



Sociopolitical Representations in African Cinema: Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty, Eddie Ugbomah and Ola Balogun in the Footsteps of Ousmane Sembène

Samba Diop*

Abstract

This article discusses the innovative ways in which African filmmakers Ousmane Sembène, Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty Eddie Ugbomah and Ola Balogun offer sociological insights into, and cultural representations of, African contemporary postcolonial societies. These filmmakers are able to highlight the breadth and depth of the undercurrents of hopes and impediments in Africa. Their themes include social justice, slavery, alienation, the advent of Islam and Christianity (upsetting the traditional beliefs and cosmogony in the process), military rule, tradition and modernity, Pan-Africanist ideals, the importation and imposition of the Western political system into Africa, and loaded concepts such as democracy, just to name a few. Ugbomah underscores the many travails that obtain in postcolonial Nigeria, the most salient being the ruthless corruption in the natural resources sector, primarily crude oil. These filmmakers try to offer a solid foundation on which modern Africa can, firstly, midwife the revival of a genuine indigenous model of economic development. Secondly, these filmmakers, each in his own peculiar style, provide artistic tools which can continue to support the development of a socially conscious and intellectually robust cinematic tradition in Africa.

Keywords: Ousmane Sembène, Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty; Eddie Ugbomah, Ola Balogun, African cinema, Nollywood

* Ph.D., Research Scholar, Department of Linguistics & Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo, Norway. Email: sbkdiop@yahoo.co.uk

Résumé

Cet article examine les manières novatrices par lesquelles les cinéastes africains Ousmane Sembène, Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty Eddie Ogbomah et Ola Balogun offrent des perspectives sociologiques et des représentations culturelles des sociétés postcoloniales africaines contemporaines. Ces cinéastes sont capables de mettre en évidence l'ampleur et la profondeur des courants sous-jacents d'espoirs et d'obstacles en Afrique. Leurs thèmes sont la justice sociale, l'esclavage, l'aliénation, l'avènement de l'islam et du christianisme (bouleversant, ce faisant, les croyances traditionnelles et la cosmogonie), les régimes militaires, la tradition et la modernité, les idéaux panafricanistes, l'importation et l'imposition de systèmes politiques occidentaux en Afrique, et des concepts chargés comme la démocratie, pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns. Ogbomah pointe les nombreuses difficultés que connaît le Nigéria postcolonial, la plus importante étant l'impitoyable corruption dans le secteur des ressources naturelles, principalement celui du pétrole brut. Ces cinéastes tentent de proposer une base solide sur laquelle l'Afrique moderne pourrait, dans un premier temps, donner corps à la renaissance d'un véritable modèle indigène de développement économique. Deuxièmement, ces cinéastes, chacun dans son propre style, apportent des outils artistiques qui favoriseraient le développement d'une tradition cinématographique socialement consciente et intellectuellement robuste en Afrique.

Mots-clés : Ousmane Sembène, Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty; Eddie Ogbomah, Ola Balogun, cinéma africain, Nollywood

Introduction

The purpose of the study of sociology is the understanding of how human action and consciousness both shape and are shaped by surrounding cultural and social structures. The social sciences reputedly analyse the activities of humans in society, but they do so macroscopically and in generalities.

In the mid-nineteenth-century French literary scene, realism – inserting the real – was born out of a trendy opposition to romanticism and to the fantastic. While sociological research speaks in descriptive and quantitative generalities, sociology in the form of film offers a vivid and instantiated snapshot in time of what it describes through image, music, and dialogue.

Some films are revered for the periods that they describe, historically or sociologically. It is for this reason that the American film *Gone with the Wind* (1939) is ranked by viewers as the most viewed film of all time. The film offers a realist sociological description of antebellum life in the U. S. South during its era of the enslavement of Africans just before the American Civil War and the Post-Bellum period, but all in personal and lived terms.

The same could be said for the epochal film *Birth of a Nation* (1915) that, in sociological terms, was a watershed period in American history. These are examples of the old saying that a 'picture is worth a thousand words' – even in so-called advanced literate societies.

