NOLLYWOOD FILMS, FOREIGN MEDIA AND THE NIGERIAN IMAGE CRISIS: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

Floribert Patrick C. ENDONG¹

¹PhD, Institute of Fine Arts-University of Dschang, Foumban, Cameroon Corresponding author: Floribert Patrick C. Endong; e-mail: floribertendong@yahoo.com

Abstract

On the international scene, Nigeria is mainly viewed in a negative light. The country is actually popularly associated with such negativities as poverty, corruption, violent internecine conflicts, terrorism and insecurity among others. According to many commentators, this negative image -commonly referred to as Nigeria's image crisis – is the logical consequence of factors that range from poor government reforms to negative local and international media coverage of the country. However, the causes of Nigeria's image crisis have, in the social discourse, been subject to controversy: conflicting schools of thought have pontificated on it. Whereas scores of Nigerian observers blame the international media for misrepresenting Nigeria and for being the principal cause of its image crisis, a number of critics rather blame Nigeria's own media notably Nollywood - for tarnishing the country's image. Determining the factor which is greatest in the causes of Nigeria's image crisis has remained the centre of a social debate in Nigeria; yet, it has rarely attracted the attention of scholars. Thus, the above mentioned issue remains an interesting subject for investigation. In this paper, the author uses a systematic review of recent literature to compare Nollywood films and the international media in terms of their respective contribution to the Nigerian image crisis. The paper argues that Nollywood films simply continue, corroborate and intensify foreign media misrepresentations or negative portrayals of Nigeria.

Keywords: International Media Representation, Nation Branding, Nigeria's Image Crisis, Nollywood.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Nollywood¹ film culture has phenomenally exploded and seriously trans-nationalized. This explosion and trans-nationalisation have made it to become very popular in countries across the globe. In tandem with this, Nollywood has been a widow into the Nigerian society. Indeed, for many foreign audiences, Nollywood represents a key source that provides valuable information about Nigeria. In spite of this big role, Nollywood has not been the only – not to talk of the principal

- window into Nigeria. It has also not been the main source feeding international audiences with information about Nigeria. Other influential institutions such as the international media have by their coverage and portrayal of Nigeria, participated in building or tarnishing the image of Nigeria on the international stage. In effect, Nollywood films have so far, been only one of the multiple sources that on one hand inform foreign audiences about the Nigerian experience and on the other hand shape these audiences' perceptions of Nigeria. Other sources include the foreign/Western media, world literature, social representations and popular stereotypes which, similar to the majority of Nollywood films, have often been taxed with misrepresenting Nigeria, simplifying it into a repetitive trope and aggravating the Nigerian image crisis (ADICHIE 2016; NWORAH, 2015; TELLA 2018; NOTHIAS 2016; IZUCHUKWU, 2019).

Given the fact that foreign audiences in the West and the Global South partially or mainly depend on the foreign media for information about Nigeria; and given the fact that, Nollywood films somehow compete with foreign media in terms of shaping and popularizing the Nigerian narrative, it will be interesting to explore the available literature and examine both areas of divergence and the interface between Nollywood films and foreign media's representations of Nigeria. It will also be important to examine the extent to which previous studies present the Nollywood films as a phenomenon which simply continues, corroborates or intensifies foreign media misrepresentations or negative portrayals of Nigeria. In line with the above mentioned interest, this paper is divided into three main parts. In the first place the paper discusses Nollywood films as part of a wider network of sources which inform foreign audiences about Nigeria. In the second place, the paper examines foreign media's contribution to the Nigerian image crisis. The paper ends with a comparison between the contribution of Nollywood and that of the foreign media to the Nigerian image crisis.

