NOLLYWOOD GOES TO BRAZIL: COUNTER-HEGEMONIC MEDIA FLOWS IN THE
AFRICAN DIASPORA

By

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ABSTRACT

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The current research titled under the dissertation heading "Nollywood Goes To Brazil: Counter Hegemonic Media Flows in the African Diaspora" explores the dissemination of Nigerian cultural productions in Brazil and its reception by a wide array of primarily Afro-Brazilians and Neo-African Diasporas in Brazil. Although Brazil has one of the most robust media industries in the world, the visual representations presented in its media overlook, ignore, and otherwise discount the cultural importance of 51% of the majority of its Black and Brown populations. Therefore, non-African descendants produce television and film representations, which follow a mainstream European Diaspora or Hollywood version, which collapse most spectrums of Brazilian society. The scarcity of a presence in television and movies forces some African descendants to supplement visual images with the support of Afro-Brazilian producers who create documentaries and cinematic representations. Brazilian audiences consume a significant amount of Hollywood and Eurocentric Brazilian productions that rarely feature a predominantly Black cast to supplement their lack of visual representation. Current legislation seeks to augment overlooked populations throughout society even though recent statistics reveal that there is still minimal representation within Brazil. The gap within Black representation could begin to be filled with African cinema that can elucidate contemporary culture through the Nigerian perspective. The Nigerian movies or so-called "Nollywood industry" is a powerful vehicle for creating contemporary representations of Nigerian culture that has the ability to change the way that Africans and the African Diaspora view themselves.

Nollywood in Brazil reveals how the largest movie industry in the world could complement current legislation in the country, which mandates African and Afro-Brazilian education. Indeed, recent Brazilian government policies provide incentives for teachers, cultural institutions, and policy makers to promote Nollywood films within Brazil. This project is based on participant observation, surveys, and an ethnographic field study of the official producers, viewers, and distributors of Nollywood videos within São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia in Brazil. Three trends fueled the current investigation. First, new affirmative action policies have encouraged Brazilians to recognize the many contributions of African heritage to their society. As such, I examine Nollywood cultural productions in Brazil in its nascent period (since 2011). Second, I examined the mostly Afro-Brazilian reception to a Nollywood movie whose reactions within six site locations were mixed, ranging from strong identification with African culture, homeland, or aesthetic to some considering the films to be highly offensive. A third (and related to the second trend) is the observation that new African Diasporas, particularly Nigerian immigrants to Brazil, not only constitute a large market of consumers of these movies but are also distributors of these movies to other communities. Within new Diaspora communities mostly in São Paulo and other major cities, Nollywood movies are primarily disseminated by way of informal transnational distribution networks.

This dissertation is dedicated to everyone who assisted me with this project (from Nigeria, Brazil, and the United States), and to anyone who has nurtured me along this educational journey. Thank you, gracias, obrigada, ありがとう, danyavat for your support, time, concern, guidance, care, love, mentorship, and cultivation.

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INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian social structure [p]arallels our [Afro-Brazilian] social

structure. The film [*Domitilla, the Story of a Prostitute (1997)*] showed

people striving to go above social status. As a psychologist, I have worked

with a variety of Domitillas in the same situation. The notion of

submission parallels Brazil, parallels favelas, and poor areas. (Discussion

group respondent, 2013)

This quotation from an Afro-Brazilian audience member watching a Nollywood

movie in São Paulo reveals how one audience member sees the connection between a

Nigerian movie and the lives of many Afro-Brazilians. Nigeria and Brazil are two

countries representative of dynamic cultural powerhouses within the Global South. The

Nigerian movie industry–often called Nollywood–is the largest producer of contemporary

African cultural production(s) in the world. Brazil has the largest African population

outside of Nigeria and is home to a large portion of the Yoruba religion, many of whom

reside particularly in Salvador, Bahia. Recent Brazilian affirmative action policies (law

10.639, 2003) mandate the implementation of legislation that seeks to disseminate

awareness of, and education in, the history and culture of Africans and Afro-Brazilians

within the country. The cultural landscape of Brazil was the ideal place to ground my

research; within that cultural landscape, I explored both new and old African Diasporas

using both mixed qualitative as well as quantitative methods to conduct my research.

Therefore, my research examines postcolonial and Diaspora theory, and it subsequently

tests this theory, through ethnographic research. Essentially, my research has sought to

establish a platform within which the complex and valuable voices of the Diasporas are strongly heard, as well as to bring increased attention to the cultural contributions of diverse African Diasporas inside Brazil.

Nollywood, as one of the largest cultural producers within the Global South (quite unintentionally) counteracts the hegemonic position held by Western media outside of Nigeria (Krings & Okome, 2013). That is, Nigerian videos are much more culturally, ethnically, religiously, and/or nationally "centered" than are those produced by Western media, and they consistently contribute much-needed representation(s) of a plethora of Nigerian images that provide insight into the stories, goals, dreams, and aspirations of Nigerian producers. Examination of the Nollywood film industry and its influences within a Brazilian Black mecca, where cultural retentions are sustained (and are adapting quite fluidly over time) proved to be an excitingly engaging research process. Postcolonial and Diaspora theorists often argue that voices from Black populations are constantly overlooked within the African Diaspora; yet, through the influence of media of communication, such as social media, and culturally specific video productions, these voices have been given a platform within which they can now be widely heard. Some media users appear to be protesting this new reality/opportunity, and, yet, many others are vigorously sharing their stories via new cultural productions.

Since the early 1900s, Brazil's dependence on the United States film industry (Johnson & Stam, 1995, pp. 18-19) has left little room for Brazilian representation in film and even less room for Afro-Brazilian representation in film. That is, the scholarly literature (including Johnson & Stam, 1995) is filled with examples of the binaries of a European cultural worldview (that consisting mostly of "civilized" and "modern" life and

society) is juxtaposed with a Third World "uncivilized" and "unmodern" Black and African citizen/immigrant worldview. Media, as a whole, and social media, specifically, are valuable resources (tools) that begin to counter the bias inherent in a predominately European cultural worldview by providing spaces that can discount these hegemonic perspectives on world societies. In fact, numerous and frequent protests take place in Brazil that parallel other global events that seek to counter social economic and/or racial injustice(s) while bringing attention to the importance of global cultural contributions to society made by people of color.

This dissertation research seeks to understand the influence of the Nollywood film industry within Brazil through recording and reporting the reactions of an audience (mainly, the participants within my study) who examine the contemporary contiguities of Global South social oppression of/on Africans in the Diaspora. Audience members accomplish this by using media as a/the catalyst to describe and disseminate information about the ongoing systematic struggle for democratic equality as Africans, Blacks, women, and immigrants living in Brazil. This phenomenon parallels recent legislative transformations among African descendants in Brazil, brought on by the government in 2001 when it passed affirmative action policies, within which the Brazilian government denounced the "myth of racial democracy" (Stam & Shohat, 2012, p. 238). An example of such transformation was instigated by the "Racial Equality Law," as it served as the catalyst for numerous public and private agencies to create laws that mandate African and Afro-Brazilian education (Stam & Shohat, 2012, p. 220). These policies especially promote increased recognition of the historical imprint African descendants have had and continue to have on Brazilian national identity, culture, and society.

There are three current trends that fuel this project (these trends arise from the aforementioned context). The first one encompasses the Brazilian government's new affirmative action policies (law 10.639, 2003), along with certain policies in education requiring the teaching of African history, thereby encouraging a new environment that values African heritage and its contributions to Brazilian society and culture. As such, I examine Nollywood cultural production(s) in Brazil within its nascent period, that is, I engage in the descriptive examination of the Brazilian curators' purpose and intention for utilizing Nollywood films within their film exhibitions. I examine how newer Nigerian Diasporas in Brazil are distributing and producing Nollywood movies within the country.

Second, I examine reception and reaction (by Afro-Brazilians) to Nollywood movies; most notably, I examine their reception of and reactions to the film *Domitilla, the Story of a Prostitute*[1] (1997), written by Zeb Ejiro (Okome, 2007, p. 13). The audience commented on the utility of Nollywood in a new contextual and cultural environment outside of Africa, Europe, Barbados, and the United States. Within São Paulo, and Salvador, Bahia, respondents' responses ranged from having strong identification with African culture to some answers indicating they found the movie highly offensive.

A third trend relates to the previous trends by observing new African Diasporas, particularly Nigerian immigrants to Brazil, who have informal distribution markets for these movies within diverse African communities. On one hand, this occurs within an era of globalization whereby Nollywood experiences a "boom" in its production and subsequent consumption of its films, as evidenced by production and release of more

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[1] From now on within the dissertation the movie *Domitilla, the Story of a Prostitute* (1997) by Zeb Ejiro will be referred to as *Domitilla* (1997). Also, it should be understood that the researcher is referring to the first film *Domitilla* produced in 1997.

films than in any other industry, as well as its widespread proliferation within Europe, the United States of America, and in the Caribbean (Jedlowski, 2013, p. 31). On another hand, Nollywood receives unequal representation internationally, leaving the industry parallel to a *global shadow (*Ferguson, 2006) overlooked by hegemonic normalcy of Western film industries (Krings & Okome, 2013). The popularity of Nollywood videos flourishes within Anglophone migrant communities, internationally (Bryce, 2013, Sanatanera 2013, Cartelli, 2007), and those videos are made available primarily via informal Nigerian transnational distribution networks, including such networks in Brazil.

The dissertation study intends to build upon Global Nollywood by extending the analysis of African-Diaspora media productions, distribution, and exhibition research to include their influence in Brazil. The African ties are connected via new African Diasporas as well as older African Diaspora communities.

Results of the research will contribute to (an) understanding of the diverse Africana voices within Brazil, and they will reveal how Nollywood, as a (medium for) cultural production(s), assists in bringing increased attention to, and appreciation for, contemporary African cultural heritage. Through my research, I wanted to create a theoretical premise: essentially, I wanted to understand if and how Nollywood can be used as a tool for increasing cultural comprehension of present-day diverse Africana identities in modern globalization:

1. How is globalization influencing media representation of Black identities in Brazil?

2. As one manifestation of new trends in globalization, how, and where, is Nollywood received and distributed within the African Diaspora in a

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range of dimensions? What are the different ways these communities

engage with, and consume, Nollywood production(s)

3. How are various sectors of the Brazilian state-society, such as the

Brazilian government, various entrepreneurs, and cultural communities

engaging with Nollywood, and exactly why are they doing so?

Specifically, by answering these questions, this study aims to describe, illuminate the

value of, and bring much needed attention to the Nollywood phenomenon in Brazil as

well as to determine whether Nollywood can contribute to promoting African Diaspora

cultural heritage.

Theoretical Framework, Methodology, and Research Design

Within the Global South, some common threads unite many citizens may also

divide them in terms of socio-cultural, economic, and political oppression, including the

lack of democratic representation (or voice) within the global media (Stam and Shohat

2012). Within the Global North, Bollywood and Nollywood compete, internationally, as

they both supply cultural productions that consistently disrupt Eurocentric hegemonic

mainstream representations of race, culture, and society. Although Nigerian movies

unrealistically portray society, they, nonetheless, provide pathways to multifaceted ways

of understanding Nigerian culture through both local and global ideological narratives. In

Brazil, Nigerian movies circulate mostly within new African Diasporas, such as South

Africans, Ghanaians, Cameroonians, Gambian, and other Anglophone countries. São

Paulo has a sizeable French-speaking refugee community; it is a place where many

Congolese and Angolan individuals come to Brazil to seek asylum from their home

country. In 2012, Brazil was the first country in Latin America to allow Angolan and

Liberian refugees seek asylum, which comprised 40% of all refugees (Godhino, 2012, p. 1). In 2014, Nigeria, Congo, and Angolan were the largest numbers of refugee communities in Brazil (Cowie, 2014, p. 2). The new African Diasporas moved to Brazil to take advantage of economic opportunities (Cowie, 2014, p. 1). Many African immigrants share spaces in which Nollywood films frequently circulate. Unless the French subtitled translations of the movies exist, these populations, for the most part, do not view the Nigerian productions (participant observation 2012-2014). Therefore, the consumption of Nollywood within Brazil mostly occurs within multi-ethnic African communities whose inhabitants either speak English or have a direct connection with someone from Anglophone African countries.

This dissertation employs a temporal analysis of African Diasporas using Palmer (2000), and, later, Zeleza (2011) to examine the African Diasporas temporally by drawing attention to six phases of African migration. Palmer, considering the chronology of African dispersal from the beginning of time, categorizes African Diasporas into pre-modern and modern Diasporas. The modern Diasporas are more commonly relevant to the current study: the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the 15th century, the East African Slave Trade (ending during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade), and the contemporary movements of Africans (Palmer, 2000). African Diaspora theorists Okpewho (1999) and Zeleza (2011) provide African migrant-specific conditions that help to theoretically determine a distinctive new wave of the African Diaspora.

Afro-Brazilians and Nigerian immigrants to Brazil inform a new and interesting understanding of cultural positionality and representations of the African Diaspora for the current study. Afro-Brazilians are a part of a historic Diaspora, albeit, part of the

Atlanticist, North American Diaspora, forged in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and racialized experiences and legacies in forming non-Anglophone Diasporic experiences, Afro-Brazilians have been presented as Diasporas of difference within the North American region (Sasone, 2003, pp. 2-4). The Afro-Brazilian Diaspora is a distinctive one, given that it is a non-Anglophone country with the largest Black population living outside of Nigeria. That is, historically, the Brazilian government suppressed the mistreatment of Black and Brown subjects under the guise of racial harmony. The Brazilian government greatly encouraged racial mixing (or creolization) as a means of "evolution" through miscegenation (Hanchard, 1994, p. 52). The other – the Nigerian immigrants – are part of the New African Diasporas; these are Diasporas of post-colonialism and globalization. As a departure from historically defined African Diasporas, discussions of new African Diasporas draw attention to the geographic and social components that relate to the experiences of recent African migrants (Creese, 2011, p. 22).

This original research is meant to examine classic Diaspora identification with Nollywood in Brazil. While Nigerian movies provide superficial cultural understanding of any ethnicity, my initial intention was to understand whether Afro-Brazilians would identify with the films specifically. Ideally, the research aimed to use a Yoruba-language movie to screen specifically to Yoruba-Brazilian religious practitioners. Later, my focus shifted to include any religious tradition, and this shift occurred, primarily, because I only received permission from a single director whose film described social, gender-related, and economic issues through the lens of prostitution. The research trajectory was later adjusted to accommodate a wider audience of diverse religious participants and to include

a specific focus on race and gender.[2] Thus, to begin understanding Nollywood's reception

in Brazil, my primary focus became one that sought to understand how mostly Afro-

Brazilians understand *Domitilla* (1997) as well as to describe exhibitions of Nollywood

movies throughout the country. Many viewers of the film in Brazil noted some homeland

connections as well as a cultural dissonance. Most informants acknowledged the

language barriers that prohibit larger African Diaspora communities from becoming

consumers of the films.

My research goes beyond the theoretical tradition by providing descriptive

accounts of voices from the African Diaspora by utilizing qualitative and quantitative

research methods. As a global Black studies scholar, my descriptive research seeks

prescriptive methodologies to diversify the knowledge production of Black/African

identities by examining ways to humanize postcolonial subjects. Therefore, my research

aligns with the Black Studies tradition proposed by Manning Marable (2000), who argues

that researchers should aim to imbue descriptive, prescriptive, and corrective models to

assist Black global communities (pp.1-2). Thus, my project examines identity through

social, political, and cultural frameworks within the African world. Diverse and

frequently overlooked voices of the African Diaspora are captured within the data by

incorporating mixed methods field research. These methods include cultural studies and

African American and African cultural studies with Diaspora Studies (Butler, 1998;

Hamilton, 2006; Zeleza, 2011), world cinema and media studies (Bhabha, 2007; Krings,

& Okome, 2013; Nacify, 2001; Stam & Shohat, 2012), and mixed methods—both

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[2] Some White, Indigenous, mixed Brazilian respondents completed the questionnaires.

qualitative and quantitative (Bernard, 2000; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Each

subsequently informs the other.

Global Intercultural / Cultural Studies   African American and African Studies
                                                            Research

An Examination of African Diaspora
Identity through Nollywood Reception
in Brazil

Mixed Methods Research   Film / Media Studies
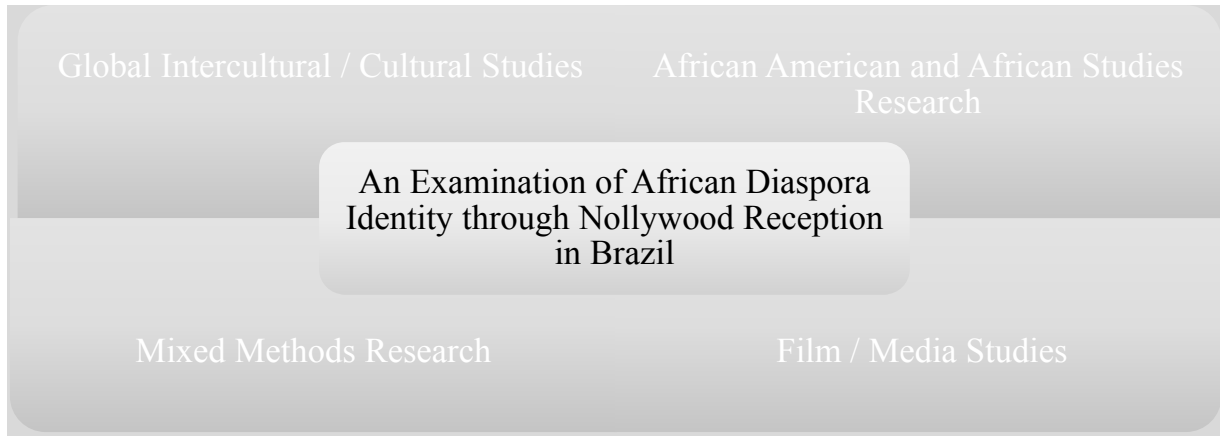
Figure 1: Chart: RESEARCH DESIGN

First, the existing literature on Black cultural studies concentrates primarily on the

English-speaking African Diaspora or the Black Atlantic (Gilroy, 1993). As such, my

project captures overlooked geographical portions of the Black Atlantic, including

English-speaking Africans and Portuguese Afro-Brazilians. Indeed, the project examines

the intercultural intricacies and cultural attributes as they relate to the ways new and old

Diasporas identify with African cultural production, specifically in terms of aesthetics

and their own cultural heritage.

Second, African Diaspora and African studies combine African cultural

productions' aesthetic and cultural value(s) to both new and old Diasporas. According to

Butler (2001), "Diasporas are multi-generational: they combine the individual migration

experience with the collective history of group dispersal and regenesis of communities

abroad. Frameworks for Diasporan study need to incorporate both" (Butler, 192). Third,

World cinema and media studies examine global Nigerian cultural productions through

the empirical and theoretical confines of Nollywood in Brazil (within the Diaspora)

through an analysis of *Domitilla* (1997) and the use and circulation of the movies in African communities in Brazil. Finally, Africana scholars suggest the augmentation of quantitative research within Diaspora studies. Consequently, the culmination of both theoretical and empirical research is beneficial for African Diaspora research.

The current study results are the product of refining preliminary and exploratory research collected between 2012-2013 in São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia Brazil. Exploratory and preliminary research also helped to establish site locations at universities with researchers and diverse Afro-Brazilian and/or African institutions in which the movie *Domitilla* (1997) was screened. Incidentally, *Domitilla* (1997) was screened at six locations throughout Salvador, Bahia, and at one location in São Paulo. In August 2014, I explored possible screening sites in Salvador, Bahia, and I contacted the Rio de Janeiro curator requesting permission to exhibit one of the Nigerian movies from the *Nollywood Mostra* (2012). In order to screen movies in Brazil, it was crucial to obtain access to Nollywood movies translated from Yoruba (or English) into Portuguese. The curator informed me that the directors' authorization was necessary to release the movies for exhibition. Upon arrival in Brazil, I immediately contacted six different Nollywood directors who previously exhibited their films within Brazil. Fortunately, in September of 2013, Zeb Ejiro granted me permission to exhibit his movie, *Domitilla* (1997), with Portuguese subtitles. Originally, I intended to screen a Nollywood movie elucidating Yoruba culture, but I shifted from a Pan-Yoruba Diaspora connection to utilizing Global South themes of gender, class, and social inequalities. Ejiro is renowned within Nigeria as a movie and television show director who was the first director within Nollywood to feature women's perspectives through the main protagonist (Domitilla), who was a

prostitute. According to Okome (2007), the movie is considered a classic and one that

changed the course of Nollywood storylines. This was the first Nollywood video-film to

capture a woman's perspective of the structural inequalities within Nigeria through the

lens of prostitution (2012, *Nollywood Mostra* pamphlet in Rio de Janeiro Brazil). As the

18th best-selling Nollywood movie, many directors replicated the *Domitilla* (1997) model

(Agba, 2014).[3] The screening of *Domitilla* (1997) in Brazil provided a different angle of

Nigerian cultural productions.

Participants were recruited through convenience (Bernard, 2006, pp. 157-158) and

snowball methods (Blaikie, 2010, pp. 179). The majority of Afro-Brazilian participants

completed surveys in Portuguese following the film screenings. The chronology of the

current research was divided into two phases of data collection spanning from August

2013 to April 2014.[4] Phase I of data collection took place for six months in Salvador,

Bahia and Phase II of data collection took place for two months in São Paulo. Within

both geographical locations, participant observations, mixed methods surveys, in-depth

ethnographic surveys, audio, and content analysis were used to gather data. Most of these

methods were utilized within each of the six diverse site locations in which Nollywood

screenings were held. In both geographical locations, interviews were conducted with

participants representing several diverse ethnic groups. However, for the purposes of this

study, information gathered from respondents who identified as an African-descendant or

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[3] As evidence, within Nigeria the word Domitilla became synonymous for prostitute (Okome, 2007, p. 14). Despite the research shift, I appreciated not having to grapple with the complexities of transnational translation in a foreign country.
[4] In July 2012, Michigan State University granted research approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). After receiving IRB approval, exploratory and preliminary research data was collected, and this data was later refined for the current research project. Several qualitative open-ended questions were changed to quantitative close-ended questions based on previous respondents' answers to those questions.

mixed with African ancestry will account for most of the data content discussed within the results.

In both site locations, I recruited study participants through Nollywood venders, distributors, directors, Afro-Brazilian, and African cultural and economic spaces, universities, cinema clubs called *cineclubes*, and a Yoruba class, along with a cinema screening area within a library. Some of the aforementioned populations assisted me in recruiting other participants who would later attend the screening. Informants consented verbally and provided information concerning my research aiming to understand Brazilian perceptions of Nollywood through the audience reception of *Domitilla* (1997). In addition to surveys, interviews, and participant observations, print media artifacts, such as pamphlets and posters pertaining to Nollywood, were collected from exhibitions, showings, and public forums.

In Salvador, Bahia I recruited study participants through Nollywood venders, distributors, directors, Afro-Brazilian, and African cultural and economic spaces, universities, cinema clubs, and a Yoruba class, along with a cinema screening area within a library. Some of the aforementioned populations assisted me in recruiting other participants who would later attend the screening. Informants consented verbally, and they provided information concerning my research aiming to understand Brazilian perceptions of Nollywood through the audience reception of *Domitilla* (1997). In addition to surveys, interviews, and participant observations, the following print media artifacts, such as pamphlets and posters pertaining to Nollywood, were collected from exhibitions, showings, and public forums.

Within São Paulo, snowball methods (Blaikie, 2010, pp. 179) were also employed; participants were recruited, as I frequented stores, restaurants, and the shopping mall on a daily basis. The contacts established in these locations allowed me access to interviewing additional Nollywood consumers. Both methods assisted me in recruiting other participants to complete surveys. Often, storeowners or previous participants helped to recruit additional participants. These methods complemented previous methods that aimed to understand the patterns, relationships, and exchanges among the African Diaspora, and their networks within the shopping centers throughout two months spent in São Paulo. Thus, with several store owners' permission, a few of their customers were recruited as participants who later completed surveys. A former Nigerian participant translated one participant's survey responses from Igbo to English. Also, I collected one survey near the main site location during an after-hours gathering in downtown São Paulo. The multilayered methodological research approach in Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo supplied valuable insight on both new and old African Diasporas within both locations. The following section will briefly survey the methods used for gathering data within this unique global cultural studies Africana project.

Ethnographic tools recorded how audiences identified with the Nollywood movie through mixed methods questionnaires, semi-structured discussion groups (see appendix for the differences between each site location), and participant observation. Also, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants while in Brazil. Based on participant observation and discussion group responses, I selected three sections of the film *Domitilla* (1997) that appeared most significant to examining how audiences related, or did not relate, to the movie. Overall, in both site locations, I obtained data from

approximately 90 participants using mixed method surveys. Most participants completed

the surveys without the assistance of a scribe or interpreter, and three participants

required accommodations/assistance, so those participants were asked the questions

orally, and I later transcribed their responses.

Within both geographical locations, two questionnaires were administered. One

survey was written in Portuguese, and it was completed, for the most part, by African-

Brazilians (the exceptions were 1 Asian and 2 American-born individuals, all living in

Brazil). The other survey was written in English, and it was completed for the most part

by Africans. (In Salvador, Bahia one survey was administered in English, and in São

Paulo, 26 surveys were administered in English.) The survey written in Portuguese

consisted of 33 questions, and the survey written in English consisted of 27 questions.

The questionnaire included a broad set of questions and was administered through

interviews soliciting Brazilian and African respondents' reflections on their approach(es)

toward watching Nollywood videos. Interviews began with my asking respondents their

personal impressions when watching Nigerian movies. Surveys categorically examined

audience identification with Nollywood, ways that Nollywood serves as a vehicle for

cultural production, and whether Nollywood has potential for success in Brazil. The

questionnaires outlined five different categories of concern: demographic background,

reception perceptions (initially), or (ongoing/continuous) habits of reception,

identification with *Domitilla* (1997) and Nollywood, and identification with either Africa

or Nigeria as a Diaspora homeland as well as participants' overall perception of Black

global representation.

The participants' observations served as a guide to cross-reference answers provided on the surveys pertaining to whether or not audiences identified with *Domitilla* (1997) within discussion groups. Daily observation aimed to gain further information as to ways the Afro-Brazilian Diasporas engage with the African continent. Thus, in São Paulo, I examined the daily transnational interactions with Nigerian films and other material goods. Similarly, within Salvador, Bahia, through my participation in numerous conferences, lectures, debates, protests, and celebrations, I was able to witness and observe the multifaceted ways Afro-Brazilians endeavored to connect and reconnect with Africa.[5] By extension, using field notes to record my observations during the screening of *Domitilla* (1997), I noted various participants' bodily gestures and other physical movements and reactions to *Domitilla* (1997). Field notes were taken at all site locations, during or following the screening at the Afrocentric Group, the library, the film society, in a Yoruba class, at a multicultural institution, and in a university classroom. Noting audiences' reactions to various scenes provided subtle information about whether participants identified or did not identify with the films. Also, four semi-structured questions within the discussion group were audio-recorded, and they were later transcribed.

The data collected through observation at three shopping locations in the downtown São Paulo area were obtained as I shadowed Nollywood venders and Nollywood consumers. Within both field sites, I was sensitive to the importance of staying out of the way and not disrupting the on-site workflow. Despite my consistent effort(s) to maintain "a low profile," my presence in some of the stores appeared to cause

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[5] As evidence, during the beginning of my research, the Salvador, Bahian library hosted a conference entitled *Somos Africa(nos)* (2013) questioning the ideology of Bahians as Africans.

venders to intentionally display Nollywood videos or to deliberately play Nollywood movies while I was there. After several conversations with store owners, I developed strategies for unobtrusively observing activities within their stores. Each site location provided a rich comparative analysis of African cultural matrixes within Brazil. In addition to noting which film was on display, I observed a series of transactions during which Nollywood films were sold. The African shopping spaces held rich information concerning contemporary and previous histories of Nollywood co-productions in Brazil, along with current consumption and distribution of Nollywood consumers. Field notes assisted my understanding of the patterns and flows of consumerism that occurred within these shopping locales. The data content (gathered throughout approximately 100 hours of visiting these sites) described the physical settings, patterns of interaction, meanings, beliefs, emotions, material culture, and objects within São Paulo (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 145).

Semi-structured open-ended questions were asked in half of the screening sites, based on structural program availability. This qualitative approach aimed to capture diverse ways that the audience identified with the films, and it allowed audiences to probe further into how Nollywood could be used as a cultural production to assist current Brazilian legislation regarding teaching African and Afro-Brazilian culture in education. Therefore, the data collection methods within this project involved taking detailed descriptive field notes that documented the activities of interest, within their social and physical settings. Field notes were taken during the observations, and they were dictated into an audio-recorder shortly thereafter. The notes were handwritten in a notebook, typed into a computer field note journal, or dictated into a tape recorder and later transcribed.

Within São Paulo, I recorded in-depth interviews with key informants using a hand-held audio-recording device. In addition to survey research, the project includes four semi-structured interviews with two Nollywood actors. One interview was conducted in English, and another interview was conducted in both Portuguese and English; I interviewed one director (in English), as well as one curator, who was interviewed twice in Portuguese. I met with Nollywood director Abel Success twice via Skype (October, 1, 2013 from São Paulo and March 19th from Liberia) with a third and final interview (in downtown São Paulo February 6, 2014) occurred in person at a downtown restaurant. He requested our conversation not be audio-recorded; therefore, field notes were taken during that semi-structured informal interview. In addition, I met face to face with the São Paulo curator at a downtown cinema café (the first formal interview during the year February 5, 2014), and we communicated once via Skype (the second interview September 21, 2014). Both interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. A former Nollywood actor met with me for an informal interview at his house where the interview was audio-recorded and later transcribed. Last, the Nollywood actor BK (July 24, 2014) met with me at a fast food restaurant in downtown São Paulo; I transcribed the conversation and took field notes. The information from interview field notes was placed into an Excel spreadsheet and subsequently coded. These interviews were critical to understanding Nollywood in Brazil from a multitude of angles.

Participant ages ranged from 18 to 99 years. Participants under age 18 were excluded from participation without the express permission of their parents or guardians. Individuals who revealed they had disabilities or mental health conditions were also excluded from participating, along with prisoners, in accordance with previously

specified IRB restrictions. Pregnant women were given the right to decide whether or not they wanted to participate, and I neither targeted those populations nor excluded them. Subjects who participated in the interview claimed they were in good health. There were minimal potential physical, psychological, legal, or social risks involved in completing an interview or a questionnaire. One specific scene within the movie appeared to be particularly disturbing for some viewers. All subjects were given the opportunity, if they felt uncomfortable answering any of the questions, to skip or "pass" on the question, and all participants were informed of their right to terminate the interview or survey at any point during the process.

The initial research analysis began after I returned to the United States. After reviewing earlier interviews and observations, I made refinements to the interview questions and observational strategies. Throughout the study, questions were added, reworded, refocused, or deleted as appropriate. Similarly, interviews were transcribed and field notes were entered into an Excel spreadsheet for analysis. Survey questions entered into an Excel document assisted in segmenting pre-established and emergent coding categories. In Excel, data were quantified based on analysis of the content, through descriptive statistics, and by clustering the same questions in both Portuguese and English-based differences in geographical regions. Discussion groups and in-depth semi-structured interview responses were first transcribed and later entered into an Excel spreadsheet. I developed a detailed coding and classification system for filing and cross-referencing all interview data. The codes reflected both the questions in the interview guide and broader themes emerging subthemes from the interviews and observations of participants.

The multiple ways of gathering data (described above) were paramount to gaining understanding of Nollywood reception in the Latin American African Diaspora, particularly in Brazil. The interviews allowed me to gain important input relating to the various sectors of the Brazilian state-society, such as the Brazilian government, entrepreneurs, and cultural communities, how they engage with Nollywood, and why they do.

In summary, approximately 75% of the Nollywood surveys administered in Brazil were administered in Portuguese, and the remaining (approximately 25%) were administered in English (several were translated from English to Igbo). São Paulo is the epicenter for Nollywood in Brazil, and the research employed the four ethnographic research methods that describe and provide an understanding of Nollywood mediascapes within Brazil. To better understand the Nollywood phenomenon in Latin America, I accessed key informants, such as Nollywood actors, directors, and curators who provided in-depth insight concerning Nigerian and Brazilian cinema in Brazil.

Summary of Chapters

The current research entitled "Nollywood Goes To Brazil: Counter Hegemonic Media Flows in the African Diaspora" explores the dissemination of Nigerian cultural productions in Brazil and its reception by a wide array of primarily Afro-Brazilians and New-African Diasporas in Brazil. The project adds to the research on *Global Nollywood* (Krings, & Okome, 2013) by illustrating the convergence and divergence of Nollywood transnational transactions, affording the voices from the Global South to describe their experiences with the Nigerian production(s). The research findings will advance knowledge within the cultural studies, film studies, and African Diaspora studies through

the examination of convergent and divergent African Diaspora cultural productions, media representation, gender, and transformations within Afromodernity identities.

The dissertation consists of six chapters. This ethnographic research describes Nollywood reception, production, and distribution in relationship to African Diaspora identity in Brazil. The investigation begins with an overview of the research, followed by a survey of research questions, a brief review of literature, a background, results I (Nollywood productions and exhibitions), results II (Nollywood reception, consumption, and distribution), and finally, a section of analysis. Moreover, I obtained first-hand knowledge from Brazilian and African voices, elucidating the potential cultural efficacy of Nollywood as a global *mediascape* (Appadurai, 1997) within the African Diaspora.

The second chapter, "Global South Cultural Flows in an Age of Globalization," examines the postcolonial Global South Nollywood, Diaspora contiguities, counter-hegemonic media representations, and reception within Brazil, as well as the use of Nollywood as a pedagogical device. This chapter explores the intersections of the hierarchy of race within global media. Internationally, Hollywood demonstrates a cinematic hegemony that lacks Africana representations and Nollywood productions fill a cultural void in Anglophone and Francophone countries. Nigerian movies serve as strong cultural representations that could unintentionally supplement Brazil with diverse contemporary examples of Nigerian cultures (especially since the largest Yoruba spiritual practitioners outside of Nigeria reside in Brazil). Postcolonial, world cinema, reception, and Diaspora theoretical frameworks assist in examining counter-hegemonic Nollywood in new African Diaspora and classic Diaspora communities.

The third chapter, "Afro-Brazilian Diasporas: Changing Identities and Media Representations," provides background information regarding the African Diaspora. This chapter contextualizes Black and Brown identity within social, political, economic, media-related, and cultural contexts. For centuries, the existence of circulatory communication has connected West Africa and Latin America (Matory, 2005, p. 5). Many scholars describe a bittersweet relationship emerging when Brazilians connect to the African homeland. Within the Brazilian news, Nigerian and other African immigrants are often treated as criminals and drug dealers (McCann 2008). This final section of the chapter explores the ongoing contemporary interactions of new Nigerian Diasporas that create alternative spaces of African representations and what the cultural productions mean to Afro-Brazilians.

The fourth chapter, "Nollywood in Brazil: Cultural production and Distribution," charts Nollywood in São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia through production, exhibition, and distribution. To begin, I explore how online social media disseminates information about Nollywood productions in Portuguese. Next, I describe the formal state level exhibitions in relationship to technocratic industries in which many Brazilian scholars and media outlets have described Nollywood. Following that, I illuminate the seminal Nollywood co-productions created by Abel Success Erebe. Finally, I provide diverse perspectives that contextually describe Nollywood distribution within the new African Diaspora communities. This research reveals insight on both formal and informal distribution in Brazil based on participant observation and qualitative semi-structured interviews with the following informants: Abel Success Erebe (a Nollywood producer), Alex Andrade (a former curator of the first and second Nollywood exhibition in São Paulo), Carmen

Palumbo (a curator of Biannual in Salvador, Bahia), TG[6] (a West African actor and director), and BK (a Nigerian actor involved with Nollywood co-productions). Drawing from interviews conducted in Brazil with these cultural entrepreneurs, this chapter investigates the relationships between Brazilian and mostly Nigerian communities regarding Nollywood.

The fifth chapter, "New and Old African Diasporas in Brazil React to *Domitilla* (1997) and Nollywood," describes the results of regular Nollywood consumers' and Brazilian's reactions to *Domitilla* (1997) a Nollywood movie. Based on data collected within São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia, the research highlights how the Nollywood phenomenon organically manifests itself within each of these cities. The staged *Domitilla* (1997) showings (five within Salvador, Bahia and one in São Paulo) provide a unique way to examine the complexities of Afro-Brazilian identity and contrast identification (or lack thereof) with the movie. Some Afro-Brazilian informants indicated they consume Nollywood films in order to help them remember their homeland and its cultural customs. Similar to Barbados, some Afro-Brazilians respondents revealed they deeply wanted to connect with Africa (and particularly, Yoruba culture) because it relates closely to their spiritual practices. Other respondents repulsed by the movie, feeling it reinforced damaging stereotypes. The responses indicated varying ways Nollywood is consumed within African Diasporas. Both the Barbados study and my research revealed that sometimes Nollywood films are considered "closer to 'real life'" than Hollywood films specifically because of their "low-level" or less than sophisticated aesthetic quality (Bryce, 2013). These findings contribute to existing studies on transnational Pan-African

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[6] TG's name has been changed within this study.

Nollywood (Cartelli, 2007, Krings, & Okome, 2013) by extending research to include Brazil.

The second portion of this chapter describes Nollywood within organic settings (Nigerian cultural productions as they are naturally derived from venders, consumers, and producers) without my interference in creating Nollywood showings. Previous research indicated that some Brazilians in São Paulo consume Nollywood. Thus, data gathered in São Paulo examine Nollywood consumption and production, and it contrasts how those respondents of primarily African and Brazilian heritage identify—or not—with the film(s). Thus, my study complements and contrasts present global Nollywood research by revealing the function(s) relating to how mostly Afro-Brazilians and Africans understand Nigerian cultural productions.

The sixth chapter, "Global Nollywood in Brazil: Reception, Distribution, and Self Representation in the Lusophone African Diaspora," examines Afro-Brazilian identification with Nollywood through a discussion of Diaspora, Global South, and affirmative action laws. Potentially, Nollywood in Brazil could align with governmental policies as a way of providing education about Africa. A former interviewee in Bahia argued that Nollywood films in *cineclubes* serve as the most plausible location for Nollywood to establish a powerful niche in Brazil. Most respondents shared that translations of Nollywood movies would benefit people interested in learning about African/Nigerian culture. The investigation aimed to understand how to humanize media portrayals of Africa and its Diaspora. Therefore, insights from Brazilians reveal future possibilities and adversities for the proliferation of Nollywood into Brazil and its culture.

Furthermore, this research benefits the new wave of Nollywood producers interested in expanding more co-productions to reach, and therefore, benefit a global audience.

Overall, this ethnographic research reveals a discussion of contiguities (and the lack thereof) among new and old African Diasporas based on Nollywood audience reception. As an alternative cultural production powerhouse, Nigerian movies could benefit Afro-Brazilians who seek representation outside mainstream Euro-Brazilian by providing some diversity that often replicates historical stereotypes of what it means to be a Black subject within the world (Guerrero, 1993, pp. 8-10). This study explores how, and if, African subjects align with African movies in Brazil as well as what happens between new and older Diaspora communities under the new pro-African governmental policies. Furthermore, my dissertation seeks to expand the notion of Black global media by elucidating the sociocultural impact of Nollywood within the São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia Brazilian communities. Nollywood benefits the Afro-Brazilian populations who yearn to capture what it means to be African. Similarly, Nigerian movies benefit Nigerians, and other Africans, by connecting them to their homeland through African global media. In contrast, Nollywood can reinforce negative stereotypes that could create further separation of populations and (a) desire for those populations to distance themselves from Nigerians. Overall, most participants revealed that Nollywood reception helps Brazilians engage with African creations of African identity.

Conclusion

This dissertation research aims to understand whether a Global South cinematic powerhouse, known as Nollywood, can assist the underrepresentation of diverse Black characters within Brazilian mainstream media. Brazilian media relies heavily on the

Global North, such as Hollywood, to provide diverse perspectives when, in reality, African Americans continue to hold secondary roles within films that later are translated and marketed around the world (Guerrero, 1993). This study uses Nigerian cultural productions to capture the voices of the overlooked African Diasporas, who describe the uneven ways that the African communities align and misalign based on race, gender, class, religion, oppression, and violence. Thus, through the reception of Nollywood films, Brazilians engage with African creations of African identity. This dissertation descriptively captures the newer and older African Diaspora communities' affinity (or lack thereof) for Nollywood affiliations.

In sum, the significance of this study is threefold. First, it assesses the social-educational policies implemented within Brazilian society to determine whether these are effective ways to promote African cultural identity. Also, it contributes to an understanding of how new and old Diaspora communities are interacting and aligning with each other, both organically (through exhibitions, co-productions, and distribution sites) and inorganically, via the researchers screening of *Domitilla* (1997) (which illustrates transnational connections). Finally, the study contrasts African Diasporas within the geographical region of São Paulo as opposed to Salvador, Bahia.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBAL SOUTH CULTURAL FLOWS IN AN AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Media Connections

Global North mainstream media overlook equal opportunities to employ diverse character portrayals of the African world. Often the clearest example of how race, gender, and nationality can be constructed is through media. Although most Brazilians are Black and Brown, they are visually represented in under 15% of the media (Borges and Borges, 2012, p. 34). Some images in media productions are constructive and positive; others, particularly in cinema, are negative as they portray Blacks in subhuman or non-major roles. One such example is Brazil, where the most popular television station *Globo* recently launched a reality television show called, *Sexo e as Negas* (Sex and Black Women, 2014), which negatively typecasts Afro-Brazilian women. African cinema, specifically Nigerian cinema or *Nollywood,* which is renowned for producing more films a year than any other industry, diversifies Black representation in the English and French-speaking African Diaspora (Cartelli, 2007, Bryce, 2013, Haynes 2013, Jedlowski, 2013, Okome & Krings, 2013). While the largest African Diaspora resides in Brazil, nonetheless, Afro-Brazilian representation in media is scarce. Current Brazilian political legislation attempts to remedy the underrepresentation of 51% Black and Brown populations in media, social, political, and economic spheres by including Afro-Brazilian and African culture in the education system (Jannuzzi, 2015, pps. 1-41).

In the Global South, the dominant features of contemporary postcolonial studies resemble earlier phases of European colonialism, empires, and slavery by analyzing overarching hegemony and the shamefully overlooked rights of globally-oppressed

citizens. Consequently, contemporary postcolonial studies examines the colonial hierarchy of power and cultural production in historical, political, economic, and social spheres. Many Global South scholars (e.g., Appadurai, 1997; Bhabha, 2007; Ferguson, 2006; Said, 1994 et al.) seek to capture the limited voices of oppressed individuals in historical narratives of contemporary *ideoscapes* (Appadurai, 1997, p. 33). The examination of colonial studies and post-colonial studies assist individuals in understanding diverse ways resistance occurs through previous literature and visual images, including diverse forms of media. While the technological apparatus may change, but the ideology remains to shape and create identity and culture in the nation shifts slightly. Anthropologist Brian Larkins (2008) explains, "Media are key ingredients in popular life, in everyday pleasures and affective engagements that make up the urban experience everywhere" (pp. 3-4). The exploration of the cultural transmittance of Nigerian movies in Brazil assists to explore similarities and differences within the Global South.

The lack of non-European diaspora representation is where this project engages the diverse African Diaspora in Brazil. The theoretical underpinnings of representation of African cultural production(s) in Brazil is the ongoing oppression of Black and Brown subjects. Global cultural flows in this research project capture diverse Global South voices, through the medium of Nigerian movies and the Nollywood phenomenon in general. The examination of understanding similarities and differences of the new and old African Diaspora who are regarded as postcolonial counter-hegemonic subjects in the Brazilian society provide a space to describe the contemporary issues of Blacks in Brazil from diverse ways. Similarly, given that the Nollywood phenomenon is not as pervasive

nor has the same economic capital as Hollywood, the industry, in particular outside of Nigeria, is thus, counter-hegemonic within the Americas. As a powerful global shadow, a Nollywood movie and the idea of the industry capture different segments of society in the pro-affirmative action era in Brazil.

