation between individuals who subscribe to or share these perspectives.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) explores the ethical implications of urban modernity's fragmentation. The ancestral Okoroshi spirit's interaction with urban spaces, and its ultimate rejection of modern tools like money, emphasizes the values of community, tradition, and spiritual cohesion. The film critiques the moral and spiritual voids of urbanization. The film's depiction of space is a critique of what Lefebvre (1974) calls Representations of space. The film critiques Representations of space in Nigeria by presenting the urban space as morally and spiritually void, and it suggests that the reason for the void is due to the way the urban space is constructed. This is reflected by the scene where Raymond speaks to his friend about his sickness wherein the urban space is discursively constructed as a space of sickness. It is also reflected by the emergence of Okoroshi, who returns to haunt the urban space because of the existing anomie. The film does not propose a viable ethical framework for navigating anomie in urban African context because it proposes a spectral return of the forces of the past (Okoroshi) as a means through which the people of the city can navigate

anomie. He is not only presented a solution; he is presented as an exemplary figure - a standard to aspire to and uphold.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) does not deploy these dichotomies relating to space, culture, or religion. It deploys the notion of the division of classes through the depiction of economic inequality and the exploitation of the working class in the Senegalese city. This economic inequality was observed to be related to space, as the film depicted different and distinct residential areas, reflecting the inequality. There was no contestation between indigenous and Western cultures, but there was a contestation between classes, as working-class people were depicted invading a bourgeois space in direct confrontation with its people. However, indigenous cultures appeared to be relegated to the background because Western cultural aspects, such as clothes, ideas, traditions, and behaviours dominated the different ways in which the Senegalese people expressed themselves. One aspect of indigenous cultures that is utilized for self-expression is language (Wolof). Therefore, Western expressions and practices are dominant in *Tatu (Don Omope, 2017)*, *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019). In summation, these include clothing, religion, and languages. The statistical data shows 117 occurrences of African clothes across all three films and 315 occurrences of Western clothes; 22 occurrences of indigenous African religious practices and 43 occurrences of Christian practices and objects; and 85 occurrences of indigenous languages and 119 occurrences of Western languages.

Through these imaginations of the relationship between indigenous African cultures and Western cultures, it is evident that the three films are produced in contexts where the legacies of colonialism and the global hegemony of Western cultures are prevalent. In other words, the films reveal, to a larger degree, the extent to which both Nigeria and Senegal interact with the legacies of colonialism and global Western cultural hegemony, and these legacies and evidence of Western cultural hegemony is the adoption of European languages, cultures, and religions. The three films do not challenge these legacies to make way for indigenous ways of expression and being. The films discourage this possibility by insisting on Western ideas of being, beauty, visibility, and appearance at the expense of the indigenous cultural perspectives and ways of being. As imaginaries, the three films advocate for the divorce from indigenous cultures, and their relegation to the background, only to be invoked for ceremonial and commemorative purposes. In other words, the films suggest that these indigenous cultures should occupy the realms of memory rather than practice. This is fortified by the statistical data which shows more depictions of Western religious practices, clothes, and languages. However, there are

instances where the films challenge these legacies of colonialism. For instance, *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) portrays Okoroshi as the saviour of the Nigerian city. It uses more African music and sounds in its construction of characters and spaces. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) has more occurrences of African clothing, while the *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) have more occurrences of African languages compared to Western languages.

It could be argued that the deployment of these narrative tools and aesthetic devices by the three films reveals the extent to which both Nigeria and Senegal are affected by the legacies of colonialism. The colonial legacies in Nigeria are articulated through culture, religion, and language. The Nigerian films, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), depicted Nigerian people speaking European languages (example), practicing European religions (Christianity), and performing European cultures (fashion). The colonial legacies in Senegal are depicted to be embedded in culture and the political-economic configuration of the Senegalese society, which has resulted in a system that facilitates economic marginalization of the Senegalese people. Western aesthetics consistently occupy the frames of *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), as Western forms are inherited through colonialism and entrenched by the Western global cultural hegemony. These include clothing and accessory choices. This cultural hegemony is fortified by the appearance of the American national flag in the clothing of urban Senegalese people. The appearance of such national symbols demonstrates the strength of American nationalism and the influence of Hollywood imaginaries in African spaces.

One could argue, simplistically, that the narrative strategies devices deployed by *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) function to perpetuate the negative myths about African people, spaces, and cultures. These devices, especially in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), fortify and suggest an appropriation of the ideological image of the uncivilized African subject whose incivility warrants outside intervention to be civilized and interpolated into Western cultural ideas, aesthetics, and forms of religion. *Tatu'*s (Don Omope, 2017) depiction and narrativization perpetuates the image of the dictatorial African leader, facilitating dictatorial spaces and religions, an individual whose demise could be pre-empted, or his dictatorship countered by Western ideas and modes of being embodied by a "civilized" African.

The deployment of antagonisms relating to visual and narrative strategies operates effectively in the creation of "other" categories in the perception of culture and people. This is due to its

radical demand for total submission and adherence to the dominant and hegemonic mode of being in the form of Western cultures and religions. This radical demand for "others" indigenous modes of being in its attempt to hegemonize Western cultures and ways of being. Any attempt to reinforce these strategies (of antagonisms), be it in favour of indigenous cultures or against them, runs the risk of misrepresenting indigenous localities and their history, as articulated by the leading literature. The strategies of antagonism discourage nuanced interpretations and understandings of African identities and realities, and they advance an essentialist understanding of African identities by suggesting that there are elements that are essential to African identities and any that fall outside of their scope are not to be considered African. Due to historical events such as colonialism and globalization, African cultures, religions, and ideas have come into contact with other global forms to shape and influence each other. Thus, claims of authenticity in relation to African identities are problematic, and so are the tendencies to present them as inherently contradictory or antagonistic to Western forms. The films, despite the representation of antagonisms, have revealed that Nigerian and Senegalese citizens deploy Western and African clothes, ideas, languages, and religions in expressing themselves and relating to their environment. In other words, similar to what Mbembe (1992) articulates in relation to the understanding of the post-colony, the practice of African films need not be deeply concerned with the deployment of binary oppositions - the elevation of one culture should not denote the erasure of another.

In my attempt to uncover the normativity that frames the imaginaries of the three films, I also found that the narrative antagonisms which pit African and Western cultures against each other, took on a temporal dimension.

The way of being in *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is represented through the unity of the family in the rural area under the sanctity of the church, and the baptism that takes places in the village, which communicate themes of resurrection and go beyond the domination of Western ways of being to articulate an interaction between indigenous spiritualities and imposed religious frameworks, creating hybrid ways of being; a new way of being in the Nigerian society. A Nigerian way of being in the context of *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) consists of a cultural hybridity that begins as a radical duality before it becomes whole. The fragmentation of society is acknowledged with a desire for oneness. Before the baptism, which signals the moment of synthesis, the film depicts a very cultural and religiously divided Nigerian society that is filled with contestations, and it is the baptism that ends the antagonism. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017),

it is contradiction itself that leads to unity. This way of being is different from those communicated by *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019).

In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), there is a desire for oneness, but it is not achieved through the unity of opposites. They do not propose cultural hybridity as a new way of being going into the future. The way of being in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), which is embodied by Okoroshi himself, conflicts with the Western way of being which is embodied by people of the city, and Okoroshi actually emerges to save them from it. There is no desire for these two forms of being to merge. Instead, each insists that it cannot exist with another. In the end, what we see is the demise of Okoroshi without any long-term success.

In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the film articulates a way of being through themes of love, gender, and labour. The phantoms that emerge to possess the young women come with their own way of being, whose gaze is critical of the modern way of being, which is already a coexistence of indigenous and cultural elements. Although there is a coexistence, there is no hybridity that is articulated. These ways of being exist together, but they do not come together to form a new way of being, and this is the difference between *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017): A new way of being is created through the unity of opposites in Tatu (Don Omope, 2017), but it is not articulated in *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019).

The ethical contributions articulated through the films is the promotion of social change, social justice, cultural preservation, and challenging structures of power. It is also the centring of indigenous ways of being as important in understanding Nigerian and Senegalese experiences with the legacies of colonialism. The values articulated are justice and fairness, freedom and autonomy, community and solidarity, and redemption. Although the three films are different in their articulations of the ways of being, their representations take on a decolonial approach, which foregrounds the role of indigenous knowledge systems, lenses, and religious practices in engendering imaginaries. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the new way of being articulated in the form of a hybrid foregrounds the significance of indigenous understandings of religion and culture in contemplating the future. In *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) demonstrates the ongoing impact of colonialism on the cultural and religious values of Nigerian societies. It puts indigenous forms of gnosis represented by the Igbo People Secrete Society, against Western thought, which is embodied by Dr. Dauda in conversation with each other to

interrogate the legacy of colonialism, which has resulted in the erasure of indigenous religious systems, as seen in the film, who have to emerge as phantoms of the past to contribute to the present and the future. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) highlights the colonial legacies embedded in labour relations in Senegal to demonstrate how Senegalese people engage with them.

On the one hand, indigenous cultures are imagined as cultures of the past, existing outside of any possibility for interrogation and comprehension, simultaneously foreclosing the possibility of their embrace and acceptance. On the other hand, Western cultures are presented as cultures of the present and future, possessing the right to dominate and condemn indigenous cultures, fully embraced and completely compatible with the modernized Nigerian totality. These cultural contestations are subtle yet very present in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019).

The subtly of the contestation in *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) is manifest at the level of ideology. For instance, the film depicted conflicting perspectives about the transformation of Raymond into Okoroshi, the ancestral spirit. The manner in which these views are expressed suggests a kind of dichotomy between African and Western cultural perspectives. This is where the contestation takes place because the indigenous cultural people deploy their cultural wealth and lived experience to comprehend the phenomenon of Okoroshi. On the other hand, the people who subscribe to Western thought deploy Western rationality and methodology to understand the transformation of Raymond into Okoroshi, which operates in refusal and negation of the indigenous understanding of the cultural phenomenon. This is how the ideological contestation emerges; the two perspectives are informed by very distinct ideological points of departure. The narrative privileges the Western cultural perspective in the contestation because it is the perspective that ultimately emerges triumphant because it accurately predicts the demise of Okoroshi. Unlike the indigenous cultural perspective, it is free of the intimate attachments that entrap indigenous interpreters and hinder rationality. This is consistent with the statistical data which shows that the film deploys various Western cultural elements (clothes and language) to portray the people of Nigeria than they do indigenous elements.

This subtle contest for relevance is also expressed in the form of fashion choices. In many instances in the film, indigenous clothes are dominated by Western clothes. The film depicts indigenous people wearing Western clothes a lot more than they wear indigenous clothes. However, unlike *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), *The Lost*

Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) depicts a fusion between indigenous African aesthetics and Western aesthetics by portraying indigenous characters wearing Western clothes made of indigenous style and material. The dominance of Western clothes and the evanescent appearance of indigenous clothes show that Nigerian people relate to their world and express themselves through Western cultural elements. It shows that Western clothes have become part of the indigenous cultural practices and experiences. Thus, just as *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) envisages an antagonistic relationship between indigenous and Western cultures. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) represents the Senegalese society as enveloped by Western ideas of beauty and self-expression. The attitudes, behaviors, and ideas of the people are informed by Western cultures. The film does not envisage an antagonistic relationship between indigenous cultures and Western cultures because it does not depict any indigenous cultural practices. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) depicted two cultures: Arabic culture and Western culture. These cultures are portrayed as incompatible but simultaneously allowing space for each other's existence and expression.