2. NOLLYWOOD FILMS IN THE MIX OF SOURCES WHICH INFORM FOREIGN AUDIENCES ABOUT NIGERIA

A number of research works suggest that foreign audiences heavily depend on a mix of non-Nigerian sources for information about Nigeria (ADICHIE, 2016; ENDONG, 2018). Foreign/global media's sporadic coverage of issues happening in Africa or Nigeria often provide foreign audiences with the opportunity to gather selective - and often distorted information about Nigeria (OLUSEYI, SKARDA-MITCHELL & GEARHART, 2018; HAWKINS 2018). In an interview with Nigerian literary icon Chimamanda Adichie, the French Journalist Caroline Broué (cited in MCKENZIE, 2019) admitted for instance that, most French people know very little about Nigeria apart from hearing about the Boko Haram insurgency and violence which are heavily reported by the international media. Similarly, Adichie in her 2009 TED talk makes pronouncements alluding to the fact that many foreign audiences (particularly in the West) tend to rely on Western literature for information about Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. This Western literature most often provides them distorted or misleading information about African countries (including Nigeria) as they tend to present the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa as a place of negatives, darkness, difference, conflicts and poverty; as well as a place where people are "half devil half human" (ADICHIE, 2016).

To the above mentioned sporadic international media coverage of Nigerian news and Western literature, one should add elements of the African popular culture (such as painting, sculpture among other works of art) and most especially non-African institutions' cultural representations of the Nigerian reality. Tari (2016) particularly

underscores the role and ability of these cultural representations to inform or shape foreign audiences' perceptions of Nigeria. She notes that:

There should be no doubt to the impact of cultural representations on social reality. Indeed, it is not uncommon that cultural representations influence the lived realities of subjects of said representations. Though often inaccurate, assumptions are made about an individual upon seeing them. As quoted above, meanings are attached to viewed bodies as a tool of social ordering. In this respect, one's identity is assumed or imposed - by virtue of physical appearance, albeit superficial - as in through ones way of dressing, etc. - or by virtue of one's 'race'/ethnicity or gender. Similarly, some ideas of knowing about different parts of the world and their inhabitants come from cultural formations of representation as they have evolved over the years and are reinforced on a daily basis; hence through these cultural representations of the "other", they are "entirely knowable and visible" while retaining their status as different and "other". Hence, it can be understood that while retaining [his] status as 'other' amongst [...] European and American individuals, it was easy for [a Westerner] to assume knowledge of [...] a Nigerian (or "African"). (p.9)

In her famous 2009 TED talk, ADICHIE (2016) actually confirms the strong role played by cultural representations of the "other" in the ways Nigerians in particular and Africans in general are perceived in foreign climes. She highlights how on several instances, the Americans or Westerners she came across exhibited default positions towards Africa and expressed negative perceptions of Nigeria on questionable bases. These Americans or Westerners' perceptions were mostly rooted in popular images that obviously have no credible connection with the Nigerian reality. ADICHIE (2016) observes that the fact that most foreign audiences have not lived in Nigeria and have been depending on popular images/myths for information about Nigeria or Africa, they tend

to view the African continent mainly in a negatively light. They likely see Africa as a place of beautiful landscape, beautiful animals and incomprehensible people fighting bloody and senseless wars, dying by millions of various pandemics and waiting desperately for a White messiah to come and save them.

It should equally be noted that the sporadic illegal actions of a minority of Nigerian expatriates in foreign countries have often informed negative cultural and media representations of Nigeria in foreign countries. Using Ghana, Uganda and South Africa as a case study, SYDELLE (2010) contends that foreign publics have taken to using Nigerians as scapegoats for anything negative that happens in their countries. This disposition has most often followed from the trivial fact that specific Nigerian expatriates or entities have sometimes perpetrated illicit acts in their host countries. Sydelle (2010) writes that:

If the FIFA World Cup was to be won based on bad reputations, Nigeria would have won the cup without any need to even play. That is just how bad the reputation of Nigerians are, unfortunately. So much so, that no matter were one goes in the world, people have taken to blaming Nigerians for everything bad that happens there. This, despite the reality that the majority of Nigerians should not be represented by a minority that clearly behave badly. For instance, someone I know once blamed Nigerians for all crime in the entire country of Ghana, forgetting that, at the time, the country sat between two insecure nations - Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Take South Africa, for instance, where xenophobic riots in 2008 resulted in the deaths of many foreigners including Nigerians. There, a popular film producer asserted that his abysmal portrayal of Nigerians in his film was because, in his biased opinion, "the most honest refraction of a crime group would be Nigerians". The producer, Blomkamp, ignored the fact that South Africa is one of the most dangerous places in the world and chose to blame that failing on Nigerians. (p.1)

