CHALLENGES OF PRODUCING LITERARY ADAPTATIONS IN NOLLYWOOD

BY

Lillian Omolara SHOROYE
BA English (Ago-Iwoye), MA Literature (Ibadan)
Matric No: 101793

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C E R T I F I C A T I O N

I certify that this thesis is the result of an original study carried out by Lillian Omolara SHOROYE, of the Cultural and Media Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.

…… ……..**.....**

Date **Supervisor**

Senayon S. Olaoluwa (PhD Wits)
Institute of African Studies
University of Ibadan
Ibadan

D E D I C A T I O N

To these men who love me unconditionally, warts and all

My husband, Oladipo Mofoluwasho Shoroye,
whose many sacrifices, encouragement, and prayers
made this possible.

And

Our sons; Emmanuel, David and Joshua,
for giving me a reason to dream again.
I present this gift, so you know that you can be more,
That you can do more, and that you can have more.
.

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A B S T R A C T

Much of the scholarship on Nollywood has focused on the films' preoccupation with the occult, negative representation of women, shoddy plots, as well as generic configurations. Also, there have been persistent propositions for Nollywood filmmakers to adopt Nigerian literature as source material to ameliorate the deficiencies noticeable in the contents of their films. The propositions, which remain largely unheeded, came on the heels of the observation that filmmakers have paid very little attention to literary texts in spite of Nigeria's enviable profile of written literature. Scholarly attempts at providing explanations for filmmakers' apathy to literary adaptations have rarely considered the production-related hurdles. This study was, therefore, designed to undertake a deeper production-focused investigation to provide industry-generated perspective to the often pondered question on the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood.

Simon Murray's Adaptation Industry Theory was utilised while ethnography was adopted as design. The respondents were selected through the purposive sampling technique because they were stakeholders involved in film production in Nollywood. Primary data were collected through fifteen (15) key informant interviews with selected Nollywood filmmakers. Four in-depth interviews were conducted with literary authors and three focus group discussions were held with undergraduate students of Theatre and Film Studies at three federal universities in southern Nigeria, namely: University of Lagos, Akoka, University of Ibadan, Ibadan and University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The choice of the students for the discussions was informed by the understanding that they belong to departments directly related to the industry. Data were content-analysed.

The evolution of the industry from the market, inadequate professional qualification of filmmakers, absence of a reading culture amongst filmmakers, commitment to individual creativity, audience preferences, the fear of negative reviews and budgetary constraints were identified as the reasons for Nollywood filmmakers' apathy towards literary adaptations. The cumbersome process of film rights acquisition, dearth of screenwriters, and financial implications of a longer production duration, research, and reconstruction of the setting of literary texts are the peculiar challenges of producing literary adaptations in Nollywood. Lack of a proper distribution structure, piracy, cinema infrastructural deficit and taxes are factors that deter filmmakers from venturing more readily into the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Undergraduates of cognate departments showed mixed impressions about Nollywood. While some saw remarkable improvement, others thought there is still a lot to be desired. They revealed their indisposition to reading literary texts outside the recommended materials and showed preference for regular films of the comedy, epic and thriller genres over literary adaptations. Creative storytelling, quality audio-visual output and originality of themes held more attraction for them than the adaptation of literary texts. The undergraduates' attitude confirmed filmmakers' assertion of audience preference as a significant factor that makes the production of literary adaptations unpopular in Nollywood.

Producing literary adaptations, therefore, poses several challenges to filmmakers. Thus, they are rarely produced because they are commercially unprofitable within the Nollywood context of filmmaking.

Keywords: Literature, film, adaptation, Nollywood, film production

Word Count: 478

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AABF	Ake Arts and Books Festival
AFRIFF	African International Film Festivals
MGM/UA	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer/United Artist
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency syndrome
AIT	African Independent Television
AMBO	Amstel Malta Box Office
AMC	American multi-Cinema
ANA	Association of Nigerian Authors
AWS	African Writers Series (AWS)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BOBTV	Best of the Best Television
CEAN	Cinema Exhibitors Association of Nigeria
CFU	Colonial Film Unit
CMPPN	Conference of Motion Pictures Practitioners of Nigeria
CORA	Committee for Relevant Arts
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
CD	Compact Disc
DGN	Directors Guild of Nigeria
DVD	Digital Video Disc
FESPACO	Festival panafricaine du cinema la television de Ouagadougou (Pan African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou)
FFU	Federal Film Unit
FGD	Focused group discussions
HBO	Home Box Office
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDF	Innovation Distribution Fund
IDI	In-depth Interview
ITPAN	Independent Television Producers Association of Nigeria
KII	Key Informant Interview
LTV	Lagos Television
NEXIM	Nigerian Export and Import Bank
NFVCB	National Film and Videos Censors Board

NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
OOPL	Olusegun Obasanjo Presidential Library
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TIFF	Toronto International Film Festival
UK	United Kingdom
UI	University of Ibadan
UNAC	University of Nigeria Aba campus
UNEC	University of Nigeria Enugu campus
UNILAG	University of Lagos
UNN	University of Nigeria, Nsukka
UNTH	University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax
VCR	Video Cassette Recorder
VHS	Video Home System
VOD	Video-on-Demand
VVF	Vesico-virginal Fistula
WNTV	Western Nigerian Television

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> No story comes from nowhere; new stories are born of old. - Salman Rushdie (1990:86)

Background to the Study

The love of stories is as old as the art of storytelling itself. Stories can be told using written or verbal words, drawings, photographs, theatre performances, PowerPoint presentations, and films. This means that stories can be adapted to fit different modes of communication. The first century of cinema was dominated by the re-telling of stories previously told in written texts. As words make the transition from written to visual texts, they literally become flesh before our very eyes. These visual narratives have held audiences spellbounds since the dawn of cinema.

Since literary texs may exist as oral or written texts, adaptation as an artistic concept entails the transposition of a story that already exists in either forms, into a new medium or context. Casetti (2005: 81) defines adaptation as "the reappearance in another discursive field, of an element of a story (a plot, a theme, a character, etc.) that has previously appeared elsewhere," thus suggesting that adaptation can be partial. According to Adeoti (2010: 8) adaptation is the "the art of deliberate re-rendering of an existing work of art in a new form or shape." The process of "re-rendering," usually requires a reformulation of the story to fit a new medium, or a new socio-historical context. Thus, although adaptation involves, to an extent, the repetition of a story, it is a "repetition . . . without replication" considering the existing story is reworked or "re-rendered" through a process of "salvaging" and "appropriation" of elements from the original source (Hutcheon 2006: 7).

Consequently, there are different kinds of adaptation. The first kind could be said to be "intra-genral," which means that adaptation could be within the same genre,

for instance, play to play, often with different socio-historical contexts, as was popularised in Western literary traditions before the advent of cinema. African playwrights have also explored this type of adaptation. A good example is Nigerian playwright, Ola Rotimi's adaptation of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* as *The Gods are not to Blame* (1971). Adaptation could also be from one literary genre to another, i.e. from poetry to play, or novel to stage production. An example is the 2008 stage production of D. O. Fagunwa's classic novel *Ogboju Ode Ninu Igbo Irumole* (1938) by Akinwunmi Ishola and Femi Osofisan. While Ishola's adaptation retains the Yoruba-language of the text, Osofisan's adaptation was in English-language with the title: *Adventures in a Forest of a Thousand Daemons.* A Nigerian company, CHAMS Plc., sponsored both stage adaptations (http://chamsplc.com/chams-theatre-series/). Another example of novel to stage production is the stage adaptation of Lola Shoneyin's novel, *The Secret Lives of Baba Segi's Wives* (2010), by Rotimi Babatunde at the first edition of Ake Arts and Books Festival (AABF) in November 2013, at Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria. It was also staged at the Theatre Royal, Stratford East London, United Kingdom, on December 18, 2015 (http://www.stratfordeast.com/whats-on/all-shows/the-secret-lives-of-baba-segis-wives).

However, the most popular type of adaptation from one medium to another is the adaptation from page to screen, popularised by cinema. Hollywood, the film industry of the United States of America, thrives on this form of adaptation. The transition of stories from page to screen is referred to as literary film adaptation, literature-to-film adaptation or literature-based adaptation. According to Boozer (2008:1), this type of adaptation involves "the textual transposition of a single-track medium of published writing into a document that embraces the scenic structure and dramatic codes of the multi-track medium of film."

There have been adaptations of the works of almost every canonical writer in Western literary tradition. William Shakespeare's plays, as well as Jane Austen's novels have been adapted severally. Fantasy novels of classical children's literature, such as J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbits* and *The Lord of the Rings* series, and C. S. Lewis's *The Chronicles of Narnia*, have been adapted to films and were box office hits. In addition, works of literature continue to be adapted across a variety of media besides cinema. As Hutcheon (2007, par 12) notes, literary adaptations can be found in various forms including video games,

interactive media works, dance works, musical operas, besides the more common radio plays, and television series

While adaptation flourished in Hollywood, even films based on original scripts were given another life through adaptation to written text (prose), in a process called novelisation. Novelisation is the adaptation of films based on original scripts to novel. Novelisation has the advantage of including insights into the inner recesses of the characters' minds and sometimes scenes that never made it to the final cut of the film. Usually published with stills from the movie, the credit goes thus: A novelisation by (name of author) based on the screenplay by (name of scriptwriter) and story by (original storyteller). In his comments on the purpose of the prose-treatment of films, Jones (2011) explains: "the book-of-the-film is decided through the marketing department, and in that respect, it's just one of many tools – like the toys, posters and other merchandise – to promote the movie." However, while novelisation was popular in the West between the 1960s and 1990s, it is now a fading practice. (http://www.denofgeek.com/movies/18104/in-praise-of-movie-novelisations-and-the-gold-they-offer-movie-geeks).

Adaptation manifested early as a mode of filmmaking in cinema history. Andrew (2004) in an essay titled "Adaptation," writes, "The making of a film out of an earlier text is virtually as old as the machinery of cinema itself. Well over half of all commercial films have come from literary originals - though by no means all of these originals are revered or respected." McFarlane (1996: 6 - 7) similarly attests: "As soon as cinema began to see itself as a narrative entertainment, the idea of ransacking the novel – that already established repository of narrative fiction – for source material got underway, and the process has continued more or less unabated." Estimating that approximately 85 per cent of Hollywood films have been adapted from novel and other literary form including short stories, drama, comics, biographies and autobiographies, Welsh (2007: xiii) stresses its dominance in Hollywood:

> After a century of cinema, movies have changed substantially, both technologically and stylistically, but after a hundred years, mainstream cinema is still telling and retelling stories, and most of those stories are still being (or have been) appropriated from literary or dramatic sources, as much as 85 per cent by some calculations and accounts. Adaptation has always been central to the process of filmmaking since almost the beginning, and could well maintain its dominance into the cinema's second century.

Taking a cue from Hollywood, movie industries across Europe and Asia manifest similar trend of filmmaking using literature text as source material (Qin, 2007; Munro, 2014; Willems, 2015). Filmmakers in the African continent have also been influence by the trend in Hollywood, with Francophone West African cinema as a prominent example. Several explanations have been given for the continued fascination with film adaptations and the appeal they hold for both filmmakers and the viewing public. McFarlane (1996:8) avers that besides the seeming creative urge "to have verbal concepts bodied forth in perpetual concreteness," "filmmakers' reasons for this continuing phenomenon appear to move between the poles of crass commercialism and high-minded respect for literary works." There is also "the lure of a pre-sold title," with "the expectation that one medium might infect the work created in another." Hutcheon (2006:29) corroborates McFarlane's view when she notes that adapters often rely on selecting works that are well known and that have proved popular over time to adapt for "economic reason," while they often choose works that are no longer copyrighted for "legal reasons."

With regards to the fascination adaptation holds for the audience, Hutcheon (2006) explains, "The appeal of adaptations lies in their mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty comparable to the pleasure derived from reading a book we love or listening to a song we love over and over again." She also suggests that, "this kind of repetition brings comfort" which lies in "the experience of tension between the old and the new," "in the revisiting of a theme with variations" (114).

Marciniak (2007) highlights various kinds of pleasures associated with adaptation where audiences and filmmakers are concerned. She identifies "the urge to create," the pleasure of "observing the unity of artistic communication across media," "the fascination with the performers," the pleasure associated with the "spoken word" as "the written words of a book are transformed to an oral/aural text" (62-63) as some of the appeal to both filmmakers and audience. She also identifies the "human wish to evaluate" as one of the pleasures even when that evaluation is a "negative opinion about some aspects of the film" (65).

However, while in the Western context, literary adaptations persist mainly for aesthetic and commercial reasons, they serve a different purpose in the context of African cinema. Just as modern African literature is a product of reaction to centuries of Eurocentric misrepresentations, African cinema filmmakers, especially those from the Francophone West African region, saw the possibilities of using images for the

purpose of promoting radical social transformation. Veiyra's (1961) perception in "Cinema and the African Revolution," that film adaptations in Africa will be used as tools for educating the impoverished masses, who though unable to read the books published in foreign languages, are well able to decode images in films, holds true for much of Francophone West African cinema. Senegalese novelist and filmmaker, Ousmane Semebene, considered the father of African cinema, identifies economic hardship and other ideological considerations as the reasons for adapting his books to film (Oliver Barlet, 2000). We can deduce a similar consideration in the films by his contemporaries, in the same region, most of whom privilege social discourse on post-colonial realities and transformation over aesthetical concerns.

Besides film, adaptation is significantly explored in the works of contemporary African writers who, it must be noted, were exposed to Western literary traditions in the school curricula through their formal education. There are copious examples, in the Nigerian context, of notable playwrights who have appropriated and transposed works of both classical Greek playwrights and canonical English, French, and German literary text into the socio-historical and cultural milieu of Nigeria. Although this study focuses on literary adaptations in Nollywood, a quick review of the works of Nigerian dramatists and playwrights: Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, Femi Osofisan and Ahmed Yerima reveal adaptation as an established dramatic mode in Nigerian dramatic writings and practices.

For example, Soyinka's *The Bacchae of Euripides* (1973) is an adaptation of Euripides' *The Bacchae*. *Opera Wonyosi* (1977) is a derivation from a combination of John Gray's *The Beggars Opera* (1728) and Brecht's *The Three Penny Opera* (1928). *King Baabu* (2002) is a reworking of Alfred Jerry's *The Ubu Plays* (1993). On his part, Ola Rotimi re-renders Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* as *The Gods are not to Blame* (1971), besides his other adaptations of historical events in *Ovoranwen Nogbaisi* (1974) and *Hopes of the Living Death* (1988). In the oeuvre of Femi Osofisan, we find a rich harvest of works that are transpositions from classical Greek plays, European literature, and Nigerian dramatic texts. His *Tegonni: An African Antigone* (1994) is an adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone* (1974) while *The Women of Owu* (2006) is adapted from Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (2005). He also adapted Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as *Wesoo, Hamlet* (2012). His re-visioning of the ideological stance of his contemporaries in Nigeria is evident in *No More the Wasted Breed* (1983) and *Another Raft* (1988), which are in juxtaposition to Soyinka's *The Strong Breed* (1964)

and J.P. Clark's *The Raft* (1964) respectively. Also in the works of Ahmed Yerima, we find example of adaptation in *Otaelo* (2002) and *An Inspector Calls* (2008), adapted from Shakespeare's *Othello* and J.B. Priestley's *An Inspector Calls* (2000) respectively.

Furthermore, the vibrancy of the theatrical exploration of adaptation can also be seen as a carryover from the aesthetics of the activities of the popular Yoruba Traveling Theatre troupes who are the precursors of filmmakers in Nigeria. Yoruba Traveling Theatre troupes had the Alarinjo Masquerade performance, which predates colonialism as their progenitor. Nigerian playwrights from South-West Nigeria may have benefited immensely from the Yoruba Traveling Theatre troupes, as witnesses to their exploits on stage, in their youth. The popular themes performed in their halcyon days include mythology, history, and social commentaries. Similar themes also reflect in the works of the playwrights. Notable among this group of theatre practitioners are Duro Ladipo, Hubert Ogunde, Kola Ogunmola, Moses Olaiya, Adebayo Faleti, and Isola Ogunsola. *Oba Koso* (1964), *Moremi* and *Ajagun Nla* are some of the stage plays by Duro Ladipo. Isola Ogunsola adapted Akinwunmi Ishola's *Efunsetan Aniwura* (1964*)* to stage. Kola Ogunmola adapted Amos Tutuola's *The Palmwine Drinkard* (1962) to stage. Ogunde and Olaiya went on to adapt most of their stage plays to film.

1.1 Nigerian Literature and Literary Adaptations in Nollywood

Literature in indigenous languages thrived before Nigerian literature in English began to flourish. D.O. Fagunwa's fantasy novels in Yoruba, Peter Nwana's *Omenuko* in Igbo and E. E. Nkana's Efik language novel, *Mutanda Oyom Namondo* that were all published in the 1930s are good example. The trailblazers for Hausa literature were the five novels selected for publication after a writing competition in 1933 namely: *Ruwan Bagaja* by M. Abubakar Imam; S*hehu Umar* by M. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa; Bello Kagara's *Gandoki; Idon Matanbayi* by M. Muhammadu Gwazo, and *Jiki Magayi* by M. Tafidi and Dr. Rupert East. According to Abdalla Uba Adamu (2005:8) Muhammed Yusuf Aminu, who is popularly known as Aminu Kano, "became the first to formally write drama between 1938-1939 while a teacher in Middle School, Kano." Six Hausa Plays published in 1930 by Dr. East who was then the British colonial officer in charge of Hausa Literature served as his inspiration. However, while Aminu's plays were staged, they were never published.

Nigerian literature in English started to flourish in the 1950s. This coincides with the graduation of the first batch of students from Nigeria's premier university, the University of Ibadan. Among the group who published their juvenilia in campus magazines are Chinua Achebe, J. P. Clark, Mabel Segun, Christopher Okigbo, and Wole Soyinka. The works of these writers quickly gained global attention for their aesthetics, subversion of Eurocentric representation of Africans in the literature of the West, and a range of thematic engagements. Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) which is the first title in the Heinemann African Writers Series (AWS) set the pace and remains one of the finest examples of African literature of English expression until date. Achebe went on to publish other equally engaging works of fiction including: *No Longer at Ease* (1960), *Arrow of God* (1964), *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987), and *Beware Soul Brothers* (1972).

Besides the aforementioned, others whose writings became popular as prescribed literary texts at different levels of the education system include: Elechi Amadi, Cyprian Ekwensi, Ola Rotimi, Chukwuemeka Eze, Nkem Nwankwo, Flora Nwapa, Buchi Emecheta, Gabriel Okara, Isidore Okpewho, T. M. Aluko, Festus Iyayi, Ben Okri, Zaynab Akali, Bode Sowande, Femi Osofisan, Ahmed Yerima, Ken Saro-Wiwa, Niyi Osundare, and Tanure Ojaide. New crops of writers who have equally produced a rich harvest of literary works of global acclaim have emerged. Amongst them are Tade Ipadeola, Sefi Atta, Helon Habila, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Chika Unigwe, Lola Shoneyin, Biyi Bandele, Jude Dibia, Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani, Eghosa Imasuen, Igoni Barret, Nike Campbell-Fatoki, Teju Cole, Rotimi Babatunde, and Tope Folarin.

Some of the works of these writers have won national, continental, as well as global literary prizes. A few examples will suffice. Okpewho's *The Last Duty* (1976) won the African Arts Prize for Literature; Okri's *The Famished Road* (1991) received the Man Booker Prize in the same year. Nwaubani's debut novel *I Do Not Come to You by Chance* (2009) won the 2010 Commonwealth Writer's Prize for Best First Book (Africa), Habila's *Waiting for an Angel* (2002) had earlier won the prize in 2003. Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) won the Orange Prize for Fiction in 2007. However, as Uzoatu (2010) notes, the crowning glory of the feats achieved by Nigerian writing came in 1986 when playwright, poet, novelist and essayist, Wole Soyinka became the first Black African to be awarded the Noble prize for Literature.

The global recognition that have come the way of Nigerian writers shows that their stories are inspiring, entertaining and evocative, be they poetry, drama, or prose. The range of their thematic engagements cover culture, history, politics, cosmopolitanism, sexuality, fantasy, migration, alienation, transnationalism, urbanisation, and more. The subject matters are global in their relevance, further affirming the conviction that there is no lack of adaptable works from Nigerian literature. However, in spite of the achievements of Nigerian literature on the global stage, only a negligible number of the ingenious outputs have enjoyed transition from page to screen adaptation. Amongst them are; Soyinka's *Kongi's Harvest* (1965), Achebe's *Things Fall Apart (1958),* Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* (1966), Ola Rotimi's *The Gods are not to Blame* (1971), Osofisan's *Maami* (1987), Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) and Soyinka's *Ake: The Years of Childhood* (1981).

In the 1990s, an economic downturn and security unrest in Nigeria provided the perfect conditions for a reversal of film production from celluloid to a much cheaper and easier to operate video format. This survival strategy of a fledgling film industry in the face of economic hardship threatening the livelihood of indigenous filmmakers gave birth to the video boom. The recourse to videos came with attendant problems of poor audio-visual quality. The video boom witnessed the influx of all-comers who were mostly interested in making quick money with little regards for the quality of films they churned out weekly (Adesanya 2000; Haynes 2007; Larkin 2004). This scenario opened up the industry to critical attacks from scholars and filmmakers, home and abroad (Adedokun 2008; Okome 2010). The criticisms notwithstanding, through sheer doggedness, the industry experienced a phenomenal growth and the video films quickly became ubiquitous across sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and the Americas. With production of about 1,500 – 2,500 titles annually, by 2009 Nollywood got recognition as the second highest movie producing film industry in the world (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/nollywood-rivals-bollywood-in-filmvideo-production/browse/6/back/18276/).

In the light of the creative exploration of adaptation observed in the works of Nigerian dramatists, there were expectations that Nigerian filmmakers would borrow a leaf from their counterparts in the theatre and other film industries by embracing literary texts as source material for their films. However, even though Nollywood has carved a niche for itself as one of the three largest film-producing industries in the world today, literary adaptations remain a rarity despite several suggestions.

Advocates of literary adaptation in Nollywood predicate their propositions on the perceived deficiencies in the content of an overwhelming percentage of the films produced.

At the advent of the video revolution and in the first two decades of its evolution, the content of Nollywood films elicited disapproval and unfavourable judgment from critics home and abroad. While some decry the obsession with occultism and rituals, others could not hide their disgust at the monotonous themes and shoddy plots with their abrupt endings. Critics also complained about the situation where feature films are broken into as much as four parts with a total disregard for proper plot sequencing. Furthermore, the films were often disparaged for technical glitches and poor acting.

Commenting on the thematic preoccupation of the films, Ebewo (2007:47) observes that the basis of the criticism is the "thematic obsession with the occult world (juju, black magic, sorcery, ritual murder, witchcraft, etc.,), obscenity, prostitution, and "money worship." Besides these, the films have also come under severe attacks for the way they often depict Nigerian women. Women were often portrayed as morally bankrupt, quarrelsome, materialistic, manipulative, and diabolic. These representations have been adjudged stereotypical, negative, simplistic, and unrealistic (Okunna 1997; Busia 2012; Adesina 2013).

Nonetheless, Nollywood films have come to assume a leading position as the major source of popular entertainment in sub-Saharan regions of Africa. Their ubiquity has made them more popular than the art cinema of Francophone West Africa, an accomplishment often described as phenomenal. The popularity of the films has seen them playing dominant roles as major sources of entertainment in the West, East, and Southern regions of Africa. Okome (2010: 30) affirms that: "In most of Africa, Nollywood is phenomenally successful, and it is common knowledge that Nollywood productions have invaded markets in neighbouring countries – Ghana, Cameroon, Niger, Benin, even the entire African continent."

Practitioners in Francophone cinema, who understandably are uncomfortable with Nollywood films, have attributed its success to "racism." They also "accuse those who patronize Nollywood of seeking to turn back the wheel and once again ghettoize Africa" (Okome 2010: 31). Their anxieties may be understood within the context of professional filmmakers who must feel chagrin that where their art films, coupled with their famed high quality and global standard, were never successful

commercially, and remain largely unseen on the African continent, Nollywood films have achieved commercial success and cultural dominance not only in Africa, but among the African diaspora across Europe and America. This is more telling because Nollywood is a wholly indigenous industry, with no financial aid or technical support from international cultural agencies characteristic of Francophone West African cinema.

However, the fact that Nollywood films thrive even against stiff competitions from Hollywood and Bollywood films locally and continentally does not invalidate the criticisms directed at the films. Furthermore, these same deficiencies gave rise to apprehensions regarding Nollywood's representation of Nigerians and their culture. Indeed because "images are the most powerful ambassadors of cultural exchange," and the fact that "the cinema and video can affect modes of thinking, perception and – most pertinently - human regard," critics worry that many of the films give bad impression about Nigerians as a people and as a nation (Soyinka 2013: n.p). In acknowledgement of the significant influence films wield in shaping the opinions and perceptions of a people, Chief Chukwuemeka Chikelu, a former Nigerian Minister of Information and National Orientation, made the following appeal to Nigerian filmmakers:

> Your work is an ambassador from Nigeria to the world. It is an international diplomat requiring no accreditation. The content of your work is the only credential that is presented for Nigeria in the living rooms of millions of people around the world. Your challenge is to ensure that your work does not cause these people to deny your countrymen the respect that they deserve (Quoted by Odia Ofeimun, see: http://www.chimurengachronic.co.za/in-defense-of-the-films-we-have-made/)

Osofisan (2006) raises a similar concern. He expressed fears that what is depicted in Nollywood films would be mistaken as true reflections of who Nigerians are as a people and the value taken "as a veritable marker of what our society represents, and much worse, of the ideal that we aspire, or must aspire, towards," rather than the fictive projections of a filmmakers' imagination. Even the reports of demonstrations and riots in some African cities, allegedly provoked by the negative influences of the contents of the films are further justifications for such apprehensions. (Odia Ofeimun (2003, see: http://www.chimurengachronic.co.za/in-defense-of-the-films-we-have-made/)

Those who have come to the defense of what others perceive as the 'excesses' of Nigerian films, including the 'get-rich-quick' rituals, argue that "Nollywood uses this fetish to explain to a bewildered population the drift and rot in contemporary Nigerian society" (Okome 2010: 36). They agree, as Ofeimun (*ibid*) puts it assert that the "… films are actually giving back to us a mirror image of the way we are, the ways in which we behave and mis-behave: uncouth, slapdash, raucous, and hostage to badly-managed and rather manager-less towns and cities….They are turning out the Nigerian story in a no-holds-barred fashion which leaves not room for anyone to hide." In his response to those who dismiss the videos as being "narratively, technically, ideologically, aesthetically and culturally coarse," Chukwuma Okoye (2007: 24) similarly points out that critics need to acknowledge the facts that Nollywood films reflects the realities of its immediate socio-cultural environment. He therefore argues that both contextual and interstitial strategies should be adopted in the reading of the film.

There are others of a different school of thought, however, who have opined that Nollywood can no longer draw "its own map of social and cultural programs and narrative responsibilities" as Okome (*ibid*: 37) puts it, and are instead advocating a synergy between Nigerian filmmakers and writers, and by extension, between literature and film as is the practice in other film industries. It is worth noting that the contentions generated around the content of the films are not so much based on whether their representations are factual, but rather that the predominant images represent only a fragment of Nigeria's realities and sensationalizing them leaves a false impression about our lived experience. This is why some scholars envisaged collaboration between writers and filmmakers a necessity - to provide a balanced picture of that reality.

Hence, in a bid to address issues raised by critics regarding content, a number of symposia were held by the intelligentsia where the objective was to encourage a synergy between literary authors and Nollywood filmmakers (Ekwuazi 2005; Medeme 2010). Some of the scholars who have suggested adaptation of Nigerian literature as a means of addressing content in Nollywood include Ebewo 2007; Osofisan 2006; Ademiju-Bepo 2010; and Emenyonu 2010. Besides suggesting that the deficiencies observable in Nollywood films can be ameliorated using literature as source materials for the films, they also speculate that it could guarantee commercial success. In his proposition, Osofisan (*ibid*) postulates:

> An alliance between filmmakers and the producers of literature is what I believe is most urgent for the necessary recuperative work that Nollywood requires, and deserves. Our writers are not only good storytellers, but they have proved for the most part to be storytellers concerned not primarily with material gratification, but rather, with the overall wellbeing of the community. They entertain, but also instruct and enlighten. They propagate our cultural heritage, but without necessarily glorifying superstition or on the other hand, deliberately demonizing our local religions and customs. They have… the ingredients to enrich and radicalize Nollywood, even while boosting its revenue potential. (See: http://africanliterature.wordpress.com/2008/05/19/from-nollywood-to-nollyweightor-reflections-on-the-possibilities-of-literature-and-burgeoning-film-industry-in-nigeriaby-prof-femi-osofisan-from-africulturescom).

Ademiju-Bepo (2010) also supports Osofisan's proposition when he expessed a similar point that the synegy between filmmakers and literary authors is urgent because it has the possibilities of enriching film contents, reaching a wilder [read global] audience, and improving commercial returns on investments while making Nollywood "a global household name." He postulates that literature can provide raw materials which require no further testing for filmmakers, arguing that the major considerations should be the popularity and acceptability of the literary material (http://web.ccsu.edu/afstudy/upd17tml#Nollywood,_Literary_Adaptation_and_Film).

Ademiju-Bepo is not alone in presuming that producing literary adaptations can translate to commercial returns for Nollywood filmmakers. Emenyonu (2010: xi) also shares the conviction of the commercial viability of literary adaptations. He justifies his position by pointing out the global fame which African literature (Nigerian literature inclusive) has achieved and the fact that they are used as pedagogical materials at various educational institutions around the globe as evidence of the viability of such a venture to the filmmakers.

Nevertheless, the recommendation seems to have gone unheeded as Nollywood filmmakers continue to maintain a distance from the literary text and there is little sign that this apathy will change anytime soon. Even though several improvements are now noticeable in the industry, literary adaptations remain the exception rather than the norm. Literary journalist and writer, Ajeluoruo (2010) ponders:

> In spite of the successes Nigerian literature has made over the years, Nollywood has till date maintained a respectable distance from it. Very

> few works of literature are made into films. . . . Why has Nollywood not embraced this format in order to tap into the huge audience Nigerian literature already has? (60)

Ajeluoruo's question begs answers especially in the light of recent developments in Nollywood. The question is a consequence of his bewilderment on filmmakers seeming indifference in spite of the presumed accruable benefits. He is not alone, as some equally baffled scholars have posed similar questions. Emenyonu (2010) after enumerating some of the benefits of literary adaptations and noting the availability of a global readership for African literary works poses the following questions:

> Are there African filmmakers talented and equipped enough to undertake the venture? What is the nature/status of the film industry today in Africa? What will be the incentives for foreign filmmakers and companies to come to Africa and undertake special filmmaking tasks? (xi)

The significance of literary adaptations in any national cinema that merits serious consideration in film studies cannot be overemphasized. Literature-based films, as some of the proponents argue, possess a timeless relevance associated with cultural and historical artefacts. Their timelessness means that they also have a longer shelf life unlike films based on original scripts. There is also the presumption that literary adaptation could convert a global readership to audience and consequently translate to bigger box office revenues. In addition, as Emenyonu points out, they can be useful pedagogical materials in schools. All the foregoing advantages presumably should work in favour of the filmmaker.

Although Emenyonu's questions are directed at African filmmakers in general, their relevance to Nollywood filmmakers is obvious. The absence of a homogenous African cinema means that a response to the questions requires a regional approach. Several factors support the adoption of such an approach. Firstly, Emenyonu's attempt to provide an answer, by recounting the events that culminate in stymieing the adaptation of Cyprian Ekwensi's *Jagua Nana* (1966) to screen, supports this position. Secondly, the second question on the nature/status of African film today further justifies a contextual approach in the search for answers. Thirdly, his supposition that a global readership of African literature in the education system can translate to commercial viability remains a presumption requiring validation through an analysis of the context of production and distribution of a specific regional or national cinema.

Finally, a consideration of the experiences of filmmakers who have undertaken such a venture in the past, within a specific regional or national context, will invigorate the discourse.

Going by the noticeable improvement in Nollywood with the production of more intellectually stimulating and discussion provoking films of high technical qualities, one is tempted to respond to Emenyonu's first question in the affirmative. Thus, it is no longer a question of whether there are "filmmakers talented and equipped enough" to undertake the venture of producing/directing literature-based film but why they are not doing so. This question arises because Nollywood filmmakers are perceptive and shrewd business people known to delve into any genre that can guarantee commercial returns in the line of their craft. If they are not keen on producing literary adaptations, it suggests that there may be challenges that make such a venture unattractive in spite of the much-touted global readership/audience. What are these challenges? How do they manifest in the filmmaking process enough to serve as deterrent to filmmakers?

Again, does contextual evidence support the presumed commercial viability of literary adaptations in Nollywood? What can we learn from the experience of producers of literary adaptations in the past? Finally, what do the home audience (the primary audience of Nollywood) think about the suggestions for more literary film adaptations? Investigating these questions will certainly shed light on why literary adaptations are rarely produced in Nollywood. Such an investigation will also either authenticate or invalidate the presumption of commercial viability of literary adaptations in Nollywood.

Further justifying such an investigation is the fact that academic research on Nollywood has paid only exiguous attention to explaining the dearth of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Besides, even the few works of adaptation produced are yet to receive sustained scholarly interest. This neglect is also evident as one skims through Hayne's (2010) literature review and bibliography of academic publications on Nigerian and Ghanaian videos (2012), where he remarks on the frequent repetitions and calls for the development of film studies in three standard branches of auteurism, film history and genre (Haynes 2010: 112). Additionally, few scholars who sought to provide explanations for the scantiness of literary adaptations in Nollywood restrict themselves to cursory analysis (Emenyonu 2010; Wachuku & Ihentuga 2010; Ugochukwu 2014).

The absence of research that provides explanations for the paucity of literary adaptation in Nollywood has created a gap in the scholarship on Nollywood. Consequently, only a production-oriented investigation backed up by contextual evidence will provide satisfactory answers to the foregoing questions. That is why a study of the challenges of producing literary adaptations within the context of film production, exhibition, and distribution in Nollywood is relevant to the discourse and scholarship on Nollywood today.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nollywood, Nigeria's film industry rose to phenomenal heights through the video revolution and is globally recognized as the second most productive film industry in the world, in terms of volumes. This remarkable feat notwithstanding, the films were widely criticized, home and abroad, for their low production qualities, monotonous themes and sloppy plots. The criticisms gave rise to propositions for Nollywood filmmakers to embrace literature as source material for their films. The propositions, which remain largely unheeded, came on the heels of observations that filmmakers have paid very little attention to literary texts in spite of Nigeria's enviable profile of written literature. Additionally, attempts at providing explanations for filmmakers' apathy to literary adaptations, and the consequent paucity, are not only scanty, but also limited to cursory analyses. This study, therefore, undertakes a production-oriented investigation into the challenges that make the production of literary adaptations unpopular in Nollywood.

1.3 Research Questions

This study is interested in the general question "Why are literary adaptations rarely produced in Nollywood?" The following are the specific research questions that guided the study:

a. Why are Nollywood filmmakers largely indifferent towards literary adaptations?
b. What are the peculiar challenges of producing literary adaptations in Nollywood?
c. How do the challenges manifest at the subsectors of filmmaking i.e. production, exhibition and distribution?

d. What is the perception of Theatre and Film Studies undergraduates regarding the proposition for more literary adaptations in Nollywood?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The major aim of this study is to identify the contextual impediments to the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood. The specific objectives are as follows:

a. To investigate the reasons for the filmmakers' apathy to literary adaptations
b. To identify the peculiar challenges of producing literary adaptations in Nollywood
c. To highlight how the challenges at the subsectors of the filmmaking process serves as deterrent to the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood.
d. To evaluate Theatre and Film Studies undergraduates perspective on the proposition for more literary adaptations.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The focus of this study is on screen adaptation of literary works. In addition, because the Nigerian film industry comprises several ethnic groups who produce films in their indigenous languages, the investigations of this study will focus on the Southern Nigeria-based English-language film producing industry, Nollywood, on account of the films popularity and wilder reach across Nigeria, sub-Saharan Africa and the diaspora.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Academic works on Nollywood, produced predominantly on the continents of Africa, Europe, and North America, have privileged certain focus areas. For example, there are several publications on the history and evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria with reference to the roles played by the Yoruba Traveling Theatre troupes and television. There is also a large body of research on generic configurations and the thematic preoccupation of these films, particularly their obsession with the occult and the negative representation of Women, issues around family life, crime, and romance, sometimes with austere criticism.

Equally well researched are the modes of production, distribution, and exhibition of the videos and the attendant effects on their quality, as well as studies on their growth as a popular culture, and audience response within Nigeria, across sub-

Saharan African countries and diverse ethnic groups in the diaspora. However, literary adaptations remain widely overlooked. The situation is further fascinating because in spite of Nigeria's enviable profile of written literature, Nollywood filmmakers have paid very little attention to the literary text. Furthermore, while literary film adaptation is not a novel idea in the history of filmmaking in Nigeria, research on film adaptations have largely focused on the comparative textual analyses of adaptations and their source text, auteurism and aesthetic process of the genre (Olayiwola 2002; Ugochukwu 2014; Wachukwu and Ihentuge 2010). Consequently, the absence of research focused on a detailed investigation of the factors responsible for the scarcity of literary adaptations has created a gap in the literature on Nollywood studies.

In as much as the dearth of literary adaptation in Nollywood is a recurrent observation, the overall justification for this study is the need to provide industry-generated explanations for the vexed issue. The study is also interested in the prospect that a production-oriented investigation into the challenges encountered in the process of producing literary adaptations and an engagement in discussion with filmmakers, will yield insight to why they continue to maintain a respectable distance from literary adaptations. This will further enrich and serve as a major contribution to the literature on Nollywood studies.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The findings from this work will provide crucial insights to address the often pondered issue of the rarity of literary adaptations in Nollywood, thereby enriching and advancing scholarship in the field of Nollywood study. This study will also serve as a significant contribution to the field of adaptation studies by providing insight into the operations of the industry in Nollywood. Consequently, it will locate it within the steadily growing body of literature, which adopts a sociological approach to adaptation studies (Munro 2014; Murray 2008, 2011; Willems 2015). In conclusion, this study will be a contribution to the literature on literary adaptations, Nollywood, media, film and communication studies. It will thus serve as an invaluable research material for students, scholars, and members of the public alike.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Adaptation in Cinema: A Brief History

The invention of the motion picture camera in the late nineteenth century gave birth to a new medium of entertainment that came to share a space previously occupied by other art forms including music, painting, and literature. The crossbreeding of literature and film gave birth to film adaptations or literature-based films. Sharon Russell (1998: ix) describes the advent of the film era:

> For the first time, on December 28, 1895, at the Grand Cafe´ in Paris, France, the inventors of the *Cinematographe,* Auguste and Louis Lumiere, showed a series of eleven two-minute silent shots to a public of thirty-five people, each paying the high entry fee of one gold Franc. From that moment, a new era had begun, for the Lumiere brothers were not only successful in their commercial venture, but they also unknowingly created a new visual medium quickly to become, throughout the world, the half- popular entertainment, half-sophisticated art of the cinema.

While the credit for the "birth" of first motion picture goes to the Lumiere brothers, it is to Thomas Edison and William Heise that the credit for the first film adaptation goes. In 1999, the United States Library of Congress formally recognized the contributions of American inventor of the Videoscope, Thomas Edison, and his cameraman, William Heise, for charting a new direction for film. Their twenty seconds film-clip, *The Kiss* (also known as the *Mary Irvin Kiss*, or *The Rice-Irvin Kiss*) earned recognition for its cultural significance, and was selected for preservation in the National Film Registry. *The Kiss* was a re-enactment of the closing scene of John McNally's stage production, *The Widow Jones*. It is pertinent to note that before this time, what was shown as film in theatres were actualities, usually of every day events such as street parades, activities of Government officials, performances by acrobats and dancers, and more.

Commenting on the historical significance of *The Kiss*, Charles Bane (2006) observes:

> The film is significant on many levels. It was the first on-screen kiss and as a result ignited the first censorship debate regarding film. It was the first use of stars; both May Irwin and John C. Rice were well-known stage actors who spent most of their time on Broadway. But most importantly, it was the first time that film was used for narrative rather than documentary purposes. (1)

He explains further,

> When Edison and Heise made the decision to tell a story, they were creating new horizons for film by opening the door for the narrative films of the next century. But rather than write a story, Edison and Heise decided to adapt one. They hired Irwin and Rice and had them re-enact the final scene of John McNally's stage production *The Widow Jones* so that a broader audience might be able to experience a Broadway show.With a single twenty-second clip, Edison and Heise gave life to both narrative film and film adaptation. (1-2)

The Kiss inspired the trajectory of filmmaking that will dominate cinema in its first century. It [*The Kiss*] revealed the great influential potential of film as a narrative medium and threw up the idea of the possibilities of a crossbreeding between literature and film. As a result, a pervasive interest in the nature of what one can describe as a convergence of these two art forms blossomed. Importantly also, it highlighted the commercial capability of cinema.

This review of studies in film adaptation starts with an examination of the concept of adaptations put forward by various scholars to facilitate an understanding of adaptation as both a process and a product. It examines the critical approaches that have evolved in adaptation studies, beginning from the comparative evaluation of fidelity criticism to the most recent sociological approach. It also examines works by scholars who adopt a sociological or contextual approaches in their analyses of literary adaptations in various film industries including the United States, Europe, other African cinemas and finally in Nigeria. The review also traces the historical evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria, paying attention to the socio-economic factors and circumstances that mark the changes in the mode of film production and distribution at different phases in political history of the nation.

2.2 Concepts of Film Adaptations

More often than not, moviegoers who visit the cinema to watch a film adaptation usually expect a "faithful" screen version of a story they have read in a book. Consequently, they are quick to point out the noticeable differences between the film and the book. More often than not, they base their critical assessment of the film's success or failure on the points of departure of the film from the book. Inevitably, the dominant verdict is usually that the book is better than the film. A predisposition that privileged the book over the film dominated critical appraisal of film adaptations and their source from the early years when adaptation studies began to assert itself as a discipline separate from literary and film studies respectively.

Literary adaptation, also referred to as literature-to-film adaptation, literature-based adaptation or novel-based film, is generally conceived as the derivation of a feature film from a written work. Although various types of written works including scriptures, poems, memoirs, journal entries, newspaper reports, comics, history books, etc., are used as source material for film adaptations, the most common resource is the novel. The notion of literary film adaptation has been the subject of various descriptions and explanations by scholars of adaptation studies from different disciplinary backgrounds that cut across film, literary, linguistics, communication and cultural studies. Scholars from these disciplines have put forward various definitions and descriptions of the concept, and its characteristic intertextuality, to explain the way content negotiates the transition from written to visual text and back, across various media platforms of cultural productions and receptions.

Consequently, words like; "transfer," "transposition," "translation" and "transcoding," have become commonplace expressions used to describe the process of film adaptation. For example, Jack Boozer (2008:1) explains, "Literature-to-film adaptation involves the textual transposition of a single-track medium of published writing into a document that embraces the scenic structure and dramatic codes of the multi-track medium of film." In the foregoing, Boozer's explanation of the process of film adaptation identifies the significant difference between the written text and its screen version as one between a "single-tract medium" to that of a "multi-track medium." Boozer's explanation summarises the concept of adaptation that has preoccupied adaptation scholars from the on-set of adaptation studies as an interdisciplinary field encompassing literary as well as film studies.

In Linda Hutcheon's (2006:7) description: "Adaptation is repetition, but repetition without replication." Hutcheon also points out that this explanation of adaptation is necessary given that the same word "adaptation" is used to refer to a process and a product. She clarifies further that "*as a formal entity or product*," an adaptation is an announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works. This "transcoding" can involve a shift of medium (a poem to a film) or genre (an epic to a novel)." On the other hand, as *a process of creation*, the act of adaptation always involves both (re-) interpretation and then (re-)creation or appropriation and salvaging (7-8, emphasis in original). Hutcheon's explanation of the process of adaptation echoes that of Dudley Andrew (1980).