This chapter surveys the literature on the current postcolonial Global South media productions of Nollywood by examining Nollywood as a counter-hegemonic (non-mainstream racial representation in Brazil) media flow in Global cinema and the African Diaspora. Postcolonial studies scholars, such as Said (1994), Bhabha (2007), Nacify (2001), Hall (1997), Gilroy (2005), Stam and Shohat (2012) continue the fight over "third-world" representation of the relationship between the former colonizers and colonized subjects internationally. Thus, these scholars, such as Stam and Shohat (2012), examine contemporary Global North hegemony, ideology, power, politics, race, language, empire, neo-empire, identity, and representation, often revisiting the historical narrations and view the opinions of various authors as either *for* or *against* the oppressed subjects. Postcolonial revisionist scholars (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1994; Spivak, 1988; Stam & Shohat, 2012) questioned the power of the empire that constructed a world in which *Western* or *European* descendants were perceived as positive and "good," as opposed to the "negative" or "bad" colonized (Fanon, 1967, p. 191). Postcolonial scholars grapple with specific binaries apparent in the Eurocentric Western gaze, and they question whether it is possible to change the negative view of the oppressed or unfamiliar, and historically overlooked people (Bhabha, 2007; Said, 1994; Spivak, 1988; Stam & Shohat, 2012).

Postcolonial Representations and *Scapes*

The emergence of globalized postcolonial studies created new potentialities for understanding the relationship between the imperialist past and the present global order. Although globalization theories concentrate primarily on the Global North, overlooking the Global South, cultural studies theorists understood how postcolonial studies historically contrasted the local and global. The following section will examine the colonial continuities of scholars who revisit the history of imperialism to explain the present global system structures. The notion of Appadurai's (1996) *scapes*, or global landscapes, will highlight the resiliency of the former imperialist powers. Therefore, I will concentrate primarily on the works of Stam and Shohat (2012), Mbembe (2001), and Ferguson (2006) to help illustrate and explain the contemporary postcolonial discourse in the Global South.

Globalization examines the transnational flows that connect the world in multifaceted ways. In the Global South, the scarcity of democratic media representation of the African and African Diaspora mirror each other[7]. The connection between exploitation and subjugation that once existed in the colonial world persists in different ways in the contemporary neoliberal world. In Latin America, the legacy of slavery and disenfranchisement (social, economic, and political) tends to create diverse markets in globalization. This research employs the cultural global flows model proposed by *scapes (*Appadurai, 1996, p. 33) as a means to create a conversation about and thoughtfully

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[7] Arguably, Hollywood provides more African Diaspora representation within the media than that of Latin America or Europe. Nonetheless, often, the actors are not playing major roles, or they also imbue negative stereotypes. African American cinema, also, creates a plethora of representation; yet, it is still not hegemonic within the Global south. A counter could exist in the *Fast and the Furious* (2015) which employs a multicultural cast without announcing that it is, and it is a top seller within the United States as well as internationally.

consider contemporary issues of Africana voices in Brazil utilizing Nollywood as a catalyst. Therefore, the research is grounded within scapes (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33) to describe Nollywood distribution, production, and consumption, as well as to initiate a conversation about Africana representation, and its state of being, within Brazil.

Ferguson (2006) describes the foundation of anthropology and other university social sciences that examines Africa in predominately negative connotations–without history, culture, or civilization. As other post-colonialist scholars argue, the creation of Africa is shaped by the Western gaze (i.e., through literature, media, and technology) to the world as a way to understand who Africans are on a global level. He endeavors to "understand how the geographical concept of Africa is beneficial to understand 'an increasingly transnational political, economic, and social 'global order'" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 5). Ferguson refers to Africa as a conceptual term, as a "global shadow", to understand how, as an artificial construct, the continent is understood and displayed to the world, given that it is normally described as somehow negative, or, in terms related to "lacking," and it exists unequally in the neo-liberal order (Ferguson, 2006, p. 17). This new global social order describes a world more closely tied together; however, in Africa, it appears quite the opposite. Instead of connecting to the world economy, Africa is isolated from it, and there is an increase in apparent "disconnection and exclusion" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 14). Consequently, Africa is further being isolated, and it is only referenced when other countries need natural resources or it is used to negotiate the possibility of disposing of natural waste or similar such endeavors (Ferguson, 2006, p. 8).

Appadurai's Scapes[8] Theory

The colonial narrative gaze dominated history through the image of non-Western people (Bhabha, 2007; Mbembe, 2001; Said, 1994). In the global postcolonial context, Appadurai (1997) explains mediascapes as often powerful concentrations of imagery that establish narrations about national and international "imagined people" (p. 35). The news and other media outlets add to the framing of African and other non-Western citizens as continuous assaults on the idea of modernity. In numerous ways, they discount them as being a part of the Western global model. Mbembe (2001) questions whether an autonomous Africa can truly exist. He writes to invoke an optimistic outlook; yet, he describes an unmistakable African pessimism (p, 144). This means that Africa, co-existing as postcolonial Africa, destroys any possibility of African autonomy since the false construction of Africa is still perceived as invisible (Mbembe, 2001). Africans are voiceless in the global sphere, their representations are dominated by hegemonic media circuits, and these representations are widely shared throughout the world. Thus, the historical legacies of Eurocentric narrative, which has become globally nationalized, are now commonplace. Similarly, the representation of the Nollywood phenomenon is primarily described by non-African scholars and/or artists (i.e., documentaries, art books, and mainstream media). Therefore, the Nollywood gaze is often one of amazement and curiosity, as an overlooked media shadow, that is popular among Africans in Africa and beyond (see chapters 4, 5, and 6). By extension, Africans in the Diasporas are overlooked, and their images are hegemonically controlled by mainstream media, such as American Hollywood.

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[8] The term *scapes* throughout the dissertation refers to Appadurai's (1996) cultural flows framework and will be used throughout the dissertation.

Media is one of the most powerful tools that can disseminate cultural ideologies that shape social norms and assist in forming public opinion. Historically Western academia, described Africa and Africans under colonialism via literature, radio, and later film to exert the "superior" European culture and civilization (Fanon, 1967, p. 215). These state and institutionalized apparatuses conversely portrayed Africans and their descendants as unhuman, uncivilized, and without souls. From colonialism to present times, many Africans and their descendants fight for representational place in the world. Many Africans and African descendants imbue internalized racism, or self-hate due to suffering under Eurocentric paradigms once through colonialism and later through *Europhone Africans* (educated elites) (Appiah, 1993, p. 73). Thus, the continuation of the Eurocentric representation of oppressed people persists in globalization in objects, fetishized relics, and/or as the savage *Other* (Said, 1994, p. 14).

According to anthropologist Appadurai (1996), cultural studies needed a new framework to fit within globalization that would complicate cultural theoretical frameworks. Thus, he created a model that combined fractured and overlapping cultures into connected (intertwining) webs that are more complicated and representative of poly-aesthetic classifications (Appadurai, 1996, p. 37). *Scapes* came from the notion of "landscape(s)," which are fields based on disjunctures that examine global cultural flows—ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996, p. 37). These *scapes* are based on the constructs of historical, linguistic, and political diversity (p. 33).

For example, according to Gilroy (2005), the political representation of language in media concerning Blacks and Africans has often been undemocratic (p. 9). Thus, the

oppressed are often blamed and characterized as negative elements and non-citizens of society (Gilroy, 2005, p. 9). Appadurai (1996) describes how technology speeds up and increases dissemination of information around the globe (p. 33). Mainstream media from the Global North dominates the narrations of Africa, which perpetuates the colonial or hegemonic legacies of historical racial narratives to the neoliberal world (for example, news pertaining to Africa mostly focuses on a deficit model: from financial/economic, to disease, famine, war, and poverty) (Ferguson, 2006, p. 29). The same representational framing occurs within the African Diaspora (Gilroy, 2005, p. 9).

Brazil is one such example, where, even after the law 10.639 passed in 2003, print, visual, and online media continue to propagate European visual representations that excluded over half of the Black and Brown people (Penha de Souza, 2011, p. 11). Ultimately, Stam and Shohat (2012) best describe the postcolonial state as a maintenance of White supremacy through media in which

> Eurocentric discursive and mediatic practices devalue non-Western and
> nonwhite life in a media-saturated world where White, Western lives are
> taken as more precious than the lives of people of color. Within the
> algorithms of human devalorization, people of color have to *die en masse*
> for the Western media to take notice. (p. 67)

Thus, overall, African Diaspora lives appear to be unimportant in mainstream media, society, and life in Brazil, although recent legislation does attempt to counter these structural inequalities.

In this project, the term ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) will delineate the convergence and divergence between mostly Afro-Brazilians and mostly African

Nollywood audiences. The diverse populations may understand Nigerian cultural

representations differently based on participants' country of origin. Appadurai explains,

the ethnoscapes are

> the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we
>
> live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other
>
> moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world
>
> and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto
>
> unprecedented degree. (p. 33)

The plight of immigrants has historically been negative in postcolonial societies.

Consequently, Gilroy (2005) describes the processes of neoliberalism and neo-

imperialism in Britain and around the world (p. xv). He describes postcolonial studies in

the new millennium (post-9/11), illustrating how the empire continues to propagate a

narrative based on coded language of the *Other* (Gilroy, 2005, p. 3). Similarly, in Brazil

the classical African Diaspora and new Diasporas face a highly racist environment (See

chapter 3). Thus, postcolonial identities are fluctuating, and their ambiguousness can be

analyzed by race, ethnicity, and through politics. The polemics of unequal education,

representation, and overall quality of life creates a society wherein over half of Brazilian

citizens remain underrepresented. In this research project, *mediascapes* interrogate the

idea of Nollywood globally through production and distribution. Thus, the largest African

population outside of Africa has scarce and infrequent visual representation of their lives

in media. The examination of both private and public interests reveal the function of

Nigerian cinema in Brazil, indicating a multitude of ways the physical and cyber products

exist in unique spaces (see Chapter 4 for a further examination on how, where, and why Nollywood co-productions exist in Brazil).

The embedded ideological fields of the nation dictates, through media and rhetoric, what would be considered "the ideal" citizen and non-citizen. According to foundational postcolonial scholars, the ideological rhetoric of the nation overlooked the heterogeneity that existed in societies. Appadurai (1996) explains ideoscapes as "concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (p. 36). In this research project, the notion of representation manifests as ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). Therefore, it is important to understand what the historical notions of what citizenship means and how the African presence in Brazil supports (or counters) this notion in the Global South (see Chapter 3). Some of these counter ideologies could be encountered in minorities desiring equal democratic rights. Ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) or mis-representation of non-European subjects were the common theme of colonial structures as well as during contemporary postcolonial times. In Brazil, Skidmore (1974) described the rhetoric of Brazilian elites as thinking themselves better than Americans who were blatantly racist toward African Americans (pp. 76-77)**.** Postcolonial and cultural studies theorist Gilroy (2005) explains that former colonial countries constantly discriminate against and attack Blacks as well as people of color, treating them as non-citizens; (p. 9) (similar to new and old African Diasporas in Brazil, see chapter 3). Accordingly, nations prescribed assimilation and multiculturalism to remedy the situation (Gilroy, 2005, p. xv). In spite of this, there are several attacks on the idea of nation and the idea of identity in these

countries (Gilroy, 2005, p. 3). This is similar to Brazil's notion of racial democracy grounded in miscegenation as a form of becoming the ideal Brazilian citizen. Gilroy (2005) elucidates the negative impact of modernity in former imperialist countries that maintain racist rhetoric in policies of these countries (p. 2). Appadurai (1996) clarifies: "These ideoscapes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of a chain of ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term democracy" (p. 36). Historically, Brazilian policies have followed Europe and The United States in terms of ideology (Sansone, p. 7).

Similar to other Latin American countries, Brazil underwent a strong dictatorship (from 1964-1985). Brazil is currently a democratic society that has enforced legislation to counter the previous ideological underpinnings of racism that forbade political, social, and economic inclusion in society. *Ideoscapes* illustrate representation in four ways 1) the Nollywood industry, 2) Brazilian media, 3) Afro-Brazilians, and 4) new African Diasporas. Therefore, understanding the African Diaspora in terms of classic and new Africans in Brazil will assist to further knowledge production concerning a contemporary dialogue of current events and sentiments in the nation.

The Brazilian racial assimilation paradigm historically created a national identity of marginalization and exclusion (da Silva, 1999). Similarly in Brazil, Nigerian immigrants are disregarded as legitimate citizens, and they are stereotyped negatively as criminals, having little to offer the Brazilian nation (Vargem and Malomalo (p. 4). On one hand, media representations create negative narratives of the new African Diaspora similar to older Diasporas. On another hand, the media representation describes hard-

working Africans who have created their own community and excel as hard workers (unlike the older African Diaspora). Thus, the ambivalent national discourse of Brazilian disjunctures perpetuate a multicultural society, yet impoverished citizens are considered worthless, lazy, and uncivilized people who inherently seek to destroy the civilized. As evidence, African immigrants in Brazil receive negative representation in the media that possibly binds new and classic African Diaspora communities (Vargem and Malomalo (p. 4). This section briefly illustrated the contestation of the immigrants living in Brazil, which is a different concern from the political problems of representation occurring in the continent of Africa.

Media representations of Afro-Brazilian also occupy limited positive spaces in the media. Ethnoscapes describe the classic African Diaspora experiences in terms of religious, social, political, and economic positions in Brazil. The recent disruption of the myth of racial democracy creates new conversations of identity and representation of Africana communities in Brazil. The structure of institutionalized racism continues to afford descendants who appear more European the opportunity to thrive and excel over Black and Brown citizens (see Chapter 3).

Similarly, there are many new African Diasporas that disrupt the notion of African identity and create counter images of what it means to be African in the broader scope of the nation. Similarly, as outsiders, if African immigrants arrive to Brazil with an education and the ability to speak the language, it is sometimes easier for Lusophone Africans to excel because they are not from Brazil and thus are "less different" from African immigrants (Informal conversation with an Afro-Brazilian media scholar, 2014).

Therefore, the diversity of the recent African Diaspora and classic African Diaspora communities can both align with and create tension between communities.

The description of the last two *scapes* will minimally assist readers to better understand the production and distribution of Nollywood in Brazil, although this is not a primary concern. Financescapes signifies the mysteriousness of money flowing throughout the world (Appadurai, 1996, p. 36). Chapter 4 examines Nollywood as a cultural and material product indicating the differing ways to generate capital. Similarly, technoscape representations in the Global North persistently overlook and patronize the subaltern of the Global South. The *scapes* Appuradai describes existed previously in different forms. For example, earlier, technoscapes and mediascapes were newspapers, radio, and television, which are now largely replaced by the Internet, social media, cell phones, and numerous other methods for connecting with identity and representation (Appadurai, 1996, p. 28). Again, these technologies carry ideologies to audiences, similar to the days of colonial empires. Appadurai (1997) defines technoscapes as "the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" (p. 34). Nollywood functions as a means to disrupt and reinforce the global cultural fields through online and DVD forms of consumption and distribution.

Third World, World, and New Cinema Shadows of the South

To understand Third World Cinema**,** it is appropriate to define First World Cinema and then contrast Third World Cinema. First, cinema productions are normally considered Hollywood (or replications of Hollywood) according to Getino and Solanas (1969).

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These films create a "seamless, illusory world that is complete, where no social change is possible or necessary. First Cinema vehicles almost always solve social political problems with the isolated actions of the individual and from the individual's point of view" (Guerrero, 1993, p. 50). In contrast, Martin (1995) defines Third World cinema as

> informed by several fundamental and dislocating factors. First, the colonial process and the continuing neocolonial status of the countries in which the Third World making was developed; second, the enduring impact of West in culture; in third, the determinacy of capitalist production and distribution practices. (p. 2)

The aim of Third World cinema was to "break with, and resist, the cultural imperialism fostered by the global expansion of the Hollywood industry. There is in important sense in which it aims to do what Hollywood has done namely, to reach beyond national boundaries" (Martin, 1995, p. 50). Thus, the directors could see the impact and potency of Hollywood globally, and they wanted to have the same influence, but it was meant to be delivered in a more realistic or politically astute fashion.

Film studies scholar Frank (Ukadike, 2003) suggests that Nollywood resembles Brazilian and Indian directors who mimicked Hollywood movies and created their local cultural musical renditions during the 1930s (pp. 138-139). Indeed, Ukadike traces the roots of Third World cinema to Brazilian musicals called *Chanchadas* and Indian musical movies. Both of these national genres were regarded as "amateurish bastardizations of Hollywood musicals" (Ukadike, 2003, pp. 138-139). Thus, Hollywood had an international impact, and local markets created their own particular films according to local cultural particularities and language. Ukadike supports "both through the audience's

identification with the themes and vignettes of contemporary life, and by displaying, in an entertaining way, strategies for coping with post-colonial exigencies that foreign films are incapable of comprehending" (p. 139). Over time, the nomenclature of Third World cinema changed to Third Cinema.

During the 1970s, Third Cinema was made often in documentary style, illustrating a political message normally from and about people of color. Martin (1995) describes Third Cinema as a political agenda within the postcolonial south that counters the hegemonic north. Therefore, the images were created as "poly balance signifiers, pointing to the struggle against additional and post-colonial constraints. From this perspective, the audience members enjoy laughing at themselves or being angry with the perpetrators of their marginalization, and debating the consequences" (Ukadike, 2003, p. 139). While the aesthetic format changed, so did the cultural aspect that was known in Third Cinema.

Undoubtedly, Third Cinema had a strong political agenda that reigned supreme over the cultural dimensions known in Third World Cinema (Martin, 1995, pp. 49-50). Film scholar Dudley Andrew (2010) describes how Third Cinema was viewed in the West during 1970s:

> "Third Cinema" of Brazilian *cinema novo*, *nuevo cine argentino*, and
> Cuban Cinema. All three of these movements were taken to be new waves
> with directly political, rather than cultural ambitions. The fates depended
> to the large extent on the vicissitudes of state politics. (p. 75)

Third Cinema fought against capitalism and Eurocentrism in different ways around the globe. Directors intentionally used film to cut through the rhetoric of capitalism and

Western ideology, which afforded Third Cinema to disseminate a counter-hegemonic ideology (Martin, 1995, p. 50).

New cinemas opened up around the world and exhibitions also sprang forth providing new connections and circuits for producers. Andrew (2010) describes, "Festivals played a crucial role in the transition, becoming 'world' rather than 'international' events" (p. 76). Thus, film studies scholar Anthony King (1997) suggests, "'Modernity' was not born in Paris but rather in Rio. With this interpretation, Euro American paradigms of so-called 'postmodernism' patent neither such need to much meaning, nor salience, outside the narrow geographical confines of Euro-America, where they developed" (p. 8). Therefore, World Cinema can be described as inequivalent to previous Third Cinema or Third World; however, it describes a break from the Western cinema and provides another view from the Global South (Durovicová & Newman, 2010). Often, transnational cinema is used to describe or replace global cinema because global cinema encompasses everything in totality. The prefix "trans" represents the unevenness and mobility across national boundaries (Durovicová & Newman, 2010, p. x). Thus, according to Durovicová and Newman, the

> transnational is not a "supplement" or a correction to the aggregate of
> national film histories but rather the historical condition present
> throughout within a grid of comparison allowing the analyst, and, much
> more properly, a team of analysts specializing in film from an assortment
> of periods and provinces, to parse and compare. (p. xiv)

Hall (1997) describes global media, which impacts societies around the world, by explaining two different characteristics of global mass culture. One reveals that the West

remains the center: "Western technology, the concentration of capital, the concentration of techniques, the concentration of advanced laboring the Western societies, and the stories and the imagery of Western societies: these remain the driving powerhouse of this global mass culture" (Hall, 1997a, p. 28). While many scholars understand how old paradigms are reinvented and embedded in the new globalization system, there are some scholars who would prefer to ignore the diversity in national and global cinema. Hall elaborates: "Hegemony is not the disappearance or destruction of difference. It is the construction of a collective will through difference. It is the articulation of difference which do not disappear" (Hall, 1997b, p. 58). Similarly, Sarkar (2010) adds that political questions are not the only interest of globalization. The future outcomes cannot be predicted; however, radical homogenization will not occur because many identities resist and "contest existing hegemonies" (Sarkar, 2010, p. 47). Lesley Stern (2010) agrees, stating:

> Transnational may be located in the impulse not simply to produce
>
> knowledge about local situation and cultures, to explore how knowledge
>
> inventive cultural practices are produced locally, to examine how those
>
> things we call films mutate, how images from the screen migrate and
>
> contribute to the forging of new sensibilities and socialities. (pp. 211-212)

Nollywood is precisely doing this: changing the notion of African identity, and informally personalizing how Nigerians are perceived globally.

Given the inception of Third World Cinema/Third Cinema and World Cinema, it can be understood that these cinemas are non-Western (or non-hegemonic) subjects or directors in what is now the globalization model. Sociologist Jan Nedeerven Pieterse

(2009), a globalization scholar, defines globalization as: "an objective, *empirical* process

of increasing economic and political connectivity, a subjective process unfolding in

consciousness as the collective awareness of growing global interconnectedness, and a

host of specific globalizing projects that seek to shape global conditions" (pp. 16 -17).

The same is true for Nollywood, and it could be considered hegemonic in Africa and its

Diaspora.

Several scholars, such as Appiah (2007) and Giddens (2000), concur with the

cosmopolitan idea of globalization. Giddens (2000) argues that we entering a "global

cosmopolitanized society" that has never existed before (p. 19). He later argues in favor

of non-dictatorship governments to help democratize the world, making it a better place

(Giddens, 2000, p. 68). Thus, for Giddens, through democracy, a global cosmopolitan

society is possible. In each society, there is a local vernacular that may vary in

geographical location (Durovicová & Newman xiv). Durovicová and Newman (2010)

explain, "'Vernacular' is instead a concept conceived as projecting a scale on which local

elements are mutually constitutive with a cosmopolitan circulation where 'coeval and

uneven modernities connect, intersect and compete'" (p. xiv). The cosmopolitan notion of

identity for Africans has existed for centuries from the time of the transatlantic slave

trade.

The African Diaspora shares numerous similarities and differences often based on

historical social inequality (Hamilton, 2006, v.1 p. 7). Historically, global Africans

struggled for a voice in history. Sociologist Ruth Hamilton (2006) argues that the

analyses of external social, political, economic, and structural forces in the Diaspora

maintain these African identities over time. For this reason, when Blacks created

scholarship to combat historical racism, they often turned to Africa first, and then to the Caribbean, and/or Europe—realizing the universal struggles for Blacks around the world.

Scholars, such as Zeleza (2011, p. 63), Kelley (2000), and Patterson (2000, p. 28) argue that Black Studies is currently hegemonically American-centered, blurring the fight for equality by other African Diasporas. Yet historically and at different points, Black Studies encompassed local North American, global Pan-African, and/or intertwined both research perspectives (Kelley, and Patterson, 2000, p. 28). My research examines the Global Diaspora studies by providing qualitative voices to the Africana milieu. Classic Diaspora communities are contrasted with new-African Diaspora communities.

The question then is: Can African cinema and African Diaspora cinema, or cultural productions, be used as a pedagogical apparatus to assist understanding the similarities and differences of contemporary African culture? In the same way that textbooks, newspapers, art, (Woodson, 1933, p. 18) radio, television, and media can mis-educate the masses, the same apparatuses and newer technologies can educate in a beneficial more inclusive way. bell hooks (1994) provides a holistic template on how to reform the education system by transgressing boundaries in pursuit of higher knowledge (p. 122). She described the historical international education system that fosters an impersonalized, desensitized, and robotic notion of teaching that stems from a Eurocentric patriarchic paradigm (hooks, 1994, p. 122). Media could help counter the mainstream hegemonic stance by providing diverse Nigerian cultural production images to diversify the educational system in Brazil. Often, the social and political constructs of racism in society are internalized in African descendants with "the oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of

freedom" (Freire, 1970, p. 47). Moreover, as Landson-Billings (2009) stresses, the importance of culturally relevant teachers who concentrate on students to recognize associations between the local, national, and international identities. Overall, my research aims to incorporate culturally relevant teaching that correlates with the Brazilian-African-centered pedagogy that may assist students to foster local and global connections in the classroom.

Black Cinema in the US

Historian and film studies scholar Ed Guerrero (1993) points out: "Once many plantations grew cotton; today, some grow movies" (p. 9). Guerrero traces the foundation of "Thomas Edison's 1890 'peep shows'" to today's multimillion dollar blockbusters, where Hollywood "has pretty consistently devalued the image of African Americans and other racial minorities by confining their representations within an ideological web of myths, stereotypes, and caricatures" (p. 9). In both the United States and abroad, as long as African Americans are excluded from the dominant or hegemonic cinema, renditions of Black stereotypes will continue to be created and will dominate the markets. There are some African American directors and television producers creating their own cultural productions, but they remain the exception rather than the rule in the mainstream cinema or television.[9] However, the Internet affords Blacks and others around the world the ability to market and beat the middle-man in audience consumption.

At the same time, the American films may have more prestige in the Global South. Thus, the trends and norms that take precedence in the African American

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[9] The *Fast and Furious* (2015) series is an almost completely ethnic and multicultural cast that has earned millions of dollars both within the United States and abroad. Within Hollywood, it is often argued that an all-Black cast, or multicultural casts, do not sell as many movies, yet in reality they do.

community may be hegemonically imposed abroad, such as Christianity from a Baptist perspective. That does not necessarily mean that American films will be passively consumed; however, it does mean that a certain amount of Black global cultural commodification occurs and is marketed internationally for distribution. African movie directors in the Diaspora may not have the same competitive advantage as North Americans across the board.

Black cinema is, for the most part, still marginalized, both nationally and internationally. Many times, Black culture is mass marketed along with Hollywood stereotypes. Similarly, Black directors with apolitical themes are also mass marketed. Guerrero (1993) is concerned with the devaluation of Black characters and the "resilient stereotypes" (p. 7) that deprive Black cultural representation of social meaning and those that contain empty signifiers. He urges the directors, producers, and audiences to create support for more humanizing roles for African Americans within the films. While the same stereotypes continue to persist, now increasingly conscious audiences are able to purchase, download, buy, or rent movies, including Nollywood films on Netflix, that may not be shown in movie theaters in the United States. Thus, through technological apparatuses, and capitalization in a globalized market, it is easier to access films online or in a market.

The African American cinema may reinforce Western hegemonic notions of beauty and gender norms. Shohat (2003) argues that just as media disfigures women and third world people, it can potentially create alternate spaces for antiracist feminist transformation. For instance, language reinscribes the position of power, such as the statement "dark but beautiful" (Shohat, 2003, p. 69). Natural hair in the Diaspora identity

is African but not "real African style" (Shohat, 2003, p. 70). Thus, understanding Black representation in a global context is complicated, similar to the broader scope of African identity.

The global fields can easily be exemplified in Northern Nigeria, where Bollywood videos are consumed more than Hollywood films, and it rivals the Nigerian movie industry. Media and cultural studies scholar Toby Miller (2010) quotes Larkin to assert the idea that Bollywood offers a

> "third space" between Islamic tradition and Western modernity that exerts
> a powerful influence over Hausa popular culture. These are counter-
> hegemonic streams that have become hegemonic in Northern Nigeria. One
> would be hard-pressed to find Nollywood or Bollywood representing
> "African cinema" at international festivals or embassy screenings. (p. 143)

This represents the "push and pull" of the Global South and how it is difficult to constitute the local global cinemas worldwide. Miller concludes that "the limitations of models that fail to recognize the regional power and influence of locally produced popular forms" (2010, p. 143). Classic Nollywood may appear as a global shadow in some parts of the world, and in other parts, it may shine brightly as a counter-hegemonic media flow.

Another example of African cinema is Nollywood, which has now replaced Bollywood in its volume of annual film production.

> With more than 1,200 features produced in 2004, Lagos is beating
> Bombay! But Nollywoods' displacement of Bollywood will not change
> the situation: no matter how much its exports increase, Nigerian video film

will not make African cinema shine any more brightly around the globe.

(Barlet, 2010, pp. 218-19)

New Nollywood could counter the global displacement of traditional Nollywood. Barlet explains how Africa is revered as a global shadow and, despite increased success, they will continue to be overlooked. Although online technology is seriously assisting Nollywood film distribution, since Africa belongs to the Global South and not the Global North, they will continue to be overlooked. According to Barlet, the Global South will remain invisible until African cities have movie theaters as sites of exhibition similar to the Global North's means of exhibition.[10] Consumption not only lies in Nigeria but also around Africa and the African Diaspora.

While Nollywood may not get attention around the world, many Africans outside of Nigeria are also consuming its films, and they are just as eager to consume Nollywood films as are Nigerians (Bryce 2013, Cartelli 2007, and Jedlowski 2013). Thus, the ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) of Nollywood collide in the Caribbean, in such countries as Guyana and Jamaica, and they diversify television by having television stations dedicated to African cinema (Personal observation, 2010 and 2013). Similarly, they also have access to American films that are not exclusively African American. Thus, one could loosely argue that the Nigerian ethnoscapes have a stronger influence on Barbados culture than African American culture. Nonetheless, that state would vary depending on the community, socioeconomic background, and other diverse indicators.

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[10] New Nollywood is changing the place of cinema houses within Nigeria and improving production quality of Nigerian movies.

The Emergence of Nollywood

The study of the Nollywood industry has been thoroughly critiqued based on a lack of political agenda and poor technological quality. Film studies scholar Akin Adesokan (2012) argues that the examination of Nollywood overlooks the film industry that existed in the 1970s and '80s. He posits that New Nollywood is returning to the previous technical aesthetic quality. Several scholars have changed their opinions concerning Nollywood based on the increased study of the phenomenon, its impact in Africa, and its Diaspora. Nollywood global media flows outside of Nigeria will be contextualized in Brazil in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The following section briefly discusses Nollywood history in comparison to 3rd Cinema, and it explores the ideological function of Nollywood, thematically through gender, Diaspora (meaning through homeland, Pan-African, aesthetic identification), religion, and postcolonial lenses (Global South).

Okome (2010) argues that Nollywood is considered autonomous, saying, "Nollywood films correspond to what people are dreaming of, in contrast to the films financed by European money that are currently dealing with issues like HIV/AIDS, poverty, discrimination of women, or children living on the street" (quoting Diawara on p. 31). Many Nollywood film operatives claim that within their films are themes that Nigerians can relate to, meaning that they are "for Nigerians by Nigerians" (p. 32). This indicates the autonomous nature of individual Nollywood film producers. Okome (2010) argues, "The videos are so fundamental to Africa's self-representation that it is impossible to understand contemporary Africa and its place in the world without taking them into account" (p. 21). The proponents supporting Nollywood appear to argue that the African cultural production is autonomous and that the audience consuming the films relate to

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what they are producing. Thus, Nollywood illustrates the reflexive power dichotomy between consumer and producer, creating renditions of what it means to have authentic African cultural productions (Mistry and Ellapen 2013, p. 51).

Some famous African scholars support Nollywood as a cultural production. Okome (2010) concurs that Nollywood speaks about life from the average Nigerian's point of view, happy to see that the "noble savage" is a dying ideology (p. 32). Although autonomous African productions are being produced, they are not the same "quality" as the first wave of African filmmakers, and thus, the Nigerian productions are often criticized. Similarly, Okome argues that scholars and many traditional African filmmakers are against Nollywood's cultural production, considering it a "lower genre," that lacks ideology and a "base" movie production (2010, pp. 26-33). Furthermore, many first generation African film directors consider Nollywood to be "ghettoizing" African cinema (Okome, 2010, p. 31). Above all, directors want to create works of art for audience consumption. The former film generation had a large international audience, but it was unable to reach the majority of Africans whose plight they were describing and who could have used their message. In contrast, Nollywood producers create stories that discuss contemporary themes of importance to Nigerians, Africans, and African-Diasporas.

Nollywoodscapes as a Counter-Hegemonic Flow

Nollywood imbues a counter-hegemonic position outside of Nigeria, since the production invokes alternative "utopias" or are "polycentric" (Stam & Shohat, 2012, p. 91) in that the cast are Nigerian actors and actresses describing their own versions of reality. Thus, ethnic cinema counters the Global North Hollywood paradigm that

predominately casts and is primarily directed by the European Diaspora. Nigerian directors utilize diverse themes relating to African society, despite the meager economic funding that imposes aesthetic limitations. However, the fact that the majority of Nigerians consume Nollywood films illustrates a reflexive nature between consumers and producers in creating contemporary African cultural productions (Mistry and Ellapen 2013, p. 51). African Diaspora cinema perpetuates a familiarity with and increased awareness of a culture.

Nollywood has been successful in West, East, and South Africa (Krings, and Okome, 2013, p. 5). In Kenya, the films were criticized for changing Kenyan culture in that many people began to purchase and wear more Nigerian clothing styles than Kenyan clothing styles (Krings, and Okome, 2013, p. 5, Samyn, 2013, p. 116). Similarly, in Tanzania and the Congo, Nollywood films are dubbed, and the movies describe local politics (Krings & Okome, 2013). Many Nigerian productions became popular through cultural adaptation in different countries. Nollywood has inspired numerous countries to create their own movie industries by replicating the Nollywood formula (one such as Tanzania, see Krings, 2013, and Bohme, 2013); movies produced by these industries are designed to tell these countries' cultural stories while creating revenue in diverse regions complicate the celebration of Nollywood, and they illustrate how the Nigerian cultural productions have greatly influenced many African countries. Third Cinema postcolonial scholars argue that once more serious issues are handled in the films (besides local cultural and social concerns in the communities), Nollywood's influence will be seen as increasingly important. Similarly, Mistry and Ellapen (2013) concur: "The Pan-African transportability is the challenge for the Nollywood phenomenon. It must find a way to

operate within a paradigm that is influential on multiple levels: as an art form, as creative expression, as a political tool, and as a commodity" (p. 67). While this may be true for most Nollywood films, in international film screenings, curators often aim to show films that include important political messages as well as those that solely contain social and cultural messages.

Mistry and Ellapen (2013) describe the ways that Nollywood converges and diverges from traditional African Cinema. Anthropology and cultural studies disciplines view Nollywood as a valuable means of cultural production; however, in film and cinema studies, Nollywood has not received the same recognition (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013, p. 48). In content analysis, many Nollywood films reinscribe religious, gender-related, and ethnic stereotypes (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013). Therefore, in many ways, the movies reinforce the hegemonic capitalistic and Eurocentric stance, even though the cast is predominantly Nigerian. Nonetheless, Stam and Shohat (2012) use Portuguese scholar Sousa Santos (2005) to describe the advantages of counter-hegemonic spaces which can be both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic. Stam and Shohat (2012) explain:

> With an alert eye to the possibilities of dialectical *jiujitsu* within a situation of globalized domination, Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos, an intellectual deeply familiar with the Portuguese, French, Brazilian, and Anglo-American academic scenes, points to five "fields" in which counter-hegemonic globalization creates viable opportunities: (1) participatory democracy, (2) alternative systems of production, (3) multicultural justice and citizenship, (4) biodiversity and communitarian knowledge versus corporatized intellectual property rights, and (5) new

working-class transnationalism. While provoking new forms of

transnational racism, globalization can create new conditions for the

emergence of resistance. Globalization can therefore be oppressive or

resistant, conservative or emancipatory. To our minds, all of these issues

are imbricated in race/multicultural/coloniality issues: "participatory

democracy" is an answer to "master race democracy," biodiversity is

linked to the cultural diversity and intellectual agency of indigenous

peoples, a transnational working class solidarity depends on transcending

racism and xenophobia, and so forth. (pp. 90-91)

Therefore, Nollywood maintains traditional African cinematic politics of social realist

narratives (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013). Mistry and Ellapen (2013) stress the importance of

understanding that Nollywood films are enjoyed and highly consumed locally, yet cause

controversy among international audiences, critics, and African academics. Indeed, in

"the context of international or global communities, these films become antagonistic and

lack reflexivity of cultural mores versus their representation" (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013, p.

53). This means that the films may maintain gender norms that, in other countries, appear

non-contemporary. In the same vein, the religious overtones of the movies may "turn off"

audiences interested in watching Nollywood films (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013, p. 53).

Similarly, many international audiences may want to consume Nollywood because of the

gender and religious ideologies in the movies. The authors provide an example of Indian

and Pakistani communities in South Africa and how Nollywood venders and producers

desire to compete in a global market in "film festivals or film competitions" (Mistry &

Ellapen, 2013, p. 59).

Given that Hollywood and Bollywood are not one specific type of film genre, Mistry and Ellapen (2013) discourage scholars from producing a simplified analysis of any movie industry, and they encourage scholars to promote a/the understanding that any film industry is diverse (p. 62). Clearly, Nollywood is highly understood and consumed by local audiences, and the content is reflected in the narratives (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013, p. 63). Overall, movie films imbue rich layers of meaning based on their site of production and consumption, which reveal the diverse social, ideological, and cultural packaging based on their site of origin (Mistry, & Ellapen, 2013, p. 63).

Global Nollywood in Brazil

The increase of Nollywood co-productions in the Diaspora sometimes increases the aesthetics quality. Although most Nollywood movies have lower cultural production quality, the movies illustrate the aspirations and social cultural expectations of some Nigerians. The audience must have a level of patience to watch Nigerian movies, but typically after the first 15 minutes, the audience is generally able to delve into the content and storyline (informal communication with participant in Salvador, Bahia 2014). Thus, the experiences of a "Nigerian homeland" will differ for Brazilian audiences who may have an interest in Africa for personal or educational reasons. This is similar to the way many Pan-Africanists may view Nollywood productions in general, which may counter the ideology of an African identity creation in the Diaspora.

The past critiques that have claimed African cinema was inaccessible to people in their own countries is a global phenomenon that also occurred with European cinema, such as Swedish audiences (Mistry & Ellapen, 2013, p. 64). Overall, Mistry and Ellapen argue that Nollywood's limitations are political apathy and the urge to economically

capitalize from their productions instead of having a political message. Therefore, to legitimize Nollywood as an industry, it is important to make them potent in the global markets.

In the Global North, Nollywood exists in the form of legal and pirated Nigerian cultural productions. Britain has the second largest Nigerian Diaspora group, following the United States, and during the 1990s, several marketers and venders created legal distribution networks of Yoruba videos in the country (Jedlowski, 2013, pp. 35-36). After the legal success of Nollywood, many piracy venders emerged to also capitalized on the movies (Jedlowski, 2013, pp. 35-36). The distribution of Nollywood in Britain provides a large-scale illustration of what happens globally on a smaller-scale with Nollywood cultural productions (see Chapters 4 and 6).

Cinema and media studies scholar Claudia Hoffmann (2013) examines three Nollywood co-production films based in New York with an educational agenda for Nigerians to understand immigrant life abroad. Media studies scholar Sophie Samyn (2013) argues that transnational producers try to create a bridge between the homeland and the Diaspora or "new home" (p. 112). Several scholars, such as Cartelli, (2007), Barlet (2010), Esan (2008), Haynes (2007, 2010, 2013), Garritano (2013) Krings (2013), Okome (2007, 2010, 2013), Mistry (2013), Meyer (2010) Ellapen (2013), Saul and Mahir (2010), agree that since Nollywood is often packaged and celebrated as African films to audiences, it reveals that Africanity, or symbolic identity of the films, extends beyond the Nigerian identity of the films (Krings & Okome, 2013, p. 4).

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly explored different phases of World Cinema beginning with Third world cinema, then Third cinema, to contemporary World Cinema's place in globalization. Overall, the uneven global disjunctures in African American, Africa, and African Diaspora cinema have been explored. In sum, I agree with Sarkar (2010), who argues that first, scholars should see what the spectators acquire from consuming the films to understand the globalized cinema culture. He states, "Only through the tracking of such cultural conduits can we hope to foster a global media theory that does not take Hollywood as its presumed epicenter, and reduce all other culture industries into satellites" (Sarkar, 2010, p. 53). Therefore, my project attempts to allow diverse voices to see from the perspective of the audience to describe whether Nollywood is useful, harmful, or a mixture of numerous attributes.

CHAPTER 3

AFRO-BRAZILIAN DIASPORAS: CHANGING IDENTITIES AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS

In the Americas, extreme economic inequality(ies) frequently divide White (or lighter skinned) and nonwhite citizens. Class is synonymous with discrimination, which is pervasive throughout Latin America, though Black has a different connotation in each country (Sasone, 2003, pp. 8-10). Many people in South America identify themselves based on nationalist terms rather than on terms related to race (Sasone, 2003, p. 4). Therefore, class is normally perceived as the culprit over racial issues in "post-racial," (Perry 2011) "laissez faire racism," (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1996) or "racial democratic" (Boas, 1969) societies. Across disciplines, many scholars argue that to understand the plight of non-Western subjects, one must analyze more than one concept. For instance, cultural anthropologist Henry Goldschmidt (2004) and religious studies scholar Elizabeth McAlister (2004) agree that, to understand contemporary social predicaments, it is essential to examine more than one conceptual aggregate when examining race in Latin America. The authors argue the importance of examining the intersections of race, nation, and religion together to grapple with the ideological underpinnings of structural social inequalities in the Americas (Goldschmidt, and McAlister, 2004, pp. 17-18). Similarly, the historical ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) of Afro-Brazilians stem from the legacies of slavery to whitening policies in Brazil— indicating a systemic problem that sought resolution by overlooking race in governmental policies and claiming "racial democracy" (Sansone, 2003, p. 104).

The African Diaspora in the Americas and around the Black Atlantic remain mostly in subaltern positions in society (Sasone, 2003, pp. 9-10). In 2015, the creation of the *#BlackLivesMatter* (BLM) movement used technology to strategically organize, record, and provide a voice for thousands of North Americans. The technological and social resistance indicated discontent with the unequal racial interactions between police and the Black (and Latino) community. The same technoscapes captured historically counter-hegemonic spaces of many voiceless impoverished communities that screamed for decades, but they remained unheard, silenced, and overshadowed. Similarly, throughout Brazil, online streaming captures the protests, in real time, to elucidate the truth concerning government and police interactions with protesters in their continuous social injustices, financial inequalities, and racial inequalities throughout society (Bainbridge, 2014, p. 1).

By extension, the largest African Diaspora ethnoscapes in the world scream in the *shadows* (Ferguson, 2006) since they, too, receive minimal attention. Similar struggles and protests occur in Brazil over police brutality and unequal treatment historically exist in Brazil. The African Diaspora flourishes in Brazil's robust cultural locations in which mainstream society attempts to cover, deny, and hide the contributions to creating the national culture in the country. For example, in 2014, over 50,000 people were murdered in Brazil. Murders of White people dropped by 20%, while murders of Black and Brown people increased by 40% (Garcia-Navarro, 2014, p. 4). During the same year, police were caught trying to execute three young boys on video cameras (Garcia-Navarro, 2014, p. 2). During the murders, police claimed that killing innocent children who had previously committed petty crimes was critical to making their quotas and reducing crime in

preparation for the World Cup in Brazil (Garcia-Navarro, 2014, p. 4). Therefore, hidden policies in Brazil continue to promote the execution of street children and poor teenagers. Navarro (2014) reported,

> Nilson Bruno Filho the only Afro-Brazilian head of a state public defender's office — recently instituted a program to combat racism in Rio de Janeiro. He explains why the case of the murdered kids, now largely forgotten, didn't get much sustained attention. There is a saying that 'black meat is cheaper.' People don't get shocked to see a dead black person, because the person in their minds can be linked to crime,' he says. 'And, in Brazil, if a person is linked to a crime, then he can be killed.' Filho says there is a two-tiered system in Brazil based on skin color. He says Brazil had one of the most brutal and prolonged periods of slavery in the Americas. (p. 7).

The classist and racist systems are sometimes disrupted and exposed through technology, such as cell phones. The social and structural systems of class, race, and gender constantly intersect, and White privilege prevails while the Black tax continues to hinder the futures of many African descendants.

Historically, visual media documented and broadcast to the world ongoing African American struggles for equality. During pre-dissertation research, one female Brazilian social activist revealed the power of African American images under the dictatorship in the 1970s. From her experience, many Afro-Brazilians felt a united Pan-African support by seeing Afro hair styles and Black power symbols from the United States on television or in magazines. (Even though she could not understand English, the

visual representations of Black activism in the Unites States affected her profoundly.) The resistance mediascapes warmed her heart and inspired her as well as many Afro-Brazilians to continue to fight Brazilian Eurocentrism (oppression, violence, and abuse toward Black subjects)[11]. Similarly, data from this dissertation (in Chapters 4, 5, and 6) reveal possible reasons that diversifying Black media in Brazil would be beneficial in similar ways to those stated above. In contrast, Nigerian movies often imbue capitalist, religious, and gender ideologies of many Nigerian movies that may discourage consumption by some Afro-Brazilian activists. Similarly, the new African Diasporas watch Nollywood productions to visually and emotionally cope with oppression and support their cultural ideological upbringing in a foreign land (similar to the Nigerians in Italy) (Sanantera, 2013). Thus, reception appears to differ based on social/cultural backgrounds, gender, and ethnicity.