Thus, Nollywood films are compelled to subsist and operate in an environment which is literally saturated with a multitude of more or less concurrent sources of information about Nigeria. These sources subtly or directly shape foreign audiences' perceptions of Nigeria. Of all these sources, global news media seem to be the strongest and the most hostile to Nigeria. These foreign news media are strongest for obvious reasons. One of these reasons is that they are by definition non-fictional – which implies that they presumably report facts – even though their selective attention to news events gives them the power to distort reality and to often spread half truths.

Another reason accounting for predominance of foreign news media in the list of factors shaping foreign audiences' perceptions of Nigeria is that, most of them (notably BBC. CNN, VOA, RFI, Al Jazeera, Washington Post, The *Economist, Guardian* and *Newsweek* among others) are popular in the global sphere. As noted by EKANNAH (2019), these foreign media (particularly mainstream media) often occupy a significant part of the international discourse. Thanks to this vantage position, they have the capacity to influence public opinion and audiences' perception of key global issues not only in the international scene but equally in their respective countries of origin. As these media misrepresent any African country (including Nigeria) through misleading coverage of issues in the "Black" continent, they subtly impend social progress in the continent. Foreign audiences most often strongly believe the big Western news agencies' representations of African countries irrespective of the fact these representations are, in some instances misleading, distorted and driven by well calculated political propaganda (NWAMUO, 2017).

It is also important to note that Nollywood films are compelled to subsist and popularise or control (a certain version) of the Nigerian/African narrative in a difficult, unstable and complex global context. In such a global context, the international/Western media seem to have systematically "connived" to deliberately portray Nigeria and the rest of Africa in a negative light, re-enforcing the decades old myths which the colonial powers used to justify their conquest

and subjugation of the Black continent. As contended by NWORAH (2015):

There is a war out there, a raging war against Nigeria, Africa and the rest of the developing world. This war serves only the interests of the West, and thrives mainly on stereotypes and half-truths. The war also aims to reinforce the servant-master ideology of the west unleashed on a people some of whom unfortunately are caught up in the warped subservient mind-set. The war by the western media against the developing economies lends credence to the African proverb that a toad will not grow unless it swallows another. (p.67)

Many other members of the Nigerian intelligentsia and political class have made similar observations. Two cases in point are former Nigerian Minister of Information Dora Akunyili (2015) and Nigerian Minister of Tourism Mbanefo (cited in MAYOWA, 2019). The two above mentioned Nigerian ministers have in various fora, pointedly lamented the fact that foreign media's coverage and representation of Nigeria have been as if they are bent on discrediting Nigeria and Africa to the advantage of Western economies. Mbanefo (cited in MAYOWA, 2019) in particular contends that:

Foreign media project their different countries [of origin] as places void of security and natural challenges, but portray Nigeria as an unsecured place. They should endeavour to balance their reports on Nigeria with the good things that happen in Nigeria. Nigeria is safe. And whatever challenge Nigeria is facing is not peculiar to her, they are common to other countries in the world, including the advanced countries. (Mbanefo cited in MAYOWA, 2019)

In effect, a number of indications suggest that Nigeria is victim of what authors such as NWORAH (2015) and AKINTAYO (2016) call a wider Western ploy aimed on one hand at simplifying Africa and on the other hand exhausting the West as a place extremely superior to Africa. As further explained by Neelika, if the construction of Africa as a place where people are

child-like or not quite human has facilitated the disastrous colonial conquest in the past, such a construction today aids the portrayal of the West as a civilized society; maintains Africa and the rest of the less developed world as the location of savagery, helplessness and devastation. It also aids the construction of the West as a desirable location that those who are child-like and have done little to better themselves (Africans) attempt to infiltrate - much to the West's detriment. Furthermore, such a narrative about Africa teaches foreign audiences to view the African as the "other" to be either feared or pitied. It will be interesting to know the extent to which the Nollywood filmic text participates to this tradition of simplifying Africa/Nigeria into repetitive and derogatory tropes. This will be addressed in the subsequent parts of this review.