In his conceptualisation of adaptation, Andrew (*ibid*: 9) in his article "The Well-worn Muse: Adaptation in Film History and Theory," identifies the "distinctive feature of adaptation" as "the matching of a cinematic system to a prior achievement in some other system." He explains his stance further by declaring that: "adaptation is the appropriation of meaning from a prior text." Andrew's explanation is instructive considering the fact that comic strips, graphic novels, poems, stage plays, collections of letters, receipts, newspaper reports and the likes are used as resources for adaptation, hence the reference to "prior achievement in some other system" or "a prior text." The choice of "appropriation" is also instructive as it suggests "interpretation" and as such implies infinite possibilities of meaning derivable from the source being appropriated depending on the reader of the text.

Some scholars prefer to see film adaptation as "translation." Linda Costanzo Cahir belongs to this category. In her work, *Literature into Film* (2006), Cahir maintains that what happens during the process of written text transiting to visual text is "translation" and not "adaptation." She justifies this position by enumerating the implications of the definition of both words. According to her:

> The term 'to adapt' means to alter the structure or function of an entity so that it is better fitted to survive and to multiply in a new environment. To adapt is to move *that same entity* into a new environment. In the process of adaptation, that same substantive entity which enters the process exists, even as it undergoes modification – sometimes radical mutations – in its effort to *accommodate* itself to its new environment (emphasis in the original, p. 14).

On the other hand, she continues:

> To 'translate,'… is to move a text from one language to another. It is a *process of language*, not a process of survival and generation. Through the process of translation a fully new text – a materially different entity – is made, one that simultaneously has a strong relationship with its original source, yet is fully independent from it (emphasis in the original, *ibid*).

Considering that Cahir's explanation of the outcome of an adaptation process tallies with the description of the product, one possible interpretation of her grievance with the term "adaptation" may be related to its biological connotation, thus her insistence that it is a "process of language" and not "'survival" or "generation." Again, her explanation contradicts Hutheon's, who adopts a dictionary definition of the term to theorise adaptation. Thus, Hutcheon (2006:7) subscribes to the definition that "to adapt" "is to adjust, to alter and to make suitable" and notes, "this can be done in a number of ways" before she proceeds to examine adaptation as a product, a process and a reception.

Translation as a term of reference for literature-based films is unpopular and has been challenged. For instance, R. Barton Palmer's (2005: 263) understanding of the term "translation" differs from Cahir's explanation. He describes "translation" as "distorting" because of what he considers its postulation of a "carry over" of "some irreducible set of features or qualities from one text to another." He identified two problems with such a supposition. The first, he maintains, is that the source text is not altered through translations (where alteration is a defining characteristic of adaptation). In such a case, a second problem arises as "it becomes impossible to identify the irreducible features that establish a connection between any hypotext and its hypertexts, which can assume an unlimited number of forms." Palmer's position therefore serves as a counterpoint to Cahir's explanation of translation. It bears stressing however that the lack of consensus is with the interpretation of the term "translation" rather than with the transformation, that is the product of literature-based films.

Franscesco Casetti (2005) puts another interesting concept of adaptation forward in his article "Adaptation and Mis-adaptation: Film, Literature, and Social Discourse." Casetti theorises literature and film (and by extension adaptation) as discursive fields. He places emphasis on the notion that "Cinema is a mass communication media" (81) and it is from this standpoint that he approaches literary adaptation. If one agrees that literature and film are "*sites of production and*

circulation of discourse," then it is acceptable to conceive film adaptation as the "*reappearance in another discursive field, of an element (a plot, a theme, a character, etc.) that has previously appeared elsewhere*" (emphasis in original, p. 82). Explaining his point further, Casetti describes adaptation as "a phenomenon of *recontextualization of the text*, or, even better, of *reformulation of its communicative situation*" (emphasis in original, p. 83). Thus, according to him:

> To adapt, to move from one communicative situation to another, entails a number of things, most significantly, to re-program the reception of the story, a theme, a character and so on. The second life of a text coincides with the second life of reception. (84)

This perception of adaptation is quite revealing and instructive. It not only recognises the transposition from one medium to another, it highlights the difference in reception, and the inevitable modification that may affect the theme, plot and characters of a narrative in the process of "re-programing the reception" of a story. This conception of adaptation, also by implication, ruptures the assumptions of fidelity critics who view adaptation mainly as repetitions. On that note, the next section will examine the discussions on fidelity as a critical criterion for evaluating literary adaptations.

2.3 A Question of Fidelity

One of the critical issues that continue to dominate adaptation studies is the question of the faithfulness of a literary adaptation to its source. The presumption that a film adaptation should be a replication of the source has generated discussions that create a dichotomy between the source and film adaptations, giving rise to references such as literature versus cinema, "original" versus "copy" and even "high art" versus "'mass culture." This kind of binary thinking which privileges literature and sees it as superior to its film adaptation by virtue of its historical anterior and seniority betrays ignorance of what adaptation entails as has been elucidated in the previous section. The obsession with fidelity is the basis on which some cinemagoers and film reviewers dismiss a film adaptation by declaring that it is not as good as the book. Terms like "infidelity," "betrayal," "deformation," "violation," "bastardization," "vulgarization," and "desecration" proliferate in adaptation discourse, each word carrying its specific charge of opprobrium (Robert Stam 2005: 3).

Fidelity criticism as a criterion of evaluation of literary adaptation persisted for several years in adaptation studies, but today it is the most criticised of the methodology and approaches of critical evaluation of film adaptations. Many scholars have faulted the suppositions on which the criterion is based and called for its re-examination and devaluation because it is perceived to have stunted the growth of adaptation studies as a discipline. Some scholars are of the opinion that the insistence on fidelity is directly responsible for the suppression of other critical approaches that could yield a more rewarding understanding of a film adaptation away from the un-illuminating comparative analysis with its source novel. Others still have questioned even the expectation of fidelity between the book and its screen version.

The inception of adaptation studies is traced to the publication of George Bluestone's work *Novels into Film* in 1957. Bluestone's work is referred to as the "the most influential general account of cinemas relation to literature" by Thomas Leitch (2007) and as adaptation studies "founding critical text" by Simone Murray (2008). Bluestone set the tone and trajectory of what became much of the critical discourse on film adaptation.

In *Novels into Film*, Bluestone identifies the basic difference between literature and film. He stresses the former as written text and the latter as image. He examines how the overlap of these differences plays out in literary adaptations. According to him, his purpose is one of "gauging some of these [films'] characteristics in reference to one of the traditional arts [literature]; more specifically to make this assessment by careful attention to a particular genre - the filmed novel - where both media apparently overlap" (Bluestone 1957: vi). He describes literature (novel) as "conceptual, linguistic, discursive, symbolic, inspiring mental imagery, with time as its formative principle, while film is designated as 'perceptual, visual, presentational, literal, given to visual images, with space as its formative principle" (61). He also points out the fact that the objective of writers and film directors alike, is to make us see; yet a core difference is also identified between novels and films in the different ways of 'seeing" made possible by each medium. While the reader of a book sees imaginatively through the mind, the film audiences see visually with their eyes.

The differentiation Bluestone makes, between novels and films, aims at establishing film as a work of art on its own merit even when that film makes use of novels as source material for their narratives. Bluestone's argument for need to view and judge literary adaptation as an autonomous work of art, independent of its literary

antecedent precisely explains why the process of film adaptation is understood to be far more creative and constructive than simply transferring written text to visual. This implies the need to understand that adapters aim to go beyond simply reproducing the adapted text.

Morrison Beja (1979: 80) in his book *Film and Literature* challenges fidelity critics when he asks, "What relationship should a film have to the original source? Should it be 'faithful'? Can it be? To what?" This issue of faithfulness is often very complex as we can deduce from Beja's questions. The very fact of the difference in medium poses a challenge to any attempt at faithfulness to the source, if by faithfulness one means exact reproduction. While some scholars are of the opinion that a film adaptation should be faithful to the letters of the source, others believe that it should be faithful to the spirit of the source. This also poses another problem as Stam (2005: 8) observes, "A 'faithful' film is seen as uncreative, but an 'unfaithful' film is a shameful betrayal of the original." Further compounding the assumption of proponents of faithfulness is the infinite possibility of meanings derivable from a single source. Dewitt Bodeen (I963: 349) alludes to this to when he declares that: "Adapting literary works to film is…a creative undertaking…the task requires a kind of selective interpretation, along with the ability to recreate and sustain an established mood.

What Bodeen refers to as "selective interpretation" is better explicated in Cahir's (2006: 15) assertion that there is "a hierarchy of purpose and intent within the dynamics of translating [adapting]." It therefore means that the 'purpose' and 'intent' of the film director or producer determines the outcome of the kind of affinity a film adaptation shares with its source. She explains further that:

> In the large and small decisions that attend the work of translating [adapting], each translator [adaptor] must determine what is more crucial, what is of secondary importance, and what is of least importance: The literal letters of the parent text? Its structure? Its unique music – its rhythms and sounds? Its meaning? Its accessibility to a popular audience? Its *beauty*? While a translator [adaptor] may want to be faithful to all these features of the source text, translation [adaptation], at its finest, is an art, with the translator's value determining the subtleties of decisions that attend the complex process of the translating [adapting]. (2006:15, emphasis in the original).

The full text of Cahir's assertion is reproduced to facilitate an in-depth appreciation of some of the contending issues that a director takes into consideration when adapting

literature to film. Armed with this knowledge, one is more likely to appreciate the enormity of the task and process of adaptation, and less likely to come to the cinema theatre with a mind-set of evaluating a film singularly on expectations of fidelity.

Furthermore, besides undermining fidelity as a critical criterion for evaluating literature-based films, Thomas Leitch (2007) in his book: *Adaptation and its Discontents: From Gone with the Wind to Passion of the Christ* problematizes the concept of fidelity. He shows convincingly through the case studies of several films, that fidelity is not homogenous because of its usual subordination to several factors, which he refers to as "a marketplace of competing models" (6). Leitch examines early one-reel films, gospel adaptations, comic adaptations and adaptations with the label "based on a true story." He enumerates their relationship to their source text as inspirational, illustrative, and utility respectively. Of adaptations "based on true story," he relativizes the concept of fidelity because the films use such labels to authenticate themselves when they do not have any source text. Thus, they announce 'their fidelity to a text to which they can never be compared, one which just happens to be congruent with the truth" (301-302).

What Leitch did in *Adaptation and its Discontent,* is to show the flaw in fidelity criticism by pointing out that film adaptations serve other purposes beyond their relationship to the source text, including entertainment, economic imperative and creativity. This is why he is advocating a shift of attention "away from films that present themselves as based on a single identifiable source" and 'toward the process of adaptation" (302).

2.4 Critical Approaches in Adaptation Studies

Scholars who insist there are many types of relationship a film can share with its source undermine the supremacy of fidelity criticism. This perception has given rise to a number of taxonomies of adaptation as some scholars have come up with various categories of modes by which literature is adapted to screen. They include Geoffrey Wagner (1975), Dudley Andrew (1980), Michael Klein and Gillian Parker (1981) Kamilla Eliot (2003), and Linda Costanzo Cahir (2006), to mention a few.

Wagner categorises the modes of adaptation filmmakers can adopt or critics assessing adaptation can identify into three: transposition, commentary, and analogy. Transposition is a mode of adaptation where a novel is transposed directly and there is

minimum deviation from the source. Commentary refers to an adaptation "where an original is taken and either purposely or inadvertently altered in some respect" (224). With reference to analogy, Wagner refers to an adaptation "which must represent a fairly considerable departure for the sake of making another work of art" (226).

The comparative classification system put forward by Michael Klein and Gillian Parker is parallel to Wagner's descriptions. According to them, the first is "fidelity to the main thrust of the narrative," or Wagner's "transposition." The second approach is that which "retain the core of the structure of the narrative while significantly reinterpreting or, in some cases, deconstructing the source material" and the third is that which regards "the source merely as raw material, as simply the occasion for an original work" (9-10)," Thus complimenting Wagner's "commentary" and "analogy" respectively. Cahir's categorisation of modes of adaptation into "literal," "traditional," and "radical," is also parallel to Wagner's while Andrew's categorisation also roughly corresponds to Wagner's, but in the reverse order namely: "borrowing," "intersection" and "fidelity to the original". Elliot's categorisation of adaptation models is the broadest, consisting of the "psychic," "international," "ventriloquist," "decomposing," "genetic," and "trumping, although they could also fit into the categories identified by Wagner on close examination.

One of the implications of the taxonomy of adaptation models is that film critics are expected to have an understanding of the model of adaptation they are assessing for their reviews to be valid. Otherwise, the very purpose a filmmaker may have set out to achieve may be criticised by a critic ignorant of the mode of adaptation employed. These categories, though not definitive, represent challenges to the primacy of the critical criterion based on fidelity. They also suggest an identification of the modes of adaptation, failing which may place any critical evaluation off its mark. Besides classification of approaches to film adaptations, scholars have made suggestions highlighting how literary theories can be applied to their critique.

In his introduction to *Literature and Film,* Robert Stam (2005) presents a historical survey of the theories and practice of adaptation. He identifies some of the roots of the prejudice against adaptation and identifies some of the forms of hostility against it. He also examines the influence of structuralism and post-structuralism theories of the 1960s and 1970s on adaptation studies. The arguments against fidelity discourse are highlighted using what he refers to as the "automatic difference" between novel and film to underscore the impossibility of a literal adaptation.

Therefore, he stresses, "a filmic adaptation is automatically different and original due to the change of medium" (17).

Stam also examines the arguments in favour of intertextuality as a more appropriate approach for understanding adaptations against the fidelity approach. He subscribes to the concept of film adaptations as "readings" in a continuous dialogic process in which case any text can yield itself to infinity of readings. He finds Mikhail Bakhtin and Gerard Genette's theories of intertextuality relevant to the analyses of film adaptation. Genette's proposal of a term that is more inclusive; ''transtextuality," which he refers to as "all that puts one text in relation, whether manifest or secret, with other text" of which five types are enumerated: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, architextuality and hypertextuality are instructive for theorising and analysing filmic adaptations (Stam 2005: 27).

The fifth type, "hypertextuality,'" which refers to the relations between one text, that is, the "hypertext" and an anterior text, the "hypotext," which it modifies, transforms or elaborates is especially relevant as a useful tool for unpacking film adaptations. In this sense, the source text is the 'hypotext" while the different filmic versions of that text are the hypertextual modifications prompted by the same hypotext. What this suggests is that a filmic adaptation could be analysed as a hypertext of a number of hypotexts such that earlier adaptations of a novel could in turn serve as hypotext to a later adaptation of the same source. Stam suggests this much when he concludes that: 'Filmic adaptations, then, are caught up in the on-going whirl of intertextual reference and transformation, of text generating other texts in an endless process of recycling, transformation, transmutation, with no clear point of origin" (31). This conclusion interestingly, is the bane of intertextuality as a critical methodology for the analysis of filmic adaptations.

In an earlier comment on the intertextuality as a critical criterion earlier, Christopher Orr (1984) clarifies that the issue is on how the choice of a specific source and the approach to the source serves the film's ideology rather than on its faithfulness to the source. However, while intertextuality criticism may represent an alternative approach for adaptation studies in relation to the idea of the source text as a resource or raw material, it is not without its shortcomings. On a closer examination of intertextuality, it is evidence that it relies heavily on the comparative evaluation of a hypertext with its several hypotexts, in a way that is similar to the fidelity approach. This much is acknowledged by David Kranz (2007: 80) in "Trying Harder:

Probability, Objectivity, and Rationality in Adaptation Studies," when he observes that Stam's (2005) "analyses of *Madam Bovary* ironically is much like detailed comparative analyses and evaluation which are staples of fidelity criticism."

Kranz criticizes intertextuality as a critical approach for the analysis of filmic adaptation of literary works, arguing that it is subjective because of the infinite possibilities of connections to other texts and contexts. He denounces it as 'the height of academic silliness (89)," because of its impracticability. He recommends instead, a combination of fidelity, intertextuality, and contextual approach that is probable, objective, and rational.

The dissatisfaction with fidelity and intertextuality criticism are often underscored by arguments that both isolate the importance of the context of production which many scholars accept as having significant influence on the final product. In Brian McFarlane's (1992:21) words, "two major determinants in shaping any film," be it adaptation or not, are, "conditions within the film industry and the prevailing social climate at the time of the film's making." Kranz in another context (2003: 3) also echoes this position in his appeal for scholars to be open to contextual approaches to adaptation studies. According to him, they should show an "appreciation for the economic, historical, cultural and ideological pressures which impinge on the production . . . of film adaptations."

This consideration for the socio-historical and economic context of production in the analysis of a film adaptation suggests a sociological or materialist approach. Expressing his support for this approach, Barton Palmer (2005:259) contends that a sociological approach would make the probing of a literary source and its filmic reflexes possible. The idea of a sociological approach to adaptation studies was first mooted by Dudley Andrew (1984) when he made the the now famous remark concerning the need for adaptation studies to "take the sociological turn." However, as Simon Murray (2008) points out, Andrews "sociological turn" was focussed on cinematic aesthetics employed in film adaptation processes rather that on how contextual factors affect and influence the process, product or reception of literary film adaptations. James Naremore (2000) puts the focus of the sociological approach in perspective when he identified certain areas of such an engagement. He suggested "a sociology that takes into account the commercial apparatus, the audience, and the academic culture industry" (p.10).

It is this suggestion that Murray (2008) expounds on in her proposition of the "adaptation industry model" as a critical approach to engaging film adaptations. She stresses that while fidelity criticism is preoccupied with explaining what has taken place in the process of transposition from text to screen, it ignores the equally important question of why the changes are made, which is an angle that will yield a better understanding to film adaptation. The consequence of the stress on fidelity, Murray (*ibid*: 5) avers, has created a lacuna in adaptation studies.

> Dematerialized, immune to commercialism, floating free of any cultural institutions, intellectual property regimes, or industry agents that might have facilitated its creation or indelibly marked its form, the adaptation exists, in perfect quarantine from the troubling worlds of commerce, Hollywood, and global corporate media—a formalist textual fetish oblivious to the disciplinary incursions of political economy, book history, or the creative industries.

She proposes a rethinking of adaptation, not as "an exercise in comparative textual analysis of individual books and their screen versions, but as a *material* phenomenon produced by a system of institutional interests and actors" (emphasis in the original, p. 10). Murray's argument here is that several factors are usually taken into consideration when content is adapted to screen. For this reason, these factors should also be taken into consideration when analysing the final product. Mark Brokenshire (2014) makes a similar suggestion when he points out that various forces and factors determine the outcome of a book to film adaptation including the filmmakers' reason for adapting the work, the nature of the text, the medium, market forces, and the cultural considerations.

Viewed from this perspective, Murray proposes a new methodology for adaptation studies which she termed "the adaptation industry model." This model combines three critical approaches: book history, political economy of the media and cultural theory in its analytical parameter. Murray's model, which serves as the theoretical framework for this study, is already influencing research on the adaptation industries of other periphery nations. A detailed consideration of the model is in the section on theoretical framework.

It is, however, pertinent to note that while the sociological approach is a recent development in western adaptation studies, scholarship on adaptation in African cinema has invariably adopted this approach for its analysis. A review of the literature of academic research on film adaptations of Francophone West African and South

African cinemas confirms this observation. The subsequent section is a review of various literatures on literary adaptations. It begins by examining works on film adaptation of other cinemas, outside Africa, that adopt a sociological approach or are influenced by the Murray's (2008) model.

2.5 Sociological Approach to Adaptation Studies in Recent Scholarship

Recent scholarship on adaptation studies reveals an adoption of the sociological approach, which takes a socio-historical and economic context of production into account in its analyses of literary adaptations. This review considers a few examples.

Charles Bane (2006) in his thesis, "Viewing Novels, Reading Films: Stanley Kubrick and the Act of Adaptation as Interpretation," revisits the critical argument against the formalistic evaluation of a literary adaptation based on the yardstick of fidelity to the source. He argues for an approach to the study of adaptation based not on an evaluation of faithfulness to the source but rather on how the source novel has been interpreted by the director. By this, he privileges the director's role in adaptation and therefore focuses on the argument that sustains the auteur theory. Bane focuses on the Hollywood film director, Stanley Kubrick and considers some of his directorial efforts centred on two of his recurring themes: love and war. He strengthens his argument by emphasising that although literature and film share narrative, characterisation, point of view and conflict in common "…film also brings with it a new vocabulary used to discuss its form. Point of view is no longer a means of discussing who is telling the story and how, but how the viewer is 'seeing' the story. Style is no longer about the author's use or choice of language, but about the director's choice of shot, angle, lighting, and diegetic and non-diegetic sound. Film is a tool that can be used to open up texts to new interpretations, yet film also stands alone as an art form on its own merits" (14).

Liyan Qin's (2007) thesis, 'Trans-media Strategies of Appropriation, Narrativization, and Visualization: Adaptation of Literature in a Century of Chinese Cinema," adopts a sociological approach to trace the history of literary adaptation in the Chinese film industry. She employs a combination of literary, film and adaptation theories with a cultural historical perspective, to highlight the strategies Chinese filmmakers use in literary adaptations. She also examines how they respond to and negotiate different cultural, political, and commercial needs in the process. The study

also offers insight into the cultural and political history it addresses. Qin's work is similar to this project in its presentation of a cultural historical perspective as a crucial point of departure for the understanding of the context of production of film adaptations in the Chinese film industry.

In her work, "The Write Moves: An Autoethnographic Examination of the Media Industry," Danielle Gomez (2010) examines the contemporary media environment in the United States through the conceptual frameworks of the adaptation Industry theory, political economy theory and media ecology theory. It is an auto-ethnographic account of Gomez's effort to release content (publish a novel) into the mass media. She discovers that Murray's (2008) basic assumption on the operations of the contemporary adaptation industry is correct. She submits that the multi-media potential of content is preferred in the current conglomerate media environment. Her experience in the process of getting her work accepted for publication shows that adaptation of content into multi-media is a forethought, and not an afterthought of creation. This work is relevant to the present project because the ethnographic report justifies the proposed approach as it reveals the importance of an industry-based investigation to the understanding of the operations of the contemporary adaptation industry.

In his article, "Irvine Welsh and the Adaptation Industry: Filth, a Case Study," Robert Munro (2014), adopts the adaptation industry model in his study. He uses the 2013 adaptation of the novel of Scottish novelist, Irvine Welsh *Filth* (1998), to examine "the way in which adaptations can be read as indicators of the cultural, social, and political discourses of their era" (31). He confirms Murray's suppositions concerning how an investigation of the complex relationship between actors in the substructures of the contemporary adaptation industry from the publishing to the film industry work together to achieve an outcome which is what we find in a literary adaptation. Importantly also, he shows how an understanding of the operations of Scotland's adaptation industry is relevant to the discourse of any literary adaptation from that nation. Murray (2012:23) had observed the significance of understanding the ways some national film industries are able to bypass dominant US and UK cultural networks and expose their content to audiences in second-tier Anglophone countries through an investigation of film policies.

Munro provides a brief background to the adaptation of *Filth* by narrating how Irvine Welsh attained a celebrity author status after the publication of his debut novel

Trainspotting (1993) which was long-listed for the Booker Prize of the same year. Although the novel did not make the shortlist amidst allegations of its lack of literary merit by two of the judges who threatened to resign from the process, sales shot up because of favourable reviews. The film adaptation of the novel by the same name in 1996 acted as a catalyst to drive sales up further. Munro notes how sequence of events "gives an interesting insight into the workings of the adaptation industry, where the goals of individuals (author, literary agents, publisher, screen writer, director, and producer) align to a common and continuing success across different mediums" (36). He also points out that events surrounding the success of *Trainspotting* serve as a counterpoint to Murray's opinion that the winning of a literary prize confers cultural capital on a literary text and indicates them as materials for adaptation.

Munro also traces the journey of *Filth* from book to screen after years of delays resulting from the legal difficulties that led to the splitting of Miramax and Hal, the corporation with the film rights to the novel after its publication. Jon S. Baird who adapted it to film in 2013 eventually bought the film's right. Again, Munro highlights the significance of the author's persona in the process of bidding for funds from the film funding body of Scotland, Creative Scotland. He gives a synopsis to the novel and shows how the novel "engages in crucial ways with Scottish national identities and the ways in which they are constituted and corrupted in the contemporary era" (51). He concludes that small nations such as Scotland can competitively market themselves in international market by reliance on "bankable" films "which rest upon literary sources and the prestige associated with them" (51).

There are some similarities between Munro's work and this study. Firstly, is the adoption of Simon Murray's adaptation industry theory as conceptual framework. Secondly, just like Scotland, Nigeria's Nollywood is an Anglophone film industry, which has gained audience across Africa and the diaspora employing filmmaking models different from the production pattern of the US-UK cultural network. However, Nollywood is not "periphery." Not only has Nollywood dissolve western monopoly on the African continent, it is a dominant force throughout sub-Saharan Africa and the global African diaspora" and has eclipsed Hollywood and Bollywood, and the local films produced in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa (De Groof 2013: 196; Miller 2012: 2). Nollywood is also global in terms of distribution and who studies it (Haynes 2005, Tomaselli 2013: 245).

Gertjan Willems (2015) also adopts the adaptation industry theory as the conceptual framework of his study which traces the history of film policy in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) in his article, "Adaptation Policy: Film Policy and Adaptation in Flanders (1964-2002)." He highlights the role of government funding, made possible through the establishment of film policies, in the production of literary adaptations. He divides financial government support for film into two broad categories, which he identifies. The first is the automatic support measures that are economically inspired, with the objective of advancing film production in certain regions. He identifies the tax incentive for Belgian film production introduced in 1952 as an example. The second type of financial government support, according to Willems, is the selective support measure, which is culturally motivated. It forms the focus of his article. He went on to show how film policy in Flanders over the period of 38 years, beginning from 1964 when a royal degree "for the support of Dutch-language film culture" was passed (3). He provides statistics for the total number of film production that fall within the period of his study and notes that 78 per cent of the films produced benefited from substantial government support. Out of this number, 60 per cent were adaptations. He contends that "the history of Flemish film policy shows a distinct "adaptation policy", because the film commission distinguishes between adaptations and "original" films (4). Film projects were evaluated on quality of script, qualification of filmmakers and financial and production-related considerations.

Munro and Willems' articles present an interesting angle to the discourse of the focus of this study; that is, the role government policy and funding can play in a national film industry. Both are crucial issues in filmmaking. Funding is fundamental to film production, adaptation or otherwise. In Nigeria the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, which was in power between 2010 and 2015, showed immense support for Nollywood. The administration's conviction that the film industry has the potential of driving the diversification of Nigeria's economy, led to the provision of an intervention fund of $200m (₦3billion) called Nigerian Creative and Entertainment Industry Stimulation Loan Scheme in November 2010. The purpose of the fund was to ensure high quality production fit for the global market. The Nigerian Export and Import Bank (NEXIM)is responsible for disbursing the fund. While filmmakers complain that the loan was inaccessible because of the required paperwork, US based Nigerian Tony Ubulu was the first to benefit from the loan. Ubulu used the loan to

produce the film, *Doctor Bello* (2012), an indigenous film on the efficacy of ethno-medicine, made for distribution abroad (http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/23/movies/nollywood-seeks-a-hit-with-doctor-bello.html).

Another stimulus of N3Billion was injected in March 2013. Tagged the Innovation Distribution Fund (IDF), the purpose of the fund was for capacity building and the improvement of distribution of audio-visual contents. It was also to help in addressing the problem of piracy, and better protect intellectual property. The question is, "What effect does this fund have on film production, exhibition, and distribution in general?" What implications does it have for the growth of literary adaptations specifically?

2.6 A Brief History of Filmmaking in Nigeria

The history of film exhibition and filmmaking in Nigeria is well documented in the works of several scholars, some of whom have given individual accounts from the point of view of their academic research or from their professional backgrounds. More recently, we also find an engagement with historiography in the research of other scholars. Abiodun Olayiwola, "Nollywood on the Borders of History: Yoruba Travelling Theatre and Video Film Development in Nigeria" (2011); Dele Layiwola, "The Home Video Industry and Nigeria's Cultural Development" (2014); and Foluke Ogunleye "Audio-Visual Griot: On the Historiography of the Indigenous Yoruba Film in Nigeria" (2014), are examples of recent studies which also focus on evolution in Nigerian filmmaking. Each of these scholars identifies the different stages in the evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria paying attention to the social and economic conditions that shaped each phase.

In considering the history of filmmaking before the birth of Nollywood, Ekwuazi's (2014:334) observation that film evolved from three crucial socioeconomic stages in Nigeria - the colonial/independence period; the post-independence period; and the post Indigenization Decree period - is instructive for the periodization of the evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria. Furthermore, his identification of three composite planes to which the sub-sectors of filmmaking responded namely, the political economy of the period, technology, and demography, encapsulates the factors pivotal to the development of filmmaking in Nigeria. Political independence in 1960, the

indigenisation decree of 1973, and the economic policy of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of 1994 all had corresponding effects on the development of filmmaking. Technology, such as the video camera, created choices that filmmakers took advantage of to sustain their craft and relevance. On the demographic level, the audience simply made the transition from one medium to the other along with the filmmakers.

In the following subsections, the study focuses attention on each phase of development of filmmaking in Nigeria, paying particular to the literature-based films produced in each. The examination of each phase corresponds with the following sub-headings: The Colonial Era (1903 – 1960); Pre-Nollywood: Independent/Post independent Era 1960 – 1990; Nollywood and Beyond: From Home Videos to the Rebirth of the Cinemas.

2.6.1 The Colonial Era (1903 – 1960)

The first film exhibition in Nigeria took place within the first decade of the invention of the cinema, on August 12, 1903 at the Glover Memorial Hall in Lagos. Messrs' Balboa of Barcelona, Spain brought film to Nigeria at the invitation of Herbert Macaulay. According to Dele Layiwola (2014:227), "the cinema replicated scenes from daily life: a steamer moving across water, conjugal dispute, a steeple chase, acrobats on display and above all, the coronation of King Edward VII at Westminster." The success of the film exhibition lasted for ten days and was seen as a viable business opportunity by other merchants including British entrepreneur Stanley D. Jones and Albuerio and they decided to cash in on it. By November of the same year, Mr Jones started showing films in Glover Hall. He charged a similar amount as that charged by the first film exhibitors, .i.e. three shillings for reserved seats and a moderated charge of two shillings for popular seats (Layiwola *ibid*: 228).

Not long after, the colonial administration and the church would also take advantage of the possibilities offered by the cinema to drive their separate but collective agenda of promoting the objectives of the colonial enterprise predicated on hegemonic claims of the superiority of European values and civilisation over those of the colonised on one hand, and evangelism on the other. Thus, the colonial administration established the Colonial Film Unit (CFU) at the outbreak of World War II. The objectives of the CFU were as follows:

1. To show/convince the colonies that they and the English had a common enemy in the German; to this end, about one quarter of all the films made by the CFU were war related
2. To encourage communal development in the colonies
3. To show the outside world the excellent work being done in heathen parts under the aegis of the Union Jack. (Daybreak in Udi is a good example). (Hyginus Ekwuazi quoted in Alawode et al, 2013:114)

Afolabi Adesanya (2014:4) opines that the CFU used films "to perpetuate colonial ambitions" and "provided a means through which colonialism articulated the need for the actual dislocation of the inherited system and cultural values of Africa." He explains further that: "the context of colonial films was anti-native, glorifying European middle class etiquettes, and the screening procedures were quite often disorientating and patronizing" (15). Corroborating this, Olushola Adenugba (2007: par. 3) avers that: there were two main approaches to production at this time: the affirmation of the colonizer's culture as better and the negation or mockery of the colonized culture."

Likewise, Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike (1994) comments on the misrepresentation of African identity in films, where Africans were often projected as inferior humans and savages in need of civilisation in order to validate the colonial enterprise. He notes that because most of the films were literary adaptations, they were a carry-over from the racist representations and appropriation of African identities in the literature of the West. On their part, the missionaries were "motivated by the passion for evangelical/religious films with the aim of integrating or acculturating their converts into the Christian faith" (Olayiwola 2011:184).

Consequently, there were two forms of film exhibitions during the colonial era. On one side were the colonial government and the church that operated through mobile film units, using vans, 16 mm projector, and 16 mm reel of film and a motion picture screen. On the other hand were commercial distributors who exhibited films in big halls and film theatre. Most of the films exhibited by commercial cinema owners were American, Chinese, and Indian. Films were brought in through the British Council in London and the Crown Film Unit (Olayiwola Ibid: 185). By the 1960s, Nigerians who have become familiar with the images of cosmopolitan actors/actresses on screen began to desire the faces of their own actors/actresses also. This demand for some form of local content led to the production of documentary films mostly in local dialects between 1941 and 1952. Various films on education, health, community

development, and modern favouring techniques were shown to various communities in their ethnic languages (Mgbejume 1989:11).

2.6.2 Pre-Nollywood: Independence/post-Independence Era 1960 – 1990

The attainment of independence in the year 1960 ushered in new directions for filmmaking in Nigeria. The Colonial Film Unit (CFU) was inherited by the federal government and converted to the Federal Film Unit (FFU). Expectedly, the FFU retained most of the functions of the CFU especially in the area of producing documentaries about the country. At independent, redefining the cultural entity of the new nation to build a new national consciousness became of paramount interest. Consequently, both regional and state governments joined the crusade to produce home-grown documentaries in contrast to the pre-colonial, mainly imported films. It is pertinent to state at this point three major factors that influenced filmmaking in Nigeria at this stage of its evolution. These factors are as follows:

a. The growing nationalistic fervour among Nigerian artists before and after independence in 1960;
b. The advent of television, and
c. A flourishing theatrical tradition, that later shifted its focus from 'live' theatre to film making as a result of economic pressures. (Jide Malomo quoted in Onikoyi, 2013:113).

Two films which represent the first efforts at film production within the early years of independence with government sponsorship are *Bound for Lagos* (1962) and *Culture in Transition* (1963) both directed by Bart Lawrence. *Culture in Transition* is a docu-drama because with a mish-mash of various genres presenting aspects of Nigerian culture, it incorporates an adaptation of aspects of Wole Soyinka's play *The Strong Breed* and Duro Ladipo's play *Oba Moro* (Ekwuazi 1991:20). Interestingly, another stage play by Wole Soyinka, *Kongi's Harvest* adapted to screen with the same title in 1970 has come to represent the stage maker for this phase as the take-off of independent film production in Nigeria. Soyinka also played the lead role in the film. Jonathan Haynes (2005:99) commenting on the film, remarks that it is "politically committed (it is an allegory of African despotism) and drawing on a wealth of intellectual and artistic talent, the film seemed to augur the development of a sophisticated and engaged national cinema." The film, which featured many foreigners both as cast and crew members, had Francis Oladele as producer and Ossie

Davies, an African-American, as director, under the production company Calpenny Nigeria Films.

Francis Oladele was also a co-producer in the adaptation of Chinua Achebe's first novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958). The film, which is a joint Nigerian, German and American production, was produced in the U.S. in 1971. Initially titled *Bullfrog in the Sun*, it blends sequences from *Things Fall Apart* and *No Longer at Ease* (1960). The film was adjudged a failure for several reasons which Francoise Ugochukwu (2014:169) quoting Larson identifies to include: "its Western twist, conflicting aesthetics," and confusing "conflation of two time frames within the story: Okonkwo's era narrated in *Things Fall Apart* and Obi's from *No Longer at Ease*," which dismantled Achebe's original chronology. In the end, "in attempting to make a movie marketable both in Africa and in the West, the producers chose the middle ground and apparently pleased no one."

In 1975, Ola Balogun produced the first indigenous language film, *Amadi*. Balogun had earlier produced *Alpha* (1973) through his Afrocult Foundation Limited. *Amadi* was shot in Igbo language. Balogun has been described as "the midwife of the transition from stage to screen" because of his collaborations with various groups of the Yoruba travelling theatre troupes to direct an adaptation of their stage productions on screen (Jonathan Haynes 2005:100). The second indigenous language film he produced was in Yoruba. The movie, *Ajani Ogun* (1976), was produced in collaboration with Adeyemi Afolayan (Ade Love) and Duro Ladipo. Both films were reportedly box office successes. The first Hausa language movie, *Shehu Umar* (1976), an adaptation of a novel of the same title, written by Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was produced by Adamu Halilu with government sponsorship.

As already noted, the Yoruba Travelling Theatre troupes played a significant role in growing local content at this stage of filmmaking in Nigeria. These theatre troupes, which had already established a vibrant culture of touring plays, collaborated with Ola Balogun to adapt most of their stage plays to screen. Chief among them are Hubert Ogunde and Moses Olaiya. In collaboration with Ogunde, Balogun produced *Ija Ominira* (1979), *Aiye* (1979), *Jaiyesimi* (1980), *Aropin N'Tenia* (1982), and *Ayanmo* (1988). With Olaiya, he produced *Orun Mooru* (1982) and *Mosebolatan*. Balogun produced *Bisi, Goddess of the River* (1977), *Musik Man* (1977), *Money*

Power (1984), and *Cry Freedom* (1981), an adaptation of Kenya writer, Meja Mwangi's, a novel *Carcass for Hounds* based on the Mau-Mau Uprising.

Another prominent filmmaker of this era was Eddie Ugbomah. Ugbomah made movies influenced by American action or Blaxploitation films, urban in setting and dealing with crime or political violence (Hayne, ibid: 99)." His oeuvre includes two historical adaptations: *The Rise and fall of Dr. Oyenusi* (1976) and *Death of the Black President* (1983). While the former is based on the life of Oyenusi, the kingpin of a notorious armed robbery gang which terrorised Western Nigeria in the late sixties before he was caught and executed in 1971, the second is based on the assassination of General Muritala Mohammed, Nigeria's Head of State, in 1976. Ugbomah also produced *The Mask* (1979), *Oil Doom* (1981), *Bolus '80* (1982), and *The Boy is Good* (1982).

Although the films became popular amongst the already established audience of the travelling troupes, the mode of exhibition and distribution was cumbersome. Filmmakers had to travel with their films to screen them in rented cinema halls, and sometimes in schools, hotels, and town halls. During the day, publicity of the film and place of exhibition is carried out by a unit of the production company to invited audience to the exhibition. Filmmakers also had to travel long distance from on part of the country to another to exhibit their films. The terrains were dangerous and the journey was strenuous and tedious. This mode of exhibition became necessary because foreigners owned most of the cinema halls and even when the halls were hired, they had to be present to prevent being cheated out of their profit. Also for fear of piracy, it was risky to dub the films in videos.

As already noted in the foregoing, the first television station in Nigeria, Western Nigerian Television (WNTV), was established in 1957. As the need for local contents on television became obvious, "the Yoruba travelling theatre filled the vacuum of creating local material by adapting most of their successful plays on stage to the new medium" (Olayiwola, 2011, p. 187). Famous at that time was Moses Olaiya's Baba Sala Alawada theatre comic skits on television. Thus, it was that the embrace of the two audio-visual media of television and film witnessed the gradual deserting of the stage by the travelling theatre troupes because the combined force of television and film brought travelling theatre on its knee begging for survival and relevance within the new technology-driven world economy" (Olayiwola, *ibid*).

2.6.3 Nollywood and Beyond: From Home Videos of the 1990s to the Rebith of Cinemas

> Armed with a few thousand dollars, digital cameras and some lights, Nigerian directors have created a $250 million industry (Jenna Wortham, 2007).

In the 1980s, the economy of Nigeria experienced a downturn because of the oil doom, which led to the federal government's economic policy of austerity measures. The 80s were also a period of political instability as Nigeria witnessed two military coups; the first led by General Muhammadu Buhari, which toppled the civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari on December 31, 1983 and the second, led by General Ibrahim Babangida, which toppled the regime of General Muhammadu Buhari on August 27, 1985. The administration of General Babangida adopted the International Monetary Fund/World Bank policy of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This policy led to the devaluation of the Naira.

This period also witnessed increased activities of armed robbery gangs that terrorised most city dwellers especially in Western Nigeria. Although scholars have often mentioned the security challenges in the decades after the Nigerian Civil War as one of the factors responsible for the death of the cinema-going culture, none has taken the trouble to substantiate this claim. Archival materials however show that there were at least three specific armed robbery kingpins, who with their gangs, sent terror shiver down the spines of citizens. Ishola Oyenusi, Lawrence Anini, and Shina Rambo led the robbery gangs that held sway in the 60s/70s, 80s and 90s respectively. While Oyenusi, Anini, and some of their gang members were caught, tried, and eventually executed by firing squad publicly, Rambo served a jail term in the process of which he converted to Christianity and now goes by the title of an evangelist.

The turbulent socio-political landscape of post-independence Nigeria, coupled with high rate of insecurity and a spiralling economy led to the death of the nascent cinema-going culture. The situation created the perfect setting for the video film revolution to thrive and flourish. Nollywood, Nigeria's burgeoning film industry is therefore a child of circumstance, and an offspring of post-independence disillusionment. In his comment on the reversal to the video format, Layiwola (2014:229) notes:

> Home video came at a time when social upheavals and urban violence disrupted the rubric of city life, entertainment, and musical shows. For

> people to have the kind of entertainment that the travelling theatre troupes provided, they needed a medium, which could reproduce the same inside a productive habitat like private homes and private spaces outside of the downtown commercial and violence-prone centres.

Put in other words, Patrick Ebewo (2007: 46) comments: "the collapse of the movie-theatre going culture in the 1980s, caused by the incessant harassment of innocent citizens by criminals, the country's economic downturn, and the various problems affecting celluloid film production gave rise to the video film." The series of events that led to the adoption of the video format for film production is effectively summarised by Foluke Ogunleye (2014: 238) thus: "when the petro-bubble burst, cinematograph films gradually became a rarity and eventually petered out. Consequently, thousands of artists became jobless. However, following the maxim that nature abhors a vacuum, these artists began to search for novel ways to earn their living." Howbeit, Ambrose Uchenunu (2008) identifies other factors responsible for the gradual death of the cinema culture in the country. He attributed this to urbanisation, Pentecostalism and weak policies that were anti-cinema. The culmination of all the factors highlighted above inevitably made the option of producing film on video not only sensible but also innovative.

There is enough evidence to believe that the Yoruba Travelling Theatre Troupes were the first to experiment with the video format for film production. Alade Aromire's *Ekun* produced in 1986 has been identified as the first video film. This was followed by Isola Ogunsola's *Aje Ni Iya Mi (1989), Ina Ote* (1990) produced by Kenneth Nnebue before he went on to produce *Living in Bondage* (1992), (Haynes 2016). *Living in Bondage* is a feature film about a businessman who joins a secret cult and kills his wife in a ritual sacrifice to gain wealth. He becomes enormously wealthy but is haunted by the ghost of his dead wife. Although filmed in the Igbo language, it is subtitled in English. The film became very popular with Nigerians irrespective of ethnicity and "proved to be a commercial success and a trailblazer, establishing aesthetic and commercial values later to become the hallmark of the Nigerian video film industry" (Ogunleye 2014: 239).

This ingenuity of Nnebue, a businessman who saw shooting film on videos as an effective way of circulation triggered the interest of several other businessmen like himself and television film producers to venture into video film production. Soon, other equally successful titles including *Nneka, the Pretty Serpent (*Zeb Ejiro, 1992),

Circle of Doom (Chris Obi Rapu, 1993*), Mortal Inheritance* (Andy Amenechi, 1993), *Glamour Girls 1& 2 (*Chika Onukwufor, 1994), *Rattle Snake I – IV* (Amaka Igwe, 1995), *Domitila* (Zeb Ejiro, 1996), *Onome* (Chico Ejiro, 1996), *Violated* (Igwe, 1996), *Hostages* (Tade Ogidan, 1996), *Blood Money* (Chico Ejiro, 1997) and more, quickly became popular.

Before long, video viewing centres and video clubs sprang up in most cities. As more traders saw video film production as a way of making quick cash, the market was flooded with video films churned out within an interval of three weeks from shooting to post production and hitting the sales stands. At its height of productivity, as many as fifty video films were released into the market in a single week. Soon Nigeria was producing over a thousand films in a year. As the popularity of the video soared dominating the local market, they soon found their way to other countries across Africa, and among African diaspora communities in Europe and America. Certain directors/producers became famous. Amongst them are Andy Amaechi, Amaka Igwe, Zeb Ejiro, Chico Ejiro, Lancelot Imasuen, Teco Benson, Tade Ogidan, Kingsley Ogoro, etc. Some actresses and actors namely Genevieve Nnaji, Omotola Jolade Ekehinde, Ramsey Noah, Richard Mofe-Damijo, Sandra Achum, Pat Attah, Saint Obi, also became popular through the films.