This article seeks to explore the link between sociology (a very recent modern discipline) and literature (an ancient form of artistic expression) as it is expressed in the work of five eminent African filmmakers. It begins by discussing the contribution of Africa's most distinguished filmmaker Ousmane Sembène. Having set the stage, the author goes on to examine the cinematographic works of Paulin S. Vieyra, Djibril Diop Mambéty, Eddie Ugbomah and Ola Balogun.

Contribution of Ousmane Sembène in the 1950s

Ousmane Sembène went to live in Marseille where he was a dock worker. He joined the Leftist workers' unions and the French Communist Party and, at the same time, started writing novels. His next move was to travel to the former Soviet Union to study film at the Kiev Film Institute.

The films of Sembène, undoubtedly Africa's most distinguished cineaste, offer sociological insights into the malaise of corruption that has plagued Africa from the dawn of formal independence to contemporary times.

Consider, for example, his film *Xala* (1975). The central figure El Hadji Beye is a metaphor for the economic and political impotence of the newly independent nations of Africa. A celebration of newly acquired 'resources' – in the form of a third wife – quickly turns into disaster. Traditional modes of seeking solutions are totally futile and comical. The same use of film as an effective expression of a sociological concern is also evidenced in Sembène's *Black Girl* (1966). This film highlights and underscores the psychic pathologies that encompass the traumas of cultural dislocation, coupled with oppression – a metaphor for the unequal and subaltern position of Africa following its contact with Europe.

For a fuller understanding of Africa's subaltern position in post-Medieval times, no film as social science symbolises this condition better than *Ceddo* (1976). Here, Sembène shows how Africa has been subordinated spiritually and psychically to the twin impositions of Islam and Christianity. Africa has been robbed of its spiritual agency in the same way that it was robbed of its physical agency by slavery. Under the circumstances of this triple assault, Africa's indigenous religions have shown themselves to be wholly ineffective against the power of the written words of Islam and Christianity. The same could be said about the profundities of Sembène's other films such as *Emitaï* (1971) and *Mandabi* (1968). Sembène effectively established a model for other African cineastes to emulate and build on.

Comparing Paulin S. Vieyra and Djibril Diop Mambéty

The works of Paulin S. Vieyra and Djibril Diop Mambéty have many similarities, and are also very different. Vieyra can be considered an organic intellectual and a writer (in the traditional sense of the word), having attended formal graduate training in Paris and having written scholarly books. By contrast, Mambéty liked to quip that he had attended '*l'université de la rue*' (the university of the street). He was a bohemian type, an anti-conformist to the core, as well as being an adept of the Baudelaire school of thought and behaviour ('*le poète maudit*', 'the cursed poet'). However, he introduced innovation, imagination, and experimentation into African cinema, thereby presenting alternatives to the traditional linear modes of narration of that cinema tradition.

Both of these filmmakers experienced the era of cultural agitation, i.e., the drive of Africans to put an end to European colonialism in Africa through cultural means. But, as Buchsbaum (1988:42) says, 'during that period of cultural agitation, there was little film production whereas more attention was paid to literature and theatre'.

Paulin S. Vieyra

Vieyra was one of the founding fathers of African cinema along with Sembène; however, Vieyra is one of the least acclaimed. He made the film *Afrique-sur-Seine* with Mamadou Sarr in 1955. Born in 1925 in the French colonial territory of Dahomey (present-day Benin), Vieyra completed his training at the Institut des hautes études cinématographiques in Paris in the 1950s, and then went on to live in Senegal until his death in 1987.

What is noteworthy about Vieyra is that he was an eclectic man, combining the art of filmmaking with an intense intellectual life. Apart from his numerous fictional and documentary films, Vieyra is the author of the acclaimed books titled *Le cinéma et l'Afrique* (1969), *Le cinéma africain des origines à 1973* (1975), and *Sembène Ousmane cinéaste* (1972), all published by Présence Africaine in Paris. In his films and writings, Vieyra focuses on many themes, mixing culture, political protest, aesthetics, Marxist ideology, and art; African political unity and Pan-Africanism; political satire; postcolonial Africa and the disillusion caused by independence in various African countries in the 1960s; the lives of African students in France in the 1950s; traditional wrestling in Senegal; traditional healers and soothsayers; African history; and material about the African masses, including workers, peasants, fisherfolk, and crafters.