3. FOREIGN MEDIA AND THE NIGERIAN IMAGE PROBLEM

According to NWORAH (2015) and EGWEMI (2010), the international media have contributed immensely to the present Nigerian image crisis. They have done so through a multitude of ways; one being that, they principally focus on negative news about Nigeria while underreporting or overlooking any positive news events happening in the country. A 2018 study carried out by SKARDA-MITCHELL OLUSEYI, GEARHART (2018) confirms this assumption. The above mentioned study analysed CBS, ABC and NBC's coverage of Nigerian news in two periods of time - from 2005 to 2009 and from 2010 to 2014. The study which was done from the prism of issues covered, sources, valence and frames confirmed earlier studies findings suggesting that foreign media most often use episodic frames and represent Nigeria in a negative light in their coverage of the Black continent. The study revealed that although the three American media under study reported less negative news about Nigeria from 2010-2014, positive stories about the country amounted only to 1%. The international media under study focused predominantly on issues such as war, conflict, terrorism and bad governance. In the second period of study (2005-2009), the three

American media focused predominantly on political and religion-motivated violence in Nigeria. During the two study periods, the foreign media kept using episodic frames in their coverage of Nigerian news. They gave limited attention to positive issues such as the developed economic situation of the country. Half of their reports lacked any source other than the reporter which means that much of their reports lacked credibility.

In a similar study carried out in 2017, OJEBUYI (2019) argues that foreign media such as CNN, BBC and The Economist have been using negative frames to report terrorism in Nigeria and in the Sahel region of Africa. The use of such frames have led to a situation where in Nigeria, like the other African countries affected by terrorist activities, is portrayed as a place of conflict, children and women abduction and chaos. Akintayo's 2016 doctoral thesis similarly examines the way the British press reported Nigeria from 2007 to 2010 and tries to see whether Nigeria's 2009 Rebranding campaign had any impact on the British media's coverage of the country (AKINTAYO, 2016). The study reveals that the British press' attention to Nigeria has generally been sporadic, characterised by emphasis on negative news particularly crises. It equally reveals that from 2007 to 2010, the British media did not find Nigeria's efforts towards nation branding newsworthy as it did not cover events organized under the 2009 rebranding Nigeria campaign. As explained by AKINTAYO (2016):

The rebranding campaign did not show much effect on the reporting of Nigeria in the British press. The launch of the campaign and all the activities carried out by the campaign were not considered newsworthy by the four newspapers [considered for the study]. A few positive indicators of change noted were shadowed by the continual negative portrayal and recycling of frames from the colonial era. (p.2)

In her article published on *BBC News*, ADAOBI (2014) examines Nigerian audiences' mitigated but dominantly negative reception of BBC documentary titled "Welcome to Nigeria". Aired in April 2010 on the *BBC*, the documentary sought to expose the plight of an entire

community of human beings subsisting on mountains of refuse in the "big" city of Lagos. The author highlights the controversy the documentary-film generated in the Nigerian media, intellectual and political circles, particularly emphasizing the assessments of many members of the Nigerian intelligentsia (notably Wole Soyinka) and Nigeria's High Commissioner to the UK Dalhatu Tafida. The latter mainly perceived the documentary as another "calculated attempt to bring Nigeria and its hard-working people to international odium and scorn" (p.5). However, Adaobi (2014) criticizes the fact that most Nigerians will likely kick up a tornado whenever their country is negatively represented in the foreign media rather than pondering more constructively on the socio-political situation that may have engendered such negative media representation or foreign audiences' perception of their country. She contends that:

The Germans can shrug it off when they are stereotyped as humourless; the Russians can dismiss it when they are described as cold. But the Nigerian just has to kick up a tornado whenever he is perceived unpalatably. He is touchy because he has no alternative image on which to base his confidence. (ADAOBI, 2014)