The success of Nigerian video films as export was so phenomenal that it compared to Hollywood and Bollywood. Nigeria quickly became the third highest film producer in the world. While commenting on the ubiquity of the video films, Haynes (2005) remarks on the export of Nigerian films and their ubiquity in sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and the America. He comments on their popularity in the streets of Kenya, Namibian television and in Congo where an interpreter narrates the dialogue in the local languages. He also highlights the films popularity amongst Chinese people in New York, and the fact that Nollywood stars are recognised Europe.

Corroborating Haynes, Alessandro Jedlowski (2011:8) avers, "Nollywood is not only a local or regional phenomenon. It is instead a transnational entity, whose ramifications, in terms of both production and distribution, are complex, multiple and profoundly dynamic." One of the reactions to the video boom is the labelling of the Nigerian home video film industry with the tag, "'Nollywood". The coinage of the word imitates that of two of the world's largest film producing industries in the world, Hollywood and Bollywood. But contrary to Hayne's (2005) assertion that the tag

"Nollywood" was first used by Matt Steinglass in an article which appeared in the New York Time, Steinglass' article entitled "Film: When There's Too Much of a Not-very-good Thing" does not contain the word "Nollywood." It was used for the first time in the title of an article written by Japanese Canadian journalist, Norimitsu Onishi. The article titled "Step Aside Los Angeles and Bombay, for Nollywood" appeared in the New York Times on September 16, 2002. Daily Times adopted the tag in a weekly column with the title "Inside Nollywood" by 2003 and it immediately became popular with fans.

However, there are scholars and filmmakers who find the label "Nollywood" objectionable for a number of reasons. There are those who perceive the christening of the industry by a foreigner as a form of neo-colonialism. Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka (2013) reveals his revulsion when he describes the word "Nollywood" as the "hideous child of lacklustre imagination," and again as the "new offspring a nomenclatural misalliance." Other opponents feel that a name, which is a parody of Hollywood, suggests inferiority to it and as such conceals the originality and uniqueness of the industry it identifies. There are others of the opinion that the label generates, as Jedlowski (2011:231) puts it, "a sense of loss related to the obliteration of different instances of Nigerian filmmaking into one homogenous definition." Again, there are others still who feel that the label is synonymous with inferior and poorly produced films and prefer to dissociate from it. Opponents of the "Nollywood" label fail to appreciate or acknowledge the fact that the word was coined to reflect the transnational success of the videos that rivals Hollywood and Bollywood. As Schultz, (2012: 256) asserts, "Nollywood thrives . . . against titanic competition from the West and East."

In a discourse on adaptation such as the focus of this study, one can readily point out that the label, Nollywood, which in itself is an adaptation deliberately coined to rhyme with its other counterparts, is an affirmation of its place as an industry equal in significance as its counterparts. One can say that Nollywood has earned its name and paid its due as a film industry that deserves equal attention as Hollywood and Bollywood. Like the other two, Nollywood has carved for itself peculiar terms and conditions of operation that thrive upon the Nigerian and African socio-political, cultural and economic internal dynamics. The label is an acknowledgment of that fact.

Furthermore, Nollywood as a brand name for Nigeria's film industry suggests aspirations to global relevance just like Hollywood and Bollywood. As an

identification of a national film industry, it succeeds where a phrase such as Nigerian film industry or the Nigerian home video film industry becomes too clumsy. While it is true that the name conceals the disparate parts of the industry, so too does the fore mentioned phrases. It is also true that a name also reveals much about what it signifies. In the case of the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood reveals the transnational and global dimension of the films much like its two counterparts. The argument for the appropriateness of Nollywood as an appellation for the film industry in Nigerian is effectively summarised in Jedlowski's (2011: 259) observation that:

> The term 'Nollywood' could easily resume in one word all the claims emerging within the video environment: the fact that the video phenomenon should be considered 'a film industry'; that this industry had a transnational, if not global, impact (resumed in its acquired '–hoodness'); and that, because of the combination of these attributes, it deserved to be compared to the two most successful film industries in the world, Hollywood and Bollywood.

Nollywood also shares similar characteristics with both industries. Like Hollywood, it celebrates materialism and its major objective is entertainment. Like Bollywood, it celebrates the culture and the traditional practices of various groups. Nollywood projects Nigeria's rich local and diverse cultural values. The artistic merit of the videos notwithstanding, it is a commercial and cultural success just like Hollywood and Bollywood. The tag has gained the acceptance of the teeming fans of the video films and journalists alike. There is no homogenous African cinema because different regions on the continent have their peculiar cinema practices; Nollywood presents a strong brand name for the Nigeria film industry thus simplifying identifications of cinemas on the continent. When watching a movie, if asked what type of movie one can simply reply with "Nollywood," referring to a film produced by Nigerians. Nollywood is a composite of the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba cinemas, but that is only largely, not exclusively so (Ekwuazi 2014: 345). While the production of Nollywood English language films is dominated by the Igbos, production of films in other languages such as Ibibio, Edo, Idoma, Tiv, Ebira, Afemai, Efik, among others, also thrive. Even though it is argued that the content or sensibilities of the role of cultural mediation played by the films are diminished by the term "Nollywood," it is widely accepted and has come to stay.

The thematic concerns of Nollywood films are broad, although a particular theme and plot may be recycled severally. This is because the filmmakers often

respond to issues trending in the media. Filmmakers pluck storylines from newspapers, political rumours, happenstances, and urban folklores (John McCall 2004: 96). Also, the success of a movie focused on a trending issue sometimes results in a deluge of films on the same issue being released in the market. This is because the films are unequivocally commercial and crowd-pleasing. The issues portrayed are not only of domestic and national concern, but are also continental and universal in relevance.

The following are some of the thematic pre-occupation of the films; unemployment, widowhood practices, child abuse, teenage pregnancy, search for roots, neglect of aged parents, preference for male children, scourge of Vesico-virginal Fistula (VVF), the world of twins, intrusive mothers-in-law, parental match making, clash of Western and traditional cultures, communal conflicts, extra-marital affairs, confrontations between practitioners of different religions, tenancy issues, sickle cell anaemia, barrenness, sibling rivalry, romance, class conflicts, lovers dilemma, prostitution, cancer menace, rivalry over titles, smuggling, HIV/AIDS, battle between good and evil, murder, female genital mutilation, handicaps, drug abuse, late marriage, rivalry over inheritance, historical epics, and domestic violence. Others are kingship succession conflicts, effects of bad upbringing on children, madness, misdemeanour among law enforcement officers, political rivalry, drug trafficking, marital conflicts, angry gods and goddesses, evils of polygamy, campus life, effect of curses, conflict between rich and poor, women subjugation, armed robbery menace, proliferation of churches, elopement, different forms of rituals, cultism, betrayal, women, and child trafficking, the spirit world, mermaids, gangsterism, witchcraft, work place rivalry, reincarnation, incest, hypocrisy of religious leaders, surrogate motherhood, slavery, organized crime, sexual violence, etc., (Akpabio 2003).

Regardless of the broad variety of thematic engagement of Nollywood films as enumerated in the foregoing, the fact that each is recycled severally has raised the concern of critics. Negative criticisms were rampant at the inception of the video revolution. One related criticism to this is by Sanya Osha (1998:50) who proclaimes "once you've seen one, you've seen all." The mostly melodramatic plots are predictable, while the acting is generally poor and the plots run on dialogue. Also commenting on the shortcoming of the video films, Afolabi Adesanya (1997:19) opines:

> Aesthetically, this is regrettably the métier of the home videos: gaudy costumes, vulgarly furnished mansions, and exotic vehicles. The story and acting, more often than not are overwhelmed by the projection of glamour over substance – a gaudy visual style that robs the production of memorable pathos and artistry.

The foregoing examples represent the initial negative impressions of Nollywood in critical scholarship within the first decade of its evolution. These notwithstanding, Nollywood's commercial success is attributed to the local audience who, after decades of being entertained with offerings from Hollywood, Bollywood, and Hong Kong, have developed appetites for their own stories. They wanted stories in which they can recognise themselves and connect with issues relevant to their social circumstances. Nollywood films satisfied these yearnings. Nollywood filmmaker, Kabat Esosa Ebgon's response to John McCall (2007: 95) attests to this:

> Nigerian filmmakers have been able to touch a sort of sensibility of the people – their life, their aspirations, their family values, their worldview, their cosmology, spiritual and otherwise . . . The content, the form, is African . . . I think this is the truly African cinema we have been waiting for . . . We are telling our story now for the first time.

Apart from the thematic preoccupation and plot, the technical qualities of the films have also received critical bashing for their poor audio-visual qualities and shallow characterisations. Most of the demerits of Nollywood films are attributed to the trashy production practices in a situation where shooting of scenes, post-production, and editing of a movie are hurriedly completed within two to three weeks. Onookome Okome (2007:132) corroborates: "The films are made so fast (shooting typically takes about two weeks, and often less), on such minuscule budgets, and under such unrelenting commercial pressures, that individual artists have few resources and little time to realize a distinctive vision." Considering the infrastructural and financial constraints within which the films are produced, Nollywood filmmakers deserve accolade.

In a similar vein, the scathing criticism directed towards Nollywood by some first generation Nigerian filmmakers, including Ola Balogun and Eddie Ugbomah, rejecting a consideration of video as films, could be understood in terms of those who felt marginalised by the social realities that necessitated the video revolution. They fail to acknowledge that films are also commodities. The production of a film is only complete when it gets to its final consumers. This explains Nollywood's success.

Remarkably, "against all cynicism from film critics at home and abroad, it is feeding Digital Satellite Television's African Magic Movie Channel" (Dyikuk, 2015: 049), and in 2013, Nollywood actress, Omotola Jolade Ekehinde, was recognised as one of *Time Magazine*'s one hundred most influential people in the world. Furthermore, Nollywood's influence is also responsible for the exportation and adaptation of the video film model across the continent. Video-film industries have emerged in many countries, including Bongowood in Tanzania, Riverwood in Kenya and Ugawood in Uganda. Similar industries are also evident in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, South Africa, and Zambia (Lizelle Bisscoff, 2015).

It would be erroneous however to assume that all Nollywood films are low quality productions. There are a handful of directors and producers within the industry, who have distinguished themselves in the consistent production of high audio-visual quality films. Amongst them are; Jeta Amata, Tade Ogidan, Tunde Kelani, Niji Akanni, Amaka Igwe, Izu Ojukwu, and Kunle Afolayan. In terms of form and content, the works of these moviemakers truly stand out from those of mainstream Nollywood movies. This explains why they prefer to dissociate themselves from the "Nollywood" tag especial if it connotes poorly made films. In the words of Olivier Barlet (2002):

> These directors . . . all stand out for their cinematic approach, however. They combine a desire to raise public awareness of a variety of social issues (prostitution, AIDS, corruption, urban violence, etc.) and the desire not to alienate their audiences, hence the inclusion of action scenes, special effects, and stars. They class their movies somewhere between auteur and popular film. Working independently of the marketers, they control their own movie content and the duration of the shoots. Whereas most movies are shot in under a week and then very quickly completed, Tunde Kelani spends about twenty days shooting, between eight to ten weeks editing, and four weeks on the soundtrack. (http://www.africultures.com/php?nav=article&no=5666/)

Furthermore, over the years, a new crop of filmmakers taking advantage of technological advancement and the collaborations available in film industries have emerged and they are telling new and engaging stories in innovative ways. These filmmakers (some of them Nigerians in the diaspora; Biyi Bandele, Lonzo Nzekwe, Tony Ubulu, Obi Emelonye) are responsible for raising the ante and breathing new life into filmmaking in Nigeria. Already, this development has fostered discussions

centred on the emergence of a "new wave Nollywood or 'neo-Nollywood" in reference to these films that present a radical departure from the format of mainstream Nollywood films.

Apart from the fact that productions now take longer time, film budgets are getting bigger, and the movies now premiere at cinemas that are springing up across the country before they are sold in DVDs. While there are new security challenges different from the ones that led to the eventual closing of cinema houses, the re-emergence of cinemas is a testament to Nigeria's desire to compete in the global film market. It also shows that Nollywood has evolved from being merely home video films industry where films are shot, and dubbed straight to CDs and DVDs for distribution.

Some of the new crop of filmmakers/films who have captured positive reviews include Mak Kusare's *Champions of Our Time* (2010)*;* Obi Emelonye's *Mirror Boy* (2011), and *Last Flight to Abuja* (2012)*;* Mahmood Ali Balogun's *Tango with Me* (2011)*;* Kunle Afolayan's *Aromire: The Figurine* (2009), *October 1*(2014), *Phone Swap* (2012) and *The CEO (*2016). Also, Tunde Kelani's *Arugba* (2008), *Maami* (2011), *Dazzling Mirage* (2014); Mildred Okwo's *The Meeting* (2012), Jeta Amata's *Inale* (2010*),* and *Black November* (2012), Muhyideen Ayinde's *Jenifa* (2008), Lonzo Nzekwe's *Anchor Baby* (2010), etc.

In addition, there is a transnational dimension characterized by collaborations with other film industries like Hollywood. Movies also make the rounds in film festivals across the globe. Such examples include Mildred Okwo's *30 Days* (2008), Tony Ubulu's *Doctor Bello* (2013), Biyi Bandele's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2013) an adaptation of Chimamanda Adichie's prize winning novel of the same title, Chineze Anyaene's *Ije* (2010), Stephanie Okereke's *Through the Glass* (2008), *Dry* (2014*),* Robert Peter's *30 Days in Atlanta* (2013), *and* Lonzo Nzekwe's *Anchor Baby* (2010), etc.

Jedlowski (2013:37) in his elucidation of the idea of the new wave Nollywood film identifies amongst others, *Irapada* (Afolayan, 2006), *Amazing Grace* (Amata, 2006) and *Through a Glass* (Okereke, 2008), as examples. He stresses some of the characteristics of the new Nollywood films already highlighted in the foregoing when he avers that these films "represent three different levels at which processes of transnationalization are transforming the industry: mode of production, audience, and setting". Jedlowski's point here is that the processes of producing these films is

different, and because of their setting, even the demography of audience has shifted from "a local-popular to a transnational-elitist audience."

What Jedlowski refers to as the new wave Nollywood is also termed neo-Nollywood. Adeshina Afolayan (2014: 26) credits his first encounter with the term "'neo-Nollywood" to a post by Nollywood producer and director, Charles Novia, on 234Next.com, the website of the defunct Nigerian newspaper, *Next*. He noted that Novia had written, "I have watched '*Ije'* and I was impressed. The first thing that struck my mind after seeing the premiere was that this is 'neo-Nollywood,' a positive direction for better quality and improved storylines." Afolayan (*ibid*) conceives of neo-Nollywood as a "move away from the cinematic ebullience and mushrooming tendency of Nollywood towards a qualitative and aesthetic transformation of the industry."

Distinctions between old and new Nollywood has earlier been made by Akpabio (2007) who remarks on the gradual emergence of the celluloid format of shooting films noting that Amata's *Amazing Grace* and Afolayan's *The Figurine* were both released on 35 mm format. He also notes, "The new Nollywood is bringing with it a gradual return to the cinema culture; and thereby restructuring the industry" (quoted in Ekwuazi 2014: 346).

Another angle to recent developments with reference to Nollywood is Alt-Nollywood initiated by Zina Saro-Wiwa, daughter of late Ogoni writer and environmentalist, Kenule Saro-Wiwa. Alt-Nollywood is a subversion of the dominant images of Nollywood through use of the same medium – video films. Zina's short films combine performance and storytelling as aesthetics to explore emotional landscapes or internal and external environments (Justin Scott, 2013).

Obviously, as Nollywood evolves, so also has its audience. Just as the industry was sustained by the sheer doggedness of determined filmmakers even in the face of daunting infrastructural challenges, it was natural that the consumers accepted whatever the industry offered. With the passage of time, and as the films attained transnational dimensions through its ubiquitous nature, criticism of its overtly commercial and seeming nonchalant attitude to skilled creativity arose. Consequently, the audience began to desire better quality films, filmmakers inclusive. The desire to improve the quality of their production prompted some filmmakers to acquire training locally or internationally with the objective of improving their art. Kunle Afolayan followed the advice of Tunde Kelani, after his promising performance in *Agogo*

Eewo, and acquired a certificate in digital film directing from New York Film Academy. Stephanie Okereke also went for formal training in filmmaking at the same New York Film Academy where she graduated in 2007. The result is the improvement being witnessed in Nollywood film production.

These improvements are normal expectations in the evolution of a film industry. Any stakeholder with foresight knows that it was a matter of time before professionally trained filmmakers replace the mostly business men who dominated the industry in its advent. Eventually, with economic empowerment, the budget will get bigger, better stories will be written, producers will embrace technological advancement in the area of filming equipment and the result will be better produced films.

2.6.4 **Nollywood and the Literary Adaptation Question**

The film industry of a people plays a pivotal role in the formation of their cultural and national identity in much the same way that their literature is representational of their historical and cultural heritage. This is because films are powerful media with the potential capability to influence behaviour and opinions. Invariably, the Nigerian film industry wields a significant influence in shaping the attitudes and perception of her audience as a mediator of issues affecting the social, political, cultural, religious, and economic lives of Nigerians at home and in the diaspora. As Foluke Ogunleye (2014:1) puts it:

> Films are cultural artefacts created by specific cultures, which reflect those cultures, and in turn, affect them. Film is considered to be an important art form, a source of popular entertainment, and a powerful method for educating - or indoctrinating - citizens. The visual elements of cinema give motion pictures a universal power of communication.

Thus, film, as is the case with literature, is a prime vehicle for cultural expression. As a means of cultural expression, both literature and film are embedded in the communication and promotion of ideas. These ideas in turn serve as veritable instruments of enlightenment and education. The crossbreeding of literature and film gave birth to film adaptation. Just as literature has continued to enrich the output of Hollywood, many critics are convinced that Nollywood filmmakers stand to gain a lot that can enrich the content of their films. This includes; well told stories, properly

structured plots, realistic and dynamic characters, and adequately articulated and engaging themes when literary texts are adapted to film (Ademiju-Bepo 2010; Osofisan 2006; Ebewo 2007).

Film adaptation is not a novel idea in the history of filmmaking in Nigeria. However, the percentage of adaptation in proportion to the total output of Nollywood is insignificant because at the peak of the video revolution, the industry was producing "more than 1,500 films" (Haynes 2007: 134). A quick review of the literature-based adaptations produced from the earliest days of filmmaking in Nigeria, following independence from colonial rule, to date, reveals a dearth of adaptation compared to films based on original script.

In 1970, Wole Soyinka's *Kongi's Harvest* (1965) was adapted into film. A blend of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and *No Longer at Ease* (1960) was adapted as *Bullfrog in the Sun* in 1971. Again, in 1987, *Things Fall Apart* was adapted into a television series of thirteen episodes. Adamu Halilu adapted *Shehu Umar* (1976), a play written by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, with government sponsorship. Ola Balogun adapted *Cry Freedom (1981)*, from a novel of the same title by the East African anti-apartheid writer Meja Mwangi. *The Concubine* (1966) written by Elechi Amadi, was adapted to film in 2007. We also have the Nkana E.E.'s novel, *Mutanda Oyom Namondo* (1933) adapted as *Mutanda* (2000) by Jeta Amata. Adebayo Faleti's plays, *Afonja* (2001) and *Bashorun Gaa* (2004), Bayo Adewale's *The Virgin* was adapted as *The Narrow Path (2006)*, Akinwumi Ishola's *Oleku (1997)*, *Koseegbe* (1995), *Efunsetan Aniwura* (2001), and *Thunderbolt* (2001*)* have also been adapted. Others are; Ebi Akpeti's *The Perfect Church* (2011), Femi Osofisan's *Maami* (2012), Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, adapted as *Iredu* (2013) in a 12 minutes clip by Abiola Sobo, and Femi Faseru's *Married but Living Single* (2012). Olayinka Egbokhare's *Dazzling Mirage* (2014), Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2014), Wole Soyinka's *Ake: The years of Childhood (*2015), *The Lion and the Jewel* as *Sidi Ilujinle* (2017) have also made the transition from page to screen. In 2018, CJ 'Fiery' Obasi adapted Nigerian-American, Nnedi Okorafor's short story *Hello, Moto* in to a short film titled *Hello, Rain* while Kunle Afolayan adapted Wale Okediran's *Tenants of the House* to screen in 2018.

Clamours for Nollywood to turn her attention to literary texts as source materials for their films are prompted by the initial poor production out-put and superficial treatment of the thematic engagements of the video films, coupled with the

lamentable state of reading among Nigerian youths today. In a country where there is not much of a culture of leisure reading culture with most publishing houses comatose, increasingly, Nollywood films have come to occupy the vacuum created by the apathy to the reading, thus prompting the propositions for filmmakers to leverage on this lacuna through literary adaptation (Emenyonu 2010, Haynes 2011). Interestingly, Chris Hedges (2013) shows that apathy in leisure reading is a global trend. In his seminal book, *Empire of Illusion: The End of Literary and The Triumph of Spectacle,* he explicitly illustrates how what he describes as the "culture of illusions" mediated by the visual media, "thrives by robbing us of the intellectual and linguistic tools to separate illusion from truth" (45). The outcomes being that "the printed word" is traded for "the gleaming image" (44). Thus, films have become the literature the masses read. Consequently, films have replaced the mediating role that was initially associated with literature as a reflector of cultural mores and values. Haynes (2011: 79) makes a similar observation: "Nollywood has to a considerable extent filled the void in Nigerian culture left by the collapse of celluloid film production, the decline of literary drama…, and the expatriation of literature." Films now occupy a similar place as the literary text with regard to entertainment, enlightenment, and education.

However, the strength of the argument for more Nigerian literature on screen is based on the deficiencies observed in the contents of Nollywood films. The contents elicited disapproval and unfavourable judgment from both local and international critics. They are at the receiving end of critical reviews and comparative analyses with films from Francophone West African cinema and elsewhere. While some decried the obsession with occultism and rituals, others were disgusted at the often shoddy plots. Despite the shortcomings and the fact that Nollywood films dominates entertainment in sub-Saharan Africa (Okome 2010: 30), the criticisms persist, prompting the admonition by Chief Chukwuemeka Chikelu (Ofeimun 2003) and the propositions for a synergy between writers and filmmakers made by Osofisan (2006); Ebewo (2007); Diran Ademiju-Bepo (2010) and Soyinka (2013).

Nonetheless, there are scholars who have come to the defence of what others perceive as the "excesses" of Nigerian films. They argue, "Nollywood uses this fetish to explain to a bewildered population the drift and rot in contemporary Nigerian society" (Okome, 2010: 36). They also assert that these "films are actually giving back to us a mirror image of the way we are, the ways in which we behave and

misbehave, uncouth, slapdash, raucous, and hostage to badly-managed and rather manager-less towns and cities. They are turning out the Nigerian story in a no-holds-barred fashion which leaves not room for anyone to hide" (Ofeimun, 2003).

Others are of the opinion that Nollywood can no longer draw "its own map of social and cultural programs and narrative responsibilities" as Okome (2010: 37) puts it, and are instead advocating a synergy between Nigerian filmmakers and writers, and by extension, between literature and film as is the practice in other film industries. It is worth noting that the contentions generated around the content of the films are not on the realistic reflections of their representations, but rather that the predominant images are representative of only a fragment of Nigeria's realities and that sensationalising them gives a false impression about our lived experience. This is where collaboration between the writer and the filmmaker becomes necessary to provide a balanced picture of that reality.

Osofisan (2006)'s proposition that Nollywood filmmakers embrace the literary text is based on a conviction that adaptation will ameliorate some of the cultural ideological deficiencies portrayed in the films. He hinges his argument on the conviction that literature provides better plot development, credible and plausible characters, adequate and in-depth analysis of a film's thematic engagement. Other scholars have echoed his position. Hyginus Ekwuazi had earlier made a similar suggestion in his keynote address at the 24th Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) Convention in November 2005. In his paper titled "To the movies go – everything good will come," Ekwuazi urged for a synergy between writers and filmmakers after noting that their contribution to the growth of Nollywood had been insignificant. Another scholar who has lent his voice to advocate for literary adaptation in Nollywood is Ebewo (2007). After his analysis of some of the challenges and prospects of Nollywood vis-à-vis thematic concerns, artistic and professional constraint, entrepreneurial monopoly, and managerial problems, he suggests, "Attention should shift from commonplace stereotypical themes, to adaptation of classic literary works that are readily available in Africa."

Oshiotse Okwilagwe (2008:55) also lends his voice to the clamour by arguing that that adaptation of "indigenous, relevant, appropriate, and successful literary works" could serve as sources for cultural re-engineering. Ademiju-Bepo (2010), in accord with this position, recommends literature as a veritable source for Nollywood filmmakers and notes that the popularity of a literary text could serve as an advantage

for filmmakers. He contends that literature is a readymade raw material for filmmakers, requiring no feasibility study because of their popularity thus making them viable sources for commercial exploration in films.

On his part, Ernest Emenyonu (2010) laments the indifference of African filmmakers toward African literary text despite the potential advantages. Wachuku and Ihentuge (2010), as well as Ugochukwu (2014), also remark on the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood. According to Emenyonu (*Ibid*: x):

> There are many advantages – educational, cultural, intellectual, commercial – that would accrue from adapting popular works of fiction into films. In the African situation, in addition to all these advantages, the film versions would popularize the creative works, and also act as a catalyst for the improvement of the reading culture (which in some countries is either non-existent or abysmally low), as well as stimulate interest in literary studies, and afford teachers the opportunity to use technology to enhance or reinforce their classroom methodologies, when they add films or power point presentations to their pedagogical resources. Yet the indifference remains unchanged and there is no sign that things will change in a foreseeable future.

Apart from members of the intelligentsia, calls for literary adaptation in Nollywood have come from elites within the creative industry. Entertainment lawyer and film critic, Augusta Okon is one of the ardent advocates for adaptation within this circle. Okon (2012) is convinced that literary adaptations are better alternatives to original works as it will not only boost box office returns in recouping financial investments on the film, but also capable of reviving reading culture. This is similar to the opinion expressed by Jeremy Weate (2012), who introduces a new angle to the discourse when he ponders why African publishers are yet to get involved in the adaptation of some of their publications, a fast growing trend in the US. He is also believes that doing this can be a "massive boost to the sales of the books," and avers that Nigeria stands "in a unique position to benefit from greater partnerships between publishers and filmmakers."

Proposition for literary adaptations in Nollywood was also at the front burner at the 81st quarterly stampede organised by Committee for Relevant Arts (CORA), held at the National Theatre, Iganmu Lagos, on March 20, 2011, themed: "Promoting a Closer Cooperation between Our Literature and Our Motion Pictures." On-line Magazine publisher, biographer and literary author, Toni Kan, in his contribution to the discourse stresses that if Nollywood aspires to be like Hollywood, then it must be prepared to do what Hollywood does. Kan, here, is implying that Nollywood must

make adaptation a trend, as is the case with Hollywood. He said this after referring to the fact that the most of the winning movies in the 2010 edition of the Oscars awards were literature-based films (Medeme, 2011).

Despite these recommendations, Nollywood filmmakers continue to ignore literature as the source for their films with the exception of Tunde Kelani. This situation has given rise to questions like the one posed by Ajeluorou's (2010), when he asked why Nollywood continues to maintain a distance from literary text in spite of Nigeria's achievement on the global literary scene, in the hope that an adequate answer to them may shed light on factors responsible for the indifference toward literature.

Developments in Nollywood with reference to the new wave of Nollywood films are pointers to the fact that the issue at stake involves more that content. It cuts across technological infrastructure, directorial competence, and professional qualifications of both crew and cast. The validity of this position is sustained by a consideration of the quality of directors in Francophone West African cinema and the technological apparatus for movie production at their disposal. In line with this reasoning, Emenyonu (2010: xi) raise questions on competence of filmmakers, status of filmmaking in the African continent in contemporary times, without discountenancing the possibility of international collaborations.

The answers to Emenyonu's questions hold the possibility of identifying the reasons behind the paucity of adaptation in Nollywood. Furthermore, because of their capability to provoke discussions and debates, the significance of the genre in film production of any national cinema that merits serious consideration in film studies cannot be overemphasised. It is therefore remarkable that scholarly research on Nollywood has paid only exoguous attention to question vis-à-vis the dearth of literary adaptation in the industry. This neglect is also evident as one skims through Hayne's (2010, 2012) literature review and bibliography of academic works on Nigerian and Ghanaian video films where he notes the repetitions in most of the research on Nollywood, and advocates the development of film studies in three standard branches of auteurism, film history, and genre (2010: 112). The foregoing apart, the few scholars who have pondered the disposition of Nollywood filmmakers towards literary adaptations (Adamu 2005; Emenyonu 2010; Ugochukwu 2012, Wachuku & Ihentuge 2010), limited themselves to cursory analyses thereby

necessitating a holistic investigation, production-oriented in character, and involving an engagement in discussion with filmmakers in the industry.

2.7 Gap in the Literature: Scholarship on Literary Adaptations in Nollywood

As aforementioned, scholars researching on literary adaptations in African cinema have consistently employed a socio-historical and political approach. The emphasis is more on cultural relevance of the films than on aesthetics. However, the few literary adaptations in Nollywood are completely ignored in their works.

Alexie Tcheuyap (2004) in *African Cinema and the Politics of Adaptation* adopts a sociological approach to examine the context of the production of literary adaptations in African cinema but more specifically, Francophone West African cinema. He argues that adaptations in African cinema tend to take a "political approach" contrary to the "Western film tradition where adaptations are generally based on best-sellers and with mainly commercial purpose" because "most literary works are written in foreign languages and are too expensive for impoverished and illiterate populations" (par. 2). He adopts a multi-perspective materialist approach that considers the historical, political and cultural factors in the discourse on adaptations produced by directors in Francophone West African cinema. His main objective in this work addresses "the socio-historical, ideological, cultural, aesthetic, and thematic problems related to adaptations in Francophone Africa" which he uses to answer the questions he raised including: "What is adapted? For whom? How can the shifts from one medium to another be interpreted? Why is the role of adaptation different in under-developed countries? What is the role of cultural transfers and ideology in an adaptation?"

Tcheuyap traces the socio-historical advent of cinema in Africa and how it was employed by the colonial imperialist for the hegemonic purpose of affirming the purported superiority of Europeans to Africans through gross misrepresentations of Africans as monstrous salvages and cannibals to further legitimise the need of the civilising missions of the colonial imperialists. He examines the films of Sembene Ousmane and Bassek Ba Kobio, highlighting the characteristics of the films and their given reasons for adaptation which are based on ideological motivations rather than aesthetics. Literary adaptations by French directors, Jacques Champreux's adaptation

of Cheikh Hamidou Kane's *Ambiguous Adventure* (1961), and Laurent Chevalier's adaptation of Camara Laye's *African Child* (1953) received attention for the ways they negotiate and represent cultural issues of identity and family settings. He also highlights the function of orality and especially the role of griots, employed for aesthetic, thematic, ideological and linguistic purpose while taking care to point out how the adaptation of African literary texts by Western directors serves as examples of "western cultural plot against African societies with divergent perspective on family issues and reproduction" (par : 22).

Lindiwe Dovey (2009) in her work, *African Film and Literature: Adapting Violence to The Screen* also adopts a contextual approach to investigate the critique and representation of violence in African cinematic adaptations. The work can be described as a comparative study of regional or national cinemas focusing mainly on Francophone West Africa and South Africa cinemas contrary to the continental reflection of her title even when she took time to problematize the assumption of the existence of a cinema in that sense. She analyses four adaptations of apartheid-era South African texts, including Gavin Hood's Oscar-winning 2005 adaptation of Athol Fugard's only novel *Tsotsi* (1980) and Darrell Roodt's 1995 adaptation of Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948) in the first half of the book. The other half is focused on the examination of three films from Francophone West Africa namely: Joseph Gai Ramaka's adaptation of Carmen as *Karmen Gei* (2001), and Cheick Oumar Sissoko's adaptation of the Biblical book of Genesis as *La Genese* (1999).

Significantly, she dwells considerably on the industrial and institutional challenges confronting filmmakers in Africa in the areas of production, artistry and accessibility with special attention to the film industry in South Africa. In this context, my proposed study shares a similarity with Dovey's work in terms of approach and also the examination of the film industry to highlight their challenges. The contrast is that my primary focus is on Nollywood, the Nigerian film industry whereas hers dwells on Francophone West Africa and South Africa.

With the re-emergence of the Nigerian film industry, which experienced a kind of renaissance with the home video era, there have been many academic research works in the field, although those focused on the subject of adaptation in Nollywood are few. On the other hand, Nigerian scholars are more concerned with the challenges in the transposition from written text to visual text. Others still, are engaged in comparative evaluation of the book and its screen version. The exception is

Emenyonu (2010) who adopts a sociological approach to explain a possible reason for African filmmakers disinterest in adaptation.

In his article, "Film and Literature: Connections and Disconnections," Tunde Onikoyi (2013), looks at the relationship between film and literature. He highlights the similarities and contrast between both forms of cultural expression noting how both constitute an aesthetic, cultural, as well as, social discourse. He examines the intersection between film and literature in cinematic adaptations and points out that this dates back to the dawn of cinema. The closing section of his essay traces the historical evolution of adaptation in Nigerian film industry from the colonial era until the home video era of the early 1990s to the first half of the first decade of the millennium.

Onikoyi's work shares a similarity with this project in its focus of attention on the evolution of literary adaptations in the Nigerian film industry. However, his analysis of the similarities and differences between film and literature (which is repetitive and thus not clearly defined) does not shed light on his set objective which "seeks to investigate why some Nigerian literatures have not yielded themselves for adaptation;" nor does he enlighten his readers on "why people prefer the film medium to that of literature" (105).

Arit Edem (2012) in her work titled: "A study of the Adaptational Techniques in Jeta Amata's Mutanda and Baz Luhrmann's Romeo + Juliet," examines the problems inherent in the process of transposition of written text to visual text. The study work is preoccupied with the changes that occur when a filmmaker adapts a literary work to film. It is not concerned with the contextual realities that may determine the final result of such a process; neither does it highlight the differences in the sub-sectors of production, distribution and exhibition of the indigenous cinemas of the directors of the films under investigation. This work is similar to that of Obioha (2001) which focuses on the process of the adaptation in two Nigerian films: *Igodo* and *Langbodo.*

Abiodun Olayiwola (2002), in his dissertation on adaptation, focuses on the part the screen director plays in the transposition of written text to visual text. He investigates Tunde Kelani's creative vision in *Koseegbe* and *Thunderbolt*. Here also, the attention is on a particular director and not on the contextual challenges that may make literary adaptations unattractive within the Nigerian film industry.

Wachuku and Ihentuge (2010) paper titled: "The Nigerian Film Industry and Literary Adaptation: The Journey of *Things Fall Apart* from Page to Screen," also present a critical comparative evaluation of the book and the 1987 television miniseries directed by David Orere. In their assessment, they posit that "the tendency towards too much detail" makes the film monotonous. They adjudge it "more presentational than an adaptation in that the plot follows a linear progression" (129). Other flaws identified in the film are; static camera positioning, oversights in editing, faulty transitional effects, graphic, etc. Before delving into their analysis of the film vis-à-vis the novel, they began their work by defining adaptation. They also note the dearth of literature-based adaptation in Nollywood in spite of the global impact made by Nigerian literature and give insight into possible reasons for this. They quote Anote Ajeluorou's assertion that the greatest problem facing literature-to-film adaptation in the industry "is the evolutionary trend of Nollywood from a market rather than a literary or dramatic viewpoint" which "made the industry grow along purely commercial lines." They explain further that: "Nollywood film producers tend to see films simply as a commodity to be sold and bought and not as a creative adventure" (125).

Without a doubt, filmmaking became an all-comers affair with the advent of the home video revolution such that literary authors may have been put off by the unwholesome production practices and the quality of the productions. However, a lot of changes are now being observed in Nollywood. More qualified and trained professionals are now becoming involved in film production. There has also been more collaboration with Hollywood filmmakers ensuring better productions. Within this new development therefore, is the need for further investigation. This study will be interested in verifying the validity of the reasons highlighted, by Wachuku and Ihentuge, for the paucity of adaptation. The first research question is geared towards doing just that.

Ugochukwu (2014) in her article: "*Things Fall Apart:* Achebe's Legacy, from Book to Screen" focuses on a comparative textual analysis of the novel and the 1987 adaptation "scripted for television by Adiela Onyedibia and Emma Eleanya," and directed by David Orere (169). She highlights the reasons for the success of the film which she attributes to factors including fidelity to the novel which she describes as "its respect for Achebe's text" (174), even when she notes that some scenes are expanded, while others, including whole chapters are omitted. She maintains that the

adoption of "a simple thread, skipping part of chapters three, five, and six" of the novel are in order. She pines that the inclusion of certain passages such as Ezimma's bout of malaria, the mention of the repeated deaths of Ekwefi's children (53–56)… among others (173), would have digressed from the theme of the story. She commends the shooting of the movie in traditional setting. She also identifies the use of choruses inspired by folktales in Igbo as some of the highpoints of the film.

Although she observes the paucity of literature-based adaptations in Nollywood where she remarks that while "African literature has its films, mainly sourced from Francophone novels … Nigerian literature, on the other hand, had inspired few adaptations," she fails to explain reason for this difference. Neither does she mention the French government funds Francophone West African cinema while Nigerian filmmakers work largely independent of governmental or private sector funding. Although the Goodluck Jonathan Administration made provision for a total of N6billion as stimulus to the industry as loan, on two separate instances, filmmakers decried the inaccessibility of these funds. Interestingly, her position of describing the 1987 television miniseries adaptation as a huge success, serves as a counterpoint to Wachuku and Ihentuge (2010) analysis.

In "The Interface between Film and Literature in Contemporary African Writing and Imagination," Emenyonu (2010) begins his article by making reference to Ajeluorou's article in The Guardian Newspaper (2010): "Literature…a resource still ignored by Nollywood." He describes Ajeluorou's suggestion that the explanation for the dearth of adaptations in Nollywood may be attributed to the fact that the industry evolved from the market rather than from a literary background as a "pertinent statement which underscores a critical issue of concern in contemporary African intellectual and cultural development." He proceeds to enumerates some of the benefits accruable in the event of the adaptation of more African literary texts to film, although he is pessimistic that the trend will change. He reiterates the fact that several African literary texts have made global impacts and are used in educational institutions both within and outside Africa. He ponders the African filmmakers' indifference to the literary text and poses some questions that may shed light on issues ranging from the qualification of the filmmakers, the nature/status of film production in Africa and the question of available incentives that may attract foreign filmmakers and companies who may be interested in such a venture.

Emenyonu also provides insight on how censorship may pose a challenge to filmmakers and discourage them from producing literary adaptations. He made an example of the incident that stymied the proposed adaptation of Cyprian Ekwensi's novel *Jagua Nana* (1961) by a consortium of five foreign companies who approached the Nigerian government for incentives to facilitate their mission. The Federal government gave certain conditions including censoring the finished work before it could permit and support the production. To compound matters, there were also public debates on the proposed production. Emenyonu expounds "Public opinion on the matter was sharply divided and the controversy was inflated out of proportion into an issue of national importance. Organised and mobilised opinions, from women groups, churches, and others, came out strongly against the filming of the novel and consequently, the production was aborted.

Emenyonu's article sheds light on a number of salient issues. Central to these are the significance of censorship and funding in movie production. Censorship plays a significant role in any film industry and can pose a threat to creative artistic productions as he illustrates with the *Jagua Nana* instance. However, this was an incident which occurred before the 1972 Indigenisation Decree. One wonders if the outcome would have been different if indigenous filmmakers undertook the production. Again, what is the effect of censorship on filmmaking in Nollywood today? This work will be interested in examining some of the ways in which censorship may affect the production, exhibition, or distribution of a literary adaptation.

In her thesis titled "Nigerian Filmmakers and their Construction of a Political Past (1967-1998), Anulika Agina (2015) investigate Nollywood filmmakers' appropriation of political and historical events in their films through a negotiation of the images of the country's political history. Noting the marginal academic attention paid to such films, the research questions the motivations, the underlying ideologies, the narrative techniques, and reception of the video films. Through data collected from interviews with filmmakers, entertainment journalists, and content analysis of the film through a post-structural reading, Agina submits that the process from production to consumption of historical films constructing a political past are compounded by factors that deter filmmakers from venturing more readily into such production. The factors include finance, censorship, poor film distribution structures, and piracy, which make profit near impossible.

Agina's work is similar to this study because films that reconstruct historical and political past are also film adaptations. However, this study is focused on adaptations from literary texts. Another similarity with this work is the collection of data through ethnographic method of semi-structured interviews with filmmakers. However, while the audience interviewed by Agina are entertainment journalists with Nigerian dailies, this study will include focus group discussions with undergraduate students of Theatre Arts/Film Studies.

In *Nollywood: The Creation of Nigerian Film Genres* (2016), renowned Nollywood scholar Jonathan Haynes follows his own advice of the need to develop "three standard branches of film studies in relation to the videos [Nollywood films]: auteurism, film history, and genre" (Haynes, 2010: 112). He begins by tracing the material and social circumstances that gave birth to Nollywood. He then provides a detailed account and assessment of the genres unique to it. He uses the assessments to establish a canon for Nollywood films. A chapter in the first part of the three-part work is dedicated to Tunde Kelani's films under the title: "Tunde Kelani, the Auteur". He explores Kelani's commitment to the preservation of his Yoruba cultural heritage and the influence of literary drama in his oeuvre, which consists of the largest number of literary adaptations in Nollywood. He concludes with an overview of the concept of Neo-Nollywood with reference to Kunle Afolayan's films. Hayne's dedication of a chapter to literary adaptation in this book, even though it is in relation to auteurism, is another proof of the significance of the genre in the discourse on Nollywood.

National Cinema: A Companion to African Cinema, edited by Kenneth Harrow and Carmela Garritano (2018), divided into eight part containing essays ranging from one to three, paid no attention to literary adaptations in Nollywood. In Part five, which seem to be dedicated to Nollywood, there are four essays by Alessandro Jedlowski, Moradewun Adejunmobi, Noah Tsika and Jonathan Haynes. Adejunmobi article focuses on film streaming. Tsika looks at migrant narratives and the influence of transnational taste on Nollywood filmmaking. While Jedlowski examines the similarities between Southern Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Cote d'Ivoire video film industries in a comparative study, Hayne's article investigates the transformations of Nollywood through the informal sector and the growing transnational capitalism made popular by the increasing corporatization of the industry.

In a recent article that focuses on the film adaptation of Nigerian literature, "Portrayal of Igbo Culture in the film adaptations of *Things Fall Apart* and *Half of a Yellow Sun*," Munachim Amah (2020) looks at the representation of Igbo culture in two film adaptations based on novels written by Nigerian authors of Igbo origin. Using textual analysis of the books and film text, nine elements of culture were studied: language, festivals, rituals, costumes, foodways, sports, orature, religious beliefs and values. The researcher concludes that these elements were adequately portrayed in the film adaptation of *Things Fall Apart*, while in the adaptation of *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the portrayal of these elements were less than satisfactory but forgiveable because of the casting of foreign actors to portray the roles of Igbo characters. The paper concludes with recommendations for accuracy in cultural representations and suggests the need for engagement in discourses on cultural perspectives in film adaptations. Even though it may seem that Amah adopts a sociological approach in hher analysis, on closer scrutiny it becomes obvious that the article also falls into the category of fidelity criticism. Also, even though Amah highlights how the personality of the filmmaker [director] and the cast affect the way cultural elements may be successfully portrayed, the article does not concern itself with the issues of scarcity or otherwise of literary adaptations in Nollywood thus justifying the need such a study.

Other studies on adaptation in Nigerian cinema relevant to this study include the works of Graham Furniss (2003); Abdalla Uba Adamu (2005); Ademola James (1996) and Rita Mogbogu's (2009) because they provide valuable insights to the focus of this work even where their thematic preoccupations differ. While Furniss and Adamu dwell on Hausa popular literature and their connections to Hausa home videos in the Hausa film production industry, James and Mogbogu examine challenges of censorship and video film production in Nigeria respectively.