In many ways, these representations and imaginaries echo the struggle with identity in post-colonial and modern Nigerian and Senegalese societies where Western normativity informs how indigenous people react or respond to indigenous cultural and religious practices or phenomena. My study exemplifies a need to shift from approaching African film studies with the idea that African films are characterized only by an interaction between indigenous and Western cultures. Some African films interact with cultures outside of the scope of what is considered Western. For instance, *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) depicts an interaction between the indigenous Senegalese people and Arabic culture and religion.

These influences on how the Senegalese citizenry express themselves were not explored by this study because it was beyond the scope of the research. The aim of the investigation was to investigate the production of myths and imaginaries by Nigerian and Senegalese films within the scope of the history of colonialism and the Western global cultural hegemony. Another aim of this research was to investigate the complicity of African films in producing negative myths about their own people, cultures, and spaces. In this regard, one could argue that *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) produce negative myths about Nigerian people, spaces, cultures, and religions. These myths and stereotypes include Nigeria as a dangerous nation, consisting of some indigenous inhabitants who are primitive, intellectually bankrupt, and unreasonably prone to violence. The study uncovered the myth of the African urban totality. The two films depict the Nigerian city as a place of chaos,

uncertainty, sickness, immorality, and exploitation. The African urban area is depicted as a space of unending poverty and violence. The statistical data shows 19 occurrences of violence for *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and eight occurrences for *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) to support this.

I also wish to reflect on whether women's roles in the films challenge or reinforce prevailing paradigms of representation. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), Larayi's character as both a bearer of tradition and a seeker of transformation complicates narratives of subordination. Larayi's duality challenges the colonial narrative about African women as passive and submissive with representation of agency and independence of thought. In *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019), the possession of women by the spirits signals the reclamation of agency, empowering the women and transforming them into active agents. Their possession merges feminist and decolonial critiques as the return of the phantoms of the ocean functions as a metaphor for reparations, and the possession of the women allows them to reclaim their agency. Drawing on Lugones' (2008) ideas on how the colonial gender system imposed rigid distinctions between what was considered masculine and feminine, the spirits of the dead workers complicate the rigid distinction by allowing the women in the narrative to perform both masculine and feminine acts.

I also wish to revisit the imaginaries of Nigerian and Senegalese films to reflect on whether they augment or counter negative myths about their people and spaces, as was done by colonial films and some Western cinematic productions, as demonstrated by Ukadike (1994), Shaka (1999), Michira (2002), and Dokotum (2020). The assumption is not that African films essentially respond to these issues, but they are placed in a context where these issues exist. That is to say that we cannot possibly think of African cinema outside its historical and present contexts. African films exist and are produced in contexts where the effects of colonialism are ongoing and Western cultural ideas are hegemonic. Thus, it is paramount that African films are studied within this context if we are to understand their role in the imagination of African spaces, people, and cultures.

Knopf (2008) in "*Decolonizing the lens of power: Indigenous films in North America*" posits that the colonizing of North America was accompanied by a colonial discourse developed to serve as a transmitter of an ideology that seeks to legitimize colonial policies, cultures, and politics of the colonizing power while simultaneously imposing its view of the colonized "others". Knopf (2008) argues that this discourse dominates the contemporary North American

media. Knopf (2008) observes that Hollywood, American television, and ethnographic filmmaking have conjured and sustained the 'imaginary and ideological Indian', which is a series of humiliating, dehumanizing, and romanticized stereotypes of the indigenous people of colonized North America. Knopf (2008) details the relationship between film and the colonial discourse in North America. This relationship has been outlined by Ukadike (1994), Shaka (1999), and Dokotum (2020) in Africa. Knopf (2008) argues that the self-perception of colonial individuals of North America has been channelled through the colonial gaze in that the indigenous people of North America have often appropriated the image of the imaginary and ideological Indian, leading to self-denial, confusion, cultural alienation, and identity crises. In this submission, Knopf (2008) maintains that the destructive tendencies of colonialism are ongoing in North America, and they are perpetuated by contemporary North American media. My investigation deployed this argument in the design of its intentions, but without a determination that the films under scrutiny perpetuated negative myths about Nigerian and Senegalese societies. The study sought to uncover whether Nigerian and Senegalese films countered or augmented these negative colonial myths.

The analysis of *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) has revealed the possibility that African films produce negative myths about African spaces, people, and cultures. The three films do, to a certain extent, counter the Westernized hegemonic discourses about the continent. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) counters the Westernized hegemonic discourse of the "Dark Continent" by challenging this myth of the "Dark Continent" through the representation of the Nigerian totality as consisting of nuances. It represents it through the narrative and trope of good overcoming evil, and Nigerian people existing in complex and liberal spaces wherein they possess the free will to determine the course of their existence. It also challenges the view of Africa as a condemned space of poverty, violence, and underdevelopment through its depiction of development in the form of infrastructure. This depiction of economic progress is represented through infrastructure, such as buildings and roads. Poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment are still depicted by the film in relation to Nigeria, but the film does not propel and present these aspects as inherently definitive of the Nigerian society; they are presented as the challenges that have engulfed the modern Nigerian space.

Tatu (Don Omope, 2017) also challenges the idea of Africa as a monolithic totality by depicting the diversity and complexity of Nigerian society, characterized by different subjectivities, cultures, and religions. It portrays diverse and contemporary fashion choices that exist in the

Nigerian city, challenging the stereotypical idea that there is one common, often traditional way of dressing in Nigeria. This is also fortified by the statistical data showing more occurrences of African clothes (46) compared to Western clothes (41).

However, to a greater degree, *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) also augments some Westernized hegemonic discourses and images about African spaces, cultures, and people. One Westernized hegemonic narrative that the film fortifies is that of African cultures and people as aspects that need to be civilized, and this manifests in the form of religion. The film fortifies the principles of Western religions to the detriment of indigenous religious practices. It suggests that Nigerian people need to be disconnected from their "evil" indigenous religious practices to embrace "good" Western religious practices. Based on the formulation of the film, any attempt at religious expression through indigenous lenses is illegitimate. In essence, it suggests that it is Western religions that must legitimate the ways in which the indigenous inhabitants of Nigeria imagine themselves and their existence. It dichotomizes indigenous African religions and Western religions whose direct confrontation should spell the annihilation of and a departure from indigenous forms of religions by those people who desire "civilization" and "repentance".

This constitutes a negative myth and imaginary about Nigeria due to its consequences. The consequence of such narrativization is the bastardization of indigenous forms of being, and this is informed by the same normativity that drove the production of the previous negative myths about African spaces and people by Western cinema, as articulated by the literature of Okadike (1994), Shaka (1999), and Dokotum (2020). Even the film's visualization of indigenous people advances negative discourses about the people of Nigeria. The analysis of the film, in this respect, revealed that it deployed semiotic strategies to depict indigenous people who practice indigenous religions as evil, manipulative, and tyrannical.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) took on a similar approach to *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) in countering or augmenting the Westernized hegemonic discourses about the African people, spaces, and cultures. However, it does not achieve this through narratives about religion, but through cultural narratives. The film augments these discourses through the triumph of the Western understanding of Okoroshi, as an ancestral spirit, and his demise over the indigenous understanding, marking the advancement of the Western categories of knowledge in comprehending indigenous cultural phenomena over indigenous forms of knowledge and legitimate cultural repository. Similar to *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), it expresses

a view that it is Western methodologies and ideas of knowledge that should provide a lens and legitimacy to how Nigerians think and make sense of their existence and cultures. In this way, the film promulgates negative narratives about indigenous Nigerian cultures. However, it is important to note that these narratives about indigenous cultures may not only be perceived as negative imaginaries about Nigerian spaces, people, and cultures but may be viewed as a critique of indigenous cultural practices. For instance, Okoroshi takes over Raymond's body without his consent, taking away his freedom to determine how he lives his life. The possession erases Raymond's individuality to transform him into a figure that does not belong to anyone or anything, placing the burden of serving society on him. By challenging the indigenous understanding of this phenomenon, it could be argued that the film critiques negative aspects of indigenous cultural practices.

The Lost Okoroshi (Abba Makama, 2019) counters Westernized hegemonic and colonial ideas about African spaces being monolithic through its depiction of cultural diversity and complexity. It challenges the idea of Africa as a place of development by depicting development in the form of infrastructure. It depicts an active Nigerian citizen through Raymond's refusal to be Okoroshi, by depicting him removing a bracelet that binds him to the identity of Okoroshi.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) deploys and relies on Western ideas of beauty because people are depicted turning to Western clothes and accessories for self-expression. The Senegalese people are also portrayed as turning to Western individuals outside of Senegal to solve indigenous problems, such as crime. Unlike *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), the film does not deploy narratives about civilization and modernity. In fact, the film challenges the very ideas about civility and modernity. It highlights the system of the division of labor imposed by Western economic ideas to critique state-facilitated economic inequality. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) complicates the Western ideas or modes of being advanced by both *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). However, this is not clear-cut. While the film challenges these forms of being, it still deploys Western cultural elements such as clothing in imagining the people of Senegal. It does not refer to indigenous solutions to indigenous problems but almost proposes a departure from the nationalist project by suggesting that solutions lie elsewhere outside of Senegal. This is articulated by the desire for migration narrativized by the film. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) counters and augments the Westernized hegemonic discourses about African spaces, cultures, and people, but augments them to a larger degree. It counters these discourses by resisting simplistic binaries. It is not only informed by indigenous

and Western ways of being, but also by Arabic cultures and religion, and this is reflected by the cultural and religious practices visualized by the film and the sporadic representation of Islamic practices. The film is also dominated by an indigenous language compared to *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019). As a combination, all three films rely on Western cultures in the imagination of Nigerian and Senegalese people.

It could be argued that the films counter what Mudimbe (1988) calls the "colonial library". Mudimbe (1988) deploys "colonial library" to refer to a collection of texts, epistemologies, and discourses that construct African through eurocentric lenses. The films, to some extent, challenge the colonial library by subverting colonial myths about Africans being primitive. They also foreground indigenous ways of knowing and being, challenging the colonial notion that they do not exist. However, these efforts to counter the colonial library are still presented through a Western filter, as Western aesthetics and ways of being are deployed in engendering the imaginaries. While there is a representation of an indigenous gnosis, it is challenged and ultimately repressed.

These films from Nigeria and Senegal imagined Nigerian and Senegalese societies as totalities engulfed by cultural and religious contestations. There is a negotiation between multiple identities by individuals, which often results in the attempt to converge very antagonistic cultural and religious identities. What is common in all three films is Western cultures' occupation of the present and imagination of the future, and indigenous cultures' occupation of memory, only making their way into the present through memorial rituals. Their depictions highlight the supremacy of Western cultures in African spaces and the decay of indigenous cultures. The films comprised themes of spirituality, crime, economic inequality, and marginalization.

These films, just as those observed by Ukadike (1994) about the uniqueness of African films, are politically and ideologically dialectical. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is not a political film because it does not articulate any form of politics or portray any political individual. It could be argued that its attempt at espousing a political view is in its construction of the relationship between the village people and its leadership, which is depicted as a relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed – and this oppression is enforced through religion. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) is ideologically dialectical. The film first maintains that African spiritual practices are oppressive and outdated through the depiction of negative aspects of indigenous religious practices. It then proposes a resolution to this oppressive nature of an indigenous

religious practice through the collaboration between Christian and indigenous religious characters to protect Tatuma from the evil of the chief. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) is not political, but it is also ideologically dialectical. It begins with the idea that Nigerian society is morally and ethically in decline. This is advanced by the portrayal of crime, immorality, and violence. It presents Okoroshi as a resolution of these negative elements, only to return to the original thesis, through the demise of Okoroshi and the triumph of criminality and immorality in the city.

