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Abstract

Literary and cultural racism alongside the question of authenticity have been at the heart of much critical thinking about African Cinema. Prior and clearly during the colonial era, motion picture works about Africa effectively served to reinforce visions of the western world to the African aborigines. These imperialistic viewpoints pictured Africa as a wild and savage place existing outside the boarders of history. As filmmakers began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s from nations of the continent, with a rising consciousness about the ideological damages facing Africa, the need to quickly merge ranks became apparent, as a wide spread opinion agreeing to the reality that imperialist representations of Africa were stereotypical and inauthentic crowned it all. This paper is focused on examining this ideological counter from the early African filmmakers, not only to know how they amount to decolonization of the African motion picture industry but also to bring to bear their efforts in the struggle. The question whether the African Cinemas have been indeed decolonized decades after the colonials left is also in the spirit of this paper. The research adopts a qualitative methodology of textual evaluation to arrive at its conclusion. Amongst its findings is the fact that African Cinema was stereotyped by colonial forces to strengthen their dominance on the African landscape. The study contributes to knowledge by exposing the defaming western ideologies on the African cinema, while encouraging a Pan-African and counteractive cinematic themes and techniques for the deconstruction of western stereotypes and parody.

Keywords: Decolonization, Colonization, African Filmmakers, African Cinema

Introduction

The thought of image retrieval, reconstruction of the deformed characters and stereotypical impressions as well as dehumanization of indigenous people, long began

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from the advent of the first empires of the world. This definitely has been propelled by colonialism and some of its misgivings. Accounts have it that the word 'decolonization' was first coined by the German economist 'Moritz Julius Bonn' in the 1930s to describe former colonies that achieved self-governance, (The Conversation - online, 2020). Frantz Omar Fanon, the psychiatrist, revolutionary is also regarded by scholars as father of decolonization. Born on the French colony Martinique, the darkest of eight children to a middle-class family, Fanon created works that continue to inspire and ignite the revolutionary spirit in black activists around the world (Zondi, 2017). Decolonization cannot be discussed without first understanding what colonization is. The invasive act of colonization is one of the very aged phenomena among the imperialist cultures emanating from colonialism and 'beyond'. Even in the Bible, and other history classics, one would discover that colonization had taken place in one form or the other. Responding to some online 'open air' enquiries about the origin of decolonization, Pradeep Chakkarath states:

The adequate answer to your question depends on how narrow your understanding of the concept is. If you mean its intellectual use in social scientific literature, it may be a quite modern term that - in its current understanding - was coined in the first half of the 20th century, for example in the francophone négritude movement (Fanon, Césaire, and others). As a political term, however, it is much older; that does not necessarily mean that the English concept itself (i.e., "decolonization") shows up literally, but that its meaning shows up as an essential part of political argumentation, reflexion, and strategy. In this latter sense, you can find the topic treated in early Greek and Indian political texts (e.g., Thucydides'"Peleponnesian War" or Kautilya's "Arthashastra"). Of course, there are many more ancient contributions of various cultural origin. I am adding this remark because one central aspect of decolonization is the critical reflection not only of the colonization of territory but also - and even more - of the minds of the colonized people. Part of this "mental" colonization might be our tendency to start with "Western" concepts and look for their origins that are then "miraculously" found in "Western" traditions of thought, which are by the way indigenous themselves. In order to work on the decoloniszation of our minds, it might be helpful to look Rerouting the Imperialistic Parodies of African Cinemas into non-Western contributions and into contributions of times past when there was no "West" as we know it today. (22nd Aug, 2014).

Colonization is simply a group of people taking over the land and imposing their own culture on Indigenous people. Modern colonization dates back to the 15th century, when European nations began their quest for the enlargement of their influence and wealth. In this course, representatives of these countries claimed lands, ignoring the Indigenous peoples and expunging their sovereignties as much as they could. To give it a semblance polished enough to be tagged 'civility', Laws and policing were adopted, making up the tools for dispossession and oppression. Indigenous people were brutalized, exploited and often positioned by implication as sub-humans. As sited in *The Conversation*, colonization is more than physical; it is also cultural and psychological in determining whose knowledge is privileged. In this, colonization does not only impact the first generation colonized but also creates enduring issues, (August, 7th 2021). It is in attempt by the oppressed to undo this unpleasant predicament that decolonization was birthed. Directly put, decolonization seeks to reverse and remedy colonization through direct action and listening to the voices of "First Nations".