Adamu's (2005) article "Read to Reel: Transformation of Hausa Popular Literature from Orality to Visuality," traces the root of Hausa literature from orality to film. He presents a detailed account of the evolution of Hausa classical literature and the social conditions that led to the emergence of Hausa popular literature. He traces the origin of Hausa novel to the *tatsuniya* which dates back to pre-Islamic and pre-colonial times. The Hausa *tatsuniya* are tales usually told to children by the oldest woman in a household, usually the grandmother. The tales were usually didactic and aim at teaching children good morals. *Tatsuniya* evolved into street dramas (*tashe*)

performed by children. The *tatsuniya* later became *Wasan Kwaikwayo* or written plays. The introduction of *Six Hausa Plays* (1930), written by Rupert East, the British colonial officer in charge of Hausa Literature, was undertaken as part of the primary school curriculum; it gave rise to a flourishing of written plays. Radio was the next stage of the transition for Hausa folktales after staged theatre. With private sponsorship from wealthy individuals, the stage plays eventually made their television debut in 1963.

Adamu also provides detailed explanation on the influence of Hindi cinema on early Hausa novels. He attributes the influence to the influx of media in various forms including a heavy dose of foreign content on cinema, and novels and tales written in Arabic. These influences first found their way into the works of a new crop of indigenous authors. Their writings flourished in the 80s and were adapted to film when VHS camera became affordable. The consequence of this is what he described as the "Hindinization" of Hausa Home Video films. Adamu provides a list of thirty-five Hausa novels adapted to film as at 2003. He points out that the authors are usually involved in the adaptation of their works to film. They "chose to be the script writers, producers, directors, and often editors. This is not just to avoid "creative difference" but to ensure a control in the production process, which included the marketing (21). He reveals that only 40 per cent of Hausa home videos are produced by ethnic Hausas. Non-ethnic Hausa; "Yoruba, Igbira, Benin, Nigeriène, Babur, Tuareg, Yemeni, Kanuri, and members of other 'minor' northern Nigerian tribes whose parents settled in large urban Hausa centres," dominate the other 60 per cent of Hausa video production (23).

The relevance of Adamu's article to this study is its adoption of a sociological approach in tracing the precursors of filmmaking in Hausa language. The involvement of novelists in the adapting of their works to film in Hausa language highlights an important point that explains why the Hausa film industry has more literary adaptations when compared to their Yoruba and English film producing counterparts.

Ademola (1996) writes from his privileged position as the first Director General of the National Film and Videos Censors Board (NFVCB) between 1994 and 2001. His article "The Challenges of Film and Video Censorship in Nigeria," identifies the challenges involved in the censorship and grading of movies in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious country like Nigeria.

In “Challenges of Home Video and Film Production in Nigeria,” Mogbogu’s (2009) looks at the challenges of filmmaking in Nigeria. She starts with a presentation of the historical background to filmmaking in Nigeria. She describes the circumstances that gave rise to the video revolution before proceeding to highlight the challenges filmmakers contend with in the process of production, exhibition, and distribution of home videos in Nigeria.

Ademola’s and Mogbogu’s articles are important to this study because both focus on two different aspects of challenges that affect movie production in Nigeria regardless of region, language or genre, whether adaptation or not. It bears stating, however, that their contributions rather than detract, give impetus to the significance of a study such as this, which seeks to investigate the challenges peculiar to a specific film genre, i.e. literature-based adaptations, within a specific context of filmmaking in the Nigeria.

From the foregoing review, it is obvious that there is a gap in research focused on literary adaptations in Nollywood, and more specifically, on research centred on the challenges of producing literary adaptations in the southern Nigeria film industry. In the light of the above, an investigation that will identify the challenges of producing literary adaptations from the point of view of filmmakers, with a view to providing contextual and industry-generated answers to the much-pondered question concerning the dearth of literary adaptations will be a significant contribution to the discourse on Nollywood.

2.8 Theoretical Framework: The Adaptation Industry Theory

This study is guided by the conceptual framework of Simone Murray’s (2008) “the adaptation industry” model. In her paper titled “Materialising Adaptation: The Adaptation Industry,” Murray proposes a sociological approach to the study of adaptation that takes into consideration the realities and complexity of the interrelationship between the book publishing, media and cultural industries as substructures of the contemporary adaptation industry. The adaptation industry theory is an industry-focused research methodology which pays attention to commercial considerations and is interested in the production context of film adaptation. The objective of the theory is to understand film adaptation sociologically through the production context.

Murray takes adaptation scholars to task on the discipline's traditional approach fixated on fidelity criticism and its comparative evaluation of books and their screen versions, based on privileging the source text over the film in a dichotomy often based on "original" versus "copy" analyses. She argues that this comparative methodology is focused on addressing the question of "*what* adaptations have been made and almost never *how* these adaptations came to be available for painstaking scholarly comparison" (emphasis in the original, p. 5). Murray's model is an alternative perspective capable of yielding insight to the operation of the adaptation industry since it will focus on examining factors and actors involved in the adaptation process as their influence affects the outcome of any adapted film. This view resonates with McFarlane's (1996:10) assertion that "The insistence on fidelity has led to a suppression of potentially more rewarding approaches to the phenomenon of adaptation."

Consequently, in making this proposition for an industry-focused research, Murray (2008:10) emphasises

> a rethinking of adaptation not as an exercise in comparative textual analysis of individual books and their screen versions, but as a *material* phenomenon produced by a system of institutional interests and actors" (emphasis in original).

Murray's model is operationalized through the combination of research methodologies of three disciplines: cultural theory, political economy of the media and book history. Her reason for recommending a combination of all three methodologies is based on the inadequacy of a single methodology to encapsulate "the commercial and cultural values" at play in the modern adaptation industry and on the interdisciplinary nature of adaptation studies (10). Is Murray correct in her supposition? Why does the history of the book merit consideration in the analysis of its screen version? The answer might be revealed bearing in mind that numerous books have been adapted to screen for their cultural prestige and the reputation of their authors or public response to their publication. Again, an understanding of the critical signification of political economy justifies Murray's position.

In his explanation of the term "political economy" with reference to media research, Oliver Boyd-Barret (1995: 186) clarifies that "it is often associated with macro-questions of media ownership and control, interlocking directorship and other factors that bring together media industries with other industries, and with political

economy and social elites. He explains further, "it looks at processes of consolidation, diversification, commercialization, internationalization, the working of the profit motive in the hunt for audience and…its consequences for media practices and media content." Film and the filmmaking process is therefore a fitting subject for political economic research. Applying this to adaptation studies means looking at the process of production and distribution, and the interrelationship between actors in the ecosystem of filmmaking. It also implies understanding how the "profit motive" drives media content creation and influences the choice of genres that are dominant in a given film industry.

Cultural theories are also relevant in the sense that films are media of cultural exchange. As Tom O'Regan (2004) points out, "Cultural exchange is intrinsic to the cinema's production, circulation, and uptake" (262). He explains further that that the materials of cultural exchange could be:

> in the adjustments made to films with the explicit purpose of facilitating international circulation: this impinges on the selection of content (is it too parochial?), of actors and directors (are they known in other territories), and even of accents and dialogue (will they be comprehensible?) … a film's potential for cultural exchange is a consistent consideration for investors, producers, directors and script-writers (264).

Hutcheon (2007) also echoes this position when she avers that "the need or desire to appeal to a global market has consequences for adaptations of literature, especially with regard to its regional and historical specificities. These particularities are what usually get adapted or "indigenised" for new audiences." Predicated on the foregoing, Murray urges scholars not to lose sight of the fact that a film adaptation, just like films based on original script, is a commodity in the market-place and this fact is brought to bear in the journey from book (publication) to screen (exhibition).

What makes Murray's model interesting for adaptation studies is the fact that it traces the complex workings of the adaptation industry and encourages dialogue with the practitioners in the substructures of the industry. She identifies six stakeholders involved in the publication of the book to the production of the screen version: "author societies and the construct of the celebrity author; literary agents; editors and publishers; literary prize judging committees; screen writers; and film/television producers" (12).

This conceptualisation of the "materiality" of adaptation that focuses on commercial apparatus of the adaptation industry as a whole will provide a new and better understanding regarding why films take the shape they do. Through dialogue with filmmakers, it will provide answers to questions raised concerning certain adaptations. In addition, the adaptation industry approach "recognize(s) the variability of the adaptation process across countries (13). This position validates McFarlane's (1996: 21) assertion that "conditions within the film industry and the prevailing cultural and social climate at the time of the film's making (especially when the film version does not follow hot upon the novel's publication) are two major determinants in the shaping of any film, adaptation or not."

This study, therefore, investigates the contextual factors responsible for the raraity of literary adaptation production in Nollywood. It focuses on identifying the impediments from the perspectives those involved in the artistic economy of filmmaking, that is, filmmakers and literary authors. Murray's Model of the "adaptation industry" approach is appropriate for this study because it takes the context of filmmaking of a nation into consideration and is interested in the commercial considerations that affect and influence the production or otherwise of literary adaptations.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

This chapter presents a description of the methods employed to carry out the study. It is divided into subsections, which comprise the research design, study area and population, sampling size and technique, sources of data collection, instruments, methods of data collection, method of data analysis and finally, limitations.

3.1 **Research Design**

A combination of extensive literature search and ethnographic research methods were used for the study. The research approach is qualitative. Qualitative research is said to be "an integral part of the field of media studies" in the twenty-first century (Bonnie Brennen, 2013:7). It requires detailed description and explanation of the data gathered and is valued for its "richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality, and complexity" (Jennifer Mason, 2002:1). The combination of literature search, and ethnographic research methods was necessary to facilitate a detailed investigation that provides adequate answers to attain the research objectives.

Renowned Nollywood scholar, Jonathan Haynes (2010), hints on the necessity of both methods in his literature review on academic publications on Nollywood and Ghanaian videos. He observes the absence of an empirical agenda in most works on Nollywood. He also notes that valuable resources can be gleaned from papers delivered at conferences on Nollywood frequently hosted by various organisations, and points out the significance of the contributions of Nigerian journalists to the production of "a wealth of material on Nollywood" (108). On the relevance of internet source, he writes, "Nigerian newspaper articles get posted to websites catering especially to Nigerians. . . . These sites also generate original content; transmit news

about the industry, and serves as a window into the fan base" (109). Taking a cue from the foregoing therefore, the literature analyses of the study draws on relevant materials from the following sources; books, newspapers/ magazines, journal articles, conference papers and internet sources.

3. 2. **Study Area**

The study was carried out in the three selected cities of three states in southern Nigeria namely: Lagos, Ibadan and Nsukka. All three locations have federal universities with Theatre and Film Studies departments in which focus group discussions were held.

Lagos State is located in South-West Nigeria. It is the commercial capital of Nigeria and the entertainment capital of the nation. It has the largest number of cinemas. Lagos is also one of the cities involved in all the stages of film production: writing, acting, production, distribution, and exhibition. It is also the publishing capital of Nigeria with many book-publishing houses, and hosting many books and film events yearly. Nollywood is primarily located in Lagos. Its films are shot mostly on location in Lagos for budgetary reasons. Surulere and Ikeja where most producers have their offices are suburbs in Lagos State. Most stakeholders in Nollywood are resident in Lagos. The major market for the distribution of Nollywood films; Idumota, Alaba, and Oshodi are all located in Lagos. Lagos is home to several tertiary institutions, private and public, including the University of Lagos, Akoka.

The second study area, Nsukka, is a city and local government area in Enugu State, south eastern Nigeria. It has an area of 1,810 km² and the 2006 census puts the population at 309,633. Some of the towns that share a common border with Nsukka are Eha Alumona, Edem, Alor-uno, Opi, Orba and Ede-Oballa, Obimo. Nsukka is close to the capital of the state, Enugu, which is home to several stars and one of Nollywood's film production hubs with marketing centres incorporated into the distribution networks in Lagos. Nsukka is also home to the University of Nigeria. University of Nigeria is a federal university founded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1955 and formally opened on October 7, 1960. The University of Nigeria was the first full-fledged indigenous and first autonomous university in Nigeria, modelled upon the American educational system. It has four campuses – Enugu (University of Nigeria Enugu campus, UNEC), Ituku-Ozalla (University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, UNTH) and Aba (University of Nigeria Aba campus, UNAC). The fourth and main

campus which is in Nsukka (University of Nigeria, Nsukka, UNN), is located on 871 hectares of hilly savannah, about eighty kilometres north of Enugu. The campus houses the Faculties of Agriculture, Arts, Biological Sciences, Education, Engineering, Pharmaceutical Sciences, Physical Sciences, Social Sciences, and Veterinary Medicine. Faculty of Arts also houses the Theatre and Film Studies department, which is the location for one of the Focus Group Discussions (FGD).

Ibadan, the third study area, is the capital of Oyo State, one of the southwestern states of Nigeria. It is the third most populous city in Nigeria after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan has an area of 3,080 km^2 and an estimated population of 3,034,200. By geographical area, it is Nigeria's largest city after Gusau. Ibadan is home to Nigeria's premier university, University of Ibadan which was established in 1948 as a college of the University of London before it became autonomous in 1962.

3.3 Study Population

The study population for this study are literary authors, filmmakers, and undergraduate student audiences, thus drawing a connection of participants in the literary adaptation filmmaking process from production to consumption. Filmmakers and literary authors are pivotal to this study as nodal agents identified as stakeholders in the contemporary adaptation industry and in the conceptual framework that guides this study (Murray 2008). Murray opines that "one of adaptation studies chief aims should be to bring academic discourses into dialogue with adaptation industry practices" (13). Literary authors have copyrights for their works and filmmakers must take this into consideration and obtain the filmrights before a literary work can be adapted to film. Filmmakers in Nollywood juggle several roles. They are sometimes involved in film production as producers, directors, scriptwriters and even part of the cast (see Adamu, 2005). Thus, this group of people form the core of the study population covered in this study. However, the audience (who are the target of cultural productions) were also engaged in discussion. The participants, who are third-year students of Theatre and Film Studies in three federal universities, were volunteers. They form the third group of the study population.

3.4 Sampling size

Interviews were held with fifteen (15) filmmakers as key informants namely: Andy Amenechi, Charles Novia, Chioma Onyenwe, CJ Obasi, Dapo Adeniyi, Don Pedro

Obaseki, Fred Amata, Izu Ojukwu, Jude Idada, Lillian Amah Aluko, Mahmood Ali-Balogun, Nnamdi Odunze, Patience Oghre-Imohbio, Tope Oshin, and Tunde Kelani. In-depth interviews were held with four (4) literary authors namely: Jude Idada, Lola Shoneyin, Nnedi Okorafor, and Toni Kan. This makes nineteen (19) interviews. In addition, three (3) focus group discussions (FGD) were held at the following tertiary institutions in each of the study areas; University of Lagos, Akoka, University of Nigeria, Nsukka and University of Ibadan, Ibadan. Each group was composed of eight (8) discussants made up of four (4) males and four (4) females. The total number of discussants was twenty-four (24).

3.5 Sampling Technique

The respondents for the study were selected through a purposive sampling technique. According to Barrie Gunter (2002:216), "purposive sampling is taken when respondents are selected according to specific criterion." This type of sampling is appropriate when the focus of research concerns a particular group of people, as is the case in this study. The following were the criteria considered for selection of the participants for key informant interview (KII):

Film producers/directors:

- Must be Nigerian (male or female)
- Must have produced or directed a Nigerian movie in English
- Must be willing to share opinion and/or experience on literary adaptations
- Must be willing to discuss production and distribution related challenges in filmmaking process
- Must be willing to give approval for the use of information gathered during the session.

Literary authors:

- Must be Nigerian (male or female)
- Must be an author of a literary text in any of the two literary genres: Prose fiction or Drama

- Must be willing to share thoughts on literary film adaptation and how they can be involved in the film production
- Must be willing to give approval for the use of information gathered during the session.

The following were the criteria considered for selection of those that participated in the focus group discussion (FGD):

- Must be a Nigerian adult (male or female)
- Must be between the ages of 18 – 30
- Must be an undergraduate of Theatre Arts/Film Studies
- Must be familiar with Nollywood films
- Must understand what film adaptation is
- Must be ready to participate actively in the discussions

3.6 **Instrumentation**

The following instruments were adopted:

a. Key informant interviews (KII) with Fifteen (15) selected Nollywood filmmakers
b. In-depth interviews (IDI) with Four (4) selected literary authors
c. Three (3) focus group discussions (FGD), with undergraduate students of Theatre Arts/Film Studies, in a federal university in each of the study areas. Each group had eight discussants, made up of four (4) male and four (4) female students.

3.7 **Method of Data Collection**

The methods used in data collection are:

a. Literature search: Extensive literature review of relevant publications, including: books, newspapers/ magazines, journals, conference papers and internet sources.
b. Ethnographic methods of data collection through;

i. Key informant interviews (KII) of selected film producers/directors through face-to-face interviews, email, Whatsapp, Facebook Messenger and telephone call.
ii. One-on-one in-depth interviews (IDI) with literary authors

iii. Focus group discussions (FGD) with volunteer third year students of Theatre and Film Studies in the University of Ibadan, University of Lagos, and University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

An interview guide with semi-structured questions designed to address the objectives of the study was used for all the interviews. The interviews were flexible and took the profile and accomplishment of each respondent into consideration with some specific questions concerning their works. This approach was useful because each respondent contributed by giving examples of their personal experience which gave the researcher a better insight to the issues of the research questions. All the interviews with literary authors were conducted one-on-one. In the case of the filmmakers, eight (8) were one-on-one (Don Pedro Obaseki, Fred Amata, Andy Amenechi, Alli Mahmood-Balogun, Patience Imobhio, Jude Idada, Tunde Kelani, CJ Obasi), one (1) was conducted on phone (with Nnamdi Odunze), and others through internet platforms including email, Whatsapp (Tope Oshin, Chioma Oyenwe), and Facebook Messenger (Charles Novia, Izu Ojukwu, Dapo Adeniyi, Lilian Amah). The researcher also made use of a discussion guide with semi-structured questions for the focussed group discussions (FGD). Both the interviews conducted one-on-one, and the FGD were electronically recorded with the aid of a digital recording device.

To enter the field, the researcher identified some cultural events involving the book and film industries where literary authors and filmmakers gather. Thus, the first interview was conducted with Tunde Kelani at the 2016 iREP Documentary Film Festival at Freedom Park, Lagos on June 16, 2016. Don Pedro Obaseki was the second filmmaker interviewed. The interview took place at a Red Carpet event held in his honour at the Wole Soyinka Arts Theatre, University of Ibadan, on August 4, 2017. The next set of interviews were conducted at the 5th edition of the Ake Art and Book Festival (AABF 2017) which held at the June 12 Cultural Centre, Kuto Abeokuta, Ogun State, from November 13 - 17, 2017. All in-depth interviews with literary authors were held during the event. However, apart from Jude Idada, Nnedi Okorafor and Toni Kan who spared about 30 minutes to respond to the researchers questions, Lola Shoneyin could only spare fifteen minutes because as the festival initiator and director, even though the researcher met her before the event kicked off, she was busy putting final touch to the venue.

The interview with filmmaker CJ Obasi was also conducted at AABF 2017. He obliged the researcher by sparing about 30 minutes to respond to questions, while other filmmakers: Tope Oshin, Jadesola Osiberu, and Chioma Onyenwe requested that the question be send to them through email or Whatsapp. Eventually, Osiberu did not respond to the email sent to her. Another set of filmmakers were approached for their contribution during events marking the election of a new President and Excos of the Directors Guild of Nigeria (DGN) which also held at the June 12 Cultural Centre, Kuto Abeokuta in March 11 - 13, 2018. The researcher was able to interview the following filmmakers: Patience Imobhio, Fred Amata, Mahmood Ali-Balogun, and Andy Amenechi during the event. Bond Emeruwa who was approached declined to respond to questions.

Several other filmmakers were contacted on social media specifically on Facebook Messenger. The researcher sent messages to the filmmakers explaining the purpose of the research and appealed for interview schedules. Only a few, including Charles Novia, Izu Ojukwu, Lillian Armah, and Dapo Adeniyi responded to the messages. Even then, it was impossible to arrange an appointment for a face-to-face interview as they insisted that their busy schedule would not permit. Nnamdi Odunze was the only filmmaker interviewed on phone.

3.8 **Method of Data Analysis**

The data collected were analysed through both literal and interpretive readings. While literal reading is interested in the documentation of "a literal version of the respondents answers to interview questions," interpretive reading involves "the constructing or documenting of a version" of what the researcher can infer from the data (Jennifer Mason, *ibid:* 149). Both types of reading were necessary to achieve the objectives of the study. Literal reading was utilised to produce answers to questions in the words and expression of respondents. Interpretive readings were used to make inference between the answers and how they reflect on the research objectives of the study.

3.9 **Limitations of Study**

The interviews conducted on social media platforms several limitations. The responses were slow while some questions were ignored. The spontaneity of the face-to-face interview was lacking. Follow-up questions were discouraged in some cases. Charles Novia categorical stated that he was not going to respond to further questions after the second round of questions were sent on Facebook Messenger. In some instances, the explanations in response to questions were rather brief probably because of the stress of typing on handheld devices during live chats.

For the focused group discussions, while the preferred sitting arrangement is in a semi-circle or a circle. This was not possible because in the case of University of Lagos, a lecture room was used and the researcher had to stand in front of the discussants. A similar sitting arrangement was also used at University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The recording device had to be passed around, back and forth, to capture questions from the researcher and answers from the discussants audibly. In the case of the University of Ibadan, the discussion was held at the Wole Soyinka Theatre. Discussants sat in four ascending rows from the first to the fourth in a small clutter. The researcher had to move up and down to give the recording device to each discussant to record the responses effectively. This was quite distracting. However, it does not invalidate the results of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Thesis Statement

Data gathered on the field through the instrumentation of key informant interviews with Nollywood filmmakers, in-depth interviews with literary authors and focus group discussions with undergraduates of the Theatre and film Studies departments of three Nigerian federal universities reveal that there are several challenges Nollywood filmmakers have to surmount in the process of producing literary film adaptations. These challenges are responsible for the dearth of literary adaptations in Nollywood. In line with the research questions and objectives of this study, it is possible to group the factors filmmakers identify as impediments to the production of literature-based films into three broad, but also interconnected, categories. The first category of challenges addresses the first research question and provides explanations for filmmakers seeming indifferent to literary adaptation. The second and third categories of challenges are those encountered at the three stages of film production and after post-production i.e. marketing, exhibition and distribution. They provide answers to the second and third research questions respectively. The fourth research question will be addressed in the next chapter and will focus on the findings from the focus group discussions.

On the first category of factors, respondents identified the emergence or evolution of the industry from the market with traders as the major players calling the shots in the video revolution as a critical point. Most of those who kick-started the video revolution lacked formal training in the art of filmmaking and as such do not have the requisite skills to translate written text to visual text. Respondents also cite the fact that adaptation is not usually the first choice for independent filmmakers who self-fund their projects. For others, it is hereditary and environment. Also cited is the lack of precedence of literary adaptation as a dominant trend at the inception of

filmmaking in Nigeria. The fear of negative reviews is also identified as one of the reason why literary adaptations are really produced. An equally significant factor stressed by filmmakers is audience preference.

From the production angle, the challenges show up at the three stages: pre-production, production/shoot and post-production. At the pre-production stage, the financial implications of film rights acquisition and research, set construction, location restoration, training of cast and dearth of screenwriters are some of the factors discouraging filmmakers from venturing more readily into the production of adaptations. At the production stage, respondents see longer shooting period as a challenge. The average shooting for regular scripts is between two weeks and a month while literaty adaptations are known to take between three – twelve months, depending on the material, all of which weigh heavily on the total budget.

At the post-production stage, deciding what clips will make the end cut so the film does not exceed stand timeframe of 120 minutes and sometimes the need for special effect, that may require processing in studios overseas, also contributes to filmmakers' apathy to producing literary adaptations. Even after surmounting these challenges successfully, distribution and exhibition, the channels through which filmmakers expect to re-coup the money spent on the movies, present another obstacle. This is because the infrastructural deficit in terms of cinema houses and various taxes make it difficult for filmmakers to break even.

This section opens with a brief background of the filmmakers interviewed. The presentation adopts a thesis – sample – synthesis format. The responses of filmmakers are documented in italics.

4.1 Brief Background information on filmmakers interviewed

4.1.1 Andy Amenechi

Andy Amenechi studied Mass Communication at the University of Nigeria. He has several years of experience in television, radio and film production. He is a script writer, and a television drama and film director. He was the director of the soap opera *Ripple* (1989 -1990). He also directed the set of Wale Adenuga Super Story series *Everything It Takes* (2007). Andy Amenechi has directed over a hundred feature films

including *Igodo* (1999), which he directed with Don Pedro Obaseki, and the screen adaptation of Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* (2007).

4.1.2 Charles Novia

Charles Novia whose full name is Charles Osa Igbinovia is an actor, screenwriter, director, producer, and social commentator. He studied Theatre Arts at the University of Nigeria. In 2014, Novia was chosen as part of the Nigerian team to screen Nollywood films for Best Foreign language category of the Oscar awards of the Academy of Motion Picture Art and Science. He started his career in 1996. Some of the feature films he has directed include *Missing Angel* (2004), *Alan Poza* (2013), and *Caught in the Middle* (2013).

4.1.3 Chioma Onyenwe

Chioma Onyenwe studied Economics at the University of Lagos. She is a filmmaker, director and CEO of Raconteur Productions, a film producing company. She has a master's degree from the British Film Institute (BFI) and is the Programme director for African International Film Festival (AFRIFF). Her first directorial film is *8 Bars and a Clef* (2014). Her latest production is *August Meeting* (2018).

4.1.4 CJ "Fiery" Obasi

Chukwudi John Obasi, popularly known as CJ "Fiery" Obasi, is a film director, screenwriter and editor. He studied Computer Science at the University of Nigeria and came into the movie industry in 2012 when he set up Fiery Film Company with his wife, Oge Obasi, a Television and film producer. His first feature film *Ojuju* was produced in 2014. It won the award for the best film and was screened in several film festivals around the world. *O.Town,* his second feature film was produced in 2015. His short film was part of the Anthology of short films, *Vision,* that screened at the African International Film Festivals (AFRIFF) in 2017. His most recent work *Hello, Rain (*2018), a short film, an adaptation of Nnedi Okorafor's short story *Hello, Moto,* is available on Amazon Prime, after making the rounds at short film festivals. It had its world premiere at the International Short Film festival (Kurzfilmtage) Oberhausen, Germany on May 6, 2018. He is currently working on another project which he calls *Mami Wata*.

4.1.5 Dapo Adeniyi

Dapo Adeniyi is a literary critic and was once a book editor for Daily Independent. He is the screenwriter, director and Executive Producer of the screen adaptation of Wole Soyinka's memoir, *Ake: The Years of Childhood* (2014).

4.1.6 Don Pedro Obaseki

Don Pedro is a film director, a dramatist and a playwright. Some of his well-known works include *Igodo* (1999), *Love* (2003), and *Welcome to Nollywood* (2007). His doctoral thesis: "Liberalising Broadcast Space in a Developing Economy as a Panacea for Coups" was instrumental to the privatization of electronic media in Nigeria. Dr. Obaseki is a former Executive Director of DAAR Communications Plc., owners of African Independent Television (AIT) and former Managing Director of DAAR Digital Service, Daarsat.

4.1.7 Fred Amata

Fred Amata studied Theatre Arts at the University of Jos. He is an actor, director and producer and the immediate past president of the Director Guild of Nigeria (DGN) in which he served from February 27, 2016 to March 13, 2018. He went into acting after graduation and started directing for television when he began his career at the Headquarters of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). Fred Amata, a celebrated filmmaker, belongs to the Amata dynasty. His family is versatile in the creative arts (his father, Zack Amata, his brother, Jeta Amata, his nephew and Ruke Amata are actors and filmmakers). He has acted in several feature films as well as TV drama series.

4.1.8 Izu Ojukwu

Film director and producer, Izu Ojukwu is a graduate of the Nigerian Film Institute, Jos. The first film he produced, *Ichabod* (1993), was for a church, the Catholic Biblical Movement in Jos. After that he went on to carve a niche as one of Nollywood outstanding directors. Some of the films he has directed include *Across the Niger*

produced by Kingsley Ogoro. He also directed Nigerian Breweries' Amstel Malta Box Office (AMBO) movies *Sitanda* (2006), a film with the theme of slavery and love. Others are *White Waters* (2007), *Cindy's Notes* (2008) and *The Child* (2009/10). His film *'76* (2017) reconstructs the events that culminated in the military coup of 1976 when Nigeria's military head of state was assassinated. He recently directed *Queen Amina* (2018) a biopic on the life and reign of Queen Amina of Zauzzau, and the *Power of 1* also shot in 2018.

4.1.9 Jude Idada

Jude Idada is a prolific writer and an award-winning playwright and novelist. Idada studied Theatre Arts at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria and his creative oeuvre cuts across screenwriting, fiction, poetry, and playwriting. He is also an actor, a director and producer. He is a prolific screenwriter who has been commissioned to write screenplays by several film production companies. Several of his screenplays have also been optioned. His first feature length film, *The Tenant* (2005), was nominated for Best picture, Best Screenplay and Best Director at the 6th African Movie Academy Awards in 2010. It won the Best Screenplay. Idada has worked as a guest lecturer for the African Theatre Ensemble in Canada, the MoFilm/Unilever Sunlight Foundation Film Project in Nigeria, and the AIDS foundation in Guyana. He has also chaired several panels at International Film Festivals and writes for various magazines. Jude Idada won the Nigerian Liquefied Natural Gas Literature award in 2019, for his children literature book, *Boom Boom* (2019).

4.1.10 Lillian Amah

Lillian Amah is a novelist, an actress and a film producer. She has produced four movies. *Sweet Revenge* (1999), – co-production with Emem Isong. *Hit and Run* – associate producer, *She-devil*, *Jungle Ride*, and *The Triangle*. She has published two novels, *Echoes of the Heartbeat* and *Dreams of Yesterday*.

4.1.11 Mahmood Ali – Balogun

Mahmood Ali-Balogun studied Theatre Arts at the University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University. His career in filmmaking cuts across documentary, acting,

directing, producing, and consultancy. Although best known for his award-winning movie *Tango with Me* (2010), he also directed *A Place Called Home* ((1999), *'Temi ni Toto* (2003) and was a consultant for the romantic comedy, *Flower Girl* (2013). He played a pioneering role in setting up Independent Television Producers Association of Nigeria (ITPAN) and the Conference of Motion Pictures Practitioners of Nigeria (CMPPN) both umbrella bodies for various guilds in the film industry.

4.1.12 Nnamdi Odunze

Nnamdi Odunze is a film director, producer and marketer who started his career in the entertainment industry at the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) over thirty years ago. He has directed several TV drama series as well as feature films. He is the creator, producer and director of first TV reality show in Nigeria, Next Nollywood Star in 2004. Some of the TV series he directed include *Diary of a Hood*, *Comfort Zone* and *Crossed Road*. The feature films he has directed include *Mortal Sin, Sweetest Goodbye, Paradise of Shame,* and *Black Night in South America*.

4.1.3 Patience Oghre-Imobhio

Patience Oghre-Imobhio is a film and television director and actress. A Theatre Arts graduate of the University of Jos, she came into the industry in 1995 by understudying another veteran filmmaker Zeb Ejiro. She was part of the cast of *Domitila* (1996), *Sakobi: The Snake Girl* (1998), and *Sakobi: The Final Battle* (1998). Oghre-Imobhio has directed feature films including: *The Three Wisemen* (2016), *Playing Victim* (2014), *The Novelist* (2016) and *Busted* (2018). She has also directed popular TV series such as *Dear Mother*, *Everyday People*, D*ominos*, *Spider* and *Household*.

4.1.14 Tope Oshin

Tope Oshin is an actress, television and film director, producer, casting director and consultant. She is a graduate of Lagos State University where she studied Theatre Arts, TV and Film Production. She also studied Directing at the Colorado Film School of the Community College of Aurora, Denver, USA. She is credited with directing over 750 episodes of TV drama series including: *Tinsel (2009 – 2013), Hotel*

Majestic, Hush, and recently MTV *Shuga* and Ebony Live TV's legal series *Castle & Castle*. Some of the feature films she has directed include *Journey to Self* (2012), *EvoL (2016), Ireti, New Money* (2018), *Dear Mummy B* (2018), *Up North* (2019). She produced *Fifty (2015), Amaka's Kin – The women of Nollywood* (2016) and was a casting director for *The Wedding Party 2: Destination Dubai* (2017).

4.1.5 Tunde Kelani

Tunde Kelani holds a diploma in the Art and Technique of Filmmaking from the London International Film School, UK. His first professional training was as a photographer. He also spent several years as a cameraman with different Media houses including Western Nigerian Television (WNTV). In a career that spans over forty years, he has been involved in the production of over twenty movies as a cinematographer before venturing into private production. He has shot films on video, 35 mm and digital camera. Through his Mainframe Production Studios he has about 17 films to his credit as director and producer. Kelani has received recognition for his films both locally and internationally. His films have featured in several film festivals across the globe including the International Film Festival in Rotterdam, African Film Festival of New York, Festival of African & Caribbean Film in Barbados, Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), and FESPACO. His films stand out as the exception in an industry that thrives on original script for feature film production. This is because they are often adapted from Nigerian Literature in Yoruba and English.

4.2 **Objective 1: Reasons for Filmmakers' Apathy towards Literary Adaptations**

4.2.1 Filmmakers' Lack of Professional Qualification

One of the factors cited as largely responsible for filmmakers' negative disposition towards the production of literary adaptations is the lack of professional qualification amongst majority of filmmakers in the industry. It is within this context that we must understand the response of Nigerian filmmaker, screenwriter, and award winning author, Jude Idada (personal communication) to the question of filmmakers' indifference.

> *When you talk about filmmakers in Nollywood, there are about four categories of people involved and these can be arranged like a pyramid. At the base you find the businessmen who are actually merchants whose interest in filmmaking is quick money. Then you have the event recorders who find themselves in filmmaking by accident. Above this group are those who have some experience in filmmaking through their involvement with early filmmakers or working in television stations. At the apex are those who through their education or formal film training are qualified to handle an adaptation. Even among these, there are very few filmmakers who could actually pick a book, read it, understand it and translate it from one medium of art to another. It is daunting, intimidating and can invoke a certain kind of fear in a filmmaker. In addition, many are not aware that there are several ways of adapting a book. There are adaptations for stage and for screen because of the peculiarity of these mediums. If you take a book, adapt for stage, and put it on screen, it will fall flat. For example, [Biyi Bandele's]* Half of a Yellow Sun *falls flat. What was done with it would have been better on stage. So there are few filmmakers who understand that there are various approaches to adapting a book to screen. Thus, professional qualification and directorial competence is key here* (Nov. 16, 2017).

Lancelot Imaseun corroborates Idada's assertion in his identification of "the drought of trained film professionals" in Nollywood as a problem while speaking on the "Challenges of making a historical film in Nollywood." He explains further that because "the bulk of filmmakers in the Nigerian film industry – among whom he included himself – had not had the opportunity to sit in a film class," "the required skills were often hard to come by" (http://smc.edu.ng/news/the-challenges-of-making-a-historical-film-in-nollywood/).

Tunde Kelani's (personal communication) assertion that "Nollywood is an industry of inclusion rather than exclusion," is also in consonance with the point of view that the lack of professional training in filmmaking is a significant factor that affects filmmakers' disposition to literary adaptation. "Inclusion rather than exclusion" is a reference to the absence of restriction to who becomes a filmmaker in Nollywood regardless of formal qualification in filmmaking. Don Pedro Obaseki (personal communication) makes a correlated observation in this regard when he opines that, *"the problem of moviedom in Nigeria is one of perception and participation."* The reference to "participation" can be understood as an allusion to the few professionally trained individuals in the large pool of filmmakers. Obaseki expands this point further and puts it down to *"heredity and environment."* He explains that the type of filmmaking in Nollywood is reflective of the type of

filmmaking that dominated the landscape even before the video revolution. He notes futher that because of what he describes as "the copycat syndrome":

> *by the time a hundred movies come out and only two were done by trained individuals, you're swamped in the market assembly line production of the old Nigerian movies by ninety-eight to two. So the perception is that every movie is a movie that comes from Idumota and that is not true* (August 4, 2017).

Lillian Amah Aluko (personal communication) identifies the reason for what Obaseki describes in the above quote as "the copycat syndrome" or what Charles Novia (personal communication) calls "the bandwagon effect." She explains that filmmakers produce movie with similar storylines because "*every time a movie is successful, there is a rush to make similar movies in a bid to ride on the wave of success leaving little time for originality and creativity*" (February 1, 2018).

All the respondents confirm the informality of Nollywood (Adesanya 2000; Adesokan 2004; Haynes 2007; Larkin 2004). In McCall (2007: 96) observation, "instead of a handful of large corporate players," it is "made up of a shifting field of countless independent contractors," an all comers affair, where "virtually anyone who can rent the equipment for a few days can become a Nollywood producer." However, while it is understandable that producing literary adaptation is not a feat for an accidental filmmaker, as Imasuen points out, because it requires skills beyond pointing a camera in the direction of a cast, there are other factors to consider (Cahir 2006:30).

Firstly, although it seems logical to suppose that the quantity of trained professionals in an industry reflects on the dominant genres of movies produced, this may not be absolutely correct in the Nollywood context. Within the past decade or more, a number of Nollywood filmmakers have acquired requisite professional trainings in the art of filmmaking including cinematography, scriptwriting and directing. They include: Kunle Afolayan, Stephanie Okereke Linus, Omoni Oboli, Lillian Amah, Chineze Anyaene, Chioma Onyenwe, amongt others. In addition, in 2014, the federal government, during the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, injected the sum of ₦300million into the film industry in what was described as Project ACT Nollywood, for the purpose of capacity building, film production, and innovative distribution. Several filmmakers took advantage of the fund to acquire requisite professional qualification for their craft. While some went to Europe, others went to the US and some to India. "Between 2014 and 2015, the likes of Desmond

Elliot, Uzodinma Okpechi, Prince Chiazor Afam and Tope Oshin, were among the 188 confirmed individual beneficiaries of the capacity building fund. Some went to Mumbai in India; others headed to New York, USA, while others were directed towards Ontario, Canada" (http://www.thenet.ng/money-problem-interrogation-federal-governments-project-act-nollywood/). However, it has not translated to an increase in the number of literary adaptations produced.

Secondly, Obaseki and Aluko's comment are reflections on the socio-economic contexts of film production thereby confirming Haynes (2006: 513) assertions that "one of the most common charges against video producers and distributors is that they are motivated entirely by the desire for profit, with a consequent strong preference for sticking to known subjects and formulae." Literary adaptations obviously do not serve the profit motive here. It is worth noting though that "sticking to known subject and formulae" is an approach that is universally adopted by commercially driven film industries including Hollywood, Bollywood, and the Chinese film industry as some scholars have point out (Qin 2007: 21, Leitch 2007: 114; Sherry 2012; 375).

Furthermore, as Bluestone stressed in his seminal book *Novel into Films* (1958), the role of social forces and audience and their effect on the final outcome of a film adaptation (or in this case the paucity of it in a given film industry) comes to the fore in Haynes remark that filmmakers are "motivated entirely by the desire for profit." According to Bluestone, "Just a step behind the artist, had been the shaping power of . . . audience," because "in the film, more than in any of the other arts, the signature of social forces is evident" (35). Therefore, filmmaking propelled by the profit motive, reflects an understanding that affirms the postulation of scholars of political economy of media who identify films as commodities, or tangible product and intangible services produced and distributed within a capitalist industrial structure (Boyd-Barret 1995; Pendakur 1990; Wasko 2004) except that with Nollywood it is an informal market.

Nollywood filmmakers recognise films as commodities and audience as consumers whose preference must be taken into consideration and consistently served to ensure profitability. Thus, between the Nollywood context of film production and Hollywood, we find a contrast in regards to the popularity of literary adaptations. While Hollywood thrives on the production of literary adaptations for economic

reasons (Hutcheon 2006: 29, McFarlane 1996: 8; Scholz 2013: 1; Welsh 2007: xiii), Nollywood keeps a distance for the same reason (Haynes 1995:100).

4.2.2 The Evolution of Nollywood from the Market

The submissions of Don Pedro Obaseki (personal communication) that "hereditary and environment" is responsible for Nollywood filmmakers apathy towards adaptation also resonate with the observation of Anote Ajeluorou (2010:60). Ajeluorou had opined that the origin of Nollywood from the market where the financiers view the industry in terms of commodity business and not a creative one is one of the reasons for the indifference to literary adaptations. Chioma Onyenwe (personal communication) shares Ajeluorou view, even though she considers the perceived indifference of Nollywood filmmakers to literary adaptations an assumption. She says, "*I think they are aware of it [Literary adaptations] and they kind of adapt it informally in some cases as opposed to straight out adaptation.*" Charles Novia (personal communication) also expressed a similar view when he notes that *"many Nollywood films are sublime adaptations of literary works of writers from Nigeria and elsewhere, though un-credited"* (January 13, 2018). However, Onyenwe goes on to attribute the rarity of the genre, which is what fuels the assumption of indifference, to the fact that the video revolution which gave birth to Nollywood originated from businessmen who were commodity traders in the markets.

> *The key progenitors of Nollywood film industry started from the market, so it works a way back. It started from the selling to the final product as opposed to from the creation of the idea to the selling. In that light, from the beginning of what we term Nollywood now, which is from* Living in Bondage *days, the marketer never really relied on literature. Moreover, most of them were not really educated too, so they were not as aware about the literature available then* (January 18, 2018).

What Onyenwe and Ajeluorou trace to the evolution of Nollywood is affirmed by Izu Ojukwu's (personal communication) comment. He opines that literary adaptations are rarely produced because "*We do not have a producer-driven market yet, we have a marketers' market and an exhibitors' market."* Lillian Amah (2018) looks beyond. She describes the issue as a case of not having "*much of precedence*" of literary adaptations before the video boom, which would have set the standard for other

filmmakers to follow. Fred Amata (personal communication) however, presents a different perspective.

> *My perspective is that in the evolution of the industry, people began to look for easier to produce stories or plots. And you know doing an adaptation means taking a longer time, and requires getting the consent of the author. We were not used to optioning stories. And because of that, people tend to go either, for instance, if there is a legend and there is a book, the person will rather do the legend than adapt the book (March 11, 2018).*

It is thus appropriate to infer that both the circumstance that gave birth to the video boom, the involvement of mostly merchants, and the absence of a precedence of literature-based films at the evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria are significant factors that have influenced filmmakers' disposition to the production of literary adaptations in the industry.

4.2.3 Absence of Reading Culture on the Part of Filmmakers

Another finding related to the issue of filmmakers' competency borders on their relationship with the literary text. Tunde Kelani has been vociferous in the view that much of filmmakers' apathy towards literary adaptation is because they do not read. He continues to reiterate that the reason he is committed to literary adaption is his love for literature besides a desire to document elements of his cultural heritage for posterity. Kelani is not alone in this position. CJ Obasi (personal communication) and Amah (Personnal Communications) who declares that "*a lot of Nigerian filmmakers truly rarely read literary works so there is little or no inspiration to adapt these books into films,"* also subscribe to this position. Nevertheless, it is difficult to substantiate this view. Apathy toward literary adaptation is not proof that the generality of filmmakers do not read. That a filmmaker has not produced or directed a literature-based film may be attributed to factors besides reading habit. Furthermore, Novia and Onyenwe's observation that most Nollywood films are disguised adaptations is also instructive here as it hints not only awareness, but also on familiarity with literary works.

4.2.4 Commitment to Individual Creativity

While there seem to be valid reasons to attribute Nollywood filmmakers' indifference to literary adaptations to the professional competence and evolutionary trends,

filmmaker Olugbenga Edo (personal communication) cites self-funding as the major factor. From his point of view, the major reason for the apathy to literary adaptations is that "*most filmmakers in Nollywood prefer to work with their own concepts and stories rather than picking a literary work because they are personally bankrolling the production" (March 11, 2018).* In a similar vein, filmmaker Tope Oshin (Personal communication) affirms Edo's opinion by also drawing attention to filmmakers' commitment to their own creative work because of the informality of the industry. For her, the fact that the industry is largely informal, with each filmmaker self-funding, leaves little room for engaging with another person's work simply because each filmmaker wants to tell his/her own story. In her words:

> *In my opinion, it would simply be that, the Nigerian film industry is largely self-made. It's an industry made up of independent, largely self-funded filmmakers. It is therefore no surprise, that everyone who steps up to make films, wants to make exactly what appeals to them, or tell their own stories, that they have created to express. So really, except it's a special commission to make the film, I'm not sure it will be the first desire of the average Nigerian filmmaker to make an adaptation of a book. Again except he/she has had close contact with such book/books and they have affected their lives in a particular way or connect with the piece of literature, or they have been commissioned to make it into a film, adaptation is not a first choice for filmmakers in Nollywood* (January 18, 2018).