Atlantics (Mati Diop, 2019) articulates several political viewpoints about Senegal society vis-à-vis economics and security, and these are that the Senegalese society is economically unequal, leading to a security threat to other citizens. The film is also dialectical because it begins with a view of Dakar as a city that is plagued by economic inequality and corruption, making reality unbearable and inescapable. The unbearable and inescapable reality is articulated through the death of the workers who try to escape it, leading to their manifestations as entities outside of reality, augmenting it via the spiritual possession of inhabitants who are subject to this reality that is unbearable. It proposes the migration of the workers as a solution, but, in the final analysis, through the death of the workers and their failure to migrate, articulates that the solution to the ills of Dakar should be developed by its inhabitants.

The three films also explore similar themes as the postcolonial films of Sissako, Quédraogo, Cissé, and Mambéty. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) explores the rural-urban duality in a similar manner to which Quédraogo and Sissako contemplate it. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) also conceives of the rural as representative of stagnation and the city as representing modernity. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) also explores migration and economic insecurity just as Mambéty's *Touki Bouki* (1973). In both *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) and *Touki Bouki* (2019), disgruntled Senegalese youth insist on migrating to France for a better life, and in both films, a challenge is posed to their efforts. They similarly imagine an economically unequal Senegalese society. Cissé's *Yeelen* (1989) shares similarities with *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017). *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017) and Yeelen (1989) are stories about tyrannical indigenous traditional figures, endowed with great magic and authority, abusing power, and even threatening the very lives of the people they lead. The difference between the films in this respect lies in their approach or method to purge evil. In *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), Tatuma borrows the power of the Catholic priest to confront the villain. In *Yeelen* (1989), Nianankoro deploys indigenous magic to confront his nemesis. Considering these similarities, it is evident

that despite the evolution of African cinema, contemporary filmmakers still engage with issues in their films in a manner that is reminiscent of the early African films.

These imaginaries are not merely reproductions of stereotypes or contradictions, but they represent attempts to articulate values and ways of being. What is articulated is the Nigerian and Senegalese ways of seeing and being. They articulate the cultural values that are unique to their societies to reflect on their modernity and their transition to the future. While the three films depict contradictions, they ultimately resist them. *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), through the baptism of the child, goes beyond contradictions to envision a new way of being that is characterized by hybridity. *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019) fosters a conversation about modernity and the past to reflect on the future way of being. *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) goes beyond contradictions to reflect on how the past haunts the present to create a new way of being which embraces history and modernity in shaping the future.

The analysis of these films could be considered in the understanding and definition of African film. They challenge the narrow definitions of African film because their analysis indicates that there are more factors that should be considered in the definition of African film, and that is the narrative, visual design, and language. The statistical data illustrated a pattern in the way the films were produced. The three films all included a combination of indigenous and Western languages, clothes, and music in their imaginations. As such, these cultural elements should be considered equally as they all form part of how people in most African societies, especially Nigeria and Senegal, express themselves.

This study contributes to broader discourses on decolonisation, cinema, and the social imaginaries of labour, gender, and spirituality. It highlights how African films engage with the legacies of colonialism and the state of Nigerian and Senegalese modernity in relation to gender, labour, and spirituality. The three films highlight how gender, labour, and spirituality shape the ways in which Africans imagine themselves. The films do not see these as separate; they are interconnected, and they intersect in the understanding of the modernity of Nigeria and Senegal.

From the observations relating to the narrative strategies and aesthetic devices, it is evident that African film discourse needs a paradigm shift. There is a need to appreciate the necessity of rethinking film practices that depict colonial and Western ideas about African people, spaces, and cultures, resulting in the relegation of these aspects of African identity to the background, and the positioning of the identity as the "other". This rethinking of African film practices

should be contemplated toward a decolonization of aesthetics and African cinema. African films, as indigenous imaginaries, should reflect indigenous cultures and ways of being in a nuanced way, as opposed to representing them as simple identities with simple characteristics, kowtowing before Western and hegemonic identities and ways of being. There needs to be a limit to the belligerence; the insistence that African and Western cultures are inherently confrontational and antagonistic – that they do not possess the ability to shape or influence each other positively. The aesthetic devices and the narrative strategies deployed by *Tatu* (Don Omope, 2017), *The Lost Okoroshi* (Abba Makama, 2019), and *Atlantics* (Mati Diop, 2019) in visualizing African spaces, people, and cultures necessitate a new approach to filmmaking, one that does not bastardize indigenous cultural and religious practices. However, these films, just as all films, are products of their environment. These films from Nigeria and Senegal were produced in Nigerian and Senegalese spaces that are enveloped by the legacies of colonialism and the global hegemony of Western cultures. Thus, to decolonize film practices, there is a need to first decolonize the societies from which these films emanate.

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Coding data

a. Appendix A

Tatu:

1. **African Languages = 3**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	19:57	A man sings in Igbo on the side of the road.
Occurrence 2	20:46	A man sings in Igbo
Occurrence 3	43:49	A woman sings in Igbo in a pit.

2. **Western Languages (English) = 50**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	02:29	A Spirit voice speaks to a male child at the river in English.
Occurrence 2	05:39	Tatu speaks to Kamani about her fate in English.
Occurrence 3	06:17	African native doctor summons Kamani in English.
Occurrence 4	07:09	A Christian priest speaks to Tatu's mother in the bush [English]
Occurrence 5	07:59	The native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother. [English]
Occurrence 6	11:40	Tatu speaks with a man at a night club. [English]
Occurrence 7	13:36	Tatu speaks with a Nun at a convent [English].

Occurrence 8	14:42	The native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother about her return.
Occurrence 9	1559	The native doctor speaks with Kamani.
Occurrence 10	17:13	Tatu's mother screams inside a pit, where she is imprisoned.
Occurrence 11	17:40	A native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 12	18:39	A group of girls speak with Tatu, comforting her after waking up from a nightmare.
Occurrence 13	19:06	A group of girls speaking at the convent.
Occurrence 14	19:18	A Nun speaks with girls at a convent.
Occurrence 15	20:36	A man speaks with Tatu by the road where she is serving food to children.
Occurrence 16	21:03	A middle-aged man speaks to Kamani by road, whom is riding on a horse.
Occurrence 17	21:09	A man speaks with Tatu while serving food to children.
Occurrence 18	23:10	3 men speak to Tatu and her friends where they are serving food, threatening them.
Occurrence 19	23:54	2 men speak to each other behind a closed gate.

Occurrence 20	25:31	A native doctor speaks to himself in the shrine.
Occurrence 21	26:23	A girl speaks with Tatu upon waking from her nightmare at the convent.
Occurrence 22	27:42	A man speaks with Tatu at a night club.
Occurrence 23	30:00	1 of 3 men speaks with Tatu on the road.
Occurrence 24	31:49	A man speaks with Tatu in a car.
Occurrence 25	32:58	A Nun speaks with Tatu at the convent.
Occurrence 26	38:07	A Nun speaks with a Christian priest on the phone.
Occurrence 27	39:23	Tatu's mother speaks alone in a pit.
Occurrence 28	40:10	An SMS is being read by Tatu on her phone.
Occurrence 29	40:11	Wally speaks to a prostitute on the stairs to his apartment.
Occurrence 30	44:35	Wally speaks with Tatu.
Occurrence 31	51:05	Christian priest speaks with Tatu and Wally.
Occurrence 32	53:23	Wally speaks with Tatu.
Occurrence 33	57:23	Wally asks Tatu what she is running from at the apartment.
Occurrence 34	58:40	Wally speaks to a cab driver.
Occurrence 35	1:00:32	A native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 36	1:04:30	A Nun speaks with a priest in her office.

Occurrence 37	1:07:47	A priest speaks with Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 38	1:19:20	A native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 39	1:20:55	Wally apologizes to Nun.
Occurrence 40	1:22:14	A native doctor introduces Tatu to her mother.
Occurrence 41	1:23:57	A native doctor speaks to Kamani.
Occurrence 42	1:25:11	Wally speaks with a priest upon arriving at a village.
Occurrence 43	1:25:39	A native doctor speaks with villagers.
Occurrence 44	1:26:09	A priest speaks with Wally.
Occurrence 45	1:27:15	A native doctor speaks to villagers.
Occurrence 46	1:27:15	A priest speaks to a native doctor at the ritual area.
Occurrence 47	1:30:23	Wally speaks to a native doctor at the ritual area.
Occurrence 48	1:34:02	Tatu speaks with her mother.
Occurrence 49	1:36:38	Wally speaks to villagers about the new born baby.
Occurrence 50	1:37:45	Kamani speaks alone in a shrine.

3. African Clothing = 46

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	01:23	Young Kamani wearing brown traditional clothing (dress) at the river.

Occurrence 2	05:14	2 children playfully running around in traditional clothing.
Occurrence 3	06:52	Tatu's mother in white traditional clothing in the bush.
Occurrence 4	07:50	A native doctor in black traditional clothing at Tatu's home.
Occurrence 5	07:52	Tatu's mother outside her hut in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 6	11:05	2 Adult men dancing at a night club in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 7	11:11	A man dancing at a night club in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 8	14:09	A native doctor walks with his helpers in traditional clothing.
Occurrence 9	14:26	A group of men and women gathered outside a hut in white and brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 10	15:59	A native doctor [black clothing] speaks with kamani in brown clothing.
Occurrence 11	17:13	Tatu's mother in a pit in white clothing.
Occurrence 12	17:21	A native doctor appears with his helpers in traditional clothing.

Occurrence 13	18:20	Tatu dreams of being set ablaze in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 14	19:57	A close-up shot of two individuals on the street in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 15	20:10	A group of children in traditional clothing are given food by Tatu and friends.
Occurrence 16	20:46	A man walks by the road in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 17	20:48	A man seated with a group of children in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 18	20:54	A group of people pass by the road in colourful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 19	23:17	A man seated under a shade by the road in traditional clothing.
Occurrence 20	25:31	A native doctor speaks alone in a shrine in black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 21	26:06	A man appears to be possessed by a spirit in brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 22	30:45	A man seated by the fire in brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 23	39:05	Tatu's mother asleep in a pit in white traditional clothing.

Occurrence 24	42:53	A native doctor says an incantation in shrine in black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 25	42:57	Kamani seated by the fire in brown traditional pants and shirt.
Occurrence 26	43:08	A native doctor summons Kamani in black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 27	57:24	Kamani enters Wally's apartment in brown traditional clothing [pants and shirt].
Occurrence 28	59:26	A native doctor inside a shrine in black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 29	1:00:08	Tatu's mother inside a pit in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 30	1:03:10	A native doctor speaks with Tatu's mother in black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 31	1:06:40	Kamani walks to a convent in brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 32	1:07:47	Tatu's mother speaks with a priest in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 33	1:13:32	Kamani walks inside a bathroom in brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 34	1:19:18	Tatu's mother asleep inside a pit in white traditional clothing.