This chapter briefly historicizes the counter-hegemonic position of the African Diasporas (lacking equal citizenship) in Brazil. The examination of African ethnoscapes socially, politically, and in media representation contextualize the mostly Afro-Brazilian, and mostly African voices in later chapters (4, 5, and 6). This chapter provides a brief background of the origins of classic and contemporary Africans in Brazil, regarded as second-class citizens during slavery, post-emancipation, and under the dictatorship, as well as the shift to affirmative action policies. The shifting African ethnicities and religious practices change over time complicate connections and disconnections within these communities. Throughout history, the Brazilian government, some businesses, some religious communities, media industries, and Pan-African communities have sought to

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[11] Informal conversation with a female Afro-Brazilian in 2012 in São Paulo, Brazil.

establish or have established connections with Africa for different ideological reasons. Similarly, although the birth of many Afro-Brazilian cultural productions faced persecution, they later became renowned as Brazilian cultural heritage (samba, capoeira, etc.). The political struggles to receive affirmative action policies in Brazil provide a description of how and why these changes have recently occurred. Next, I will complicate the notion of new and old African Diasporas within Brazil by briefly exploring contemporary life for African immigrants in Brazil. Overall, this chapter highlights some Afro-Brazilians along with new African Diaspora struggle for citizenship and equality. Thus, I explore of Brazilian ideoscapes (representation) (Appadurai, 1996) that place African in Brazil in counter-hegemonic and postcolonial spaces fighting for equality. So, complication of African Diaspora ethnoscapes elucidates non-essentialist subjectivity historically through cultural production in religious spaces and through mediascapes to best situate respondents within this research project.

From Historic Diasporas to New Diasporas

Chattel slavery in the colonial Americas lasted primarily from the 1500s to the 1800s—trafficking approximately 4 million slaves into Brazil (IBGE, 2000). Africans came from all over Africa, "including Sudanes (Yoruba, Ewe, Fon, Fanti-Ashanti), Bantu, (Abunda, Cabinda, Benguela), and Islamicized (Hausa, Mandingo, Nupe) civilizations . . ." (Crook, and Johnson, 1999, p. 1). The first location where slaves worked the sugar fields was within the mills of *Recôncavo* Bahia (IBGE, 2000). Afro-Brazilians found ways to negotiate their way of living. Andrews (2004) explains, "Issues of greatest immediate concern to them [slaves]: control over their bodies, their time, and their families, and access to material goods (especially food and land) and spiritual goods

(religion, music, and dance)" (p. 12). Toward the end of slavery, slaves purchased their

own freedom or their children's freedom through great sacrifice. Andrews clarifies

further: "'Handing over their savings to buy their own freedom or that of their parents or

children,' reported in Barbacoas [Colombia 1848] 'a situation that leads me to believe

that slavery will soon be extinct'" (p. 65). This exemplifies the reality that some slaves

placed importance of survival on family over their own economic well-being.

Throughout the Americas, slave rebellions occurred most frequently in Brazil.

Political scientist Michael Hanchard (1999) supports this: "Brazil had the single largest

outlaw slave community in the world, the *quilombo* [maroon communities] of Palmares

(Carneiro 1958), and among the greatest number of outlaws slave societies of any

slaveholding system in the hemisphere" (p. 3). There were constant rebellions and

uprising such as the Hausa, Muslim Males, the Tailor's revolt, the Balaio (Nascimento,

1992, p. 89). The *Malês revolt* of 1835 is renowned, specifically, because many of the

slaves returned to Nigeria afterward. The constant high number of Africans in Brazil

indicates how Muslims and non-Muslims were able to rebel in 1835 (Mann, & Bay, 2001,

p. 9). Several slaves were educated through the Islamic tradition were religious,

linguistic, and ethnic ties circulated throughout the Atlantic (Lovejoy, 2008, p.151).

However, many slaves who were not educated revolted as well.

Historian Kim Butler (1998) describes how many revolts were individually

inspired instead of their being the result of group activist revolts against the government.

Some examples of the famous revolts were the "*Inconfidencia Mineira* in 1789, the

mulatto-led Revolt of the Tailors in Bahia in 1798, and the Pernambuco revolt of 1817"

(Butler, 1998, p. 21). These individual and (collective) social groups of slaves who

revolted took refuge in *quilombos*. Incidentally, the success of some of the maroon

communities would later cause their demise in Brazil. (Many of the communities turned

into contemporary abandoned or impoverished *favelas* or poor communities.) The slave

rebellions illustrated the importance of collective religious and ethnic networks that

converged and diverged over time. Andrews (2004) describes racially inclusive

institutions as,

> instances in which blacks and mulattoes joined with whites, Indians, and
>
> mestizos to create multiracial movements that had profound impacts on
>
> the region. These included the independence armies, the national Liberal
>
> parties of the 1800s and the early 1900s, the labor unions of the same
>
> period, and the populist parties and movements of the mid 1900s. (p. 8)

For example, in 1872, two out of five Blacks were free. By comparison, in 1775, one

third of Blacks and Mulattos in Minas Gerais were also free (Graham, 1999, p. 31). In

1786, 41% of Blacks were free, and 7% of the Portuguese Blacks were free (Graham,

1999, p. 31). In contrast, the exclusive racial institutions formed "[the] diasporic

definition of Afro-Latin America. These include, in the late 1700s and early 1800s,

runaway slave communities, black militias, and African-based mutual aid societies and

religious congregations" (Andrews, 2004, p. 8). Therefore, within the confines of the

nation, Blacks and mixed Brazilians had to create their own systems to survive as

subaltern citizens. Historians Kristin Mann and Edna Bay (2001) argue "the scholarship

on Atlantic history and culture reminds us of the need to remember the *longue duree* and

look not only at the eras of slavery and abolitions, but also at the ongoing reconstitution

of the Diaspora" (p. 16). This situation persists and manifests a key connecting component within this research (see chapters 5 and 6).

In 1822, Brazil became independent from Portugal. The fight for Latin American independence was the catalyst for establishing laws that favored future generations of former slaves. For example, "Free Womb laws" were created during the beginning of wars in "Chile (1811) and Argentina (1813) or at the end of war, as in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela (all in 1821) and Uruguay (1825)" (Andrews, 2004, p. 64). In Brazil, Free Womb laws meant that children of slaves became street children and beggars. Black civil rights activist—and the first Black woman elected to Brazilian congress—Benedita da Silva (1999), contends,

> The Law of the Free Womb (1871) freed children of slaves, that is, it freed
>
> them to continue being slaves, to be on less mouth for the colonizer to
>
> feed, to leave the family domain, to be street children, and later to be
>
> exterminated. Today things are the same; they have not changed. (p. 19)

Black and Brown slaves understood legislation, and, as such, many financially brought their freedom for centuries (Graham, 1999, p. 31). Later, in 1885 Sexagenarians Legislation (Law n. 3,270) freed slaves that were 60 years of age or above (Oliveira, 2013, p. 23). Thus, the road to emancipation occurred in different steps toward creating a new world for Brazilians.

In the early 19th century, the free Black populations were often made up of artists or mercantilists; many free Blacks, due to unequal treatment practices, joined slave populations in their rebellions (Nascimento, 1992, p. 108). This illustrates that, at this time, White discrimination toward free Blacks inspired free Blacks to align with enslaved

Blacks, because, though technically free, they were not treated as equal citizens (Hanchard, 1999, p. 40). This example illustrates how social policies similar to Jim Crow Laws were placed and created institutional racial exclusion in Latin America.[12]

Finally, in 1888, the technical liberation of slaves in Brazil—Brazilians under the Golden Law (*Lei Aurea*)—freed former enslaved populations without reparations (Pitanga, 1999, p. 33). After the abolition, the money made by former slaveholders during slavery funded European immigration legislation by supporting new immigrants (Pitanga, 1999, p. 33). The purpose of this was to push Brazil into a modern state and to "Whiten" the country, so Blacks and Native Americans would not become the majority (Pitanga, 1999, p. 33). Women continued to work as domestic servants within elite households, and many Afro-Brazilian males were unable to continue their work, as European immigrants replaced them in their jobs (Pitanga, 1999, p. 34). Butler (1998) explains, "By the time of abolition, Brazilian elites had already created an exclusionary barrier around their ranks composed of social, economic, psychological, and political restrictions on the upward mobility of people of African descent" (p. 213). Thus, in the Brazilian First Republic (1889-1930), emancipation did not equate to true liberation or equality for former slaves (Bacelar, 1999, p. 85).

African music, religion, and dance were often "rejected by white elites and middle classes in the 1900s as primitive, barbaric, and bordering on the criminal; in the 1900s these same dances were embraced as core symbols of national cultural identity" (Andrews, 2004, p. 9). During the 1900s, the African population went from "majority Black" to Brown through what was termed miscegenation. The following section will

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[12] Similar to today, many Black and Brown Brazilians who previously denied their African heritage now are reclaiming it to forge equal citizenship.

briefly highlight some of the prior Black conscious movements—individual and collective, formal and informal—over that last 60 years.

In Brazil, economic factors contributed to upper-class elites fighting for equal rights. Nonetheless, there were also struggles within the lower classes who fought for equal rights, unable to leave detailed records of their efforts. Historian Kim Butler (1998) examines these overlooked populations (adding to Andrews [2004] thesis); the exclusion of Black elites in São Paulo during the 1930s forced them to exclusively replicate "mainstream institutions, such as banks, social clubs, and athletic teams" (Butler, 1998, p. 220). Therefore, due to racial exclusion Black and Brown Brazilians had to create their own world to survive.

In the 1920s, the barriers created by White Brazilians inspired Black and Brown political movements to use the printing press, the theatre, and Brotherhood organizations to combat structural racism. In particular, in the 1930s, the *Frente Negra Brasileira* (FNB; Black Brazilian Front) was the largest Black organization in Brazil, and it had roughly 70,000 members who protested against racism and exclusion (Pitanga, 1999, p. 33-34). Based on their activism,

> the FNB had strong impact, and thanks to its struggle the integration of blacks in the free labor began, albeit timidly. The activities of the Frente Negra, among whose directors was the poet Solano Trinidade, were curtailed by the Estado Novo dictatorship. (Pitanga, 1999, p. 33)

In the 1940s in Rio de Janeiro, the activist and playwright, Abidias do Nascimento, founded the Teatro Experimental do Negro (Black Experimental Theater), that described the plight of Black and Brown subjects within the nation (Butler, 1998, p. 60). Later,

Pitanga (1999) explains, "Solano Trinidade, following another path, created the Teatro Popular do Negro (Black Popular Theater). Black protest began to take place in the form of cultural expression" (pp. 33-34). Thus, cultural productions were outlets to describe thee social, economic, and political plight of overlooked Brazilians.

Racial Democracy

In early 20th century Latin America and the Caribbean, there were more African descendants than in the United States by three to one (Andrews, 2004). Afro-Latinos have faced similar predicaments after emancipation in economic inequality and instability. Latin American governments created whitening ideologies and mythical "cosmic race" (or "Super Race") ideologies to account for the mixing of Indigenous, African, and Europeans in the Americas (Tillis, 2011, p. 48). In Brazil, the political and social inclusion of diverse populations created favorable visions of African contributions. From the 1920s to the 1950s, politicians, academics, and Afro-Brazilian activists used the term "racial democracy" to invoke democratic inclusivity for Black and Brown subjects. Hanchard (1999) explains that Brazilian intellectual Gilberto Freyre "answered the Anglo-Saxon claims of Latin American it inferiority by emphasizing the culturally rather than biologically-based origins of 'racial' differences and celebrating those differences as a positive feature of national development" (p. 4). Racial democracy both helped to perpetuate an international image of racial inclusion, while Euro-Brazilians continued oppressing African descendants throughout society.

According to Matory (2005), Freyre's movement on Blacks as our first playmates and good friend began the notion of a racial democracy (p. 155). Brazilian intellectuals argued that Black Bahian Brazilians were smarter than Blacks from the United States and

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Brazilian center south region such as Rio (Matory, 2005, p. 157). Also, the European

colonizers from Bahia were better than the United States (Matory, 2005, p. 157). Bahia

became the new Regionalism literary movement of the 1930s (Matory, 2005, 157). The

romanticized vision of slavery by some—Whites who had Black mistresses, and the

slaves daughters served as concubines for White sons to lose their virginity— was an

ideal playground for racial democracy to flourish (Pitanga,1999, p. 34). Black women

were domestic servants in the houses of the masters, and there they received used clothes,

food, and other items that helped them to support their families (Pitanga, 1999, p. 34).

> Also contributing to this perception was the fact that black adolescent girls
>
> frequently served as the first sexual experience for the sons of white
>
> families. In this way the process of the Brazilian population's
>
> miscegenation began, leading intellectuals of the stature of Gilberto Freyre
>
> to believe that there would never be racial conflict in Brazil, but rather the
>
> integration of blacks and whites, both of whom would in the future be
>
> surpassed by a vast generation of miscegenates. (pp. 34-35)

Therefore, the gender difference differently impacted the Black and Brown populations

of Brazil.

The historical legacies from slavery and whitening elucidate the problem with

Brazil overlooking race in governmental policies, by claiming to have a "racial

democracy" (Sansone, 2003, p. 104). Historian Milfred C. Fierce (2006) agrees, "The

legacy of slavery continues to intrude upon many aspects of Brazilian and U.S. society—

economic, political, and social" (p. 106). He continues stating that although both

countries have the largest African Diaspora communities, Brazil seriously lags in equal

opportunities throughout all sectors of society. Consorte (2006) concurs, arguing that the Brazilian government and special interest groups are paying particular attention to Indigenous groups while overlooking Afro-Brazilian populations. Consorte states, "[Afro-Brazilians] have the lowest income, the poorest school performance, the worst health conditions, and the highest rates of unemployment and crime" (p. 1). The same socio-economic concerns parallel the African populations in the Americas, despite several decades of progressive advancement. Indeed, Latin American scholar George Reid Andrews (2004) describes the Black consciousness movements in Latin America as having the most success among educated, middle-class persons of color. **[13]**

Racial concepts have changed in Latin America over time, now brown delineates African ancestry instead of Black, indicating a non-white status or racially impure status (Andrews, 2004). Butler (1998) describes how the first step to becoming White was to move away from Black identity "for most Afro-Brazilians, being African and/or black with synonymous with servitude, poverty, and barbarity" (p. 54). The negative categorization still holds true today.

The golden years (1940-1964) opened up the doors to a Black Brazilian integration and working class. Pitanga explains, "The growth of civil construction in the Southeast and the unprecedented expansion of the industrial working class modified race relations. . . . Blacks effectively began to integrated the urban proletariat and have access to diverse social programs, the most important of which was basic education" (1999, p. 35). Therefore, education assisted many Blacks in integrating themselves into society.

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[13] This phenomenon is also reflected within the discussion groups 2013-2014.

Within Brazil, the ideology of Whiteness is class-based, thus affording dark-skinned Blacks to "become White" simply by having money; one example of this is the famous soccer player Pele (McCann, 2008, p. 10). Since the 1950s, rock music was recognized as a part of the youth rebellion. Some Brazilian artists collaborated internationally by fashioning hybrid styles and forms such as *tropicalismo* by Gil Caetano Veloso (McCann, 2008, p. 97). Later, in the subsequent decades, musicians had similar contestations of power by using electric guitars (McCann, 2008, p. 97). Music was thus a way to further integration and spread unity and many famous Afro-Brazilian musicians and sportsmen engaged in such pursuits (McCann, 2008, p. 97).

During the 1960s, "Afro Brazilians were the antithesis of modernity and hence impediments to prospects for Brazilian modernization" (Hanchard, 1999, p. 18). In addition, police brutality became an inherent problem in 1964, and the police death squad was a problem in major cities that needed revision (McCann, 2008, p. 55). Paralleling contemporary issues, many black and brown people were murdered by the police illustrating "that blacks and mulattos are almost equally discriminated against. . . . This clearly contradicts the idea of a 'Mulatto escape-hatch' being the essence of Brazilian race relations'" (Hanchard, 1999, p. 10). Thus, previously, many social scientists believed that by being mulatto people would be treated better however, statistics revealed that was not the case. In 1992, São Paulo's military police invaded Caradiru, an enormous prison on the northern side of the city, where a riot ensued and they killed 111 prisoners. (McCann, 2008, p. 63). This became known as the Caradiru massacre, and it "became the symbol of rot and at the heart of cities urban security strategy" (McCann, 2008, p. 63). Structural oppression through violence historically has controlled unwanted and

unintegrated populations.

The first four years of the nineteen sixties, the Brazilian government (in 1961, under Jânio Quadros and from 1961–1964, under João Goulart) created alternative diplomatic ventures within African countries to expand the Global South influence (Alberto, 2008, pp. 79-80). The majority of White Brazilian diplomats acknowledged their ancestral connections with Africa as well as the lack of equal rights for Black and Brown Brazilians (Davila, 2010, pp. 2-3).[14] Although some of the attempts were to bring a former Brazilian *agudá* returnee Romana to return to Brazil (Alberto, 2008, pp. 79-80). The trip helped to publicize the support for African heritage in Brazil and to reinforce the rhetoric of Brazil as a racial democracy (Alberto, 2008, p. 81). Other diplomats returned from service to aiming to "Bring Africa to Brazil" and or aimed to save Africa (Davila, 2010, pp. 52-3). These examples indicate previous attempts to align with Africa and recognize the ongoing historical connections within the Global South.

During the nineteen seventies, the Brazilian government cut political ties with the United States due to pressure to improve their human rights violations, based on the influence of First Lady, Rosalynn Carter, in 1977 (Davila 2010, p. 248). Following that, the visiting Brazilian president Ernesto Geisel cancelled support from the United States military, the United States Peace Corps, and the Inter-American Foundation (Davila 2010, p. 248). These extreme measures supported the military regimes' belief in racial democracy, and connections were severed with any agency or country, within or outside of Brazil, who did not support the rhetoric (Dávila, 2010, pp. 248-249). The celebration of racial harmony and African contributions ignored the social inequalities rooted in the

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[14] President Nkrumah was allegedly upset about "reverse racism" when the first Black diplomat was sent to Ghana instead of Europe (Dávila, 2010, pp. 46-47).

country (Davila, 2010, p. 250). In 1978, the government nearly cancelled the First African World Festival of the African Diaspora, but it was unsuccessful due to economic interests in the possibility of connecting with African American capital in Bahia (Dávila, 2010, pp. 248-9).

However, for some White diplomats, the opposite was true for them. During the 1970s, when diplomats went to West Africa to forge international relations, they asserted their Black identity despite their physical appearance of being White (Dávila, 2010, p. 4). Historian Jerry Dávila (2010) explains, "For Brazilian diplomats and intellectuals traveling to Africa, their destination was usually annexed abstraction; an imaginary place that reflected on Brazilian culture, it's past, it's future, and its relationship with the world" (p. 5). Thus, in cutting ties with the United States, Brazil—like Cuba—explored Africa for social, political, and economic reasons (Dávila, 2010, p. 5).

Toward the end of the decade, Afro-Brazilian activists concentrated on the governmental support of racial democracy, and they and fought for "broader social and political consciousness became more expansive in asserting connections between their struggle for racial equality and the Brazilian relationship with Africa" (Davila, 2010, p. 250). Luiza Bairros, Afro-Brazilian activist and former head of SEPPIR (*Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial*/Secretary of the Promotion of Political and Racial Equality) argued that, during the late seventies, the first step was taken towards enacting the current affirmative action legislation (Bairros, 2008, p. 50). Bairros asserts, "[i]n 1978, the creation of the Unified Black Movement (MNU). The process involved a number of Black groups, primarily in the South" (Bairros, 2008, p. 50). Afro-Latin political activists demanded their rights against racism and social ills in the late 1980s,

and they succeeded (Andrews, 2004, p. 187). Michael Hanchard (1999) describes the

historical figures that fought for decades to change the racial climate in Brazil, the

> political and personal experiences of Benedita da Silva, Thereza Santos,
>
> and Ivanir dos Santos as black activists in the Brazilian public sphere are
>
> testaments to Santos's dictum. Some schools, churches, *terreiros de*
>
> *Candomblé,* and other religious and cultural sites operated as centers for
>
> political mobilization. With the increasing focus on the nexus of inequality
>
> and race in the post dictatorship era strategic alliances developed in the
>
> 1980s between certain Afro-Brazilian movements and scholars working on
>
> various topics related to questions of inequality. (p. 8)

Brazilian civil rights activist Abidias Nascimento fought for decades for racial equality,

and he continued to fight along with other activists for 1988's anti-discrimination laws

that were further strengthened in the national and local constitutions (Andrews, 2004, p.

187). According to Bairros (2008), the second significant step towards dismantling the

idea of racial democracy in 1988 was the "celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the

abolition of slavery in Brazil, and the formal designation in the Constitution of racism as

a crime" (p. 50). In 1995, the third contribution towards social justice policies occurred

with the march for Zumbi of Palmares (Bairros, 2008, p. 50). Later, in 1996, President

Cardoso called for "compensatory policies" and "affirmative action" (Andrews, 2004, p.

188). Cardoso became the first president to acknowledge racism within Brazil and

recognized lands of *quilombos*, programs later expanded by President Luiz Inácio Lula da

Silva (McCann, pp. 32-33). Similarly, Afro-Latin women's movements steadily increased

throughout Latin America (Andrews 189). Bairros suggests the fourth major step towards

affirmative action policies occurred in 2001, with "our [Black activists'] participation in the World Conference Against Racism in South Africa" (Bairros, 2008, p. 50). Bairros (2008) suggests, these important steps assisted in creating policies shifting Brazilian society in significant ways.

Latin American scholar Livio Sansone (2003) argues that the increase in African consciousness in Brazil is primarily due to re-democratization, globalization, and mass media. For example, he argues that Blacks were able to connect with African American media that provides diverse forms of Black representations (Sansone, 2003, p. 25). This was in conjunction with Black political activists that had been working hard, within the public sphere, since the seventies (arguably, since the forties[15]). Political activists gained a lot of ground with leaders such as Abidias Nascimento and Luiza Bairros fighting to implement laws on racism. Therefore, the struggle for equality has gained momentum and influence within the efforts of both individual and collective political movements. I agree with Andrews (2004) in that it appears that the middle class movements have had the most success. However, Butler (1998) found that the reason many groups did not have success was because of the splintering ways to identify oneself in Brazil. Thus, in the largest African country outside of Nigeria, race is—in a word—complicated.

However, through alternative spaces, lower classes do unite based on cultural activities instead of race (Butler, 1998). Similarly, Bairros (2008) agrees that one of the most problematic concerns for Afro-Brazilian organizations and activists is uniting across

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[15] For example in the 1940s Abidias Nascimento created the *Teatro Experimental do Negro* (Black Experimental Theater in Rio de Janeiro and Solano Trinidade, founded the *Teatro Popular do Negro* (Black Popular Theater) (Pitanga, 1999, pps. 33-34).

the board (p. 51). Nonetheless, she suggests that a plethora of organizations exist indicating the dynamic resilient struggle for equality and "the maturation of our understanding of racism as a multi-faceted phenomenon manifested through its intersections with different dimensions of our lives" (Bairros, 2008, p. 51). Thus, the unification of Black activists coalesced a powerful promotion of racial equality. One such example of unity Bairros provides occurred in 2005, with a march honoring the *Zumbi dos Palmares + 10* (a centennial anniversary "plus" ten years in honor of the King of the largest *quilombo* community), which "realized the potential inherent in the event for making the racial question visible in national politics, or that could point out alternatives directions for our struggle" (Bairros, 2008, p. 51). Therefore, Afro-Brazilians uniting politically for one cause positively reflects the reform necessary within Brazil.

Activism manifested within the spheres of religious spaces where often African continuities and creolization were strongly maintained or created in Brazil. If we continue Goldsmith's (2004) argument that race, nation, and religion are inseparable, we can understand how the persistence of African culture in Latin America. In terms of Black identity in Brazil Kim Butler argues that "the difference between Bahia and São Paulo is that in Bahia they could exert their African identity and fought politically and culturally through *Candomblé* and *capoeira* (martial arts hidden in the form of dance); whereas in São Paulo Blacks were first Brazilian then Black but fought through political organization and through the Black press" (Patterson, & Kelly, 2000, p. 23). The racial and political climate varies geographically.

Contemporary religious organizations such as *Umbanda* an Afro-Brazilian religion that would be regarded as a following the *creolization* (Mintz, and Price, 1992)

and *continuities* (Thompson, 1984) model. Religious spaces are diverse, in that, may practice African cultural fusions between Angola, European, and Indigenous, while also praying to Yoruba *Orixas* and Jesus. The foundations of the religion celebrate and amalgamation between Kardecite Spiritualism and Afro-Brazilian religion (McAlister, 2004, p. 295). The art, music, religion incantations are African, yet, the spiritual aspect is supposed to cleanse the negative demonic religious influences in Brazil.

In contrast, Thompson argues, "In Rio in the beginning of this century there were two main African nations with their characteristic worship: followers of the deities of the Yoruba in rites called *Candomblé* and followers of the Kongo and Angola medicines and spirits, called originally *cabula* but latterly *macumba* after absorption of further influences" (Thompson, 1984, p. 113). According to Thompson, "Macumba priests, in the beginning, invoked spirits through simple chalked designs drawn on the ground and called "marked points" (*pontos riscados*). Many reflected dual Kongo and Roman Catholic influences, and were essentially cosmograms drawn in the form of a Latin cross. Nevertheless, some are used in a Kongo manner to "center" consecrated water and other important liquids in vessels for invocations of spirits, *pontos cantados e pontos riscados*, or "sung points and marked points," recalls the *Kongo* custom of simultaneously singing and marking the centering of spirit (*iyimbila ye sona*)" (Thompson, 1984, p. 113). These items of worship indicate both the *continuity* (Mintz and Price, 1992) and *creolization* (Thompson, 1984) model.

The African spaces are also found within the expansion of the Pentecostal church within Brazil. The creation of mega churches began to flourish under the dictatorship, and they have continued to do so, both inside Brazil and outside of it (McCann, 2008, pp.

116-117). In the same fashion that *Candomblé* spaces have provided a political base for some Afro-Brazilian communities, so has the *neo*-Pentecostal movement (McCann, 2008, p. 118). Within Brazil, the spread has occurred heavily outside the cities in impoverished areas, where residents seek economic, social, and political democracy (McCann, 2008, pp. 118-119). The syncretism is also found within the practice, where practitioners go to cleanse themselves of *encosto* (negative energies or spirits), through a session of discharging or *descarrego* (McCann, 2008, p. 120). The tension between the Catholics and *neo*-Pentecostals have been high what to speak of non-Christian based religions. Many neo-Pentecostals perceive non-Pentecostals as demonic (Participant observation, Salvador, Bahia, December, 2013). In 1995, pastor Sergio von Helde exemplified his rage by physically kicking the deity of the Virgin *Aparecida* while they appeared on a morning television show (McCann, 2008, p. 126). McCann explains, "October 12 is annually commemorated as the *Dia da Nossa Senhora da Aparecida*. Von Helde was essentially dropkicking Church and State in a highly calculated act. Kicking the Virgin was a way of aggressively demonstrating to believers that dalliance with other faiths could only bring *encosto*, and therefore needed to be shunned like the devil" (McCann, 2008, p. 126). The religious tension also extends to the *Candomblé* and *Umbanda* communities, where anything African is considered demonic (see chapter 5 and 6).

Historically, on both sides of the Atlantic, religious ideoscapes have impacted culture on both a global and local level, and they work both unite and divide communities. Given that, global Black identity is not defined solely in terms of race, but it has many aggregates. Thomas and Clarke (2006) explain, "blackness does not just index race; it also indexes gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, labor, nationality,

transnationality, and politics. The dynamic relationships create social meanings specific

to local, national, and regional contexts" (Thomas and Clarke, 2006, p. 9). This is also

true for Brazilian ethnicities and spaces within the African Diaspora.

The African Diaspora identity within Brazil is further complicated with the

increase of new African Diaspora immigrants. While the socio-economic standard of

living for many African descendants is low, many Africans migrate to, or seek refuge in,

Brazil. *Folha* newspaper reported, the official population statistics relating to the number

of Africans in Brazil are: 4,106 Nigerians residing within Brazil, and 2,960 Nigerians

residing in São Paulo (Prado, 2015)[16]. In 2009, 15,000 documented Africans lived

throughout Brazil from 55 different countries (Bevins, 2012 p. 2). It is relatively easy for

Africans to enter the country, since they can travel to the country either with, or without,

a tourist visa[17]. Reporter Sam Cowie (2014), from Aljazeera, explains that "Brazil's

growing economic power and relaxed immigration laws are said to be the main factors

behind a four-year, 800-percent increase in total asylum requests" (Cowie, 2014, p. 1).

For asylum seekers, Brazil has the largest number of resources to sustain immigrants, so

they can survive, and consequently thrive, as they continue to seek better opportunities.

For immigrants, dreams of a better life can be realized within Brazil, as many come (to

Brazil) seeking increased opportunities, or they see their immigration to Brazil as a "first

stop" in their intention to later immigrate to other countries such as the United States or

the United Kingdom (Kimari, 2008, pp. 139-140). Students and educated professionals

also come to Brazil for similar reasons. Wangui Kimari (2008) suggests there are five

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[16] In an interview with a Nigerian community leader in 2012 stated that there were approximately 10,000 Nigerians in Brazil, both officially and unofficially.
[17] For more information about the laws, see http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L9474.htm

types of Africans that come to Brazil: students, businessmen, *clandestino*, religious

motives, and war refugee (pp. 136-137). Many immigrants overlook the existing racism

within the country, while others, who remain in the country for an extended period of

time understand the complex ramifications of being an African-Diaspora citizen within

Brazil.

The surge of immigrants entering the country deepens the layers of complexity

towards understanding the African Diaspora. Within this research, the most popular

methods by which immigrants enter the country by using a tourist visa, on the premise of

study, as students, or as that of *clandestinos*[18] (those who sneak onto ships and arrive in

unknown destinations) (Kimari, 2008, p. 133). Many immigrants are unaware of the

existence of racial issues within the country if they are relatively new residents. Several

immigrants and refugees reported incidents of Brazilian harassment and violence towards

their community (Vargem and Malomalo, 2015, p. 4). Although the refugee asylum law

covers foreigners, many are left to die at sea while attempting to enter Brazil. The

physical torture and destruction of Black African and Afro-Brazilian bodies within Brazil

delineates the subaltern non-human positionality (Vargem and Malomalo, 2015, p. 8).

New African immigrants are perceived as "threats" to the existing society; they are

unfairly labeled as drug dealers and cases for the police or "caso da policia" (Vargem and

Malomalo, 2015, p. 15). A Nigerian resident in São Paulo further explained to reporter

Vincent Bevins (2012) in the *Los Angeles Times* newspaper,

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[18] No one within the study stated that they were clandestine, but when I talked with business
owners they suggested that many men frequently the mall were using "Brazil as a stepping stone"
to go to another country (Kimari, pp. 139-140).

We are close to *cracolandia* [crack-addicted street communities], but we
have nothing to do with it. . . . But the police come by here to hassle us,
and if we don't pay them off, they plant drugs on us and arrest us. Drugs
come from Colombia or Bolivia, not from Africa. . . . What comes from
Africa is all of Brazil's culture—samba, the food, almost everything. They
ought to recognize that. (p. 3)

Some informants within Salvador, Bahia revealed the similarities about the police or
Euro-Brazilians planting drugs on Black youth and adults. The ties of oppression flow
between new and old African Diaspora communities.

Due to "whitening" policies, African immigration ceased within Brazil and did
not commence again until the 1960s (Kimari, 2008, p. 133). The Vargas government
initiated fellowships for African students to study in Brazilian universities, and many of
the students at these universities reported experiencing racism while they were residents
of the country (see Kaly, 2001). In fact, several African students have died during recent
Brazilian attacks (Vargem & Malomalo, 2015, p. 4). According to Vargem & Malomalo
(2015), one such event occurred in São Paulo when four Angolan students were
patronizing a bar where two Brazilians yelled insults at the Angolans, called them
"monkeys," and the students then left the bar (p. 4). The Brazilians later returned in cars,
sped towards the Angolan students, and fired shots directly at them. A pregnant Angolan
student was shot twice (including once in the stomach), and one student was shot in the
leg, and a third engineering student died on the scene (Vargem & Malomalo, 2015, p. 4).
Thus, the structure of continuing racism and violence significantly impacts the new

African Diaspora communities.[19]

Contemporary Postcolonial Mediascapes within Brazil

Media outlets within Latin America historically create Euro-Diaspora ideals of Brazilians; between 1995 and 2014, 90% of the central characters in dominant media were White, leaving only 10% Black or Brown (*preto ou pardo*) central characters.[20] These ideals reside within Latin America and are exported within the Global South mediascapes. For instance, in Latin America, Brazil has one of the major media channels that exports information globally, such as TV Globo, (Matos, 2008) and although 51% of the country is of African descent, their representations are ignored within the media (Borges & Borges, 2012). Thus, the Brazilian mediascapes practically overlook half of its citizens in terms of visual representation. These mediascapes are then exported to West Africa, creating the illusion that few—if, indeed, any—Blacks even live in Brazil. Simultaneously, many Nollywood directors use similar melodrama/melodramatic styles as Latin American *telenovelas* (Bryce, 2013, p. 232). Therefore, Nollywood's existence within Latin America is relevant to narrate, in that it exhibits the change that could exist within Brazil, by diversifying media representations of African descendants.

Brazilian media denies Black and Brown subjects their humanity through scarce representation. Latin American cultural and cinema studies scholar Robert Stam (1997) describes how Brazilian films assist to support the false notion of a "racial democracy." Stam explains, "[t]hey convey an epidermic simulacrum of 'racial democracy' but

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[19] This is one of the reasons that many Lusophone Africans come to Brazil and try to dissassociate with Afro-Brazilians.

[20] Luiz Augusto Campos, Marcia Rangel Candido e João Feres Jr. "Infográfico—A Raça e o Gênero nas Novelas dos Últimos 20 Anos"
http://gemaa.iesp.uerj.br/publicacoes/infografico/infografico3.html

ultimately 'fix' blacks in a subaltern place" (Stam, 1997, p. 344). Even among Afro-Brazilian filmmakers, they normally have their cast[e] marrying a White woman (Stam, 1997, p. 344). Similarly, print and visual news sources claim to be objective, yet tend to overly highlight negative aspects of Black communities. Simply stated, Brazilian media offer few Black and Brown people as protagonists (Almada, 2012, p. 29). Indeed, Afro-Brazilians within the media appear as marked with negative characteristics, such as naturalizing racial and social inferiority (Almada, 2012, p. 29). Moreover, such media even deny the existence of racism by restructuring the facts of Brazilian society—except in flagrant cases of Feel Good stories promoting positive aspects of the Black community (Almada, 2012, p. 29).

Afro-Brazilian film studies scholar, activist, and documentarian Joel Zito Araújo (2000) highlighted the persistence of racism and inequality within the media which functions as a means to maintain historical social injustice within Brazil. Similarly, Brazilian media studies scholars Borges and Borges (2012) examine race relations in the media in order to challenge the contemporary notion of racism being non-existent within the media (p. 34). Sandra Almada describes the contemporary state of Black media within mainstream society by quoting an interview from the 1980s through the

> (Institute for the Research of Black Cultures) IPCN. Muniz Soldré stated:
> The 'presence of black people in the media is the same as a vaccine production. That is, just as it happens in the production process of a vaccine, the mass media shows just a few black people—two, three, four—just to prevent an outbreak of black people on TV. And also, at the

same time, this is done to produce a simulacrum of race democracy.'

(Almada, 2012, p. 27).

Despite the additional legislative laws that aim to increase the representation of Afro-Brazilians, there are still significant measures necessary to take to truly incorporate a democratic mediascape (Appadurai, 1996).

The Institute of Social and Political Studies at Rio de Janeiro State University (IESP-UERJ) documented the changes of race and gender within Brazilian media over the last twenty years. The institute found that between 1995 and 2014, out of 101 Brazilian telenovelas, the representation of women was almost equal to that of men. Women occupied almost half at 49.5% (only 4.6% were Black or Brown) (Campos, Candido, and Feres, 2015[21]). Of the Black and Brown characters, only 4% were protagonists, meaning there were only 7 positive character portrayals, and only three women occupied those positions, Thaís Araújo, Camila Pitanga, and Juliana Paes (two of whom could almost pass for White) (Campos, Candido, and Feres, 2015). Of the 45.3% male characters, only 5.4% of characters were Black and Brown (Campos, Candido, and Feres, 2015). Only 1% of males played the protagonist, hence there has never been a Black (*preto*) leading male protagonist within telenovelas (Campos, Candido, and Feres, 2015).

The mediascapes clearly indicate the dire necessity of visual representation within the most popular genre of media in Brazil. The scarcity of media representation provides a premise for this project, as well as the intention for understanding how these

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[21] Translated from online research institute website.

overlooked populations value, or do not value, diverse representations from others spaces around the Black Atlantic besides the United States.

Conclusion

This chapter revealed the historical, political, and cultural representation within Brazilian society. While legislation indicates change, the visual representation of African descendants is scarce—leaving ample opportunity for future growth. The postcolonial state of many citizens within the African-Diaspora represents a phenomenon that subverts the images and contributions of Blacks on a global level. Therefore, this interdisciplinary project aims to capture new and old Diaspora voices in relation to how homeland connections are understood or misunderstood. Therefore, the ever changing cultural aspects of new and old Diasporas are captured within the landscape of Brazilian affirmative action policies.

The background provided within the chapter reveals the ethnoscapes of Black and Brown Brazilian identity that struggle to reach beyond the realm of servitude within society. Society consequently hid behind its rhetoric of racial democracy, while it continued to devalue Afro-Brazilian culture, religion, and heritage and its contributions within society. Violence towards both new and old African Diasporas combines both communities in Brazil. Visual representation around the Atlantic inspired rebellions, strength, and fortitude—both during times of slavery and after. Historically, Africans and Afro-Brazilians have formed societies to unite against discrimination. At times, new Africans were regarded by Afro-Brazilians as unassimilated and thus "different" and "Other." Yet, Pan-African Alliances were also created, overlooking the differences in search of equal citizenship. The Brazilian government aims to appease the historical

suffering and structural inequalities within society. While the affirmative action laws do exist, one can observe that the media continue to perpetuate a clearly Eurocentric representation of society. And while the majority of Brazilians are of African descent, that very Euro-Diaspora media dictates social norms, so democratic representation has yet to be fully realized.

CHAPTER 4

NOLLYWOOD IN BRAZIL: CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

As one manifestation of new trends within globalization, reception of Nollywood movies in Latin America occurs online, through informal networks, through state sponsored film exhibitions, and via regional and international cinema screenings. The availability of Nigerian movies on the Internet connects many Africans, who live abroad, to their home country (or to Africa). One Nigerian shop owner in São Paulo explained the importance of technoscapes in Brazil, the following way: faster broadband speeds in Brazil accelerates the number of downloads in Brazil; in comparison, the nonexistence of broadband in Nigeria makes downloads generally nonexistent. Similarly, during field research in London in 2013, and in 2014 in Brazil, I learned Internet availability (or lack thereof) was the primary reason that renting and buying Nollywood videos has decreased over the years. Consequently, the creation and destruction of African spaces within Brazil occurs through the influence of technology, people, and material culture.

Correspondingly, in São Paulo, as of August 2014, the locations where previous Nollywood research occurred ceased carrying Nollywood movies. Over the last decade in Brazil, patterns of consumers' viewing habits of Nollywood movies shifted significantly. The signage of past heydays for Nollywood movies remains as faded shadows on plaques above many stores, indicating and documenting the once popular imprints of the industry throughout the African-Diaspora mall. Numerous faded store plaques remain in view, advertising the sale of Nollywood movies, yet when one asks about the movies, the clerks explain these sales ceased with previous store owners. Informal social networks also provide a platform for Nollywood productions. The transportation of Nigerian media

flows occur through informal transnational Nigerian networks, observes Nollywood

scholar Alessandro Jedlowski (2013). Nigerian Diasporas in Brazil consume Nollywood

cultural productions mostly online, and Nollywood videos are distributed mostly through

informal networks—similar to their worldwide distribution.

Nollywood co-productions reside primarily in the United States and across

Europe. Indeed, within the Americas, the United States has the largest number of

organized Nigerian cultural production events, specifically in academic conferences, film

festivals, and exhibitions. These exhibitions examined the role of Nollywood

preservation, co-productions, circulation, piracy, distribution, and cultural productions.

The existence of Nollywood in Brazil within Latin America distinctly generates co-

productions, exhibitions, screenings, informal video-film circulation, and formal vender

distribution. Brazilian producers create roughly 80 films productions per year, in

comparison to Nigeria (a country that produces 40-50 films per week). Similarly, as an

autocratic industry, Nollywood stimulates revenue throughout Nigeria. Approximately

one third of Nollywood productions use the Yoruba language in their dialogue(s), and

Brazil has one of the largest Yoruba centers of religious training and practitioners in the

world (sharing endless possibilities of convergence between Nigeria and Brazil).

Nollywood appears to usurp the hegemonic Global North in mass productions

(Barlet, 2010). The idea of Nigeria as a Global South country, beating Global North

Hollywood, in movie-films appeals to other countries of the Global South. Most countries

such as Brazil, produce only a few whose governmental policies restrict producers from

creating more than 100 films per year. Specifically for that reason, the Nollywood

phenomenon attracts curators, directors, actors, governmental agencies, and cinematic

scholars. Thus, Nollywood attracts audiences' curiosity, salaciously, as a Global South technocratic industry. In Brazil, the concept of Nigerian movie co-productions exists as an exotic mystery, essentially unbeknownst to most of their people. The landscape of Brazil provides Nigerian producers a unique and alternative space to that of Europe and the United States.

To value the global impact of Nollywood movies, Diaspora theoretical framework reveals the struggle for social identity in modern multicultural Afro-Brazilian society. Throughout the world, and throughout Brazil specifically, Nollywood cultural productions exist through formal and informal distribution global networks. Within Brazil, Nollywood appears both organically (through informal networks and exhibitions) and inorganically (through research screenings). The recent new African Diaspora communities are mostly responsible for the sharing of Nollywood productions; therefore, older Afro-Brazilian Diasporas seldom experience any exposure to the industry. In Salvador, Bahia, small tendrils of Nollywood appear via informal networks (by Nigerian undergraduate students, Nigerian store owners, hostel owners, a Yoruba Imam, and the *Casa da Nigeria*/the Nigerian House).[22] Within Salvador, Bahia, Nollywood is mostly available via store owners and/or through cultural institutions. Interestingly, the Nigerian immigrant population in São Paulo greatly exceeds that of Salvador, Bahia.

This chapter reveals Nollywood representations within Brazil vis-à-vis production and distribution through the examination of Nollywood's cyber imprints within social media in Brazil (the foundation of Nollywood exhibitions in Brazil): *Bem Vindo a Nollywood* (2011), Nollywood featured in Brazilian cinematic exhibitions, and

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[22] As of August, 2014, The Nigerian House closed down; this is ironic after having the King of Oyo, at the beginning of August, visit the top five *Candomblé* houses within Salvador, Bahia.

Nollywood co-productions in Brazil. Online social media *ideoscapes* disseminate information on Nollywood productions in Portuguese (unofficially) on blogs, and formally/officially, at the formal state-level exhibitions in relationship to technocratic industries (where many Brazilian scholars and media outlets describe Nollywood). This chapter elucidates the seminal Nollywood co-productions created by Abel Success Erebe, who highlights the process of the trials and tribulations of creating transnational movies in Brazil. Similarly, this chapter captures the natural circulatory flows of cultural products as they manifest within the Nigerian/African community in São Paulo. Primary sources illustrate the formal and informal background and intentions of distribution in Brazil based on participant observation and qualitative semi-structured interviews. The following participants illustrate the cultivation of Nollywood in Brazil: Nollywood producer Abel Success Erebe, former curator of the first and second Nollywood exhibition in São Paulo, Alex Andrade, Carmen Palumbo, a curator of *Bienal da Bahia* (3rd Bahia Biennale in Salvador, Bahia), West African actor, and director, TG, and Nigerian actor, BK who is involved with Nollywood co-productions. Drawing from interviews conducted in Brazil with these cultural entrepreneurs, this chapter investigates the relationships between Brazilian and mostly Nigerian communities with regard to Nollywood films. Moreover, the different spaces in which Nollywood exists presents a re-creation of Africa, specifically Nigeria.