Novia also makes a similar point when he observes that Nollywood is an industry that works with adequate budget were filmmakers put in the little for maximum profit. He notes that only a filmmaker uninterested in profit will readily venture into the production of literary adaptation as a first choice. The foregoing emphasis on the self-funding characteristic of the industry also suggests that with sponsorship filmmakers will be more positively disposed to producing literary adaptations in Nollywood.

4.2.5 Audience Preference

The adage "customer is king" holds true in the Nollywood context. Audience preference has had a tremendous influence on Nollywood filmmakers from the onset of the video revolution (Adesanya 2000; Awam & Diawara 2008; Haynes 2000, 2016; McCall 2007; Okome 2007). Nollywood became the second most productive film industry in the world because filmmakers were able to identify and tailor their movies to the taste and desires of their consumers. Nollywood does not pretend to be elitist.

Besides, the industry survived and developed in spite of the initial snobbishness of elites and the intellectual class.

The overwhelming popularity of the video with traders, market women, children, and students is the singular factor that sustained the industry in the first two decades of its existence. It is easy to understand why this category of fans would rarely be interested in literature-based films because they may not be able to understand the issues at stake beyond entertainment value. Much as it is true that each filmmaker has a target audience in mind when shooting a feature film, there is no doubt that all filmmakers hope that their films will appeal to a wide demography of audience rather than meet the taste of an exclusive class. In this regard, Nollywood films seem to offer a counterpoint to the art cinema of Francophone West Africa that were mostly literary adaptations but were never commercially successful and still remain largely unseen on the continent.

A key component of Nollywood's commercial success is therefore filmmakers' ability to pander to the interest of audience by giving them what they want to see. Mark Lorenzen (2008:3) identifies the significance of audience preference in the sustenance of a national industry by making an example of Bollywood. He notes that consumers [audience] preference was responsible for it overtaking USA as the largest film producer because the audience were "hugely attached to cinema-going" in the latter half of the last century. The narrative corresponds to the Nollywood experience. The home audience's insatiable taste for Nigerian stories resulted in the video boom and the consequent recognition of Nollywood as the second highest film producing industry in the world. It does not come as a surprise therefore that audience preference also has impact on the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood.

Novia (personal communication) identifies audience preference as the most significant factor responsible for Nollywood filmmakers seeming indifference to literary adaptation. He avers:

> *The biggest factor is the audience. Nollywood producers work with data and research. If the research reveals that the audience request to see literary adaptations, then the bandwagon would make such films. Producers do not go out of the blues except some daring ones who do not really care about commercial returns* (January 13, 2018).

Obaseki also makes a similar point when he comments that:

> *Movies, particularly contemporary movies, are a reflection of the nature of the society. You see, you cannot do a film for a people who do not need it. And, you cannot write a story about people who do not want it* (August 4, 2017).

Kelani (personal communication) also alludes to audience preference when he remarks that people are more interested in films focused on romance and violence. Eddie Ugbomah buttress this point in his interview with Terh Agbedeh (2012) where he opines that Nigerian books [literature] are not worth turning into films because they lack commercial value. He substantiates his point by making reference to the adaptation of Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* (adapted in 2007) which despite the hype when news of the adaptation was made, is yet to be seen. He remarks:

> It's only books that can come to the box office and hit it big that filmmakers adapt into movies. Nigerian books are not commercial. Except you adapt them into art films but art films don't sell. People in the more civilised world appreciate them because they are very historical, very descriptive, and informative. It takes more time to shoot those kinds of films. But those who go to the cinema want to watch films like *The Machine Gun Preacher*, *The Avengers*, those are the kind of films that make them dream out of their frustrations, where one man can enters Lagos, beat everybody up and wins. (Terh Agbedeh 2012, n.p)

Ugbomah's views correspond with Femi Odugbemi's (2010) who states that the first thing a filmmaker has to reckon with is "in creating audience-centric content." He explains that content/audience connection is crucial to a film's commercial success. He proceeds to illustrate how audience-content misfit could lead to commercial failure. He makes an example of audience response to two films as a case study to prove his point.

> 'Jenifa', a film written and produced by Funke Akindele with a total budget of roughly ₦6million+ enjoyed widespread popularity among audience, despite its technical hitches and quality. The subject matter is in no way extraordinary, and the themes employed in the movie are commonplace and well known to the audience. The distribution pattern was a continuation of the status-quo … yet the movie was one of the most popular Nollywood productions in 2008/09. Funke Akindele enjoyed an unprecedented career lift, with notable awards to show for it. 'Kajola' is an acclaimed outside-of-the-box Nollywood production, produced by Niyi Akinmolayan with a budget rumoured to be over ₦100million. It was a project that was aimed at changing the status-quo and giving our audiences a Hollywood-type production. The genre and execution were supposed to be the first of its kind; Sci-fi, and loads of CGI. The packing, hype and platform spoke volumes of the producers planning and ambition, yet the movie didn't do well with the

> local audience. Is Jenifa a success? Yes! . . . Is 'Jenifa' of higher technical standard and execution than 'Kajola'? NO! The content that works in todays' age is one developed with the audience in mind and in conjunction with the audience (http://www.nigeriafilms.com/movie-news/87-nollywood-affairs/8363-the-future-of-film-distribution-in-nigeria-femi-odugbemi).

Although Odugbemi attributes *Kajola*'s commercial failure to audience-content misfit, Tsika (2014: 99-100) who mentions that the film became the first Nollywood film to be banned at multiplexes, identifies another factor. According him, promotional materials used for the film's marketing had a central and dominant image of Desmond Elliot, who although was part of the cast, only played a supporting role and even at that, one different from that of the romantic persona he has built over the years in the over two hundred films he had appeared in previously. Elliot was the villain of the film. The audience reacted to being misled by the promotional materials and felt that their expectations were shortchanged as a result. Thus, Tsika highlights the significance of the star factor in Nollywood which Nnamdi Odunze (personal communication) presents as a critical angle in the audience/content connection. He notes:

> *There are some actors and actresses that people want to see in movies. Like Genevieve [Nnaji], her fans are missing her. If you have any movie with Genevieve in it, you can be sure of sales. But her fees have gone up. Even Mercy Johnson also has many fans and movies with her sell well. So when you have movies with the stars that have fans, it will be a success. Like* The Wedding Party, *there is no big deal in this movie, only that it is a comedy and it is star-studded with RMD [Richard Mofe-Damijo], Mama G [Patience Uzuokwo] and others. And because the cast also includes someone like Banky W [Bankole Wellington. People know Banky W as a musician but they have not seen him act, so that adds to the excitement (*January 29, 2018*).*

Odunze's assertion underpins Lorenzen's (2008) explanation that the unpredictability of consumers' tastes and the difficulty of foreseeing a film's success or failure at the cinema have resulted in the adoption of scale economies in production of films, one of which is the use of stars. The trend of using stars to drive film revenue is one that is a practise in every film industry and not exclusive to Nollywood. This is what backfires with the wrong application in *Kajola* (2010).

Nollywood has produced several stars who have attained global recognition over time (Haynes 2007; Tsika 2014). Some of these stars include: Genevieve Nnaji, Omotola Ekeinde, Mercy Johnson, Ramsey Nouah, Richard Mofe-Damijo, Emeka Ike, Kanayo O. Kanayo, Jim Iyke, Stella Damasus, Stephanie Linus, Kate Henshaw, Eucharia Anuobi, Clem Ohaneze, Tony Umez, Kenneth Okonkwo, Saint Obi, Pat Attah, Nkem Owoh, Liz Benson, to mention a few. These stars are recognised by fans all over sub-Saharan Africa as well as in Europe and USA (Haynes 2005).

Interestingly, in 2004, when some of the stars became so popular and in high demand, video film financiers and marketers who felt that their asking price was too high placed a ban on about 17 of them for two years. At that time it was believed that because of their popularity, they demanded about half a million naira for their service, and marketers took the measure to give opportunity for other stars to grow (https://www.naijarules.com/index.php?thread/17-actors-and-actresses-banned.4479).

In spite of that sad episode, most of them are still waxing strong in their careers. Some have gone on to win national, continental, and global awards. For example, Genevieve Nnaji was a guest in a "Meet the famous people of the world" episode on Oprah Winfrey's show in 2009, where she was referred to as the Julia Roberts of Africa (https://www.bellanaija.com/2009/09/genevieve-nnaji-featured-on-the-oprah-winfrey-show/). Also, Omotola Ekeinde was named one of *Time Magazine*'s 100 most influential people in the world in 2013 (http://time100.time.com/2013/04/18/time-100/slide/omotola-jalade-ekeinde/). A similar honour came in 2018 when she was named the only African voting member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Science (OSCAR) awards who is an actress (https://guardian.ng/news/meet-voting-members-of-oscars-2018-odugbemi-omotola/).

In deed, studies have confirmed that star actors play significant roles in boosting the commercial success of films in terms of box office revenue (Ravid 1997; Elberse 2006). Elberse (2006) in a study titled: "The power of stars: Do star actors drive the success of movies?" avers:

> I found strong support for the view that star participation indeed positively impacts movies' revenues. . . Moreover, I uncovered important determinants of the magnitude of that effect, namely the stars' past performance in an economic and artistic sense (expressed as box office success and awards or nominations collected, respectively) . . . (31-32).

Elberse also quotes a statement credited to Bill Mechanic, a former Chairman of Twentieth Century Fox, which further validates her findings:

> 'A guy stranded on an island' without Tom Hanks is not a movie. With another actor, [the movie Cast Away] would gross $40 million. With Tom Hanks, it grossed $200 million. There's no way to replace that kind of star power (3).

Ebereonwu affirms Elberse assertions and Odunze's postulation. Ebereonwu, poet, scriptwriter, and producer iterate the star factor as a reflection of audience preference in his explanation for the frequent featuring of certain stars in movies. He explains that the commercial success of a movie depends on such stars. This is because the audiences express preference for films that they appear in, besides them giving producers little or no problems during production. He remarks, "As a producer, once you use these known faces in a film, the rate of success of that film is higher. Sometimes if you risk a new face on a good story, at the end of the day, it's a big loss to the marketer" (Ebereonwu – Why Nollywood hardly reflects Nigerian Literature, http://www.thenigerianfilm.com). Relating his comment to dearth of literary adaptation in Nollywood, Ebeleonwu contends that Nigerian writers do not have audiences in the same way that Nollywood does because the latter identifies the need of the audience and pandering to it. He points out that this was a strategy employed by the writers of the once popular Onitsha Market Literature, which was so successful that some of the pamphlets sold as much as sixty-thousand copies.

Ebereonwu's assertion that the Nigerian writer does not have an audience may sounds quite controversial. One may even misunderstand him for an egoistic filmmaker who has an over-bloated sense of self importance. Interestingly however, Ebereonwu, a graduate of Theatre Arts, is also a member of the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) and has about two collections of poetry and a play to his credit. This suggests that he is probably speaking from experience, maybe, in terms of copy sales of his published works. Besides, his submission may be an implicit allusion to an often touted notion that Nigerians do not have much of a culture of leisure reading. Kelani traces the decline in the reading culture to a deliberate act by the military regimes in Nigeria to destroy the education system through neglect. Subsequently, not only was education standard affected, people's attitude towards acquiring educational qualification also changed. He declares:

> I think it was deliberate; of the military dictatorship to destroy the academics…. That was the time I think they tried to destroy the Nigerian academic system, you know. And they did a good job of it, because I don't think we ever recovered from it. When I was growing up, the fastest way to making it in life, if you wanted to really buy a car, all you needed to do was just go to university for three years. Once you come out a graduate, and you get a job, they are going to give you a car or give you the loan to buy a car . . . but after the military destroyed the system, you do not have to do anything to get access to money, and wealth. And then, you saw that you did not have to try, because the people, who are getting the money, did not do anything, so what was the point in reading anyway? So I think it was deliberate and we have not had a re-orientation to begin again, or to reorganize. Rather than that, it has become chaotic, and it is becoming a survival, of how to get at the money. So it's almost a waste of time to go to school, to go to university or to do anything. In any case, when you graduate you aren't going to get a job, so why bother? (Jedlowski A. et al 2020: 6)

From the foregoing contributions by filmmakers, and related studies highlighted, it is obvious that audience preference is a significant factor that plays a deterring role in regards to the production or popularity of literary adaptation in Nollywood.

4.2.6 **The Fear of Negative Reviews**

Adaptation studies from inception have been preoccupied with comparative evaluation of literary adaptations and their screen version. The overwhelming verdict from filmgoers, reviewers, and critics is usually that the book is better than the film. John Desmond and Peter Hawkes (2006:2) like many scholars previously, also note that there is a dominance of the fidelity criteria in the discipline, because critics and reviewers are more interested in the degree of the film's faithfulness to the source text:

> The main question asked about adaptations by reviewers and critics alike has been to what degree the film is faithful to the text. The practitioners of this approach tend to judge a film's merit based on whether the adaptation realizes successfully the essential narrative elements and core meanings of the printed text.

Audiences, who go to see an adaptation, often go to the cinema with expectations of seeing a replica of the book on screen i.e. a faithful adaptation of the source. When this is not the case, they tend to score the film low and give a negative review. It is not

surprising therefore, that Nollywood filmmakers identify negative reviews or feedbacks from audience as one of the factors responsible for the distance they maintain from literary adaptations. In their response, some filmmakers confessed that negative reviews are a turn-off because regardless of the effort that goes into bringing the book to life on screen, it is difficult to satisfy the teeming audience with a story in the public domain. Consequently, everyone who has read the book has an opinion based on the images conjured during their personal reading.

Nnamdi Odunze (personal communication) identifies this factor in his response. He explains that negative reviews are discouraging considering the challenges of getting the funds to obtain the filmrights, and all other obstacles that a filmmaker usually has to surmount before producing a successful adaptation. He avers,

> *Even when you decide to make these movies [literary adaptations], people will generally come with bad reviews because they will expect to see what they read in the book. And if it is not like that, they give it a poor rating* (January 29, 2018).

Patience Oghre-Imobhio (personal communication) shares Odunze's view.

> *Although literary adaptations have longer shelf life, there is always some kind of issues and criticisms. Just look at* Things Fall Apart *now. It is recognised all over the world. People talk about it. Even when the series was produced, you know it faced a lot of criticism. People were coming to say no, this is not done, this is it, this wasn't what it was in the book. So you can never get satisfaction when it comes to that, because it will call for a conversation. The thing becomes a conversation, everyone wants to talk about it* (March 11, 2018).

Imohbio's reference to the conversations provoked by literary adaptation foregrounds Desmond and Hawkes' comment earlier noted. Brian McFarlane's (2007), in his article "It Wasn't Like That in the Book…" also illustrates the point about the pervasiveness of the negative feedbacks even amongst scholars of literary as well as film studies, further justifying Imohbio's and Odunze's assertions. According to him:

> The discourse on adaptation is perhaps more enduring and pervasive than any other in relation to filmgoing. When we come out of a cinema, we rarely hear people saying, "What sophisticated control of the mise-en-scène" or "Did you notice the poetic use of lap dissolves?" It is, however, quite common to come out of a cinema after viewing an adaptation or to engage in casual conversation about it afterward and to hear such comments as "Why did they change the ending?" or "She was blonde in the book" or, almost inevitably, "I think I liked the book

> better." It is a subject on which everyone feels able to have an opinion, and most opinions, from the casually conversational to exegeses in learned journals, still tend to foreground the criterion of fidelity, whether in explicit terms or by tacit assumption. (7)

Although, fidelity as a critical criterion has being consistently criticised by scholars and challenged because of its complexity and the infinite number of interpretations a book can yield, (Beja 1979; Cassetti 2005; Leitch 2012; Murray 2011; Palmer 2004; Stam 2005) it persists. Perhaps because only a few numbers of film-going audiences understand that there are various approaches to adapting a book to screen with fidelity being just one of them. For example, Orr (1984) queries what the film should be faithful to, the letter or the spirit of the text. McFarlane (1996) stresses the fact that there are elements of a text that are transferable to screen while others require "adaptation proper."

Moreover, akin to Murray's (2008) proposition, McFarlane also highlights the need to put the socio-historical context of production of literary adaptations into consideration during analysis. Cahir (2006) on her part points out that there is "a hierarchy of purpose and intent" within the dynamics of every literary adaptation. Karen Kline (1996) identifies four critical patterns the reviews that greet the premiere of literary adaptations as: translation, pluralist, transformation, and the materialist approaches. Interestingly, these critical paradigms correspond to the possible approaches a director may adopt to adapt a literary work to screen (Andrew 1980; Cahir 2006; Elliot 2003; Klien & Parker 1981). The first focuses on faithfulness to the source; the second is concerned with "allegiance to the spirit" of the source; the third looks at how the source serves as a raw material for the screen version while the fourth is preoccupied with not just the text but also the context of production of the screen version. All four are noticeable in the critical reviews that greeted the premiere of Biyi Bandele's adaptation of Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2014).

> I'm sorry to report that Biyi Bandele's would-be saga, based on the celebrated novel of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, is disappointing, a romance pastiche that muddles the politics of the period beyond comprehension (Joe Morgenstern, *Wall Street Journal*).

> Biyi Bandele's adaptation of Adichie's novel of loyalty and betrayal set against the turbulence of the 1960s Biafran war, certainly makes for an honourably propulsive wartime soap. It's just not stirring enough as historical drama (Robert Abele, *Los Angeles Times*).

> Only a film as big as Africa could have done Adichie's novel full justice; the treatment it gets here, equally honourable and hurried, reduces it to Nigerian soap with a BAFTA-level acting (Mike McCahill, *The Telegraph*).
>
> The film is well acted all round and the excellent art direction brings the '60s to colourful life. But Bandele struggles to balance epic story of civil war and death against the equally epic story of sisters whose lives are forever changed by circumstances they can't control (Mary Houlihan, *Chicago Sun Times*).
>
> *Half of a Yellow Sun* bravely takes on too broad a canvas with too narrow a budget, but it's a relevant saga that's worth telling (Trevor Johnston, *Time Out London*).
>
> It's a bit of a muddle and a touch too soap operatic. But Newton, Rose and Ejiofor give their characters and this story just enough pathos to make the history lessons sink in (Roger Moore McClatchy, Tribune News S*ervice*).
>
> (Culled from Critics Reviews of *Half of a Yellow* (2014), https://www.metacritic.com/movie/half-of-a-yellow-sun/critics-reviews. May 16, 2014)

These sample excerpts of reviews on *Half of a Yellow Sun* illustrates Kline's paradigms on critical reviews and also buttress Imohbio's point that there can never be satisfaction with literary adaptations. In addition, they show that there is no consensus on what to consider the shortcomings of a particular screen adaptation among critics and reviewers even when all seem to suggest that the film does not do "justice" to the book. This prompts a question such as that posed by Diana Lake (2012: 408), "*Who said the job of film is to do justice to the book*? To even ask if the film can do justice to the book is to fail to understand that the book is its own entity and, even though the film may be based on the book, the film is its own entity as well" (emphasis in the original). At this point also, Cahir's reference to "the hierarchy of purpose and intent" also becomes instructive in appreciating adaptations. Though, it can be argued that insisting on "directorial intent" as suggested by Cahir does not invalidate reviewers critique because the director does not have his meaning alone. It shows that when every critique is at best subjective considering every adaptation is an interpretation.

What is worrisome about negative reviews, and this is the concern of Nollywood filmmakers, is that they can discourage filmgoers from seeing a film showing at the cinema. This can result in the commercial failure of such a movie and

consequently, incurable financial loss to the film producer. The inevitability of negative reviews also means that producing literary adaptation carries a risk higher than that of films based on original script because the filmmaker has to work at attempting to satisfy the expectations of the numerous fans of the source text, and there is no foolproof way of determining what those expectations are. It is thus understandable why Nollywood filmmakers would rather work with original scripts.

4.2.7 Budgetary Constraints

Funding is a fundamental impediment to the production of literature-based films in Nollywood as majority of the filmmakers interviewed attest. Jonathan Haynes (2016:52) rightly observes that "a film industry's economic basis largely determines its ideological character," thus asserting the central role of finance to any film industry and the dominant trends that characterize the output to a large extent. This observation holds true for all cinemas across the globe.

There is consensus in the response of filmmakers, that the unavailability of funds is one of the reasons why they shy away from producing literary adaptations. Several filmmakers keep a distance because it requires bigger budgets to realize while those who have already acquired film portions or adapted literary text are yet to go into production for lack of funds. Imobhio (personal communication) emphasized:

> *Going into the production of movie of a published book as the source requires huge funds, first and foremost. I do not want to know what anybody is saying. And I think the funds are not really there and the support is not there. That is why people are making commercial movies now. They want to make movies that will make people laugh, the genre, people are more interested in romantic comedies and all that* (March 11, 2018).

Filmmaking is arguably a capital-intensive venture requiring the collaboration of the skill of several professionals and equipment for a logical visual narrative. While creating a literary work is usually an individual effort from the beginning, producing a movie is different. Cahir (2006:72) conveys the foregoing point effectively in the following statement:

> Movie making is big business. It is expensive, arguably the most expensive art form. In contrast, literature is arguably the least expensive art form. All that is needed to create a literary work is pen and paper. Literature can be, and normally is, produced by a single

> writer, who needs to secure no approval outside of his or her own. Film is produced in a very different way. The collaborative nature of filmmaking requires a certain amount of agreement among the entities involved. More crucially, since production cost so high, even in the most modest of budgets, if a film is to be made, it's worth must be sold to the financiers, that is the studio or the private funding source that believes enough in the merit of the project to bankroll it, hoping, of course, for a monetary return on its faith.

Nollywood films are usually funded by independent filmmakers, who often put in all their life savings and funds, sometimes sourced from friends and relatives, into the production. Samyn Sophie (2013:110) corroborates:

> Film financing in Nollywood is mainly an independent venture. Budgets are small and largely derived from one's own savings. But this is not the only way of financing filmmaking in Nollywood. Often the marketer pays for a film, and he or she gets the final cut and then distributes. In this sense, it is best to say that Nollywood films are financed on an ad hoc basis, which makes it lack the institutional structure that many film cultures in Europe, America, and Asia have.

We must also not lose sight of the fact that the growth of Nollywood as a film industry rests largely on the fact that filmmakers embraced the video format because it offered a cheaper alternative to film production in the first place. It is to this factor that the industry owes its phenomenal growth and ubiquity. It is therefore understandable why keeping budget as low as much as possible is of paramount importance when financing feature films this way. In regards to literary adaptations, filmmakers acknowledge that bigger budgets are required to produce them. Consequently, lack of funds is a recurrent factor that represents a difficult hurdle to scale for some filmmakers who have adapted literary works for screen but are unable to proceed with production. This is evidence in the responses of Novia and Amah. Novia (personal communication) remarks:

> *Our literary works are rich in locations, sets and period/time. Nollywood is basically an adequate-budget industry where we put in limited funds to get maximum returns. Adapting some of our literary works would require high budgets. Producers have to find big funding for such and the patience span of many producers is limited…. In 2006, the late Cyprian Ekwensi gave me the permission to turn one of his iconic books,* The Passport of Mallam Ilia *into a television series, just three months before he died. It's been over ten years and I'm still with the rights and searching for the right sponsorship to underwrite my $2million budget. Sponsorship and the right funding are the big*

> *impediments to such ambitions. I hope to shoot the adaptation soon though* (January 13, 2018).

A similar response was echoed by Amah who identifies funding as the major factor impeding the production of the screen adaptation of her two works of fiction. She notes that adaptations are expensive because the filmmaker is expected to capture the essence of a novel which is usually detailed.

> *I plan to adapt both my books actually. Major factors impeding this are lack of funds and lack of an acceptable screenplay. Adaptations are expensive if done properly. Novels are usually very detailed and a good adaptation should capture the essence of the book* (February 1, 2018).

Dapo Adeniyi reveals in an interview that his adaptation of Wole Soyinka's *Ake: The Years of Childhood* took 24 years to materialize from the day the idea was first proposed. Just like Novia and Amah, Newton Uduaka (personal communication), a Nigerian filmmaker based in France, similarly reveals that he had adapted two of acclaimed Nigerian author, Helon Habila's novels; *Waiting for an Angel* and *Oil on Water* for screen but is yet to find the finance to go into production (February 3, 2018). Biyi Bandele also had a similar experience. He shared how he decided on a career shift after "watching too many helpless, hapless or hopeless African characters on screen," in an interview Derica Shields (2014). Shields had interviewed Bandele after his adaptation of *Half of a Yellow Sun* was screened at Yale University. She relays how he decided to tell his stories himself after finding he often had to explain the humanity of the African characters in his screenplays to directors, who find it hard to comprehend African characters who are not in need of some kind of redemption by whites. She recounts:

> He decided to adapt a story about the Biafran War, the attempted secession of states in south eastern Nigeria, which began in 1967 and ended in 1970 with the fall of Biafra. Bandele wrote a screenplay based on Chinua Achebe's *Girls at War* with Chiwetel Ejiofor to star and Andrew Dosunmu to direct. But the project was abandoned when it failed to find funding. (http://www.okayafrica/half-of-a-yellow-sun-film-biyi-bandele-interview/)

Feature films were initially shot for less than $10,000, but now, the average budget of movies in Nollywood is about $50,000. Although the budgets for movies are getting bigger, the risk factors militating against adequate returns which make it difficult for filmmakers to break even still exist. This is what Ugbomah points out when he says,

"A filmmaker that does not make his money back is dead. And that is what is going on now; if you spend ₦30million and cannot make ₦31million you are a dead man" (Agbedeh 2012 n. p.).

Sourcing funds for a movie production has never being easy. Experiences recounted by filmmakers who had to raise funds for the production of literary adaptations confirm that bigger budgets are required to fund them. Yemisi Sadiku, the executive producer, reveals this when she shared her experience with the audience for the sneak preview of the adaptation of Chimamanda Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun.* Toni Kan (2014) recalls some of what she said in his review of the event.

> Raising money was hellish, she told her audience. Even though what she was looking to raise was just about $12m, less than ten percent of the $1bn dollars she had recently raised as an investment banker, she felt stunned because she couldn't find a way, she said, to sell the movie to investors in the language she was used to. Past commercial success on a movie did not guarantee future success nor funding for that matter…. In the end she said, no one would invest in her movie and so she and her husband had to pitch in all they had …. The movie was finally made at a cost of about $10m which would make "Half of Yellow Sun" the most expensive movie made in Nigeria but no more than an independent film in the US.

Sadiku's experience is similar to that of Adeniyi, the executive Producer and director of *Ake: The Years of Childhood.* Lack of funds delayed the production for about two decade after the idea which was initiated by the board of the Nigerian Television Authority in 1988 was discarded due to change of the board members only two weeks into the development stage of the project. From that time Adeniyi decided to execute it as an independent project but efforts to raise fund for the production were futile. Chux Ohai (2014) narrates Adeniyi's experience on raising the funds for the film that had a budget of ₦350million thus:

> Recounting the hurdles that his company, the Backpage Productions, had to scale in the process, he [Adeniyi] says, "We were writing to people and asking for financial support. Everywhere we turned, people mouthed their interest. A lot of people wrote to say they would be involved. Even governments wrote us. But at the end of the day, it did not amount to much. So we decided to fend for ourselves. We had to actually take loans. We had to look for companies that believed in what we were doing and got them to release their own funds. We had to pawn some of our properties to raise funds to do the film…. We have a line-up of very professional actors and actresses, including the likes of Taiwo Ajai Lycett, Yinka Davies and Yeni Kuti. Some people who were not well known as artistes amazed us a lot. They literally

> donated a part of what we were going to pay them just to make sure that the production was successfully completed. (http://www.soyinkasakefilm.com/01/media_reviews.html)

Recognising that the challenge of funding is enormous as we gleaned from the foregoing examples, we can understand why there is a dearth of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Also, looking at other film industries in the world and how movies are funded, we find that they have incentives available to filmmakers which show a bias for production of adaptations without the huge funding burden on the independent producer (Munro 204, Gertjan 2015). Sadiku is reported to have revealed that the production of *Half of a Yellow Sun* could have far less if it was done in South Africa where there is an incentive for such productions but because the producers wanted authenticity, and the novelist insists on its being shot in Nigeria, the film was shot on location in Calabar, Nigeria (Kan 2014).

From the inception of the industry in the early sixties, funding has been a recurrent challenge. Many filmmakers attribute their persistence to passion. The first generation of filmmakers also experienced similar challenges. According to Balogun (1987), many of the early filmmakers were discouraged by the challenge in the subsections of filmmaking even though they had earlier nursed a desire to establish "a reputation for the Africa Cinema with the hope of bringing it to the international scene" (84), regrettably,

> The material conditions for film production, distribution, and exhibition in Nigeria have however shattered many dreams. The physical and moral difficulties attached to the making of film in this country are such that they undermine the creativity of the film makers and sometimes even the desire to embark once more on new film ventures (84).

Okome (1996) corroborates Balogun when he highlights the enormity of the challenges of filmmaking in Nigeria by describing it as a "nebulous Phenomenon" (42). He explains further:

> The problems that beset film production as an industry and as an art are numerous and overwhelm even the most tenacious of Nigerian filmmakers at one point or another. So difficult and unresolvable are these problems that the pioneer of Nigerian cinema, Ola Balogun, whose first film, a documentary entitled *One Nigeria* was made in 1969, and his last major independent feature production *Money Power* [Owo I'agba], was made in 1982, threw in the towel after many years of active involvement. (42)

Kunle Afolayan more recently expressed sadness over the challenges that continue to beset filmmakers in an interview. "It's sad that even after many years, we are still talking about challenges in the movie industry. I saw an interview my father granted in 1980 titled "The problems in the Nigerian film Industry," so you can imagine if after almost forty years, we are still discussing challenges." He went on to mention that he has not shot any film in the last two years because of the distribution challenges which makes return on investment near impossible without a distribution deal outside the country (www.informationng.com/2018/08/why-I-enrolled-my-son-as-a-mechanic-apprentice-kunle-afolayan.htm/amp). This is a further confirmation of the doggedness of Nigerian filmmakers who continue to make films despite these challenges. Guaranteed returns ensure funding but it is impossible without proper distribution channels.

CJ Obasi (personal communication), who was at the post-production stage of his latest film *Hello Rain (2018),* an adaptation of award winning novelist Nigerian-American Nnedi Okorafor's short story titled "*Hello Moto,*" also cites funds as one of the major challenges to producing literary adaptations. According to him, it costs about ₦10million to produce *Hello Rain,* which is only about 30 minutes long. Even at that, three production firms had to pull resources together. He remarks:

> *We don't have the funds to do even simple, original stories well, much more adapted stories that are more elaborate and more detailed. These are stories that already have fans that have attachment to the story. You don't want to mess it up. So, if you have to do it, you have to do it right. You have to go all out and the funds are just not there* (November 7, 2017).

Nigerian Novelist and biographer, Toni Kan, also identifies the issue of funding as a major constrain to the popularity of literary adaptations in Nollywood. In a personal communication, he mentions that a couple of Nollywood filmmakers have already approached him for the rights of his latest novel – *The Carnivorous City* (2016) but production has been delayed due to the non-availability of funds.

In some film industries in the global North where literary adaptation thrives, the trend is sustained by government policies and funding to support production. For example in "From Script to Screen: New Policy Directions for Canadian Feature Film," "The Canadian Heritage" official document (2000:3) states:

> Filmmaking is an expensive and risky form of storytelling. No matter how promising the script, how famous the cast or how large the budget, there is no assurance of success…. Governments can play a

> role to reduce the risk and enhance the opportunities for success. Around the world, many countries have been reviewing and modernizing their support for feature films to build stronger, more competitive domestic film industries.

As a result, the government has committed specific sums for the film industry in Canada. The document further states that, "The Government of Canada will invest $15 million in 2000-01 and $50 million annually, beginning April 2001 to implement the new policy. This will approximately double the government's total annual investment in Canadian feature films – bringing a greater diversity of Canadian voices to cinema in every corner of the country and other parts of the globe" (2). Robert Munro's (2014) also shows how government support sustains the adaptation industry in Scotland. Literary adaptations are produced through funding from the film funding body of Scotland, Creative Scotland, and supported by a policy that favours literary adaptations.

In Nollywood, filmmakers who want to produce adaptations cannot rely of government funding to realise their ambition. No government policy privileges the funding of literary adaptations. Films are largely funded by independent producers who use personal savings for their productions. Commenting on this fact Mridul Chowdhury et al (2008:27) observe that,

> Nollywood…has almost no access to formal financing mechanisms. The independent self-employed producers generally re-invest the revenues earned from one film for the next one. Due to the unpredictable nature of the profitability of a film, the banks and other financial institutions do not have procedures for assessing the credit-worthiness of film projects. This simply hampers the growth of the industry and discourages producers from innovating and pushing the boundary in terms of quality.

The federal government of Nigeria under the Goodluck Jonathan administration made available an intervention fund totalling ₦6Billion (Six Billion Naira) into the industry in two separate instances of N3Billion each, first in 2010 and later in 2013. The first fund was a stimulus loan for filmmakers, to assist in the financing of high quality production of movies that are fit for the global market. It is been disbursed by the Nigerian Export and Import (NEXIM) Bank. The second fund was for capacity building and the improvement of distribution of audio-visual contents. Although some filmmakers have been able to access these funds, others continue to decry its inaccessibility because of certain stringent conditions. According to Novia,

> *The NEXIM loan had stringent conditions which the industry largely ignored. Secondly, Nollywood thrives largely on investments not loans. Producers are independent minded and do not really fancy loans* (January 13, 2018).

Nnamdi Odunze reiterates this position.

> *The problem with government funding is that it is given as loans, and loans require collateral like houses. If you tell them you have houses in the village, they won't accept it. They want houses in Lagos or Abuja. If you don't have then you are denied the loan. Again, when you want to borrow from someone, people will not lend to you because they believe you will just collect the money and abscond* (January 29, 2018).

Besides the request for collateral, another drawback of government funding cited by scholars is censorship. Censorship usually comes along with government support in such a way that it may affect the final outcome of the movie. This factor stymied the production of Cyprian Ekwensi's *Jagua Nana* in 1968 (Emenyonu 2010). Censorship was also responsible for the suspension of the proposed adaptation of Wole Soyinka's *Season of Anomie* by the Nigeria Television Authority in 1988 (Ohai 2014).

Beyond hefty budgets however, literature-based film productions also have other financial requirements that make them unattractive to filmmakers. Filmmakers cite the stress of film rights acquisition, longer production periods, research, and sometimes, special training for the casts besides challenges of the construction of set and locations. All of these have a huge implication for the film's budget enough to make filmmakers shun venturing into the genre. The following section considers the merit of each of these points.

4.3 Objective 2: Peculiar Challenges of Producing Literary Adaptations in Nollywood

4.3.1 The Burdensome Process of Film Rights Acquisition

Unlike in the production of feature films based on original script, where a scriptwriter is commissioned to work on an idea and pre-production activities can start shortly, the process of producing a film adaptation begins with the acquisition of the filmrights. Filmmakers' interviewed describe this process as burdensome because it involves a legal process which is usually time consuming. The author or author's representative

(literary agent) and the filmmaker have to come to an agreement specifying certain conditions for the adaptation of the text in question. Sometimes the condition may be stringent. Thus, it represents one of the factors that discourage Nollywood filmmakers from venturing more readily into the production of literary adaptations. A good example to buttress the foregoing assertion is the condition Gabriel Garcia Marquez gave for signing the filmrights of his mythical realistic masterpiece *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967).

According to Hollywood film producer Harvey Weinstein, Marquez condition was that "We must film the entire book, but only release one chapter – two minutes long – each year for 100 years" (Daniel McCarthy, 2014, n. p). The condition was impossible of course. Filming the entire book was impossible back them because of time restriction, releasing only two minutes long episodes yearly for a hundred years was clearly unimaginable. Not surprisingly, it was only after the death of Marquez in 2014 and his literary agent Carmen Balcells Segalain in 2015, that Netflix announced, in 2019, its acquisition of the film rights from Marquez's sons Rodrigo Garcia and Gonzalo Garcia Barcha, who will be serving as executive producers, for the adaptation of the book into a Spanish-language series which will be filmed largely in Colombia (part of Marquez's condition). In the words of Rodrigo Garcia on the adaptation:

> For decades, our father was reluctant to sell the film rights to *One Hundred Years of Solitude* because he believed that it could not be made under the time constraint of feature film, or that producing it in a language other that Spanish would not do it justice. But in the current golden age of series, with the level of talented writing and directing, the cinematic quality of content, and the acceptance by worldwide audiences of programs in foriegn languages, the time could not be better. (http://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/mar/07/netflix-to-adapt-one-hundred-years-of-solitude-gabriel-garcia-marquez.html)

Acquiring the filmrights for a book besides the legal framework also comes with financial implications. For a film industry such as Nollywood which is already tight on budget, a financial burden outside production budget seems to be a major turn-off, thus making the production of literary adaptations less attractive to majority of the filmmakers. Respondents highlight the two foreging issues as obstacles in the process of acquiring the filmrights of a book. As clarified, the first is getting the consent of the literary author; the second is coming up with the money needed to acquire the rights after that. Some respondents cite the disposition of some literary authors as one of the

reasons for the dearth of literature-based films in Nollywood. Others blame it on the absence of a structure that simplifies the process for the optioning the book. While sharing their experience, filmmakers made it clear that some authors out rightly turn down requests to adapt their works to screen and this has resulted in several unrealized ambitions and projects. In some instances, authors take several months before eventually giving their consent. Filmmakers therefore refer to the process as daunting.

Substantiating the issue of long interval before authors give consent, Andy Amenechi (personal communication) testifies that the negotiations for the film rights of Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* took about a year. He also notes that the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood is not a reflection of indifference or even a paucity of attempts, but that sometimes filmmakers face outright rejection of their proposal or stringent conditions that are difficult to meet. Amenechi remarks:

> *There is no indifference. You know, every work is copyrighted. Before you can make an adaptation, you have to get the permission. After all,* Half of a Yellow Sun *has been made into a film. Before that* The Concubine *was made into a film.* The Concubine *as an example took over a year of negotiations before it was agreed for it to be done into a film. So, you see it is not as if there is a paucity of attempts. I know attempts were made from the year 2000 to get the film rights of Achebe's* No Longer at Ease *and* A Man of the People, *but his foundation gave conditions that were not palatable to the producers* (March 11, 2018).

Mahmood Ali-Balogun's experience further confirms Amenechi assertion. He attests:

> *Most novelists [writers] don't lend themselves to giving filmmakers the opportunity to adapt their works [to film]. I remember late Ola Rotimi; I approached him to have an adaptation of one of his works for television, to be produced into a series. He declined my proposal then. Unfortunately, barely a year after he died* (March 11, 2018).

A further confirmation of literary authors' reluctance comes from CJ Obasi (personal communication) who explains that he has been trying to get an option for a book from a Nigerian author for the past three years. On the other hand, it took him only three months to get the option for Nigeria-American, Nnedi Okorafor's short story titled *Hello, Moto,* which he adapted as a short film, titled *Hello, Rain* in 2018.

> *Getting the optioning rights for Nigeria books in particular is very difficult. This is because you don't know who to meet. I have tried. For example, when I reached out to Nnedi Okorafor for the option of her short story,* Hello, Moto*, from that point to when I eventually got it*

> *took only three months. But I've been on an option for a Nigerian book for three years now. You understand what I'm saying? So, it's that process. We do not really have that structure. Those things are just not in place. So, these are the challenges we have* (November 17, 2017).

Chioma Onyenwe (personal communication) elaborates on the rights acquisition issue thusly:

> *It's a process. And it's not one that we have the patience for. This is because most times before you can agree with the authors, before you can come to an agreement with the filling of the options and the time and the money, it can take up to a year. And we don't have that luxury in terms of our box office, in terms of our earnings, that we can justify taking that much time to just get the rights for the story even before kind of approving the script, you know. We are not that advanced with our budget, because this processes in climes where they do it well, they are making millions of dollars on each project. So they can afford to put aside that kind of time, in terms of putting five to ten years like a good project because it can be nominated for the Oscars awards, and they know that they can make their return on investment* (January 18, 2018).

Apart from authors' reluctance and the absence of a structure that simplifies the process of film rights acquisition, the second challenge is the financial implication of the acquisition. A filmmaker may have a chance to option the rights to the book by paying an agreed sum which gives him/her an interval of about 12 -18 months within which to source for funds, work on a screenplay while ensuring that the rights is not sold to another interested buyer. If the interested filmmaker is unable to come up with money for the rights within the stipulated months, it can be extended with another payment. Both the set up bonus and option are deducted when the film rights which is usually a percentage of the total budget of the movie is paid. The implication however is that if the interested filmmaker is unable to come up with balance for the rights, the sum paid for option is not refundable (See paragraph 2 of the film rights contract in Appendix A). These conditions are obviously not favourable to filmmakers in Nollywood who are mostly independent filmmakers plagued by lack of fund.

Some respondents identified this as one of the reason why literary adaptation is unattractive and rarely produced in Nollywood. This is the opinion of Izu Ojukwu (personal communication) who avers that producing literary adaptation is "*a bit more expensive than regular feature films due to [the financial implications of] rights acquisition*" (March 30, 2018). For Armah (personal communication), *it is because*

"filmmakers often work with very low budget. So they feel it is cheaper to buy/commission a script than attempt to secure the rights to a literary work" (February 1, 2018). Odunze (personal communication) also affirms:

> *It costs a lot to get the film rights. For example, a writer may ask for a million naira and in some cases filmmakers sell house or parcel of land in their village; they even borrow from friends and relatives to make a movie. So if you have about* ₦*5million to make a movie, how will you now give about* ₦*1million to the writer (January 29, 2018*)?

Eddie Ugbomah also comments on the issue of expense of film rights acquisition. He believes authors will see it as an opportunity for 'a kill.' He contends, "The Nigerian writer sees the desire of a filmmaker to adapt his or her book to a movie as an opportunity to make a killing financially" (Agbedeh, 2012 n. p). Simone Murray (2012) affirms Ugbomah's observation. Commenting on the book publishing industry with regards to film rights acquisition, she observes:

> Within this massified industrial context, adaptations were incubated in much the same way they had been from the earliest decades of the twentieth century: through trading in intellectual property (IP) rights. *But the increased traffic in adapted content, and the alertness from projects' inception to their proto-adaptive potential, caused an explosion in the range and value of media rights.* This was especially true of so-called "subsidiary rights" clauses in book contracts (i.e. those governing the adaptation of a text into film, television, stage-play, radio-play and audiobook formats, inter alia, as well as rights to serialize or create licensed merchandise from a work). *Such rights went from virtual contractual addenda to potentially highly lucrative sources of income for author and/or publisher, especially in relation to established bestsellers* (emphasis mine, 126).

Thus, Murray confirms Ugbomah view which is further justified by the report credited to the executive producer of the film adaptation of *The Concubine*, Uche Chikendu, who reveals that it cost ₦7million to acquire the film rights of the book and the author's involvement in the production of the movie (https://www.naijarules.com/index.php?threads/elechi-amadi%E2%80%99sthe-concubine-now-in-movies.20685). However, Tunde Kelani holds a different view. He suggests co-production with the author as one of the ways around it. He explains:

> There is a way around it. Adebayo Faleti's book that I adapted, I could not afford it [i.e. to pay for the film rights], so I asked him to co-produce it with me. Sometimes the writers are happy that you are going to adapt their books. It's another value you are adding, it could be a book everyone has forgotten about but the film brings it back to

> life. I do adaptations because I feel I could reintroduce literature from the back door because people don't know until they find out that *Thunderbolt* (Magun) was adapted from Faleti's book so they go in search of it (Agbedeh 2012, n. p).