Vieyra is considered to have been a committed filmmaker and writer who, all his life, has fought for the total liberation of the African masses in his films and books, in particular the downtrodden, the underprivileged, and

the disenfranchised. According to Gandal (2007:3), 'we are used to thinking of the underclass as inhabiting a separate culture, a "culture of poverty"'. Vieyra posits the opposite because, for him, defending and fighting for the underclass is a worthy cause.

His film *En résidence surveillée* (1981, also known as *Under House Arrest*) is generally considered to be a socio-political statement that denounces the neo-colonial condition in Africa where many countries are supposedly free but, in reality, they are still dependent on former colonial powers such as France. It is important to note that this film was made during the heyday of the Cold War dominated by fierce East-West rivalry at a time when the majority of African countries belonged to the Non-Aligned Movement and were classified as 'Third World'. The plot is based on a fictional book by Zé Akoulo titled *Structures du pouvoir politique traditionnel* (structures of traditional political power).

Akoulo's book featured controversial themes such as the encounter between tradition and modernity, and the religious stratum that undergirds African society and which is composed of Islam, Christianity, and traditional religions. Vieyra uses Akoulo's book to discuss certain Western ideas that have been transplanted into Africa, such as democracy. He highlights the oddness of the concept of 'African democracy', because this suggests there is a specific type of democracy that prevails only in Africa. The alternative expression 'democracy in Africa' implies that democracy is a universal concept that has the potential to be applied almost anywhere.

By playing with the terms 'African democracy' and 'democracy in Africa', Vieyra wants to show the limitations of Western democracy in Africa. In the same breath, he seems to question African state structures themselves, chiefly, the concept of the nation-state. The paper *Concept postcolonial et idée de nation en Afrique francophone* (Diop 2017) discusses that concept and the fact that the idea of the nation was inherited from French colonialism and, thus, adopted by (imposed on?) the newly independent African countries in the 1960s. Taken together, the idea of the nation and the concept of the nation-state find their roots in French history, social movements, and culture, and therefore to very specific conditions. Needless to say, African countries have a different cultural and social trajectory. It is no wonder that amalgamating the ideas of the nation-state and democracy did not succeed.

Africans should go back to their past and retrieve structures which are relevant to their worldviews, cultures, and cosmology. This is the only way to respond to the challenges posed by modern Western structures which are imposed upon Africans. However, there is a rivalry between the two systems, namely the African traditional political structure, on the one hand, and the European modern democratic system, on the other. The problematic point

here, though, is the fact that there are palpable differences between African traditional modes of governance. There were feudal structures such as those found in the larger state complexes such as those of the Ghana Empire, Old Mali, Songhay, Abyssynia, the Sokoto Caliphate, and quasi-acephalous societies such as those of the Igbo and Somali.

Vieyra uses satire to parody the new African man. In attempting a synthesis between Africa and the West, the African puts more emphasis on form rather than on content, thus producing a malformed type of synthesis which, on the one hand, emphasises the folkloric and exterior aspects of tradition (e.g., garbs and costumes), and the difficulty of assimilating the social, economic, political, cultural, and intellectual codes of the West, on the other. In other words, when one borrows from others, one must take the best of what the Other has to offer and refuse the negative elements that come with the package.

En résidence surveillée highlights the dialectical nature of engagement with postcolonial society, a dialectic that translates itself into, first, searching for one's own way, and secondly, examining foreign values. In the film, both East and West are castigated and dismissed. The emphasis is put on Africanness as an identity marker. Akoulo, as an ardent advocate of a Third Way, seeks an original path that will midwife the rebirth of African society and culture. Was a Third Way possible at the time Vieyra made his film? It is important to place the film within its historical context, namely the 1980s at the height of the Cold War. Is a Third Way still possible in the age of globalisation? According to Hedetoft (2000:278), 'contemporary cinema is increasingly embedded in discourses of globalization'.