Although some struggles involved political negotiations and mere reactive resistances, yet it is important to note that (the quest for independence is rarely peaceful). The struggle for independence of any kind, whether the independence of a state, industry, religion, etc; is usually involved with agitations and even violence in many cases. Many struggles for independence were even armed and bloody. The Algerian War for Independence (1954 -1962) against the French was particularly brutal. While the exiting of India from the British Empire in 1947 is largely remembered as nonviolent resistance under Gandhi's antiwar ethic, the campaign started in 1857 and was not without bloodshed. Another word that is useful in understanding decolonization is "neocolonialism". It was coined by Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, in the early 1960s to refer to the continuity of the former colonizer's power through economic, political, educational and other informal means. It was in this same light that pioneer artist—Ousmane Sambene focused his literatures and films; "Xhala" is a fine example of the forgoing. True decolonization seeks to challenge and change White superiority, nationalistic history and "truth". Thus, the era preceding the World War I faded off with

most old ideologies especially regarding tackling the issues of colonialism. Consequently, decolonization became a talk bothering on restorative justice through 'cultural', psychological, educational and economic freedom. Africa was not left behind. And so, mad about the demeaning methods with which Africa was colonized, and haven launched the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, where nations of the continent were shared between major European colonialists like plots of virgin and uninhabited lands to be ploughed and planted, some African artists alongside other people of interests rose to the occasion to counter the stereotypical statements and other derogatory representation of the peoples of the continent. The foregoing began the very history of the African Cinema. Among scholars who have penned much on this subject matter is H. L. Wesseling who submits thus:

Decolonization has finished. It definitely belongs to the past, but somehow it has refused to become history. A great deal has already been written on this subject, and yet it seems that there is little to say about it. After the Second World War, the colonized countries wanted to become independent, struggled with their oppressors and threw off the yoke of colonial rule. Within a few years they all achieved their aim. That is the song that has now already been sung for about thirty years, in various keys, it is true, but with a remarkable consistency of tune and melody. The entire colonial history seems to have been no more than a prologue to an inevitable and triumphant independence. A new Whig interpretation of history has come into being, (1987, p. 95).

Decolonizing the Cinemas of Africa

Film and all of its associated technologies developed at the threshold of the 20th century, and took a few decades to spread in and around Africa. By mid-century the colonial administrations had begun to use film as a means for conveying colonial cultures and ideals to African subjects. The British and French colonial governments saw it as a means to shape and determine public opinion. The formal colonization of Africa was launched at the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. And alongside other agenda, both British and French colonial administrations criminalized indigenous filmmaking for fear of the subversive potential of anti-colonial messages. By this act, they made film production and communication to come from and go to only one direction, so that they had a one-way channel, i.e., from them to African audiences (McCall, 1998, p.1). By the late 20th

century, when nations of the continent, especially within West Africa began to gain independence, these restrictions changed and Africans began to make films. Of cause, the continent had been shared majorly into Anglophone (British Colonies) and Francophone (French Colonies). France cultivated African filmmakers, sponsored them to trainings, and funded film projects. Talented and determined filmmakers in Anglophone Africa also struggled to produce celluloid films, but unlike their counterparts in former French colonies, they received little support from the British. A significant number of excellent celluloid films were produced under this system, but largely in Francophone Africa, (p.2). In French colonies, incorporating African subjects and communities into modern French cultural norms and social practices was at the heart of the colonial enterprise, hence the need for training some of the indigenous francophone artists. It is observed in this paper that 'obviously, the actual interest of the French colonials was to develop a cultural institution in Africa and not basically for the love of the people, which was clearly uneasy for them, and so the training was to help with this huddle of assimilating Africans into the cultural norms and social practices of the French people.' However, this effort resulted in substantial programmatic support for Francophone African filmmakers. On the other hand, this training also gave French authorities the power to vet and oversee every aspect of film production in their former colonies. While their Francophone counterparts were taking advantage of these opportunities, artists in Anglophone Africa faced serious barriers to film productions, as filmmakers within this region had no access to funding for film productions.

