

Benin Video-Film: A Case for the Documentary Genre

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Abstract

Although Onions Edionwe's films, such as Echoes of a Kingdom, Arousa N'ohuan-ren, and Aisiokuoba, are notable documentaries, they represent an "insignificant" component of the total number of movies that have been made in the Benin or Edo language film section of the Nigerian film culture (Nollywood). A critical review of the Benin video culture indicates that a majority of the Benin film content creators tend to ignore the documentary genre. This article explores the reasons Benin filmmakers do not produce documentaries. Perhaps, what evidences the tendency is the observable preference of Benin filmmakers to make historical, musical, comic, or social movies because they fear that the audience might find documentary films uninteresting and distasteful. This is an unpleasant trend in spite of documentary film's potency as a narrative medium and its potentialities for developing the human-mind and society. It is against this background that I used a complementarity of the emic and etic approaches to canvass the need for Benin cineastes to increasingly turn their creative radars towards the documentary genre, which can be a powerful developer and re-enforcer of Benin socio-cultural practices in the age of globalisation. Towards this end, Benin filmmakers should be provided with requisite grants and/or production funds by relevant governmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and organised private groups from within and outside the Benin locality to make films in the documentary format.

Keywords: *Benin language video-film, documentary genre, socio-cultural practices, Nollywood, production funds*

Introduction

Although Onions Edionwe's films such as *Echoes of a Kingdom*, *Arousa N'ohuan-ren*, *Aisiokuoba*, and *Witness to Survival*, among others, are remarkable documentary productions, according to Osakue Omoera, "they constitute an insignificant part of the over 400 movies which have been made in the Benin language video-film segment of Nollywood."¹ Aside from this, a critical review of the Benin video culture shows that a majority of the Benin film producers tend to shirk the documentary genre as a means of narrative expression. Also, it is observed that many content creators in the Benin video-film segment of the Nigerian film industry make films in other genres, such as epic, historical, musical and comic, with little or no attention or interest in documentary films. Joseph Ola-koyi, in an earlier study, noted a related challenge among video-film producers in the larger Nollywood.² In fact, Hyginus Ekwuazi writes that though the documentary is older than the feature film in Nigeria, it is ironically the more undeveloped of the two forms.³

Aside from locating itself outside the rubric of Western film traditions, Nollywood is arguably the most diverse film tradition in the world, with many segments such as the Yoruba film, the Hausa film, the Igbo film, the Nigerian English film, and the Benin language film, among others. From Lagos to Kano and Enugu to Benin City in Nigeria and from Nairobi, Kenya to Johannesburg, South Africa, audiences are increasingly enamored of Nollywood films. As a result, local and international media outlets such as the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), Silverbird Cinemas, African Magic, Nollywood TV, and IrokoTV are experiencing unprecedented viewership and are raking in huge profits from screening Nollywood movies. The emergent body of Benin video-film has established itself as a viable variant of Nollywood with a burgeoning viewership as a result of its propagation of Benin language, history, and culture. However, the low production of documentary film in the Benin video culture is an unhealthy trend, considering the propensities of the genre in the process of developing the human mind and society, especially in today's world, which is fraught with all kinds of challenges.⁴ It is in view of the foregoing that I posit that Benin cineastes, filmmakers, and videographers need to turn their production radars towards the documentary

genre, which is a key propagator of indigenous history, language, and cultural values. I further argue that documentary films can address social issues.

A complementarity of the emic and etic approaches, as espoused by Jingfeng Xia,⁵ were used to underscore the usefulness of producing films in the documentary format in the Benin film culture. The thinking here is that a deliberate mixture of methods can provide useful insights into examining and understanding the issues at stake in certain socio-cultural milieus, where the state of affairs may require and indeed benefit from the points of view (POVs) of both an “insider” and an “outsider.” In this regard, an anthropological emic-etic perspective, which combines local views with scientific assessment of issues, is important. The emic approach investigates insiders’ opinions on issues.⁶ That is, it focuses on how they perceive and categorize the world, their rules for behaviour, what has meaning for them, and how they imagine and explain things. Flowing from this, interview and observational methods formed the emic modality in this study. The etic (scientist-oriented) approach shifts the focus from local observations, categories, explanations, and interpretations to those of the researcher, or an external “agent.” Here, content analysis as well as historical approaches constituted the etic modality for the study. The etic approach realizes that members of a culture (in the case of this study, the Benin video-film culture in Nigeria) often are too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially.⁷ Combining both approaches in this discourse, the POVs of local Benin film producers, film enthusiasts, and culture avatars were sought and analysed along with external POVs in documentary film scholarship. In other words, I used content analysis and historical, observational, and interview methods to examine the status of the documentary in the Benin film culture. This was to ensure a critical balancing of thought that could potentially lead to improvements in documentary filmmaking activities among Benin cineastes. Over time, such an effort would help to further consolidate the socio-cultural practices of the Benin people and to re-orient their minds towards certain aspects of cultural development. However, I argue that for this kind of boost in documentary film production to occur, the production funds and grants that Benin filmmakers require must be made accessible by relevant

governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and organised private groups from within and outside the Benin locality.