Nollywood's Cyber Imprints and Social Media in Brazil

Within Brazil, Nollywood technoscapes appeared on numerous websites. Indeed, Nigerian movies were influential in fostering a new relationship between Nigeria and Brazil based on increasing cultural understanding. Nollywood movies are accessible via a

wide array of online platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube, as well as online

newspapers and magazines, government websites, and blogs. Out of all these online

information sources, Nollywood appeared most prevalently in Portuguese within blogs,

and on *Ted Talks Brasil*; numerous newspapers, magazines, and articles kept the topic

alive (relevant) online. Most blogs creatively re-adapted news and tailored it according to

their online personalities. Similarly, several video commentaries discussed the

Nollywood phenomenon via English documentaries, such as *Nollywood Babylon* (2008),

and *This is Nollywood* (2007), which explains the industry well. Most notably, in the

documentary *Good Copy Bad Copy* (2007), a Brazilian lawyer, Ronaldo Lemos, speaks

in Portuguese (rather than in English) while appearing on the São Paulo TED Talk**s** on

which he speaks prolifically about consumption of Nollywood films. *TV Brasil*[23] and

Globo,[24] among the most powerful economic television stations in the world, featured

Nollywood more than once. Thus, the online data describe Nollywood as a dynamic

industry; yet, they reveal little information relating to Nollywood's reception in Brazil.

  Nollywood influences transnational cultural circuits, and it reveals the importance

of both Diaspora homeland ties and Global South connections. For instance, online news

distributers' websites featured Nollywood, in their cultural sections as an African

phenomenon that is plagued with piracy[25] and seeking to vigorously preserve its culture

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[23] Documentary aired on TV Brazil within a weekly series called "Mama Africa" on Nollywood women by German producer, Dorthee Werner http://tvbrasil.ebc.com.br/mamaafrica/episodio/a-mulher-de-nollywood

[24] see http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/tem-de-tudo-nessa-nollywood-6639502

[25] Ample research on Nollywood piracy prevails; thus, the author will overlook that as a major area of focus.

both linguistically and cinematically[26]. Movie productions using the Yoruba and Hausa languages dominate the industry, whereas the Igbo films use the English language. Out of the three most popular Nollywood movies, they capture diverse narratives of Nigerian culture based on the directors' imaginations. In the same vein, the Pan-African pages, highlighting Nollywood as a cultural phenomenon, received the same recognition. The aforementioned cases on these websites illustrate appropriated Nollywood photos from the main website, hosting the 2011 Nollywood exhibition in São Paulo, which, displayed an African-centered perspective. The official opening of the Del-York International "Bem-Vindo a Nollywood" Film Festival is a prime example of Nollywood cyber imprints through website exhibitions. In 2011, *Bem Vindo a Nollywood* was a strong example of the burgeoning, powerful, and culturally relevant presence of the Nigerian movie industry in Brazil. Nollywood functions as a cultural phenomenon creating images of Africans, in particular, images of Nigerians. The Municipal Secretary of Culture states, within São Paulo's website, that the exhibition aims to introduce local Brazilians to Nigerian cinema. The conference's central objective was to democratize local cinema and encourage the exploration of other cinemas outside the United States, Europe, and Brazil. Therefore, the selection of 12 Nollywood speakers aimed to expand Brazilians' exposure to the films and create a closer cultural relationship with Nigeria.

For example, Alex Andrade, the director of *Kinopedia*, and the exhibition curator, wanted to forge an alliance with Nigeria, particularly with the Nollywood film industry,

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[26] The author loosely uses cinematic since technically Nigeria, traditional Nollywood lacks infrastructure for a cinema industry. But, recently New Nollywood creates new spaces for the movies.

to decolonize the Eurocentric gaze of Brazilians.[27] On the Nollywood exhibition site, the director asserted that in order to create new cultural alliances and to erase stereotypes of Africans, it is important to view people through a different lens. Andrade (2011) cites geographer Milton Santos (n.d.) when he states, "Decolonization is looking at the world through different eyes. Defamiliarization, a feeling of foreignness, is a phenomenon caused essentially by dislocation (spatial, linguistic, and cultural)." Thus, the purpose of the exhibition was to engage Brazilian audiences with a different world using the three forms of dislocation to foster this engagement. Andrade aspired to connect Latin America to Africa, and his first step toward achieving that alliance was manifested through the *Bem Vindo a Nollywood* (2011) exhibition.

To understand Nollywood's growing impact among moviegoers, one needs to understand the work of one of its main figures, a man who has received considerable attention within Portuguese social media. Globally renowned Nollywood producer/director Tunde Kelanis' prestige parallels that of Ousmane Sembene. Film studies scholar Akin Adesokan revealed that Kelani produced more Anglophone/Yoruba films for international audiences than Francophone cinematic icon Sembene (Adesokan, 2011). His cultural productions created a new genre of Nollywood that primarily concentrated on catering to international audiences while appealing to local Nigerian audiences (Adesokan, 2011). Kelani utilized the rich tradition of the travelling moving theater in the Yoruba language and subsequently translated some of the productions into film (Adesokan, 2011). The combination of Yoruba and traveling theater traditions provide Kelani's films with major themes considered *neo-traditional* (Adesokan, 2011).

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[27] Del-York International. "Bem-vindo a Nollywood." <http://www.delyorkinternational. com/bemvindoanollywood.php>. Web. 24 Sep. 2011.

Most of Kelani's movies uniquely feature use of the Yoruba language, which assists in the cultural engagement of both domestic and international audiences. Previous first generation African cinematic directors primarily received funding by foreign agencies, and they produced revolutionary films for foreign film festival audiences. Some African cinema scholars argue that Nollywood productions are of low aesthetic quality, and they are generally void of political themes and storylines (Okome 2010). Contrary to the argument against the dominant Francophone African cinema, Adesokan (2011) concurs that Kelani's career as a producer-director illustrates his commitment to both local markets and participation in international festivals as an auteur artist.

In contrast, in Nigeria, most Nollywood productions function as important influences on popular culture, and they are both financed and produced there. Indeed, Nigerian Diasporas primarily consume these films on the African continent, but some films are viewed outside of Africa in both Anglophone and Francophone communities. Thus, Kelani's position within Nollywood represents non-normative trends that are atypical for most directors and producers. The background information on Kelani contextualizes Brazilian online data by revealing his stature within online news, blogs, and exhibitions that selectively chose to focus on him over thousands of other Nollywood directors.

The Foundation of Nollywood Exhibitions in Brazil: *Bem Vindo a Nollywood*

The *Bem Vindo a Nollywood* richly illustrates the ways in which Nollywood productions manifest within the dissemination of movie exhibitions in Brazil. Alex Andrade, the former curator of the first Nollywood exhibition in São Paulo (2011) as well as the second one (2014), reveals how the industry developed in Brazil through use of

this cultural platform. Andrade first became familiar with Nollywood by viewing the documentary, *Bad Copy Good Copy* (2007). As a cinema director and curator, he was surprised that he had not heard of this important Nigerian movie industry that produces roughly 1,750 films per year. After watching the documentary and with his curiosity piqued, Andrade searched online for information about the industry, and he subsequently learned of Bic Leu, a Nollywood curator living in Lagos, Nigeria as a Fulbright scholar collecting dissertation research. Andrade revealed that Leu became his first important connection to the Nollywood industry. Startled by his findings, Andrade questioned the lack of familiarity with Nollywood in Brazil. Brazilians knew about Bollywood and South American cinema; yet, they were unaware of the African films, and they were specifically unaware of the Nigerian films.

Bem Vindo a Nollywood I[28]

For the first Nollywood exhibition, although Andrade's aspirations remained strong, financial support from multiple agencies waned at the last minute. As the opening date for the exhibition drew closer, the government reversed its decision to offer financial support to sponsor between 15 and 20 films during the exhibition. Given the newly limited economic support, Andrade consulted Leu about alternatives, and she recommended turning to Tunde Kelani, a renowned Nollywood director, who best represents Yoruba culture through his productions. Leu explained to Andrade that Kelani legitimizes Nigerians within the movies. Given that Kelani previously studied outside of Nigeria, and his movie productions imbue a higher aesthetic quality, Leu felt there was a

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[28] The following sections are from personal informal semi-structured in person interviews, email, and Skype correspondence between the researcher and Alex Andrade between the years 2012 and 2014.

higher probability that the Brazilian public would better relate to and would access them. She also introduced Andrade to renowned Nollywood scholar, Jonathan Haynes who shared articles and opinions concerning Nollywood with Andrade. Thus, through online technoscapes, Andrade forged transnational alliances with Nollywood curators, scholars, and directors.

Andrade revealed the importance of creating the ideal Nigerian visual ideoscapes for Brazilian audiences. As a curator, he revealed his apprehension toward reinforcing stereotypes relating to what the Brazilian public expected from Nigeria. Andrade as a director and coming from a films studies background, worried that the Brazilian public may perceive "films from Nigeria as technically inferior."[29] He worried the movies would appear "strange" to the Brazilian public, and he felt that the Nigerian presentation must allow Brazilian audience members to feel comfortable watching the movies. He aimed to view Nollywood in two ways: 1) through cultural production (cultural expression) of the people and 2) in the ways Nollywood constitutes a cinematographic industry in a country with scarce resources that found an intelligent solution to resolve the Nigerian economic crises. The curators' motivation revealed that his intended space aimed to educate Brazilians concerning Nollywood *mediascapes* and *financescapes* (Appadurai, 1996).

It was difficult for Andrade to foresee how the audience would receive his films. Initially, he did not intend to include the local São Paulo Nigerians; however, later, he felt the necessity to invite Nigerians to collaborate with the community. He eagerly attempted to contact a representative of Yoruba descent from the African cultural center, but this

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[29] Semi-structured in person interview between the researcher and Alex Andrade 2013, São Paulo, Brazil.

was unsuccessful. In the beginning, Andrade did not understand the various tensions that existed among Nigerian ethnic groups, but he quickly learned about ethnic prejudices among the Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, and others. Despite these differences, Andrade felt it necessary to unite the various ethnicities interested in Nollywood. As an organizer, Andrade received first-hand experience about the intra-Nigerian divide between ethnicities; these ethnicities, at times, viewed their ethnic identity as a bond more important than sharing the same nationality while living in a foreign land.

Andrade also attempted to contact the Nigerian ambassador in a different city, but he never received a response. The lack of responses appeared very strange to Andrade, as his goal was simply to support the community by providing a voice and a platform to discuss the Nigerian life in Brazil. As a Nigerian cultural promoter, Andrade aimed to endorse Nigerian culture; thus, he did not want resources from various other institutions or cultural ambassadors. As of February 2014, Andrade had not received feedback, which made him curious about the reasons for Nigerian unresponsiveness.

Out of several Nigerian contacts, Andrade only received responses from two Nigerians: one was in Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, and the other one was in São Luiz do Maranhão. When Andrade asked if his collaborator wanted to invite the Nigerian ambassador, the Belo Horizonte Nigerian representative replied that it was unnecessary, since it was the day before the exhibition, and it would be too late. In future efforts with exhibitions, Andrade wanted to establish and strengthen relationships among the diverse Nigerian cultural communities. At the time, he had planned to have another exhibition featuring 5-6 contemporary films. This plan came to fruition in 2014 when he exhibited 15 films: these movies will be discussed later in this section.

As a cineaste, Andrade realized that the first exhibition afforded several Nigerian children (raised in São Paulo) the experience of hearing the Yoruba language and experiencing their culture for the first time, via film. Andrade expressed his opinion about the importance of having the films screened in Portuguese; moreover, he stressed the extreme importance for the audience to hear Yoruba spoken in films. Andrade aimed to make the exhibition an annual event; yet, the fiscal resources he counted on did not arrive in time for his aspiration to become a reality. As the curator, Andrade provided most of the finances needed for the first Nollywood exhibition using his personal savings.

Andrade's preoccupation concentrated on how to preserve the films, rather than focusing on the mechanics of the movies' production. This was a significant concern, given the scarcity of well-populated film archives containing Nollywood productions.[30] Very few hard copies of Nollywood films (that are more than five years old) remain in existence. Also, Andrade and his colleagues, Jonathan Haynes, and Maria Pereira (Nollywood curator in Rio 2012), worried about procuring specific methods to preserve the films (i.e., ways to increase their digital quality) to ensure the films would be available for future generations to view and learn from.

Shortly after the first exhibition, Andrade met with curators Maria Pereira (in Rio de Janeiro) and Serge Noukoué, a Nigerian living in France (who previously worked in Brazil) who intended to create an international exhibition of Nollywood films in Brazil. Noukoué procured financial sponsorship and transnational support for the Paris Nollywood Exhibition[31]. Unfortunately, the Brazilian curators were unable to obtain the

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[30] The curator took Tunde Kelani, Jonathan Haynes, and Bic Leu to the Brazilian archives in Brazil in order to illustrate the importance of preserving films.
[31] See http://www.nollywoodweek.com for more information.

funding in time for the festival. Thus, each curator hosted her/his own respective Nollywood film exhibitions in different geographical spaces, and Noukoué curated the Nollywood festival in Paris without outside assistance. The Nollywood exhibition in Paris lasted for a week, and it featured six new films screened to a large public audience (2014). Similarly, Andrade reported that in June of 2014 Serge held a second exhibition and had plans for holding a third one the following year. The transnational communication indicated the interconnected curation spaces across the Atlantic in non-Anglophone regions.

In 2012, Andrade wanted a collection (*caixa*/box) of Nollywood films with the theme 20 years/20 films; however, financial resources were scarce. Thus, instead of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro held a *Nollywood Mostra* at the *Caixa Cultural*, a museum exhibition hall. The curator, Maria Pereira, became interested in the Nigerian industry when she was a masters' student; this led her to gather more information about the industry and to share the information with Brazilians[32]. The Nollywood showing lasted for two weeks—between November 6th and November 18th. The *Caixa Cultural* is an artistic government film screening and museum space that featured showings of 2 of 12 films, on a daily basis, from Tuesday through Sunday. During the final week (from Thursday through Saturday), four Nollywood directors (Zeb Ejiro, Bond Emeruwa, Kunle Afolayan, and Mahmood Ali-Balogun) led roundtable discussions honoring two decades of Nollywood movie industry productions. The final debate (on Saturday, November 17th) was led by the aforementioned four Nigerian movie directors, and they were accompanied by Nollywood scholar Jonathan Haynes, as well as Brazilian cinema

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[32] Interview from November, 2012 with Maria Pereira at *the Caixa Cultural* in Rio de Janeiro.

distributors Marco Aurélio Marcondes, and Julia Levy. Films shown in Rio de Janeiro are not the primary focus of this study; nonetheless, seminal Nollywood events (these will be described in upcoming sections) have occurred in the second largest Brazilian city in relation to population and center(s) of Brazilian media. The Nollywood film, *Mostra,* was the last Nollywood-centered exhibition until Andrade hosted the second Nollywood exhibition in May of 2014.

The first portion of this section reveals the transnational nature of co-production spaces created in Brazil. The ideoscapes of Nollywood within the curation spaces intrigued individual film studies scholars and directors who were fascinated by the overlooked cultural and financial global power. Originally, the curator revealed his interest in sharing Nigerian mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996) with film connoisseurs and Brazilians; nonetheless, after his first exhibition, the notion of audience, directors, and hosts shifted after hosting the first exhibition. Also, the curator began understanding the ethnic tension among some Nigerians within São Paulo, thereby indicating the disunited ethnoscapes.

Bem Vindo a Nollywood **II**[33]

This next section charts the ideoscapes behind the distribution and the curators' intentions behind hosting the events. As the orchestrator of exhibition spaces, the curator distinctively selected Nigerian mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996) in Brazil through the selection of director(s) and movie(s). The second*, Bem Vindo a Nollywood* (Welcome to

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[33] The following sections are from an informal semi-structured interview, conducted via Skype, between the researcher and Alex Andrade in 2014.

Nollywood) exhibition, occurred for three weeks from May 20, 2014 to June 5, 2014[34].

The second, *Bem Vindo a Nollywood* (Welcome to Nollywood) exhibition, occurred for

three weeks: from May 20, 2014 to June 5, 2014[35]. The second Nollywood exhibition in

São Paulo provided a more complete panoramic view of the Nigerian movie industry than

the first one. With three years of preparation for the event, Andrade planned to screen 15

movies on a low budget. As the curator, in preparation for the screenings, he forged an

alliance with the new Nigerian immigrant community in São Paulo. The exhibition

sponsored both classic Nollywood movies and new Nollywood films. He observed (that)

the more recent (2012 and 2013) films improved in aesthetic production and overall

quality. Andrade explained that older movies were not meant for film screenings;

nonetheless, he exhibited primarily historical films that were made in Nigeria. The

exhibition was held in downtown São Paulo (where it was cheaper to screen movies and

host the event).

Andrade invited only one Nollywood director due to a financial constraint (based

on a list of Nollywood producers that Jonathan Haynes provided him in 2012). Haynes

explained to Andrade the position of Chris Ihidero within Nollywood: one as a director

and one of the premiere pioniers of Nollywood films. Haynes described Ihidero as full of

enthusiasm and an excellent representative for the Nollywood industry. Similarly,

Andrade spoke with Luna Nery (who wrote a doctoral dissertation on Nollywood based

on interviews she conducted with several Nollywood directors), a Brazilian Nollywood

researcher who met Ihidero while she was collecting dissertation data in Lagos, Nigeria.

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[34] The researcher, was not in the country when this exhibition occurred, thus relied, on the curator
for insights regarding the event (2014).
[35] The researcher was not in the country when this exhibition occurred; thus, she relied on the
curator for insights regarding the event (2014).

Nery confirmed Haynes' recommendation that, as a very enthusiastic director, he would like to host the Nollywood exhibition (ideally) in Sim Paulo. Ihidero agreed to appear as a guest speaker during the exhibition. However, Andrade received an email, one week after Ihidero's confirmation of his intent to speak at the event, that his Nollywood mentor had passed away. Provided the circumstances, Ihidero felt he could no longer travel to Brazil, and Andrade had to quickly find a replacement to fill Ihidero's position within the exhibition.

Andrade spoke to the Secretary of Culture who requested that a Nigerian describe the industry and their culture. Andrade paid approximately $500 US for the rights of the Nollywood films screened at the exhibition. Several directors of Nollywood films in the exhibition requested sponsorship to Brazil. Andrade could only sponsor one director to represent Nollywood; thus, he chose to exclude directors' movies screened in the exhibition in order to decrease rivalry among the directors. Consequently, Andrade explained that he attempted to reduce privileging one Nigerian director over others, and Chris Ihidero's film was prohibited from entering the Nollywood exhibition. Andrade explained that some Nollywood directors created a collaborative rift by refusing to exhibit their films unless they were sponsored to participate in the exhibition. Thus, Andrade revealed the polemical position between the curator and some Nollywood directors, who, without sponsorship, declined to share the rights to their films. This specific insight reveals a bit of the cross-cultural communication as well as the transnational role of financescapes.

Andrade recalled requesting Erebe's assistance (while he was in Nigeria) to bring Nigerian movies that would be featured in the exhibition to São Paulo. At the time, while

in Nigeria, Erebe worked on several projects. Nonetheless, Andrade requested Erebe find a Nigerian producer to co-sponsor the festival by creating an exhibition logo. In exchange for this, Andrade agreed to translate two of Erebe's films: *Black Night in South America* (2007) and *Osuofia in Brazil* (2012). According to Andrade, Erebe was paid 1000 Brazilian *Reais* [~$450 USD], and Andrade was grateful Erebe had brought Nigerians to the showings.

Andrade felt that (due to Erebe's assistance) the screenings went well by inviting numerous friends—most of whom were from his church and those who supported the downtown exhibition. According to Andrade, during the first week, a substantial audience participated; yet, each week the number of spectators dwindled. Andrade invited diverse constituents, as evidenced by the half Brazilian and half Nigerian audience members. The Brazilian audience consisted primarily of individuals who were researchers; they were curious about what made up the "Nollywood phenomenon." Andrade acknowledged specific cultural differences (most especially so during the humorous sections of the Evangelical movie showings). He observed certain contrasts, in that, Nigerian audiences identified differently from Brazilian spectators. Andrade explained that Nigerians enjoyed the films primarily because they laughed at scenes that were culturally specific to Nigerians. Thus, he described what could be considered "a spectators' cultural divide," in that some viewers related to the directors' intentions, while others were unable to do so. Overall, Andrade expressed gratitude for the cultural diversity obvious in attendees' ethnicities.

Nigerian audiences verbally identified with Erebe's films according to Andrade. The film *Osuofia in Brazil* (2013), concentrated on the immigrants' perspective from a

moral viewpoint. Similarly, Andrade recounted that *Black Nights in South America* (2006) was about Nigerian Christianity in Brazil. Andrade explained how the Nigerian audience identified with the films as immigrants abroad. He explained that the film (from a Nollywood producer living in South Africa) provided moral lessons, and the Nigerian immigrant perspectives elicited Nigerian audience's responses during the film.

Andrade appreciated Ihidero, and he decided to support the exhibition under difficult circumstances. Ihidero mourned the recent loss of his mentor, and he only stayed in Brazil for two days (a stay essentially equivalent to his length of travel from Nigeria to Brazil). The premiere sponsored Nollywood expert Chris Ihidero, who facilitated a four-hour certification course for 20 Brazilian registered participants on May 24, 2014. Ihidero's presentation, *Nollywood: história e perspectivas* / "Nollywood: History and Perspectives," commenced with his reflections as one of the earliest pioneers of Nollywood and Nollywood films. Andrade appreciated Ihidero's insight, and this insight provided a unique insider's perspective that differed from the first Nollywood exhibition in Sol Paulo; this new perspective described the phenomenon specifically from a scholarly perspective. Andrade recounted the benefits of hosting a Nollywood insiders' description of Nollywood, since Ihidero revealed how most current Nollywood directors initially wanted to disassociate from the Nollywood industry until it became a burgeoning international success. Ihidero described a temporal shift in early Nollywood: Nigerian directors realized the necessity in aligning with the Nollywood brand, since it provided financial opportunities in diverse international markets that were previously inaccessible. For example, Andrade mentioned one of the films screened by a Nigerian living in South

Africa, who deliberately branded himself as a Nollywood co-producer.[36] These transnational financescapes and ideoscapes add to the global narratives of the marketing and resiliency of Nigerian directors.

Next, Ihidero screened his short film, utilizing rape themes to tell a story. According to Andrade, Ihidero's movie and discussion provided a feminist perspective. Ihidero led a slide show presentation entitled, "What's New about Nollywood Myth or Reality," illustrating the difference between the classic model of Nollywood distribution. Films, like Tunde Kelani's *Maami* (2011), and the film adaptation of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel, *Half of a Yellow Son* (2006), are a part of the new Nollywood perspectives that appear in big cinema festivals such as the festival of Ouagadougou. In a sense, Nollywood conformity creates a hegemonic position aligning with the Global North and capitalism; yet, internationally, it is counter-hegemonic because it is not Hollywood.

Overall, Ihidero possessed the ideal qualities for the Nollywood exhibition, as evidenced by his projects and intimate knowledge of the underpinnings of Nollywood. In the first half of 2015, Andrade proposed to collaborate with Ihidero on a third Nollywood exhibition. He aimed to solely screen new Nollywood films produced between the years 2012-2014. Since Andrade was no longer a novice in curating Nollywood exhibitions, at this point, and since he felt, given his non-novice status, the Sin Paulo Ministry of Culture would show increased interest in the exhibition, it was fairly likely it would offer greater financial support than before. He already obtained films and directors for the upcoming screening. The last exhibition was the first time the Nigerian Consulate in She

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[36] This adds to the notion of new Nollywood, of which many films are co-productions with similar aesthetic composition to that of Hollywood.

Paulo showed interest by offering support and sponsorship. Thus, Andrade felt he had forged a good relationship that would continue to benefit the upcoming exhibition. In 2014, Andrade began preparations for future exhibitions (by entering a large sponsorship contest) for which he currently awaits results from the culture project. He understood that most exhibitions in São Paulo tend to fund solely American or European festivals, but he hoped to beat the odds. Given that European or American film festivals usually win, African independent films rank second or third place, essentially due to their compromised aesthetic/cinematic quality. Andrade hoped that change might occur— change similar to the sort that occurs at other festivals around the world, such as the premiere African film festival, FESPACO, (which also overlooked Nollywood until recently), at which some Nigerian directors won important awards, indicating their higher level of film production.

Through this difficult process, Nollywood films became very special to Andrade. He felt the Nigerian government's initiatives that offer resources for Nigerian directors would improve their film quality and distribution for international markets. In the future, Andrade would like to also exhibit Nollywood in different spaces in middle- and upper-class Sla Paulo communities. Nonetheless, the central location provided a perfect location (at present) as well as relatively inexpensive facilities available for rent. Ideally, Andrade would like to hold a Nollywood showing in the central region of São Paulo along *Avenida Paulista*, a more affluent part of the city, to provide different audience perspectives, since many Brazilians hold biases against visiting the central region of the city, a more impoverished area, and one that is known for its violence and crime. Therefore, he explained that renting in other locations as ideal, but they are also more expensive. The

Ministry of Culture provided resources for the first and second exhibition, and they expressed the belief that Brazilian audiences would like to review African cinema with Nollywood featured in the exhibition. Andrade felt that an exhibition on African cinema is an entirely different idea. Nonetheless, he may, in the future, concentrate on creating an African cinema exhibition separate from the Nollywood exhibition.

This section revealed social, political, and economic intricacies of hosting a transnational exhibition. The tenuous climate of uncertainties certainly placed the curator and directors in considerably difficult positions. The Ministry of Culture revealed the political landscape that pushed for a Nigerian director to present on Nollywood films to the public. The curator revealed the trials and tribulations associated with staging a transnational exhibition, along with his future hopes and dreams to improve future exhibitions.

Nollywood Featured in Brazilian Cinematic Exhibitions

During the last two weeks of March 2014 in Central Rio de Janeiro, the Zózimo African Diaspora, Afro-Caribbean, Brazilian film festival featured Nollywood movies[37]. The festival focused on Pan-African connections. Over 50 films, documentaries, and short films shown there centered around diverse themes, including culture, politics, race, and the connections between Africa and its Diaspora. Two Nigerian directors, Tunde Kelani and Kenneth Gyang (the award winning movie director of *Confusion Nawa* [2013]), were featured as guest speakers at the festival, and they led debates relating to Nollywood and the Nollywood industry. This biannual event illustrates how Nollywood

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[37] This exhibition was special in that it was the first year the biannual event was held without the original founder, Zózimo Búlbul. This film festival is one of the most dynamic African Diaspora cultural spaces within the Americas.

became more relevant in the Latin American African Diaspora. It indicates that there are certain choices inherent within Nollywood movies, and directors interested in education and political content find them, if and when, necessary.

Based on the largest African population outside of Nigeria, Andrade wanted to exhibit the Nollywood films in Salvador, Bahia. He spoke with numerous people interested in hosting an exhibition and decided that, due to the question of identity, he felt a richer Bahia audience reception was eminent. At the time of the interview, he wished to re-establish connections with Bahians interested in hosting a Nollywood exhibition, and his desires manifested after one exhibition of Nollywood in Salvador, Bahia, in July 2014.

The exhibition from May through September 2014 at *Museu Arte Moderna* (MAM) was special in that it was the first exhibition at this site in 46 years. Because of the dictatorship, the first exhibition occurred in 1966; the second in 1968; and the third in 2014. The last showing (held in 1968) was forced to close. In August 2014, the Bahia Secretary of Culture publicly apologized by reading a letter during the exhibition. According to Palumbo, the curator, the prohibition of drama for many Bahians was considered the most traumatic experience that had happened at the hands of the truth commission. The government censored many famous Bahian artists, namely "Rogério Duarte, visual guru of Tropicalism," and singers Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil[38]. The website explained the ongoing intent of the exhibition,

> The 3rd Bahia Biennale reaffirms the intentions of the original project: to
> establish a counter-discourse that is suitable for creating, promoting and

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[38] http://www.e-flux.com/announcements/final-phase-of-the-3rd-bahia-biennale/

establishing alternative routes in the art field, without the need to depend

on legitimation from other national and international centres. The Biennale

also updates the original project to the current Brazilian and international

contexts, where the concepts of center and periphery are being redefined.[39]

Thus, the inclusion of the first Salvador, Bahian Nollywood exhibition of this magnitude,

within a closed artistic space, is extraordinarily significant.[40]

Andrade attended the Salvador Biennial da Bahia, for two days, during the month

of July 2014. The exhibition MAM was exemplary in that it was the first exhibition at the

site in 46 years, and it lasted from May 2014 through September 2014. The selected films

previously debuted during the first Nollywood exhibition in SAM Paulo (2011), featuring

Tunde Kelani.[41] Before screening Kelani's film, *Maami* (2011), Andrade provided a 20-

minute presentation on the initial foundation of Nollywood. Palumbo exhibited the two

remaining films from Kelani; on the second day, *Arugba* (2008) was screened; and on the

third day, *Saworoide* (1999) was screened.

Reflective accounts of the Nollywood audience appeared to differ. Palumbo

recalled more people in attendance on the first day (It was estimated there were about 50

viewers), and Andrade remembered approximately 20 audience members. Palumbo could

not recall the ethnic differences among the audience; however, Andrade (for the first day

and a half) recounted an audience mainly interested in African identity. For those reasons,

he felt Bahia was an ideal location (based on its history of slavery), and given that

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[39] http://www.e-flux.com/announcements/final-phase-of-the-3rd-bahia-biennale/
[40] The hosted site is a space where the slave ships used to embark. It also is a space where modern impoverished subjects fight for a space along the bay: a space that is regarded as prime property for middle and upper class Brazilians.
[41] http://www.cultura.ba.gov.br/2014/07/11/bienal-da-bahia-apresenta-mostra-de-cinema-nigeriano/ viewed August 2014.

African identity is significantly stronger there than in other parts of Brazil. According to Andrade, both curators (he and Palumbo) planned to create another Nollywood exhibition in Salvador; however, it will strongly rely on significant support from the next governmental administration. He explained that, given 2014 was an election year, the current federal government, which the curator worked for could change quickly and dramatically.

Thus, these unique exhibition spaces illustrated how Brazilians use Nollywood as a counter-hegemonic mediascape (Appadurai, 1996) in both postcolonial and Diaspora ways. As evidence from the first Nollywood exhibition in the *Bienal da Bahia* (August 2014). This is the case, even though the majority of Nigerian movies are genre movies that depict popular cultural narratives (Okome, 2010). Nonetheless, curators fascinated with movies and cinema expressed the need to disseminate information concerning Nollywood within their respective exhibition spaces. The recreation of Nigerian spaces in three different cities provides unique insight on the importance of the celebration of the industry in Brazil. As evidenced within the last decade, cineastes felt it was imperative to disseminate educational information concerning Nigerian cultural productions. Thus, instead of the government's interest (as previously assumed), the interest lay in the hands of mostly cinematic scholars and directors who acknowledge the importance of that phenomenon in the world.

Nollywood Co-productions in Brazil [42]

Within Brazil, Erebe co-produced four movies with a transnational cast in both Nigerian and Brazilian settings. He specifically selected Brazilian sites to produce parts of their Nollywood. These experimental productions serve to expand the dissemination of Nollywood in Brazil. Nollywood co-productions involve Abel Success Erebe (who is a producer, director, and scriptwriter) as well as TG and BK (actors who worked in Erebe's movies). These cultural producers provided important background on Nollywood productions in Brazil.

Erebe is from Idoma, the central part of Nigeria, located in the Benue state. He was raised in a Christian household (His mother raised him as a Catholic), but later he converted to Pentecostalism. He explained his ethnicity as historically complicated, in that Igbos consider his ethnicity Hausa; this is because, during the Biafra war, they were supposed to fight with them. Nonetheless, in actuality, Igbos fought with the Hausa (who call Idoma people Igbo, since, geographically, they reside closer to the Igbo state). Erebe initially moved to Brazil, based on his contacts with a familial connection residing in Recife, Brazil, whom he calls the "Big Boss."

While writing, Erebe creates film scripts by entering into a deep meditative state. Erebe described his writing process in the following way: "Normally I write the script based on the actor" which is a "way to give more to the character"[43]. As a creative producer, he works on three to four movie scripts simultaneously. According to Erebe, movies in Nigeria previously included a considerable amount of spiritual implications.

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[42] The following sections are from personal informal semi-structured in person interviews, email, Facebook and Skype correspondence between the researcher and Abel Success Erebe between the years 2013 and 2014.
[43] Skype interview with Abel Erebe Success, 2013.

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For example, years ago, Nigerian actors had to visit a shrine before playing a certain character[44]. Thus, before performing the role, actors had to ask for "deliverance" for the entire cast and the crew. According to Erebe, the foundation of Nollywood was based on cast members praying for God to have a place in their job(s). He further claimed, "Paganism isn't around there are idol worshipping outside the city, and that in Nigeria, Nigerians view people who are not in church on Sunday as devils" (Skype interview, 2013). Thus, the religious perspective dually parallels the surge of Pentecostalism in Brazil. Similarly, the religious background clashes with many Afro-Brazilian religious landscapes.

TG[45] is an internationally trained actor, scriptwriter, and director from the West African, French-speaking country of Cameroon. TG has lived in Brazil for over five years. He takes his professional life in Brazil very seriously, as evidenced by his numerous collaborations in Brazilian media, and emphasized by his admission that his work is "not a game" (Interview, 2014, February, 10) Semi-structured Interview. As an experienced actor, he has collaborated with many diverse media industries in Brazil, and he has a substantial reputation. TG explained, "We want to make an amazing project but it only lacks funding now. To do something good, money is necessary. I have a name and I need something good that has a future. I have many years to look forward to ahead; I work for something that I believe in." (Interview, 2014, February, 10) Semi-structured Interview TG was working on film productions and documentaries, in which artists were

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[44] Second interview with Abel Erebe Success, 2014.
[45] The following sections are from personal, in-person interviews between the researcher and TG, (2014, February, 10) Semi-structured Interview.

produced and trained to receive money to shoot films. At the time of the interview, he also produced a documentary for the BBC and Aljazeera.

As a transnational producer, Erebe has various production studio locations, one of which lies in Liberia. In the Liberian studio, he worked on producing his own musical tracks while producing a film for a friend. During our conversation, in July 2014, he had recently completed the audio for his future music video, which he produced in São Paulo.

Erebe revealed the difficulty of shooting co-productions from dealing with the visas, to actors' schedules. For example, the Nigerian director planned to shoot his film in September of 2013; however, the movie was not actually shot until the end of April 2014 and into the early weeks of May 2014. According to Erebe, movie productions were delayed several months while he waited for a visa for an artist. Once the artist received the visa, his entire crew traveled to the United Kingdom. He informed me, "Here [in Liberia] you can submit for the visa and it can delay everything"[46]. Erebe further explained that working with an international cast makes it hard to get the actors to agree on a date. Because the low pay in the Nigerian movie industry requires the actors to work on several productions simultaneously, it makes it difficult for directors to handle actors' availability for scheduling. Ideally, Erebe would like the artists to sign a contract. When producing co-productions, he explained that, unlike in Hollywood, schedules are never properly followed. This section revealed the transnational movie industry as it occurs from a director and actor's perspective regarding Nollywood in Brazil.

[46] Skype interview with Abel Success Erebe, 2013.

Black Nights in South America I & Brazilian Deals II[47]

Erebe's first Brazilian Nollywood co-production, *Black Nights in South America*

(2007), awaited Portuguese sub-titled translations for the initial co-productions, and it

became available for the second Nollywood Exhibition in São Paulo (2014). At the time,

his total number of film productions were 12 (now 13). The movie, entitled *Black Nights*

in South America, won three awards. A close friend of Erebe living in Brazil sought and

received financial support to fund the movie based on his interest in Erebe's productions.

Erebe trained many Brazilians, along with some African actors, to take part in his

production. He brought several Nigerian artists to São Paulo to participate in the

productions. Due to his film productions, the status of his residency changed in 2007

when he became a legitimate worker in Brazil. This status officially propelled him into a

different phase of living as a director of a Nigerian co-production in Brazil.

BK[48] is an Igbo actor, from the Anambara state in Nigeria, who has collaborated

with Erebe. He has been a resident of Brazil for sixteen years—originally, he ventured to

Brazil because he had an uncle there who worked as a priest. During this time, he

participated heavily in the evangelical choir, and he subsequently started a family. BK

was married for eight years, until he and his wife filed for divorce in 2014. He met Erebe

at their church, where they are both members of the choir. The actor described his

working relationship with Erebe as both respectful and positive.

In Erebe's first two movies, he portrays Brazil as having a population of

predominately European descent. BK described *Black Nights in South America* (2006) as

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[47] The following sections are from personal, informal, semi-structured Skype interviews with Abel
Erebe Success, 2013.
[48] Summary is from an informal, semi-structured interview with BK (His name has been changed
to BK) in downtown São Paulo, Brazil, 2014.

an illustration of the polemical situation of Nigerians moving to Brazil. Therein, the movie explains (and shows visually) the difficulty for Nigerians in moving to Brazil; it does so by illustrating the negative ramifications of a life of crime. Erebe featured several Euro-Brazilians in his movies because the Nigerian audience wanted to see White people in foreign films. As the transnational producer, writer, location manager, and editor, he explained the production aspect resembles "playing the offensive side"; that is, often, directors have to create something out of nothing." When he initially visited Brazil, he was shocked that many people think of Brazil as a third world county; it was apparent that it was not one at all. These reflections indicate the Global South connection (or lack thereof).

As a Nigerian resident in Brazil, he believes that racism is non-existent there. The revelation indicates the mindset behind the Brazilian-Nigerian productions, as well as clearly indicates his observations of Nigerian connections in Brazil. To his amazement, he found African foods readily available, and, to his surprise, he observed many Afro-Brazilians who looked like Africans. Thus, for Erebe, Brazil is like a second home for him away from Nigeria. Erebe plans to inaugurate a Nollywood studio in Brazil to establish permanent roots in Latin America. The environment in Brazil, among the Nigerian Diaspora communities, thrives to the extent that Erebe has made S establish permanent root Similarly, as a newer immigrant, he is unaware of the polemics of discrimination within Afro-Brazilian communities and toward some Africans in Brazil.

BK[49] explained that Erebe is always a good producer to work with, as evidenced by his participation in the first and second Nollywood co-production in São Paulo entitled, *Black Nights in South America* (2006) and *Brazilian Deals* (2007). According to BK, the film shoot of the *Brazilian Deals* began in Nigeria, and it ended in Brazil. He described Erebe as a conceptually astute producer, with exceptional foresight in realizing that the foreign Brazilian terrain would become successful. The movie's landscape had a multicultural Brazilian environment. Two renowned Nollywood actors, Desmond Elliott and Ukaria Eucharia Anunobi, also participated in the sequel. Most artists working on the set were Nigerians from their church. Some Brazilian actors came from outside their church, and, according to BK, they were groomed to become a success.

According to Erebe, the reception of the Brazilian co-productions in Nigeria was a box office success or considered "box work."[50] During the first three months after its release, the initial movie received the most success. The director suggested that the first film received a lot of "hype, and g the first three months after its release, the initial movie received the most success. The director suggested that the first film reuctions from the United States and from the United Kingdom. Thus, ideal locations and familiar movie locations were typical, and the pre-World Cup vision of Brazil was innovative. Most people were excited to view a film from a different region of the world. The second co-production from Brazil was no longer new, and thus, it did not receive the same type of propaganda or success.

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[49] Summary is from an informal, semi-structured interview with BK, in downtown São Paulo, Brazil, in 2014.
[50] Informal, semi-structured Skype interview with Abel Erebe Success, 2013.

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Osuofia in Brazil Sequels

Following the Brazilian Nollywood sequels, Erebe directed a third co-production,

Osuofia in Brazil (2012). Erebe explained how *Osuofia in Brazil* follows a similar format

to director Kingsley Ogoro's *Osuofia in London* I (2003) & II (2004) in that it was a

comedic performance and a premiere movie. Erebe's third co-production held high

expectations, since it continued the comedic legacy of *Osuofia in London*. Nonetheless,

Erebe recalled, the transnational cinematic legacy did not surpass the success of the first,

and none of the co-productions received as much success as his first Brazilian co-

production. BK described the third Nollywood co-production *Osuofia in Brazil* (2012) as

an excellent idea conceived by Erebe. The Nollywood actor revealed why Erebe felt

Brazil ideally represented a great location (essentially because of the amazing ladies and

the brilliant Brazilian landscape). The combination of beautiful women and an exotic

environment became the central props and tropes within the co-productions.

In the movie, *Osuofia in Brazil*, BK's character goes to jail. The central plot of the movie

revolves around a Brazilian woman who cheats on Osuofia. He recalled the film in which

Osuofia (Nkem Owoh) visits Brazil, and there, all his possessions were stolen, including

his camera and memorable photos. According to BK, the members of the production

crew were from Nigeria[51]. He claimed that the director, Erebe, saved money by being the

writer as well as an actor in the film. During the movie, the actor explained he attempted

to dance the samba, but, instead, he ended dancing *konka* "careless." Erebe described the

film production without entering into descriptions of what other actors perceived to be

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[51] Summary is from an informal semi-structured interview with BK, in downtown São Paulo, Brazil, 2014.

problems during the process[52]. The behind-the-scenes information about the co-productions revealed that mostly Nigerians are used from the local São Paulo community (particularly from the Pentecostal African church at which Erebe also served as a pastor).

In Brazil, the new African Diaspora mostly consumes and distributes Nollywood via informal networks with pirated films or through online viewing. BK revealed how Nollywood directors creatively make money by having to quickly sell their productions to generate revenue to avoid piracy. According to BK, the first two films made a lot of money, yet *Osuofia in Brazil* made considerably less revenue. Similar to productions in other parts of the world, BK explained that the risk of piracy in the Nollywood industry harms the monetary income of the producers. Erebe concurred by exemplifying the polemics of piracy that occurred almost immediately following his movie productions. As a result, the director claimed he took action, since people had already begun to watch his latest film online. Initially, he fought piracy in São Paulo to protect his co-productions; however, his efforts helped other Nollywood producers by extension. According to Erebe, "Nigerians don't like anything to do with the law."[53] Thus, once Nollywood venders were threatened with the law in São Paulo, they ceased to sell Nollywood movies. Overall, Erebe felt his fight against piracy in São Paulo was widely successful, since several Nollywood shops closed due to his campaign. This section has revealed intimate accounts from both directors and actors regarding Nollywood's cultural productions in Brazil.

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[52] [allegedly an actor barely showed up due to his puffed up ego, Brazilians not wanting to work with the project after the behavior of some of the actors, etc]. On the contrary, TG argued that during the making of *Osuofia in Brazil,* the only real actor on set was the Nkem Owoh (the Osuofia character). (T.G. Email correspondence December 5, 2012)

[53] Interview with Abel Erebe Success, in-person, in downtown São Paulo, 2014.

Conclusion

Traces of Nollywood cultural productions exist through online social media, exhibitions, and co-productions, fostering further discussions to support more productions. Nollywood's earlier presence helped to establish venues for hosting larger African exhibitions, and some curators revealed that the distinctiveness of Nollywood exhibitions continue. On one hand, as a transnational producer, Erebe envisions future co-productions that include famous actors from Nigeria, the United States, and Brazil. In an upcoming movie, he plans to feature the iconic Nollywood actress Genevieve Nnaji. He envisions a future movie script featuring Will Smith and Genevieve (who select Brazil as a meeting point to go into the Amazon area). In upcoming Brazilian co-productions, he has similar visions of incorporating renowned Afro-Brazilian actors Taís Araujo and Lazaro Ramos. The diasporic co-production dreams circulate around a triangular diasporic rotation in which three locales of the Black Atlantic are reached through Nollywood mediascapes.

On another hand, TG viewed the future possibilities of Nollywood in Brazil as more difficult. He remembers the Nollywood Exhibition in 2011, and the *Prefeitura* (Ministry of Culture) questioned the launching of Nollywood in Latin America. TG claimed the Nollywood filmmakers and distributors know that the Brazilian market is not an easy market, and they know it is critical to better publicize productions via the radio. He believed that Nollywood directors in Nigeria only think about Nollywood in terms of its potential for financial gain, and they are not interested in going to Brazil unless they are assured financial success will ensue. One curator confirmed this by having some Nigerian producers cancel if their tickets were not paid to present their movies in Brazil.