It is possible to presume that Kelani may have been lucky with the choice of texts he has consistently chosen to adapt to film. Most of the books he adapted for film are from literary works published in his native Yoruba language, so the authors may see the adaptation as an opportunity for a wider audience to have access to the messages and the issues explored in the works. This is true for *O Le Ku*, and *Thunderbolt*, and even *The Narrow Path*, which was adapted from Bayo Adebayo's *The Virgin.* They are little known books. Unlike some of the works of writers who were published on the stable of Heinemann's African Writers Series. In most of the page to screen adaptations Kelani produced, the authors were co-producers in the project. Akinwunmi Ishola's *O Le Ku* and *Kossegbe* are examples.

The thoughts and views of literary authors were sought on the matter. When asked if he is willing to forgo his entitlement and co-produce the adaptation of his work to screen, Toni Kan, author of *The Carnivorous City* (2016) emphasized that he expected the kind of best practises that is obtainable in the West. He also insists on being fully involved in the production process when his work is adapted to screen.

> *I think everything should be done right. If anyone wants to make a movie from my book, they have to pay me by optioning it. It sets precedence for the future. Writers should get money for their sweat. Remember that writers don't really have money. The movie industry has more money than the publishing industry* (November 17, 2017).

Lola Shoneyin and Nnedi Okorafor agree with Kan that global best practice should be maintained when it comes to film right acquisition. Unlike Kan however, Shoneyin does not want to be involved in the production process. Thus, while it may be in the interest of filmmakers that literary authors forego their rights and co-produce the screen adaptations of their works as Kelani suggests, contemporary Nigerian authors do not seem to be open to such an arrangement. As Murray points out concerning intellectual property regime in the publishing industry, the choice may not even be in the hands of the writer anymore especially because they may have signed a contract to that effect when the agreement for the publication of their works is drawn.

Furthermore, in what might shed more light on authors' disposition to issues of film rights acquisitions, Onyenwe identifies a transnational dimension to the

challenge before filmmakers in Nollywood. She explains how acquiring the film rights of contemporary Nigerian writers, some of whose works are published in the global North, are not only difficult but also competitive given the budgetary constraints of filmmakers in Nollywood.

Transnationalism is an outcome of globalisation. Mike Gasher (2002: 12) describes globalisation as "The increased mobility of people, capital, commodities, information, and images associated with the post-industrial stage of capitalism, the development of increasingly rapid and far-ranging communication and transportation technologies, and people's improved access to these technologies." Globalisation impacts every sphere and undeniably has effects on the business of film production also. Gasher (*Ibid*) also notes that globalisation has led to the "reconfiguring of our sense of space and place" because the increasing mobility of people and their culture has resulted in the displacements and reassignment of places and space that have blurred cultural and geographical boundaries, in a variety of ways.

Globalization is also perceived in terms of communication gaps shrinking, ease of movement of people, goods, and services from one part of the globe to another with a lasting effect on cultures and identity of the people involved. Larsson (2001: 9) defines it as "the process of the world shrinking, distances getting shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact to mutual benefit with somebody on the other side of the world." Globalisation according to Lorenzo (2008:6) "encompasses not just the spread of products, people or practices from one or few countries, it also entails interconnectedness between a multitude of countries, leading to their integration into one (or several) global economic, cultural, and to some extent also, political systems or networks." He goes further to illuminate some aspects of the influence of globalization on the film industry as follows: "globalization of 1) involvement in filmmaking; 2) film consumption; 3) film production; and 4) organization of filmmaking."

Of the first aspect he points out, "Filmmaking is rapidly becoming a much more *globally ubiquitous activity*, as the number of feature films produced for cinema, TV and other exhibition channels is growing outside USA" (6). Production of content outside mainstream Hollywood is a response to the need to cater for a transnational taste, as he points on in the second instance and the availability of satellite and internet steaming of movies accessible to a global audience regardless of location.

Thus he attest on "the rise of global consumer tastes and *global consumption*," that "not only are the global mass markets ever expanding, film producers can also now reach niche audiences – be that art aficionados, Kung Fu experts, Manga lovers, or ethnic Diasporas – in several countries simultaneously." This is because "the globalization of consumption is facilitated by new distribution and exhibition forms (satellite TV, DVD, Internet) able to reach niche audiences around the world" (7). Fourthly, on organisation of filmmaking, he identifies "the emergence of global corporations" as the most conspicuous form. These corporations are involved in all aspects of film production across national boundaries through "financing, marketing, and distributing films as well as related media on a range of national markets" (8).

In the foregoing, Lorenzen's highlights some of the aspect of globalization of the film industry that has made it more transnational in characteristic. Tomaselli's (2013: 244) assertion that a "Transnational cinema is made and received in a global arena in which directors, funding institutions and film crews are active beyond geographical, national and cultural limitations," affirms Lorenzen's postulations. He similarly notes that the influences of globalisation cuts across the "cultural, economic and technical" aspects of production, making cinema more transnational in character in terms of content, cast, crew and even location of production (Tomaselli *ibid*). The effects of this influence, according to him, are "homogenization of format" and "struggle for content pluralism and cultural interdependence" (246). He explains that homogenization of formats ensures the "maximum chances of widespread distribution" of a film whether it originates from the global North or the global South. The struggle for content plurality and cultural interdependence is necessitated by the need to cater for a transnational consumer taste identified by Lorenzen.

While the increasing co-production and opening up of global distribution opportunities may be good news to film audience, it however poses a challenge to filmmakers as Onyenwe's points out in her description of the futility of her effort to acquire the filmrights for Lola Shoneyin's *The Secret Lives of Baba Segi's Wives* (2010) in 2012. She notes:

> *It is not so easy. This is because when you have an Option, and you pay maybe a thousand dollars, to option a movie for eighteen months, the writer also gets two or five per cent of the films budget. Then you have to make that film in eighteen months. For you to make that film within eighteen months, to get the kind of budget you need to make that kind of film that would travel and everything, it is not something we are equipped for or set up for as well. Again, our Nigerian literary*

> *authors; Chimamanda Adichie, Uzodinma Iweala, Nnedi Okorafor have done really well globally. They have foreign agents, and so you're competing with filmmakers in global cinema industries. So when it comes to rights for their films, people who have more money may need to bid for them. Concerning the smaller writers that are self-published here, it is hard to get across to them. So, I think it is a matter of finance, it is a matter of structure that I think we still do not have yet* (January 18, 2018).

Nigerian writers are dispersed all over the globe. Similarly, Nigerian literature is published in every continent of the world. The brain drain occasioned by the disillusionment of several post-colonial and post-independence African states witnessed the migration of professionals in search of greener pastures, higher professional qualifications, job opportunities, and better living conditions in the West. These migrants and their offspring form a large part of Africa's diasporan communities in the West. The writers among them reflect a multiple perspective in the writings about their homeland and their adopted countries. Apart from Nigerian writers in the diaspora, some writers resident in Nigeria get their works published in the West. Thus, optioning or acquiring the rights for their books also requires contact with their agents in the West. The implication for filmmakers in Nollywood is that they are in competition for film rights of books by Nigerian authors with their counterparts in industries in the West. The challenge arises because Nollywood filmmakers lack the financial muscle required to compete favourably thus putting them at a disadvantage.

Onyenwe's point is confirmed in Simone Murray's (2012) observation on the transnational aspect of the content interdependence in the contemporary Anglophone adaptation industry. According to her,

> When considering the contemporary Anglophone adaptation industry, *the first thing to note is its fundamentally transnational character: just as content may now originate in any medium and migrate to any other, a particular narrative, character, or motif may arise from any Anglophone market (or, somewhat less commonly, in translation) and be taken up for adaptation in other national markets*. Indeed, the highly transnational nature of contemporary feature film and television financing, production, and distribution makes such international appeal virtually a prerequisite for any large-scale adaptation project (126 – 127, emphasis mine).

Murray's assertion suggests that filmmakers in the Anglophone adaptation industry may be interested in any literary work published in English regardless of where it

originates. Furthermore, Murray, Tomaselli and Onyenwe's points regarding transnational tastes can be buttressed with a few examples. Gavin Hood adapted Athol Fugard's The Fugitive as *Tsotsi* to screen in 2005. It won the Academy of Motion Picture Art and Science prize for Best Foreign Language Film the same year. Lupita Nyong'o acquired the film rights for Chimamanda Adichie's *Americanah* in 2014 and recently announced that it is being turned into a miniseries (https://www.cosmopolitan/uk/entertainment/news/a27053/lupita-nyongo-americanah-new-film-adiechie/). Uzodinmma Iweala's *Beast of No Nation* was optioned by Japanese American, Cary Fukunaga, who co-produced, directed and wrote the screenplay, for the screen adaptation in 2015. (https://www.screenprism.com/insights/how-did-beasts-of-no-nation-director-cary-fukunaga-go-about-making-the-film). Home Box Office (HBO) has the rights to serialize Nigerian American, Nnedi Okorafor's *Who Fears Death,* while the film rights for a book by another Nigerian American, Tomi Adeyemi, *Children of Blood and Bones* was acquired by FOX 2000 in 2017, before it was published 2018 (https://www.ebony.com/entertainment/tomi-adeyemi-film-deal/axzz4eOOzXEzm/). All these are evidences of the drive for "content pluralism and cultural interdependence" referenced by Tomaselli, Lorenzen and Murray in the foregoing.

Although globalisation seems to have gained traction in the millennium, Lorenzen (2008), Gasher (2002), as well as Richard Pena (2001) asserts that it has always defined the character of cinema from its inception. Pena avers:

> Globalization has been in one form or another, a factor in film history since the beginning of the medium. Developed by several different people in the first part of 1890s, the technology which made motion pictures possible was quickly standardized, so that by 1900 there was hardly any major variance in the mechanics of how films were shot, processed or projected…. Early film producers seemingly were quickly aware of this, and soon began searching for and creating markets for their films far beyond their national or continental boundaries (4).

Pena's assertion hold true even for the evolution of filmmaking in Nigeria. In the early 1970s, when Wole Soyinka's *Kongi Harvest* was adapted to screen by Francis Oladele's Calpenny Nigerian Films, it was directed by an African American, Ossie Davies, and made with the sponsorship of an American corporation. Hubert Ogunde also co-produced an adaptation of Joyce Cary's *Mr Johnson* (1990), which starred Pierce Brosnan, with Bruce Beresford as director, in collaboration with an America

company (Gulger 2003: 115; Haynes 1995: 98). Oladele also co-produced the first screen adaptation of Chinua Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), with a blend of his second, *No Longer at Ease* (1960), titled *Bullfrog in the Sun* in collaboration with a German and American production firm directed by Jürgen Pohland, with Edward and Fern Mosk as executive producers (Ugochukwu 2014: 19).

In the Nollywood era, beginning from the video boom, the casting of Ghanaian actors in Nigerian films was a strategy producers adopted to gain relevance in the Ghanaian markets. Besides collaboration with Ghanaian actors the industry has also witnessed a series of collaborations both with Nigerian actors in the diaspora and actors in Hollywood. Biyi Bandele's adaptation of Chimamanda Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* features cast and crew from Nollywood as well as Hollywood. The lead actors, Thandie Newton (Olanna), Chinwetel Ejiofor (Odenigbo), Anika Noni Rosa (Kainene) and John Gboyega (Ugwu) are all actors in Hollywood. Other examples of films parading an international collaboration include; Tony Ubulu's *Doctor Bello*, Chineze Anyaeze's *Ije*, Stephanie Linus' *Dry*, and Ayo Makun's *30 Days in Atlanta*, to mention a few. Furthermore, the availability of satellite television and internet steaming sites has made Nollywood films accessible to viewers in all corners of the globe and new distribution deals with media owners in the global North are now possible. This transnational dimension in terms of production, distribution and audience spread is the reason some filmmakers and their works are now classified "neo-Nollywood (Adejunmobi 2007; Afolayan 2014; Jedlowski 2013, Krings & Okome 2013; Ugochukwu 2009).

Consequently, it can be argued that globalisation has had positive impacts on filmmaking in Nigeria general. However, although Pena (2001) recognizes this impact of globalisation on contemporary cinema, the possible challenge it poses on national cinema industries is not lost on him either. He notes, "It is truly the best of times and the worst of times. New Technologies hold out the possibility for filmmakers everywhere that their work could be available to audience around the world, yet those same technologies have also made it easier for the biggest and most powerful producers to dominate the markets even more effectively" (4). Thus, Pena confirms Onyenwe's fears. Herein lies the challenge to Nollywood filmmakers who have to vie for the film right of Nigerian literature with film producers in the global North with whom they are no financial match. For example, the contract for the film rights of Shoneyin's novel *The Secret Lives of Baba Segi's Wives* (2010) (set in Nigeria but

published in the United Kingdom), supplied by Onyenwe to the researcher, reads in part (Article 2):

> 2. If the Property is set up for development with a so-called "major" or "mini-major" studio or a television network or other independent financier, Owner will receive the following set-up bonus. The set-up bonus, if any, will be applicable against the Purchase Price.
>
> a. At a "major" studio (i.e. Sony, Disney, Warner Bros., Universal, Paramount, or Fox): $25,000.
>
> b. At a "mini-major" studio (e.g., Miramax, Fox Searchlight, Focus, Lionsgate, MGM/UA, etc.): $15,000.
>
> c. At a television network (e.g., the BBC) or other independent financier: $5,000.

The excerpt shows that Nollywood filmmakers are up against studios and film producers in Hollywood. Clearly, as Nnamdi Odunze and other filmmakers have stated, given the exchange rate of ₦361 – $1, including 2.5% to 5% of the total production budget accruing to the author; there are few independent film producers in Nollywood who will be able to compete for film rights with such contract conditions. Shoneyin (personal Communication) however confided that Mo Abudu of EbonyLive TV has already acquired the filmrights to the novel (Nov. 14, 2017).

Nollywood came into existence through the production of films on low budgets. Acquiring the rights for the screen adaptation of a literary work will stretch an already tight budget. However, going by the responses of filmmakers, the unrealised attempt at procuring film rights either because of the authors' disposition, the absence of a structure that facilitates a speedy process for acquiring the rights, or the financial implication, prove Amenechi's point that the dearth of literary adaptation is not the result of a paucity of attempts. In the light of the obstacles posed by the identified challenges, it is understandable, why filmmakers would rather work on original script than take on adaptations.

4.3.2 Dearth of Screenwriters

The adaptation of literary forms into film presents varied problems to those involved in the film production particularly the screenwriter and director (Joseph Friel, 1967, p. 271). In her proposal for a sociological approach to adaptation studies, Murray (2008: 10) identified six nodal agents in the structure of the contemporary adaptation industry. The screenwriter is one of them. The responsibility of transposing the

written text to screen starts with the screenwriter. Oshin (personal communication) notes that translating written text to visual is not an easy feat because both mediums have their peculiarities and function in different way as mediums of narrative. Transposing one form to the other is quite daunting because in spite of a filmmaker's best effort and choice made to interpret the written text and transpose to screen, it is rarely appreciated. According to her:

> *The beauty of prose and literature and written art, in general, is the unhindered imagination on the pages of a book. We can describe emotions, feelings, thoughts, dreams, etc. These are some of the limitations when being adapted to screen. How do you present what people are thinking on screen without being cheesy? How do you present those tiny moments of the flowery writings and expositions of the writer on screen? It's difficult. It's why you probably have heard feedback from lots of people who have read a book and then saw the film adaptation, that they prefer the book. The text is pure and boundless, while film has limitation of expression; a lot is lost in translation from text to screen* (January 18, 2018).

Fred Amata (personal communication) makes a similar observation which is in agreement with Oshin's view that translating written text to visual text is a difficult task. He believes it is one reason Nollywood filmmakers keep a distance from the genre. He highlights the fact that doing an adaptation requires a professional screenwriter, passes through a tedious scripting process that may also call for a script conference, and the fear of the literary author's reaction to the production as some of the deterrents. He avers:

> *It also goes through a tedious scripting process because a book is in your mind and a film is in your sight, so they are two different things really. And that transition, when you're reading a book it is easy to capture the imagination but when you are doing a film, these things must be properly represented. For instance, if I describe your beauty, verbally, your mind creates the most beautiful thing, that it can imagine. But when I show your beauty, there is nothing to describe. It is seen and appreciated at whatever level it is, your mind does not do anything extra. Therefore, that affects many adaptations. We have seen many adaptations from Hollywood. For instance,* The God Father, *several books like that, when you watch the movie, it cannot come close to the experience of the book. Therefore a lot of times, people shy away from it because they know If I'm going to do this, I need a professional writer [screen writer] and those people will say, I will take two months, I will take this, I will take that, let's do a script conference. All these cost more money. So, there was that huge challenge with those ones [literary adaptations]. Then what else can I*

> *deduce, sometimes the fear, of the original writer if he is still alive, being dissatisfied with the outcome* (March 11, 2018).

The screenwriter plays a significant role in the transition of literary text to visual. As Amata explained, the screenwriter has the responsibility of translating and arranging the written text into a visual narrative that will stand as a new entity. This is not an easy task because the screenwriter may be required to convert a book of 500 pages to about a hundred storyboards, each representing a minute. The onus is therefore on the screenwriter to identify the essential elements of the book. As Diana Lake (2012: 401) puts it, "The fundamental job of the screenwriter is to reach inside the story to its essence and to find a *new* way to tell it filmicly. The writer knows going in that the book is a complex entity unto itself."

Thus, While Oshin and Amata have both highlight a challenge universally acknowledged in the process of translating written text to screen. The latter further pinpoints the requirement of a "professional writer" or, more appropriately, screenwriter as a challenge within the context of Nollywood filmmaking. This is can be interpreted as a hint on their scarcity besides the financial implication on the producer's budget. Thus, a dearth of screen writers who can satisfactorily adapt a literary text to screen is one of the factors identified as part of the challenges of producing literary adaptations in Nollywood. Mahmood Ali-Balogun (personal communication) opines:

> *Generally, in Nollywood, one of the challenges we have is that of screenplay writing because the fundamental of any movie is the screenplay. And you can see it in our movies, storytelling is becoming bunkum, if you allow me to use the word, you know. Basically, that's just it. I'm a thoroughbred professional and I'll say it as it is. We have a dearth of screenwriters. So for me to want to pick up a novel to adapt, ah, I never see the writer yet. What you have is a paucity of screenwriters as different from people who just write scripts that you can use for film. Screenwriting is a different ball game and you have a paucity of such writers in Nigeria . . . so, hmm, as for me, you know, it's just that… we don't have the people who can write screenplay or screen write. There's no doubt, transforming a novel for a screenplay is not moi-moi [colloquial expression used to imply a difficult task]. And unfortunately the few that have been done, I don't consider them that successful. Except for* Oleku *that TK [Tunde Kelani] did. It's the only one to me that has gone beyond the average mark* (March 11, 2018*).*

A look at the four attributes Linda Cahir (2006: 30) itemises as the requirement for the any filmmaker who will adapt a work of literature to film, gives us an idea of the task a screenwriter is up against. According to her, adapters must possess:

> 1. The wisdom and intelligence to understand the most integral elements of the literary work they are translating [adapting]
> 2. The technical skill to translate that understanding into the language of film
> 3. The conceptual creativity and mastery needed to translate an extensive text into a film of palatable length
> 4. That extraordinary white-heat that fuels *that nature* of creative expression which erupts somewhere between the realms of safety and reason (Emphasis in the original).

Expectedly, different literary forms will present their unique challenges in the process of adapting them to screen. Cahir's checklist shows that an adapter requires a good knowledge of literary elements coupled with technical skills. Furthermore, the adaptor is also expected to understand the significance of elisions and interpolations in the process of transposing written text to visual. It seems screenwriters with these attributes are what Alli-Balogun observes as lacking in the Nollywood landscape. His view is further justified by Lillian Amah (personal communication) who declares, *"I get the impression that a lot of the screenwriters around don't like to tackle adaptations."* She also points out that there is a lack of understanding of how adaptations work. This may be the reason for the reluctance she may have observed. In her words, "*many of the scriptwriters I have come across don't fully understand how adaptations work, so when they do attempt it, the script falls flat. I have commissioned screenplays of both my books but I'm not satisfied with the result so I can't shoot them"* (February 1, 2018*).*

It is presumable that the foregoing is one of the reasons why literary authors may not always warm up to filmmakers who request for filmrights to adapt their works to screen. Arranging images to tell a story is quite different from arrangement of words for same. Going by Cahir's list of the attributes an adapter must possess, and as noted by Amah, it is one thing to be able to understand "the integral elements of a literary work" and another to translate it into "film language." Apart from that, the length of the work also poses a challenge depending on the type of literary work. Friel (1967: 271 – 272) identifies two ways in which adapters try to resolve the challenge.

> Each literary form lends its different problems to the adapter. Short stories adapted to film allow for more creativity regarding expansion of

> story line than novels. Novels, in being adapted, can possibly fall into two patterns: one, they are sometimes so overabundant with episodic materials that they create too stringent a structure for the adapter, who sometime feels obliged to follow the story line so sequentially and exactly that he creates dull film of a novel which was moving and exciting . . . The second pattern into which a novel adaptation may fall is one in which the adapter is faced with a perplexing task of taking a complex work and filtering out the elements and attitudes which seem most visual.

Both patterns of adaptation have been known to provoke conversations and criticisms. A good example to buttress this point is Biyi Bandele's screen adaptation of Chimamanda Adichie's novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* in 2013. Bandele is both director and screenwriter for the movie. Derica Shields (2014) who interviewed him, gave insight into how daunting the task of adapting Adichie's lengthy novel was for the director/screenwriter. Shields recounts:

> Adapting the novel was not easy. He was intent on keeping hold of the accessibility of Adichie's international bestseller, but the lengthy polyvocal novel seemed to demand a film that was more "arthouse" than he was willing to go…. He struggled for three years, until waking up one morning and admitting to himself that he disliked flashbacks as a story telling device. Now treating the novel as raw material, and committed to telling his own version, of the story, Bandele abandoned Adichie flashback/flash forward structure and Ugwu went from houseboy-turned-storyteller to houseboy. In Bandele's version, the wealthy twin sisters Olanna (Thandie Newton) and Kainene (Anika Noni Rose) form the heart of the story.

The movie received several critical reviews as it is usually the case with adaptations. Most of the reviews point out how the film fails to measure up to the book for several reasons including the problem of too narrow a budget (Trevor Johnston, 2014), the challenge of Adichie's narrative style (Mike McHill 2014) and too little running time (Bilge Ebiri 2014). Fortunately, for Bandele, Adichie loved the cinematic version of the work (Shields 2014).

In his comments on the challenges faced by a filmmaker when it comes to the choice of what to retain and what to leave out in an adaptation, Dapo Adeniyi who revealed that over 15 hours of film rushes were shot during the production of the screen adaptation of Wole Soyinka's Ake, *The Years of Childhood* remarks:

> This is a challenge with any epic movie originating from a major literature text. There is too much content and it is difficult to leave any item out. Many viewers would love to see specific episodes in the

> narrative reproduced in the adaptation but the cinema mode has its own constraint in terms of time. No one would endure more than two hours in the cinema and this is a major consideration (Temitayo Olufunmi 2014 n. p.).

Since the bulk of adapting written text to visual text is the responsibility of screenwriters, their significance cannot be overemphasis. From the comments of the filmmakers in the foregoing, it clear that the dearth of professional screenwriters is a factor that discourages the production of literary adaptations. The mode of film production in Nollywood does not have the luxury to cope with the demands that a screenwriter may make before coming up with a script for the adaptation in terms of the length of months and script conferences as Amata points out.

4.3.3 Literary Adaptations Require Longer Production Time

Another major reason proffered as a factor that discourages the production of literature-based films in Nollywood is what filmmakers consider the longer, cumbersome, and tedious production duration it requires. One of the characteristic of Nollywood film production at its inceptions is the fact that besides making films on shoestring budgets, the movies where usually produced within a month from idea conception to post-production editing. This was one of the reasons why the production qualities left a lot to be desired in the early years of the industry. A lot has changed in recent time in terms of budgets, storyline, and audio-visual quality. However, most filmmakers still consider the time required to shoot an adaptation a put off. Majority of the respondents cited this as a matter of fact. Amenechi (personal communication) confirms that it took nine months to shoot *The Concubine*. Onyenwe (personal communication) explains:

> *The process is more cumbersome, considering that filmmaking takes a very short amount of time in Nigeria. So, from idea stage to execution stage, to post-production and exhibition can be in the span of about three to six months. That is even when it is a cinema movie. A DVD movie would probably top to bottom, it is acted, shot, and released within a month. So bringing in literature adaptation will bring in more cost than the market can pay for at the moment which is why there isn't really any focus on that now* (January 18, 2018).

Reiterating this factor, Fred Amata (personal communication) explains:

> *Adaptations go through a tedious scripting process and then more production duration. Sometime it requires months to shoot and stays longer even in post-production. The longer the shoot takes, the more money it requires to execute the production. Running on low budget is what defines Nollywood in the first place. So, it will take some time, maybe when distribution is properly addressed, before filmmakers can begin to pump money into huge budget films like adaptations.*

In confirmation of the comments of longer production and post-production periods for screen adaptation of literary works, in November 2017, Tunde Kelani announced the on-going screen adaptation of Nigerian medical doctor, literary author, and politician, Wale Okediran's book, *Tenants of the House* (published in 2009). Kunle Afolayan directed the adaptation. *Tenants of the House* is a fictional account of the author's time in the National Assembly as a member of the House of Representatives. Although shooting was completed in January 2018, it spent over a year in post-production. The author, who is the film's executive director, recently announced it première for November 28, 2019, at Sheraton Hotel, Abuja (Segun Adebayo 2019 n. p.). It is yet to premiere at the cinemas.

Without any doubt, in an industry where two week shooting is the standard, spending more time on shooting such as is required for adaptations has heavy cost implications as both Onyenwe and Amata point out, and the industry does not have such financial muscles yet. Hence, it is apparent that longer production period required for the production is one of the factors that discourages filmmakers in Nollywood from adapting literary works to film.

4.3.4 Literary Adaptations Require Research

The fact that the preparation or pre-production process of an adaptation may require further research on historical exactitude, cultural practices, mode of dress, and other lifestyle behaviour in relation to the dominant theme of the work, for the adapter to better project a visual verisimilitude of the written text is also an impediment to filmmakers. Research is not only time consuming but also comes with financial implications. Both make the production of literary adaptations unattractive to Nollywood filmmakers who are already have to contend with challenges of raising fund for their film. Newton Aduaka (personal communication) a Nigerian filmmaker based in France, agrees, *"Literary adaptations do take a lot of time and energy, a lot*

of analysis of the original work and finally the specific craft of transposing a literary work to cinematic screenplay"). Lancelot Imaseun gives an insight into the role and relevance of research in movie making while enumerating some of the challenges he encountered in producing his epic film which is an historical adaptation of the events of the British punitive expedition to the Benin Empire in 1897, *Invasion 1897* (2014). What he highlights is also relevant to the production of literary film adaptations because the event of the invasion of Benin Empire in 1897 is the subject of two drama texts: Ola Rotimi's *Ovoranwen Nogbaisi* and Ahmed Yerima's *The Trials of Oba Ovoranwen* According to him:

> To make an appealing and believable epic film . . . requires in-depth research in order to come up with authentic period costumes, makeup and scenery. This, in turn, requires well trained professionals that know what to do and can effectively and convincingly create the right atmosphere for the film (http://smc.edu.ng/news/the-challenges-of-making-a-historical-film-in-nollywood/).

He disclosed that about six million naira was spent on research alone for the *Invasion 1897* movie. Steve Eboh, one of the producers of the screen adaptation of *The Concubine* (2007) also reveals that about ₦5million was spent on research for the production (https://www.modernghana.com/movie/1242/the-making-of-the-concubine.html). Small budget Nollywood films are produced for between five to six million as their total expenditure. Very few filmmakers can afford to spend such a sum on research alone as may be required for the preproduction process of an adaptation. It is therefore understandable why most self-financing filmmakers in Nollywood would rather keep a distance from such a money-guzzling venture.

4.3.5 Challenge of Recreating the Setting of the Literary Work

Creating the setting for a work of literature that is set in a historical period is also a crucial factor that poses a challenge to the frequent production of literary adaptations. Charles Novia made this observation to emphasize why literary adaptations are expensive to produce when he comments, "*Our literary works are rich in locations, sets, and period/time . . . . Adapting some of our literary works would require high budgets.* (See section 4.2.7). Dapo Adeniyi, director and screenwriter of the screen adaptation of Wole Soyinka's *Ake: The Years of Childhood,* which covers the period between 1935 and 1945, identifies some of the challenges to include recreating the

period through restoration of locations and getting the costume and automobiles of that era (Sherry 2012: 375; Gibson & McDonald 2012: 295; Leitch 2007:128). In an interview with Funsho Arogundade (2014) he explained how some of the challenges were resolved through digitalization.

> The Bolekoja [a kind of lorry with a wooden body] for example, we had to go as far as Imeko, Ogun State, before we could find a very good one. The truck ran faster than my jeep when we took it to Odeda (a location we used as Isara). We were also lucky to get a truck that brought the soldier into Ake in 1945. We got that one in Lagos and had to bring it down. We managed to get Alake of Egbaland's Rolls Royce and that of Mrs Kuti, reputed to be the first Nigerian woman to drive a car. We also needed to get some cars on the road to establish that 1940s period. We wanted to bring some from the United Kingdom but later discovered that most are not necessary. In terms of architecture, we initially wanted to use computer generated imaging, CGI, but later found out that it was easier to use what we call 'set extension'. If you look at the trend in movie today, there is what we call "Chroma Key," a complementary system used for special effects in movies. Ake, where Soyinka grew, has all kinds of gangling rocks. We had to import those rocks to this location using Chroma key. Also, the coal train that actually took Wole to Abeokuta from Lafenwa Train Station would actually be in England and that is the part of postproduction we are doing in UK. We will take the relevant cast there, green screen it and key Abeokuta into it. So, you will see Abeokuta but not know that it is UK.
> (http://thenewsnigeria.com.ng/2014/07/soyinkasakeisaboutselfvalidationadeniyi/)

Adeniyi also spoke extensively about the pre-production preparations of identifying the locations mentioned in the book with the writer, Wole Soyinka, and his sister. Some of the locations were reconstructed or refurbished through repairs and painting for the production. Construction of props for setting has deep implication on a films budget in an industry where filmmakers have limited access to sponsorship. While this may not be applicable to every literary text as some narratives are set in contemporary times, there is no doubt that the additional financial burden of such requirements in the production of literary adaptations represent an obvious demotivation to filmmakers.

Another aspect of how creating the setting poses challeng to filmmakers in the production process is the fact that some literary texts may require a large crowd to achieve their adaptation screen. Nnamdi Odunze identifies this as a problematic factor. Amenechi affirms that the cast of the screen adaptation of *The Concubine*

(2007) was about 1000 persons. The same was true for the production of Adeniyi's adaptation of *Ake: The Years of Childhood (2014).*

4.4 Objective 3: Challenges of Exhibition and Distribution of Literary Adaptations in Nollywood

4.4.1 Absence of a Proper Distribution Structure

Film production is both capital and labour intensive, controlled by economic and social forces as we have seen in the previous sections. Linda Constanzo Cahir (2006) posits that film "is the most expensive form of art" but according to Femi Odugbemi (2010), it is in "distribution that the craft of filmmaking becomes a business." Exhibition and distribution is a dicey business in the Nollywood context when it comes to literary adaptations. Unlike regular feature films which are seen as disposable entertainment, literary adaptations are seen as works of prestige which carry the same weight as their written sources. They are considered historical and cultural documents howbeit in visual form. They are also regarded with the esteem accorded their written sources, thus, more time and funds is expended in their production. However, like other films from original source, they also represent media content put together for the purpose of profit-making, and as such negotiating ways to exhibit and distribute them with the hope of recouping the fund invested in their production is crucial.

The history and evolution of filmmaking in Africa (and Nigeria in particular) reveals that distribution is a problem that has remained a constraint to African film industries for decades (Ukadiwe 1994; Balogun 1987; Okome 1996). Even though at some point, "Nollywood succeeded in conquering the huge Nigerian market partially because it crossed the barrier of existing distribution circuit and theatre network by leapfrogging over these networks" it did not provide a lasting solution" (De Groof 2013:194 - 5). Nigerian filmmakers were able to make their films stand out from the crush of continental production and monetise them through the straight-to-DVD mode of distribution (Mbati & Tomaselli 2015). However, this mode of production "had a central role of making the industry's economy particularly vulnerable to piracy and . . . in generating a crisis that has had a relevant impact on Nollywood over the past few years" (Jedlowski 2015: 76). Piracy is one of the reasons film budgets are kept low

and investment on films requiring bigger budget such as literary adaptations are discouraged. Bootlegging obliterates profits thereby emphasizing the significance of a proper distribution and its resultant contribution to the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood.

In the Global North, theatrical releases are the first option of distribution and avenue of recouping money invested on films. The independent filmmaker who spends a huge sum of money to produce a literature-based film without the possibility of theatrical releases is most likely to suffer loss. A film's commercial success is heightened by the availability of an effective distribution structure, therefore the limitations of available distribution channels in Nigeria is a key factor that poses a challenge to filmmakers in Nollywood and discourages them from venturing more readily into the production of literary adaptations. The experiences of filmmakers including Tunde Kelani, Yemisi Sadiku, Dapo Adeniyi, and Uche Chikendu, who have produced literary adaptations in the past, are vivid examples of the enormous challenge distribution poses to producers of literary adaptations.

Chikendu, executive Producer of Andy Amenechi's adaptation of Elechi Amadi's pre-colonial African novel *The Concubine* (2007) made this obvious while admitting the difficulties being experience concerning the distribution of the film. He explains, "The problem we have now is the market. This is because adaptation is not the film, that when it comes out, you then take it to the conventional market - you may lose everything" (https://www.modernghana.com/movie/1242/the-making-of-the-concubine.html). *The Concubine* took almost a year in production. At the time of its production, it was the most expensive movie in the history of Nollywood, with a budget of approximately ₦50million. However, after its premiere at the fourth Best of the Best African Film and TV Programmes Market (BOBTV) in Abuja in March 2007, it is yet to be screened in local cinema neither has there been a DVD release even ten years after production.

Explaining the odyssey of *The Concubine* with regards to exhibition and distribution, the director of the movie, Andy Amenechi (personal communication) remarks:

> The Concubine *took almost two years from agreement to finality. The Nigerian premiere was at the BOBTV in Abuja. The company who owns the rights and paid for the production wanted to use the production as a pedestal to market the film to the Ministry of Education. So, it was not even originally meant to be a distributors'*

> *market thing. Because it was Elechi Amadi's book, it was to be used as a DVD representation of the book, so that students who have read the book will have it as an education or teaching aid. We had started production before they started thinking about that. So by the time they got to the level that they discuss with the Ministry of Education, there was a change in government. I became involved in 2006, you understand. So a lot of things changed. Along the line, they started having series of problems in terms of getting into the ministry. The person who they knew there was removed and all that. From then they have tried to get into DSTV's Africa Magic. I think that has been accepted now. But the issue is that the film is several years old, almost ten years old. So, the people who acted in the film, what they look like now is not what they looked like back then. So, they have a problem now doing that marketing. One person who wanted to take it even asked for a re-shoot to present day. But I have also told them that there is what we call classics. That's why* Things Fall Apart *as a TV series shot in 1980s sell anywhere. No matter how long necked Peter Edochie looked like then, it still sells because that is what it is, a classic* (March 31, 2018*).*

Another literature-based film that shares a similar experience with *The Concubine* in terms of challenges in the area of exhibition and distribution is Dapo Adeniyi's screen adaptation of Wole Soyinka's *Ake: The Years of Childhood* (1981). Commenting of the challenges experienced in respect to exhibiting and distributing the movie, he makes a statement that affirms Chikendu's assertion on literary adaptations. He notes:

> *Literary adaptations need the extra push in the market. They are more expensive to make and more expensive to market and prepare for a general release. They usually are knowledge films and not disposable entertainment. That means they will last longer on the shelf so the filmmaker will need extra discernment in planning their marketing and release. Don't forget again that it will depend on the particular material being adapted* (May 15, 2018).

Ake… made its debut at Cannes Film Festival in Paris on April 2016. Although there has been a private screening in Lagos on December 2015, it is yet to have a general premiere in Nigeria. The scare of the activities of pirates was given as one of the reasons why the film is yet to have a cinema premiere (Ohai, 2015, p. 50). This is what Chikendu alludes to when he talks about a producer losing everything if an adaptation is released to the conventional market. In an interview with Ohai (2016), Adeniyi emphasizes the need to maximize the potential of taking the movie on tours to film festivals. Although he does not rule out the possibility of DVD release, he expresses concerns about ensuring profitability when the film premieres in local

cinema because of the amount invested in the production. The production of *Ake…* gulped over ₦350million. He remarks:

> If we have to screen the film in the cinemas, it has to be done profitably. I am not saying if we take the film to the local cinemas it won't do well. But, we have to maximize the potentials of such a tour . . . . For a big film of this size, so much investment is tied down and it is very important that those who are involved at different levels have to be highly incentivized so that when we do the next big film they will be eager to get involved in it . . . . we wouldn't want a situation where people would describe *Ake…* as just a great film. We know that some projects are monumental artistic successes, but they are not financially successful. (See: http://www.punchng.com/film-adaptation-of-soyinkas-ake-for-screening-at-cannes/)

In September 2018, Adeniyi announced in an interview that the film is now accessible for rental or purchase on Amazon Prime (http://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/09/film-adaptation-of-wole-soyinkas-book-ake-on-amazon/). The fact that it took four years after production, and without a cinema release, before the decision to distribute the film on Amazon is a further confirmation to the challenges posed by the absence of proper distribution channels in Nollywood. Evidently, these challenges, in terms of exhibition and distribution, experienced by filmmakers who have produced literary adaptations is one of the factors that discourages the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood.

In their explication of the political economy analysis in media studies, Wasko (2005) as well as Mosco (2009) explain that it entails an investigation into the social relations that affect participation in the production, consumption, and distribution of media content. Within these social relations, there are powerful individuals whose influences determine participation in ownership of cultural production and distribution. In the contemporary Nollywood context, three groups of stakeholders involved in distribution within the industry stand out as having influence enough to dictate trends in the industry. During the video boom, it was the marketers, who were so powerful that not only were they dictating the types of films produced, but also the cast for movies. They even placed a two years ban on some actorsin 2004. In the present cinema era, we have the cinema operators, and the internet/satellite television exhibitors. These three modes of distributions and distributors still exists side by side,

each representing a different set of obstacle to independent filmmakers and not much hope for the flourishing of literary adaptations in the industry.

Izu Ojukwu (personal communication) hints on the difficulties posed by exhibition and distribution in his response to the question of the challenges militating against the production of literary adaptions in Nollywood. He avers, "*We don't have a producer driven market yet. We have a marketers' market. We have an exhibitors' market. They believe they understand the consumers more*." Essentially, Ojukwu's comment implies that film production in Nollywood is yet to be producer-driven due to the absence of a proper distribution structure, such that producing a literary adaptation with its heavy financial implication is unfavourable in the given circumstances. It also reflects on the fact that filmmaking has been more favourable, first, to marketers as distributors, and in recent times, to cinema operator as exhibitors. This two groups of people represent Nollywood power brokers. It is illuminating to note Ojukwu's observation that the marketers and exhibitors *believe* they understand the consumers more. It can be inferred that that knowledge serves the markets and exhibitors well in pandering to the preferences of the consumers, a preference which is obviously not for literary adaptations.

Haynes (2018:14) observation that "a small number of gatekeepers" "control access to the new commercial apex, in which the multiplex cinemas play an inordinately large role," corroborates Ojukwu's assertion. According to him, "They are young," "in touch with audience," and "according to some, devoid of any sense of history and culture." Haynes further explains, "Tunde Kelani, Nigeria's most respected director, tried for three years to get corporate money for a new project but failed because it was believed his film would not appeal to the multiplex generation" (14). Kelani is famous for his commitment to the production of literary adaptations usually steep in culture and history. Haynes assertion therefore suggests that from the perspective of the managers of cinema complexes and their interaction with audience, literary adaptations are not commercially viable.

Further confirming the difficulty posed by cinema operators, Amenechi (personal communication) expounds:

> *Before the advent of the re-birth of the cinema, we had what we called the marketers market. That is the VHS/VCD market, which is what the local traders use as a vehicle to distribute films. But it was based entirely on their ability to produce films, dub them onto VHS and sell. Now when some films became exceptional, they sold more than others.*

> *That was the limit because they had no essence of A & P i.e. advertising and promotions marketing. They just decided, after poster and so on and two or three promos that was it. Then the cinema structure came in with Silverbird, FilmOne, Genesis and so on. And the quality of films that people want to see improved. However, these cinema houses and their operators now became monsters on their own. FilmOne is not just an exhibitor; it is also into production and distribution. Consequently, they have gained the monopoly by selecting scripts that they will produce, market, exhibit, and distribute. Therefore, it has become what they call the exhibitors' market. Now, FilmOne, give whatever due creditable to them, has been able to develop over the years, a large expansion of infrastructural complexes (March 13, 2018).*

The involvement of cinema operators and television exhibitors, such as FilmOne and Ebony Life TV, in film production represents another challenge to independent filmmakers in the sense that, as exhibitors who produce films, consideration for screening at the cinemas will be biased to productions in which they have a stake. And as Amenechi notes, "Some filmmakers complain that the corporations are forming a cabal; paranoia centres on FilmOne, which has created a vertically integrated studio system, whose films are seen as getting prioritized access to cinemas owned by Film House, the parent company" (Haynes 2018:14). Also commenting on the monopoly of exhibitors, another filmmaker, Elvis Chuks, remarks that some of the cinema operators who are beneficiaries of the Jonathan Administration's financial interventions in the industry built cinemas "where they feature only films that their organisation or those close to their organisation produce." He also mentions the need for "a structure that could check sharp practices in big cinema houses that include under declaring income in order to short pay film owners" (Omiko Awa & Ijeoma Thomas-Odia, 2018, n. p.).

Accusations of unwholesome practices were part of the allegations Genevieve Nnaji levied against cinema operators for boycotting her directorial debut *Lion Heart* (2018) in December 2018. An excerpt of her outburst reads:

> It is sad to discover that the very people, who pose as Nollywood supporters, and promoters of their content, are the very people frustrating the efforts of filmmakers. FilmOne, one of the major film cinema distributors, has categorically refused to distribute *Lion Heart*, primarily because they have no stake in it. They are currently invested in a couple of movies showing in the cinemas and want to protect their assets at all cost. Monopolizing the market this season is their strategy to recouping their investment. Silverbird agreed to exclusively exhibit *Lion Heart* across their cinemas and that was good enough for me. . . .

> But as soon as the announcement was made on Friday about the release, the "powers that be" of distribution and marketing were not having it. They proceeded to arm-twist Silverbird to backing out of our agreement by threatening to boycott them in the future. It's like 2004 all over again when we were all banned from the industry. Except this is not 2004. This is 2018. . . . It is not enough that they buy out their own tickets and manipulate the numbers and time slots to keep up this false imagery of making box-office hits. They prevent filmmakers from releasing their products to manipulate foot traffic as well. . . . It sickens me to think that if this could be done to me (twice if I may add), then I can only imagine what many struggling independent filmmakers must be passing through in the hands of these vultures. (www.pulse.ng/entertaiment/movies/genevieve-nnaji-accuses-filmone-cinema-distributor-of-refusing-to-distribute/vpwygej/).

There is a lot to unpack in this outburst but it suffices to say that Nnaji's allegations highlight some of the points already made by Amenechi and Chuks. In response to Nnaji's outburst, the chairman of Cinema Exhibitors Association of Nigeria (CEAN) Patrick Lee is reported to have said the producers of *Lion Heart* did not follow the guideline for getting a slot at the cinema. According to him at least a three months interval of notice is requires to secure a spot in the calendar as others have done. He also expressed displeasure at the sweeping generalisations made in Nnaji's statement (Njideka Agbo 2018 n. p.). Netflix acquired the exclusive rights to global streaming of *Lion Heart* for $3.8million. It started streaming on Netflix on January 4, 2019. Although cinema operators who responded to her allegations said she failed to follow procedure, Nnaji has clearly outlined some of the challenges an independent filmmakers is up against in regards to theatrical exhibitions of Nollywood films.