Documentary Film: Perspectives and Functionalities

Regardless of the ups and downs the documentary film genre has experienced, it still enjoys a pride of place in film scholarship because of its manifold functional capacities in the global human community. Historically contextualizing the genre, Hjort asserts that the influential Scottish filmmaker John Grierson, who is widely credited with having coined the term *documentary* in the mid 1920s, used it to refer to “the creative treatment of actuality.”⁸ One of Grierson’s best-known films, *Drifters* (1929), helps us to understand what the influential filmmaker and theorist was after. This film, about North Sea herring fishing, was edited using montage techniques inspired by the Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, whose film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) Grierson greatly admired. The film *Drifters* has a striking, almost hypnotic rhythm to it as a result of its dramatic editing, and this helps to make it a “creative treatment of actuality,” rather than a mere recording of actuality.⁹

Combined with other intellectual developments, Grierson’s emphasis on creativity has led to countless debates, which I do not wish to embark on, just as Mette Hjort informs us that “it is easy to get caught up in the intricacies of the debates about how to define documentary.”¹⁰ Rather, claims and views which point to the humanizing potentialities of the documentary film across cultures, epochs, and peoples, and how these fine elements could be made more accessible or available in the Benin video-film culture and society, are of enduring interest to me in this study. Accordingly, it is commonly held that for development to be meaningful and sustainable, it needs to be grafted upon cultural values of the people.¹¹ Hjort, drawing examples from Asian countries like China, Malaysia, Japan, Korea and Singapore, argues that documentaries can be used to encourage values such as honesty, hard work, unity, and a sense of the community against individualism glorified by liberalisation and globalisation.¹² Indeed, the documentary genre has been used and is still being used to mobilize human and material resources for meaningful and sustainable development. It is this kind of thinking that saliently underlines

Ali Al'Amin Mazrui's nine-part TV documentary, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, a coproduction of BBC and PBS in the 1980s, and Gloria Emeagwali's thought-provoking documentary videos that centre on African indigenous knowledge systems, African personages, and trans-border challenges on the African continent, including *Ethiopia* (2013), *South Africa* (2013), and *Understanding Boko Haram* (2014), to name a few.¹³

Payal Kamat, with specific reference to India, asserts that “documentaries have contributed to bringing about a better social order and in building up a national community having common thinking about the nation.”¹⁴ Foluke Ogunleye agrees with Kamat's submission to the extent that “the drama documentary simulates reality, and is used to analyze current events and issues. . . which are derived from in-depth research, resulting in believable scenarios.”¹⁵ This appears to be the ideological anchor of Sorious Samura's documentary *Exodus from Africa* (2001), which depicts the unconscionable mass migration of youth from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and other Western countries.¹⁶ Furthermore, Alia Arasoughly reports that the “Shashat experiments” – film training programmes organised by Shashat, a Palestine-based cinema nongovernmental organization (NGO) – emboldened and empowered young women filmmakers in Palestine to make short documentaries such as *My Lucky 13* (2008), by Dara Khader; *A Day in Palestine* (2009) and *Girls and the Sea* (2010), by Taghreed El-Azza; *If They Take It* (2009), by Liali Kilani, *Jerusalem. . . So Near, So Far* (2009), *Just Forbidden* (2012), by Fadya Salah-Aldeen, among many others.¹⁷ Apart from being cultural and entertainment products of note (at least among Palestinians of the post-Oslo years), the documentaries enabled the female trainee cineastes “to tell more effective stories about their lives through the acquisition of dramatic filmmaking skills,”¹⁸ and determinedly play up issues that their kith and kin are confronted with in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Ramallah, Jerusalem, and other Palestinian areas for global attention and intervention. It is partly these kinds of emerging data on the systematic use of documentary films in social education programmes, women's empowerment, therapeutic interventions, and mass mobilization in the Middle East, Africa, the Americas, Europe, and Asia that underlies this study's exploration of the documentary genre in the Benin video culture.