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Similarly, TG suggested that Igbo people "just want money, that is all only money."[54]

Therefore, a sustainable Nollywood industry would take time and significant investment

in its beginning. Based on the actor/director's experience with Nollywood, he felt that

most Nollywood directors would invest neither the proper time nor the quality necessary

to create a dynamic industry within Latin America. Further, he claimed that the more

Nollywood productions created, the more money would be made for Nollywood

producers.[55]

This chapter showed inside glimpses of formal exhibition distributions, specific

perceptions of Nollywood co-productions, and the future prospects for Nigerian movies

in Brazil. Both exhibitions and co-productions had transnational transactions that were

both beneficial, and, unfortunately, problematic. Andrade successfully pioneered

Nollywood exhibitions throughout Brazil, and he wished to continue this in the future.

The Nigerian curated spaces were created mostly for the production of cultural

knowledge within the industry. Throughout this chapter, Nollywood appears in

exhibitions as a global shadow that shines within divergent liminal spaces. As a novelty,

Nollywood functions as a counter-hegemonic mediascape invoking Global South unity

through postcolonial and Diaspora ties.

Within Brazil, the Nigerian co-productions reside within diasporic community

spaces. Erebe aspires to establish permanent roots by creating a Nollywood studio in

Brazil. Interviewees revealed ways to make Nollywood successful in Brazil, primarily[56]

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[54] Semi-structured, informal interviews between the researcher and TG in downtown São Paulo, 2014.

[55] His interests in the country indicated a more Pan-Diaspora community based on an initiative
that would highlight and benefit both communities in Brazil and those on the other side of the
Atlantic.

[57.] Interview with Abel Erebe Success, in-person, in downtown São Paulo, 2014.

by translating the movies into Portuguese. The underpinnings of Nollywood exhibitions and co-productions created dynamic transnational collaborations between Brazilians and Nigerians that spread across the Atlantic. Nollywood productions placed inside Pan-African cinema festivals elucidate the relevance of Nollywood within the African Diaspora. As is evidenced throughout this chapter, the reputation of the Nollywood industry enticed several Brazilian curators to present a better understanding of the phenomenon with specific inquisitive audiences. The diverse perspectives of the producers, directors, and actors created unique, first-hand insight into Latin American Nollywood co-productions that, with further research, could contrast with others transnationally. Ultimately, this chapter reveals global Nigerian cultural flows as they are created in exhibition spaces and co-productions in Brazil.

CHAPTER 5

NEW AND OLD DIASPORA AUDIENCES REACT TO NOLLYWOOD:

INTERPRETING *DOMITILLA* AND NIGERIAN CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS
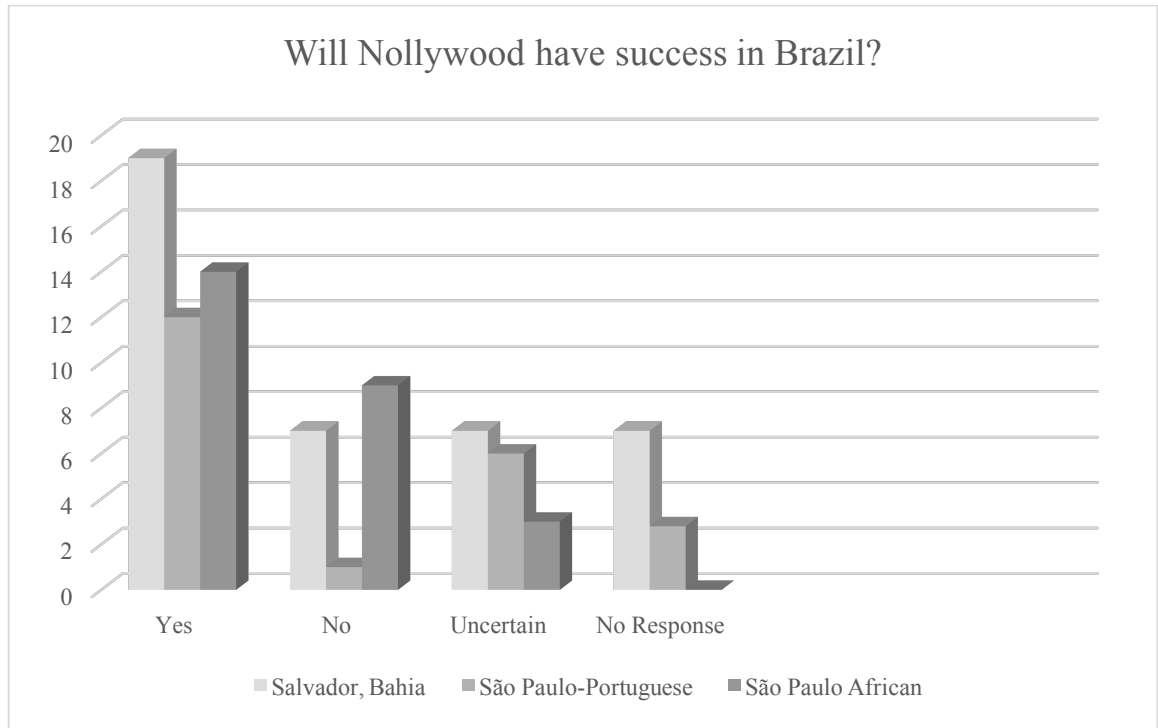
Figure 2: Graph: RESULTS FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

The chart indicates the relevance of Nollywood cultural production within Brazil.

Most respondents agreed that Nollywood would have success within Brazil. Nollywood

(both within and outside of Nigeria) diversifies representations of the country. In this

research, the most important issues are ways diverse sectors of African Diaspora societies

are receiving, engaging, and consuming Nollywood. This chapter builds upon

understanding how, where, and why audiences either identified or did not identify with a

Nollywood production (or with the industry in general). The most prominent contributors

to Pan-African Nollywood scholarship are Jonathan Haynes (2003, 2007/8), Bryce

(2013), Barrot (2009), Jedlowski (2013), Cartelli (2007), Krings (2013), and Okome

(2013). The critique of Nollywood in neophyte Brazilian communities and within seasoned, mostly Nigerian immigrant communities provides a rich examination of African Diaspora voices. The African ethnoscapes in Brazil are mostly ignored voices within Brazil and around the world. Therefore, the questionnaires, discussion groups, and observations create a rich cultural milieu that reveal study participants' perceptions and the researcher's subsequent analysis and conclusions regarding the cultural efficacy of Nollywood outside of Nigeria. Dialogues on Nollywood in Brazil reveal both the close (Brazil) and far (Nigeria) cultural proximity between the two countries. Thus, research capturing Nollywood as a global cultural flow creates a mediascape (Appadadurai, 1996) with ideoscapes (Appadadurai, 1996) that both support Nigerian culture as well as Western cultural or capitalist values.

The ethnoscapes in São Paulo Nollywood DVDs circulate as material cultural productions in the Nigerian community. The creation of African spaces serves as a cultural haven, in which Nollywood circulates throughout the Nigerian Diasporas. This chapter extends Okome's (2007) notion of adhoc video parlors and "street audiences" that create a space of belonging around movies or film in a temporary location (p. 6). Okome (2007) explains,

> "Street audience" is the umbrella designation for a special kind of
> audience that congregates on the streets. These audiences are commonly
> found in the cities and are essentially defined by the desire to enjoy the re-
> telling of the social and cultural existence of members in the temporality
> of these *ad hoc* meeting places. (p. 6)

Thus, on one hand, the transient video parlor spaces create a space for financial

transactions to take place, as a space to share the latest news, and as a space to catch up with friends in a foreign land. The African spaces within downtown São Paulo combine both the street corner and video parlor experiences described by Okome in Nigeria (2007). Many Afro-Brazilians take advantage of the physical and material spaces to reconnect with the African homeland. Simultaneously, these spaces are in the center of São Paulo, and thus, Brazilians and other African Diaspora communities also head to these spaces to capture the latest music, trends, styles, and material products from Africa, Jamaica, and the United States. The African ethnoscapes, in the form of cultural commodities, spill over to identify the contesting notions of African identity within the Black Atlantic (i.e., making, buying, and selling natural hair, from straight to tight, curly extensions to dreadlocks).

In Brazil, Nollywood audiences in natural settings mostly resided in English, French, Yoruba-speaking, and/or Igbo-speaking African communities. Although Nigerian movies scarcely exist within Afro-Brazilian populations, some appear within Yoruba-speaking Afro Diaspora communities to connect mostly for spiritual reasons. Therefore, how some Afro-Brazilians residing in the largest African Diaspora react to Nollywood sheds light on multiple layers of ignored voices in Brazil. Given the interconnected Global South representation that provide limited Black global representation, Nollywood ideally supplies a plethora of Black representations of contemporary African media flows, and it complicates notions of African identity. To examine the ongoing connections between both new and old Diasporas, mixed methods research posited the following themes: 1) identification with Nollywood, 2) background on racial consumption, 3) Nollywood as a vehicle for cultural production, and 4) the future of Nollywood's success

in Brazil. The discussion groups held in both cities provided qualitative support capturing initial reactions toward social and political issues, and, in particular, those issues as they relate specifically to gender and socio-political struggles for equality. The results reveal the aforementioned themes within participants' answers in the two geographical locations of Salvador, Bahia, and São Paulo.

The respondents within Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo (90 surveys were completed) mostly identified with *Domitilla* (1997) and Nollywood videos. Most of the participants were female, Brazilian, and of African descent. This chapter is based on qualitative research conducted in Salvador, Bahia, from November 2013 through January 2014. Research collected in Brazil describes how the Nollywood phenomenon manifests in each of these cities. Screenings of the movie *Domitilla* (1997) occurred in both cities. Participant observation assisted the researcher to understand Nollywood's function among recent and older African Diasporas in Brazil through the reception, distribution, Diaspora homeland connections, and perceptions of Nollywood's future in Brazil.

The last section examines the third trend to explore how audiences felt based on one or more Nollywood films that could contribute to African heritage in Brazil. The premise of the question lies within the realm of the Affirmative Action law, 18.639; the law requires educators to provide instruction on Afro-Brazilian and African history. The responses are based on overall questions posed to individuals from both new and old Diaspora communities. The Brazilian respondents answered this question via a questionnaire, and several individuals explored the question further during the discussion group.

Afro-Brazilians: Bahians, São Paulo, and Nigerian Diasporas in Brazil Perceptions and Access to Nollywood Productions[57]

Reception habits indicated how transitional Diaspora communities attempt to reconnect with Diaspora homelands through media. Okome (2007) explains, "Indeed, understanding the multiple dimensions of this audience is indispensable to the goal of problematizing ways in which knowledge is constructed, used, or circulated, dispensed and re-invented in Africa. (p. 6) Habits for Nollywood consumption among Africans in Brazil were analyzed based on four questions meant to gather information regarding when, where, why, and how participants consumed the movies.

Results revealing habits for general consumption assist in contextualizing the ways that Africans strive to maintain contact with their home country. An overwhelming majority of participants usually watched movies during the evening. Of the informants who responded that they "consumed Nollywood at home," 7 left responses mostly indicating that they watched the films online; one participant explained, "In Nigeria it was a way to escape and I wouldn't leave the house. In Nigeria I'm less busy and can watch movies from morning to night. In Nigeria, I would watch films morning and night before and after work."[58] The responses indicated the variances based on geographical location and that consumption habits changed how some Africans in Brazil consume Nollywood videos (mostly in the evening, at home, via the internet).

Informants indicated the numerous ways that Nollywood videos are received in Brazil. Most participants obtained movies from Nigeria; some received them from friends

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[57] The results of this section were generated by the English questionnaire responses numbers 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 16 (see appendix for more information) provided to mostly Nigerians in São Paulo, February-April, 2014.
[58] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.

or family; some bought the movies from African shops in Brazil, and still others watched the movies online. The open-ended answers share how some participants described their Nollywood consumption in Nigeria and Brazil. Overall, most participants received Nollywood films from Brazil, and almost the same amount of participants received them from Nigeria.

Informants revealed video consumption location specifications in an open-ended question; thus, participants watched Nollywood videos the most in Nigeria, next most frequently, in Brazil, and the rest indicated they consumed the films online. These responses reflect a vague question within self-administered surveys.

Participants revealed the rate of frequency for Nollywood consumption of Nollywood films per week in Brazil. Although the previous question was misinterpreted by many of the respondents, answers illustrated that Nollywood was consumed once a week (or less), and only one respondent indicated that he had not viewed Nollywood in the last three years. The informants responded in accordance to the options provided for them. Thus, they communicated that they watched Nollywood once a week (or less), while other viewers consumed it two to three times a week. Following that, some respondents revealed they watched Nollywood videos six (or more) times a week, and finally, other respondents indicated they watched four to five times a week. The respondents revealed that they watched Nollywood from two to three times a week. Most informants consumed Nollywood once a week (or less), indicating how many used to watch Nollywood (moreso) in Nigeria. One participant explained he or she? only watched once a week "Because I work finish in *centro* I get home early 8. Saturday and Sunday I don't come to the city I watch and eat food I like." Therefore, many respondents

revealed that, due to busy schedules, many were unable to consume Nollywood as frequently as they did in Nigeria, and the movies are for leisure and homeland entertainment.

The participants revealed various ways they identify with Nigerian movies relating to their general interests in actors, directors, and movie themes.[59] This section provides marketing to Nollywood producers interested in understanding Brazilian audiences to gauge their specific genres of interest and reasons why audiences continue to consume Nollywood films after leaving the country. The following questions probe participants' favorite actors/actresses, and directors, why they watch Nollywood films, their favorite genres of Nollywood movies, and the themes they are most interested in. The exploration of consumers' identification helped the researcher to understand the overall consumption tastes in the new African Diaspora communities in Brazil and the ways that Nigeria is recreated in Brazil.

The participants in the study mentioned several actors and a few directors in their responses. One director mentioned was Jim Iyke. The most popular mentioned actors were Mercy Johnson and comedian Nkem Owoh (renowned for his Osuofia character). One informant described his sentiments consuming comedic movies, such as the *Osuofia* movie: "He makes me happy whenever I watch his films I laugh a lot."[60] Watching the videos enhances the spectators' experiences by familiarizing the audience with the actors and actresses who become a part of an imagined family way from Nigeria. The participant revealed his sentiments about why many people enjoy *Osuofia*, and, in particular, why they watch comedies. The actors mentioned twice were Ramsey Noah,

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[59] From questionnaire research questions numbers 3, 4, 5, 7, see appendix for more information.
[60] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.

Chika Ike, Emeka Ike, and Desmond Elliot. One of the participants mentioned that Chika Ike was their Facebook friend, as well. The participants often had to refer to the DVDs in stores to recall which film director and actors were their favorites. Overall, 28 actors and directors were mentioned, and they included three North American actors: Denzel Washington, Will Smith, and Wesley Snipes. Given that Nollywood is a dynamic industry, made up of many actors, directors, and actresses, it was not easy to specify which actors were predominant. Nonetheless, based on the sample size, the aforementioned names revealed a snapshot of who the most memorable personas in Nollywood are.

Next, participants explained reasons mostly new Africans in Brazil watch Nollywood films. Most informants mentioned they consumed Nollywood to learn/to gain enlightenment/to learn moral lessons/for entertainment because it was from their culture/Africa or their memories, and because it was interesting. Of the participants who reported that they could learn from the videos, one informant explained, "Because I learn from it many things how to cope with women in the house; I don't want to sit down any film I will not sit down and watch any film unless I learn from it. I am single and I want to learn about life and women."[61] Thus, for this participant, the movies provide tutelage on Nigerian customs and ways to become a family-oriented man according to his specific cultural norms. Another respondent described the films as containing curative properties, "Funny[,] interesting, cures high blood pressure."[62] These participants reveal the efficacy of Nollywood as it serves to connect them to their homeland, to learn about life, and to cope with their current situation outside of Nigeria.

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[61] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.
[62] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.

Next, participants revealed their favorite Nollywood genres based on answers to multiple-choice questions. Romance and comedy were the most popular genres among respondents. The third largest category was "mystery," followed by "other," and "thriller" was last. One respondent explained he enjoyed watching the films because they are educational. He wrote,

> I learn from them how they are performing; this is my wife . . . only want to have one wife. I see men with four to five wives many problems even if two or three only problems I want one. I just came back from Nigeria; I have a woman.[63]

This respondent identified numerous ways the movies inform his knowledge about life in an overall sense. For the informant, the idealization of many men having one wife was not practical for him; instead after watching the movies he learned the lessons and did not have to practice and learn the hard way in real life. Thus, he used the videos as a reference/an educational tool more than for any other purpose.

As immigrants residing in Brazil, Nigerians may begin to identify as Black (in the Brazilian context) or as an immigrant other. The following section explores how mostly Nigerian Diasporas in Brazil identify with Nigerian, Black, and African identities. Participants contextualize how Nigerians connect to Brazil and identify with their homeland, culture, and language. Over half of the participants relayed information, stating that Nollywood did not remind them of Brazilian films. The informants revealed that Nollywood does not resemble Brazilian films because they are very different, and

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[63] From questionnaire research SP-G, 2014.

Nollywood describes "my African culture."[64] The aforementioned responses clearly show

that some participants did not see a connection between Brazil and Nigeria. Several

respondents revealed a duality in their perception of the films by stating they constantly

vary between thinking Nollywood both does and does not resemble Brazilian films, and

the rest of the participants felt that Nollywood movies did remind them of Nigeria.

Respondents who felt that Nollywood did not resemble Brazilian movies (with the

exception of the movie *Osuofia in Brazil*) explained,

> [Nollywood illustrates] only life in Africa; about life of Africans are quite
>
> different. Some movies I watch they're teaching; it's all about teaching;
>
> family; life teaching. Nigeria/African; Except *Osuofia in Brazil* that's the
>
> only one that reminds me of life in Brazil.[65]

One respondent explained how Brazil does not look anything like Nigeria, and it

did not remind him of his life in Nigeria.[66] The participants contrasted the cultural

productions of Nollywood to Brazilian films and/or Brazilian lifestyle. Therefore, some

participants were able to make connections between Brazil and Nigeria, whereas others

used the films for memory (nostalgic purposes) and cultural retention, while still other

participants could not see any connections at all. Overall, the consumption and

identification patterns in the newer African Diaspora reveal patterns that resemble other

parts of the world.

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[64] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.
[65] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.
[66] From questionnaire research identification number SP-G, 2014.

***Domitilla* and Representations of African Culture, Religion, Christianity, and Traditional African Religion**

The responses from the questionnaires elucidated how audiences identified with Nollywood depending on their backgrounds and geographical locations. Most of the Africans interviewed were from Nigeria, and most of the Brazilians were of African descent. Most of the Brazilian audiences were first-time Nollywood consumers who, for the most part, found out about the program through the site location. The audience watched *Domitilla* (1997) because they were interested in Nigeria/Africa or they were simply curious, and they wanted to become familiar with Nollywood. Nonetheless, the questionnaires indicated that the majority of participants liked the movie. The following section charts how audiences responded to the film.

Identifying with Nollywood [67]

In Salvador, Bahia, and São Paulo, the *Domitilla* (1997) viewers described their experiences and how they engaged with a Nollywood movie, through their responses to qualitative and quantitative questionnaires. Audience responses are described (in a hierarchical manner) by showing the most frequent responses first and the least frequent responses last. The audience provided the following reasons why they enjoyed the movie: it is similar to Brazilian culture, very interesting, a good script, a realistic film, shows new culture, contains melodrama, is engaging/contains a strong emotional appeal, and humanizes marginalized people.[68] The participants who did not enjoy the movie did not

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[67] Results stem from questionnaire research from Salvador Bahia and São Paulo questions number 4,5,7 [identification].
[68] The rest of the themes continue in hierarchal sequential order: different culture, social interest/prostitution themes, focused on violence against women, sad, but significant, story, similar memory to our *Quilombo*/Bahia-Salvador history, addresses a situation that requires great social reflection, issues should be addressed against black women, great to see a film featuring Blacks.

enjoy it because of the following reasons: it resembled a soap opera; parts of it were very cruel, and it was a simple film. Other reasons provided related to the narration, rudimentary script, weak production, and the quality of sound/audio. The results indicate the strengths and weaknesses of watching an example of a Nollywood production in Brazil.

Viewers' descriptions of and responses to characters within the film ranged from strongly identifying with them to viewing them as a foreign culture, to positive, negative, and neutral responses. Participants described the characters mostly in relation to what "stood out" the most (i.e., similar to Brazil/Brazilians, women, social class issues, normal/common people, good actors, and shows Nigerian reality. The audience was divided on whether or not they identified with the characters. Most participants could identify with the characters due to portrayals of suffering within the Black population, gender connections, identification with the characters' class/oppression, and they appeared similar to those in Brazil. In contrast, participants who could not identify with the characters could not do so because they had not been in a similar situation or because the characters were essentially universal ones (neither truly African nor truly Nigerian). The audience revealed that seeing a movie with only Black characters did not necessarily mean that they could identify with the characters.

The quality of the movie received mixed reviews from viewers ranging from "very good" to "horrible." Most participants revealed the quality of the movie as "very good," "good," or "with few resources but with good content." In contrast, many participants stated the quality was "low" to "very low," and comments stated,

"improvements necessary" to "horrible."[69] Therefore, the audience revealed a wide-array

of what qualifies as "quality" to them based on the open-ended and undefined term. Most

viewers appreciated the movie, but they communicated they would enjoy a more pleasing

aesthetic appeal. Nonetheless, many participants elucidated quality to mean a good

storyline that compensated for a lack of economic resources available to the filmmakers.

Domitilla, Gender, and African Women in Relation to Afro-Brazilian Women[70]

The discussion groups provided further explanation about the ways audiences

experienced the movie *Domitilla* (1997). Within the answers provided in the

questionnaires and the feedback provided within the discussion groups, the mostly

Brazilian audience specifically mentioned/highlighted the roles of gender, class, and

religion in the movie. Commentary in the discussion groups, for the most part, centered

around four scenes that appeared most relevant to explain Nigeria ideoscapes socially,

politically, spiritually, and economically. The first was the beheading of Domitilla's

friend; the second was the senator's wife's reaction to her husband's affair; the third

occurred with Domitilla's salvation in the church, and the fourth was in the court room.

The following section will describe major themes that emerged from discussion groups

and participants' observations. The most frequent themes described in this section are: 1)

gender, 2) about the film production/plot/ distribution/characters/consumption, 3) difficult

to watch/the movie quality/plot/characters, 4) spirituality, 5) the possibility of

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[69] More specifically, some spectators shared the following: "compared to the USA not the best", "I liked/ great/the film was good," "each culture has their own quality," "reflect about diverse cultures," "made with few resources," "good performance to compensate," "has content," "good message/strong message," "watched without problems," "different from what we are used to seeing," "good theme," "simple," "bad production," "low quality/quality not good."

[70] The results of this section stem from the qualitative discussion group response post-screening on the *Domitilla* in Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, Brazil.

Nollywood's success (or lack thereof) in Brazil, 6) resemblance to (or lack of)

resemblance to Brazilian films and/or soap operas, and 7) a Pan-African connection.

These themes illustrate respondents' most prevalent attitudes and reflections after having

watched watching *Domitilla* (1997) and their overall reception to Nigerian cultural

productions in Brazil.

In the discussion groups, the role of gender in *Domitilla* (1997) was the most

prominent theme discussed. The subthemes articulated by the audience described women

in relation to the following contexts: imbuing strong character portrayals, aesthetics, their

involvement in social and political issues, realism, marriage as a social/economic

ascension, polygamy, feminist discourse, and parallel to life in Brazil[71]. One example,

exemplifying the first two micro-themes, occurred in the opening courtroom scene in

which the judge and lawyer both wear wigs similar to that worn by George Washington in

the 1700s. Almost all of the audiences laughed at the sight of the female judge and male

lawyer wearing lopsided wigs. During the discussion groups, many comments were made

about the various aesthetic uses of wigs. Outside of the courtroom, one of the participants

from the discussion described how the wigs were worn, in an aesthetic sense, very

similarly to ways Black women wear them in Brazil. The main storyline concentrated on

gender (through the lens of prostitution) until the end of the film, when Domitilla has to

go to court. The courtroom scene was the first time in the movie in which Nigerian

women appeared in powerful occupational positions, such as the position of judge, and

Domitilla's second defense lawyer. Many participants indicated that it was refreshing to

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[71] Continuation of subthemes in hierarchical order: symbols of strength and power, the directors' intention to concentrate on, storyline plot, and the silence of marginalized subjects.

see women in positions of power, since in Brazil these highly ranked positions are seldom held by Black women.

In *Domitilla* (1997), as strong as the female characters were, the opposite was represented by their male counterparts. Audiences viewed male characters as mostly negative characters (almost as if the director intentionally incorporated a critique on males). Participant descriptions of male characters revealed that they comprehended the male characters as having flawed characters, as violent, abusive, and/or weak, yet embodying dominant positions of people with a considerable amount of power. Several discussion groups' input centered around ways the movie portrayed emasculated male figures that appeared to lack real efficacy. Some audience members stated that all of the Black male figures were flawed; this reminded one participant of the problem relating to Black representation on a global scale. The informant revealed he perceived that the film reinforced the problem of Black males consistently being represented in a negative light, and he stated more films need to shed light on positive portrayals of Black males.[72] Overall, audiences indicated parallels in the movie to melodrama style in that the position of gender appeared determined in the Nigerian society.

The participants described the idea of Nollywood in production, plot, characters, consumption, and distribution. Informants described sub-themes of aesthetic quality, production/director, revolutionary film/industry, characters, plot/, themes/moral, visual/aesthetic images/connections, and a Brazilian/Nigerian contrast. The third theme (difficult to watch film/ film quality, plot/characters) described four major sub-themes that exemplified mostly negative attributes. The sub-themes were: difficult to watch film,

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[72] From questionnaire research from Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, 2013—2014.

amateur movie, music soundtrack, and audience reactions to film. It is important to note many of the negative descriptions were volunteered by one person from a single discussion group; this individual dominated the conversation and frequently repeated his point over others' in the group. Nevertheless, in other groups, similar negative statements regarding the Nollywood production were enunciated. As the third, most noted theme, in the discussion groups, it is important to take notice of the negative associations made and the overall opposition toward the movie as a whole.

The fourth major theme, spirituality, was contentious about traditional African culture, Christianity, and ways the movie portrayed both spiritual paradigms. The micro-themes in the topic are: the role [of Christianity], traditional religion negative/language/contrast, multi-religious oath in court, myth of African religious roots, and perceptions of Nigerian society. Often, the notions of what audience members understood as contemporary authentic African spirituality were challenged to the point one participant felt that the director must be a White male based on the negative portrayal of traditional religion, versus European Christianity. In all the discussion groups, conversations emerged concerning the portrayals of Christian salvation as an undertone versus the "demoniac" traditional religions. Some participants shared personal anecdotes to both counter and describe the positive aspects of traditional religion and the ways that the movie emphasized the church, money sacrifice rituals, the negative language, polygamy, and authentic Yoruba practice versus European influence.

Although the movie indirectly portrayed traditional religious practices, informants described the most vivid illustration of countering traditional spirituality lay in the scene showing the decapitation of one prostitute for a money sacrifice. Participants relayed the

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same opinion about the scene showing Domitilla about to go to jail, the church scene, and the priest emphatically yelling to cast out demons and evil spirits. Some respondents saw the movie as countering traditional African religions, and this was perceived negatively by several individuals in the discussion group. One scene that exemplifies this particular stance on traditional African religions is the scene in which the police suggest that Jennifer's decapitation was a result of a traditional ritual. As a whole, respondents discussed traditional African spiritual practice in positive terms. One respondent described his *Oba's* visit to Nigeria and his different positive moral stories that were told about metaphysical spiritual practices rooted in a just spiritual environment instead of the negative Western Eurocentric stereotyped version. As evidence of this, one participant described his understanding of traditional spiritual metaphysical practices as a means of upholding righteousness. In one discussion group, students began to contrast their *babalão, terreiro* in Brazil and the religious persecution, prejudice, and spiritual intolerance experienced in Brazil. Similarly, Domitilla seeks the Pentecostal church for salvation, which many audience members noted is parallel to contemporary Brazil where *feiticeros* or Afro-Brazilian spiritual practitioners are viewed negatively.

One participant described the language of the senator's wife during the scene in which she argued with her husband about his mistress. The scene illustrated how many Nigerians adopted a European mindset (having only one wife). Thus, the mother appeared to have a nontraditional Yoruba stance, since it is customary to have more than one wife; this is something that the daughter understood. Another reoccurring theme in most discussion groups was polygamy (specifically being an authentic Yoruba practice versus European influenced by Yoruba culture). One participant provided two examples

of the benefits of polygamy in Brazil during the colonial era. He explained that, in Salvador, Bahia, there are many men that have lovers (additional female partners), and it would behoove them to marry their lovers through a formal commitment instead of hiding them or relegating them to a secondary status. Similarly, this specific participant explained that, in contrast, during the colonial era, European colonizers often fought for monogamy on behalf of the church; in practice, their concubines were completely overlooked. Correspondingly, the respondents' descriptions paralleled the contemporary situation with having an overabundance of women (where some of them are used by married men without full accountability). He continued by analyzing the implementation of the system of polygamy. He stated that it would assist women by providing them additional options. He concluded that analogous to European colonists, those who offered spiritual monogamy as a choice but practiced polygamy without consideration for taking proper ownership and care of the mistress or the lover.

In contrast, the São Paulo discussion group fiercely debated the role of polygamy in Nigeria. A female participant did not understand how the daughter could maintain the idea that polygamy was a cultural norm. Several participants argued that it was a common practice in Nigeria today. The participants debated as to why the daughter upheld the standards of Yoruba tradition as a normal practice (whereas her mother did not); this indicated to many audience members that Nigeria, as a society, was riddled with contrasts to and contentions between tradition and modernity. Thus, the role of spirituality created rich discussions that often connected (and disconnected) the audience to themes of gender, modernity, Global South post-colonialism, and colonial oppression.

The fifth major theme concerns the success (or lack of success) of Nollywood in Brazil (that theme will be discussed later in this chapter). The sixth theme explored how the movie resembled, or did not resemble, Brazilian films or soap operas. The micro-themes indicated similarities to Latin soap operas in narration, story, characters, and camera shots. Other respondents claimed they were not similar at all and that *Domitilla* (1997) is a distinct movie containing none of the above mentioned similarities.

Audiences reacted to the melodramatic murder scene in the questionnaires, field notes, and discussion groups. In discussion groups, the movie was regarded as artistic, clever, amateurish, and symbolic of male dominance in Nigeria. While watching the murder scene, most audience members reacted with disbelief, as evidenced by the sounds they made while watching it, and some people reacted physically to the scene[73]. Some audience members covered their eyes, and one woman covered her mouth. After the murder, when the male who chopped off Jennifer's head and spit on the dead woman, many audience members were clearly upset, and they expressed their concern either verbally or through their physical reactions. One audience member left the viewing room, some individuals gasped, others said, "No!" and some females shook their heads. The murder scene was one of many scenes that illustrated the telenovela-style emotional appeal experienced by the audience.

The seventh theme was the Pan-African connection. Several audience members indicated that Afro-Brazilians may take interest in Nollywood for Pan-African connection. The silence of death, violence, and oppression of prostitutes rings loudly at the end of the film, when Domitilla appears in court and is being accused of killing her

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[73] From questionnaire research from Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, 2013—2014.

lover. For one participant, a correspondent during the 1980s, this scene triggered memories of *Pelourinho* (old whipping post) Salvador, Bahia during the dictatorship; he recalled how many women, at that time, felt they would be able to escape unharmed by their work. Also, he remembered how many of them were killed, and their stories were silenced in both the media and in society. The seventh theme indicates a clear example of how some respondents closely identified with the universal themes of struggles for Black people on a global level. Specifically, the participant indicated geography, landscape, and historically continual nuances of the contemporary repercussions of slavery in both Africa and Brazil. His reflections indicated a local tie to Bahia, slavery, dictatorship, and the ways Blacks suffered under a military controlled police state.

This section elucidated research results through a triangulation of data gathered using questionnaires, participant observations, and discussion groups that provided rich insights helpful to the examination of variances in the ways that various Brazilian communities engage with the Nigerian cultural production. Portuguese-speaking audiences revealed different ways they connected or disconnected in identification with the movie. The questions were specific to the Portuguese questionnaires; the English questionnaires did not have the same type of information, since the mostly African informants did not watch *Domitilla* (1997). Overall, respondents were generally new to viewing Nigerian movies, and in their responses to most of the prominent seven themes, they created an intertwined web of universal themes relating to gender, social oppression, and spirituality. Nonetheless, the third theme indicated respondents were frustrated with the film's aesthetics based on the style, quality, and "texture" of the movie. The previous sections illustrated the convergent and divergent audience reactions toward identifying

with Nollywood. The following sections examined the same questions (in both English and Portuguese) to understand how audiences identify (or do not identify) with Nollywood or a Nigerian movie.

The aforementioned data provided contrasting participant identification with Nollywood based on differences in their country of origin, language, and regional location. This section examines the intersecting questions in the questionnaire in which the same responses examine the variety within the African diaspora in Brazil. Questionnaire data revealed the major themes audiences were most interested in, regarding Nollywood, were social, cultural, political, economic power structure, homeland, and tradition/language issues. Next, participants shared their interests in genre and character themes. The third theme, of most interest to the São Paulo English-speaking audience, was comedic relief, leisure time, and entertainment. The Portuguese-speaking Nollywood audiences in São Paulo expressed their third theme was they were interested in any type of theme. The Salvador, Bahia participants emphasized racism and gender roles, and the idea of Nollywood and cinematic movements. In the Portuguese questionnaires, most respondents revealed they guessed when answering questions, and many participants were reluctant to answer the questions since they were unfamiliar with Nollywood for the most part. The thematic interests indicate the variances in the way audiences used Nollywood. Overall, audiences indicated a socio-political interest in their leaning toward Nigerian movies, since that particular theme could provide information concerning the current state of the country.

Participants indicated the primary themes of interest in social, cultural, political, economic power structure, homeland, tradition, and language issues. The next major

themes were gender roles (in particular, prostitution), genre/character traits, race/racism/discrimination apparent in Nollywood, interest in cinema movements, and "unfamiliar with Nollywood." The mostly African audience members indicated similar, yet different, thematic interests: culture/tradition/ homeland/language, genre, comedic relief/leisure time/entertainment, emotional appeal, performance, knowledge/learning/moral lessons, and witchcraft. The São Paulo Portuguese questionnaires indicated three major responses toward themes of interest: social and cultural issues, any or various genres, and "unable to respond" because they were unfamiliar with Nollywood. The Salvador, Bahia group revealed they were mostly interested in the socio-political and cultural/economic societal structure in direct relation to gender and race discrimination.

Nollywood and the Brazilian African Diaspora: Cultural Production as a Unifying Platform

Questionnaire Responses on African Representation Background

Audience responses created an insightful view into how African Diasporas relate to Nollywood cultural productions, in general, after watching a Nigerian movie. The following section reveals how an Africana Brazilian audience expressed that Nollywood could help to promote a better cultural understanding of African culture or whether or not it does, in fact, represent African culture. This section supports results from previous research done on Nollywood, and it does so through the articulation of Nollywood as a vehicle for African cultural production, showing both positive and negative interpretations. The section permits overlooked Africana voices to examine the intersection of vibrant Diaspora connections and divergences under Brazilian affirmative action legislation. Audience reception results examine the cultural environment of

African cultural heritage contributions based on a mixed methods questionnaire, qualitative discussion groups, and participant observations (participants familiar with Nollywood), or a screening of *Domitilla* (1997). Similarly, in the discussion groups, the audience commented directly about whether Nollywood/African movies could promote understanding about African culture in Brazil and whether Nigerian films could help educate Brazilians about African culture. Overall, both the questionnaires and the discussion groups explore the ideoscapes of Nollywood in Brazil and whether mostly Brazilians and mostly Africans think the industry could be successful in Brazil.

To begin, the informants stated through their answers to the questionnaires what their typical transnational movie consumption was made up of as well as their perceptions of Black representation. Overall, the audiences watched movies from the United States, for the most part, followed by movies from Brazil, Latin America, Europe, and movies from Nigeria. In Salvador, Bahia, respondents' top five categories of movies watched were Brazilian movies, North American, European, Nigerian, and those from Lusophone African countries. In the São Paulo Portuguese questionnaire, the audience watched Brazilian, North American, Lusophone African movies, and Latin American movies; this was followed by equal viewing of movies from European countries and other African countries. In contrast, the English questionnaires in São Paulo revealed that respondents watched Nigerian movies first, followed by American movies, Brazilian movies, and equally viewed movies from Indian and other African countries. Other movies they watched were Chinese, European, and Latin American movies. The São Paulo Portuguese questionnaires differed in that it was an African film-centered club. In comparison to Salvador, Bahia, there were two film-centered clubs (one

regional/Brazilian centered, and the other on Pan-African centered); but in the other site locations, there were several film specialists among the respondents, along with students who regularly consume Black global videos, and the audience understood differences about Black global representation in films based on their country of origin. The regular Nollywood consumers indicated which films they consume the most, followed by American movies. The informants revealed a diverse transnational palate for film consumption that assisted the researcher to better understand the audiences' typical tastes in international films.

Next, questionnaire data revealed the audiences' opinion of whether Blacks play a specific role in the movies they normally watch. Audiences indicated that they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, and strongly disagreed [see the chart in the appendix to understand the differences]. Most of the São Paulo Portuguese-speaking group disagreed more, then they strongly agreed, then they equally neither agreed nor disagreed, and finally, disagreed. Both the mostly Nigerian participants and the participants who were from Salvador, Bahia set the tone for the overall results. The mostly African informants provided various rationales; for some, in the films, Blacks were represented in positive roles. One informant explained, "I like the way they represent themselves and they make me proud; US/Nigerian I am proud of them"[74]. Another African informant revealed the positive role Nollywood has for Brazilians as well as a positive global role:

> Stronger than the strongest because as Africans we have dress and the way
>
> they do their hair we like that; for me now we work with African dress, if

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[74] From questionnaire research from SP-G, 2014.

you go to my house you see clothes hats, bracelets, clothes. People will

see the way people dress its African; when we see Brazilians dress as us

we know they like our culture. As a Black African man I watch "muito" (a

lot) character behavior dressing play role. Black people like Africans.[75]

Thus, the respondent indicated a relationship between Blacks and Africans within Brazil. On one hand, many participants expressed pride that Nollywood and African American films accurately represented their Nigerian roots or Black culture. On another hand, some participants overlooked the cultural connections between African American global cinema, Afro-Brazilian cinema, and Nigerian cinema, revealing a significant disparity of cultural distance among the three.

Bahian informants indicated that Blacks normally play overwhelmingly negative and simple characters in films. Respondents indicated several opinions concerning Blacks cast in stereotypical roles such as servants, simplistic characters, and those who do not hold powerful positions. With regard to positive portrayals of Blacks, one respondent explained, "I look for films that have positive portrayals of Blacks and ways to resolve problems within our community" and "Brazilian films have created a diversity of roles in comparison to television shows". The informants revealed that the global image of Blacks is similar to representations of Brazilian Black actors who were portrayed, for the most part, in a negative light. To clarify and further explain their answers, several informants indicated the names of famous Afro-Brazilian actors, and they stated Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more in films because of racism, and generally scarce representation within the media.

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[75] From questionnaire research from São Paulo 2014 SP-G, 2014.

In Brazilian media, there is a lack of Black representation; but in general, how are new and old African Diasporas viewing Black representation in media? In the questionnaires, the term Black meant to signify a possible union or to divide Africana culture based on ones perception of the term. As such, some respondents forged an alliance with the African Diaspora media, while others overlooked the connections, and they thought solely of their homeland. Some African respondents shared that, in the films, Black roles can range from those of villains, slaves, and thieves, to roles of the protagonist, in which Blacks appear successful. One participant explained, "I feel happy to see Black; US/UK some new films watching recently *12 Years a Slave* it was not too bad… only other film that I watched was a European film. I feel so bad when I watched the film cause the way they treat Blacks" (SP-G, 2014). Of the Nigerian respondents that shared their opinions concerning Black actors within global films, most described traits of Nollywood films as those meant for entertainment and cultural traditions.

Overall, participants explained that Blacks were negatively portrayed in the films that they normally watched, followed by a combination of positive and negative portrayals, and finally, positive portrayals. The Portuguese-speaking respondents indicated that Blacks are portrayed in negative stereotypical roles, such as those depicting servants, simplistic characters, and those without powerful positions. As a result, informants searched for films with positive portrayals of Blacks along with ways to resolve problems "within our community."[76]

Discussion Group African Representation and Diaspora Homeland

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[76] From questionnaire research from Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, 2013-2014.

Connections[77]

The Nollywood industry could certainly help to promote understanding about African culture in Brazil. Participants who agreed with this statement explained that this was because of postcolonial Africa, and the aesthetic image, as well as the diversification of stereotypical African images. One participant revealed the following:

It is good to show Africans don't only live in the city or have jumping gazelles, greenery, or savannah. African is not one. Nigerian has many people and film, only shows a reality, not all African people. Film shows urban yearnings, women's desires, and wanting to have an easy life. The market is where women sell plastics not only her, but a typical market that you can find anywhere in Africa. The scene makes little referent to my worth [As an African] which is that values of tradition and modernity. Here modernity oozes to the other side of tradition that finds, more humility which are values of class in a man's modern world. African men within globalization have a full plate for people to work and to exist globally. Women's hair is parallel to American hair on TV. She is American and uses braids [pointing the researcher], in Nigeria for a long time they stretch their hair. . . . Nollywood shows another Africa. All African cinema goes to the city and Nollywood gambles on city. People that work in Nollywood show one image rich, poor, universal politics. The city has all traditional, political, class, life on the other side is a contradiction which is universal.

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[77] From discussion group research from Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, 2013-2014.

The West African native and Bahian participant, indicated how the representation of Nollywood could diversify the African image. This indicates how many Africans replicate American aesthetic styles similar to Brazil; this complicates the notion of a global Nigeria and its place in the world by illustrating a similar search for modernity, following the capitalist and European values in postcolonial Nigeria. The movie contrasts the urban environment versus the rural environment different from the way other African movies do, such as Francophone and Lusophone movies in an aesthetic sense. Overall, the participant argued that Nollywood illustrates a contrast of universal politics.

Other Bahian residents expressed concern that the movie did not illustrate an authentic Africa, and they enunciated additional concern that it could be ridiculed for being "different" based on Brazilian racism; they expressed feelings about the importance of people having access to a contextual background. In an overall sense, the movies and telenovelas are/should be "tools" to learn about society, if only on a superficial sense. One respondent explained that people "here" [people in Brazil] are essentially prejudiced and privileged, based on their habits regarding consumption of Hollywood movies. Essentially, those respondents communicated that many Brazilians do not like Brazilian movies.[78] Some participants expressed a level of uncertainty, since they had a lack of reference (lack of points of reference) to Nollywood and its universal themes, the Christian political nature of the movie, and the fact that it superficially illustrates urban and rural Nigeria. Still others assumed the director was a White person, owed to the way African culture was presented in the movie. The last respondent explained that he was "shocked when he saw a woman in braids." Overall, these respondents indicated

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[78] From questionnaire research from Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, 2013 - 2014.

ambivalence about Nollywood's potential for use as a pedagogical apparatus capturing the voices of some Nigerians.

In the discussion groups, participants indicated, for the most part, that Nollywood had potential for promoting African culture in Brazil. The rationale provided was that, through Nollywood movies, Africans could learn, in a superficial sense, about society and aesthetic identification, that Nigeria and Africa are heterogeneous, and that Nollywood could promote understanding of gender in its efforts to globalize these important themes. Participants indicated they recognized a connection, based on an aesthetic association from braids, the suburbs with unpaved roads, the furniture in the homes, the styles of cars, and the styles of dress. Therefore, audiences identified with the aesthetic images as a means of identification, whether it was *estilo black* or in the background of physical and environmental landscapes.

Participants revealed uncertainty in the second largest theme (defined above) regarding whether Nollywood had the potential to promote African culture in Brazil. Thematic descriptions (among those involved in the discussion group) included conversations about colonial Africa, the relationship among Africans in Brazil, and the Black Diaspora experience. Responses included some of the following: "It did not seem like an African film," and "There are multiple Black communities." Some participants noted a colonial aspect to the movie (related to Catholicism), which may have a positive or negative reception in Brazil. One participant described his personal experiences with Africans in Salvador, Bahia as negative by claiming that most Africans are unaware of contemporary Brazil. They are classist, and they typically exclude Afro-Brazilians from functions. By extension, the same participant discussed the historical connection relating

to slavery in Brazil and its impact on the country. He explained, "Worse, they seized ships, threw Africans from all parts together, and they were mixed up and divided until today. Black people cannot work together because of the history. All Black people are not one, Blacks are [considered that way] because it's [an] American [concept]." The participant indicated how Blacks in Brazil have numerous categorical classifications. (This is part of the struggle, since many Afro-Brazilians claim Black identity in order to forge/encourage more unity); they indicated race was an artificial concept in Brazil that stems from an American ideological perspective. Thus, the respondent's responses revealed both historical and contemporary polemical conversations regarding race in Brazil. Therefore, given the tumultuous racial environment particularly in pro-Black communities in Salvador, Bahia, the participant indicated reasons for the difficulty surrounding the success of Nollywood as a common household name.