Francophone filmmakers of the postcolonial era, were presented with a different kind of struggle. Though funding and other aids were available, it involved compromises on the part of filmmakers that solidified French control of the means of film production in Africa after independence. Nonetheless, there were still some diehard anti-colonial filmmakers in the region who remained resolute on the distaste for imperialist impositions on Africa; they include: Ousmane Sambene, Med Hondo, Paulin Soumanou Veiyra, Djibril Diop Mambety, etc. These filmmakers amongst other major players began the drive that eventually led to the emancipation of the African Cinema. This struggle led to the emergence of a movement by filmmakers to gain more control of film production and distribution, ultimately leading to the formation of Federation of Pan African Filmmakers (FESPACI) in1969 to present a united front against foreign monopolies. These organizers

of FESPACI are the ones we have come to recognize today as the 'founders of African Cinema.' The initial festival in 1969 featured films from five African countries including Sembène's first two films and three films by Niger's Moustapha Alassane as well as films by two European documentarians: Jean Rouch and Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens. According to McCall, The first FESPACO best film award went to Oumarou Ganda for his film *Le Wazzou Polygame* (1970).

The second festival was held in 1973 and became known as Festival Panafricain du Cinéma de Ouagadougou, or FESPACO. (p.7). The organizers of FESPACI partook of some of the goals of the "Third Cinema" movement—a filmmakers' initiative originating in Latin America and devoted to decolonizing both the political economy of film production and the narrative and aesthetic conventions of film. In keeping with the Third Cinema notion of film as a tool for raising political awareness, FESPACO screenings were fashioned as catalysts for discussion. Audiences were invited to respond to the films, and the resulting debate was regarded as a crucial part of the overall program. Though FESPACO was resolutely pan-African in spirit, it remained largely a Francophone event in practice. Only in the 1981 did FESPACO notably begin to include English Language films. That same year, two significant English-language films from Nigeria: Ola Balogun's *Cry Freedom* and from Ghana Kwaw Ansah's *Love Brewed in the African Pot*, were screened.



Fig. 1. DVD Cover of Xala (1975). (Photo source: Wikipedia.com)

Synopsis of Xala

Senegal has finally won independence from France and the white members of the Chamber of Commerce have been thrown out. The people's revolution of "African Socialism" begins as the black businessmen fill those empty seats, only to take enormous bribes that ensure the whites will secretly remain in power. One of these businessmen celebrates by marrying a third wife, but on the day of the wedding he finds he's contracted the curse of Xala, rendering him impotent (Ousmane Sambene, 1975).

Film Analysis of "Xala"

"Xala" (1974) is a potent political cinematic sequence with a depiction of the complexity of the new independence of Senegal, which later became popular for its signals and laudable comment bothering on the incapacity of the new "political bourgeoisie" and the retraction of the colonial masters. The film is an adaptation of Sambene's book which was published only a year before the film's release. But while the book treats the intricacies of kinship, the film spotlights Senegalese political climate by interrogating the new political order established after the country's independence. Most often Sembène uses the briefcase, the garb of business and some fine takes on weirdness to interpret his narrative. With the repetitive use of these visual symbols, he creates a cultural combination of the traditional and the modern in Senegal. Sembène takes it to the zenith of hilarity and parody by having the French officials expelled from the Chamber of Commerce while the newly instated cabinet constituted of locals - sit in their new chamber, smiling and excited at briefcases that are absurdly overstuffed with currency notes. "Xala" is a spellbinding annotation about the anxieties of the postcolonial reality. Modifying his political critique to be more in-depth than his book, Sembène's socialist political ideology permeate his narrative of a new political class caught in the failure or reluctance to fulfill their manifestos and natural duties as leaders.

Both versions of "Xala" (the book and the film) are within a naturalist genre. But most importantly is the fact that it is suitable for Sembène's aims, which were didactic, and deconstructive. Accounts have it that Sembene's works of cinema were always political with philosophies that bother on political enlightenment. And at moments in "Xala", he makes explicit a pertinent summation as to the instability of the post-colonial order. In this film, Sembène masterfully leverages the hieroglyphic values of film and

film language to make a strong political statement. "Xala" is a great exposé of the somewhat surreal and yet realistic complexities of the postcolonial experience. The opening scene shows members of the new cabinet putting off a symbol of France. Is a clear statement of his pessimism toward the 'independence' of the state. According to Gugler and (Gugler & Diop 1998), it suggests 'the ejection of those symbols, and indeed of the colonial masters, is not for real' (p.152). Worthy of note is also the paradoxical languages and other forms of communication used in the film. Obviously, Sembène made a conscious attempt to estrange the foreign viewers from some idiosyncratic symbols, characterizations, dialogues and languages. A handy instance is his refusal to subtitle the Wolof songs, which seems to be a co-text for the Senegalese viewer, but inaccessible to non Wolof speakers. Sembène's film is a brave representation of the world of the "Xala". While using French and Wolof, his narrative technique instigates comparison also.