Djibril Diop Mambéty

Djibril Diop Mambéty was born in Dakar in 1945 in the populous and impoverished neighbourhood of Colobane. He died in 1998. Thus, he grew up in an urban context and in a colonial city considered at the time to be the Paris of Africa. His films include *Contra's'city* (1968), *Badou Boy* (1970), *Touki Bouki* (1973), and *Hyènes* (1992). Mambéty was so concerned with singularity, specificity, innovation, and experimentation in his films that Spaas (2000:182) says that 'Mambéty had found a cinematic language hitherto unknown to African cinema. One that was indisputably his own'.

At a very young age, he started going to the movie houses to watch Italian 'spaghetti Westerns', as well as French films, and American cowboy films. It is fair to say that Mambéty discovered the modern art of film through Western and European cinema. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, I met and got to personally know Mambéty at a famous watering hole called Chez Samuel in the Plateau, the centre of downtown Dakar. He

narrated the following famous anecdote: as an adolescent, he watched a movie in which an actor is killed; however, the same character reappeared, alive and kicking, in the next movie! How was that possible? Of course, for a young adolescent African who had never left his country, it was difficult to imagine the diverse cinematic techniques which enabled a filmmaker to create magic and wonders.

The plot of *Le Franc* (1994) is pretty straightforward. Marigo, a poverty-stricken musician, buys a lottery ticket after his landlady confiscates his saxophone because he has not paid his rent. Marigo glues the ticket to his door, hoping to show the landlady that he will have money soon. It is a winning ticket, but Marigo cannot get the ticket off the door, so he has to remove the door and carry it for miles to claim his winnings. One of the main sub-themes of the film is Islam. At the beginning of the film, a subversive element is evident – a Muslim muezzin chants the call to prayer as Marigo plays his saxophone, pitting the sacred against the profane.

In his quest for social justice, Mambéty introduces a well-known figure in Senegalese urban lore called Yadikon, an African version of Robin Hood. Yadikon defends the poor against the rich, always siding with the weak against the strong, and fighting for the downtrodden. However, Yadikon does not appear as a character in the film, rather he appears as an image on a poster on Marigo's wall. Thus, Mambéty transfers Yadikon's positive traits onto the central character. Marigo is not a practising Muslim, he does not believe in *marabouts*, and he is in continual danger of being evicted by his landlady. *Le Franc* carries a message of dissent and affirms the individual. Marigo can be considered to be a critical person, someone who thinks and does not believe whatever he is told, in short, a doubting Thomas.

In *Le Franc*, Diop Mambéty adroitly brings out the transitory aspects of African urban life in which modernity has not yet firmly taken hold and traditional ways of life still survive. Marigo, with his careless and care-free demeanour, epitomises the confusing nature of the new African. The sting of Mambéty lies in the way he provides alternative modes of thought and behaviour which respond better to urban and modern life as well as to the current age. In the rural setting, social and economic inequities are less visible and there is a more or less homogenous communitarian lifestyle. People have similar farms, animals, farming tools, etc. However, in the city, it is a completely different story. The gap between poor and rich is so wide that a Robin Hood type such as Yadikon can emerge from the underworld and the underclass in order to hoist the flag of revolution, change, justice, and subversion.

Le Franc is about social justice, and this is apparent in the transformative and multi-layered qualities that are embedded in the main character. Marigo is the archetypal first-generation urban man born in the city, with parents from the countryside. The sense of roots and sentimental attachment to the village of origin are still strong for his parents, but not for Marigo. People who flee the wretched living conditions of the village find worse in the city where they tend to live in ghettos and shantytowns. In addition, these people are caught in a maelstrom of conflicting rural and urban values, to which one must add the religious dimension. All in all, the manifestation of the Western-type modernity in Africa is a complex web of contradictions.

Other issues that are highlighted in *Le Franc* are intimately tied to the concepts of economic and social development, the latter often being equated with modernity. Here he is referring to the Western-type, standardised universal modernity tied to the Western intellectual tradition and its arcane metaphysics.