Like other African nations, Nigeria has most often attracted the attention of the foreign media in the event of negative occurrences. Foreign media coverage of positive news events happening in the country has been more an exception rather than a usual culture. As noted by MHETA (2019) and Nigerian freelance journalist SHAYERA (2019), excessive emphasis on crises, strife and other negative issues happening in Africa seems to be of great relevance particularly to Western audiences. These Western audiences seem to have been socialised and psychologically programmed to view African countries dominantly in a negative light. Thus, most Western media houses tend, in their programs or news productions to meet the expectations of a typical Westerner and to confirm the popular images of Africans/ Nigerians in the Western imagination. According to ROTHMYER (2011), foreign media's

misrepresentation of Nigeria and other African nations stems from the fact that many of them depend on the data generated and published by Africa-based civil society initiatives and Westerncontrolled International Non-Governmental Organizations that are active on African soil. Meanwhile, the data generated by these International NGOs are often exaggerated, doctored or simply faked to justify their existence or continuous stay on African soil (POLMAN 2010, BEN-ARI, 2013; MONAGHAN & LYCETT 2016, KELMAN, 2016, ABIOLA, 2019). The data used by these NGOs most often inform Western reporters' frame of reference when they report issues happening on African soil. As explained by ROTHMYER (2011), International NGOs based Africa "understandably tend to focus not on what has been accomplished but on convincing people how much remains to be done. As a practical matter, they also need to attract funding. Together, these pressures create incentives to present as gloomy a picture of Africa as possible in order to keep attention and money flowing, and to enlist journalists in disseminating that picture".

In line with this, authors such as SHAYERA (2019) and ADUKWU (2020) have observed that Nigerian journalists who are hired by foreign media are most often composed or obliged to only consider their employers' frame of reference whenever they are sent on beat. This creates a situation where local Nigerian media practitioners participate actively in the negative representation of Nigeria. Nigerian freelance journalist SHAYERA (2019) in particular notes that:

Low pay and precarious work conditions for most African journalists lead many to seek work with Western news outlets. But that leads to other problems, such as an over-emphasis on crises, strife, and other issues viewed as relevant to Western audiences. [...] I once pitched a story about a Nigerian Paralympian to a news website in the United States that frequently showcases African writers. The editor rejected it because it was too "optimistic". On another occasion, a Western magazine tried to edit my initial draft to suggest that a refugee's deceased parents were killed by armed militias when, in fact, her father's

death was undisclosed and her mother died from an illness.

In the same line of thought, ADUKWU (2020) notes that international news agencies such as the Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France Press have entrenched the culture of predominantly seeking and picking the works of freelance African photographers who focus on negative African news. This has somehow influenced many professional photographers of African extraction to re-define their frame of reference in favour of misrepresenting Africa so as to survive in the profession of freelance photography. It has thus become virtually impossible for most African/Nigerian photographers - the same as other media professional from the continent- to get work or recognition without reproducing all the anti-African stereotypes expected by the Western media and audiences.

4. NOLLYWOOD FILMS' PORTRAYAL VERSUS FOREIGN MEDIA'S REPRESENTATION OF NIGERIA

Authors such as OMOJOWA (2013), NDUKWU (2013) and ALAWODE & UDUAKOBONG (2014) have lamented the fact that the majority of Nollywood film productions focus on a host of negativities prevailing in the Nigerian society. These authors have also deplored the fact that Nollywood films dominantly portray the Nigerian nationality in a bad light. Going by such observations, Nollywood is most often tasked with "deforming" the Nigerian sociocultural and political reality. The Nigerian film industry is also tasked with contributing in the same way foreign media do, to the Nigerian image crisis. If this similarity has been established by a number of studies, not much scholarly attention has been given to understanding why Nigerian filmmakers will dominantly seem to imitate foreign media - which , as earlier mentioned have seemed bent on portraying Nigeria and the rest of Africa as a monolithic space of poverty, conflict, epidemics and other negativities.