Indeed, it is difficult to escape the amusement at the scornful witticisms eminent in "Xala"; especially the scene where El Hadji is driving to his wedding venue, squeezed in between his other two wives. It seems to me that the foregoing also symbolizes the ideological state of limbo in which Sembène found himself. This is because looking at "Xala", one may be forced to say that Sembène was not proud of his heritage neither was he capable of existing in the new political state. This is because every artist or filmmaker to a great extent speaks of his personality, ideology and opinion through his work, and if so, then we can say in a plainer language that: our literary and cinematic works can be a representation of who we are. In conclusion, Sembène attempts to question the feasibility of recuperation and reclamation of an independent Senegalese identity. In a single simple statement, in as much as Sembène's efforts were targeted at countering the imperialist views, his approach and treatments in "Xala" were necessitated by his detest for neocolonialism.

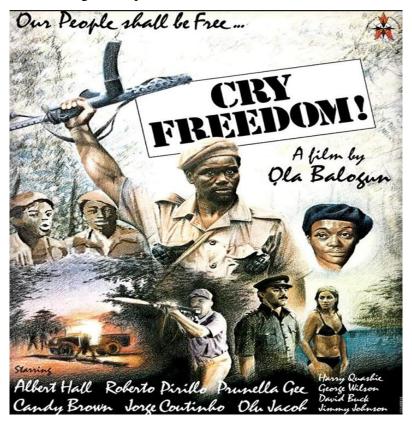


Fig. 2. Poster of Cry ForFreedom (1981). (Photo source: indb.com)

Synopsis of Cry Freedom

Balogun's most political film is a confrontation with the African wars of liberation. Based on Carcase for Hounds, Meja Mwangi's novel about the Mau-Mau uprising, it is set in an unnamed country and thus offers the vision of a pan-African struggle for freedom and against colonial oppression. The central figures in the straightforwardly and powerfully told story are the guerrilla leader Haraka and his adversary, the English colonial official Kingsley. In the end, the film becomes a homage to the freedom fighters from all over Africa: the final images show Patrice Lumumba, Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela and Amílcar Cabral, among others.

Although a larger number of Africans had their efforts in the building of African cinema, two variants of the African cinema culture are reflected in the Algiers Charter on African Cinema. These are the Ousmane Sembene variant and the Med Hondo variant. Together, they constitute a broad spectrum for structuring the state of film art in the continent. The Ousmane Sembene school believes that African cinema must be conceived in terms of its destination, which is the post-colonial African public. That the public is preconditioned

on the basis of 'cinema of distraction' and that one should take account of this conditioning on pain of seeing one's 'message' rejected. That in this historical phase it is necessary to retain a form of 'classic', that is to say, comprehensive narrative without however, adopting the image damaging style of Hollywood cinema (Martin, 1982). Thus the other school of the African film, the Med Hondo School, holds very strongly that' imperialist propaganda doesn't only reside in the content but also in the form of Hollywood cinema, hence the necessity for anti-imperialist African cinema to find a different form' (p.83).

Undoing the Stereotypes

Decolonization is usually expressed in the act and process carried out as a 'frown' against a given notion, which the agitator finds unpleasant, in this context, where it has to do with image diminution. The beliefs, attitudes and values implicit in any film tend to resonate with those beliefs, attitudes and values which are dominant in the society from which the film originates (Linton, 1979). The same was exactly the situation between the colonial film units and trans-national and national African filmmakers in their entirety. The European perceptions about Africa, was that the continent is a constitution of one people (one nation) wallowing in abject timidity, poverty and having the crudest life in the history of the earth. The same was the representation of Africa in their films, especially those intended to communicate imperialistic ideals to the indigenous people. Working with a host of received opinion from the British Colonial Film Unit, (Koenigil, 1962, pp.95-105) gives a formalistic prescription for the films intended for the African market. Basing his conclusions on what he perceived as 'a fundamental difference of mentality' between the African and European, he stresses the need for simple films; and by simple films he means: films photographed in crude, natural settings, devoid of any cinematographic element or tricks. For him, the shots should be taken at eye level, with the least possible camera movement, in other words they should reproduce exactly what the human eyes see. The maximum possible visual continuity should be maintained from scene to scene. Persons or objects requiring attention should instead be repeated in the following picture to avoid shot interchange. The film should consist almost entirely of long shots or medium close-ups and in much longer sequences than those we are used to seeing with normal techniques. Koenigil believes that a great number of people on the screen will confuse the viewer (African), hence, he recommended that a minimal number of actors should be used. At the intellectual level, they (Africans) need more time to