Latouche (2000:6) argues that the concept of development is linked:

to a certain number of 'values' such as progress, universalism, the taming of nature, and the quantification of rationality. These values, and more specifically the concept of progress, do not correspond at all to deep universal aspirations. These values are linked to the history of the West, with little derived from other societies. Animist societies for instance do not believe in the taming of nature'.

Latouche seems to forget, however, that in the days of the Gauls, Vandals, Picts, and Goths, Europe was conservatively animist until the interventions of Greco-Roman culture and ideas.

Even though he was in search of universalism, Mambéty was a free-wheeling and free-spirited filmmaker who was also in search of a usable African pagan past. He had absolute love for artistic freedom and always sided with the poor, the underprivileged, and the marginalised. Mambéty had concern for human (not just African) drama; all of the above help to have a better reading and appreciation of his films (*Le Franc* in the current discussion). According to Brahimi (1997:87), Mambéty was known for 'his taste for paradox and his innovative character'.

In a premonitory fashion, Mambéty had shown, albeit in a subterranean way, that the CFA franc is not viable. Nowadays, there is a vigorous debate about that currency. The CFA franc is considered by many as a colonial currency created way back in the 1940s by France for its territories in West and Central Africa. Almost eighty years later, many people wonder why these supposedly free and independent African countries (Côte d'Ivoire,

Cameroon, Togo, Senegal, Gabon, Benin, Niger, Chad and others) are still using that currency. It is better that these countries aim for monetary sovereignty and cut this umbilical dependency with France. It is time, many argue, for these African countries to mature and be independent and sovereign.

Nigerian film

At this point, the discussion turns to cinema and the film industry in Nigeria to provide a comparison with Vieyra, Sembène and Mambéty.

Festac '77, also known as the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (the first Festac was held in Dakar in 1966), is a major landmark in the history of film in Nigeria. However, the advent of film in that country came at least a decade before that cultural event in 1977.

The late 1970s was the heyday of military rule in Nigeria. The ruling junta with its 'oil-jacked triumphalism' – an apt expression borrowed from Bloom and Poplak (2016) – captured Festac 1977 in order to showcase its grandeur and know-how; an event where almost all African countries were present as well as Blacks in the Diaspora, particularly the Americas, thus emphasising Pan-Africanist ideals and black solidarity. Films in the format of the time (16 mm celluloid) were shown at the festival.

Two Nigerian filmmakers dominated the celluloid cinema industry at that time – Eddie Ugbomah aka Chief Eddie, and Ola Balogun. The two have in common the fact that they wanted to provoke a socially conscious and intellectually robust cinematic tradition, just like some of their African Francophone counterparts had already done. A few themes both filmmakers treated include: the chronicle of Nigeria's postcolonial condition, military rule, corruption (in particular in the oil sector), and the recapturing by Africans of their historical perspective.

Eddie Ugbomah

Eddie Ugbomah returned to Nigeria after studying journalism, drama, and film in London in the 1960s and 1970s. His films address contemporary social and political issues.

One example is *The Mask* (1979), a harbinger of and precursor to the current movement to return the stolen African arts pieces and artefacts held in European museums and private collections. The narrative line of the film is about the looting of African arts by the European coloniser. In the film, the main protagonist Obi (played by Ugbomah) tries to break into the British Museum and steal a Benin kingdom ivory mask and return it to

Nigeria. His next film *Oil Doom* (1981) focuses on the curse that oil was to become for the country, with the title being a comment on the expression 'oil boom'.

Ola Balogun

Ola Balogun studied at the Institut des hautes études cinématographiques in Paris in the 1960s before returning to Nigeria in 1968. He produced a few documentary films and, just like Ugbomah, appealed a lot in his work to theatre. Balogun worked with Hubert Ogundé's theatre group. *Nollywood : Indigenous Culture, Intraculturality, and the Transplantation of American Popular Culture onto Postcolonial Nigerian Film and Screen* (Diop 2020) is a more detailed discussion of the links between drama and film in Nigeria.