Occurrence 35	1:19:32	A group of men and women standing by a pit with a native doctor in white and black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 36	1:22:09	Tatu walks inside her mother's hut in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 37	1:23:57	Kamani kneels before the native doctor in traditional clothing.
Occurrence 38	1:25:19	Villagers preparing fire in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 39	1:25:22	Women preparing Tatu for a ritual in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 40	1:28:22	The native doctor's helpers walk with Tatu's mother to the ritual area in traditional clothing [white and black].
Occurrence 41	1:35:45	Villagers standing outside a hut in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 42	1:35:46	A young man walks into Tatu's mother's hut in brown traditional clothing.
Occurrence 43	1:35:52	Two women stand beside a hut in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 44	1:36:14	Tatu's mother comes out of a hut carrying a baby in white traditional clothing.

Occurrence 45	1:37:00	Tatu and Wally by the river with a priest in white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 46	1:37:35	Kamani seated in a shrine in brown traditional clothing.

4. **Western Clothing = 41**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	10:34	A girl, with a group of people in the background, dancing at a night club in dresses, jeans and shirts.
Occurrence 2	10:48	People dancing with a DJ at the night club in shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 3	10:52	A group of people arriving at a night club in shirts, jeans, and dresses.
Occurrence 4	11:11	A girl dancing at a night club in a dress.
Occurrence 5	11:28	A close-up shot of shoes at a night club.
Occurrence 6	13:03	Tatu wearing pajamas at the convent.
Occurrence 7	13:05	A Nun walking by the convent in a pink dress.
Occurrence 8	18:19	A group of girls pray for Tatu in their pajamas.
Occurrence 9	18:56	Girls standing at the convent in dresses.
Occurrence 10	19:57	Two men walk by the road in jeans and shirts.

Occurrence 11	20:01	A man stands under a shade by the road in shirt and trousers.
Occurrence 12	20:05	A man appears standing by the road in shirt and trousers.
Occurrence 13	20:08	A man sings by the road in a grey shirt.
Occurrence 14	20:10	A group of children in shirts, dresses and trousers being fed by Tatu and friends.
Occurrence 15	20:19	A man walks toward Tatu wearing glasses, jeans, and a shirt.
Occurrence 16	20:46	A group of people walk by the road in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 17	20:48	Children seated with an adult male in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 18	20:54	People passing by the road in shirts, dresses, and trousers.
Occurrence 19	22:59	3 men in shirts and jeans walk toward Tatu and friends.
Occurrence 20	23:17	Men seated under a shade by the road in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 21	23:54	Two men in shirt behind a gate.
Occurrence 22	25:29	A man driving a motorbike wearing shirt and trousers.
Occurrence 23	26:22	Tatu wakes from a nightmare wearing pajamas.

Occurrence 24	27:33	People entering a night club in shirts, jeans, and dresses.
Occurrence 25	27:42	A man [wearing a shirt and jean] speaks with Tatu [wearing a dress] at a night club.
Occurrence 26	28:14	People dancing at a night club wearing shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 27	29:56	3 men speak with Tatu [wearing a dress] on the road wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 28	31:49	A man speaks with Tatu [wearing a dress] in a car wearing a shirt and jean.
Occurrence 29	33:06	A Nun speaks with Tatu and friend, all wearing dresses.
Occurrence 30	38:13	A Nun speaking on the phone wearing a dress and head scarve.
Occurrence 31	39:53	Tatu seated by the road wearing a dress.
Occurrence 32	40:39	Wally [wearing a shirt and jean] kissing a prostitute [wearing a dress] on the stair to his apartment.
Occurrence 33	50:57	Wally [wearing a shirt and jean] and Tatu [wearing a dress] come out of a church with a priest.
Occurrence 34	53:23	Wally [wearing a shirt and jean] and Tatu [wearing a dress] speak at his apartment.

Occurrence 35	56:42	Tatu's dress on a couch.
Occurrence 36	1:06:05	Tatu [wearing a dress] enters the Nun's office.
Occurrence 37	1:20:48	Wally [wearing a shirt and jean] standing with a priest and nun in their regalia.
Occurrence 38	1:21:51	A man wearing a shirt and trouser greet a priest.
Occurrence 39	1:25:54	Wally walks to a village wearing a shirt and jean.
Occurrence 40	1:30:23	Wally runs into the ritual area wearing a shirt and jean.
Occurrence 41	1:36:33	Wally given a baby wearing a white shirt.

5. **African Sounds/Music = 4**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	05:14	Music plays as 2 children run around in a playful manner.
Occurrence 2	14:09	Music plays as a native doctor walk with his helpers.
Occurrence 3	55:18	Music plays as Wally engages in sexual intercourse with Tatu.
Occurrence 4	1:35:31	Music plays as a child runs in the bush.

6. **Western Sounds/Music = 7**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	10:30	People dancing to music at a night club.

Occurrence 2	28:00	Music playing at a night club.
Occurrence 3	31:29	Music plays as a man runs away from a rape scene.
Occurrence 4	57:31	Music plays as Tatu and Wally try to escape from Kamani.
Occurrence 5	57:40	Music plays as Wally engages in physical conflict with the native doctor's helpers.
Occurrence 6	57:54	Music plays as Kamani breaks a door at Wally's apartment.
Occurrence 7	1:37:14	Music plays as a priest baptizes a baby.

7. Mention or reference to colonial past = 0

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
0	0	0

8. Christian practices, people, or objects = 31

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	07:09	A priest speaks with a woman in the bush wearing a crucifix necklace.
Occurrence 2	18:19	A group of girls pray for Tatu with crucifix necklaces beside their beds.
Occurrence 3	18:56	A group of girls stand outside a monastery.

Occurrence 4	19:08	A group of girls wearing crucifix necklaces.
Occurrence 5	19:18	A Nun wearing a crucifix necklace speaks with girls at a monastery.
Occurrence 6	20:12	Christian girls are wearing crucifix necklaces while serving food to children.
Occurrence 7	26:26	A girl is wearing a crucifix necklace.
Occurrence 8	32:40	A crucifix necklace on the wall.
Occurrence 9	33:06	A nun speaks with Tatu and her friend, with a crucifix in front of her on a desk.
Occurrence 10	37:57	A nun stands in her office with a picture of Jesus and a crucifix on a desk.
Occurrence 11	38:00	A picture of Jesus, a crucifix, and angel figurine on a desk in the nun's office.
Occurrence 12	50:57	A priest in his regalia going outside a church.
Occurrence 13	1:04:30	A nun is with a priest wearing their regalia inside her office with a picture of Jesus, a crucifix, and angel figurine on a desk.
Occurrence 14	1:06:26	Angel figurines on a desk.
Occurrence 15	1:06:56	"Our Lady of Fatima Convent signage.
Occurrence 16	1:07:07	A bible on a desk, on the right-hand side of the priest.

Occurrence 17	1:07:47	A priest, in his regalia, speaks with Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 18	1:09:23	A Jesus picture on a desk, on the right-hand of the priest, with the nun seated on the left.
Occurrence 19	1:14:11	A picture of Jesus on the wall.
Occurrence 20	1:16:55	A priest and nun in an office with a crucifix and angel figurines on a desk.
Occurrence 21	1:17:49	A girl walks in the nun's office with tea, wearing a crucifix necklace.
Occurrence 22	1:20:48	A priest fixes a car in his regalia with a nun standing next to him.
Occurrence 23	1:25:05	A priest arrives at a village and removes his regalia.
Occurrence 24	1:26:09	A priest is wearing a crucifix necklace.
Occurrence 25	1:26:50	A priest hides in the bush.
Occurrence 26	1:28:54	A priest walks into a traditional ritual area in his regalia.
Occurrence 27	1:29:32	A priest retrieves holy liquid from his pocket.
Occurrence 28	1:29:47	A priest says the lord's prayer while spraying holy liquid.
Occurrence 29	1:29:54	Wally makes a symbolic crucifix while hiding.

Occurrence 30	1:33:16	A priest sprays holy liquid on Tatu.
Occurrence 31	1:37:00	A priest baptizes a baby.

9. African religious practices, people, or objects = 19

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	03:07	Men chanting outside while birth is taking place inside a hut.
Occurrence 2	03:05	A native doctor standing next to a woman giving birth.
Occurrence 3	03:10	A child is possessed by a spirit.
Occurrence 4	04:55	Men chanting in a circle while one lifts a new born baby to the sky.
Occurrence 5	07:41	A native doctor arrives at Tatu's home with his helpers.
Occurrence 6	14:09	A native doctor walks with his helpers at a village.
Occurrence 7	15:59	A native doctor speaks to Kamani about Tatu.
Occurrence 8	16:26	A native doctor seems to anoint Kamani with his staff.
Occurrence 9	17:21	A native doctor comes out of his shrine carrying a staff.
Occurrence 10	25:31	A native doctor speaks with himself in a shrine.
Occurrence 11	42:53	A native doctor makes an incantation in a shrine.
Occurrence 12	59:26	A native doctor carrying a staff in a shrine.

Occurrence 13	1:03:20	A native doctor blows white powder on the face of Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 14	1:19:20	A native doctor carrying his staff.
Occurrence 15	1:22:14	A native doctor inside Tatu's hut.
Occurrence 16	1:23:57	A native doctor speaks with Kamani in a shrine.
Occurrence 17	1:25:39	A native doctor speaks with villagers.
Occurrence 18	1:26:37	Villagers chanting for a ritual.
Occurrence 19	1:26:53	A native doctor walks Tatu to a ritual area.

10. Conflict between Christian and African religious people or practices = 4

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	1:28:54	A priest stops attempts to stop a native doctor from performing a ritual.
Occurrence 2	1:29:47	A priest spray holy liquid and prays at the ritual area.
Occurrence 3	1:30:02	Kamani [ritual participant] strangles a priest.
Occurrence 4	1:33:16	A priest sprays holy liquid on Tatu to stop the ritual.

11. African citizens doing heroic things = 10

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	07:26	A priest takes Tatu from her mother to save her from her evil fate.
Occurrence 2	18:19	Girls pray for Tatu while she is having a nightmare.
Occurrence 3	20:12	Girls feed children by the road.
Occurrence 4	31:12	Kamani save Tatu from an attempted rape.
Occurrence 5	1:28:54	A priest attempts to stop a ritual that would kill Tatu.
Occurrence 6	1:30:20	Tatu's mother attempts to stop the ritual to save her life.
Occurrence 7	1:30:23	Wally attempts to stop the ritual to save Tatu's life.
Occurrence 8	1:32:28	Kamani refuses to partake in the ritual to save Tatu's life.
Occurrence 9	1:33:16	A priest sprays holy liquid on Tatu to stop the ritual and save her life.
Occurrence 10	1:34:40	Kamani engages in a physical fight with a native doctor to save Tatu.

12. African citizens doing villainous things = 12

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	15:47	The native doctor's helpers forcefully capture Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 2	17:54	A native doctor blows white powder inside a pit in which

		Tatu's mother is imprisoned, adding to her pain and discomfort.
Occurrence 3	23:10	Two men forcefully remove Christian girls from a location where they were feeding children.
Occurrence 4	23:17	A man kicks down a bucket of food meant for children to the grown.
Occurrence 5	24:07	3 men forcefully take food meant for children from Tatu and her friends.
Occurrence 6	31:01	3 men attempt to rape Tatu.
Occurrence 7	1:01:17	A native doctor denies Tatu's mother water to drink. He spills it on the group instead.
Occurrence 8	1:03:20	A native doctor puts Tatu's mother under a spell.
Occurrence 9	1:13:51	Kamani captures Tatu by putting her under a spell.
Occurrence 10	1:30:02	Kamani strangles a priest.
Occurrence 11	1:30:50	Wally is chased by the native doctor's helpers in order to physically assault him.
Occurrence 12	1:34:42	A native doctor fights with Kamani to continue the evil ritual.