understand, to 'digest' each picture and series of pictures. In his word, "let us tell a short plausible story with an actor of his own race, with whom he can identify himself and avoid changing scenery and paraphernalia." Koenigil believes that the African does not like to look hurriedly at many things at the same time; 'he loves details ... give him close-ups and enough time to see well, assimilating each gesture,' (Sellers, 1941, pp. 211 -5; 1952/3, pp.829-837 as cited in Ekwazi, 199). The forgoing remains one of the most noted gazes of the imperialists on Africa, hence, the justification for the movements that were geared towards undoing the gaze (decolonization of African Cinema). It is not known, the exact number of African filmmakers that took part in the self-imposed task. Many of them have gained global recognition, while most remained virtually unknown in Africa outside the elite spaces of the FESPACO film festival and limited screenings at French embassies.

West African filmmakers have produced an impressive body of high-quality work, few Africans beyond the intellectual elite know of Africa's most famous films. This paradox of a continent with renowned filmmakers but no local film culture began to change in the 1990s when aspiring artists in Nigeria and Ghana began to make inexpensive movies using video technology. Early works were edited on VCRs, but as digital video technology advanced, this process of informal video production quickly spread to other regions. The West African video movie industry grew to become one of the most prominent, diverse, and dynamic expressions of a pan-African popular culture in Africa and throughout the global diaspora. Hygenus Ekwazi notes that most of the films done within this school, especially in this era do, indeed, end up recycling the noxious clichés of Hollywood/Indian cinema. He motes the following examples:

> (1) Son of Africa: patterned on the American action film. The name of the hero - Agent 007 - says it all. (2) Dinner With the Devil, which, notes Lindsay Barrett, 'is remarkable for being the first Nigerian film to translate common incidents recognizable in day-to-day Nigerian life stylized along the lines of the popular [...] psychological dramas of popular Western cinema' { (3) Ajani Ogun: 'Any Indian film watcher knows that a typical leitmotif of Indian fiction films is the unending presence of snake danger to the damsel in the thick jungle forest and the inevitable timely intervention of the Good Samaritan who often is

loved out of gratitude. This hat trick has proved to have successful mass appeal guaranteeing huge box office returns in Indian fiction films (1999, p.100).

Decolonization usually involves challenging both conscious and subconscious racism, theft of sovereignty, attempted dehumanization and culture maligning. Having noted this, for decolonization to be effectual it must be holistic and must also involve Non-Indigenous people in settler-colonial societies. This allows for an all inclusive expressiveness and most importantly, it derives a large economic benefits for the society. The foregoing owes to the fact that the non-Indigenous settlers are commonly business oriented in every society. It will therefore require all hands on deck to be able to fully commercialize the African Cinema to a reasonable extent.

Hollywood and Postcolonial Africa

Away from European imperialism and neocolonialism, a major factor that has affected African Cinema, especially in terms of distribution is the Hollywood factor. Though more of these records come closely within the post-colonial periods, it is still relevant to African cinema history. The intimidating stature of America's Hollywood in the international movie community can be attributed to certain factors: historical, economic and technological. A random sampling of cinema houses in Nigeria (Balogun, 1987, p.106) and Ghana, Burkina Faso (Martin, 1982, p.29) disturbingly reveal that the distribution/exhibition networks in Africa were created primarily to service foreign films: notably American and Indian films. The fact is that America has led the free world in the creation, management and distribution of new technology (Schiller, 1976, p.73). And Hollywood has led the world cinema in the structuring of this new technology into films. And so, one out of every two films bought and sold in the international market place is American. India, on the other hand, has derived most of her advantages solely from historical factors (Kabir, 1979, pp.1-10). And as Ekwazi, notes:

The more foreign films pumped into the African landscape, the more the cultural enslavement and the more the dire consequences. It is significant that Hollywood cannot be divorced from American policy goals particularly in the fragile environment of the balance of power politics of the later part of the century; with the premium now on explanation and persuasion, emphasis has necessarily shifted to cultural diplomacy[...] The film, like all other culture-oriented outputs

of the media, belongs with America's cultural diplomacy. To this end, American government legislation has often been tailored to give the fullest advantage to Hollywood's overseas investments, (1999, p.99).