The subject of one of Balogun's earliest films, *Amadi* (1975) is African tradition and culture and its safekeeping. Of particular interest is that the film was shot in Igbo, the first feature-length movie in that language. It is worth noting that Balogun had mastered Igbo even though he was a Yoruba man. He was born and grew up in Abba, eastern Nigeria, in the heart of Igbo country before moving to Lagos in his teen years. *Amadi* is the story of an Igbo man who leaves his village and went to the Lagos metropolis in search of economic opportunities and a better life. He does not succeed, and returns to his village to promote agriculture.

Cry Freedom (1981) is about a guerrilla uprising in a fictional African country; a film inspired by the novel *Carcase for Hounds* by the Kenyan writer Meja Mwangi (1974) who chronicles the Mau Mau liberation struggle against British colonisation and occupation in the 1950s. The film was successful among Nigerian intellectuals, but it did not appeal to a mass audience.

The elite aesthetic and the Nollywood aesthetic

Something that Ugbomah, Balogun, Sembène, Souleymane Cissé, Vieyra, Mambéty, Idrissa Ouedraogo, and a few other pioneering African filmmakers have in common is that they all attended film institutes (mostly in Europe) to learn about filmmaking.

These filmmakers aimed to make films which educate, encourage critique, and raise the awareness of the audience, i.e., the African masses who are mostly not literate in European languages. Of course, these films are also meant to entertain. The main reason that Sembène turned to filmmaking was that the masses could not read his novels in French, and it is important to note that most of his films are shot in Wolof.

There is a stark difference between the ethos embodied by the filmmakers discussed immediately above and the ethos of the Nollywood movie industry. Generally speaking, Nollywood filmmakers do not attend film schools; they are trained on the job. Their main aim is to make films which make people laugh and relax after a long day of hard work and drudgery.

Nollywood filmmakers deride the work of filmmakers who seek to make their audiences think and develop a critical mind as ‘embassy cinema’. Their main aim is to reflect ordinary society with its daily joys and sufferings, modest triumphs, and travails. They seek to chronicle daily life events and happenings and turn them into entertainment rather than a tool for raising awareness.

The celluloid film camp considers Nollywood productions to be soap operas bordering on trash, with weak production, artistic and aesthetic qualities. This has been compared to the Onitsha mass market literature of questionable aesthetic quality made famous in the book of the same name by Obiechina (1972). Bloom and Poplak (2016) discuss this topic in detail in the chapter entitled ‘Things Fall Together: Nollywood’s Simple Secret’.

Proponents of the Nollywood aesthetic maintain that, firstly, their productions are intended to be pure entertainment, and secondly, they are producing for their market – non-intellectual and non-Western-educated African populations which are majority of people in Africa. Western-educated intellectuals are a tiny minority.

It is beyond the scope of this article to try to resolve the debate between “elite” filmmakers and “popular” filmmakers.

Conclusion

Modernity is the main hallmark of Paulin S. Vieyra and Djibril Diop Mambéty. Both are also *engagé*, each in his own way. Vieyra poses trenchant political questions linked to the independence of Africa in an intellectual fashion. By contrast, Mambéty captures the moods, travails, dreams, and hopes of the urban masses in an artistic manner. Both have greatly contributed to the birth of a genuine African cinematic tradition in which Africa rediscovers and transforms its values and then opens up, with confidence, to a true universalism. In this regard, film production plays an important role for Africa’s future as a continent whose populations have been able to survive a punishing procrustean European colonialism. Survival is one thing, but revival needs a *telos* for progress on all fronts – in the forms of morality, technology, political expression, and an African humanity. Africa’s *cinéastes*, as social scientists, have an important role to play.