In contrast, several participants indicated, relating to a previously mentioned major theme, that Nollywood could not promote understanding about African culture in Brazil. Participants explained (within minor themes) that Nollywood would fail because of the stereotyping of African cultural values and what could be considered an "un-African Africa" (meaning, in essence, their ideal vision of Africa was not represented); essentially, they were ridiculed for being "different" based on Brazilian racism, and it was made clear that future audiences needed a contextual background for the movie. The responses indicated that the same notion of aesthetic connection, in terms of cultural mannerisms, is the reason that audiences would either embrace or choose not to embrace Nollywood. Thus, some audience members revealed the mediascapes of African people would be reinforced as other, or different, and many Brazilians would not fully appreciate

the cultural productions.

Next, participants explained whether African movies could help Afro-Brazilians better understand their cultural heritage. In the discussion groups in Salvador, Bahia, the respondents' answers were evenly divided between "Yes," "No," and "Uncertain."[79] Participants felt the movie taught lessons about gender in a disproportionate manner. Respondents indicated reasons that Nollywood could help to understand Afro-Brazilian culture better for Pan-African relationships, aesthetics, and legal reasons. The informants explained that Afro-Brazilian audiences "could not relate" due to variations in body language and cultural codes. Uncertainty in most participants was related to Christian ascension history (the hegemonic tone of Christianity that asserts one's spiritual path is the only way to obtain spiritual liberation over other religions) and inauthentic portrayals of African women. Several spectators also elucidated the importance of hosting discussions before viewing Nigerian movies, and they felt firmly that holding those sorts of discussions would benefit audiences. The groups revealed their rationale for including or excluding themes that either would (or would not) assist audiences to learn about their historical culture. The audience articulated that women's representations (both collectively and as agents of empowerment) affirmed the efficacy of Nollywood usefulness as a device for provoking ongoing consideration of African societal norms. Similarly, by watching *Domitilla* (1997) the audiences contrasted the impact of the slave trade on both sides of the Atlantic in gender relationships and current-day societal structure. Alternatively and in contrast, the scarcity of consistent portrayals of positive male roles in society proved problematic, along with the consistent representations of

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[79] From Afrocentric, the multicultural institution, and the university discussion groups within Salvador, Bahia.

polygamy and hypocritical social status in a European Christian framework. One

participant explained:

> For cinema studies everyone should know about Nollywood. It is
>
> embarrassing for a black person from the university that studies film to not
>
> know about Nollywood. The film was irritating for me cause of the sound
>
> and the soap opera style. The question is do we need to know Nollywood?
>
> Outside of ideological orientation, imagine the country with the most
>
> African descendants outside of Africa not knowing about it. I was just
>
> with some directors producing films about genocide in Africa and mass
>
> incarceration and the campaign against [Black & Brown] extermination
>
> here.[80]

The respondent revealed in the ongoing discussion the potency in Nigerian cultural

productions. He did so from the perspective of both a film studies student and

representative of the Afro-Diaspora. Many activists are interested in using film as a

pedagogical device to educate the masses. So, on one hand, the respondent clearly

identified with the position of *Domitilla* (1997) as a Black woman struggling for survival.

As sociologist Ruth Simms Hamilton (1990) describes "Black people have historically

existed in hostile, socially oppressive environments. Race and class have been

particularly powerful contributing forces in shaping the experience and consciousness of

the diaspora" (p. 22). Given that, *Domitilla* (1997) centers the struggle for existence

through melodrama in which many of the respondents identified with gender and

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[80] Afro-Brazilian male respondent after viewing *Domitilla* (1997) in Salvador Bahia, 2013.

sociocultural oppression. The Brazilian audience was unaccustomed to viewing an all-Black cast, so, for that reason alone, the movie was well received and appreciated. Some members of the discussion group provided examples of ways local films producers used film and documentaries to capture our stories. The resistance technoscapes continue to help fight the shadows of Black and Brown lives that are often cast off into the dust without a voice to effectively represent them.

On the other hand, the respondent was overtly agitated during the film screening; this was due to the slow pace of the melodrama itself, and its apparent lack of aesthetic quality. As evidence of this, the respondent left the screening several times, and at times, during the screening, he placed his hands over his face alone, the movie was well received anion with the complicated position the media holds the ideal function of media as a means to educate the public about the concerns of pressing and frequently overlooked issues. During the discussion, several respondents complained about the movie, expressing that aesthetic quality was an impediment to appreciating the movie. Thus, the respondents indicated the ways that Nollywood could both assist and impede cultural understanding of African culture, specifically, parts of Nigerian culture.

Nollywood Success in Brazil

Numerous agencies, such as new media, business, media, legal, and now, cultural studies, examine the Nollywood phenomenon to procure ways to increase recognition and success–financially, economically, politically, and culturally. The diversification of Nigerian/African images is a powerful potential alliance that is recently being analyzed in the Caribbean and in Europe. The exploration of ways to make Nollywood films achieve better reception in Brazil, from a Nigerian perspective, serves to enhance knowledge that

potentially benefits ways Nollywood can increase their number of viewers within the new African Diaspora in Latin America. The following section examines the potential of Nollywood as a cultural industry in the Diaspora, which may reach its fullest potential, particularly in Latin America. Last, in the questionnaires and discussion groups, participants expressed their opinions concerning the possible success of Nollywood in Brazil.

Participants gave their perspectives regarding whether Nollywood could become successful in Brazil by answering a close-ended question in English. Out of the participants who provided commentary, most participants described one theme (with the exception of a single participant). Slightly over half of the participants felt that Nollywood could become successful; other participants did not feel that Nollywood could have success, and the remaining respondents were uncertain. African participants explained that Nollywood could become successful if Brazilians watched Nollywood (this would create an emotional appeal); they revealed the possibility of Pan-African consumption, that Brazilians could acquire English, and they explained that Nollywood provides information about Africa. The African participants revealed why they felt Nollywood could not become successful for the following reasons: limitations regarding the language barrier, a suggested lack of Pan-Africanism, the lack of Nigerians in Brazil, it could have success in Bahia, and one respondent expressed that there are no apparent connections. Of the uncertain participants, only one of two individuals elucidated plausible options for the future of Nollywood in Brazil. One participant explicated, "I'm not sure what to answer cause films are only imported in English you and I can watch; but if in Brazil [they] speak English, they will like it; whoever speaks English will like

it."[81] This participant revealed that if Brazilians had access to Nollywood movies, many of them would enjoy them based on the melodramatic themes. Nonetheless, the most prevalent emerging themes of the language barrier illustrated the most problematic issue that currently blocks accessibility to Brazilians.

Salvador, Bahia participants answered questions regarding the possibility of Nollywood's success in Brazil. Most respondents felt that it was possible, and the rest of respondents answered in equal numbers between "impossible" and "uncertain." The top reasons Bahian respondents indicated Nollywood could have success in Brazil were the following: people interested in Africa would watch/it would increase knowledge about Africa, the plot/characters/themes/story/melodrama would captivate audiences; cinema clubs or special markets would watch (essentially because it is something different/provides more options for Brazilians). The most popular reasons respondents felt that Nollywood would be unsuccessful follow: Nollywood would not be valued/invested in because Brazilians hardly consume/produce national films (valued/invested, consume/produce), Brazilian media supports the frequent consumption of American films; Brazilians would not be able to identify with the films, and we are colonized by Americans/the structure is different from American films. The respondents indicated the reliance on American films, which curb national and international film consumption (unless it was similar to the aesthetic quality of Hollywood movies).

Bahian participants uncertain of the possible success in Brazil provided the following rationales: not being used to African films/racism would block consumption; style is very different from Brazilian films.

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[81] From questionnaire research from São Paulo, 2014 (SP-G).

It depends on the public/publicity/possibly yes, probably, I would have to

become familiar with more Nollywood films, themes are similar to Brazil,

low class is used to superior technical films, and, in terms of distribution,

Brazil has few movie theaters.

African participants revealed how Nollywood, as a cultural production engine, is

utilized within African communities in Brazil. Participants shared their insights on

consumption, identification, and future success of Nollywood in Brazil. The homeland

ties are used as a reinforcement to retain as well as to maintain normalcy in a foreign

land. The results indicated the differences in African ethnoscapes in Brazil—in that the

mostly African immigrant participants have a broader range of ideas and conceptions

(concerning Nollywood), as consumers. In contrast, the novice Brazilian audiences made

a hypothesis, based on one movie. Overall, the respondents felt that there could be some

connections with Nollywood if the films were translated. Several participants both agreed

and disagreed that Nollywood could be successful in Brazil, and some participants

indicated that, especially in Bahia (where the largest African Diaspora in Brazil resides),

the films could have increased success. The following respondent illustrated the

possibility of Nollywood consumption in Latin America/a Pan-African interest.

People interested in looking at Africa as a point of identity formation.

Black public court scene, women, Koran, traditional; black people would

be interested in that. Traditional ancestor worship continues, *Candomblé* is

less and a high number of Catholics, and Muslims. When the woman is in

trouble where did she go. The police wanted to arrest her and take the

pastor and what did he say. Those themes would interest a Diaspora

public. Politically shows power parallel with pastors and women don't

have that power.

Thus, Pan-African religious, socio-cultural, political, and gender issues were major themes of interest for audiences who affirmed that Nollywood could supplement representations of Nigeria in Brazil.

Conclusion

Africana Diasporas described variations of Nollywood reception in Brazil and identification in São Paulo and Salvador Bahia. Audiences voiced their opinions relating to how Nollywood evoked memories of home (i.e., new ways to understand contemporary Nigeria). Most audiences identified Black racial representation as "lacking," and many individuals identified with Nollywood. The forged alliances in Nollywood in Brazil appear to be tenuous ones. Respondents indicated success was possible, but it would be best to preface or contextualize important cultural facts or historical education surrounding the movies. Through questionnaires, discussion groups, and participant observations, participants expressed that there was Nollywood success in Brazil through smaller channels and other such communities of interest, such as *cineclubes*, *Candomblé* communities, and potentially Pan-African interest communities. However, many respondents explained the American influence in Brazil was a hindrance to increasing the number of Nigerian films in Brazil. Several respondents mentioned the difficulties Brazilian directors encounter when they produce and distribute e-films. Overall, participants felt that it could promote African cultural heritage, and it could possibly complicate and reinforce stereotypes, based on internalized racism in Brazilian culture.

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Audience reception in Africana communities illuminated the efficacy of Nollywood in Brazil. Both Brazilian and African communities identified with Nigerian representations in mostly positive ways. The results indicated that Nigerian mediascapes could be used as a teaching device. Many participants in Brazil stated the representations were positive, and, given that viewing, Black women in positions of power are scarce, and mostly unattainable, and essentially, they are reserved for European descendants. Further, the audiences explained that most African ideoscapes in Brazil exist only in documentaries made by Europeans. Thus, audience members revealed screening *Domitilla* (1997) was refreshing, and seeing narratives from Nigeria elicited generally positive reactions. Mostly Brazilian respondents revealed the efficacy of watching Nollywood films to teach them and others about African culture in Brazil (based on their initial interaction with *Domitilla* (1997). The question hints at a collaboration with Brazilian legislation that mandates African and Afro-Brazilian culture be taught throughout the country. Most participants enjoyed the movie, and they stated that Nollywood films would be useful as a pedagogical tool to supplement courses pertaining to African culture. In particular, audiences identified with the movie *Domitilla* (1997), which illustrates frequently overlooked and struggling sectors of society.

Similarly, English-speaking Nollywood consumers in São Paulo revealed the utilization of Nollywood as a cultural production in African communities in Brazil. Participants shared their insights on consumption, identification, and the future success of Nollywood in Brazil. They stated it reinforces homeland and cultural ties, and it helps to maintain normalcy in a foreign land. Audiences' use of Nollywood as a cultural production parallel research findings conducted in Italy (Jedlowski, 2013) and, to a

largest extent, any Diaspora communities abroad that consume cultural products and goods to maintain cultural bonds with their homeland (Nacify, 2001). These results are an important foundation to analyze, in the upcoming chapter, and in more detail, a broader range of ideas and conceptions concerning Nollywood. Overall, the respondents felt that there could be some connections with Nollywood (if the films were translated). Several participants both agreed and disagreed that Nollywood could be successful in Brazil through indications that, possibly in Bahia, the films would have more success. The triangulation of data clarified universal themes connecting diverse Africana voices to explicate their idea of divergence and convergence in understanding the "real Africa," the "real Brazil," and contrasted the meaning of "movie," "similar," and "different to real life." Audiences both embraced and rejected the major themes relating to gender, religion, the global south, and race, so these will be analyzed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

GLOBAL NOLLYWOOD IN BRAZIL: RECEPTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND

SELF-REPRESENTATION IN THE LUSOPHONE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Drawing from two Afro-Bahian examples that reveal the overall results concerning how Brazilian audiences related to the movie *Domitilla* (1997) appears a good way to conclude the current study.[82] The preliminary data collection occurred in an Afro-Brazilian beauty shop in 2013 where women were busily braiding hair and talking to clients while watching *Domitilla* (1997). The two female hairdressers were unable to watch the entire movie; nonetheless, their observations captured the essence of ways many participants identified with the movie (both aesthetically and through its melodrama). One hairdresser commented on the gorgeous Yoruba attire, and she questioned why the prostitutes were in pain after their friend died. The other hairdresser paused at the sight of suffering among the prostitutes, and later she wondered what happened during certain scenes that indicated a melodramatic appeal.

Similarly, the second example occurred screening during the Yoruba class in which the professor used certain scenes in the movie to describe Nigerian and African culture. For example, during a scene in which Domitilla and her friends were eating together on the floor the professor explained traditional Yoruba culture based on scenes that showed characters sitting on the floor eating together out of the same bowl. Toward the end of the movie, when the Domitillas' friend left prostitution and began to work in an urban market, the professor revealed how the former prostitute now wore Nigerian attire and braids, whereas, previously, she was wearing Western clothes and a wig. The

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[82] The examples provided were not a part of discussion groups following the screenings and instead participant observation notes from October and December 2013.

Yoruba teacher caught the significance of portraying a negative world of prostitution and how it was captured in the symbolic representation of Western clothing and European style wigs. In contrast, the former prostitute becomes a wholesome, honest woman, who wore Nigerian clothing and traditional simple braids. These illustrations elucidated the intentional visual message of good Nigerian values—Nigerians as hard workers versus prostituting oneself with Western values. These observations elucidated the variegated ways both informed and uninformed Afro-Brazilian audiences experience, understand, and identify with Nigerian and African culture within the movie. Ultimately, one could use the movies as a means to teach contemporary Nigerian culture. Similar to the Freire (1970) and hooks (1994) style of student-centered teaching for transformation, my research centers the diverse African audiences in Brazil by affording their voices ways to articulate how they envision connections and disconnections using a movie and Nollywood as a catalyst. This research revealed the formal and informal spaces inherent in Nollywood production, distribution, circulation, and reception in São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia, Brazil.

The purpose of this study was to discover, first, if there was a Nollywood phenomenon in Brazil as a representation of South to South media flows. If so, how, why, when, and where do Nigerian cultural productions flow in Brazil among both new and classic Diasporas? Appadurais' (1996) model of examining global cultural scapes provided a starting point to formulate a method to uncover how this phenomenon occurs. The scapes framework provides five different fields to begin examine cultural flows: mediascapes, ideoscapes, technoscapes, ethnoscapes, and financescapes (Appadurai, 1996). This project primarily concentrated on mediascapes, ideoscapes, and ethnoscapes

to examine audience identification with Nollywood through a movie or the industry. Unintentionally, my research utilized a movie with the universal trope of prostitution and female oppression. Thus, Brazilian audiences recognized the systematic connection among race, gender, and class oppression (Hamilton, 1990). As Hamilton recommended,

> More attention should be focused on the psychological impact on black women of the myths, stereotypes, and insults that have been perpetuated against them by men and women of the dominant classes through novels, the mass media, music, and the visual arts. These are only a few examples of the scholarship needed to facilitate greater understanding of the nature of gender-based subordination within the African diaspora and within the world system. (pp. 22-23)

Thus, *Domitilla* (1997) functioned as a technological apparatus for audience reception capturing the voices of men and women to understand their plight and connection with or to Nigeria (in the form of oppression, religion, or the struggle for survival) as African descendants. The study captured African spaces by highlighting marginalized voices of Africans in Brazil. The exploration of the African Diaspora cut through essentialism through the vocalization of multifaceted subaltern opinions—those opinions explained individuals' vision of the world under a pro-African social political climate in Brazil. The diverse responses from the African Diaspora were both united and divided, depending on the subject matter.

Spaces of African Diaspora resistance and endurance historically involve the religious landscapes. As a Lusophone country, Brazil has the largest African population outside of Nigeria, and it leads the African Diaspora religious continuities often

connecting to traditional Yoruba practices. African-based spiritual practices referred to as *Candomblé* communities are becoming more ethnically diverse and from non-African origins in their appearance. Therefore, the social-political power and strength of the Afro-Brazilian *Candomblé* communities have converged—forming multicultural centers of worship. In these spiritual spaces, societal/structural powers are replicating and at times pushing many Afro-Brazilians out of power. *Candomblé* become more mainstream, and it has both advantages and disadvantages. Sometimes, Africans from resistance movements, who historically have fought from within these spaces, are met with considerable backlash, and they are largely misunderstood. Therefore, the social-political rights that many Afro-Brazilians fought for, from within spiritual houses, are being disenfranchised and pushed out of power within places of worship.

To discover the ways that Nigerian cultural flows exist within Brazil, mediascapes captured the concept of the image of the Nollywood industry through its distribution and co-productions in Brazil. Observation captured the process of cultural flows in African spaces in São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia. Semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and discussion groups with curators, directors, and consumers captured specific information about participants' interest in Nollywood. The interviews were transcribed, translated, and systematically examined to create categorical themes that would contextualize Nigerian cultural productions in Brazil. The responses to the questionnaires were separated to reveal informants' perceptions, their level of access to Nollywood, and, based on these, their opinions about the potential success of Nollywood in Brazil. Similarly, the transcriptions of discussion group responses were categorically organized, based on the most frequent emergent themes that surfaced in the groups. The combination

of the re-emergent themes in the discussion groups and in the questionnaires revealed that gender, spirituality, oppression, and class in Nollywood videos to be the most prevalent themes.

The second chapter examined the postcolonial/Diaspora and its counter-hegemonic positioning of both the Nigerian cultural production industry and Nollywood global audiences. The project aimed to investigate how to humanize Black subjects globally, beginning with the root of African representation, that is later spread to its Diaspora. Although Nigerian movies are ahistorical and based on popular culture narratives, the aesthetic function of the movies could begin to counter the widespread bastardization of Africana subjects within Brazilian media.

The third chapter examined Afro-Brazilian spaces in Salvador, Bahia and São Paulo, and it provided a brief history of racial exclusion and oppression throughout most sectors of society (particularly concentrating on Afro-Brazilian cultural productions that counter the Eurocentric mediascapes in Brazil). The fight for democratic equality from Afro-Brazilians has led to current legislation that mandates teaching African and Afro-Brazilian history and education. Next, the consumption of Nollywood technoscapes illustrated a transnational phenomenon that connects African Diaspora communities to the industry online, in exhibitions, and as material products circulated among transnational communities. The ethnoscapes in this investigation captured new and classic African communities in Brazil. Given that both African-Diaspora communities are, for the most part, presented in a negative light in the media, they exist in postcolonial marginalized spaces (even the population of the Afro-Diaspora is more voluminous than

is the Euro-Diaspora in Brazil). Thus, these communities are considered to be in the spaces of global shadows.

In Chapter 4, my exploration of Nollywood mediascapes commenced with an examination of their online presence; following, I examined them through the eyes of curators, producers, and actors. This presented the insight of cinema scholars' and directors' interest in disseminating information concerning the industry (first, in São Paulo) to decolonize the Eurocentric gaze in Brazil. Screenings, held in exhibitions, had a similar function—to create a Pan-African connection and to create knowledge about the Nigerian industry and/or the country. Last, the examination of the financescapes revealed information about cultural productions as a means to create revenue in primarily new African communities. Similarly, the co-productions are created with the express purpose of generating revenue within Brazil and Nigeria, as well as transnationally. The exhibitions screening Nollywood were intended less for financial gain and more to augment knowledge about the industry in Brazil.

In Chapter 5, representation of Nollywood was examined through ideoscapes that revealed multifaceted discourses occurring in Brazilian Africana communities. These dialogues elucidated a Global South connection on both sides of the Atlantic in the context of gender and religion. The mostly African Diaspora audiences revealed the counter-hegemonic representation of Nollywood in exhibitions (solely based on skin color). Similarly, the researcher created informal screening spaces capturing mostly novice Nollywood consumers' reactions to *Domitilla* (1997). Brazilian audiences revealed a Global South connection with the universal storyline of *Domitilla* (1997) (prostitution). Similarly, the new African communities circulated Nollywood DVDs

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maintaining cultural ties with Nigeria through the videos and sharing them with Brazilian partners in Brazil. The ideoscapes were complicated, but, overall, most audiences regarded Nollywood as a valuable resource, with both positive and negative representations, that would complicate the notion of Nigeria, and African people.

Interpretations of Findings

Diaspora studies tend to concentrate on the Anglophone countries in the Black Atlantic, and they often overlook the Francophone, Hispanophone, and Lusophone countries. *Nollywood Goes to Brazil* examines Nollywood reception, distribution, and self-representation as a Nigerian cultural production in Brazil. The counter-hegemonic mediascapes of production and distribution occur in both formal and informal spaces[83]. The Nollywood media productions assume an alternative reality, and they offer a certain haven for both Africans and Brazilians who are interested in diverse media productions. The curation spaces in Brazil created rich spaces to discuss the phenomenon, and they reflect the possibility of a "Bahiawood" (Salvador, Bahia discussion group participant, 2013) in Brazil. Nollywood in Brazil creates diversity through the productions as a certain exotic Other for Nigerians who watch the films. Similarly, for Brazilians interested in reconnecting with their homeland, or those interested in alternative cinematic perceptions, Nollywood supplements fill the void. The reception of Nollywood in Brazil reveals the diversity among new and old African Diasporas.

Several participants described the Eurocentric nature of Brazilian media. They mentioned they excluded Black women, and African documentaries they consumed were created by non-African directors. Therefore, for the Brazilian audiences, watching a

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[83] Nollywood is regarded as counter-hegemonic, because it is not hegemonic in Brazil.

Nigerian movie production was special. On one hand, the all-Black representation inspired many audience members. Yet, for some, the non-African, anti-traditional religious stance, or unfavorable male characters caused problems. But, overall, audiences felt that Nollywood would help Brazilians better understand Nigerian and African heritage; this was especially owed to the historical connections of the Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa in Brazil. Participants mentioned that, by watching *Domitilla* (1997)*,* they could see the impact of colonization. Therefore, there was a bond of the Black Atlantic tied to slavery, and they could see the similar type of postcolonial society (particularly in the courtroom and the church scenes). These results parallel Bryce's study (2013) in which audiences identified the connections between Barbados and Nigeria as one of postcolonial marginality in the face of global capitalism (p. 223).

Similarly, the increase of Protestant religious organizations also augmented the tension and divide with Afro-Brazilian communities. In the 1970s, 92% of Brazilians were Roman Catholic, 5% were Protestant, 5% were unaffiliated, and 2% were affiliated with other religions (Pew Research Center, 2013, p. 2). In 2010, 65% of Brazilians were Roman Catholic, 22% were Protestant, 8% were unaffiliated, and 5% were affiliated with other religions (Pew Research Center, 2013 p. 2). In contrast, in many ways, this trend parallels what is occurring on both sides on the Atlantic with Christian megachurches. Several Brazilians in workshops and my research from 2013 commented on Pentecostalism and Evangelical behaviors as essentially contrary to Brazilian identity (which is more fluid, and less rigid, as a society). The commentary on "un-Brazilian behaviors" are based on some Brazilians' beliefs that the characteristics of neo-Pentecostalism parallel perspectives from "outsiders," or people from countries, like the

United States (discussion groups, and informal conversation, Salvador, Bahia 2012 & 2013, Rio de Janeiro, 2012, & São Paulo, 2012). Therefore, the religious and spiritual undertones in many Nollywood films could both intrigue and repel many Afro-Brazilians, and once some new-wave Christians are able to get past the idea that anything African is demonic, they may gain popularity within the Christian communities more than with the traditional *Candomblé* communities.

Curators, Nollywood venders, and audiences revealed their perception of Nigerian cultural productions through reception, distribution, circulation, and screenings in Brazil. These findings contribute to counter-hegemonic media research on Pan-African connections in Barbados (Bryce, 2013), Italy (Jedlowski, 2013), and South Africa (Becker, 2013). The empirical data contrasts research on globalization, representation, and African cultural productions in the Global South through both a postcolonial/ Diaspora framework. The participants explained their Africana positionality in Brazil through an examination of the socio-political and economic oppression that is primarily based on gender, race, and poverty. Research findings culminated with Brazilian affirmative action legislation that mandates African and Afro-Brazilian education. This final chapter will analyze the state of Africana Diasporas and their ongoing contiguities with Africa using the Nollywood industry as the catalyst.

Estilo Black:[84] **Recreating Pan-African Spaces in Brazil**

The dissemination of African culture is widespread in downtown São Paulo. In the Africana communities, the consumers recreate "video parlor" experiences and "street corner" (Okome, 2007) experiences of Nollywood consumption similar to life on the

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[84] The term comes from people within Black communities that seek African aesthetic or revolutionary Black aesthetic from the United States, Jamaica, or other culturally affirming spaces.

African continent. In the downtown malls, Nigerians distribute Nollywood in African spaces; this sort of distribution is almost nonexistent in Brazil except for in locations where Nigerians are present. Nevertheless, the original technoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) of Nollywood are manifested online, through Ted Talks, Brazilian YouTube channels, blogs, vlogs, news, and prime time media via major news outlets in Brazil. Most distribution centers offer the sale and rental of Nigerian movies in African spaces, such as malls, restaurants, hair salons, mosques, and churches, and through informal networks among friends who travel to and from Nigeria. Most of the former venders and renters of Nollywood sell videos less frequently than they used to, since the consumer market shifted to online instead of buying physical DVDs. Thus, the distribution that was once profitable no longer exists. The results parallel Nigerians living in Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States (previously described in Chapter 2). The results revealed a globalized trend of audience consumption online that increased in Brazil, based on the capacity to download information faster; this replaced, in essence, the cultural artifacts that once could be physically held, and consumption methods/venues have now primarily shifted to those online.

The global structures of cultural distribution also reflect the rest of the Diasporas around the world. The site location shops in São Paulo had fewer videos than they did during the previous year; this resembles London's heyday, where many shops, venders, and distributers were doing well, but later, because of piracy issues, many stopped selling videos the way they used to. The decline of Nollywood distribution in both London and Brazil is understandable from an economic stance. That is, the *financescapes* (Appadurai, 1996) of the cultural products diminished over time, mostly due to online competition,

and other more profitable commodities (i.e., skin bleaching creams, special nuts from Nigeria, and other commercial items from Africa) are offered for sale in their place. The venders sold cultural items similar to certain items sold in Nigeria, except that prices of videos in Nigeria are typically lower there. One vender explained they no longer rent videos to customers because they would frequently never be returned. Thus, the movie rental shops that were once popular were replaced with shops from which people could buy movies for about 10 *reis*.

The invention of Yoruba mediascapes, created in the first Nollywood exhibition in Latin America, illustrated the ways many Brazilians wish to connect with the industry (*Bem Vindo a Nollywood*, 2011). Proceeding curation spaces concentrated on the advent of the video industry, and they specifically did so through a postcolonial lens. There have been several exhibitions throughout the country, as mentioned in Chapter 4, that followed similar patterns. Previously, a Brazilian scholar suggested that Nollywood research was not worthy of studying in Brazil (informal interview, 2012, July); however, later the Pan-African exhibition in Rio elucidated the clear relevance of Nollywood in Pan-African communities (Zózimo Bulbul, 2014)[85]. Additionally, the movies selected for viewing in the exhibition contained overt political messages in relation to Nigerian culture or war (*Nollywood Mostra*, 2012). This certainly counters the notion that Nollywood cannot be utilized as a medium for imbuing a range of political messages[86]. Thus, socio-economic and political ties push Afro-Brazilians to connect with the largest African movie production industry to go beyond the examination of cultural storylines and to examine political questions of inquiry.

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[85] The curator wanted diverse Nigerian perspectives particularly from Yoruba background.
[86] See Okome (2010) for more information about the Nollywood critiques.

The circulation of Nollywood cultural productions in Brazil manifests through online access points, via informal distribution, through physical vending sites, and via film exhibitions[87]. The Brazilian version is a smaller-scale operation, given that there are approximately 10,000 new African Diasporas in Brazil. The African spaces in which Nollywood circulated were greatly infused with both new and classic Diaspora spaces, including churches, mosques, cultural centers, and Black/African centered malls. The African audiences in Brazil revealed that they use Nollywood movies as educational tools, for entertainment purposes, and as a means to maintain connections with their homeland. Most Africans could not "see" connections between Nollywood and Brazil. This indicated how Nigerians saw themselves as different from Afro-Brazilians. Certainly, this could be the result of having sampled a very transient community that had not lived in Brazil for a long time.

The Africana spaces created in downtown São Paulo resemble the Nigerian consumption sites that Okome (2007) describes—audiences view the films using outlets termed "street corner[s]" and "video parlour[s]" (p. 6). In Brazil, these two sites merge into one in the *Galaria*, or in malls where African financescapes flourish; therefore, they create a diasporic blend of cultural spaces. These spaces are distinctly and constantly created to provide African and Afro-Brazilians the opportunity to aesthetically, economically, socially, and politically align and to reinforce cultural understanding of the African homeland as well as to nurture themselves culturally, as they live in Brazil. This holds true for both Africans procuring African cultural products as well as for Brazilians who wish to reinforce the notion of *estilo black* in Brazil (or the desire to stand out in

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From participant observation in São Paulo, February – April, 2014.

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Africana difference through hairstyles, clothing, cosmetics, and other material goods). In Brazil, the spaces in which Nollywood circulates are, for the most part, frequented by males, and this is similar to what occurs in Nigeria's consumption sites (Okome, 2007).

The Brazilian distribution parallels the Italian case study (Jedlowski, 2013) in that Nigerians bring the videos into the country or they are shared through informal social networks such as by friends and family. The sites of informal distribution and those for formal renting and buying of Nollywood products indicated a re-creation of African spaces within Brazil similar to Nigerian "video parlours" (Okome, 2007). According to Brazilians, these spaces are regarded as o *estilo black*, or black styles, meaning, counter-hegemonic spaces that support a Pan-African Black aesthetic that captures diverse notions of cultural identity in the Diaspora (i.e., braids, dreadlocks, Rastafarian style, and weaves). Thus, on one hand, you have European and African Diaspora assimilationist beauty in the form of straight and curly hair extensions. On another hand, you have *estilo black* power, as some would state, that reinforces Black identity. So, as some beauticians stated, they wanted wigs that look Black or African (those that resembled an Afro as closely as possible). Similarly, in the São Paulo site, they were selling dreadlocks that were both real[88] and synthetic. Therefore, the notion of *estilo black* identity has multiple communities of inclusion that converge to create counter-hegemonic spaces in the heart of São Paulo. They are counter-hegemonic since they do not support the Eurocentric notion of beauty prescribed by Brazilian media. The location of most of the video distributions are within sites where there are large pockets of Africans who buy, trade, and sell commodities from Africa to its Diaspora. The transfer of transnational capital

[88] In Salvador, Bahia was the first time that I witnessed the market of selling dreadlocks, which counters Chris Rock's commentary in *Good Hair* (2009) that no one wants to buy Black hair.

goods exemplifies the global cultural flows consumed in Brazil. With the distribution of

Nigerian movies also flows packaged Nigerian (mostly Igbo and Yoruba) representation

(through visual and audio packaging). The imprints of Nigerian culture reinforced

ideoscapes of Nigerian culture as well as affirmed the idea of normalcy in a foreign land.

Haynes explains, "The emotional adhesion of the expatriate communities to Nollywood

film culture is strengthened by their circumstances: the films answer a longing for home

and serve as a vehicle for showing children and non-Nigerian friends what Nigerian

culture is." (2013, p. 74) In the same way, to Brazilians in search of what it means to be

Nigerian today, the movies indicate a superficial reality of contemporary society that

reinforces their vision of Nigeria (or shatters the romanticized framework similar to

Byrce's (2013) Nollywood audience reception in Barbados). Indeed, many Africana pro-

Black movements exist similar to Afro-Brazilians aligning with Africa, African

American, and Jamaican cultural productions similar to the Guyanese in Barbados

(Bryce, 2013) or South African (Becker, 2013) college students who seek alternatives to

understanding African representation. Nollywood provides diverse audiences with a

notion of contemporary African culture. There are four primary ways that audiences

identified and resisted Nollywood or a Nigerian culture production: religion, gender,

postcolonial/Diaspora subaltern status, and aesthetic modes.

Contrast: Similarities and Differences in Brazil

The results indicate the notion of Afro-Modernity that Hanchard (1999) describes

as a bond that connects diverse Africans globally through oppression. Nollywood scholar

Afolabi (2009) explains, "For Hanchard, then, Afro-modernity is not an antithesis of

Western modernity but and innovation of it, not a mimicry but a 'normative *convergence*

of two or more African and African-descended peoples and social movements in response to perceived commonalities of oppression" (Afolabi, 2009, p. 194). Indeed, the mostly Africana audiences in Brazil identified with Nollywood films with the themes of gender, socio-cultural political subjects, oppression, spirituality, race, and melodrama. The Diaspora connection relates to socio-cultural displacement within the global and local context. The historical continuities of power, representation, and domination perfectly manifest in Brazilian media in which Black representation is scarce. Therefore, the idea of receiving a plethora of diverse roles from Africans is appealing to many Afro-Brazilians and others who are interested in film. Thus, in Brazil, audience members who revealed interest in Nollywood primarily had the following backgrounds and professions: entrepreneurs, cultural communities, cinema studies scholars/professors, cinema clubs, and the Ministry of Culture. The Nollywood relationship in Brazil is a contentious one, in that the phenomena of Nollywood spark interest for many communities; yet, there is not an overall push to create ongoing spaces for exhibitions.

The thematic connections also created disconnections among new and classic Diasporas. The aesthetic connections that bind also disconnect audiences who may want to deny their cultural roots in Brazil. Thus, Brazil holds a unique position within the Global South that is comparable to Barbados in several ways. The findings from Barbados contrast with the Nollywood findings in Brazil, since many consumers hold similar positions in the world, as postcolonial subjects and southern hemispheric powerhouses within their respective continents. Also the governments both declared an interest in changing the socio-ideological relationship with Africa officially. Nonetheless, the governments differ in legislation. The audiences in both geographical spaces

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ambivalently identified with certain aspects of Nollywood based on the following: postcolonial, African image as negative and nostalgic under capitalism, melodrama, spirituality, aesthetic identifications, and modernity versus modern alternate.

Bryce (2013) explains spirituality in the Caribbean as rich in *Orisha* culture and Pan-African religious orientation. This is true for many Pan-Africanists in Brazil. Similarly, Rastafari culture is a minority religion that seeks to view Africa as a place to return to, but it is one more focused on a spiritual kingdom freedom. (Bryce, 2013, p. 231). Therefore, similar to Brazil, many Pan-Africanists desire to return to Africa, but, in reality, the Africa that they long to return to no longer exists (Bryce, 2013). These conversations were captured with some audience members stating the movie was un-African (or they presumed the director was White because of the narration). The revisionist view is not separate from examining modernity as a global project. The solution for Mbembe (2005) is that Pan-Africanism is ultimately doomed, since the past Africa does not exist, and thus, only African renditions of reality can ultimately change the perception of modern Africa.

A similar situation occurred in several discussion groups in which participants expressed frustration in what appeared to be Eurocentric thinking in Brazil by the movie director in the pro-Christianity and anti-traditional religion. In Bahia and throughout the country, the anti-Africa movement is strong in Pentecostal and Evangelical churches. Thus, a grand Global South alignment could be forged with a bit of education among the Igbo and or Yoruba movies. Similarly, if the translation of traditional Yoruba-centered movies occurred, these cultural productions could benefit contemporary Yoruba spiritual practitioners in Brazil. Nonetheless, the notion of what has been practiced in Brazil

versus what is practiced in Nigeria could complicate, and counter notions of contemporary *Candomblé* practices in Brazil. Many Nollywood films, such as *Domitilla* (1997), have an anti-traditional stance; incidentally, this stance could reinforce sentiments of contempt or subtle negative representation would be welcomed in many Christian communities in Brazil if they had access to the movie productions. But in places, such as Salvador, Bahia, where the rise of Evangelical community is prominent, this indicates a strong divide among traditional African spiritual communities and Christian paradigms in which children are encouraged to completely negate African culture, because, in essence, it is considered demonic (Bryce, 2013, p. 231). This resembles what is also occurring in Nigeria, and many respondents were disheartened to see the similar dogmatic paradigm that is against *Candomblé*. This is exemplified by one Francophone informant who shared her personal experience as a Christian woman in São Paulo and who also consistently wears her African clothing. She explained how the aesthetic African clothing shocks many Brazilians in São Paulo, given that she is a practicing Christian, and that for many Africans, the clothing does not represent religious paradigms the same way it does in Brazil.

For instance, in Brazil, devotees of Yoruba spiritual practitioners have to wear white in spiritual houses, and women are allowed to invoke the spiritual energies from *Orixas* to enter the body (different from Cuba, which is also patriarchal in spiritual tradition). Similarly, in Nigeria, white is not the only color practitioners can wear, and only men, and particularly, the appointed invoker of the *Orixa*, can allow the spirit to mount the devotee. Therefore, the separation over hundreds of years has created a certain

rift in language,[89] spiritual practice, and costumes that will become apparent with close

visual proximity to the culture. Therefore, the romanticized version (or stereotypical

version) of Africa has been shattered in Barbados due to the influx of Nollywood videos.

Nonetheless, as found in the (pre-research) hair salon, the aesthetic clothes were lusted

over and subsequently admired. In the shop, although full attention was not given, the

melodrama grabbed participants' attention; this was evidenced by the pausing of sessions

several specific times.

The translation (or dubbing) of Nollywood movies into Portuguese would no

doubt create an increased connection for Lusophone audiences. Indeed, many participants

indicated Yoruba practitioners would initially take interest. However, if the Yoruba

movies focus on Christianity or Muslim culture, some Afro-Brazilian may be quite

uninterested and emotionally disinvested—not unlike what occurred in Barbados and the

feedback from Brazilians. Also, it could have a greater religious hold, to the point that

Brazilian Yoruba practitioners would not want to view the films due to their Christian

religious overtones; those overtones would parallel the feelings of Brazilian Pentecostals

(who, in essence, are "anti" anything reflective of what is traditionally African). On one

hand, with education, the majority of Christian Brazilians may take an interest in

Nollywood since it reinforces the moralistic and anti-traditional African spiritual stance;

this fosters a contemporary Black Atlantic resurgence of religious ties in a different

direction. On another hand, Christianity is revered as progressive and modern similar to

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[89] Talking with Nigeria students in Salvador, Bahia revealed how many of them did not understand
Brazilian culture, and it also revealed why certain beats within the marching band did not change.
Similarly, some Nigerians remarked that the Afro-Brazilians speak terrible (broken) Yoruba.
When Nigerians arrived in Salvador, Bahia, with a bit more appreciation for the maintenance of
the Yoruba culture and language, tears of appreciation apparently flowed.

Barbados where the idea of viewing anything African may be rejected—as suggested by many participants several times within Salvador, Bahia.

The participants indicated the connection with race, class, and gender; these are key terms that connect the Global South. Seeing Black women in positions of power is something unusual, both in daily life in Brazil and in the media as well. Thus, many respondents revealed the importance of seeing women in positions of power and the moving impact this sort of thing has on people of color. This also coincided with the plot of the movie concerning the subaltern position of prostitutes in general. In certain respects, several participants identified with the characters based on the generally universal tendency of the movie. Participants identified with the movie, tying the Diaspora together with themes of violence, poverty, and social oppression that mirrored life portrayed in and outside of the movie on both sides of the Atlantic.

The participant best contrasted his lived experiences of life in Bahia (particularly in the *Pelourinho* area under the dictatorship). He recalled the different state military forces that took advantage of people returning home at night; they were traumatized by being shot at, beaten up, and by the tearing up of their important documents showing they were citizens. The subaltern voices lingered underneath the contemporary tourist world heritage site location. But the participant recalled many "Domitillas" within the area who thought they could make what could be considered "easy money" and subsequently escape to a better life. Ultimately they died, very much like the prostitute Jennifer in the movie. Thus, the universal story of prostitution was even more pronounced in the discussion group, and this revealed rich insight about Blacks, women, and the poor, in the site location.

Respondents elucidated the continual spatial oppression (from the times under "the old whipping post") through the dictatorship, to the contemporary world heritage site, with a tumultuous history of shadows that continue to lurk in the background of the now World Heritage Site. On one hand, the site location evoked a geographic space of violence, exclusion, and discrimination, based on the "'triple bond: class, gender, and race" (Hamilton, 1990, p. 22). Incidentally, the informant indicated the humiliation and pain felt by many residents residing in the old whipping post, which continued as a site of oppression and dehumanization. The participant best described the Brazilian stereotypes about Black women known as the three P's: *preta, pobre, e puta* (Black, poor, and prostitute).[90]

There were many respondents who "could not identify"—were uncertain about identifying with *Domitilla* (1997) (mostly based on not having had experience with prostitution, the Black characters, and gender). These specific aspects illustrate the diversity among different communities, and they provide an indication that a Global South production does not necessarily forge an alliance based on race, gender, class, or social oppression.

Participants felt that most Africans were portrayed very positively (or somewhat positively); Brazilians, for the most part, were first time viewers, so they were unaware of other movies other than *Domitilla* (1997). Many participants expressed that Nollywood accurately portrayed Nigerian culture, and almost as many, remained uncertain. Most respondents stated that Nollywood was important for Africans outside of Nigeria. The audience engagement, among many participants, in both Bahia and São Paulo, was

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[90] Based on this well-known stereotype, it makes sense that the first reality show featuring Black women in Brazil was called *Sexo e Negas*, Black women and Sex (2014).

strong, in that most participants could identify Global South ideoscapes of religion, gender, racial, class, and melodrama. Ultimate results present the different ways diverse communities relate to Nollywood as a cultural production. Moreover, many participants identified very similarly with the following statement: "In other words, blackness does not just index race; it also indexes gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, labor, nationality, transnationality, and politics. The dynamic relationships create social meanings specific to local, national, and regional contexts" (Clarke & Thomas, 2006, pp. 8-9). Some participants clearly articulated these connections by both connecting (and disconnecting) global Black culture on both sides of the Atlantic.

Global Nollywood in the Latin America

The research revealed (in Chapter 4) how governmental and cultural institutions financially supported African cultural productions, that is, affirmative action policies financially supported Nollywood exhibitions, films screenings, and conferences. The Nollywood curators indicated that their interests as cinema studies scholars, producers, and film connoisseurs created a fascination with the Nollywood phenomenon they desired to share with the public. The Brazilian Ministry of Culture and cultural centers did receive financial support for their innovative approach, but they probably would have not created exhibitions with a concentration on Nollywood without curators' leadership. As a novelty and an intriguing phenomenon, research indicated that exhibition spaces, alternative cinemas, and *cineclubes* would be the best settings in which to host Nollywood formally in Brazil. Many teachers from secondary schools to college level instructors have expressed the desire for having access to films that were Nigerian

(especially those that are available with subtitles).[91] Therefore, in culmination with affirmative action laws (those related specifically to the teaching of African culture), to use Nollywood as a pedagogical tool that visually aids or otherwise supplements curriculum is extraordinarily relevant and is projected to be extremely beneficial. The research approach regarding Nollywood providing an alternative postcolonial space was both supported and refuted in the research, but, in an overall sense, audiences appeared to want to have the option to access Nollywood when, where, and how, they wanted to.