13. African politicians doing heroic things = 0

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
0	0	0

14. African politicians doing villainous things = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

15. The portrayal of violence in African settings

a. Physical violence = 11

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	15:47	The native doctor's helpers forcefully and violently capture Tatu's mother.
Occurrence 2	18:20	Tatu dreams of being set on fire alive.
Occurrence 3	31:12	Kamani physically attacks men trying to rape Tatu.
Occurrence 4	36:59	Convent nun slaps Tatu.
Occurrence 5	1:30:02	Kamani strangles priest.
Occurrence 6	1:30:51	Wally violently chased by men trying to attack him.
Occurrence 7	1:31:26	Men physically fight with Wally.
Occurrence 8	1:32:10	Men hit Wally with a large wood.
Occurrence 9	1:33:19	Men physically fight with Wally.
Occurrence 10		
Occurrence 11	1:34:40	A native doctor physically fights with Kamani.

b. Images of weapons e.g., knife, gun, machetes = 4

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	17:31	A man carries a bat as a weapon.
Occurrence 2	1:30:51	Wally violently chased by men trying to attack him with bats.
Occurrence 3	1:32:10	Men hit Wally with a bat as a weapon.
Occurrence 4	1:34:09	Wally fights with men and hits them with a bat as a weapon.

c. Verbal violence e.g., cursing = 4

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	22:37	A man curses next to Tatu
Occurrence 2	53:57	Wally curses.
Occurrence 3	57:25	Wally curses
Occurrence 4	1:30:55	Wally curses.

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16. African Languages = 13

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	02:34	A wife speaks with her husband in the bedroom [Igbo].
Occurrence 2	10:28	Two men speak about palm wine under a tree [Igbo].
Occurrence 3	14:38	Two men singing under a tree [Igbo].
Occurrence 4	17:30	A wife speaks with her husband [Igbo].
Occurrence 5	27:33	A native doctor speaks with Raymond [Igbo].
Occurrence 6	1:01:44	Dr. Dauda interviews a man in his office [Igbo].
Occurrence 7	1:04:53	A man greets others at a meeting [Igbo].
Occurrence 8	1:05:11	A man speaks to Okoroshi [Igbo].
Occurrence 9	1:14:08	A man greets others in a meeting [Igbo].
Occurrence 10	1:14:20	A man praises Okoroshi [Igbo].
Occurrence 11	1:15:13	A man speaks with others in a meeting [Igbo].
Occurrence 12	1:16:41	A man greets another in a meeting [Igbo].
Occurrence 13	1:18:42	A man addresses other men in a meeting [Igbo].

17. Western Languages (English) = 51

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	02:52	A wife speaks to her husband about his work uniform [English].
Occurrence 2	06:18	A company manager speaks to a security guard [English].
Occurrence 3	06:56	Two security guards speak with each other.
Occurrence 4	07:02	Security guards greet an employee walking into the office.
Occurrence 5	07:48	An employee apologizes to another leaving the office.
Occurrence 6	10:57	Two men speaks about palm wine under a tree.
Occurrence 7	17:18	A wife speaks with her husband.
Occurrence 8	20:34	Husband speaks with his wife.
Occurrence 9	21:44	An employee speaks with a manager at the office.
Occurrence 10	22:38	Two employees speak with each other at an office.
Occurrence 11	22:51	A man calls out his friend at his house.
Occurrence 12	24:26	A man speaking with a woman.
Occurrence 13	33:05	Raymond's wife speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 14	35:21	Raymond's wife speaks to a taxi driver.
Occurrence 15	36:43	A manager speaks with an employee at an office.

Occurrence 16	36:50	A manager speaks with Raymond's wife at an office.
Occurrence 17	40:58	Prostitutes speak to each other by the road.
Occurrence 18	41:59	A man speaks with Okoroshi about money.
Occurrence 19	42:22	A man speaks with a prostitute in a car.
Occurrence 20	43:06	A prostitute speaks with a man in a car.
Occurrence 21	45:16	A prostitute speaks with Okoroshi and his friend.
Occurrence 22	46:45	A prostitute speaks with a waitress.
Occurrence 23	49:10	Willy Willy speaks with Okoroshi.
Occurrence 24	49:45	Dr Dauda speaks to a client in his office.
Occurrence 25	51:17	Dr Dauda listening to an audio of himself speaking.
Occurrence 26	55:17	Dr Dauda speaks on the phone.
Occurrence 27	56:31	Prostitutes speak to each other.
Occurrence 28	56:45	Willy Willy speaks to a prostitute.
Occurrence 29	58:56	A middle-aged man speaks with a prostitute and Willy Willy at a night club.
Occurrence 30	1:00:20	Willy Willy speaks to Okoroshi outside a night club.

Occurrence 31	1:01:49	Dr Dauda interviews a woman.
Occurrence 32	1:02:38	Dr Dauda interviews Raymond's wife.
Occurrence 33	1:05:22	A man speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 34	1:06:51	A man addresses a society meeting.
Occurrence 35	1:08:56	Raymond's wife gives a statement at a police station.
Occurrence 36	1:10:30	Police men speak with Raymond's wife.
Occurrence 37	1:11:15	Dr Dauda interviews a security guard.
Occurrence 38	1:11:32	Dr Dauda speaks with a manager at an office.
Occurrence 39	1:11:56	Dr Dauda interviews Willy Willy.
Occurrence 40	1:12:36	Gang members speak with each other.
Occurrence 41	1:13:19	A prostitute speaks with Dr Dauda.
Occurrence 42	1:13:25	A second prostitute speaks with Dr Dauda.
Occurrence 43	1:15:38	A man speaks with others at a society meeting.
Occurrence 44	1:17:10	A man speaks to another at a society meeting.
Occurrence 45	1:18:46	A man addresses a society meeting.
Occurrence 46	1:19:49	A man speaks in a society meeting.
Occurrence 47	1:20:33	A man asks a question in a society meeting.

Occurrence 48	1:24:37	Gang members speak with each other.
Occurrence 49	1:25:26	A gangster speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 50	1:28:41	A man speaks with Dr Dauda in his office.
Occurrence 51	1:32:21	Dr Dauda speaks alone.
Occurrence 52		

18. African Clothing = 45

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	01:52	Raymond and wife lying on a bed covered by traditional cloths.
Occurrence 2	02:35	Raymond and wife wearing traditional clothes in their house.
Occurrence 3	03:16	African cloth on Raymond's bed.
Occurrence 4	10:01	A baby wrapped with a traditional cloth.
Occurrence 5	10:25	Two men wearing traditional clothing drinking palm wine.
Occurrence 6	16:19	A man passes wearing white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 7	17:05	Wife and husband wearing colourful traditional clothing in the house.
Occurrence 8	18:51	Wife and husband covered with traditional cloth while sleeping.

Occurrence 9	20:09	A man and woman are wearing traditional cloths on their bed.
Occurrence 10	24:26	A man on a bed covered with a traditional cloth.
Occurrence 11	31:21	A woman is covered with a traditional cloth while sleeping.
Occurrence 12	34:26	A woman wearing a colourful traditional dress.
Occurrence 13	34:38	A woman wearing a colourful traditional dress.
Occurrence 14	34:52	A woman standing by a bus stop wearing a blue traditional dress.
Occurrence 15	36:38	People passing by the street in traditional clothing.
Occurrence 16	36:50	A woman in a blue traditional dress walking with Okoroshi.
Occurrence 17	37:32	A woman in a blue traditional dress speaks with Okoroshi.
Occurrence 18	39:40	A man in colourful traditional clothing watches Okoroshi dance.
Occurrence 19	40:04	A woman with blue and black traditional clothing throws money at Okoroshi.
Occurrence 20	40:47	A woman wearing a black and brown dress with beaded necklace.

Occurrence 21	46:26	Prostitute wearing a traditional Okoroshi earing.
Occurrence 22	47:23	A man wearing a brown traditional shirt by the street.
Occurrence 23	49:45	A man wearing a yellow traditional shirt by the street.
Occurrence 24	51:08	A man wearing a yellow traditional shirt.
Occurrence 25	53:19	A woman wearing a yellow traditional dress passing by the street.
Occurrence 26	54:45	Dr Dauda wearing a yellow traditional shirt.
Occurrence 27	58:36	A man wearing a brown traditional shirt seated with a woman.
Occurrence 28	1:01:03	Two men wearing traditional toque hats.
Occurrence 29	1:01:44	Dr Dauda wearing a colourful traditional shirt.
Occurrence 30	1:01:49	Dr Dauda interviews a woman wearing a colourful traditional dress.
Occurrence 31	1:02:38	Dr Dauda [wearing traditional shirt] and a woman [wearing a traditional dress] in an interview.
Occurrence 32	1:04:51	Men wearing traditional red hats and colourful regalia.
Occurrence 33	1:08:45	Dr Dauda wearing a tribal shirt.

Occurrence 34	1:08:51	A woman wearing a traditional dress at the police station.
Occurrence 35	1:10:48	A man wearing a colourful traditional shirt in a taxi.
Occurrence 36	1:10:56	A man wearing traditional clothing dancing with Okoroshi.
Occurrence 37	1:11:15	Dr Dauda wearing a traditional shirt interviews a security guard.
Occurrence 38	1:11:56	Dr Dauda wearing a traditional shirt interviewing a man.
Occurrence 39	1:13:12	Dr Dauda wearing a tribal shirt.
Occurrence 40	1:13:25	A prostitute wearing a beaded necklace.
Occurrence 41	1:13:48	Men wearing colourful traditional regalia in a meeting.
Occurrence 42	1:24:22	Dr Dauda wearing a tribal shirt.
Occurrence 43	1:27:23	Men wearing red traditional hats.
Occurrence 44	1:28:02	A woman wearing traditional dress.
Occurrence 45	1:28:41	Dr Duda wearing a grey traditional shirt.

19. Western Clothing = 108

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**

Occurrence 1	01:18	Man wearing a white vest sleeping.
Occurrence 2	01:42	Man wearing short black pants running from a masquerade.
Occurrence 3	03:14	A man wears blue work uniform at his house.
Occurrence 4	04:13	Woman wearing a black shirt standing outside a house.
Occurrence 5	04:26	Washed clothes are hung to dry outside.
Occurrence 6	04:46	A man wearing white shirt and black trousers drives a motorbike.
Occurrence 7	05:27	Two men wearing white and black pants by the road.
Occurrence 8	06:18	A man wearing a blue shirt and black pants at an office.
Occurrence 9	06:50	A security guards wearing blue uniform at an office.
Occurrence 10	07:02	A man [wearing a black suit] enters into an office reception.
Occurrence 11	07:35	A woman wearing a black dress walks into an office reception.
Occurrence 12	07:46	A man [wearing a black suit] and woman [wearing a red dress and black jacket] pass by the office reception.
Occurrence 13	08:45	A woman wearing a black dress and white shirt walks by an office reception.