In a clearer and more detailed explication, (Martin, 1982, p.34) isolates the cluster of historical factors as follows:

S/N	DATE	EVENT	NOTE
1	1925	The birth of the Motion Picture Association of America (M.P.A.A.).	This had a far-reaching effect on the industry as it not only restructured the majors, but also regulated their activities within and without the country.
2	1928	The coming of sound.	This coincided with the end of World War I, which left the European economy in a shambles. Only America was able to completely overhaul her industry, to wire the studios for sound and thus have an unprecedented advantage over her competitors.
3	1946	The end of World War II.	By the time Europe came out of the war, the European economy had become dependent on America; and America was already dominating the international trade in films. Allied Europe was flooded with American films.
4	1946	The formation of the Motion Picture Export Association of America (M.P.E.A.A.).	The World Wars had both opened up a wide market for America; this new Association was to cope with the export of films on this wide scale and at the same time give the exported films whatever leverage they needed abroad. The M.P.E.A. A., in other words, became a de facto 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs' for the M.P.E.A.A.

Conclusion

It is indeed bothersome to know that decades after the efforts of some 'heroes' of the African Cinema, chief of which is Ousmane Sambene reputed as (the father of African Cinema), the motion picture industry of Africa, especially within West Africa still pose

Eurocentric in their approach to filmmaking. Film genre, production techniques and worse of all storyline still tilt towards this line. Filmmakers within Africa proudly and wholesomely sell western ideologies, the same ideologies that FESPACO and FESPACI fought to terminate from our motion picture industries. Concerning the schools earlier stated, the Sambene and Hondo schools of thought as well as the derivatives and ideas of their contemporaries such as Vieyra, Diop, Balogun, Ansah etc., as well as stakeholders in the African Cinema must continue to discuss and pass them on to scholars and filmmaker of recent and subsequent generations. Above all, it must be sustainable even after the drive begins. The question that should come to mind in other to ascertain a sustained decolonization of African Cinema is: 'if our land was stolen, and the culture and sovereignty denied, what rights have we and what actions should be needed?' For decolonization to be sustained there ought to be an encouraged, insistent and continuous education about Indigenous people and cultures in schools and other public places. Agreed, not many of the countries within the African continent have the need for a serious counteraction on the effects of colonization. Many nations have naturally healed themselves and have even moved forward without minding the negative effects of imperialism on them. Since these effects are mostly cultural and ideological, and since ideo-cultural effects are not tangible and concrete whereby they can be felt and touched, most indigenous people present themselves with no option than to leave with them. For those ideologically mature enough to see the need for decolonization, there must be support and conscious efforts channeled towards restitution.

It is therefore recommended that a cinema that revitalises Indigenous languages be introduced. There should be a call on institutions across education, the arts, media and politics on Indigenous people throughout organizations and in positions of leadership, in order to examine ways that people might have faced discrimination and unconscious bias and speak up against these structures. Haven noted this; it is hereby proposed that the African film industry rekindle the same fire with which the moral-fiber of FESPACHI and FESPACO were heated up. With knowledge of the demerits of having the struggle domiciled around the Francophone territories, the existing guilds and associations, cinema based confederations and other stakeholders—groups and individuals must unanimously rebrand the unity front by making it truly a Pan-African front—that will function without minding the political demarcations created within the continent by the

imperialists. Furthermore, opinion leaders in the industry should galvanize support walking alongside Indigenous people at rallies and placing their voices loud. There may be need to kneel or stand and observe a moment of silence to remember those murdered in the era of colonization, depending on the culture of the people. Stakeholders must roll up their sleeves in an effort to reroute the imperialistic parodies. To achieve this, narratives countering western notions and themes that portray Africa on a negative light should form the regular genres in the industry. But most importantly, we need to call on institutions to enact required reforms for decolonization. We need to support scholars and advance theories that speak out against racism and all forms of indirect colonization, which is the latest trend.

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