Nevertheless, the boycott of film by cinema operators is not a strange phenomenon. In 2015, Cary Fukunaga's *Beast of No Nation* (2015), an adaptation of Uzodimma Iweala's novel of the same title, was boycotted by four major cinema chains; AMC Cinemas, Carmike Cinemas, Cinemark, and Regal Entertainment Group. Their action was because theatrical release coincided with the online streaming, without the usual 90-day big screen and small screen bows in the US. Netflix had acquired *Beast of No Nation*, produced with a budget of $6million, for $12million (Ben Child 2015 n. p.).

However, while Netflix acquisitions may be eye-popping, payment is usually stretched between 2 – 5 years. Such an arrangement may not be favourable to a filmmaker without the advantage of theatrical release. Putting this in perspective, Ayo

Makun says “Netflix stretches payment over five years. I’ve invested and done the movie, all I need is quick cash to go back and do another one. It may be nothing to Hollywood producers, but for people like us . . . we need the money” (tvforum.ng/2017/10/30/the-challenges-of-the-nigerian-film-industry-ay-makun/).

The foregoing explanations imply that straight-to-DVDS, internet streaming and theatrical releases as forms of exhibition and distribution present different challenges to the producers. While distribution of films through DVDs is plagued by piracy, the emerging cinema culture which is the preferred option for exhibition, besides having to surmount the already identified obstacles, comes with inevitable taxes equally making it difficult for filmmakers to break even. Furthermore, statistics of box office revenues of movies screened at the cinemas from 2006 to 2018 shows that literary adaptations did not break even, when compared to romantic comedies (See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_highest-grossing_Nigerian_films). Such a statistic is not only an eloquent evidence of audience preference but also a testament to the inadequacy of cinema infrastructure.

Under the present circumstances, no producer will want to sink money on the production of a literature-based film without thinking twice. With less than two hundred and fifty cinemas nationwide, 35% of the total box office revenue that accrues to a producer after various taxes are deducted makes a recoup on investment impossible. This explains the reason for the popularity of romantic comedies with producers, and it is also a pointer to filmmakers seeming indifference to literary adaptations. Interestingly, the first movie to gross half a billion in box of revenues is a comedy (i.e. *The Wedding Party 2: Destination Dubai*). Again, Genevieve Nnaji’s directorial debut *Lion Heart* the first Nollywood film that had it global rights acquired by Netflix is also a comedy.

In recent times, in the hope of ensuring a return on their investment, filmmakers are looking to other sources of distribution and exhibition, including internet film distribution through interfaces such as IrokoTV, IbakaTV, Inflix, etc., where videos-on-demand (VOD) are screened. The problem here is: How many people buy or subscribe to VOD? Besides, the VOD market is now being proliferated such that once a film goes on VOD, the chances of it being pirated also increases. This brings us to the next significant challenge.

4.4.2 Piracy

A significant consequence of the absence of proper exhibition and distribution channels is the scourge and archenemy of the creative enterprises: piracy. Unfortunately, the deficit in cinema infrastructure means that film producers must consider other means of distribution, one of which is the sales of DVDs. This however opened producers up for pirates who soon reproduce copies and as a result, deprive producers of the due returns on investments. It must be noted though that the sales of films in video cassettes and DVDs were instrumental to the survival of the film industry in Nigeria. Therefore, piracy has had a double effect on the industry. It is both responsible for making Nollywood films ubiquitous across Africa and other continents on the one hand, and stifling the industry on the other. Several scholars (Haynes 2011; Lobato 2010; Larkin 2004; Okome 1999) have traced the advent of piracy to the beginning of the video revolution through the availability of VCR in the 1970s and 1980s. Nollywood sprang from the same infrastructure used to pirate Hollywood and Bollywood films for distribution. Haynes (2011) avers:

> During the oil boom years of 1970s and early '80s, ownership of a television and (more unusually in Africa) a VCR became normal for the rapidly expanding middle class, and an infrastructure of piracy arose to duplicate and distribute videos cassettes of foreign films to put into those VCRs. It was business men involved in that infrastructure (led by Kenneth Nnebue, whose *Living in Bondage* (1992) is considered the inaugural Nollywood film) who saw the profit to be made in Nigerian-made films distributed through the same system (71).

Hence, at the advent of the video revolution, the movie industry was saturated with businessmen who were mostly merchants. These merchants funded movie productions and marketed same after dubbing them straight into VHS/VCD/DVD cassettes. Stories that will entertain the audience and maximize profit for the marketers were the order of the day. In a scenario where the focus is on quick turnovers, literary adaptations, which are not disposable entertainment, were not given much consideration. The films quickly found their way to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, and other continents like Europe and America through the agency of Nigerians in the diaspora (Adejunmobi 2007; Haynes 2000; Okome 2010).

While the scourge of piracy is a problem in every film industry, the case of Nollywood is one of double jeopardy because the video revolution is a consequence

and response to the collapse of the cinema-going culture in the 1980s and its doom. Schultz (2010: 245) agrees, "This pirate infrastructure has proved both a boon and a bane to Nollywood, as it has facilitated both legitimate commerce in Nollywood videos and widespread piracy of them" thereby putting a ceiling on the size of the overall market for each film. Furthermore, Nollywood films are not only pirated in Nigeria but across sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and the US. Jane Miller (2012) confirms the global dimension of the activities of bootleggers of Nollywood films. She points out how "networks of unauthorized distributions are de rigeur in Nollywood's global distribution circuit" so much that the line between formal markets and black markets are blurred, with bootleggers, who sometime repack the films with new jackets, making as much as a 100% profit on their sale (p. 10).

Piracy is the reason film budgets stay low and bigger investments in production such as that required for literary adaptations are discouraged because profitability is impossible. The implication of piracy for producers of literary adaptations is more tragic because of some of the factors filmmakers have identified as the challenges encountered in the production process. Consequently, the fact that literary adaptations are more expensive to produce compared to regular features means that when movies are pirated, the producer who may have spends about ₦30million will suffer more loss than the producer of a regular feature who spends an average of ₦5million - ₦10million in production. Either way, it is unfair to both producers regardless of the amount invested. Although the cinemas springing across the country represent a leeway to curtailing piracy, Samuel Olatunji (quoted in Schulz 2012: 28) notes the risk involved in shooting big budget films without the guarantee of profit even from box office revenues.

Filmmaker, Kunle Afolayan, is reported to have declared that "The sale of DVDs in Nigeria is an exercise in futility because the moment the DVD of any movie is released into the market, the film gets pirated" (Chux Ohai, 2015, p. 50). He is not alone in the position. Kelani has severally lamented the loss he has incurred as a result of the activities of pirates. His adaptation of Femi Osofisan's short story *Maami* was said to have been pirated within 48 hours of the release of the DVDs. While lamenting his loss, he said:

> For the past ten years, the problem of piracy has been a threat to all the investments I have made. My plan was to continue to raise the stake, in the sense that I would attempt within available resources, to make films that are meaningful and relevant and seek to restore our lost

> heritage. But at this rate it is no longer feasible because apart from the lack of infrastructures, piracy has been left unchecked. Filmmaking as a business is no longer viable…. I've invested only to learn at this time that I have lost that investment…. The bootlegging of "Maami" is worse than attacks on my previous films like "Arugba." Even today, I can tell you that 30,000 CDs of that film are in my store unsold and the implication is great, to the extent that for four years I could not release any film until we made "Maami" (Kayode Ekundayo, 2014).

Bandele's *Half of a Yellow Sun* was also pirated. The circumstance surrounding its piracy may be blamed partly on the politics of the Nigerian Film and Video Censors Board which hesitated to approve the public premiere of the movie in Nigeria citing fears that it might ignite violence (Onyinye Muomah 2014). Unfortunately by the time the approval was given and the Nigeria premiere slated for August 1, 2014, the DVD of the movie which had already premiered in the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand in April of the same year was already on sales on Amazon.com. The Blu-ray/DVD was officially released in July 2014 a few days before the Nigerian premiere. The movie was already steaming on PANATV.com in the US by that time. As a result, the movie, which must have fallen into the hands of pirates through some of the platforms, was heavily pirated. Not surprisingly, the DVDs of the movie flood popular markets like Oshodi and Alaba in Lagos, less than three weeks after the cinema premiere (Ohai 2014).

In a bid to address the challenge of poor distribution problem, the federal government of Nigeria, under the Goodluck Jonathan administration, set up a presidential intervention scheme that was tagged Project ACT Nollywood. The purpose of the scheme was to address the problem of poor distribution structure and in turn tackle the menace of piracy. The federal government in January 2015 launched an Innovation Distribution Fund (IDF) of ₦2billion. The aim of the fund was the improvement of the distribution of audio-visual content to cut down on piracy and better protect intellectual property in the industry. The fund was targeted at businesses that operate in the film distribution space (Tadenaiwo Collins 2015).

This intervention came after the federal government's initial intervention of ₦3billion made available to the creative industry in 2013. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, then the minister of Economy and Finance, had set the aim of the fund as three fold: getting distribution right, for capacity building in the industry and for encouraging creativity through reviewing and having competition for scripts and production (Tunde Omon, Nollywood to spend GEJ's ₦N3b on distribution). Despite the

laudable effort of the government, there is still a huge deficit of cinema infrastructure in proportion to the Nigerian population.

4.4.3 Cinema Infrastructural Deficit and Taxes

The re-emergence of the cinema offers alternative means of exhibition to Nollywood moviemakers from the straight to VCDs and DVDs that was initially the case. At Cannes Film Festival 2018 in France, Kunle Afolayan, who screen a six minutes documentary "Lagos and Cinema," is reported to have said "that skills and modern equipment used have brought back the cinema culture, and provided a somewhat escape from the problems associated with piracy" (Victor Akande 2018). Nothwithstanding, the screening of movies at the cinema also poses attendant problems for the filmmakers. The major problem with the cinema however is largely a question of the deficits of cinema infrastructures. As a result of this deficit, producers are unable to recover their investments due to a number of taxes. Besides this, as Amenechi points out in his contribution, the re-birth of the cinema culture have seen operators wielding considerable influence in the types of movies that are produced, no doubt partly based on the statistics of box office earnings. While the presence of adequate viewing centres across the nation will be more favourable to the producers regardless of taxes, the deficit of infrastructure sometimes means that producers are unable to recoup their investment from the 35 per cent of the net box office revenues which accrues to them after all taxes are deducted. Jonathan Haynes (2016:289) explains the filmmakers were disgruntled with the situation because the tax-cuts were very unfavourable in an arrangement where box office revenue sharing formular progressively decreases for the film producers as the weeks accumulate.

Probably in a move to avoid the burdensome taxation associated with cinemas, some filmmakers have taken to other platforms and venues for the screening of their movies. Kelani's most recent production, an adaptation of Soyinka's *The Lion and The Jewel* in Yoruba as *Sidi Ilujinle* (2017) is yet to screen at conventional cinemas. The movie had its premiere at the Cinema Hall of the June 12 Cultural Centre, Kuto, Abeokuta, in Ogun State, on December 15, 2017. It was screened at that venue until December 31, 2017. *Sidi Ilujinle* was also screened at Olusegun Obasanjo Presidential Library (OOPL) Cinema, Abeokuta, from 23 – 31 December, 2017. The Lagos screening took place at The National Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos and Lagos Television

(LTV) Ikeja. CJ Obasi who recently adapted Nnedi Okorafor's short story Hello Moto to film as *Hello Rain* (2018*)* says he does not screen his movies at cinemas in Nigeria. After the tours at film festival, the movies stream on Hulu TV. Rental or purchase of *Hello Rain* is available on Amazon Prime videos.

A look at a flowchart of cinema cash waterfall will provide an insight that will aid an understanding of the anxiety of filmmakers with regards to taxation and the effect of film exhibition in a situation such as that which exists in Nigeria, where there is a noticeable deficit of cinema infrastructure.. The price of movie tickets in Nigeria cinemas range between ₦500 to ₦2000. In the flowchart that follows, ₦1,000 (One thousand Naira) which is the average cost of movie tickets is used to show how the earnings from a given movie is shared and what accrues to the producer at the end of the day. It will be noticed that while the cinema gets 50% of the net revenue after initial taxes, another 10% of the gross royalty is decucted as withholding tax; while a further deduction is taken from the net royalty before the producers gets their share.

Cinema Cash Waterfall Chart

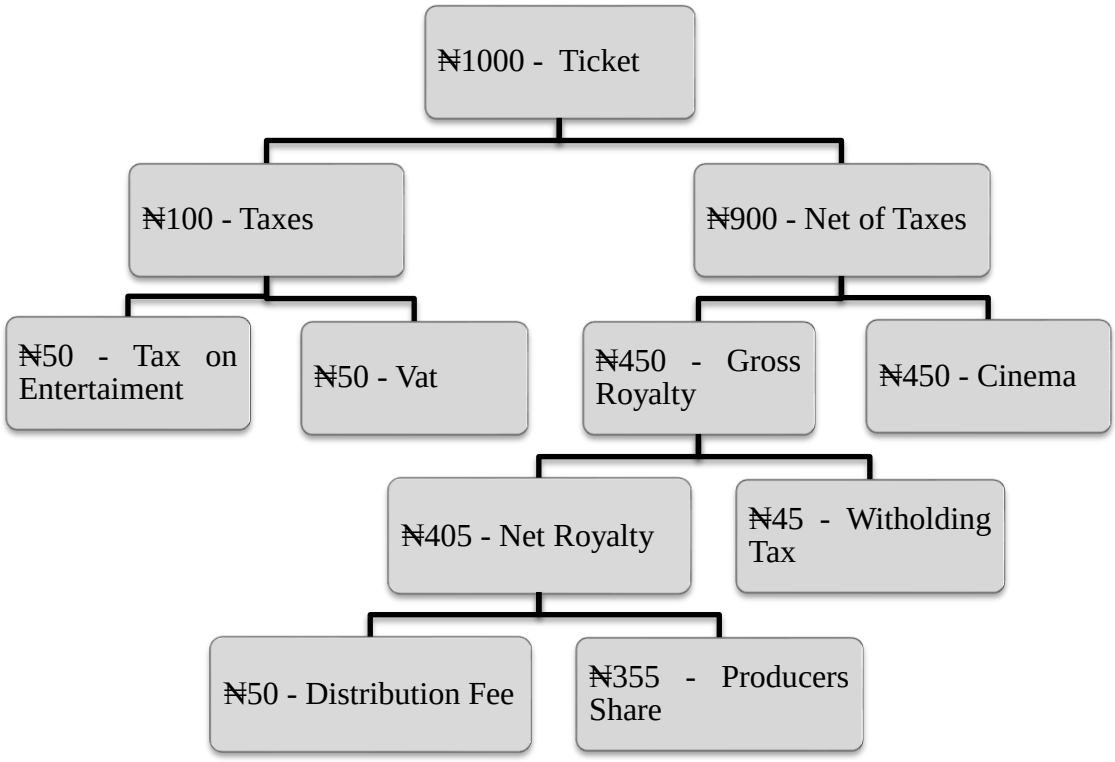

Fig. 1

The following are brief explanations of the breakdown of how the revenues from box office earnings are shared

Taxes: Ten per cent (10%) of the total cost of a ticket price goes to government taxes. 5% goes to the federal government as Value Added Tax (VAT) and the other 5% goes to the state government as Entertainment tax. This leaves the net box office revenue as 90% of the ticket cost.

***Net Box Office Revenue*:** This is what is left after tax is deducted. This revenue is shared equally between the Cinemas and the Producers.

***Cinema Share*:** Cinemas get 50% of the net box office revenue. Although this might seem unfair, it's important to understand that most cinema operators took loans which are being serviced from this revenue, besides running on power generating plants several hours of each day as the case is with most sectors in Nigeria (Lasisi 2015: 67).

***Gross Royalty*:** After deduction of cinema share, the gross royalty from the ticket is left. This is also 50% like the cinema share. The gross royalty is the revenue that cinemas pay for the rental of the movie from distributors. Nas Onuzo (2018) explains that this revenue is set at 50 per cent, sliding to 40 percent for Nollywood films as an initiative to support the industry. What this means is that the gross royalty of a movie is not static. It may start at 50% in the first week of the movie premiere to 40% by the second or third week of the movie in the cinema.

Withholding Tax: From the gross royalty of 50 per cent due the distributor, the cinemas deduct another 10% as withholding tax due to the federal government.

***Net Royalty*:** The revenue left after the deduction of withholding tax is known as the net royalty. It is further divided between the distributor and the movie producer.

***Distribution Fee*:** From the net royalty, distributors may charge between 10 percent and 15 percent for placing a movie in cinema and also negotiating good time slots and long runs to ensure good revenue. In the flowchart, the distributor's fee is put at 12.3%.

***Producer's Share*:** After all deductions are made, the movie producer is left with about ₦355 from every ticket of ₦1000. This amounts to about 35.5 percent on each ticket.

From the foregoing, after all deductions, what is left for the producer is inadequate to break even. This is more devastating in cases of producers who have taken loans that need to be repaid with interests from banks. Expectedly, several producers have decried the effect of taxes on their revenues from cinema screening. It is understandable why undertaking the production of literary adaptations under these circumstances is obviously a risky venture. It is in this light, again, that Ojukwu's assertion that Nollywood does not have "a producer driven market yet" resonates.

In addition, the implication of the deductions is that if a movie is produced for about ₦35million and the ticket revenue from cinema screenings is less that ₦100million, the producers is already at a loss. This means, after spending so much to produce a movie, filmmakers may not break even with the 35.5 percent or less of the box office revenue that accrues to them after taxes and other deductions. This state of affairs has discouraged some filmmakers from screening their movies in the cinemas.

Tunde Kelani expresses his opinion on the prevailing situation with regards to cinema screening thus:

> I do not think anyone can break even. The Bank of Industry (BOI) had earlier explained the formulae to me. They said that even if a filmmaker claims he or she made a hundred million; the producer may take home less than say thirty-three percent of the earnings. That is just the reality. Now your chance of making a hundred million is very slim and that is the truth. The cinema houses that screen your film would have to be paid heavily. Except you are able to get sponsorships, the bank would have to police you: monitor your earnings, and make sure they recover their capital. The situation can only be solved if we find the right channel that will be available to fund African films. We have not found that proper model yet. There must be a suitable model for funding. (Onikoyi 2020:23)

Lancelot Imasuen's response to Silver Ojieson (2017: 265) in an interview when asked how well his historical adaptation, *Invasion 1897*, which had a budget of ₦80million, did at the cinemas home and abroad, lends credence to Kelani's assertion. Imaseun explains that only thirty million naira was realised even though the film had favourable reviews and the content was appreciated. He also laments the absence of structures for a virile cinema culture in Nigeria befor declaring that most

filmmakers make losses because of they are unable to recoup their investments in the present circumstances.

However, without discrediting the claims of Kelani and Imasuen, it is worth mentioning that statistics of cinema box office earnings in Nigeria cinemas show that some Nollywood movies have actually grossed close to a hundred million and in some instance, far above that mark (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_highest-grossing_Nigerian_films). These movies are all comedies. For example, Ayo Makun's ₦30million budget comedy, *30 Days in Atlanta* (2014), made it into the 2017 Guinness Book of World Records 2017 as the highest domestic grossing movie in Nigerian cinemas when it grossed ₦137million at the box office while *A Trip to Jamaica* (2016) grossed ₦178million (Rotimi Agbana 2016). These records have been beaten by another set of comedy films; *The Wedding Party* (2016) and *The Wedding Party 2*: *Destination Dubai* (2017) which grossed ₦468.5 million and over ₦500 million respectively.

Despite this prodigious achievement, it is difficult to say whether *The Wedding Party* made profit going by the arrangement of only 35 percent of the gross royalty accruing to the producer(s) in box office revenue. This question arises because Kene Mkparu, the managing director of Film One Distribution and Production, a co-producing company of the movie, puts the budget of *The Wedding Party* and *The Wedding Party 2* at ₦150million and ₦300million respectively. Except the distribution formula is altered considering Film One, a subsidiary of Film House Cinema with a chain of about eleven cinemas across Nigeria, is also a partner in the ELFIKE Film Collective, producers of the movie, the others being Ebony Live Films, Inkblot Production and Koga Studios.

Arrangements such as the ELFIKE Film Collective may be pointing the way to the future by showing that partnership with the cinema operators as co-producers in a film project may be one of the ways of tackling the burden of the 50 percent net royalty accruable to them (Haynes 2016: 289). Nevertheless, it goes further to support the clamour for more cinemas across the country. If a Nigerian film can gross half a billion with about just 30 cinemas with less than 200 screens, there is no doubt that it would have made double or triple of its gross box office earning if there are say about five hundred cinema screens across the country.

Additionally, it further foregrounds the issue of inadequate cinema infrastructure in Nigeria as an acknowledged fact by filmmakers, cinema operators

and the Nigerian government alike. In Hollywood, for example, producers are usually able to recoup investments on a movie through cinema screening before they are eventually released on DVDs. However, Nigeria has less than a hundred cinemas. Kelani (Onikoyi, forthcoming) laments the deficiency: "We should be able to make our money back from cinema in a perfect world, but Nigeria isn't and does not build movie theatres. It's a disgrace to have one cinema to 3 million people, like we have in Nigeria. India, for instance, has 13,000 cinemas while Nigeria does not have up to 50." The United States had 39,356 indoor screens on 5,463 sites and 656 Drive-in screens on 393 sites as at December 2014 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_movie_theater_chains/).

As filmmakers continue to bemoan the infrastructural deficiency, Moses Babatope, the Group Executive Director of Film House lends his voice to the demand for more cinemas in an online news report dated August 17, 2018.

> We have only 29 cinemas and 133 screens in Nigeria and if you have a very strong film, those 29 cinemas would be made available for your film. With that, how much can you really make? With that, you would pay tax, the cinema houses, and other people. Nigeria needs more cinema houses and tax breaks like the government just announced (http://punchng.com/nigeria-needs-more-cinemas-filmhouse-boss/).

Although Babatope puts the number of cinemas at 29, the Executive Director of the National Film and Videos Censors Board, Adebayo Thomas had put it at 34 when he mentioned that cinemas in the country generated over ₦3Billion in 2017 (http://www.premiuntimesng.com/entertainment/nollywood/266371--34-cinemas-generates-n3billion.html). Even though the Minister of Information, Tourism and Culture, Lai Mohammed had said the federal government plans to build cinemas across Nigeria, in partnership with the private sector to diversify the economy, this remains to be seen (Kemi Busari 2017).

In a summation of the situation Amenechi (Personal Communication) comments:

> *Essentially, the only way we can progress, in my personal opinion is a combination of everything. Firstly, we need to get more investors interested in building infrastructures. If we had ten thousand screens, if every local government had 1 cinema complex of two screens, just two, that is 774 times 2 screens and you exhibit for a period of two weeks, there is no film that will screen, or there will be very few films that will screen that will not break even and make profit. Then you see*

> *films that are exceptional even make more profit. We've seen films with the little facility that we have make ₦300/400m gross. Note gross, not net. Because from gross now, the exhibitors take their own percentage, government taxes take their own percentage. Withholding tax takes its own percentage, and so on. So at the end of the day the producer is left with something close to 40 -50 percent depending on your negotiating ability. It's a multiplicity of numbers. When you have a thousand, two thousand screens, then the percentages don't really matter because at the end of the day, even if we're charging ₦500, in some places, ₦300, and you have attendance of 10 thousands viewers per screen, calculate the numbers. So the exhibitor will be making returns, you [filmmakers] will be making returns; government will be making money from the tax. I think what should happen now is that there's need for investment into infrastructural development in terms of cinemas. Now, not only cinema, you have three tiers of what the future holds; cinematic exhibition, digital media, internet. That is the future. Anybody that does not recognize that that is the future of filmmaking and exhibition is telling a big lie. Netflix, Hulu, and so on have shown us the power of internet (March 13, 2018).*

Amenechi, like other filmmakers, is convinced that the future of theatrical exhibition is in the availability of cinemas in each local government area. Although the need for local cinema in all local government areas in Nigeria has often been mooted, there is little to show in terms of infrastructures in that direction. The idea of the low-end cinema fits the South Africa's ReaGile (pronounced Ree-e-gee, South Sotho word for "We have built') concept. "As a one-of-a-kind" film service, the ReaGile concepts offers opportunities for the alternative distribution of micro-budget local films as well as imports. Hence it has the potential to alter the traditional film industry value chain which is based on a distribution monopoly" such as those of the cinema multiplex operators like Film House in Nigeria (Mboti & Tomaselli 2015: 629).

Such an initiative will take cinema to the popular audience of Nollywood who have become increasingly sidelined by the ticket price and remoteness of the cinema complexes. The actualization of such an initiative will also increase possible ticket sale to between I – 2 million, a considerable increment from the current record of 450,000 tickets sale of the few available screen. Haynes (2018) agrees, "Clearly such low-end cinemas are where the really big potential profits are, and they would re-establish the primacy of a mass audience and its culture, thereby perhaps reducing the relative (though not the absolute) role of the upscale multiplexes" (19). The availability of more cinemas nationwide is the best chance literary adaptations have to flourish in Nollywood.

This chapter has focused on the findings from interviews held with literary authors and filmmakers against the background of the study objectives. The study identified the reasons for filmmakers' apathy to literary adaptations, and respondents cited critical factors such as budgetary constraint, fear of negative reviews, and audience preference for other genres of films among others. The study also highlighted the peculiar challenges Nollywood filmmakers encounter in the process of producing literary adaptations. Some of the factors such as film right acquisition requirement, dearth of professional screenwriters, the inevitability of a longer production duration, and research are peculiar to Nollywood because of the mode of production popularised by the video revolution.

The analyses also examined the challenges encountered at the exhibition and distribution stages. Findings reveal that the absence of a proper distribution structure, cinema infrastructural deficit, and piracy are obstacles associated with distribution and exhibition, and they are deterrents to filmmakers who would produce literary adaptations. The theoretical framework of the adaptation industry, especially its proposition of a political economy of the media approach to adaptation studies served as the compass for the analyses in this chapter. Data have been analysed using literal and interpretive readings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGD)

5.0 Relevance of Focus Group Discussions (FGD) to the Study

Filmmaking in Nollywood owes its success to filmmakers ability to discern what their audience want and pander to that desire rather than what the filmmakers think they ought to want (Adesanya 2000; Akpabio 2003; Haynes 2011; Okome 2007). Films are made to cater to the taste of an audience. Nollywood filmmakers' awareness of this fact is partly responsible for Nollywood's global presence today. Describing the relationship between Nollywood filmmakers and their audience, Okome (2007: 2) remarks, "Nollywood is commercially-savvy. It values the entertainment of its clientele. The entertainment bit is primary to the mode of representation in the industry, yet in that pursuit, one cannot forget its sense of mission, which is to produce culture from the bottom of the street, so to speak." Jonathan Haynes (2016:53) explains this further.

> There is little difference in perspective between the people producing the films and those consuming them – we are not dealing with mass culture industrially produced by one class of people for consumption by another class, with an intermediary set of marketing experts. The actors and directors of Nollywood are generally better educated than their audience, but the marketers, who strongly control what kind of films get made and distributed are not. Everything depends on their instinct for what people will buy.

In the preceding chapter, one of the factors filmmakers cited as a reason for distancing themselves from literary adaptations is that audience have not shown a preference for them. Films have to be made with consideration for a target audience (Odugbemi 2010). A filmmaker's ability to identify what his/her audience wants to see, and deliver it, can determine the difference between a cinematic hit and a flop. This is the secret of Nollywood's commercial success when compared to the Art cinema of

Francophone West Africa. However, while different genres of films were produced to pander to audience preference, literature-based films are rarely made. Here in lies the significance of the audience perspective to understanding the challenges of producing literary adaptations in Nollywood. Moreover, adaptation scholars have also identified the significance of audience study in the wake of proposals for a contextual approach in the disciplines analytic methodology. Considerations for the cultural and commercial values at work in the contemporary adaptation industry makes audience study an imperative to adaptation studies (Bluestone 1958:35; McFarlane 1996: 6-8; Naremore 2000: 10; Murray 2008: 12).

There have been several academic works on audience reception in Nollywood, including studies on spectatorship and the sites of consumption (Okome 2007), attitude of audience to the films (Akpabio 2007), audience reception in France (Ugochukwu 2009), perception of the reality of the representation of women (Azeez 2013), consumption in film festivals (Dovey 2015), audience reactions to different aspects of the films (Onuzulike 2016), to mention a few. However, no study has focussed on the reception of Nollywood films by undergraduates of a specific discipline, in this case Theatre Arts/Film Studies, and their disposition to a specific film genre, literary adaptations. This study fills that gap.

The decision to have a focus group discussion with undergraduate students of Theatre and Film Studies is justifiable considering the fact that literary adaptations are intellectual films. They require an audience who can understand literary discourse, reflect on and engage the thematic thrust of the work, besides being entertained. Literary adaptations also require professionals with training in filmmaking techniques and production to produce them. Therefore, engaging students who have theoretical knowledge of literary adaptations ensures that they can express informed opinions. Further, Moveover, these departments are directly related to the industry. There is also the presumption that future Nollywood filmmakers will crop up from this category of people. This is because Theatre Arts/Film Studies departments of Nigerian universities have served as the first breeding grounds for actors/actress, make-up artist, scriptwriters, directors, and producers in Nollywood. A good number of such professionals currently in Nollywood are graduates of Theatre Arts. Furthermore, the age of participants that is between 18 - 30 falls within the bracket of the demography that forms the largest percent of Nollywood's audience.

Consequently, the following findings are the outcome of a series of three (3) focus group discussions held with third year Theatre and Film Studies students at three federal universities in Nigeria namely: University of Ibadan (UI), University of Lagos (Unilag) and University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN). There were eight participants in each group: four males and four females. Participants were between the ages of eighteen (18) and Thirty (30). They all volunteered to take part in the discussions. Each discussion took place within an hour of the request for volunteers. Discussions lasted between an hour, and one and half hours. The discussions address the fourth research question while the objective of the discussions was to gain insight into audience perception of Nollywood, evaluate preferences, and sample their opinions on the idea of the production of more literary adaptation. To achieve the objective, the discussions sought insight into discussants reading habits, favourite movie genres, and favourite filmmakers. Findings show that audience are more interested in the technical qualities of the productions, originality and creativity in the storytelling. The responses to questions by participants at the discussions are italicised throughout with the use of the participants' verbatim comments. The research instruments can be found in Appendix D.

Objective 4: Evaluation of Theatre and Film Studies Undergraduates' Perception of the Proposition for more Literary Adaptations in Nollywood.

Highlight of Findings

5.1 Mixed Impression about Nollywood

From all three discussions held, it was observed that there is a polarized impression about Nollywood. This reaction cuts across the participants of the three discussion groups. For most of the discussants, Nollywood got a poor rating as a film industry mainly in comparison to Hollywood. Several factors were identified as the reason for this, ranging from poor acting to repetitive storyline, predictable plots, sterotypism, and preoccupation with quick financial gains amongst others. These factors constitute the reasons for the negative opinions held about the industry. Those who expressed positive opinions alluded to specific films and their filmmakers. In addition, discussants manifest an awareness of the shifts in the style of storytelling, and made

distinctions between various kind of productions and filmmakers categorised as Nollywood. The following statements are a sample of the responses from the discussants to the question "What is your impression about Nollywood and what will make you go out to buy a Nollywood movie?"

> **Sophia Nfiaji:** *When I hear Nollywood, I just think of this stereotype kind of people who keep doing the same thing over and over again. Sincerely, I don't like to see most Nollywood movies except maybe for assignments. What they do in Nollywood in my opinion is unimpressive because they keep doing the same thing all the time. From the [DVD] jacket, or the advert, I can predict what will happen. And the movies sometimes are not just realistic. They just do anything, give it to us to watch, especially the so-called Asaba movies. They are just too annoying and sometimes I don't like seeing them* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
>
> **Kehinde Olatokunbo**: *Nollywood is an industry that produces low quality films. The acting is poor, the storylines are poor and even the audio-visual quality is embarrassing. Sometimes the plots are incoherent and they end abruptly. There is too much monotony in their themes and this is irritating* (August 4, 2017, UI).
>
> **Silas Uwadiogbu**: *I have to be honest and blunt. I will not go out of my way to buy a Nigerian movie. If it's being televised and I'm not interested in the programs on other channels, I may watch. The reason is this; whenever I'm watching a Nigerian movie I tend to compare it with Hollywood movies and it make the Nigerian production a little bit ridiculous. I think we have good stories in our culture that will make good films but I feel we are not taping into that. I feel our movies are preforming below what they should be doing. That's what puts me off* (March 8, 2018, UNILAG).
>
> **David Abuguja**: *Nollywood producers and directors are more focussed on how to produce these movies and make a lot of profit from it. And that is why they repeat a particular concept, or story over and over again. This is because most of them are thinking of quick gain, not laying emphasises on how the society will perceive the particular story. The repetitions are purely to take advantage of a trending theme and make financial gains* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
>
> **Bolade Jolade**: *Nollywood has improved a lot. There is this movie that I watched,* Dry (2014) *by Stephanie Linus. It is about Child marriage and Vesico-virginal fistula (VVF). The film was on point. The issues were well treated. It was really enlightening* (August 4, 2018, UI).
>
> **Faith John**: *I can deliberately go out and buy a movie by Tunde Kelani or movie such as* The Wedding Party 1 and 2 *because of the storyline, because of how engaging it will be and because it's the new thing [trending film] in Nigeria. It's not like the normal Yoruba or*

Igbo films. That is something new, something fresh, I can go out of my way to buy that or watch it at the cinemas. But I won't go out to buy the normal [usual] Igbo or Yoruba movies because Africa Magic [MutliChoice DSTV Channels] is showing it. And I can watch it then (March 8, 2018, UNILAG).

Chukwuma Onouha: *To me, before now [recent times] I'd say Nollywood movies were below standard…But with the innovation of technology, digitalization and all of these, I believe Nigerian [Nollywood] movie is tilting towards healthy competition with products outside the shore of this country…What we are now seeing on screen is commendable. Before, you could predict the end of a movie, but our story content is now sophisticated such that you cannot predict Nigerian movie as it were before. Our directors are becoming very more imaginative and creative in their storytelling* (March 8, 2018, UNILAG).

Caleb Uzodimma: *Nollywood is a movie an industry that promotes African contents and tells our own stories. From our study of film history, we learnt that Nollywood started in the 1990s even though there were movies made before… Basically, there was this kind of story that was always coming to the screen, but the thing is that at a point there was a need to actually change the way the stories are being told, maybe from the way they are structured, the story lines, equipment and everything. An average Nigerian youth, especially those of us who are students of film and theatre studies, think Nollywood is backwards because when we start watching Hollywood we think it is the standard and we begin to compare in the areas of plot, technological aspect, equipment they use and everything. But then, there is the innovative aspect of Nollywood that tells stories that can sell anywhere. One of my icons in the movie industry is Kunle Afolayan because he explores a Yoruba story in a creative and innovative manner. For instance,* The Figurine, *the standard of the visual is high. There are others too telling good unique stories with good audio-visual quality. I read online that the box office revenue for* The Wedding Party 2 *was actually competing favourably with* The Black Panther *and* Avengers Infinity War *in the opening weeks. I think that's encouraging. If Nollywood can compete with movies from other places, I think we can do more. If they play down on quantity and have their mind on quality, I think that's a very commendable move* (June 26, 2018, UNN).

The responses confirm several studies on Nollywood that identified the monotony of themes, poor acting, and shoddy plots of the films to criticize them (Adesanya 2000; Akpabio 2003; Chukwuma 2008; Ebewo 2007; Haynes 2007). Also, the initial low technical quality affects audience perception. According to Jedlowski (2015: 77), the initial informality of the industry "prevented producers and marketers from applying

any marketing strategy based on a statistical analysis of audience consumption patterns. Within this context, most producer and marketers preferred to be on the safe side, and tended to produce films which repeated already tested narrative and aesthetic formulas, with the overall result of a constant repetition of stories and plots." This practise of filmmaking that thrives on tested formula and conventions is also popular with Hollywood (Kellner 2004: 210). However, discussants are also aware that the repetitions are "motivated entirely by the desire for profit" as Haynes (2006: 513) puts it.

Furthermore, the responses also show that discussants are aware of different qualities of films produced in Nollywood, thereby revealing a progression from the types of films initially produced at the advent of the industry. There are those termed the Asaba films that Sophia Nfiaji mentioned and those produced by some filmmakers classified as Neo-Nollywood including Stephanie Linus, Kunle Afolayan, and Tunde Kelani (Jedlowski 2013; Haynes 2016, Afolayan 2014). Their films manifest a "move away from the cinematic ebullience and mushrooming tendency of Nollywood towards a qualitative and aesthetic transformation of the industry" (Afolayan 2014: 26).

Also, the comparisons made between Nollywood and Hollywood films validates Okome (2007) counterpoint of Pierre Barrot's (2004) assumption on the lack of interest of video film audience on "foreign films." Okome avers, "audience members in Nollywood "patronize "foreign films" as much as they do local ones. Essentially what marks the post-coloniality of this audience is the deep intention of being immersed in both visual culture without being strictly compartmentalized into any one" (5). This point is applicable to the discussants in the three groups.

Equally significant is what the responses reveal about MultiChoice DStv Africa Magic's (and by extension, other satellite television exhibitors such as StarTimes, Kwese TV) role in stifling distribution of Nollywood films. John Faith comments that she will not buy the regular pre-neo-Nollywood films because she can watch them on Africa Magic, a fact confirmed by fellow discussants, underpins one of the factors responsible for the decline of Nollywood DVD sales. In a conversation Connon Ryan (2014) had with three filmmakers; Tunde Kelani, Bond Emeruwa and Emem Isong, the role of Africa Magic in distribution came up for discussion. The following is an excerpt.

> **Emem Isong:** . . . the quality of the films has really dropped, other windows of distribution have opened, which has also caused the decline of the sale of these movies. When we were selling 200,000 copies, we didn't have Africa Magic. No one was selling their films to Africa Magic immediately after [finishing production]. We also didn't have the Internet. All of those windows may be what is causing the decline.
> **Tunde Kelani:** …I think what is causing this drop in sales is that Nollywood movies are available for free on most satellite and television stations. As long as audiences can watch them for free, who is going to buy them? (174)

MultiChoice, through its satellite platform, DStv, delivers multi-channel television services in 48 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Tomaselli 2014: 14). From the dialogue, we can deduce that like piracy, DStv also played a dual role in regards to Nollywood films. It is both responsible for a spread and a stifling of the industry in terms of returns on DVD sales. In recent times, however the company has been contributing to the training of new talents in the industry (Hayne 2018, Odugbemi 2018).

5.2 Not Much Leisure Reading of Literary Texts outside Course work

Some Nollywood filmmakers identified the lack of reading culture as their reason for focusing on the production of literary adaptations with the hope to reviving interest in literature through their film. This view is expressed by Chikendu, the executive producer of the screen adaptation of *The Concubine* (2007) who declares: "The books I read as a young child greatly influence my philosophy as an individual and I believe I can make school children read these books after watching my films. (https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/index.php/news/4875-mps-now-nec-members-of-parties). Tunde Kelani who has produced the highest number of literary adaptation also shares Chikendu's opinion (Agbedeh 2012).

As if confirming the assumption of filmmakers, most of the discussants confess that they rarely read literature texts apart from their prescribed texts for coursework as students of Theatre and film studies. Some blame it on the pressures of course work. Participants in both the University of Ibadan and University of Nigeria confessed that they do not read literary texts outside their course work. For these groups of participants, apart from social media, other readings engaged in include Newspaper, motivational books, fashion and cookery magazine and handcraft

magazines. Only some of the participants in the University of Lagos show that they read fictions texts outside their coursework.

> **Olamilekan Adeniran**: *I actually like reading novels by Chimamanda Adichie. Just like one of a book [novel]* Americanah. *It is one fascinating story that I really enjoyed so much (March 8, 2018,* UNILAG*).*
> **Ibukunoluwa Goriola**: *I have just pick up interest in Nigerian literature. I recently read…* For Daughters Who Walked this Path *and another one;* The Secret Lives of Baba Segi's Wives *by Lola Shoneyin (March 8, 2018,* UNILAG*).*
>
> **David Ohaegbu**: *Apart from prescribed plays, I also read, magazines and newspapers. In Theatre [Theatre Art] here we concentrate on prescribed text because we do not have enough time (June 26, 2018, UNN).*
>
> **Francess Ofuebe**: *Outside social media, I read fashion magazines. I can keep my eyes on that for like hours. I also love magazine about food (June 26, 2018, UNN).*

Before the video revolution, it was usual to find Nigerians from all various works of life who read literature at their leisure, regardless of profession or academic discipline. The video boom changed that largely. However, the apathy towards reading is also a reflection of a global trend as Hedges (2009) explains in his seminal book, *Empire of Illusion: The End of Literacy and the Triumph of the Spectacular*. He explains how "a culture dominated by images" has been traded for "the printed word" because of it seductive powers (44). Hedges' observation is similar to Haynes' (2011) who attests that "Nollywood has to a considerable extent filled the void in Nigeria culture left by the collapse of celluloid film production, the decline of literary drama…, and the expatriation of literature" (79). This factor explains the popularity of literary adaptation as a dominant cinematic genre in the Global North, and inversely, the popularity of home videos films in Nigeria.

5.3 Comedy, Epic and Thrillers are Preferred Genres: Literary Adaptations are Unpopular

A question requesting discussants to mention their preferred genre of films and the reason for their choice yielded varying responses such as epics, comedies, and thrillers. While participants in the University of Ibadan expressed a preference for thrillers and a love for Afolayan's movies, in the University of Lagos, epic movies

dominate the preferences, followed by comedies. The preferences of discussants in the University of Nsukka are spilt almost equally between epics, comedies, and thrillers. Various reasons are proffered for these preferences. Interestingly, no discussant mentioned literary adaptation as a preference. Still in line with the objective of gaining an insight into preferences, they are asked to mentions what genre of film they will produce if given a loan of ₦1billion (the budget for the film adaptation of Half of a Yellow Sun). The responses were insightful as shown below:

> **Oluwadamilola Adesanya**: *I love Kunle Afolayan's movies which are mostly thrillers. I enjoy the imaginative way the plot is developed, the suspense and even the code-switching of language which mixes Yoruba and English. We find that in* Irapada, The Figurine *and* October 1. *The resolutions always come with surprises so I like that element in thrillers* (August 4, 2017, UI).
>
> **Francess Ofuebe**: *I like thrillers. I enjoyed watching* October 1. *Watching that movie, anytime I see the protagonist, the Inspector, it actually gave me joy. Also, there is this movie* Inale *[*directed by Jeta Amata*]. The movie just brought back an African setting of the past with very beautiful scenery and that made me happy. It was a beautiful epic film* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
>
> **Jide Abimbola**: *In terms of preference, I will go for thrillers. It is not a common genre and Afolayan tells his stories in a captivating manner. His movies arrest your attention, there is heightened suspense such that one feels he may miss something if distracted (*August 4, 2017, UI).
>
> **Sophia Nfianji**: *I love thrillers especially the movies of Kunle Afolayan. I saw* The Figurine *and* October 1. *They were just wow. Not like all these our own normal Nigeria movies. The first time I watched* The Figurine*, It was just mind-blowing. It was deep. The suspense is engaging. I didn't really understand what was going on until the end. I really love that director. He's an auteur. He does so well in his movies* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
>
> **Victor Eze**: *Comedy is my favourite genre. I reflect about life a lot and I enjoy comedy because they put me in a light mood and make me happy* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
>
> **David Abuguja**: *My favourite genre is comedy. In Nollywood comedies, they try to bring out the realistic situation. If there is hunger in the country, tomorrow you will see a movie showing us that Nigerians are hungry. And that is why I love it. I love seeing that what is happening, is what you are showing me. This happened yesterday and you're showing me today. I like it because for me, that is the realistic quality of the films* (June 26, 2018, UNN).