Occurrence 14	09:54	A man wearing a grey shirt and black pants walks by an office reception.
Occurrence 15	10:01	A group of 4 people are seated outside with clothes hung to dry next to them.
Occurrence 16	10:11	A security guard wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 17	10:25	A man wearing a white vest with some clothes hung to dry outside.
Occurrence 18	17:05	A man wearing a white vest.
Occurrence 19	19:55	A man wearing black short pants runs from a masquerade.
Occurrence 20	21:07	A man wearing a white vest.
Occurrence 21	21:14	A man wearing a white vest and blue shirt smoking.
Occurrence 22	22:32	Two security guards wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 23	22:56	A security guard wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 24	22:57	A man wearing blue short pants lying on a couch.
Occurrence 25	23:53	A group of people standing outside a house in trousers, shirts, and dresses.
Occurrence 26	24:13	A man wearing a white vest.
Occurrence 27	24:17	A woman wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 28	26:12	A man wearing black short pants runs from a masquerade.

Occurrence 29	30:44	A man wearing black short pants standing with a masquerade.
Occurrence 30	31:21	Shirts and dresses seen in an open wardrobe.
Occurrence 31	31:28	A woman wearing a white night dress.
Occurrence 32	34:59	A man wearing an orange construction vest and black pants driving a motorbike.
Occurrence 33	35:22	A man wearing a maroon shirt passes by the road.
Occurrence 34	35:23	People seated in a taxi wearing shirts.
Occurrence 35	35:32	A man wearing a shirt and trouser driving a motorbike.
Occurrence 36	35:37	A taxi driver wearing a shirt.
Occurrence 37	36:24	A doctor wearing a white coat.
Occurrence 38	36:26	A nurse wearing pink uniform.
Occurrence 39	36:28	A patient wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 40	36:29	A nurse wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 41	36:31	A male patient wearing a grey shirt and black pants.
Occurrence 42	36:38	People passing by the road in shirts, trousers, and dress.
Occurrence 43	36:40	A manager wearing a shirt with a security guard wearing blue uniform.

Occurrence 44	39:08	People by the road in shirts, trousers and dresses.
Occurrence 45	39:44	A man wearing a blue and white stripe shirt watching a dancing Okoroshi.
Occurrence 46	39:46	A man wearing a grey and black shirt watching the dancing Okoroshi.
Occurrence 47	40:42	A woman wearing a pink dress passes by the road.
Occurrence 48	40:55	Two prostitutes in brown dress and pink dress.
Occurrence 49	41:59	A man wearing a blue shirt and pants speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 50	42:22	A man wearing a blue and white shirt receives oral sex from a prostitute.
Occurrence 51	46:41	A woman wearing a black dress at a restaurant.
Occurrence 52	48:02	A woman wearing a colourful dress.
Occurrence 53	49:15	A man wearing a blue shirt and pants speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 54	49:45	A man wearing a maroon shirt and pants.
Occurrence 55	53:11	A man wearing a blue shirt and pants walks with Okoroshi.
Occurrence 56	53:14	A group of people watch the dancing Okoroshi in shirts, trousers, and dresses.

Occurrence 57	53:27	People watching the dancing Okoroshi in shirts, trousers and dress.
Occurrence 58	53:41	Boys playing soccer in yellow shirts and black pants.
Occurrence 59	53:50	A group of young boys and girls by the road in shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 60	54:04	Children watching the dancing Okoroshi in shirts, pants, and dresses.
Occurrence 61	54:20	A group of men dancing with Okoroshi in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 62	54:39	People throwing money at Okoroshi in Shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 63	55:03	Q group of men seen in a video in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 64	55:53	People watching the dancing Okoroshi in shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 65	55:55	Two men [one in a white shirt and another wearing a black suit] watching the dancing Okoroshi.
Occurrence 66	56:31	Prostitutes [brown dress and pink dress] speak to each other.
Occurrence 67	56:40	A man wearing a blue shirt and pants.

Occurrence 68	57:32	Security guards wearing black shirts and trousers at a night club.
Occurrence 69	57:51	People seated at a night club in dresses, shirts, and trousers.
Occurrence 70	57:59	People dancing at a night club in dresses, shirts, and trousers.
Occurrence 71	58:20	People dancing at a night club in dresses, shirts, and trousers.
Occurrence 72	58:48	Girls watching the dancing okoroshi at a night club in dresses, shirts, and jeans.
Occurrence 73	1:01:03	Men wearing grey shirts and black pants kidnap Okoroshi.
Occurrence 74	1:01:34	People passing by the road in shirts and trousers.
Occurrence 75	1:01:44	A man wearing a orange construction vest is interviewed.
Occurrence 76	1:04:51	Group of men wearing blue shirts.
Occurrence 77	1:08:51	Two policemen in blue in black uniform.
Occurrence 78	1:10:42	Men wearing blue shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 79	1:10:47	A man wearing a black and white shirt is with a woman wearing a white dress.

Occurrence 80	1:10:55	A girl wearing a dress is watching the dancing Okoroshi.
Occurrence 81	1:11:02	People watching the dancing Okoroshi in dresses, shirts, and trousers.
Occurrence 82	1:11:06	A man wearing grey short pants and shirt passes by the road.
Occurrence 83	1:11:15	Security guard in blue uniform is being interviewed.
Occurrence 84	1:11:22	A man wearing a blue shirt and black pants enters an office.
Occurrence 85	1:11:56	A man wearing a blue shirt and grey pants.
Occurrence 86	1:12:28	A group of men wearing black shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 87	1:13:16	A prostitute wearing a weave and pink dress.
Occurrence 88	1:13:45	Two men wearing blue shirts, red hats, and blue jeans.
Occurrence 89	1:13:48	Men wearing blue shirts are in a meeting.
Occurrence 90	1:22:14	A man wearing a white shirt and brown pants passes by the road.
Occurrence 91	1:22:32	A prostitute wearing a brown dress engages in sexual intercourse.

Occurrence 92	1:22:34	A man wearing a brown shirt and black pants is with a prostitute.
Occurrence 93	1:23:00	A man wearing a shirt and pants driving a motorbike.
Occurrence 94	1:23:11	People by the road in shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 95	1:23:15	Woman wearing a brown dress and blue shirt at a dumping site.
Occurrence 96	1:23:23	Men and children wearing shirts and pants.
Occurrence 97	1:23:38	People passing by the market in dresses, trousers, and shirts.
Occurrence 98	1:24:12	A man wearing a black shirt and pants walking by the road.
Occurrence 99	1:24:22	A man wearing white shirt and black trousers.
Occurrence 100	1:24:34	A male gang wearing black shirts and pants.
Occurrence 101	1:25:04	A boy wearing a yellow shirt and blue jeans at a shack.
Occurrence 102	1:25:16	Children standing next to shacks in shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 103	1:25:26	A man wearing a black shirt and pants speaks to Okoroshi.
Occurrence 104	1:26:14	A prostitute wearing pink pajamas.

Occurrence 105	1:26:32	A security guard wearing blue uniform on a motorbike.
Occurrence 106	1:27:23	Men wearing blue shirts and red berets.
Occurrence 107	1:28:02	A woman wearing a black dress.
Occurrence 108	1:28:41	A man wearing a grey suit in Dr Dauda's office.

20. African Sounds/Music = 20

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	00:02	Music plays in the introduction to the film.
Occurrence 2	00:32	Masquerade dancing to music.
Occurrence 3	03:55	A man dances while looking in the mirror.
Occurrence 4	10:22	African flute music plays.
Occurrence 5	11:21	Masquerade dancing to flute music.
Occurrence 6	11:36	Masquerade dancing to flute music.
Occurrence 7	19:11	Masquerade dancing to music.
Occurrence 8	25:41	Masquerade dancing to music.
Occurrence 9	38:11	Masquerade disappears as flute music is playing.
Occurrence 10	38:31	Flute music plays as city traffic is shown.
Occurrence 11	38:47	Masquerade appears next to dumping site as music plays.

Occurrence 12	39:13	Masquerade walking by the road as flute music plays.
Occurrence 13	39:26	Masquerade dancing to drum music.
Occurrence 14	44:43	Flute music plays as man runs from a masquerade.
Occurrence 15	46:21	Flute music plays as prostitute stares at Okoroshi.
Occurrence 16	53:14	Masquerade dancing to drum and flute music.
Occurrence 17	57:32	Music playing at a night club as Okoroshi dances.
Occurrence 18	1:04:45	Flute music plays at Okoroshi appears.
Occurrence 19	1:10:45	Drum music plays as Okoroshi walks on the street.
Occurrence 20	1:32:34	Masquerade dances to African drum music.

21. Western Sounds/Music = 4

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	04:50	Music plays as a man drives a motorbike.
Occurrence 2	20:57	Music plays a city building are shown.
Occurrence 3	27:06	Music plays as a man stares at a masquerade.
Occurrence 4	40:42	Music plays as a prostitute is standing by the road.

22. Mention or reference to colonial past = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

23. Christian practices, people, or objects = 12

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	02:31	Christian crucifix on the wall.
Occurrence 2	02:33	A crucifix necklace hanging in a bedroom.
Occurrence 3	03:41	A cross figurine and crucifix necklace in a bedroom.
Occurrence 4	17:05	Jesus on the cross figurine on the wall.
Occurrence 5	17:06	A bible on the table inside a kitchen.
Occurrence 6	18:51	Crucifix necklace hanging in a bedroom.
Occurrence 7	24:26	A cross on the wall and crucifix necklace handing in a bedroom.
Occurrence 8	31:21	A cross on the wall and crucifix necklace hanging in a bedroom.
Occurrence 9	36:14	A ‘’Divine healing’’ signage shown on the wall.
Occurrence 10	42:22	A crucifix necklace inside a car.
Occurrence 11	52:11	Jesus’ figurine in an office.
Occurrence 12	52:51	A virgin marry statue by the road.

24. African religious practices, people, or objects = 3

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	26:06	A native doctor crushing herbs in a shrine.
Occurrence 2	27:28	A native doctor crush herbs in a shrine.
Occurrence 3	30:30	A native doctor applies herbs on a man's face.

25. Conflict between Christian and African religious people or practices = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

26. African citizens doing heroic things = 3

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	22:41	A security guards gives a colleague medicine to treat his friend.
Occurrence 2	44:35	Okoroshi saves a prostitute from being strangled.
Occurrence 3	56:15	Okoroshi apprehends a criminal.

27. African citizens doing villainous things = 4

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	44:04	A man strangles a prostitute in a car.

Occurrence 2	56:05	A man steals another's wallet.
Occurrence 3	1:01:03	Men kidnap Okoroshi.
Occurrence 4	1:26:10	A man stabs Okoroshi with a machete.

28. African politicians doing heroic things = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

29. African politicians doing villainous things = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

30. The portrayal of violence in African settings

d. Physical violence = 4

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	44:04	A man strangles a prostitute.
Occurrence 2	44:52	Okoroshi flogs a man who strangled a prostitute.
Occurrence 3	1:25:29	A man kicks Okoroshi in the stomach.
Occurrence 4	1:26:10	A man stabs Okoroshi.

e. Images of weapons e.g., knife, gun, machetes = 3

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	1:24:35	A machete lying next to a gang member.

Occurrence 2	1:25:36	A man carrying a machete.
Occurrence 3	1:26:10	A man stabs Okoroshi with a machete.

f. Verbal violence e.g., cursing = 2

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	1:12:53	A man is cursing.
Occurrence 2	1:12:59	A man is cursing.