References

- Balogun, O. dir., 1981, *Cry Freedom*, [Film], Nigeria : Afrocult Foundation.
- _____, dir., 1975, *Amadi*, [Film], Nigeria: Afrocult Foundation Limited.
- Bloom, K., and Poplak, R., 2016, *Continental Shifts: A Journey Into Africa's Changing Fortunes*, London : Portobello Books Ltd.
- Brahimi, D., 1997, *Cinémas d'Afrique francophone et du Maghreb*, Paris : Editions Nathan.
- Buchsbaum, J., 1988, *Cinéma Engagé: Film in the Popular Front*, Urbana, IL : University of Illinois Press.
- Diop Mambéty, D., dir., 1994, *Le Franc*, [Film], Senegal : Waka Films.
- Diop Mambéty, D., dir., 1973, *Hyènes*, [Film], Senegal : Cinegrit/ Studio Kankourama.
- Diop Mambéty, D., dir., 1973, *Touki Bouki*, [Film], Senegal : Cinegrit/ Studio Kankourama.
- Diop Mambéty, D., dir., 1970, *Badou Boy*, [Film], Senegal : Studio Kankourama.
- Diop Mambéty, D., dir., 1968, *Contrastcity*, [Film], Senegal : Studio Kankourama.
- Diop, S., 2020, 'Nollywood: Indigenous Culture, Intraculturality, and the Transplantation of American Popular Culture onto Postcolonial Nigerian Film and Screen', *Communication, Society and Media*, Vol. 3, No. 1., pp. 12–26. Available online at <http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/csm/article/view/2503>.
- Diop, S., 2017, 'Concept postcolonial et idée de nation en Afrique francophone', *Cités*, No. 72, pp. 139–57.
- Diop, S., 2004, *African Francophone Cinema*, New Orleans: University Press of the South.
- Fleming, V., dir., 1939, *Gone with the Wind*, [Film], USA : Selznick International Pictures/ Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.
- Gandal, K., 2007, *Class Representation in Modern Fiction and Film*, New York : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Griffith, D. W. dir., 1915, *Birth of a Nation*, [Film], USA : David W. Griffith Corp.
- Hedetoft, U., 2000, 'Contemporary Cinema: Between Cultural Globalisation and National Interpretation', in Mette, H. and Mackenzie, S., eds. *Cinema and Nations*, London: Routledge, pp. 278–97.
- Kane, J.M., Sarr M., Vieyra, P.S., dirs., 1955, *Afrique-sur-Seine*, [Film], France : Groupe Africain.
- Latouche, S., 2000, 'Les mirages de l'occidentalisation', *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May. Available online at <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2001/05/LATOUCHE/1754>.
- Mwangi, M., 1974, *Carcass for Hounds*, London: Heinemann.
- Obiechina, E. N., 1972, *Onitsha Market Literature*, London : Heinemann ; New York : Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Sembène, O., dir., 1976, *Ceddo*, [Film], Senegal : Film Doomirew.

- Sembène, O., dir., 1975, *Xala*, [Film], Senegal : Filmi Domirew/ Societe Production du Senegal.
- Sembène, O., dir., 1971, *Emitaï*, [Film], Senegal/ France : Filmi Domirew/ Ministère de la Coopération.
- Sembène, O., dir., 1968, *Mandabi*, [Film], Senegal/ France: Filmi Domirew/ Comptoir Français du Film Production (CFFP).
- Sembène, O., dir., 1966, *Black Girl*, [Film], Senegal/ France : Filmi Domirew/Les Actualités Françaises.
- Spaas, L., 2000, *The Francophone Film: A Struggle for Identity*, Manchester : Manchester University Press.
- Ugbomah, E., dir., 1981, *Oil Doom*, [Film], Nigeria : Produced by Eddie Ugbomah.
- Ugbomah, E., dir., 1979, *The Mask*, [Film], Nigeria : Produced by Eddie Ugbomah.
- Vieyra, P., S., 1983, *Le cinéma au Sénégal*. Paris, Présence Africaine.
- Vieyra, P., S., dir., 1981, *En résidence surveillée*, [Film], Senegal : Les Films PSV- Présence Africaine.
- Vieyra, P., S., 1975, *Le cinéma africain des origines à 1973*, Paris : Présence Africaine.
- Vieyra, P., S., 1972, *Sembène Ousmane cinéaste*, Paris : Présence Africaine.
- Vieyra, P., S., 1969, *Le cinéma et l'Afrique*, Paris : Présence Africaine.