> **Goodness Oparah**: *I love epic movies. Reasons: I can identify with them because they are cultural films where they wear Igbo or Yoruba costumes. Some of them are in indigenous languages but their dialogue can be understood with subtitle. Besides, the give us an idea of how people lived, interacted and resolve problems in the past* (June 26, 2018, UNN).
> **Joshua Josiah**: *As a producer, I will go for epic movies because though there might be challenges which are not something you would deny. Epic movies are actually talking about those cultural values and the likes. Take for instance,* Idemili, *that movie is good. But if you trace the history of that Idemili, to some extent, the realities of that movie were distorted. Some of the storyline are not factual. But the costumes, the make-ups, thatch houses, decorative designs on the building, the dressing of the cast, coupled with the customs and myth explored makes it captivating (March 8, 2018,* UNILAG*).*
>
> **Chukwuma Onuoha**: *If given a billion to produce a movie, I will make a movie with a contemporary story line. Young people are hardly interested in historical events. Contemporary Nigerian minds want to know the current things happening in their situation, in their country. They want to get used to the knowledge of science and technology. Nobody is going to be telling them about one Idemili which they believe to be superstitious, mythical and all of those things. Some of these stories are baseless, they don't have facts, and they cannot be proven* (March 8, 2018, UNILAG).

The responses on discussants favourite genre reveal that each respondent likes a genre for different reason, with comedies, epic, and thrillers dominating the choices. Besides genres, the technical qualities of the films represent another criterion for the choices. This corresponds to the findings of Onuzulike (2016) in a study carried out to identify audience reaction to various aspects of Nollywood films by Nigerians based at home and in South Africa. He posits:

> For Nigerians in Nigeria, the results revealed a close range of favorite aspects. The first choice was culture, which consisted of participants' assertions (e.g., "the way they dress," "culture, heritage, and values," and "traditional setting"). The second choice was reality (e.g., "real life and witchdoctor" and "they portray reality"). This is followed by quality (e.g., "send message across and good setting" and "storylines"), respectively. Others are the flamboyant exhibition of wealth (e.g., "exhibition of wealth"), humor [comedy] (e.g., "keep me happy"), and morals/lessons (95).

In affirmation of Onuzulike's point, a similar observation can be drawn from the responses of the discussants. While some discussants are interested in epic movie because of their cultural displays, the richness of the costumes, evocation of the past,

innovative storylines, cinematography and filmic devices, others are captivated by elements such as language use and suspense which are the hallmarks of comedies and thrillers. The responses also give attest to the popularity of epic film which Haynes (2016) confirms. He avers, "The "cultural epic," also called the "traditional film," is a major flourishing Nollywood genre, distinct and immediately recognizable because it is set in a particular landscape: a "traditional" past of thatched villages, spears, and sometimes fanciful costumes" (141). In addition, the preferences confirm filmmakers claim that they are close to the consumers, as filmmakers Charles Novia, Femi Odugbemi, Don Pedro Obaseki, and Nnamdi Odunze assert in the previous chapter of this study. Moveover, given the discipline of the discussants and the fact that they represent ademography of audience who are young, educated, cinema going, and most likely to find literary adaptations appealing, it is interesting to note that the discussants were not enthusiastic about literary adaptations.

5.4 Divergent Reactions Greet the Proposition for More Literary Adaptations in Nollywood

The responses of participants in reaction to the proposition for Nollywood filmmakers to adapt more literature to film were widely divergent. This is because discussants approached the topic from different angles. While some opined that it is a laudable suggestion, as it will address issues of content, others disagree for reasons ranging from cost of production to audience apathy to reading. While some feel the production of more literary adaptations may encourage reading, others counteracted this position arguing that on the contrary the availability of the screen version of a book may serve as a good reason not to bother with reading the source. Participants also express the view that literary adaptations are not contemporaneous because they are preoccupied with the past. They feel that audiences are more interested in contemporary issues and would prefer these depicted in movies. Some participants, interestingly, point out some of the challenges inherent in shooting literary adaptations that may serve as put-offs for filmmakers. What can be inferred from the responses is that there is no keenness for a Nollywood dominated by literary adaptations. The following are a sample of the responses.

> **Tokunbo Oresanya**: *What Nollywood is producing now is embarrassing. The acting is poor, and the storylines are predictable. So if more literary works are adapted, and more professionals are*

involved, it will change the perception of Nollywood. (August 4, 2018, UI)

Caleb Uzodimma: *I think, in the positive aspect, it is going to go a long way in salvaging the image of Nollywood. It is going to reduce the stereotype kind of stories. However, the challenge is that Nigerians have a poor reading culture. But I think to some extend maybe adaptation may even help to improve the reading culture. Sometimes when you watch a film adaptation of a book, it arouse an interest in reading the book (June 26, 2018, UNN).*

David Abuguja: *If you tell me that when people watch an adaptation, they will go and look for the book, it is a very big lie. This is because, if I see a book, and it is voluminous, reading it might be a problem. If I find out that there is a screen version, I will say, "Instead of wasting time reading, I'd rather get the movie and watch it". So if Nollywood keep adapting plays [literary texts], it's going to be a very big problem in the sense that people will ignore the written text and focus on the movies, which will further kill the already comatose reading culture* (June 26, 2018, UNN).

Gbenga Ayodele: *Most of those who watch Nollywood movies are not literarily enlightened. The elderly ones, women and children are more interested in movies that have a lesson that they can teach the younger ones. We are not interested in reading literature text in this society, even as undergraduate students. So even when filmmakers adapt literary texts to screen, most Nollywood fans will not even understand them* (August 4, 2017, UI).

Faith John: *There are so many limitations with literary adaptation. It limits directors and scriptwriters to choice of costume, setting, dialogue, and the burden of going to the playwright [author] to get the film rights. So they [filmmakers] will rather go for original scripts (*March 8, 2018 UNILAG).

Damola Olurotimi: *I'd love to see more [Nigerian] literature on screen. But there's this thing about literature that movies do not provide. Literature gives a reader an open mind. It gives room for imagination which movies actually do not. And I still want us to remember that there are good movies and bad movies, in the same way there are good literature and bad literature. There are good adaptations and bad adaptations too. I have read literature written by graduates that are so poorly written even by O'level [High School] standard. So, of course, I will love to see more literature on screen, but I don't want us to see literary adaptation as the solution to Nollywood's problems* (August 4, 2017, UI).

There are assumptions made by proponents of literary adaptations, which were iterated by discussants in all the groups. The first is that literary adaptations will get

Nigerians reading again. However, there is no record of studies to substantiate that assumption. Secondly, literary adaptation is popular in Hollywood because filmmakers hope to convert readers to audience by taking advantage of the success of pre-sold titles and not the other way round (Schulz 2013; Hutcheon 2006; McFarlane 1996). This fact is not lost on some of discussants (Ayodele, Abuguja, Olurotimi) who counter the proposition.

Again, Ayodele's observation that the elderly, women, and children who constitute a large percentage of Nollywood's local audience, lack the requisite knowledge to engage literary adaptations thereby making it a wasteful venture is a valid point that affirms Odugbemi's (2010) assertion on audience-content connection. Moreover, as Olurotimi points out, just because a film is adapted from a book will not automatically translate to a good movie. This point recapitulates the dissatisfaction often associated with literary adaptations discussed under the fear of negative reviews in the previous chapter (See section 4.2.6). Besides, the financial implication and the challenge of the process are also not lost on discussants as highlighted by Faith John. Finally, it is interesting to note that although discussants are students of literary studies, they are, obviously, not enthusiastic about literary adaptations.

5.5 Kunle Afolayan is Discussants Favourite Filmmaker

Kunle Afolayan is the declared favorite of the filmmakers identified by participants across the three groups of discussants. Afolayan is a producer, director, and actor. He is the son of a first generation Nigerian filmmaker, Adeyemi Afolayan (popularly known as Ade Love) who was famous for his role in some of the Yoruba celluloid films. Kunle Afolayan has acted in several movies especially working with Kelani as a cast before venturing into film production and directing after a stint at New York film Academy where he studied digital filmmaking. He has made a career of producing and directing thrillers including, *Araromire: The Figurine* (2009), *October 1* (2014), *The CEO* (2017), and *Irapada* (2007) which he co-produced. He has also directed comedies like *Phone Swap* and the most recent *Mokalik* (2019). His films have been made slowly and deliberately, with a careful attention to craft permitted by relatively large budgets" (Hayne 2016: 292). Respondents refer to his unique storylines and the audio-visual quality of his movies as the reasons for their choice and the often-noticeable use of code switching of English with other major languages in Nigeria such as Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa.

Besides Afolayan, others who got a mention are: Tunde Kelani, Obi Emelonye, Stephanie Linus, Jeta Amata, Niyi Akinmolayan and Omoni Oboli. These all belong to the category of filmmakers labelled neo-Nollywood, whose works reveal a paradigm shift in terms of production practices and film quality. These directors' works were identified as impressive because of the acting, unique plots, visual quality and more. This is another indication to the fact that audiences are attracted by unique storylines and good cinematography.

5.6 Discussion and Implications

From the foregoing analysis of the focus group discussions, it can be inferred that participants' perception of Nollywood is based on the content and quality of films produced. Discussants associate quality with certain filmmakers because of their unique stories, plot, originality, audio visual quality and creativity. The filmmakers that were repeatedly mentioned include Obi Emelonye, Omoni Oboli, Tunde Kelani, Stephanie Linus and Kunle Afolayan. These are filmmakers who have produced movies that can hold their own in the global cinema stage.

Again, the findings show that audiences are more interested in well told stories with excellent cinematography irrespective of genre. The responses to the interrelated questions from the discussions also show there is no homogeneity in audience preference. For example, while many of them profess a liking for epic movies because they are historical, steeped in cultural heritage and explore the past, they also feel literary adaptations will not be popular for those same reasons. Thus while respondents may like to see more literary adaptations from Nollywood, there is no keenness to see it become the dominant genre in the industry.

Finally, the findings also justify filmmakers' assertion that audience preference is a significant factor responsible for the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood. The submission of the respondents about literary adaptation is quite revealing. This is because not only are the discussants students of disciplines that are directly related to the industry, they represent the future of Nollywood and they are enlightened audience for whom one would have expected that literary adaptations would hold an appeal. However, even their acknowledgement of Tunde Kelani as one of the favourites is not because his movies are often adapted from literature. He is a favorite because of the audio-visual quality of his movies. It is therefore inferable from the discussions that literary adaptation is not a preferred genre. For the three

groups of discussants then, originality of theme, excellent acting, and quality audio-visual output is paramount. The findings also invalidates the presumption of scholars (including Emenyonu, 2010, Ademiju-bepo 2010) suppositions that filmmakers do not require visibility studies before plunging into adapting literary text to screen.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

6.1 Summary

The stated aim of this study is to provide industry-generated explanations for the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Through a production-focussed investigation into the challenges of producing literary adaptations, an interpretive reading of the data collected in the course of the study shows that although literary adaptations are desirable, they are not commercially viable.

The findings from the key informant and in-depth interviews show that the challenges responsible for the paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood can be narrowed down to four major factors; budgetary constraints, limited distribution channels, piracy and audience preference. Moreover, even after a successful production, marketing the film poses another financial burden. This is because literature-based films require extra push beyond the conventional market as highlighted by the contributions of Dapo Adeniyi, Uche Chikendu, and Andy Amenechi in the foregoing chapters.

Nollywood has evolved from a straight-to-video film producing industry, to be recognised as a cinema in her own right. However, while the industry has made tremendous strides in terms of improvement in storytelling, innovative and creative productions through digital technology, it is still beset by some of the problems that gave birth to the video revolution in the first place. Through the instrumentation of key informant interviews with fifteen filmmakers and in-depth interviews with four literary authors, the data gathered from the field point overwhelmingly to the issue of budgetary constraint as a major challenge. This is evident after considering the financial implication of the tedious process involved in the pre-production stage (film-right acquisition, research, props reconstruction, longer shooting duration, and marketing and distribution etc.).

The financial implication of optioning a book or out-rightly acquiring the film-rights, coupled with; paying a professional screenwriter, holding script conferences, paying for further research where it is required, and spending months on shoots which are some of the conditions required to produce literature-based films cited by Ali-Balogun, Odunze, Amata, Imobhio and other, all fall within budgetary constraints. Funding literary adaptations is a major obstacle because of the present constitution of Nollywood as an industry of mostly independent, self-funding filmmakers. An observation of the composition of the production crew of literary adaptations produced before the video era reveals that they were produced through the collaboration of three or more production companies.

Furthermore, while the commercial viability of a film can be enhanced with a bigger budget, it is not a guarantee for its commercial success. It is not surprising that many filmmakers have decided to play safe with romantic comedy, a genre that has shown a guaranteed success rate going by statistics of box office returns on movies that screened in Nigerian cinemas from 2006 – 2018. It further highlights the reason Nollywood filmmakers are reluctant to invest in literary adaptations, which require huge budgets, with no guarantee of recouping their investment because of cinema infrastructure deficiencies, coupled with the high rate of piracy.

Filmmakers are unanimous in the opinion that with more private sector investment in the building of cinema infrastructure across the country, filmmaking will become less risky and eventually literary adaptations may flourish when they have a guarantee of recouping their investments. In turn, film financiers will also be more willing to make funds available to needy filmmakers for the productions of literary adaptations. Piracy, the third major challenge to the flourishing of literary adaptation is not only a catalyst of the video revolution but its bane. It persists due to the poor distribution structure. With more investment in the building of cinema infrastructure and a proper distribution channel in place, piracy can be reduced to the barest; consequently, filmmakers can be assured of profiting from their craft. Again, while Netflix steaming of Nollywood films and collaboration with Nigerian filmmakers to produce Netflix originals may seem to be a possible solution to the distribution challenge, there are draw backs. Netflix monthly subscription which range from ₦5,000 – ₦2,500 (subject to the exchange rate of the Naira to a dollar), may not be a luxury but the internet data required to steam the films is a luxury in a

country where the minimum wage is ₦30,000. It is already creating an exclusive class of film audience in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Audience preference, also poses challenges in the discourse on the paucity literary adaptations in Nollywood in a context of infrastructural deficit. While audience taste is not static and can even be cultivated, the present state of distribution in the industry means that a filmmaker can only ignore this factor at his/her peril. Odugbemi (2010) remark about how audience-centric content can determine a film's success is instructive here. It is also instructive that although suggestions for Nollywood filmmakers to embrace literary text as source for their films came mostly from scholars and other members of the intellectual class, findings from the three focus group discussions held with undergraduates of Theatre and Film Studies departments in three prominent federal universities reveal that audiences are not keen on literary adaptations. Creative storytelling, quality audio-visual output, and originality of themes held more attraction for them than the adaptation of literary texts.

In addition, since audiences shown their preference through their response to certain genres and demand for particular stars as Odugbemi, Nnamdi Odunze and Ebereonwu stressed, despite the fact that the demography of Nollywood film audience has changed over the years, filmmakers cannot afford to isolate their primary audience. Therefore ensuring that their movies connect with the home audience is fundamental to their commercial success. The reception of the primary audience (i.e. Nigerian at home) is the first indicator to the likely response abroad. This point cannot be overemphasized. This point also invalidates the logic of arguments presupposing the commercial success of literary adaptations based on the availability of a global readership in the propositions of Osofisan 2006; Ebewo 2007; Ademiju-Bepo 2010; Emenyonu 2010, and other proponents of literary adaptations.

Again, the findings are similar to those of Anulika Agina's (2015) research on the rarity of historical films, specifically, narrative of national political events and figures from Nigeria's Civil War to the end of oppressive military rule, from popular video films. Her research shares a similarity with this study because films based on historical events are also adaptations notorious for their hefty budgets. From interviews with filmmakers, Agina submits that that funding, censorship, absence of a proper distribution channel, and piracy are the major demotivator to filmmakers.

The statistics of box office returns currently favour comedies and it is difficult to ignore this. One can speculate that the industry may witness the production of more literary adaptations when distribution issues are addressed. Until then, filmmakers will continue to play safe by focusing on producing romantic comedies that have proven to be commercially profitable in spite of the inadequate number of cinemas across the country.

6.2 Recommendations for Further Studies

Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that an investigation that engages exhibitors (cinema/satellite/internet TV operators) in discussion as key informants be undertaken to evaluate their opinion and disposition to the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Such an investigation is importance because of the significant role they play as middlemen between film producers and consumers. Some of them are also involved in film production. Another area of research that will yield significant insight is a case study of the challenges encountered in the process of adapting specific texts to screen using a political economy of the media approach.

6.3 Conclusion

In Conclusion, the fact that the production of literary adaptations involves a more tedious process is a significant reason for filmmakers' apathy to the genre. Furthermore, after a consideration of audience preference and working within the confines of budgetary constraints, in an environment of cinema infrastructural deficit which makes return on investments uncertain given the pervasive threat of piracy, the production of literary adaptations although desirable, is commercially unprofitable within the Nollywood context of filmmaking.

This study on the challenges of producing literary adaptation in Nollywood justifies the major assumptions of the "adaptation industry" theory proposed by Simone Murray (2008) which argues for an approach that takes the peculiarity of the context of production in each film industry into consideration. The findings illustrate the significance of the roles of literary authors, filmmakers, and screenwriters as key stakeholder in the contemporary adaptation industry as Murray avers. By engaging filmmakers in discussion, the study reveals, surprisingly, that although there is a paucity of literary adaptations in Nollywood, there has not been a paucity of attempts as the researcher learnt from some of the respondents with reference to their unrealized project. The adoption of a political economy approach in the investigation

also provides an insight into the commercial and cultural considerations that influence the process of producing and distributing literary adaptations in Nollywood.

6.4 Contribution to knowledge

This study is the first to undertake a holistic investigation into the challenges of producing literary adaptations with specific reference to Nollywood. By engaging filmmakers, literary authors and audience in discussion, it provides industry-generated answers to the question of the dearth of literary adaptations in Nollywood. Unlike previous studies which have approached the issue in a cursory manner, it is a detailed analysis of various obstacles that confront filmmakers with verifiable contextual examples and experiences shared by those filmmakers.

Another significant contribution of this study is the view that engaging filmmakers - literary authors - audience is a viable approach to understanding the commercial considerations negotiated vis-à-vis the production of literary adaptations in Nollywood. By engaging these three categories of people, insight is provided into the dynamics of producing literature-based films in Nollywood. No study on literary adaptations in Nollywood has adopted a triangulation of enquiry involving producers and consumer i.e. filmmakers (key informant interviews), literary authors (in-depth interview) and audience (focus group discussion) as a method in research on literary adaptations in Nollywood. Thus, this study can serve as a useful resource material to Nollywood scholars and filmmakers alike, and it is capable of impacting the practice of filmmaking in Nollywood.

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Oral Data

Oral Data for this study were collected from different informants through interviews and focus group discussion techniques. The under-listed were the interviewees and discussants for this study. The dates cited represent major interviews/discussion date.

Filmmakers

S/N	Interview Date	Interviewee	Mode of Interview
1.	June 2016	Tunde Kelani	One-on-one
2.	August 4, 2017	Dr. Pedro Obaseki	One-on-one
3.	November 17, 2017	CJ "Fiery" Obasi	One-on-one
4.	November 17, 2017	Jude Idada	One-on-one
5.	November 18, 2017	Chioma Onyenwe	One-on-one
6.	January 18, 2018	Tope Oshin	Email & Whatsapp
7.	January 13, 2018	Charles Novia	Facebook Messenger
8.	February 1, 2018	Lillian Amah	Facebook Messenger
9.	February	Izu Ojukwu	Facebook Messenger
10.	January 29, 2018	Nnamdi Odunze	Phone interview
11.	March 11, 2018	Patience Oghre-Imobhio	One-on-one
12.	March 11, 2018	Fred Amata	One-on-one
13.	March 11, 2018	Mahmood Ali-Balogun	One-on-one
14.	March 11 & 13, 2018	Andy Amenechi	One-on-one
15.	May 15, 2018	Dayo Adeniyi	Facebook Messenger

Literary Authors

S/N	Interview date	Interviewee	Mode of interview
1.	November 14, 2017	Lola Shoneyin	One-on-one
2.	November 16, 2017	Nnedi Okorafor	One-on-one
3.	November 16, 2017	Jude Idada	One-on-one
4.	November 18, 2017	Toni Kan	One-on-one

Participants in Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD held on March 8, 2018, with students of Theatre Art, University of Lagos

S/N	Names of Discussants	Gender
1.	Ibukunoluwa Goriola	Female
2.	Faith John	Female
3.	Uche Ofoegbunam	Female
4.	Juliet Dunu	Female
5.	Olamilekan Adeniran	Male
6.	Chukwuma Onuoha	Male
7.	Silas Uwadiogbu	Male
8.	Joshua Josiah	Male

FGD held on June 26, 2018, with students of Theatre and Film Studies, University of Nigeria

S/N	Name of Discussants	Gender
1.	Goodness Oparah	Female
2.	Francess Ofuebe	Female
3.	Ogechi Nwadilugwu	Female
4.	Sophia Nfiaji	Female
5.	Caleb Uzodimma	Male
6.	Victor Eze	Male
7.	Stanley Ifeanyi	Male
8.	David Abuguja	Male

FGD with students of Theatre Arts, University of Ibadan held on August 4, 2017

S/N	Names of Discussants	Gender
1.	Adesanya Oluwadamilola	Female
2.	Bolade Jolade	Female
3.	Damilola Olurotimi	Female
4.	Shade Amusan	Female

5.	Olatokunbo Kehinde	Male
6.	Abimbola Jide	Male
7.	Oresanya Tokunbo	Male
8.	Victor Eromosele	Male

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: A Sample of Film right Contract

Date

Dear

RE: – Film Rights

Dear X:

This will confirm the agreement ("Agreement") that has been reached between you, X("Owner"), and X. ("Producer") regarding Owner's granting to Producer the exclusive option to acquire the exclusive motion picture, television and allied and subsidiary rights in the published novel written and owned by Owner entitled *X* (the "Property"). Subject to Producer's receiving a copy of this Agreement fully-executed by Owner and Producer's approving, in its sole discretion, the chain of title to the rights to be optioned and/or granted hereunder, the Agreement is as follows:

1. In consideration for the sum of X (the "Option Payment"), Owner hereby grants to Producer an exclusive option to acquire the rights set forth in Paragraph 4 below. Such option shall commence on the date hereof and shall continue until the date eighteen (18) months after Producer's receipt of this Agreement, fully-executed by Owner. Producer shall have the right to extend the option period for an additional 18-month period by paying to Owner the additional sum of X (the "Extension Payment"), no later than the expiration of the initial option period. The option period shall be extended for periods equal to the duration of: (i) events of force majeure (as the same are customarily defined in the motion picture industry, including without limitation, labour disputes) that materially interfere with Producer's development of the Picture (as defined below); (ii) Owner's breach of this Agreement; and/or (iii) any bona fide third party claim(s) in connection with the option or any of the rights granted or to be granted to Producer pursuant hereto. The Option Payment and the Extension Payment (if any) shall be applicable against the Purchase Price (as defined in Paragraph 3 below) for the Property.

2. If the Property is set up for development with a so-called "major" or "mini-major" studio

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or a television network or other independent financier, Owner will receive the following set-up bonus. The set-up bonus, if any, will be applicable against the Purchase Price.

a. At a "major" studio (i.e. Sony, Disney, Warner Bros., Universal, Paramount, or Fox): $25,000.

b. At a "mini-major" studio (e.g., Miramax, Fox Searchlight, Focus, Lionsgate, MGM/UA, etc.): $15,000.

At a television network (e.g., the BBC) or other independent financier: $5,000.

3. The Purchase Price for the Property shall be an amount equal to 2.5% of the budget of the first motion picture based on the Property (the "Picture"), with a floor of X and a ceiling of X, less the Option Payment, the Extension Payment (if any), and the set-up bonus (if any). For purposes hereof, "budget" shall mean the final, approved, direct cash budget of the Picture, calculated as of the commencement of principal photography, exclusive of contingency, bond fees, tax rebates and credits, financing and interest costs, and all amounts paid hereunder. The Purchase Price shall be payable on the earlier of exercise of the option or commencement of principal photography.

4. The exclusive rights granted hereunder shall include, but not be limited to, all motion picture, television, merchandising, TV series, video/DVD, mobile device, internet, character, and all other rights customarily obtained by producers in the motion picture industry, in any and all languages and media (whether presently existing or hereinafter created or devised), throughout the universe, in perpetuity. Publishing rights (in all languages) in the Property, including non-dramatic electronic publishing and "books on tape" rights shall be reserved to Owner, it being understood that Producer shall have customary rights to publish synopses and excerpts of the Property (not to exceed 7,500 words from the Property) in connection with the marketing and promotion of the Picture or any other production based on the Property. Author-written sequel rights in the Property shall be reserved to Owner. Owner hereby assigns to Producer those rights now or hereafter known as the "lending right" and "rental right" in and to the Property, it being understood that the compensation provided for hereunder includes an equitable payment of any sums that may hereafter become due to Owner in respect of the exploitation of the lending and rental or any other rights in relation to the Property in any and all territories of the world (including, without limitation, the member states of the European Union).

5. Provided the Picture is produced, Owner shall receive credit on screen, on a separate card (in the main titles if the screenwriter[s] is/are accorded credit in the main titles, otherwise in the end titles), on all positive prints of the Picture, in a size of type no smaller than the size of type accorded to the screenwriter, in the following form:

(a) If the Picture has the same title as the Property, "Based on the book X;"
or (b) If the Picture has a different title than the Property, "Based on the X".
Subject to the foregoing, all matters pertaining to said credit shall be determined in Producer's sole discretion, subject to the rights of the Picture's distributor(s).

6. Concurrently with the signature of this Agreement, Owner shall sign or cause to be signed and shall deliver to Producer the Short-Form Option and the Short-Form Assignment attached hereto as Exhibits "A" and "B," respectively. Upon Producer's exercise, if any, of the Option, the Short-Form Assignment shall be deemed effective as of the date of such exercise without further action (and Producer shall be authorized to enter such date on the Short-Form Assignment accordingly). If Producer

does not exercise the Option, the Short-Form Assignment shall be of no force or effect. At Producer's reasonable request, Owner shall promptly sign any and all additional documents consistent herewith (including, without limitation, causing any publisher[s] having publishing rights in the Property promptly to execute and deliver to Producer a customary Publisher's Release), and perform or cause the performance of any other acts, which Producer may reasonably deem necessary or desirable to effectuate the purposes of this Agreement. Upon Owner's failure to do so after being given a reasonable opportunity to review and execute such documents and perform such acts, Owner hereby appoints Producer as Owner's attorney-in-fact for such purpose (it being acknowledged that such appointment is irrevocable and shall be deemed a power coupled with an interest).

7. Owner represents and warrants that: (a) the Property is original with Owner; (b) neither the Property nor any element thereof nor the exploitation thereof does or will in any way infringe upon or violate any copyright or, to the best of Owner's knowledge in the exercise of reasonable prudence, any right of privacy or publicity, common law rights, or any other rights, or constitute a libel or slander against any person, firm or corporation whomsoever; (c) Owner owns all right, title and interest in and to the Property free and clear of any liens, encumbrances and other third party interests of any kind, and, to the best of Owner's knowledge in the exercise of reasonable prudence, free of any claims or litigation, whether pending or threatened; (d) Owner has the full right and power to make and perform this Agreement without the consent of any third party; (e) Owner has

not previously authorized the production, distribution, or exploitation of any audio-visual work or any dramatic production based on the Property and has not entered into and shall not enter into any arrangement which might inhibit or restrict the exercise by the Producer of its rights under this Agreement; (f) to the best of the Owner's knowledge and belief the Property is not obscene or blasphemous or defamatory of any person; (g) copyright in the Property is valid and subsisting pursuant to the laws of the United Kingdom and United States of America and the provisions of the Berne Convention and Universal Copyright Convention; (h) all published copies of the Property have borne a copyright notice in such form as shall secure protection for the Property pursuant to the provisions of the Universal Copyright Convention, and (i) no film or television film or television series or other audio-visual production has been produced that is based on the full or partial rights to the Property.

8. Owner agrees to indemnify and hold Producer and its partners, agents, licensees, successors, and assigns harmless from and against any liability, claim, cost, damage, or expense (including reasonable attorneys" fees) arising out of or in connection with a breach or alleged breach by Owner of any warranties, representations, undertakings, covenants or agreements contained in this Agreement. Producer shall indemnify Owner against any and all liability, damages, costs and expenses, including reasonable attorneys" fees, in connection with any claim or action arising out of the development, production, distribution, or exploitation of the Picture (other than with respect to matters for which Owner has agreed to indemnify Producer hereunder).

9. Any notice pertaining hereto shall be in writing. Any such notice and any payment due hereunder shall be served by delivering said notice or payment personally or by sending it by mail to the applicable address set forth above. The date of personal delivery or mailing of such notice or payment shall be deemed the date of service of such notice or payment, unless otherwise specified herein; provided, however, that any notice which commences the running of any period of time for a party's exercise of any option or performance of any other act shall be deemed to be served only when actually received by the applicable party.

11. The Producer shall have the right to freely assign this Agreement and/or any of Producer's rights hereunder to a third-party, i.e. any person or entity ("Assignee"). In such an event all the representations, warranties and covenants on the part of the Owner, the personal representatives, heirs and beneficiaries of the Owner and the Owner's estate, providing that such

Assignee or Licensee undertakes directly with the Owner to comply with the Producer's obligation under this Agreement and the Assignee will assume in writing all of the Producer's obligation here under;

12. This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of England and Wales England and Wales applicable to agreements signed and to be wholly performed therein and shall not be modified except by a written document signed by both parties hereto. This Agreement expresses the entire understanding of the parties hereto and replaces any and all former agreements, negotiations or understandings, written or oral, relating to the subject matter hereof.

If these terms reflect our Agreement, please so indicate by signing where indicated below. In due course, I will instruct my attorney to prepare a more formal agreement based on the foregoing terms, including all terms customary in option/purchase agreements in the motion picture industry. Until such agreement is concluded, however, this letter agreement, along with such customary terms, shall constitute the full and binding agreement between us with respect to the subject matter hereof. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

X

By:_____

AGREED TO AND ACCEPTED:

_____

Owner

Executed on _____, 2012

SHORT-FORM OPTION AGREEMENT
Exhibit "A"

For good and valuable consideration, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, the undersigned, X ("Assignor"), hereby grants to X ("Assignee"), the exclusive and irrevocable right and option to purchase during the option period set forth in the Agreement (as hereinafter defined), exclusively and forever, all motion picture, allied rights and other rights (under copyright or otherwise), including, but not limited to, all theatrical, television, home video and so-called ancillary and subsidiary rights, in all languages, in perpetuity, throughout the universe, in and to that certain book entitled *X*, along with all adaptations, dramatizations and translations thereof and the titles and themes thereto, all as set forth in that certain letter agreement ("Agreement") between Assignor and Assignee dated as of DATE

Assignor and Assignee acknowledge that this Short-Form Option Agreement should be read in conjunction with the Agreement and is subject to all of the terms and conditions thereof, and in the event of any conflict between the provisions of this instrument and the Agreement, the provisions of the Agreement shall control.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, Assignor has signed this instrument as of the 7th day of September, 2011.

_____
Owner

STATE OF)
) ss.
COUNTY OF)

On _____ before me, _____, personally appeared _____ who proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence to be the person(s) whose name(s) is/are subscribed to the within instrument and acknowledged to me that he/she/they/executed the same in his/her/their authorized capacity(ies), and that by his/her/their signature(s) on the instrument the person(s), or the entity upon behalf of which the person(s) acted, executed the instrument.

I certify under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing paragraph is true and correct.

WITNESS my hand and official seal.

_____
Signature of Notary

[SEAL]

Exhibit "A"

SHORT-FORM ASSIGNMENT AGREEMENT

Exhibit "B"

For good and valuable consideration, receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, the undersigned, X ("Assignor") hereby irrevocably grants, sells, and assigns to X ("Assignee"), all motion picture, allied rights and other rights (under copyright or otherwise), including, but not limited to, all theatrical, television, home video and so-called ancillary and subsidiary rights, in all languages, in perpetuity, throughout the universe, in and to that certain book entitled *X*, and the titles and themes thereof (herein, the "Property").

This Assignment is executed and delivered pursuant to that certain letter agreement ("Agreement") dated as of DATE, between Assignor and Assignee relating to the Property. Reference is hereby made to the Agreement for further particulars with reference to Assignee's rights in, to, and with respect to the Property, and this Assignment is subject in all respects to the Agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, Assignor has executed this Assignment as of the ____ day of _____, 200___.

_____
Owner

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
)ss.
COUNTY OF)

On _____ before me, _____, personally appeared _____ who proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence to be the person(s) whose name(s) is/are subscribed to the within instrument and acknowledged to me that he/she/they/executed the same in his/her/their authorized capacity(ies), and that by his/her/their signature(s) on the instrument the person(s), or the entity upon behalf of which the person(s) acted, executed the instrument.

I certify under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing paragraph is true and correct.
WITNESS my hand and official seal.

_____
Signature of Notary
[SEAL]

Exhibit "B"
Best wishes,

APPENDIX B

Questions Asked During Key Informant Interview with Filmmakers

In the interviews conducted with filmmakers, general questions relevant to the study such as filmmaker's background, industry practises, genres, interests, experience in the production of adaptations and challenges were asked. While most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, others were through social media platforms such as, Facebook messenger, Whatsapp, email and phone call.

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
2. When did you begin your career as a filmmaker?
3. How many films have you produced/directed?
4. What made you to go into filmmaking?
5. What was the attraction in filmmaking for you?
6. What's your take on Prof. Femi Osofisan's suggestion that Nollywood filmmakers embrace Nigerian literature as the source for their films?
7. What are the challenges of producing literary adaptation in Nollywood?
8. What are the factors responsible for the rarity of literary adaptation in Nollywood?
9. *Hello Rain* is an adaptation of Nnedi Okorafor's *Hello Moto*, what was your attraction to that particular story? What did you see that made you to feel, oh, I will love to adapt this to screen?
10. From the experience with this work, *Hello Rain*, do you think you will be looking more in the way of adaptations? Or Perhaps it's going to be a switch between films based on original scripts and literary adaptations?
11. To what factors can you attribute the scarcity of literary adaptations in Nollywood?
12. What are the conditions under which you will undertake the production/directing of a literary adaptation?
13. In 2010, the Goodluck Jonathan Administration set aside the sum of $200m, disbursed through the NEXIM Bank, as a stimulus loan for Nollywood filmmakers. (a) Does this not provide a solution to the challenge of funding film productions? (b) What do you consider the merits or demerits of such loans vis-à-vis the production of literary adaptations in the Nollywood context of filmmaking?

14. Is the paucity of literary adaptation in Nollywood a reflection of indifference by filmmakers?
15. You said it took a year for the negotiations to get the consent of Elechi Amadi for the rights to adapt *The Concubine* to screen. How long did it take to produce the movie?
16. We were talking about challages film exhibition is currently facing, and you were going to say what you think needs to be done.
17. That's a looking at the future. I want to go back to the past. Why are audience yet to witness the premiere of *The Concubine* in the Cinemas or even find the DVDs in the market after the premiere at the BOBTV festival 2007 in Abuja?
18. What is the significance of the audience preference in determining the dominant genre of films in Nollywood?
19. Considering your training in Europe, what would you say are the peculiar challenges of producing literary adaptation in Nollywood when compared to film production in Europe?
20. Why are Nollywood filmmakers largely indifferent to literary adaptation?
21. In what way does funding represent a challenge to the flourishing of adaptation?
22. What is are the factors that make literary adaptation unattractive to Nigerian movie makers?
23. What can you identify as the peculiar challenges of producing literature-based adaptations when compared to the production of movie based on original script?
24. What challenges does exhibition and distribution pose with regards to literary adaptions in the Nollywood context?
25. How can the rebirth of the cinema culture help filmmakers who produce literary adaptations recoup on their investments?
26. Does cinema exhibition hold the key to profitability for the investments on the production of literary adaptations?
27. You have directed some historical/biopic movies which are also adaptations, I'm curious, why have you not worked on literature-based adaptation?
28. To what extent is audience preference responsible for the dearth of literary adaptations in Nollywood?
29. My research shows that you have plans to adapt your second novel to film. What are the major factors impeding the realization of that project?

APPENDIX C

OGUIDE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH LITERARY AUTHORS

Researcher introduces herself and explained the thesis topic, theoretical framework and research objectives to the authors at the beginning of each interview before posing the questions. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face with the literary authors and held during the 5th Ake Arts and Book Festival in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.

1. Can you introduce yourself briefly?
2. Was adaptability a consideration for the publication of your work?
3. What is your take of Prof. Osofisan's suggestion that Nollywood filmmakers should embrace literature as the source for the films?
4. As a literary author whose work has been adapted to screen, what would you say is your contribution in the production process?
5. Are you willing to contribute financially to the film production of your work?
6. Will you waive your rights to get your work adapted to screen?
7. Do you think that a more active role by literary authors in the film production process can result in more literary adaptations being produced in Nollywood?
8. What role would you like to play in the film adaptation of your work?
9. Are there conditions you will insist a filmmaker meet before agreeing to sell the film rights of your work?
10. Do you see yourself playing the role of the screen writer in the adaptation of your work to film?
11. What factors will you consider before saying yes to a filmmaker who approaches you for the film rights of your work?

APPENDIX D

GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD) QUESTIONS

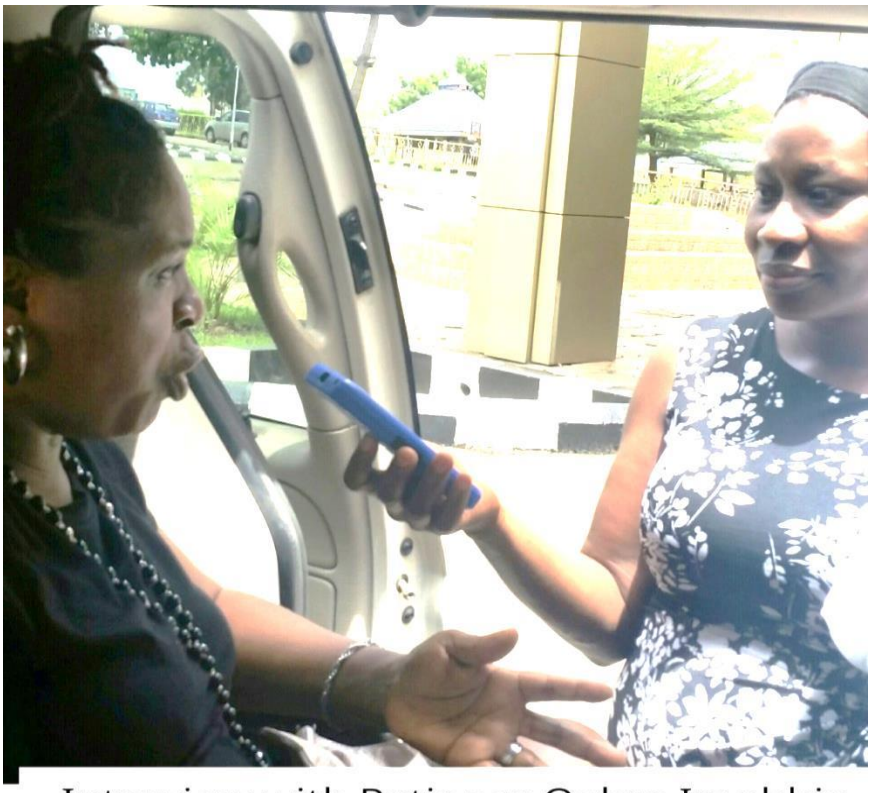
All discussion took place within an hour of requesting permission from lecturers holding classes and explaining the purpose of the research to students. Students are in their 3rd year, between the ages of 18 – 30 years. They were all volunteers. To break the ice, researcher shared her reason for undertaking the research. The title and objective of the research is explained to students. The conceptual framework and research methodology were also explained. Students were encouraged to be honest in expressing their opinions as they answer the questions.

1. What is your opinion on Nollywood as a film industry?
2. Will you go out and buy a Nollywood movie from the market?
3. What do you like about Nollywood?
4. What do you dislike about Nollywood?
5. Do you read Nigerian literature?
6. What kind of materials do you read outside prescribed course texts and social media?
7. What genre of film is your favourite in Nollywood and why?
8. As potential filmmakers, if you are given a billion naira to produce a movie, what film genre will you go for?
9. What's your take on the suggestion that Nollywood should embrace Nigerian literature and adapt more to screen?
10. Do you think the production of more literary adaptations will affect your perception of Nollywood?
11. Would you like to see more literature on screen?
12. Who is your favorite Nollywood director and why?
13. Who is your favorite actor/actress and why?

APPENDIX E: Picture Gallery A

Researcher with Filmmakers

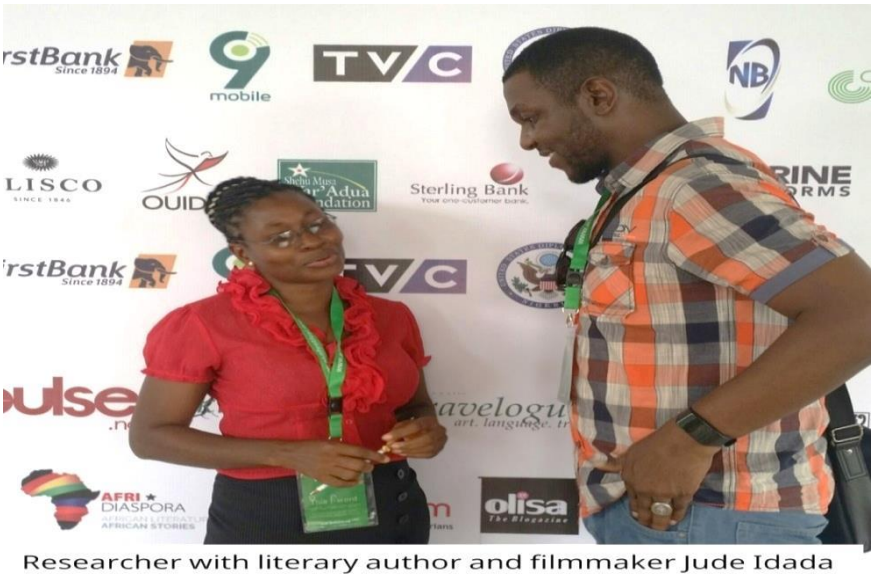
Researcher with Dr. Pedro Obaseki



Interview with Patience Oghre Imobhio

Researcher with filmmaker Chioma Onyenwe

Researcher with filmmaker CJ "Fiery" Obasi



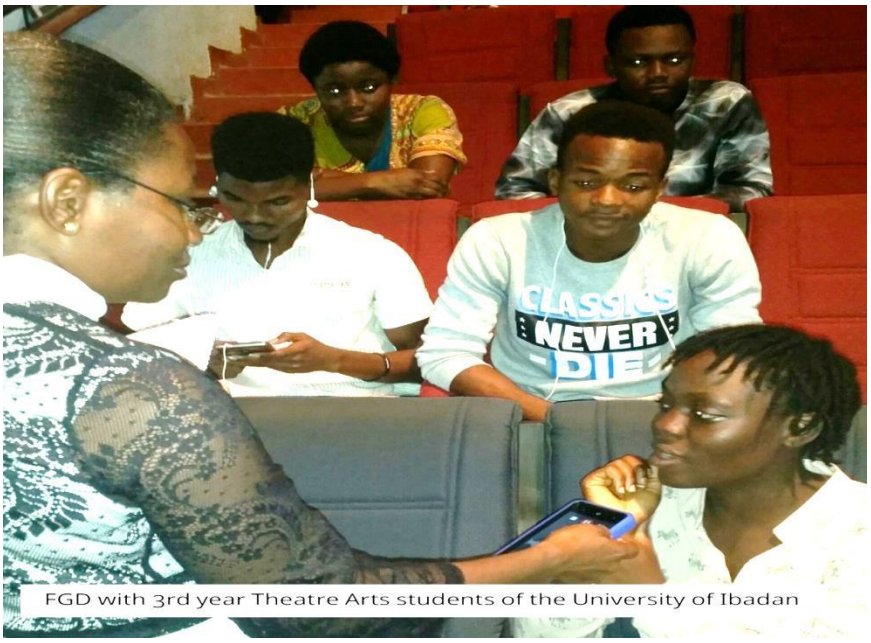
Researcher with literary author and filmmaker Jude Idada

Researcher with Literary Authors

Researcher with literary author Lola Shoneyin

Researcher with literary author Nnedi Okorafor

Researcher with FGD participants at the University of Ibadan, Ibadan



FGD with 3rd year Theatre Arts students of the University of Ibadan

Researcher and FGD participants at the University of Lagos, Lagos

Researcher and FGD participants at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka

FGD with 3rd year Theatre Arts and Film Studies Students of UNN