Atlantics:

The use of African languages (Wolof) = 69

occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	03:02	A construction worker speaks to another outside an office. [Wolof].
Occurrence 2	03:09	Construction workers speak with a man outside an office.
Occurrence 3	03:33	A man speaks inside an office.
Occurrence 4	03:49	Office worker speaks with construction workers.
Occurrence 5	05:59	Construction workers sing at the back of a moving truck.
Occurrence 6	09:06	Souleymane speaks with girlfriend at the beach.
Occurrence 7	10:48	An elderly man speaks with a couple at inside a building by the beach.
Occurrence 8	13:13	A group of girls speak with each other by the road.

Occurrence 9	13:32	Girls chatting inside a bedroom.
Occurrence 10	15:13	Ada speaks to her mother inside the house.
Occurrence 11	15:20	Ada greets her grandmother in the house.
Occurrence 12	19:54	A female bartender speaks to Ada.
Occurrence 13	20:11	Girls speak as they enter the night club.
Occurrence 14	20:38	Girls speak outside the night club.
Occurrence 15	22:30	A female bartender speaks to a girl inside the night club.
Occurrence 16	26:27	Ada's friend speaks to her inside her bedroom.
Occurrence 17	26:37	Ada's friends speak with her through the window of her bedroom.
Occurrence 18	28:43	Ada's mother speaks with her at their house.
Occurrence 19	29:52	Ada's fiancé speaks with her.
Occurrence 20	31:39	A group of women singing.
Occurrence 21	33:29	Elderly men having a discussion inside a house.
Occurrence 22	35:29	Ada's friends speak with her in her bedroom.
Occurrence 23	36:36	Ada's friend speaks with her.
Occurrence 24	37:26	Ada's friend speaks with her and another friend.
Occurrence 25	38:41	A girl speaks with Ada inside a house.
Occurrence 26	38:54	Ada speaks with two girls.

Occurrence 27	43:14	Police officer speaks with the inspector.
Occurrence 28	43:49	Inspector speaks with Souleymane.
Occurrence 29	46:23	Inspector interrogates Ada.
Occurrence 30	48:09	Inspector speaks a female employee about the air conditioner at the station.
Occurrence 31	49:18	A police officer speaks with the inspector.
Occurrence 32	49:32	Ada speaks with her father by the road.
Occurrence 33	49:40	Ada's father speaks with her mother.
Occurrence 34	51:04	A female bartender speaks with a girl lying on a couch at the club.
Occurrence 35	54:30	A man speaks to a girl on the stairs of his house.
Occurrence 36	54:34	A group of girls speak to a man inside a house.
Occurrence 37	57:22	Ada's mother wakes her up.
Occurrence 38	1:00:01	Ada's mother speaks with her at the hospital.
Occurrence 39	1:00:22	A nurse speaks to Inspector Diop.
Occurrence 40	1:00:58	Two girls speak inside a bedroom.
Occurrence 41	1:01:33	Ada's friend speaks with her on the phone.
Occurrence 42	1:02:28	Ada speaks to her friend at a restaurant.

Occurrence 43	1:03:59	Ada's friend speaks with a man on the phone.
Occurrence 44	1:04:56	Inspector Diop speaks with Ada's friend.
Occurrence 45	1:04:59	Ada speaks to her friend.
Occurrence 46	1:05:03	Inspector Diop speaks with Ada.
Occurrence 47	1:05:40	Ada speaks alone in a police cell.
Occurrence 48	1:06:56	Inspector Diop speaks the commissioner.
Occurrence 49	1:08:41	Ada speaks with her fiancé.
Occurrence 50	1:10:51	Ada speaks to a vendor by the side of the road.
Occurrence 51	1:11:06	A vendor speaks to Ada.
Occurrence 52	1:12:27	A man speaks with a woman.
Occurrence 53	1:13:44	A female bartender speaks to Ada.
Occurrence 54	1:15:24	A girl speaks with a man inside a bedroom.
Occurrence 55	1:17:13	A man speaks with a girl on the road.
Occurrence 56	1:18:17	Ada speaks to a man at her door.
Occurrence 57	1:19:13	Inspector Diop speaks with Ada.
Occurrence 58	1:19:53	Ada speaks with her friend.
Occurrence 59	1:20:38	A girl speaks with Ada.
Occurrence 60	1:24:19	A police officer speaks with the commissioner.
Occurrence 61	1:26:11	The commissioner speaks with inspector Diop.

Occurrence 62	1:29:28	Inspector Diop shouts inside a car.
Occurrence 63	1:32:29	A girl counts money in the bush.
Occurrence 64	1:32:49	A man speaks with a group of girls counting money.
Occurrence 65	1:37:20	Ada speaks to Souleymane.
Occurrence 66	1:37:42	Souleymane speaks to Ada.
Occurrence 67	1:39:47	Inspector Diop speaks with the commissioner.
Occurrence 68	1:40:35	Ada's friend speaks with her.
Occurrence 69	1:40:57	Ada speaks alone.

1. **The use of western languages = 18**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	29:31	Ada thanks her fiancé for the smartphone given to her [French}.
Occurrence 2	34:35	Ada's friend speaks to her in English
Occurrence 3	38:46	Two girls speak with Ada and use English.
Occurrence 4	41:22	Police officers speak to each other using French.
Occurrence 5	41:42	The commissioner introduces inspector Diop in French.
Occurrence 6	42:55	A police officer speaks with inspector Diop in French.
Occurrence 7	47:19	Inspector Diop uses English when speaking with Ada.

Occurrence 8	52:33	French language visible on the menu of the iPhone.
Occurrence 9	58:57	A nurse speaks with inspector Diop using French.
Occurrence 10	1:02:46	Ada's friend speaks with a waitress in French.
Occurrence 11	1:03:04	English and French visible on the phone used.
Occurrence 12	1:03:57	A man answers the phone in English.
Occurrence 13	1:05:57	Inspector Diop speaks on the phone in English.
Occurrence 14	1:06:52	Inspector Diop speaks with the commissioner in French.
Occurrence 15	1:08:12	Ada speaks with a police officer in French.
Occurrence 16	1:14:02	A female bartender speaks with Ada in French.
Occurrence 17	1:25:43	A French text message on Inspector Diop's phone.
Occurrence 18	1:26:18	The commissioner speaks with inspector Diop in French

2. The appearance of African traditional clothing = 39

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	04:59	A wool traditional hat worn by a man on a truck.
Occurrence 2	08:03	A man wearing blue traditional clothing.

Occurrence 3	08:07	Two women wearing colorful traditional clothing by the road.
Occurrence 4	15:10	Ada's grandmother wearing white traditional clothing.
Occurrence 5	31:34	A group of women singing in traditional attire.
Occurrence 6	32:12	Women getting off cars in traditional attire.
Occurrence 7	32:23	Ada wearing black traditional clothing.
Occurrence 8	32:32	A group of women wearing colorful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 9	32:52	Two women and Ada wearing colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 10	33:04	Women singing in colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 11	33:06	Elderly men wearing colorful traditional attire standing outside.
Occurrence 12	33:16	A woman welcomes Ada in colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 13	33:29	A man sitting on a couch in colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 14	33:43	Ada wearing black traditional attire.
Occurrence 15	34:04	Young women wearing colorful traditional clothing.
Occurrence 16	34:25	A girl is wearing colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 17	35:45	Ada wearing a traditional dress.

Occurrence 18	36:25	Ada wearing white and brown traditional attire.
Occurrence 19	38:39	Two girls wearing pink and blue traditional attires.
Occurrence 20	39:19	A group of men extinguishing fire wearing colorful traditional attires.
Occurrence 21	39:35	A woman seated wearing colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 22	40:21	A girl in colorful traditional attire speaks to a police officer.
Occurrence 23	43:28	A picture of Souleymane in traditional attire at his home.
Occurrence 24	43:35	Souleymane's mother wearing blue traditional attire.
Occurrence 25	45:58	An old woman wearing white traditional attire.
Occurrence 26	46:08	Ada's mother wearing a red and white traditional attire.
Occurrence 27	49:32	An elderly man wearing a brown traditional attire.
Occurrence 28	49:40	Ada's mother wearing red and white traditional attire.
Occurrence 29	51:52	A woman wearing a pink traditional attire.
Occurrence 30	1:00:01	Ada's mother wearing red traditional attire.
Occurrence 31	1:00:03	Woman passing by the road wearing a red and orange traditional attire.

Occurrence 32	1:00:26	A woman wearing an orange and white attire passes by the road.
Occurrence 33	1:00:35	Two men by the side of the road in white traditional attires.
Occurrence 34	1:05:26	A group of men wearing colorful traditional clothing by the side of the road.
Occurrence 35	1:05:56	Inspector Diop watches a video of women wearing colorful traditional attires.
Occurrence 36	1:10:07	A woman wearing colorful traditional attire walks by the road.
Occurrence 37	1:11:31	Two women passing by the road in colorful traditional attire.
Occurrence 38	1:27:22	Men and women wearing colorful traditional attires shown on a video.
Occurrence 39	1:39:00	A woman wearing orange traditional clothing walks inside a house.

3. The appearance of western clothing = 166

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	01:26	A group of construction workers in colourful work uniform.
Occurrence 2	01:36	A man wearing a black cap and hoody passes.

Occurrence 3	01:37	A man wearing an orange shirt passes by the road.
Occurrence 4	01:40	A man wearing grey construction uniform at a construction site.
Occurrence 5	01:45	A group of men working at a construction site in colourful work uniform.
Occurrence 6	01:56	A man working at a construction site in brown and grey pants and shirt.
Occurrence 7	02:24	A group of construction working in work uniform.
Occurrence 8	02:31	A man sitting down at a construction site in work uniform.
Occurrence 9	02:38	Construction workers walking towards an office in work uniform.
Occurrence 10	02:41	Construction workers standing outside an office in work uniform.
Occurrence 11	02:54	Workers at a construction site wearing construction uniform.
Occurrence 12	03:02	A man outside an office wearing a brown leather jacket.
Occurrence 13	03:09	A group of construction workers gathered outside an office in different and colourful work uniform.

Occurrence 14	03:38	A group of workers inside an office in work uniform.
Occurrence 15	03:43	Office workers wearing their uniform.
Occurrence 16	04:49	A group of construction workers on the back of truck wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 17	07:55	A group of construction workers walking by the road wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 18	08:07	A group of construction workers walking by the road wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 19	08:24	Souleymane stands by the railroad wearing a white shirt and blue pants.
Occurrence 20	08:31	A group of girls and men standing by the railroad wearing dresses, shirts, and jeans.
Occurrence 21	10:48	A man wearing a blue shirt at a building near the beach.
Occurrence 22	13:06	Two men wearing grey construction uniform.
Occurrence 23	13:13	Ada meets with her female friends wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 24	15:34	Ada's mother wearing a red shirt and jacket carrying a white wedding dress.
Occurrence 25	17:14	Ada sitting on her bed wearing blue jeans.

Occurrence 26	17:48	Ada walking on the street wearing grey jeans and white shirt.
Occurrence 27	18:09	Ada and her female friends wearing pink and yellow dresses at the beach.
Occurrence 28	19:03	Girls sitting around a table at a night club wearing colorful dresses.
Occurrence 29	19:14	A girl wearing a short dress sitting on a couch at the night club.
Occurrence 30	19:21	A girl wearing a white shirt speaks on the phone.
Occurrence 31	19:53	a female bartender is wearing a black shirt and grey denim shorts.
Occurrence 32	20:38	Girls speaking outside a night club wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 33	20:49	Two girls walking outside a night club wearing dresses and weaves.
Occurrence 34	21:01	Girls wearing dresses and jeans at a night club.
Occurrence 35	21:14	3 girls wearing dresses and jeans go exit a night club.
Occurrence 36	21:42	Ada sits inside a night club wearing a black jacket.
Occurrence 37	22:23	A girl wearing a black crop top and blonde wig.
Occurrence 38	22:37	Girls wearing jeans and dresses sleeping on a couch.