Nollywood filmmakers' urge to predominantly emphasize the negative sides of life in Nigeria is

justified by at least three more or less questionable/controversial myths. One of these myths is that negative stories in both news media and fictive media have always sold storytellers. As rightly observed by Kenneth Dowler (cited in HAWKINS, 2018), the "If it bleeds, it leads" notion holds true for the media. Thus, many Nollywood filmmakers are more guided by capitalist ambitions than the "wisdom" of or resisting foreign media's reversing misrepresentations of their country. Another justification that can be given for Nollywood filmmakers' dominant attention to negative stories about Nigeria lies in the fact that many Nollywood filmmakers (the same as their Nigerian countrymen) subscribe to stereotypical views the West has about Nigeria and the rest of Africa. Such filmmakers most often think they are doing Nigeria a service by exposing the societal ills that plague the country. They thus share ADAOBI's (2014) position that Nigerians should not so much resent the negative narratives generated about their counties but rather use such narrative for constructive selfreflection and for solving social problems in their country. Word verbatim, she notes that:

We fret about the many uncomplimentary stories from our land making the rounds on international media circuits, more than about the actual negative circumstances that birth those narratives. From politicians to intellectuals to entertainers to terrorists, Nigerians have been socialised to rate themselves in the light of Western perceptions. [...] It is unhealthy for a people's self-image to be hinged almost entirely on outside forces. Nigeria expends too much valuable energy on sweeping dirt under carpets and stuffing skeletons inside closets. Consequently, we deny ourselves the opportunity of frank dialogue, cultural criticism and self-examination – processes that are vital for a society to advance, by which the imperious West itself has developed thus far. (ADAOBI, 2014)

The last but not least justification one can give to explain Nollywood filmmakers' dominant attention to negative themes lies in the concept of African/Nigerian authenticity. In her famous TED Talk Chimamanda Adichie (2016) briefly explained (from a non-African perspective) what the African authenticity could be. According to this perspective, for a work of art or for a film to be authentically African it should portray Africans as people who are starving, who lack education and who are facing terrible existential problems among other things. In line with this, Nigerian female film director Ema Edosio (cited in KPADE, 2018) claims to have been driven by the desire to authentically represent Nigeria in her film titled "Kasala" - a drama about the plight of a community of human being living in slums in Nigeria's economic nerve, Lagos. Edosio notes that her choice of locations such as back corners, meat markets, mechanic garages and communal flats that have the red and blown of rust and decay was mainly driven by the desire to authentically represent the city of Lagos. She contends that:

I wanted to see Lagos, I wanted to see barbwires. I wanted to see gutters, I wanted to see the people. I knew that the location was a character on its own. And I wanted to be able to find the right location that would be able to represent that boys and the lives they live in Lagos [...] My mind was not about where the foreign audience would accept it or whatever. My mind was "how do I make a film that is authentic to Nigeria? How do I make a film that would show of Lagos? (cited in KPADE, 2018)

The citation mentioned above suggests that a number of Nollywood filmmakers are more and more conscious of the need to challenge Western media's stereotyping of Nigeria, through films and images that are authentic to their countries. More and more Nigerian cineastes are conscious that they should explore those other aspects of Nigeria which show that the country is modernising and is not all plagued by corruption, bad leadership and poverty. However, in spite of this emerging tendency to deconstruct foreign media negative representation of Nigeria, a still sizeable number of local Nigerian cineastes believe in naturalising and reproducing the colonial stereotypes of Nigeria. This gives the impression that the Nollywood film industry is still contributing to misrepresenting Nigeri and

intensifying the Nigerian image crisis on the international stage.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The causes of Nigeria's image crisis have remained subject to controversy: conflicting schools of thought have pontificated on it. Whereas scores of Nigerian observers have international the media misrepresenting Nigeria and for being the principal cause of its image crisis, a number of critics have rather blamed Nigeria's own media - notably Nollywood - for tarnishing the country's image. In this paper, the author used a systematic review of literature to examine similarities and differences among the two media in their contribution to the Nigerian image crisis. The paper argued that Nollywood films greatly contribute in tarnishing the image of their country of origin on the international stage. In effect, the films simply continue, corroborate and intensify foreign media misrepresentations or negative portrayals of Nigeria.

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Endnotes

¹ Nollywood is a codename popularly used in reference to Nigeria's film industry. But according to a number of commentators, this name is appropriate to refer exclusively to the video film movement that characterises part of Nigeria's filmic production. This movement is non-conformist to cinema. It particularly hinges on un-Hollywood production paradigms.

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