Nollywood co-productions in Brazil provided a perfect alternative (an exotic background) for the movies. This research captured insights regarding behind the scenes accounts of the transnational nature of the film industry, in São Paulo. Similar transnational production patterns also occur in Europe and in the United States (Krings & Okome, 2013) in that actors have to obtain visas to get to the country, and film crews have to wait to begin production until all actors are physically present at the filming site. The local Nigerian community hosted many of the actors and actresses; therefore, they supplied work opportunities for residents of the local communities as well as providing opportunities for highlighting glimpses of life for Nigerian Diasporas in Brazil.

Limitations

Throughout data collection, guidelines were followed (with only a few exceptions). For instance, in the cinema club in Salvador, Bahia, there was a pregnant participant who covered her eyes during a violent scene. Most audiences had similar reactions to the murder scene. Therefore, I should have issued a stronger disclaimer to warn audience members that there was some violence in the movie. In the cinema club

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[91] As evidence, after my research project a university teacher contacted me in order to receive a translated copy of the movie to show to class.

venue, some participants left before the movie started, as they had prior engagements. After the conclusion of the film, I asked participants to fill out the questionnaire first, but the cinema club facilitator overlooked my request, and he immediately began asking the audience questions about the movie. The audience was unaccustomed to long movies, since they typically watched short films and documentaries. The audience was accustomed to a lively debate after screenings, despite the fact that the movie began after 8 PM, and it ended after 10 PM; not surprisingly, participants were tired. Despite my desire to orchestrate the timeframe for questions otherwise, the director continued the previous format for *cineclubes,* which was to hold a debate immediately following the movie.

By extension, in São Paulo in the discussion group, and in some surveys, a few participants expressed frustration concerning the overt (and potentially raw) discussion of race and gender. As an example, one audience member expressed feelings that the articulation of such issues were based on the researcher's personal bias or racism. Perhaps, in the future, a clear definition of racism and a clearer vision of the project would have helped the audience members to realize that discussing race in an overt manner does not necessarily indicate the presence of racism or even imply the presence of racist undertones. The interaction was an indication of how some White Brazilians felt, and it parallels how many Americans believe the United States is, currently: they believe the US now exists in a post-racial (a post-racist) era.

Another example occurred during the discussion group at a university (during the screening of *Domitilla* (1997) when the professor offered his opinion regarding Nollywood. When a certain participant monopolized the conversation, I had to (quite

abruptly) remind that person of my sincere interest in having a chance to hear everyone's opinion. This case was similar to the multicultural institution discussion group, in which an older male tended to dominate the discussion, which subsequently overshadowed the input of other participants, and it made it difficult for others to provide their input in a fashion that was fair to all of them. As a facilitator, I had difficulty guiding the audience because one older male participant appeared to dominate the conversation. Although his commentary was rich and informative, it did not allow time for the input of younger students who appeared to be ready to return to their homes. With practice, the skills required for being an effective facilitator became easier over time.

The Yoruba class presented its own limitations. For example, one part of the film was fast-forwarded, the sample size was small, there was a time constraint; therefore, it was impossible to conduct a discussion group after that film screening. Specifically, one student left early for *capoeira,* and an older Black woman verbally expressed her frustration that she had not seen enough of the movie to submit viable opinions on its worth. I reassured her that she was not obligated to complete questions she felt she could not answer in the survey. Thus, I did not specify that participants had to view the entire movie in order to respond to questions about the movie. Should I have established this guideline beforehand, a certain level of confusion may have been avoided.

Originally, I did not intend to provide background information on Nollywood until the end of the movie (and after the completion of surveys). Nonetheless, in some environments, it was impossible; I had to explain Nollywood (and the nature and intent of the research) to better contextualize background information for audiences. Thus, the responses to the questionnaire were implemented without explanation (of the

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aforementioned nature and intent) in three site locations--the Afrocentric group, the library, and at the Yoruba class. In contrast, three site locations requested an explanation of Nollywood and the research intent in the multicultural institution at the cinema club and in the university class.

In contrast, three site locations requested an explanation of Nollywood and the research intent in the multicultural institution at the cinema club and in the university class. At one site, I attempted to be especially unobtrusive. Nonetheless, the owner did not want me to be in the store, but her customers did. In some site locations, I attracted customers, but I also served to be a distraction and an apparent interruption to the normal flows of activity. Once my interference became a fairly obvious hindrance, I left, and I went to other areas in the multilayer strip mall (mainly, I went to restaurants and other retail shops) to observe daily activities. Therefore, in one site, the environment became hostile toward me; therefore, I left, and I realized it was best to be present at one particular shop where the owners were more welcoming than they were in other ones. One participant offered his advice on how to best fit into the community; he suggested that, instead of standing out as an American outsider (a "spy" of sorts), I should lie (by acting as if I had a Nigerian father), and, because of that, the community would be more likely to permit me access to the above mentioned venues.

At one point, I was welcomed by an Asian store clerk as well as several Nigerian and Brazilian storeowners. This possibly occurred because they too were "outsiders" in the African community. "Outsider positionality" appears to be a recurring theme. As an outsider in another shop, my mere presence appeared to attract people to enter the shop and to buy items there—meaning that as a new person in a space where business owners

see each other daily they knew who was new and who was an outsider. People were curious in the beginning about why an American frequented the mall, rather than working. The position of the store clerk helped me to advance my research, yet at times his position impeded me. On one hand, the shops sometimes would get more business because I was there (men would occasionally pause to buy refreshments or take interest in why I was there). On the other hand, as a note-taker, my actions caused suspicion of an American in possibly working as a CIA agent or with the Brazilian police to try to gather information on individuals in the different community. (Several participants remained anonymous, indicating they did not completely trust my stated research intentions). Also, many Nigerians and Brazilians were bewildered that I was researching Nollywood in Brazil instead of Nigeria.[92] These limitations indicate ways to improve collection of data for researchers in the future.

Overall, the lack of spending equal amounts of time in both geographical locations was something of a general impediment to the research. In each, I was considered an outsider—in an ethnic, national, spiritual, and linguistic sense. The Diaspora populations were completely different, so full of interior differences, resulting in utterly different responses. In the mostly African immigrant spaces, the male and East Asian/Brazilian shop owners seemed more welcoming than the Nigerian female shop owners. Most likely, the welcoming environment was related to the shop being run by non-Africans (essentially meaning that they understood my position as a woman and as an outsider). In the shop with a female Nigerian owner, when her male employees were

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[92] When Nigerians assumed I was CIA or a spy I assured them, that if I was interested in their community for other motives I would at least know the Igbo or Yoruba languages. For some this was enough while for others they did not complete a survey.

present, she was welcoming and, apparently, did not mind my being there. At times though, the welcoming nature and efforts toward trying to culturally identify with me (in a colloquial manner) were propagated using the kind of slang commonly used in African American rap songs. The Francophone female venders overall were much more welcoming and inviting than the Nigerian ones were. Therefore, as a researcher, I had to adapt carefully to multiple environments outside of adjusting to Brazilian, Afro-Brazilian, and geographical locations.

Significance

One problem in both the Portuguese and English empirical literature is that many Nollywood scholars indicate a connection with Nollywood and Brazil without describing the phenomena *within* Brazil (e.g., Esan, 2008; Haynes, 2010; Laboto, 2010; Meleiro, 2009). Indeed, Nollywood Diaspora research is often limited in the scope of Yoruba or English-speaking African or African Diaspora communities (Esan, 2008; Adesokan, 2011). Nollywood research in Brazil expands beyond the geographical locations of Britain and former English-speaking British colonies (Cartelli, 2007). My research has aimed to question the cultural value of Nollywood in a country linguistically different from the Nigerian Diaspora and English-speaking Diaspora communities. The implications of this research indicate the ongoing cultural fluctuations in the Southern Hemisphere between Latin America and Africa.

This study sheds light on the viewpoints/positioning of "a minority within a minority" in Brazil. This essentially means I endeavored in my research to (1) shed light upon previously unheard African immigrant voices and (2) to bring attention to their invaluable viewpoints as Black citizens living in Brazil. As indicated by their responses,

Nigerians tend to think more of ethnicity than race. Nonetheless, some who lived in Brazil for longer periods of time recognized the inherent racism embedded within Brazilian society. The violence experienced in many of these communities resembles the violence experienced in Afro-Brazilian communities. Lusophone Africans often try to disassociate with Afro-Brazilians to escape the same reality that they experience. Thus, the Anglophone Nigerians in Brazil struggle with learning the language, entering a university, transferring their degree, or working in Brazil. One shop owner explained that some Nigerians have no idea where they are going when they come to Brazil, perhaps even thinking it is close to the United States. Once they arrive in Brazil, they therefore think they can work for a little while and then hop on a bus to cross over the border into the United States. Instead, they find that life in Brazil is harder than they first believed, and subsequently have to learn the language. If they have a degree, they have to become certified in Brazil for their credentials to become recognized. This illustrates a brief synopsis of what life is frequently like for African immigrants who come to Brazil in search of a better life. One Nigerian male told me that if doing the same operation as I (conducting the research) in the Peruvian community, they would not let me have access behind the scenes to enter a market place of trading and business transactions. Therefore, in the environment that I was in, Nigerians that had businesses in the country for years stated they never associate with newcomers struggling to survive.

The continuous and ongoing connection among dehumanized Black subjects historically leads to resistance, acculturation, and the use of diverse tactics for survival. This research sought to describe contemporary Africana dialogue in the Global South, and extends both macro and micro levels of class, gender, racial, religious oppression,

and—to be sure—violence. Indeed, several Afro-Brazilian respondents revealed the persecution of Afro-Brazilians to the point of what one informant called "a mass genocide" against Black and Brown subjects in Brazil. Many respondents identified with violence, oppression, and marginalization as a class-related problem. Also, several respondents voiced that the systems of violence and oppression also stem from a lack of representation or understanding that Black people (particularly Black women) are humans with the right to work and live equally. For example, in Salvador, Bahia, daily observations and discussions with activists, both Black and White, clarified the deeply embedded structural racism, that extends into daily society by White people who assume it is okay to "cut in front of" a Black person in line because, as a Black person, one could only be a servant, so neither your time nor your physical presence is as important as someone who appears closer to being of European descent. Similarly, clerks seeing a White person in line almost automatically attend to them first even if a person of color has been waiting in line longer.

Similarly, during carnival there are scenes where "seas" of Black and Brown people envelop guarded White "islands." The fact that some Whites would rather plant drugs on black children than share the beach with them reminds me of what occurs in many Black communities around the world. As a novice researcher, it is impossible to right extreme injustices or make a significant difference with a single study. Many scholars, such as Carter G. Woodson (1933), stated that Blacks need to create their own systems to operate in and they need to stop depending on the social, political, and economic systems that have never served their best interests (pp. 81 and 180). This notion of self-definition also extends to visual representations. It would be better if such

definitions were produced by people that look like them—preferably those including an obvious political message—until they are able to receive democratic representation as subaltern. But most Nigerians, unless they are in the Diaspora for a while, are mostly uninterested in racial concerns of others around the world, given that they live in a Black world with social, economic, spiritual, and political issues that are more pressing in their own country.

Thus, my research utilized the Nollywood industry as a specific vehicle meant to open a discussion of contemporary issues concerning the Global South in Brazil in African migrant communities, cultural institutions, and government in a group of primarily first time Afro-Brazilian Nollywood consumers. The questions remain: *Can Nollywood movies help to build a better understanding of cultural heritage? Will mostly Black Brazilians see a diasporic homeland connection, or will they see a completely different view of Nollywood as a distant cultural marker?* To do this, my research captured contemporary Diaspora voices in Brazil to understand the conversations that both bind and separate the communities on parallel sides of the Atlantic. Many Brazilian communities interested in Black cultural production(s) are looking for a political message and, likewise, depictions of Nigerian cultural realities. Similarly, many film studies scholars were looking for a more political movie than a telenovela style film. Thus, respondents frequently indicated ambivalence toward the Nigerian cultural production.

Conclusion

This research examined Afro-Brazilian and African identification with Nollywood through a discussion of Diaspora, and Global South, reception theories, and affirmative action laws. Potentially, Nollywood in Brazil could align with governmental policies as a

form of educational endeavor concerning Africa. A former interviewee in Bahia argued that the most plausible method for Nollywood to create a powerful niche within Brazil would be through the *cineclubes*. The interested parties in Nollywood were mostly entrepreneurs, cultural communities, cinema studies scholars, cinema clubs, and the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

The presence of Global Nollywood still exists. There are challenges, but it is being reproduced and disseminated in quite a variety of ways. For the most part, respondents stated that Nollywood was important for Africans living outside of Nigeria. The ways the audience related with Nigerian cultural productions was through seeing Black visual body images, aesthetic styles of clothes, hair, houses, rural areas, and cities. Many participants wanted to see traditional African practices, which were represented negatively in the movie, making the potential connection problematic. But, if more Brazilian Christians were to view the films, it is possible they may develop a deeper appreciation for Africans and their heritage. Overall, participants related to prevalent themes aligning the Global South, such as violence and oppression within gender roles, prostitution, and economic, and social structure in Brazil.

The majority of participants felt that Nollywood translations would benefit people interested in learning about African/Nigerian culture. The research goal was to understand how to humanize media portrayals of both Africa and its Diaspora. Insights from Brazilians will assist to understand future possibilities and adversities related to the Nollywood film industry in Brazil. Furthermore, this will be beneficial for the new wave of Nollywood producers interested in expanding more co-productions on a global level.

This descriptive research revealed that the supplementation of Nollywood could assist the scarcity of diverse Black characters in media by Global South cultural productions. As an alternative cultural production powerhouse, Nigerian movies could benefit Afro-Brazilians who seek representation outside mainstream Euro-Brazilian reliance on the Global North; this tends to provide some diversity that often replicates historical stereotypes of what it means to be a Black individual in the world. This study explores how—and if—African subjects align with African movies in Brazil, and how new and older Diaspora communities use Nollywood under the new pro-African governmental policies. Overall, participants indicated that Nollywood reception helps Brazilians engage with African renditions of identity. While the cultural world is divided by East/West and North/South longitudes and latitudes, our recognition of it still being One World is crucial.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRES

NB: the following four pages are English versions of the survey instrument employed by the researcher for the interviews. The originals are in Portuguese. The pages are presented in the order they were seen by respondents; as "half-sheets," the printed layout would, of course, appear different.

NOLLYWOOD VIEWING HABITS

Kamahra Ewing

1. When do you usually watch Nollywood films/videos? (Mark all that apply.)

Morning	Early Afternoon	Late Afternoon	Early Evening	Late Evening	Very Late Night
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

2. Where do you usually watch Nollywood films? (Mark all that apply.)

My Home	A Friend or Family Member's Home	The Theater	Other (please explain below)
◯	◯	◯	◯

_____
_____

3. Who are your favorite actors/actresses, and directors?

_____
_____

4. Why do you watch Nollywood films?

_____
_____

5. What are your favorite genres of Nollywood movies to watch? (Mark all that apply.)

Romance	Mystery	Comedy	Thriller	Other (explain below)
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

_____
_____

6. How—and where—do you obtain Nollywood films?

How:_____

Where:_____

7. What themes interest you most about watching Nollywood videos?

_____
_____

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NOLLYWOOD VIEWING HABITS

8. Do these movies remind you of life in Brazil? Explain below.

YES	NO	UNSURE
○	○	○

Explain:_____

_____

9. Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why not (explain below)?

YES	NO	UNSURE
○	○	○

Explain:_____

_____

10. Do you think that Nollywood could be successful in Brazil? Why or why not (explain below)?

YES	NO	UNSURE
○	○	○

Explain:_____

_____

11. How would you say Nollywood films portray Africans in the films?

VERY POSITIVELY	SOMEWHAT POSITIVELY	NEUTRALLY	SOMEWHAT NEGATIVELY	VERY NEGATIVELY
○	○	○	○	○

12. What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch? (Mark all that apply)

NIGERIA	BRAZIL	USA	INDIA	LATIN AMERICA	CARIBBEAN	EUROPE	CHINA	OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

13. How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch?

_____

_____

NOLLYWOOD VIEWING HABITS

14-A. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
○	○	○	○	○

14-B. How are Blacks portrayed within the films that you normally watch?

_____

_____

14-C. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

20%	40%	60%	80%	100%
○	○	○	○	○

15. Do you think that Nollywood accurately represents Nigerian culture?

YES	NO	UNSURE (PLEASE EXPLAIN BELOW)
○	○	○

_____

_____

16. How often do you watch Nollywood films per week in Sao Paulo?

Once per week or fewer	2-3 Times per week	4-5 Times per week	6 Times per week or more often
○	○	○	○

17-A. Have you traveled to Nigeria within the last 5 years ? 17-B. Would you like to return to Nigeria to live ?

YES	NO	YES	NO
○	○	○	○

Thank you for your permission to use this information for
my doctoral dissertation.
For more information about this project, please contact
Kamahra Ewing

ewingkam@msu.edu

Michigan State University

NOLLYWOOD VIEWING HABITS

18. What was your age at your last birthday? _____

19. What is your ethnic background?

_____

20. What is your occupation?

_____

21. What is your gender?

M A L E	F E M A L E
○	○

22. What is your city and country of birth?

_____

23. What is your religion?

_____

23. What is your highest level of education achieved?

Not Finished High School	Finished High School	Some College	Bachelor's Degree	Graduate School
○	○	○	○	○

24. Why did you initially decide to come to Brazil? _____
_____

25. Today's date: _____

26. Please share any additional thoughts you have on Nollywood cinema:

_____
_____
_____
_____

27. (Optional) Your name and email:

_____
_____

APPENDIX B:

DIFFERENCES IN SITE LOCATIONS

Site location 1: Pan-African/Afrocentric group

In October of 2013, I was introduced to the first site location through a mutual friend from the United States who invited me to participate in viewing a Malcolm X documentary within a Pan-African group of approximately 20 people. There, I served as a translator between an African American couple and a mutual friend. After participating in the group, I asked the group facilitator about the possibility of showing a Nigerian film to the group within the next month. The facilitator gave me full access to his community and allowed me to conduct interviews and host a brief discussion after the movie. Following this, a Facebook page pertaining to the movie was created, and the movie was screened two Saturdays later.

Upon arrival, there were only two participants at the screening; one was a Black male, the other was a Black female, and later, three other participants arrived. The host reminded me that many people could not attend the showing since the following week was a premiere showing of *For Colored Girls* (2011). The movie began, and the host had to restart the film in order to include Portuguese subtitles to the showing.

Site location 2: Library

The second official site location was at the *Biblioteca Central* (Central Library) within Dimas (twice). The location was a result of an in-depth interview with a TV/film producer and an informal contact made at a health food store. The film was exhibited within a week of talking to a participant at the library, and it was exhibited on December 1st and 2nd, 2013. On the first day, the theatre was

vacant, given that it was a regional holiday recognized as Samba Day. Upon exiting the theatre, I entered a sea of *Baianos* dancing throughout the streets in celebration.

The following day, there were approximately 9 movie viewers. After the movie, I collected surveys from most of the audience members, and I approached spectators were individually. Two viewers were not interested in completing the survey, as evidenced by one male, who quickly exited the theatre, and the other male took a survey claiming he would complete the information and later return it, which never occurred. One male participant finished the survey a few days later and returned it. The rest of the participants completed the survey immediately following the showing. Another participant appeared to have difficulty completing the survey; thus, I read the question to him and transcribed his responses. Two students came to the screening anticipating that I provided official certification or signatures to attend the movie for class credit.

Site location 3: National Council for Cineclubes (film societies)

The third screening was held on December 13th, 2013 at the National Council for *Cineclubes* (film societies) concerning Nollywood and *Domitilla* (1997). This site location was established through previous exploratory and preliminary research connections. As a result, I was invited to participate in the forum by the regional club's president. The event location, in Itapua, was held inside a school, within an exhibition room holding between 100-150 participants. As an invited guest, I had to go along with the cinema clubs program. Thus, before screening the movie, I provided a 20-minute PowerPoint slide presentation

on the Nollywood video industry to approximately 25-35 participants and 11 viewers completed questionnaires.

Some participants at the cinema club left before the movie started due to prior engagements. After the showing, I requested participants fill out the questionnaire first, but, the cinema club facilitator overlooked the request, and, after the showing, immediately began asking the audience questions about the movie. The audience was unaccustomed to longer movies, since they normally watched short films and documentaries. The audience was accustomed to a lively debate after screenings despite the fact that the movie began after 8pm and ended after 10 p.m., and participants were tired.

Site location 4: Multicultural Institution

In September and October of 2013, I frequented numerous events at the multicultural institution featuring special guest speakers, artists, lectures, Afrocentric debates, dissertation defenses, affirmative action seminars, and a Kwanzaa celebration. There were 8 surveys collected out of 11 viewers. I inquired, on a monthly basis, how and when *Domitilla* (1997) could be screened. In December of 2013, after a seminar, I received permission to exhibit the movie and a confirmation date. Access was gained to the site through constant contact and participation within the organization. I presented a 5-minute informal presentation, by providing a brief description of the conceptual inception of the project, followed by a description of key points about the Nollywood industry. After lunch, the film began in a room that held approximately 50 participants. At the beginning of the film, there were twelve audience members—four of whom

were men. After the movie, participants completed the surveys, took a break, then responded to the discussion questions.

Site location 5: Yoruba class exhibition 20th of December 2013

December 20th, 2013, the last Yoruba class of the year was held within an apartment building in downtown Salvador, Bahia. During the movie, the teacher used the screening as a teaching reference concerning Yoruba and African culture to four students in the classroom. Because of time constraints, a small section of Domitilla was fast-forwarded. Immediately following the movie, while students completed the questionnaires, the teacher began playing Nigerian Christmas songs Gras and Hallelujah. The teacher taught Yoruba songs that included Elu Agogo and Olundende Atiayo, and everyone learned the words "*Otin do do"* ("thank you").

The Yoruba class had several limitations. For example, one part of the film was fast forwarded, the sample size was small, there was a time constraint, and it was impossible to conduct a discussion group in this setting. More specifically, one student left early for Capoeira, and an older Black woman expressed verbal frustration that she had not seen enough of the movie. I reassured her she was not obligated to complete parts of the survey she felt that she could not answer. Thus, I did not specify that participants had to view the entire movie in order to respond (which may have been a better guideline, and doing so may have helped avoid confusion).

Site location 6: Universidade 14th of January 2014

This site location was selected based on preliminary contact with a professor who invited me to present the movie in his course. The professor commenced with a brief introduction to Nollywood, and I continued with an

explanation of the research project. Following the screening, students took a 15-minute break before and after completing the surveys. There were about 11 participants, and some students had questions about the questionnaire. One informant suggested I present *Domitilla* (1997) at another regional conference. After the break, the students assembled in a circle and the semi-structured discussion ensued. The class was unaccustomed to watching a two-hour film during a three-hour class period. As a result, and due to time constraints, the discussions about the last of the four questions were rushed.

Overall, discussion groups were held after the screenings, with the exception of the screening in the Yoruba class and at the library. The teacher was kind enough to allow me to gain access to the class by skipping over most of his lesson plan. The time allotted for the class was only two hours, and I occupied 95% of the class time. The library was opened to the public, and a discussion following the movie was not scheduled. Thus, environmental circumstances prohibited me from holding post-screening discussion groups.

Throughout research collection, the guidelines were followed with only a few exceptions. For instance, within the cinema club in Salvador, Bahia, there was one pregnant participant, who had to cover her eyes during a violent scene. Most audiences had similar reactions to the murder scene. Therefore, I should have had a stronger disclaimer prepared to warn audience members about the portion of violence within the movie.

Another example occurred during the discussion group at a university, and during the screening of *Domitilla* (1997), the professor would at times dominate

the conversation. Still, whenever any discussant monopolized the conversation, I had to abruptly remind that person of my interest in everyone's participation. A similar event occurred within the multicultural institution discussion group, and an older male frequently dominated the discussion, overshadowing other participants' contributions. As a facilitator, I had difficulty guiding the audience due to the older male participant and his tendency to dominate the discussion. Although his commentary was rich and informative, it overshadowed the commentary of younger students. With practice, I acquired the skills required to be an effective facilitator, and guiding the discussions became easier over time.

Originally, I did not intend to provide background information on Nollywood until the movie had ended and after the survey had been completed. Nonetheless, in some environments, this did not appear to be a wise choice; I had to explain Nollywood, and the research, to better contextualize background information for the film audiences. Thus, the questionnaire responses were implemented without explanation in three site locations: the Afrocentric group, the library, and the Yoruba class. In contrast, three site locations requested an explanation of Nollywood and research intent. This occurred within the multicultural institution, the cinema club, and the university class.

Site location 7: São Paulo

Based on preliminary research contacts, I was able to quickly confirm a screening of *Domitilla* (1997) in São Paulo. Many participants were interested in the movie screening, since it was in collaboration with International Women's day, and its purpose was to examine Nigerian gender issues. An online invitation was

sent via the Facebook listserves and film society press releases. There were 20 audience members selected based on those who agreed to complete a survey in the cinema club. The audience reception research methods were used to complete a survey in the cinema club. Therefore, participants were given surveys immediately following the movie. During the movie, the DVD timing was a fraction of a second off (because of this, an extra hour was added to the screening). There were approximately 35 participants including the cinema club members, though immediately following the film, 3 participants left without participating in the discussion. The screening and discussion were supposed to end by 10 p.m., but at 10 p.m., the movie ended and the discussion began.

APPENDIX C:

PORTUGUESE QUESTIONS THAT OVERLAP WITH ENGLISH QUESTIONS

Questionnaire Questions

Combination Surveys

[The **bold** questions overlapping in the Portuguese and English questionnaires]

SP-G [English questionnaire] original questions

1. When do you usually watch Nollywood films/videos?

2. Where do you usually watch Nollywood films?

3. Who are your favorite actors/actresses, and directors?

4. Why do you watch Nollywood films?

5. What are your favorite genres of Nollywood movies to watch?

6. How do you obtain Nollywood films? 6b. Where?

7 [SBQ8]. What themes interest you most about watching Nollywood videos?

8. Do these movies remind you of Nigeria? If so how?

9. [SBQ15] Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why

      not?

10. Do you think that Nollywood is successful in Nigeria? Why or why not?

11. How would you say Nollywood Films Portray Africans?

12 [SBQ14] . What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?

13. How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch?

14-A [SBQ19-a]. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch?

14-B [SBQ19-b]. How are Blacks portrayed within the films that you normally

      watch?

14-C [SBQ19-c]. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch

      have Black characters?

15 [SBQ18]. Do you think that Nollywood accurately represents African culture?

16. How often do you watch Nollywood films per week in Nigeria?

17-A. Have you traveled to Nigeria within the last 5 years?

17-B. Would you like to return to Nigeria to live?

18 [SBQ34]. What was your age at your last birthday?

19. What is your ethnic background?

20 [SBQ24]. What is your occupation?

21 [SBQ25]. Gender?

22 [SBQ26]. What is your city and country of birth?

23A [SBQ27]. Religion

23B [SBQ28]. Education

24. Why did you initially decide to come to Brazil.

25. Today's date

26. Additional thoughts about Nollywood

APPENDIX D:

PORTUGUESE QUESTIONNAIRES

Portuguese Nollywood Questions

1. Como você conheceu esta mostra de Domitilla?

2. Por que você decidiu vir assistir o filme?

3. Hoje foi a primeira vez que assistiu um filme nigeriano (Nollywood)? A) Sim B) Não

4. Gostou do filme? A) Sim B) Não C) Não Sabe Explique:

5. O que você pensa sobre os personagens do filme?

6. Você poderia se identificar com os personagens? A) Sim B) Não C) Não Sabe

Explique:

7. O que você pensa sobre a qualidade do filme?

8. Quais temas lhes interessam mais no filme de Nollywood?

9. Você vê alguma semelhança com filmes brasileiros? Sim Não Não Sabe

10. Qual semelhança/diferença você vê entre Domitilla e filmes brasileiros?

    a) semelhanças

    b) diferenças

11. O que você acha a respeito do papel das mulheres e dos homens nigerianos dentro do

filme Domitilla?

    a) Mulheres:

    b) Homens:

12. Sua opinião/impressão sobre os africanos mudou depois de ver este filme?

    A) Sim B) Não C) Não Sabe Explique

13. O filme de Nollywood te deram mais informações sobre a cultura da Nigéria?

    A) Sim B) Não C) Não Sabe

    Explique:

14. A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir? (marque as opções que se aplicam) R O M A N C E M I S T É R I O C O M É D I A S U S P E N S E D O C U M E N T Á R I O T R A G E G I A O U T R O S (E X P L I Q U E A B A I XO)

B) E de quais países? (marque as opções que se aplicam)

B R A S I L EUA A M E R I C A L A T I N A C H I N A C A R I B E E U R O P A N I G E R I A P A I S E S L U S O A F R I C A N O S O U T R O S P A I S E S A F R I C A N O S

15. Nollywood é importante para os africanos fora da Nigéria? S I M N Ã O I N C E RT O (E X P L I Q U E A B A I XO)

Explique:

16. Você acha que Nollywood poderia ter sucesso no Brasil?

S I M N Ã O Não Sabe (E X P L I Q U E A B A I XO) Explique:

17. Em sua opinião como os africanos são retratados no filme de Nollywood?

B A S T A N T E P O S I T I VA M E N T E P O U C O P O S I T I VA M E N T E N E U T R O P O U C O N E G A T I VA M E N T E B A S T A N T E N E G AT I VA M E N T E

18. Você acha que o filme retrata com precisão a cultura nigeriana?

A) Sim B) Não C) Incerto Explica:_____

19. A. Os negros desempenham um papel especifico nos filmes que você assiste normalmente? C O N C O R D O T O TA L M E N T E C O N C O R D O N E M C O N C O R D O N E M D I S C O R D O D I S C O R D O D I S A C O R D O T O TA L M E N T E

-B. Se sim, como?

-C. Aproximadamente que percentagem dos filmes que você costuma assistir tem personagens negros?

2 0%   4 0%   6 0%   8 0%   1 0 0%

-D. Dentro de cinema brasileiro normalmente quais são as personagens para negros e pardos?

20-A. E possível que os filmes nigerianos ajudem a educar os brasileiros sobre a cultura Africano?

Sim   Não   Não Sabe (E X P L I Q U E A B A I XO)

B. Explique:

21. Que tipo de cinema nigeriano que gostaria de ver?

22-A. Você gostaria de visitar a África?

 22-B. Você gostaria de visitar a Nigéria?

22- C. Qual parte da África você gostaria visitar?

23. Qual a seu étnica ou raça?

24. Qual é sua ocupação?

25. H O M E N   M U L H E R

26. Qual é seu país e cidade de nascimento?

27. Qual é a sua religião?

28. Qual é seu maior nível de educação alcançado?

Ensino Fundamental / Escolasegundaria / Graduação / Especialização / Mestreado /

Doutorado

29. Data: ___/12/2013

30. Gostaria de acrescentar alguma observação sobre a sua experiência de assistir o filme de Nollywood?

31. (Opcional) Nome:

32. Email:

33. Número de telefone:

34. Idade:

APPENDIX E:

QUESTIONNAIRE OVERALL THEMES

Questionnaire Breakdown

Consumption Habits

1. When do you usually watch Nollywood films/videos?

2. Where do you usually watch Nollywood films?

6. How do you obtain Nollywood films? 6b. Where

16. How often do you watch Nollywood films per week in Nigeria?

African General Movie Habits

12. What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?

13. How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch?

2) How does Nollywood serve as a vehicle for cultural production to impact audience perceptions of Africans?

Identification with Films

3. Who are your favorite actors/actresses, and directors?

4. Why do you watch Nollywood films?

5. What are your favorite genres of Nollywood movies to watch?

7. What themes interest you most about watching Nollywood videos?

African Representation and Diaspora Homeland Connections

8. Do these movies remind you of Nigeria? If so how?

9. Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why not? 10.

Do you think that Nollywood is successful in Nigeria? Why or why not?

3) do Brazilians think that Nollywood could have success in Brazil?

Would Nigerian films help educate Brazilians about African culture?

APPENDIX F:

QUESTIONNAIRE AND DISCUSSION GROUP RESPONSES/THEMES

Questionnaire dates

SB (Salvador, Bahia)
1= 11/30/13=5
2=12/2/13=6
3=12/13/13=6
4= 12/15/13=5
5=12/18/13=11
6=1/14/14=10

SP-M (São Paulo Screening)
7= 3-15-2014=n=20
0=1=2%

SP-G (São Paulo mostly African participants)
21=2/26/14 =n=2
22=2/27/14 =n=2
23=3/13/14 n=2
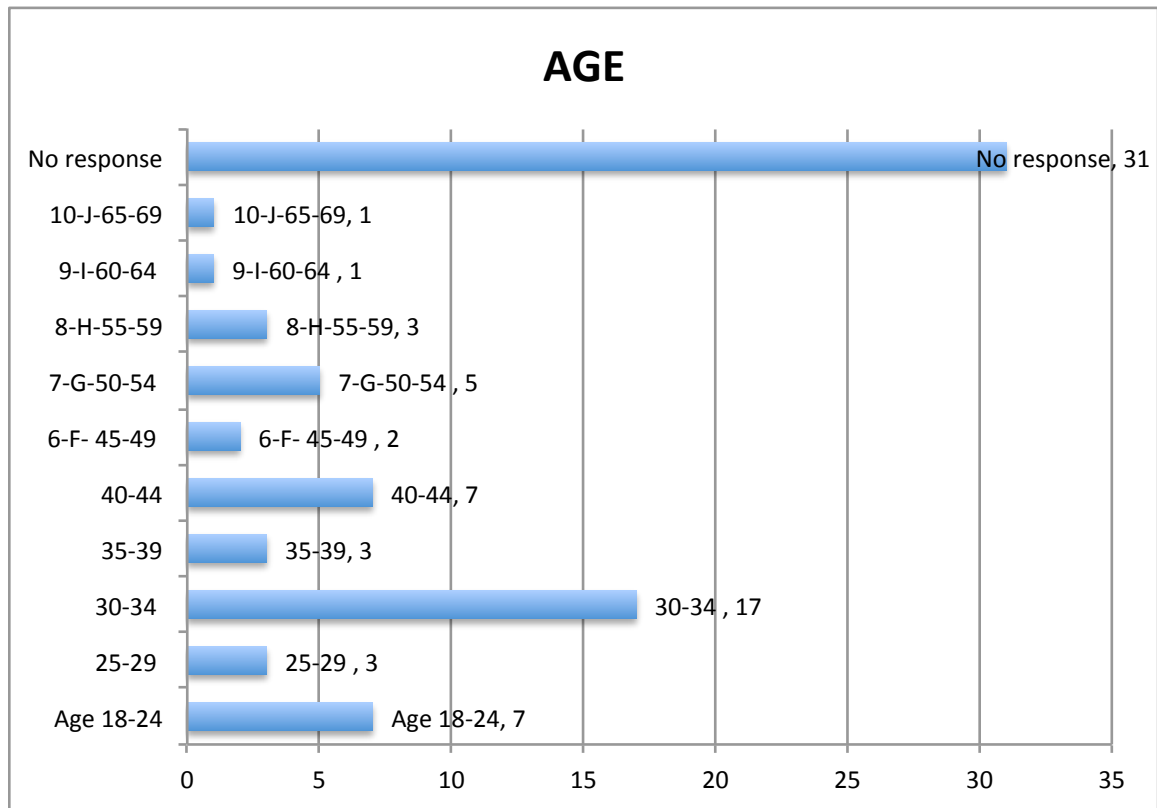24 =3/20/14 n= 2
25=3/26/14 n=1
27=3/20/14 n=2

AGE

Category	Value
No response	No response, 31
10-J-65-69	10-J-65-69, 1
9-I-60-64	9-I-60-64 , 1
8-H-55-59	8-H-55-59, 3
7-G-50-54	7-G-50-54 , 5
6-F- 45-49	6-F- 45-49 , 2
40-44	40-44, 7
35-39	35-39, 3
30-34	30-34 , 17
25-29	25-29 , 3
Age 18-24	Age 18-24, 7

Figure 3: Graph: AGE
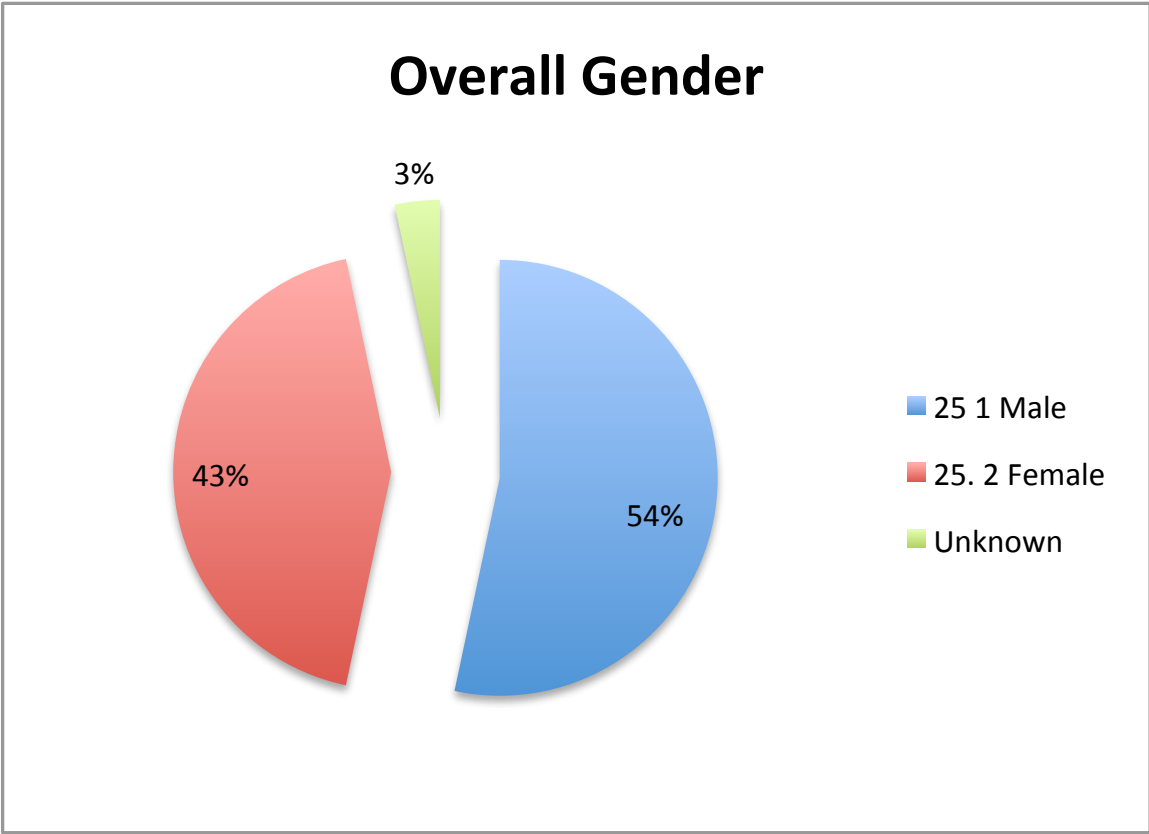(on Portuguese surveys, the research had to retrieve the ages of individuals since, it was not on the questionnaire)
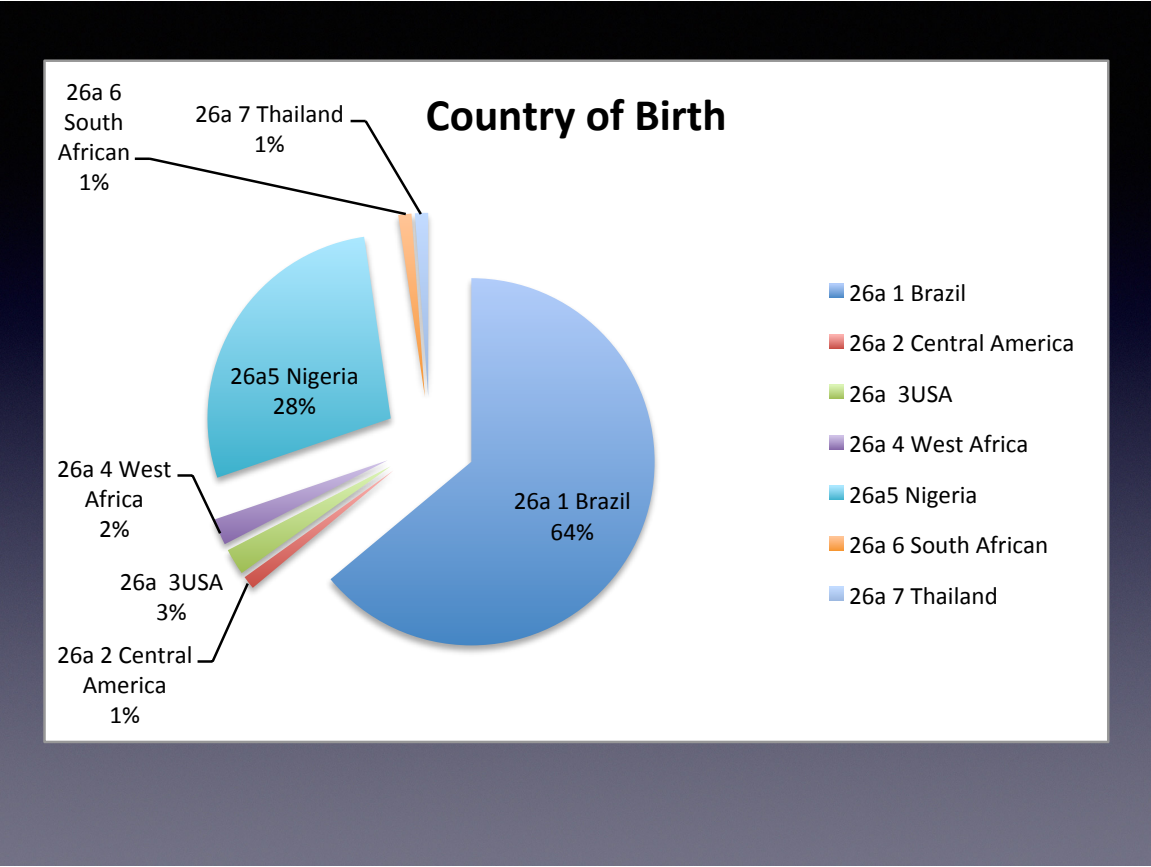
Overall Gender

3%

43%

54%

- 25 1 Male
- 25. 2 Female
- Unknown

Figure 4: Chart: GENDER

Figure 5: Chart: COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Educational level

Bars (top to bottom):
- 28 13= Some College=3
- 28 11=Not finished High School
- 28 5 doctorate degree
- 28 3[bachelor's degree]
- 28 1 & 10 primary school education

(x-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35)

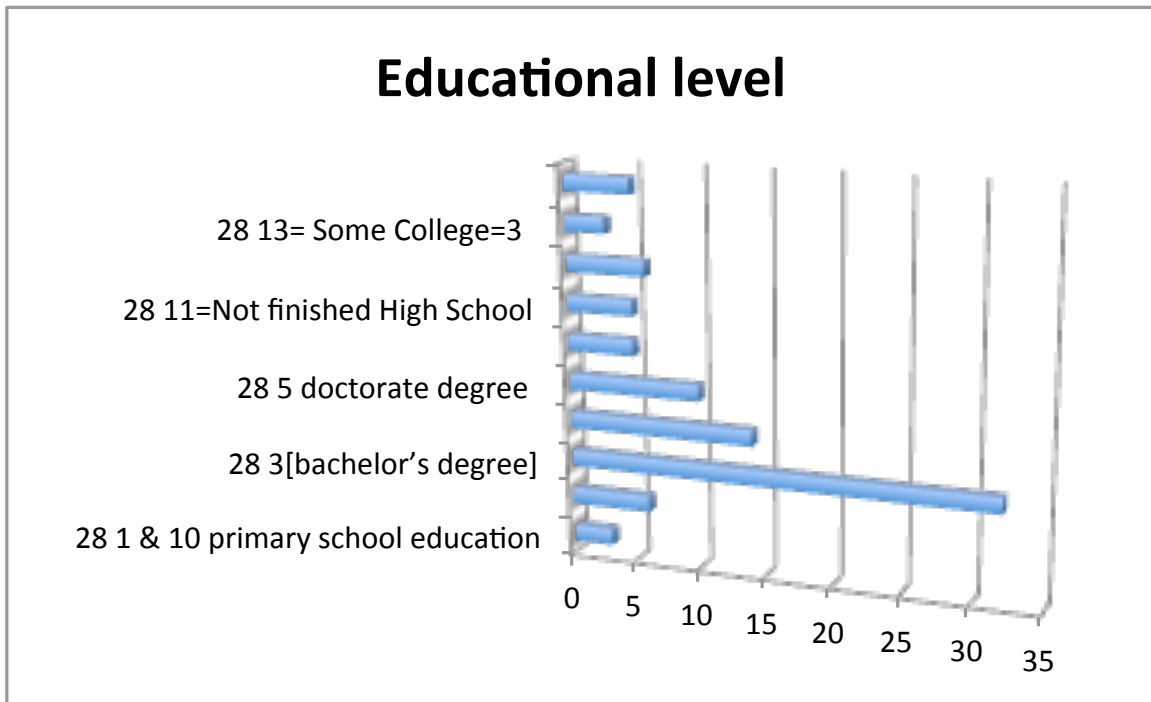**Figure 6: Chart: EDUCATION LEVEL**
[28 refers to the question number, and the numbers in front indicate the codes assigned per entry]