Occurrence 39	22:38	Ada walks by the beach wearing a black jacket and jeans.
Occurrence 40	24:56	Ada wearing a grey hoody.
Occurrence 41	25:00	A glittering shoe is shown next to a candle in Ada's room.
Occurrence 42	26:01	Girl wearing black shirt sitting on Ada's bed.
Occurrence 43	26:33	Ada speaks with her friends who are wearing sunglasses and shirts.
Occurrence 44	27:04	Ada sitting on her bed in her pajamas.
Occurrence 45	28:20	Ada closing her window wearing grey pajamas.
Occurrence 46	28:30	Ada and her mother take down shirts and dresses from a hanger.
Occurrence 47	29:06	Ada sitting with her fiancé wearing white shirts and sunglasses.
Occurrence 48	30:25	Ada sleeping on a couch wearing a white shirt and black pants.
Occurrence 49	30:50	Restaurant staff members wearing white shirts.
Occurrence 50	34:06	Ada's friends wearing dresses and jacket.
Occurrence 51	34:25	A girl wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 52	34:35	Ada's female friends wearing dresses.

Occurrence 53	39:54	Police officers wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 54	40:21	Police officer wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 55	40:51	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt and black trouser.
Occurrence 56	41:12	A police officer wearing a shirt and blazer.
Occurrence 57	43:42	Inspector and police officers wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 58	45:58	Two men sitting down wearing shirts and jeans.
Occurrence 59	46:02	A police officer wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 60	46:08	A man sitting next to Ada wearing a brown jacket and Ada wearing a black headscarf and white shirt.
Occurrence 61	46:19	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt and Ada wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 62	49:01	A police officer wearing a suit speaks on the phone.
Occurrence 63	49:18	A police officer wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 64	49:32	Ada is wearing a blue t-shirt and black jeans.
Occurrence 65	50:10	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt and black trouser.
Occurrence 66	50:34	Men on motorbikes wearing t-shirts and pants.
Occurrence 67	50:42	A girl is lying on a couch wearing a pink dress.

Occurrence 68	50:55	A female bartender wearing a black t-shirt and grey denim short.
Occurrence 69	51:44	A girl wearing a white sleeping gown.
Occurrence 70	51:52	A lady wearing a blue shirt speaks with Ada's mother.
Occurrence 71	52:13	Ada wearing pink pyjamas.
Occurrence 72	52:22	A man lying on a bed wearing a white vest.
Occurrence 73	53:18	A girl wearing a white sleeping gown.
Occurrence 74	53:22	A group of girls wearing colourful pyjamas walking on the street.
Occurrence 75	54:25	A woman wearing a black blouse.
Occurrence 76	54:29	A girl wearing a blue and white short pants sitting on the stairs.
Occurrence 77	54:30	A man wearing a black jacket and a shirt.
Occurrence 78	54:34	Girls wearing pajamas.
Occurrence 79	55:22	An old man wearing a brown shirt and jacket.
Occurrence 80	56:41	A girl wearing a white sleeping gown.
Occurrence 81	57:14	Ada wearing grey and white pajamas.
Occurrence 82	57:52	A doctor wearing a white coat at a hospital.
Occurrence 83	57:55	Ada wearing a white shirt.

Occurrence 84	58:55	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt and a nurse wearing white uniform.
Occurrence 85	59:50	A female hospital cleaner wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 86	1:00:09	A nurse wearing white uniform at a hospital.
Occurrence 87	1:00:15	A man wearing a blue shirt and black trouser at the hospital.
Occurrence 88	1:00:26	A group of people passing by the road in shirts, trousers, and dresses.
Occurrence 89	1:00:30	Men sitting next to a road in shirts and pants, and one selling sneakers.
Occurrence 90	1:00:36	Inspector Diop driving wearing a blue shirt and sunglasses.
Occurrence 91	1:00:44	Ada wearing a white shirt and grey jeans.
Occurrence 92	1:00:46	A man on a motorbike wearing a blue shirt.
Occurrence 93	1:00:56	A man on a motorbike wearing a blue shirt and colorful backpack.
Occurrence 94	1:00:58	Two girls wearing grey shirts in a bedroom.
Occurrence 95	1:02:08	A girl wearing a grey shirt passes man wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 96	1:02:12	A security guard wearing blue uniform and black cap.

Occurrence 97	1:02:14	Ada sitting at a restaurant wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 98	1:02:22	A restaurant employee wearing an orange and white shirt.
Occurrence 99	1:03:16	A waitress wearing a white and orange shirt and black pants.
Occurrence 100	1:04:45	Inspector Diop exits his car wearing a blue shirt and sunglasses.
Occurrence 101	1:05:03	Two men passing by the road wearing black and white shirts.
Occurrence 102	1:05:04	A man wearing an orange shirt standing by the side of the road.
Occurrence 103	1:05:13	A group people passing by the road wearing shirts, pants, and dresses.
Occurrence 104	1:05:24	A woman wearing black pants and jacket.
Occurrence 105	1:05:40	Ada inside a police cell wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 106	1:06:06	Inspector Diop inside an office wearing a blue shirt and black pants.
Occurrence 107	1:06:17	A police officer wearing a brown shirt.
Occurrence 108	1:07:55	A police officer wearing blue uniform at a police station.

Occurrence 109	1:08:24	People sitting down at the police station wearing shirts, pants, and dresses.
Occurrence 110	1:08:29	Ada's fiancé wearing a black shirt and sunglasses.
Occurrence 111	1:08:35	Ada wearing a white shirt and grey jeans at the police station.
Occurrence 112	1:09:57	People walking on the street wearing shirts, pants, and dresses.
Occurrence 113	1:10:07	A man on a donkey carriage wearing a brown shirt and black cap.
Occurrence 114	1:10:10	Ada walking on the street wearing a white shirt and grey jeans.
Occurrence 115	1:10:46	People on the street wearing dresses, shirts and pants.
Occurrence 116	1:10:52	A male vendor wearing a black jacket and sunglasses.
Occurrence 117	1:10:58	Man standing next to a vendor with people passing by wearing shirts, pants and dresses.
Occurrence 118	1:11:38	Inspector Diop driving wearing a blue shirt.
Occurrence 119	1:12:16	A girl lying on a bed wearing a white sleeping gown.
Occurrence 120	1:13:44	Ada wearing a white shirt with her friend wearing a grey shirt in a bar.

Occurrence 121	1:15:17	A man wearing a white shirt and a bathrobe.
Occurrence 122	1:15:24	A girl sitting on a bed wearing a green shirt.
Occurrence 123	1:16:32	A group of girls wearing pyjamas.
Occurrence 124	1:16:45	A man wearing a blue and white shirt and blue jeans.
Occurrence 125	1:16:58	A police officer wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 126	1:17:44	Ada standing by her window wearing a black and white crop top and grey jeans.
Occurrence 127	1:18:50	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt.
Occurrence 128	1:19:15	Souleymane wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 129	1:19:39	A girl wearing a grey shirt sitting by the beach.
Occurrence 130	1:20:01	A girl wearing white pajamas in a night club.
Occurrence 131	1:20:12	A girl wearing grey pyjamas in a night club.
Occurrence 132	1:20:19	Girls sitting round a table at a night club.
Occurrence 133	1:20:38	A girl wearing pyjamas and blonde wig speaks t Ada wearing a white shirt.
Occurrence 134	1:22:18	A group of men wearing jackets sitting round a table.
Occurrence 135	1:23:35	A man wearing a white jacket appear on the mirror.

Occurrence 136	1:23:44	Inspector Diop lying down with a blue shirt next to him.
Occurrence 137	1:24:08	A police officer wearing blue uniform.
Occurrence 138	1:24:19	A police commissioner wearing a blue jacket at a police station.
Occurrence 139	1:24:38	Police officers wearing uniform.
Occurrence 140	1:24:45	Ada lying on a bed with a white shirt and her friend wearing a grey shirt.
Occurrence 141	1:25:37	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt.
Occurrence 142	1:26:11	A police commissioner sitting in an office wearing a black shirt.
Occurrence 143	1:26:23	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt in an office.
Occurrence 144	1:26:50	A woman wearing a white shirt sitting with a man wearing a grey shirt.
Occurrence 145	1:27:08	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt using a laptop in an office.
Occurrence 146	1:28:33	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt driving a car.
Occurrence 147	1:30:21	Inspector Diop at his apartment wearing a blue shirt and black pants.
Occurrence 148	1:31:05	Ada wearing a white shirt with her friend wearing a grey shirt in a bedroom.

Occurrence 149	1:31:30	A man wearing a blue and grey jacket wears rings and a watch.
Occurrence 150	1:31:40	A black cap is shown on a table.
Occurrence 151	1:32:03	A girl wearing yellow and purple pyjamas.
Occurrence 152	1:32:14	Girls wearing pyjamas in the bush.
Occurrence 153	1:32:30	A girl wearing a white sleeping gown.
Occurrence 154	1:32:39	A group of girls wearing pyjamas.
Occurrence 155	1:32:41	A man wearing a grey and blue jacket in the bush.
Occurrence 156	1:34:33	Ada wearing a black shirt and blue jeans.
Occurrence 157	1:34:59	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt and black pants at a night club.
Occurrence 158	1:35:03	Souleymane wearing a white shirt and grey jeans.
Occurrence 159	1:38:53	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt.
Occurrence 160	1:39:15	A girl lying on a bed wearing a black bra and grey jeans.
Occurrence 161	1:39:27	Inspector Diop wearing a blue shirt at his apartment with his blue police uniform on the wall.
Occurrence 162	1:39:30	A police commissioner wearing a white shirt at the police station.

Occurrence 163	1:39:54	A man on the road wearing a grey shirt.
Occurrence 164	1:39:57	People passing by the road wearing dresses, shirts and pants.
Occurrence 165	1:40:24	Ada's friend wearing a grey shirt and denim short.
Occurrence 166	1:40:49	Ada is wearing a black shirt in a bedroom.

4. **African music/sounds = 4**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	05:19	Music plays as a flat is shown.
Occurrence 2	18:42	Music playing at the night club.
Occurrence 3	1:10:21	Guitar music plays while Ada walks on the street.
Occurrence 4	1:39:50	Music plays as Diop walks out of the office.

5. **Western music/sounds = 1**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
Occurrence 1	1:09:57	Music plays at a group of people walk on the road.

6. **Mention or reference to colonial past = 0**

Occurrences	**Time code**	**Description**
0	0	0

7. **Images of Christian practices, people, or objects = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

8. **Images of African religious practices, people, or objects = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

9. **Fights (verbal, physical) between Christian people and African (religious) people = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

10. **African citizen heroes/African citizens doing heroic things = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

11. **African citizens doing villainous things = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

12. **African politicians as heroes or doing heroic things = 0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

13. **African politicians doing villainous things =0**

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

14. Portrayal of violence in African settings

a. physical violence = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

b. images of weapons e.g., knife, gun, machetes = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
0	0	0

c. Verbal violence e.g., cursing = 0

Occurrences	Time code	Description
Occurrence 1	0	0