Religious Affiliation

Legend:
- Christian
- 4 Espiritista
- 5 no religion
- 6,7, 15 Candomblé
- Muslim
- Atheist
- Agnostic
- 12 Kardecista

Pie chart labels:
- Christian 39%
- 4 Espiritista 3%
- 5 no religion 13%
- 6,7, 15 Candomblé 10%
- Muslim 6%
- Atheist 3%
- Agnostic 4%
- 12 Kardecista 3%
- Mentioned more than one religion [20, 21] 2%
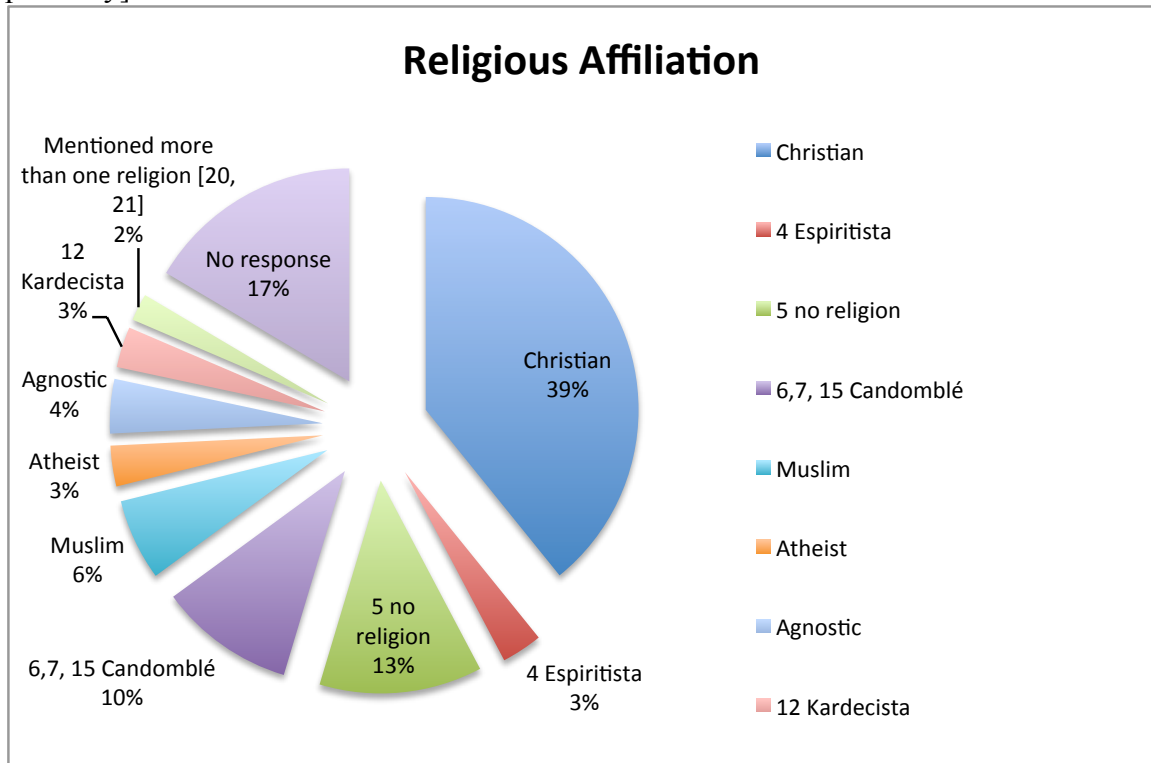- No response 17%

Figure 7: Chart: RELIGION

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DI-C5-Results-Responses

I. Nollywood reception = DQ (Overall dissertation question) #1 &#2
    Engage with= Identification [QQ (Questionnaire Questions) #1]

  II.   African Identification with movies São Paulo New African Diaspora Results
          [Demographic chart] OVERVIEW
    1. Consumption habits SP-G Q#1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 16 #8
    2. Background SP-G Q#12, 13
    3. Identification with movies SP-G Q#3, 4, 5, 8, 9 7

A. SB&SP-M

    1. Background = QQ#1,2,3,
    2. Identification with Domitilla QQ#4, 5, 7 need to add 9, 10 and 11 A&B
    3. DGQ (Discussion Group Questions) #1 What did you think about Domitilla?
            a. Themes
            b. Sub-themes

C. Intersecting identification questions
      1.SB=SP-G#7 = SBQ #8 and
      2. SB=SP-G#9 = SBQ #15

II. Nollywood reception variances = DQ#1 &#2 Engage with= Identification [QQ#1
A. African Identification with movies São Paulo New African Diaspora Results
    [consumption]

      Consumption habits SP-G Q#1,2, 6, 16 #8,

1. When do you usually watch Nollywood films/videos? 1= [1&2] Morning & Early
Afternoon n=2
3 = [3&4] Late Afternoon& Early Evening n=12
5 = [5&6] Late Evening & Very Late Evening n=26

2. Where do you usually watch Nollywood films? [several respondents indicated
multiple responses]

1= My Home n=24
2= A Friend at a family member's home n=3

6. How do you obtain Nollywood films? [several respondents indicated multiple
responses]
Personally Brings from Nigeria = 10
Friends bring from Nigeria=4
Buy in African shops in Brazil=8

Online=4
From Nigeria= 11
From Brazil= 12 including online or receiving from personal friends
Both Nigeria and Brazil=== 1=PFN- Personally from Nigeria
2=FBN-Friend brings it from Nigeria
3=RB-Re

6b. Where
From Nigeria= 12
Brazil means online as well=8
From Brazil=4/ Online= 4
  16. How often do you watch Nollywood films per week in Brazil?
1= Once a week or less=12
2= 2-3 a week=8
3 = 4-5 a week=2
4= 6 or more times a week = 4

2. Background SP-G Q#12, 13 African General movie habits
12. What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?
1= Nigeria=24
2= Brazil=8
3= USA=20
4= India=6
5= Latin America=5
6= Caribbean=1
7=Europe=4
8=China =5
9= Other African Countries=5

13. How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch? Redoing the question

SP-G #1
     2. Background [Move to previous quant section]

17a Have you traveled to Nigeria within the last 5 years
1=YES =18
2=NO=6
-=N/a=2

SP-G Q#17b. Would you like to return to Nigeria to live?
1=YES =20
2=NO=4
3=Unsure=1
-=N/a=1

SP-G Q#3. Identification with movies SP-G Q#3, 4, 5, 7

Actors/Actresses {ppl mentioned more than once]
Nkem Owoh (Comedian Osuofia) 3 Osuofia (Ikeguro);
Mercy Johnson (Mrs. Johnson) 4
Ramsey Noah 2
Chika Ike 2
Emeka Ike 2

SP-G Q#4. Why do you watch Nollywood films?

Original codes

[often multiple responses]

1=Interesting= n=4

2=Entertainment-9 people mentioned [some people twice described entertainment within their answer (Fun-2, Like-1, Love-2, joy 2, pass time=2] 2=n=11

3=Learn/Enlightenment/ Moral lessons- 11 people [13 times] 3=n=10

4= My/our culture/From Africa/Memory-6 people (7 responses) 4=n=8

Q4 Frequencies

1= mentioned once n=17 2= " " twice n=9 3=" " thrice n=0

Q4 Combinations

1= Interesting n=0 2= Entertainment n=7 3= Learning/Enlightenment /Moral lessons n=4 4= homeland/memory n=5 5=1,2 n=2 6=1,3 n=2 7=1,5 n=1 8=2,3 n=2

9=2,4 n=1 10=3,4 n=2

SP-G8a. Do these movies remind you of Brazil?

1[Yes]- 10

2[No]-16

SP-G8b. Explain

0=1-n/a

1=Remember/reminds-4
2=Friends-1
3=Novelas-1
4=Learn-1
5=1- Osuofia in Brazil
6=1-ongoing memory
7=Nothing in common{Very different}=7
8=Describes my African Culture=5
9=Yes and No Response= 2
10- uncertain
11-Escape/diversion
___

SP-G 8 Do these movies remind you of Brazil?

Yes- 10 1-n/a
7/10-responded (1 response uncertain how to respond) Remember/reminds-4 Friends-1
Novelas-1 Learn-1 1- Osuofia in Brazil 1-ongoing memory
2[No]-16 2-N/a
Nothing in common{Very different}=7 Describes my African Culture=5 Yes and No
Response= 2
_____

A. SB&SP-M [Overall and regional [Portuguese questionnaires São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia]

1. Background intro SB &SP-M #1-3 [Background] QQ#1,2,3,

SB 1-43
1.Como você conheceu a esta mostra de Domitilla?
1-Mostra
2- Friend/family/professor=n=3
3-poster/poll/pamphlet-4
4- researcher=7
5-online media=1
6-Cineclube=11
7- Multicultural institution
8-Yoruba Class
9-University Class
10-Professor=2
11-Site location [combination of 1, 6, 7, 8, 9]= n=2===>11== n=24=56%
12- Knows African cinema n=1
13-family member n=1
15-4, 5
_____
11-Site location [combination of 1, 6, 7, 8, 9]= n=2===>11== n=24=56%

10-Professor=2=5%=

——

1=3=7%
2=3=7%
3=4=9%
4=7=16%
5=1=2%
6=11=26%
7=4=9%
8=1=2%
9=5=12%
10=2=5%
11== n=24=56%

——-

Q#1 SB 1.Como você conheceu a esta mostra de Domitilla?
11= site location n=24
2- Friend/family/professor=n=5
3-poster/poll/pamphlet n=4
4- researcher n=6
5-online media n=1
15-4, 5 n=1
0= n=3

SB 1-43   2.Por que você decidiu vir para assistir o filme?
1-Invitation=5=12%
2- On the program/ apart of class=12=28%
3-Because I love films 3=7%
4-interested in Nigeria/Africa 10=23%
5-Curiosity to know =9=21%
6-Because he is an actor=1=2%
7- Surprised=1=2%
8- poster   =1=2%
0=1=2%
1=5=12%
2=12=28%
3=3=7%
4=10=23%
5=9=21%
6=1=2%
7=1=2%
8=1=2%
0=1=2%

3. A primeira vez que viu um filme de cinema nigeriana (Nollywood), foi hoje?
SB
1=Yes n=35=81%

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2=No n=7=16%
0-no answer n=1=2%

SP-M
1.Como você conheceu a esta mostra de Domitilla? Original
1-Mostra n=1
2- Friend n=8
5-online media /facebook n=4
6-Cineclube programing n=3
12- Knows African cinema n=1
13-family member n=1
====

SP-M Q#1
11-Site location n=4
2- Friends/family/professor n=9
3-poster/poll/pamphlet n=0
4- researcher n=0
5-online media /facebook n=4
12- Knows African cinema n=1
0= n=2

SP-M Q# 2. Por que você decidiu vir para assistir o filme?
1-Invitation by researcher n=4
2-Relationship w/ cineclube n=2
3-Because I love films n=1
4-interested in Nigeria/Africa n=2
5-Curiosity to know Nollywood n=5
15-Because he promised a friend n=1
14- Interested in the themes n=3
13-interested in the film n=1
12-Because I had free time n=1
16-Black women n=1
17- 14,16=n=1

3.A primeira vez que viu um filme de cinema nigeriana (Nollywood), foi hoje?
1=Yes n=11
2=No n=5
0= n/a n=4

0=3
1=-Invitation by researcher n=1
2=Relationship w/ cineclube n=2
3=-Because I love films n=1
4-interested in Nigeria/Africa n=2

5-Curiosity to know Nollywood n=5
12-Because I had free time n=1
13-interested in the film n=1
14- Interested in the themes n=2
15-Because he promised a friend n=1
16-Black women n=0
17- 14,16=n=1

SP-M Q# 3.A primeira vez que viu um filme de cinema nigeriana (Nollywood), foi hoje?
1=Yes n=11
2=No n=5
0-no answer n=4

=====____
Audience Background questions
B. Portuguese questionnaires São Paulo and Salvador, Bahia

1. Background intro SB &SP-M #1-3 [Background]

TOTAL PRT Q#1
11-Site location n=28
2- Friends/family/professor n=14
3-poster/poll/pamphlet n=4
4- researcher n=6
5-online media /facebook n=5
12- Knows African cinema n=1
15-4, 5 n=1
0 n=5

PRT total Q# 2=Total   Q# 2.Por que você decidiu vir para assistir o filme?
1-Invitation/invitation by researcher n=10
2-On the program/ apart of class/Relationship w/ cineclube n=14
3-Because I love films n=4
4-interested in Nigeria/Africa n=12
5-Curiosity to know Nollywood n=14
6-Because he is an actor n=1
7- Surprised n=1
8- poster   n=1
12-Leisure/Because I had free time n=1
13-interested in the film/themes n=6
15-Because he promised a friend n=1
16-Black women n=1
***Combined 13 &14 &16 &17====>13
Combined 15 to #1

SB&SP-M Total Q#3.Total 3.A primeira vez que viu um filme de cinema nigeriana (Nollywood), foi hoje?

SB-& SP-M
1=Yes n=46
2=No n=12
0-no answer n=5

 2. Identifying with Nollywood Portuguese SB &SP-M

QQ#4=SB   4a. Gostou do filme?
1-Yes= n=32
2=No= n=5
3=Unsure n=0
4= Yes and no n=0
0=6

4b

1-similar to Brazilian culture=3
2- Enjoyed the film Domitilla\ very interesting=9
3-(very) good script/plot/narration/story=2
4-realistic film/dramatic realism =4
5-new culture=2
6-melodrama=2
7- engaging\strong emotional appeal=2
8- humanizes marginalized people=2
9-different culture=1
10-social interest\ prostitution themes=10
11- focused on violence against women=3
12-sad but significant story=1
13-similar memory to our Quilombo\Bahia-Salvador history=2
14-Addresses a situation that requires great social reflection=2
17-issue that should be addressed against black women=2
18-Great to see a film featuring Black people=1
19-different=2
21- about Nigeria\Nigerian culture=3
27-great/impressive to see a Nollywood film=1
28-great to see movie style=1

No
15-Like a soap opera/horrible/boring melodrama=2
16- very cruel=1
22-simple film=1
23-narration was problematic =1
24-rudimentary script=1

25-weak production=1
26-Sound/ Horrible music =1

No answer
20-it was the film was produced=1

SP-M 4a. Gostou do filme?

1-Yes= n=11
2=No= n=5
3=Unsure n=3
4= Yes and no n=1
0=0

SP-M 4b. Gostou do filme?

Yes
1-similar to Brazilian culture n=1
2-Enjoyed the film Domitilla\ very interesting n=0
3-(very) good script/narration/story/plot =2
4-realistic film/dramatic realism n=3
9- different cultural understanding n=1
27-great/impressive to see a Nollywood film n=1
60-I know many Domitilla's n=1
21- about Nigeria\Nigerian culture n=1
62-repeating theme n=1
63-Important theme for my population n=1
64- theme was about oppressed women in Nigeria n=1
65-Some things n=1

No
41-I did not like Machismo n=1
15-Like a soap opera=2
16- very cruel=1
22-simple film=1
23-narration=1
24-\rudimentary script=1
25-weak production=1
26-Sound=1
15-Like a soap opera/horrible/boring melodrama=2
23-narration was problematic n=2
26-Sound/ Horrible music n=1
31-subtext could improve n=1
32-photography could improve n=1
33- technical limitations n=1
34-plot limitations

4b. Combinations
70=36, 23 =n=1
71=26, 31, 32 n=1
72=1, 4, 60 n=1
73= 37, 38 n=1
74= 65, 41 n=1
75=33, 34, 35 n=1
76=40, 23, 15 n=1
77=64, 21 n=1

Total SB&SP 4a. Gostou do filme? All
1-Yes= n=43
2=No= n=10
3=Unsure n=4
0=6

SB   5 TOP PRT QQ#5a   5. O que você pensa sobre os personagens do filme?
Picked the top

PRT QQ#5a   SB
1=Good actors=4
2=Mentioned women=8
3=Similar to Brazil/Brazilians=7
4=Social class issues=8
5=normal/common people=4
6= Shows Nigerian reality=3
9- Overlooked need representation=3
13- Amateurs=4

PRT QQ#5a   SP-M

1=Good/very good fantastic/great=3
3=Similar to Brazil/Brazilians=2
4=Social class issues=2
11- Stereotypes=2
49- there are many like them in real life=3
39- Negative machista vision n=2

PRT QQ#5a   Total
1=Good actors=7
2=Mentioned women=9
3=Similar to Brazil/Brazilians=9
4=Social class issues=10
5=normal/common people=5
6= Shows Nigerian reality=4

SB 6a Você podia se identificar com os personagens?

SB 6a
1=Yes= n=21
2=No n=16
3=Unsure n=3
0= n=3

SP-M 6a
1=Yes= n=8
2=No n=6
3=Unsure n=6   changed to n=9
0= n=3
4-n/a but answer indicated yes=1
5= n/a yes and no=n=2
collapse 4&5 to unsure

SB & SP-M Total 6a. Você podia se identificar com os personagens?
1=Yes= n=29
2=No n=22
3=Unsure n=9
0= n=3

SB 6b. character identification **SB & SP-M Total 6.b explica:**
<u>**Identified**</u>
1=Black population suffers n=13
2=Gender connection=n=13
3=identified with the characters class/oppression n=7
4=Similar to Brazil=6
5=Aesthetics=1
6=Lutam=3
7= Women in prestigious positions=1
8=Language=1
9=Culture=1
10-Barter system=1
11-Strong optimistic/sincere character=2
12- Lack of representation=1
13= Represented as a black character=1
14-Actor=1
24-Social Dramas are relevant for the reality of many Brazilian=2
27- Victim=1
45=African origin=1
46=They survive=1
47=in some respects=1
48= Had a similar story, but had friend that brought me back to reality=1
49-the dreams of having a better life n=1

40=With the daughter that was very mature and just n=1

Lack of Identification
15=Lack of agency in male characters/weak=1
16= Acting could improve=1
17-Never been in a similar situation=3
18=Live in a completely different country=0
19=I am not an assassin=1
20-Could not identify with the characters=2
21-Theme far away from my reality/ never lived this reality =1
22=I did not understand =1
23-Characters were exotic=1
26- Characters are either rich or poor=1
30= Unsure
50-boring work n=1
51-I tried to understand what the author was proposing n=1
21-Theme far away from my reality/ never lived this reality n=1
53=I do not agree with this view n=1
30-Difficult to know how I would react under extreme n=1

7. SB-O que você pensa sobre a qualidade do filme?
1. Very good: n=4
2. Good: n=7
3. Low quality: n=3
4. Improvements necessary: n=2
5. Few resources but with good content: n=7[n=7, 6. mixed reviews n=2]
6. Very low quality:n=2
7. Horrible: n=1
8=Uncertain: n=1
9=ok/regular/mediocre/tolerable=
0=n-a=4

SP-M 7. O que você pensa sobre a qualidade do filme?
1. Very good: n=1
2. Good: n=7
3. Low quality: n=0
4. Improvements necessary:n=4
5. Few resources but with good content: n=1
6. Very low quality:n=1
7. Horrible: n=0
8=Uncertain: n=1
9=ok/regular/mediocre/tolerable=2
0=n-a=1
10=4,7 =1
11= 2, 4n=1
12=3, 5 n=0

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13=3,4 n=0
14=9,15 n=0
15=2, 7 n=0
16=did not directly answer the question n=0
17=2,3 n=0

SB & SP-M Total 7. O que você pensa sobre a qualidade do filme? [Topmost results]
1. Very good: n=5
2. Good: n=9
3. Low quality: n=3
4. Improvements necessary: n=9
5. Few resources but with good content: n=8 [n=7, 6. mixed reviews n=2]
6. Very low quality:n=3
7. Horrible: n=3
8=Uncertain: n=3
9=ok/regular/mediocre/tolerable=3
0=n-a=5

Discussion Group Themes

3. DGQ#1 What did you think about Domitilla?
        a. Themes Short version of Q1-5
Q#1 THEME 1: Gender
Q#1 THEME 2: [About film production/plot/distribution/characters/consumption]
Q#1 THEME 3: [Difficult to watch film/Film quality/plot/Characters]
Q#1 THEME 4: Spirituality]
Q#1 THEME 5:Nollywood would be unsuccessful/successful in Brazil
Q#1 THEME 6: Does/Does not resemble Brazilian films/ soap operas
Q#1: Theme 7: Pan-African connection

b. Sub-themes Short version of Q1-5

Q#1 THEME 1: Micro themes within synthesized Gender
 [collapsed Silence of marginalized people & Traditional polygamous marriage versus
European/colonized African and Brazilian view into women issues]

Character Portrayals
Aesthetic
Social political issues
Realistic
Marriage as social economic asuncion /polygamy
Feminist discourse
Parallel to life in Brazil
Symbols of strength and power
directors intentions/Storyline Plot

Silence of marginalized subjects
Negative Male Stereotypes/Male Critique

Q#1 THEME 2: [About film production/plot/distribution/characters/consumption] Micro themes within synthesized Micro themes within synthesized [INCLUDES U]

Aesthetic quality
Production/director
Revolutionary film/industry
Characters
Plot/Themes/moral
Visual/Aesthetic images/Connections
Brazil Nigeria contrast

Q#1 THEME 3: Micro themes within synthesized [Difficult to watch film/Film quality/plot/Characters]

Difficult to watch film
Amateur movie
Music Soundtrack
Audience reactions to film

Q#1 THEME 4: Micro themes within synthesized Q#1[Spirituality]
Role
Traditional religion negative/language/contrast
-Multi religious oath in court
-Myth of African religious roots
Perceptions of Nigerian society

Q#1 THEME 5: Short version Micro themes within synthesized Q#1 [Afrocentric, Cineclubes, multicultural institution, UFBA, SP-Mostra] Should be moved to another section!
Nollywood would be unsuccessful/successful in Brazil

Possibly Successful
Possibly Unsuccessful
Brazilian public too Americanized
Brazilian production/cultural understanding first

 Q#1 THEME 6: [Does/Does not resemble Brazilian films/ soap operas]

Films
Similar
Not Similar
The film is distinct
Soap Operas

Narrative, story, and characters Resemble Latin Soaps
Camera shots resemble

Question #1: Theme 7: Pan-African connection

C. Intersecting identification questions [Same as III A.]
  1.SB=SP-G#7 = SBQ #8 and
  2. SB=SP-G#9 = SBQ #15

III. Can Nollywood encourage an environment of African heritage contributions based on audience reception responses?

A. QQ #2 Does Nollywood serve as a vehicle for cultural production positively or negatively impacting audience perceptions of Africans.

African Audience consumption Background on racial/movie consumption
[Overlapping questions] Overview

African Representation and Diaspora Homeland Connections.
Background on participants view on Global Black Representation

SP-G# 7[SBQ8]. What themes interest you most about watching Nollywood videos?
    African Representation and Diaspora Homeland Connections (?)

9. [SBQ15] Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why not?

Background info about Black audience consumption same/similar questions
12[SBQ14] What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?
13. [SBQ19-a] How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch?
14-A[SBQ19-b]. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch?
14-B[SBQ19-c]. How are Blacks portrayed within the films that you normally watch?
14-C[SBQ19-d]. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

A. DGQ#2 Qualitative descriptions: yes, no, uncertain.
B. DGQ#3 Do African films help Afro-Brazilians to understand their cultural heritage better?

TOTAL SB8a &SP-G Q7 New Codes Nollywood themes of interest   SB8a &SP-G Q7
Topmost   Nollywood themes of interest
1=Social cultural/political/ economic power structure/ homeland/tradition/language issues=n=22
2=Gender roles/About Prostitution/=n=5
3=genre/ character traits/ themes=n=6
4=Race/Racism/discrimination in films=n=2

6=Idea of Nollywood/ Cinema movements=2
20- Does not know/Not familiar with Nwd=n=6

Total Short answer for 8a SB
1=Social cultural issues/Societal structure/Power Structure/ethnic plurality, traditions=n=21
2=**About Prostitution=n=5
4=Race/Racism/discrimination in films=n=5
5=gender roles=n=8
6=Idea of Nollywood/ Cinema movements=4

8a SP-M short Quais temas lhe interessam mais o filme de Nollywood?
1=Social cultural issues=n=6
20- Does not know/Not familiar with Nwd=n=1
25= All/Various=n=2

8a Galeria [7 SP-G
1-Culture/tradition/ homeland/language n= 13
3=Genre - n=9
63-comedic relief/Leisure time/entertainment- n=4
61-Emotional Appeal n=3
66-Performance n=3
65-Knowledge/learn/Moral lesson n=2
64-Witchcraft- =n=2

Total SB8a &SP-G Q7 New Codes   Nollywood themes of interest
  [Not everyone provided a response]
1=Social cultural/political/ economic power structure/ homeland/tradition/language issues=n=22
3=genre/ character traits/ themes=n=6
20- Does not know/Not familiar with Nwd=n=6
2=Gender roles/About Prostitution/=n=5
4=Race/Racism/discrimination in films=n=2
6=Idea of Nollywood/ Cinema movements=2

SP-G #9a. [SBQ15a] Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why not?

SB & SP-M & SP Q9=Total
15a Nollywood é importante para os africanos fora da Nigéria?
1=Yes=66
2=No=6
3=Unsure=15
0=No Answer=3

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III. Can Nollywood encourage and environment of African heritage contributions based on audience reception responses? Third trend to examine responses to whether Nollywood could encourage an environment of African heritage contributions in Brazil based on audience responses.

A. QQ #2 Does Nollywood serve as a vehicle for cultural production positively or negatively impacting audience perceptions of Africans. African Audience consumption Background on racial/movie consumption [Overlapping questions] **Overview**
African Representation and Diaspora Homeland Connections. Background on participants view on Global Black Representation

Charts 7[SBQ8]. What themes interest you most about watching Nollywood videos?

9. [SBQ15] Is Nollywood important for Africans outside of Nigeria? Why or why not?

Background info about Black audience consumption Same questions
12[SBQ14b] What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch? Need to separate based on responses instead of clumping them together

13. [SBQ19-a] How do Nollywood movies differ from the other movies you watch? [REDO Response category]
14-A[SBQ19-b]. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch?
14-B[SBQ19-c]. How are Blacks portrayed within the films that you normally watch?
14-C[SBQ19-d]. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

12[SBQ14] What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch? Need to separate based on responses instead of clumping them together

SBQ# Q#14. A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir?
1=romance n=15,
2=mystery (n=13),
3=comedy (n=16),
4=suspense (n=7),
5= documentary (n=30),
6= tragedy (n=6),
7= other genres (n=12).

SP-M Total Q#14. A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir?
14. A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir?
1=romance n=7,
2=mystery (n=8),

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3=comedy (n=9),
4=suspense (n=7),
5= documentary (n=17),
6= tragedy (n=5),
7= other genres (n=6).

SB&SP-M Total 14. A) What type of films do you normally watch? 14a SB & SP-M Total
1=romance n=22,
2=mystery (n=21),
3=comedy (n=25),
4=suspense (n=14),
5= documentary (n=47),
6= tragedy (n=11),
7= other genres (n=18).

Q#12 SP-G A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir?
[Not the same questions —-5 is asking about NOLLYWOOD Unlike Q#12b which talks about all movie in general [Nonetheless, they resemble]

1=Romance n=12
2= Mystery n=3
3= Comedy n=9
64=Thriller n=0
65=Other n=0
66=1&2   n=2
33=1&3   n=1
68=2 &3   n=1
69=5 &cultural   n=1
70=1&4&5 n=1
71=1, 3,4   n=1
72= 1,5 [traditional]   n=1
73= 2,5 [political; actions, Horrors (w/ witches) society. n=1

ALL Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total Q#12 SP-G [SB Q#14. A) Em geral quais filmes você normalmente gosta de assistir?

1=romance n=34
2=mystery n=24
3=comedy n=34
4=suspense n=14
5= documentary (n=47),
6= tragedy (n=11),

7= other genres (n=18).

<u>SBQ# 14a-7 quant</u>
7 OUTROS====
1=history =n=7
2=Animation n=2
3=Science fiction n=1
4=Drama n=1
5=About Black people n=1
6=Experimental n=1
7=With important information n=1
8=B films n=1
9= cult n=1
10=pure genres n=1
11=not by genre but by quality n=1
12= Films that make you think n=1

<u>SP-M Total Q# 14a-7 quant</u>
14a. Breakdown of 7-other genres
1=history =n=0
2=Animation n=0
3=Science fiction n=0
4=Drama n=0
5=About Black people n=0
6=Experimental n=0
7=With important information n=0
89=B films/ cult n=0
10=pure genres n=0
11=not by genre but by quality n=0
12= Films that make you think n=0
13=Did not leave genre details n=5
15=1&5=n=0
14= político/denúncia n=1
16= Art films n=1

SB&SP-M Total 14a-7 quant 14a. Breakdown of 7-other genres

1=history =n=7
2=Animation n=2
3=Science fiction n=1
4=Drama n=1
5=About Black people n=1
6=Experimental n=1
7=With important information n=1

89=B films/ cult n=1
10=pure genres n=1
11=not by genre but by quality n=1
12= Films that make you think n=1
13=Did not leave genre details n=5
14= polítical/denúncia n=1
15=1&5=n=1
16= Art films n=1

SP-G12 SB14a 7 breakdown
69=5 &cultural   n=1
70=1&4&5 n=1
71=1, 3,4   n=1
72= 1,5 [traditional]   n=1
73= 2,5 [political; actions, Horror (witches) society. n=1

Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total SP-G12 SB14a 7 breakdown Total

1=history =n=7
2=Animation n=2
3=Science fiction n=1
4=Drama n=1
5=About Black people n=1
6=Experimental n=1
7=With important information n=1
89=B films/ cult n=1
10=pure genres n=1
11=not by genre but by quality n=1
12= Films that make you think n=1
13=Did not leave genre details n=5
14= polítical/denúncia n=1
15=1&5=n=1
16= Art films n=1
69=5 &cultural   n=1
70=1&4&5 n=1
71=1, 3,4   n=1
72= 1,5 [traditional] n=1
73= 2,5 [political; actions, Horrors (w/ witches) society. n=1

Q#SB [SBQ14b] What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?
1=Brazil (n=35),
2=the United States (n=28),
3=Latin America (n=21),
4=China (n=7),
5=the Caribbean (n=4),

6=Europe (n=20),
7=Nigeria (n=10),
8=Lusophone African countries (n=9),
9= Other African countries (n=7)
99=No response n=2

SP-M [SBQ14b]. What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?
B) E de quais países?
1-B R A S I L=n=12
2-E UA n=10
3A M E R I C A L AT I N A n=9
4-C H I N A   n=3
5-C A R I B E n=3
6-E U RO P A n=7
7-N I G E R I A n=6
8-P A I S E S L U S O A F R I C A N O S n=11
9-O U T R O S P A I S E S A F R I C A N O S n=7
99= no response n=1

Q#SB&SP-M 12[SBQ14b] What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?

1=Brazil (n=47),
2=the United States (n=38),
3=Latin America (n=30),
4=China (n=10),
5=the Caribbean (n=7),
6=Europe (n=27),
7=Nigeria (n=16),
8=Lusophone African countries (n=20),
9= Other African countries (n=14)
99=No response n=3

SP-G Q# 14-A[SBQ19-b]. What is the country of origin of the films you usually watch?

1= Brazil=8
2= USA=21
45= India=6
3= Latin America=5
5= Caribbean=1
6=Europe=5
4=China =5
9= Other African Countries=6
7= Nigeria=25

50-Ghana n=2
51= Burkina Faso n=1

Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total 14-A[SBQ19-a].
1=Brazil (n=55),
2=the United States (n=59),
3=Latin America (n=35),
4=China (n=15),
5=the Caribbean (n=8),
6=Europe (n=32),
7=Nigeria (n=42 including 1044),
8[Not an option on SP-G]=Lusophone African countries (n=20),
9= Other African countries (n=20)
99 No response n=3
 45= India=6   7= Nigeria=25
50-Ghana n=2
51= Burkina Faso n=1

14-A[SBQ19-b]. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch? Results

SB&SP-M Sum SBQ19-a. Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch
19 SPa. Se sim, como?
1=CONCORDO TO ALMENTE=10
2=CONCORDO =24
3=NEM CONCORDO NEM DISCORDO=7
4=DISCORDO =10
5=DISA CORDOTO TA LMENTE=7
6=Depends on the film=1
0=4

SP-G Q# 14-A[SBQ19-a]. Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch

SP-G14A=SB 19a
14-A. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch?
1= Strongly Agree=8
2=Agree =13
3=Neither Agree Nor Disagree=1
4=Disagree =2

5=Strongly disagree=1

Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total 14-A[SBQ19-a]. Do Blacks play a specific role in the other movies you watch?
SB & SP-M &SP-G 14a Total 19a
1= Strongly Agree=19
2=Agree =37
3=Neither Agree Nor Disagree=9
4=Disagree =12
5=Strongly disagree=6
0=n/a=7
1= Strongly Agree=19
2=Agree =37
3=Neither Agree Nor Disagree=8
4=Disagree =12
5=Strongly disagree=6
6=Depends on the film=1

Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total 14-B[SBQ19-b1&2]. How are Blacks portrayed within the films that you normally watch?19B-Explanations quant   Check to see if its one and two combined.
1=Negative=31
2=Positive n=11
3=Positive and negative [former 20, 25]=12
4=Named famous Afro-Brazilian actors n=2
5=Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more due to racism n=1
6=Few portrayals n=1
7-historically few protagonists n=2
8-Its racist to ask this question n=1
9=Space that still is unconquered n=1
2=I look for positive films n=1
11= Brazilian film are more diverse than television n=1
30 =Racism makes it complicated n=1
31 =I don't distinguish n=1
0 n=28
15 uncertain n=1

======

SB   SBQ 19-C. Aproximadamente que percentagem dos filmes que você costuma assistir tem personagens negros?   2 0% 4 0% 6 0% 8 0% 1 0 0%

1= 2 0% =n=8
2= 4 0% =n=9
3= 6 0% =n=9
4= 8 0% =n=10

5= 1 0 0% =n=2
n/a   =n=5

SP-M Total Q# SBQ19-c]. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?
C. Aproximadamente que percentagem dos filmes que você costuma assistir a ter personagens negros?
1= 20% = n=7
2= 40% = n=5
3= 60% = n=1
4= 80% = n=0
5= 100% = n=0
0   =n=7

SB&SP-M Sum SBQ19-c. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

1= 2 0%   =n=15
2= 4 0%   =n=14
3= 6 0%   =n=10
4= 8 0%   =n=10
5= 1 0 0% =n=2
n/a   =n=12

SP-GQ#14-C[SBQ19-c]. Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

SP-G14c=SB 19c
1= 20% =2
2= 40% =3
3= 60% =8
4= 80% =8
5= 100% =5

Q#SB&SP-M SP-G Total Q#14-C[SBQ19-c].Approximately what percentage of the films you usually watch have Black characters?

C. Aproximadamente que percentagem dos filmes que você costuma assistir a ter personagens negros?
1= 20% = n=16
2= 40% = n=18
3= 60% = n=18
4= 80% = n=18
5= 100% = n=7

0   =n=12

SBQ#Q#14-C[SBQ19-d
1=Negative=31
2=Positive n=1
3=Positive and negative=4
4=Named famous Afro-Brazilian actors n=2
5=Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more due to racism n=1
6=Few portrayals n=1
0=2

SP-M Total Q#Q#14-C[SBQ19-d
19d quant
1=Negative=7
2=Positive n=0
3=Positive and negative=0
4=Named famous Afro-Brazilian actors n=0
5=Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more due to racism n=0
6=Few portrayals n=1
7-historically few protagonists n=2
8-Its racist to ask this question n=1
9=Space that still is unconquered n=1
0=8

SB&SP-M Total Q#14-C[SBQ19-d
1=Negative=38
2=Positive n=1
3=Positive and negative=4
4=Named famous Afro-Brazilian actors n=2
5=Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more due to racism n=1
6=Few portrayals n=1
7-historically few protagonists n=2
8-Its racist to ask this question n=1
9=Space that still is unconquered n=1
0=10

Q#SB&SP-M ~~SP~~Total[SBQ19-d]
1=Negative=38
2=Positive n=1
3=Positive and negative=4
4=Named famous Afro-Brazilian actors n=2
5=Afro-Brazilians have not been selected more due to racism n=1
6=Few portrayals n=1
7-historically few protagonists n=2
8-Its racist to ask this question n=1
9=Space that still is unconquered n=1

0=10

-DGQ#2 Qualitative descriptions yes, no, and uncertain…other categorical chart

Question #2 Could Nollywood help to promote understanding about African culture in Brazil? Micro themes within synthesized

<u>Yes</u>
[Movies and telenovelas are tools to learn superficially about society]   -shows suburbs, the roads are not paved, how people dress, and their culture

-it provides art, another culture, depends on how the theme is addressed. Yes it is possible.

-Yes its possible. I didn't see that culture. I saw a documentary that spoke about African culture and some people that were form the USA, there they lost their culture and became depressed.

-There are better films, we saw politics, dress, cars

-<u>Aesthetic items</u> and brand names, social political class.
How they gossip; speak about other peoples lives appears to be a black thing.

- furniture in the homes

-Good show Africans don't only live in the city or have jumping gazelles, greenery or savannah.

African is not one Nigerian has many people film, only shows a reality, not all African people.
Film shows urban yearnings, women's desires and wanting to an easy life, market is where women sell plastics not only her but a typical market that you can find anywhere in Africa.
The scene makes little referent to my worth which is that values of tradition and modernity.
Here modernity oozes other side of tradition that finds more humility which are values that class in mans modern world.

African men within globalization a full plate for people to work and to be globally.
Women hair is parallel to American hair on tv she is American and uses braids, in Nigeria for a along time they stretch their hair.
-When I saw a women in braids and it grabbed my attention
-she came from the inside it's the wife of the senator with channel
-Nollywood shows another Africa. All African cinema goes to the city and Nollywood gambles on city. People that work in Nollywood show one image rich, poor, universal politics. The city has all traditional, political, class, life on the other side is a contradiction which is universal.

<u>No</u>
-I don't think so; they will fail because [stereotyped African cultural values and unAfrican Africa]
[ridiculed for being different based on Brazilian racism]
[people need a contextual background]

<u>Possibly/Uncertain</u>
- The film didn't give a lot of information about Nigerian culture

-<u>Africa is colonial today.</u>
Example Catholics political relationships influences the film.
I'm unsure if it is positive or negative way to receive.
-Lacks a measure since I've never seen a Nollywood movie
-I don't know, within the film it could've been any suburb, you identify with things from here there would be the first bridge.

<u>Africans in Brazil relationship</u>
-Nigerians here are a problem and throughout the world they are known for corruption in Nigeria, the divisions, the persecutions.
For example, at the Casa de Nigeria inauguration we arrived with excitement;
I asked the translator to talk to him and he asked who I was and because I was a militant he didn't want to talk.
Examples of Nigerian and African class consciousness and exclusion in Brazil
Nigerian people and Africans don't know anything about here

<u>Multi Black Communities</u>
-Cant talk about community because not all blacks are the same.

<u>Black diaspora experience/relationship</u>
-[History of slavery] Worse they seized ships, threw Africans from all parts together, and they were mixed up and divided until today. Black people cannot work together because of the history. All Black people are not one, blacks are [considered that way] because its [an] American [concept].

-yesterday we spoke about Yoruba nation cultural supremacy. When Blacks had money they'd send them to study in Nigeria.

<u>Did not seem like an african film</u>
-Universal themes caught my attention
-thought the director was white because of the way African culture was presented, assumed white director that changed things.

A. <u>DGQ#3 Do African films help Afro-Brazilians to understand their cultural heritage better?</u>

Short Thematic categories DGQ#3 Do African films help Afro-Brazilians to understand their cultural heritage better?

YES USEFUL AS A PEDAGOGICAL DEVICE

Pan-African ties
-Shows the colonization process what Africans went through. Shows that those roots negatively meaning to understand the domination process that happened in villages in the roots.
Yes, because here different ethnic groups like Yoruba, Ibgo, and Hausa came here.

Aesthetic reasons
People here can identify with the clothes.

Legal reasons
-people look more for connections with Africa since law 10.869. Theres an African cinema screening, there was a Nigerian, Senegalese there.

Women collective and empowerment
Historical gender dynamics

NO NOT USEFUL AS a pedagogical device

Negative male portrayals
Polygamy and Social Status
- [body gestures are relatable within African diaspora and un-relatable] [Yes and No]

Uncertain whether USEFUL AS A PEDAGOGICAL DEVICE

-[Discussion about film in relation to Nollywood necessary]
I don't know Nollywood but parallels North American movies in terms of Christianity, Ascension History series about daily life that are not boxed into larger narratives.
Example, the senator found love of life but he's married, and was giving her a life outside the favela.
There was no discussion of how he constructed and maintained her family.

Historical gender dynamics
Inauthentic African Women's position
Not sure if connected to the global feminist discourse.

Miscellaneous Themes
Brazilian film consumption
African movies with Eurocentric plots
White Foreigners in Brazil
There are many Africas

Which audience are the films made for?

SB 16a
1=S I M =n=19 [n=3 no responses, 16 with responses]

2=N Ã O =n=7 [1=no response and 6 with responses]

3=Não Sabe=n=7

<u>SB 16b.</u>
1=S I M =n=19 [n=3 no responses, 16 with responses]
1=The plot/characters/themes/story/melodrama would captivate audiences n=6
2=People interested in Africa would watch/It would increase knowledge about Africa=
n=3
3=Cineclubes or special markets would watch =n=4
4=Because it is something different/ more options for Brazilians n=3
5=Because we have a lot in common n=3
6=Needs better advertisement: n=1
7=Its truly a strong film n=1
8=If people can appreciate the presentation n=1
9=If Brazilian media supports n=1
10=African connection/need more Black representation n=2
11-The film(s) describe daily life while at the same time the nation n=1
2=N Ã O =n=7 [1=no response and 6 with responses]
16=Nollywood would not be valued/invested because Brazilians hardly consume/produce
national films n=5 (valued/invested n=3, consume/produce n=2)
17=Men would become marginal n=1
12= It would not be valued based on content n=1
13=Most people would not value it n=1
14=Brazilian films are not invested in what to speak of others n=2
15=Brazilian media supports the high consumption of American films n=1
18= Brazilians would not be able to identify with the films n=1
19- We are colonized by Americans/the structure is different from American films n=2
3=Não Sabe=n=7
20=Not used to African films/racism would block consumption n=3
21=Style is very different from Brazilian films=n=1
22=Depends on the public/publicity/possibly yes= n=2
23=Probably n=1
24=I would have to become familiar with more Nollywood films n=1
25=Themes are similar to Brazil n=1
26=Low class is used to superior technical films n=1
27= In terms of distribution Brazil has few movie theaters n=1

16. Você acha que Nollywood poderia ter sucesso no Brasil?
1=S I M =n=7

2=N Ã O =n=3

3=Não Sabe=n=9

O=n =1

16. Você acha que Nollywood poderia ter sucesso no Brasil?
1=S I M =n=7

2=N Ã O =n=3

3=Não Sabe=n=8

4=1,2,3 n=1==> move to Uncertain
O=n =1

SP-G10b=SB16b Do you think that Nollywood is successful in Brazil? Why or why not?
10a. 1- Yes = 14

2= No=9

3=Unsure=3

SP-G10b=SB16b

1=YES=14

10=African connection/need more Black representation/Pan-African consumption =3
52=Brazil highly consumes foreign films=1

53=Many people are interested =1

54-informs about Africa=1

55=-Brazilians could acquire English=2

1-If Brazilians watch could have emotional appeal=3

No 57=Lack of Pan-Africanism=2

58=Lack of Nigerians=1

59=Language Barrier=4

50=Could have success in Bahia=1

51=NO connections =1

60=unsure-=3

3= Unsure

61=Miscellaneous=3

62= Unsure and If Brazilians watch could have emotional appeal =n=1

70=56, 60 n=1

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