The Benin Video Culture in Nollywood and the Documentary Scare

The Benin video-film culture is a fast-growing subsection of Nollywood. Recent studies have conceptually and empirically demonstrated the socio-cultural and linguistic significance of this segment of Nollywood.¹⁹ To Lancelot Imasuen, the Benin video-film is second in the ranking of Nollywood film cultures in terms of production output.²⁰ He, however, laments that, in spite of this phenomenal growth, little attention has been paid to the making of documentaries in this dynamic film culture that flourishes among the Benin-speaking people, “a major minority language group in present-day Edo State, South-South Nigeria.”²¹

Benin City is the capital of Edo state. The city doubles as the ancestral home of the Benin (Edo) people, where the Oba (the traditional and spiritual head of the Benin race) resides. Benin City, together with its envioning communities, constitutes the major production site of Benin video-films, and its inhabitants make up the principal market target of Benin video-film producers/production outfits such as Ozin Oziegbe Movies, Amas Films, Akpola Films, Lancewealth Images, Prolens Movies, Pictures Communications, etc. The secondary market target includes immigrant Benin communities in other Nigerian cities such as Lagos, Abuja, Akure, Kano, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Maiduguri, as well as those in the Diaspora.

Most films of the Benin language extraction, according to Omoera, “are often linked with the Benin Oba or royalty, but they generally explore mundane and contemporary issues as well as matters from previous epochs using Benin language, proverbs, folklores, costumes, songs, adages, among other iconic cultural paraphernalia as distinctive means of communication.”²² In other words, the Benin people’s “worldview, or *weltanschauung*, forms the infrastructural base of the Benin video-films.”²³ Omoera’s taxonomic analysis of over 200 Benin films which was randomly carried out based on their thematic concerns revealed the following typologies: Epic/Historical/Folkloric film, Comic/Hilarious films, Rags to Riches/Materialistic/Social commentary films, Pentecostalism/Christian films and Musical video dramas.²⁴ In the foregoing analysis, there is clearly no acknowledgement of the documentary genre.

However, a more recent study shows that the few Benin documentary films that are available are mainly from the stables of Butterworth Productions Limited, a Benin City based production outfit under the direction of Onions Edionwe.²⁵ In fact, in the Benin language film stratum of Nollywood, Onions is reputed to be the first to present documentaries in the home video format. Some of his documentary videos include *Echoes of a Kingdom: Great Benin* (2010), *The 7th Aken. . . of Benin Obaship: Oba Akensua II 1933-1978* (n.d), *Arousa N'ohuan-ren [Holy Aruosa Cathedral]* (n.d), *Avbiama Masquerade and Priest* (n.d), *Aisio-kuoba 1, 2, 3 & 4* (n.d), *The 38th Oba of Benin: Oba Erediauwa CFR*, *The Oba of Great Benin Kingdom* (n.d), and *Witness to Survival: Kingdom vs. Kingdom* (2010), among others.

These video works typically contain real experiences, real people, and real situations and settings within the Benin socio-cultural milieu or context. This makes them consistent with the Griersonian order as Edionwe creatively treats his documentaries, especially through editing. It is probably in this regard that Hjort contends that “documentary films offer the possibility of encounters that help to make us a whole lot more capacious as human beings, by showing us the dignity of other ways of life.”²⁶ She further submits that “documentary films and their filmmakers have much to offer a world where cynicism, materialism, pragmatism, and narrow understandings of group belonging have gained a lot of ground.”²⁷

For instance, Edionwe’s *Witness to Survival: Kingdom vs. Kingdom* (2010) tells of the British invasion of the Benin Kingdom in 1897, the despoliation it occasioned, and how the resilient Benin people waded through that dark era of their collective history. The British incursion into Benin is an actual event that occurred over a hundred years ago. It was a series of underhand dealings, intrigues, diplomatic rows, and economic and military adventurism between the Britons and Benins, which culminated in the sacking of the Benin Kingdom and the looting of precious artefacts and other valuables from the palace of the Benin Oba. However, in the film *Witness to Survival: Kingdom vs. Kingdom*, these series of events were treated with certain videographic techniques, such as editing and other studio operations, to factually and faithfully reflect on that memorable clash between the two kingdoms.

Aside from this singular effort (that is, Edionwe's shoots) there has not been any noticeable effort from other Benin video film producers/filmmakers to make documentary films. Ogie Ogedegbe, a strong emic voice in the Benin video culture, provides some insights as to what might be responsible for this. He argued that "Benin film producers shy away from making documentaries because their market potentials as against other genres such as epics, comics, etc., are very slim and fear that they might not be able to break even, let alone to make profit, which is the primary reason why they venture into the enterprise in the first place."²⁸ Peddie Okao corroboratively noted that "finding the market for documentary is the major challenge in the Benin video culture."²⁹

In other words, instant financial return is key in the production activities of the average Benin video-filmmaker, and in a situation where support, both institutional and professional is marginal, many a Benin video-filmmaker would rather invest their lean resources in films that will give them quick returns. Documentaries, whatever their worth, are outside this bracket. It is instructive, too, to note that out of the over 40 films that were entered for the 2013 edition of Edo Movie and Music Academy Awards (EMMAA), not one was in the documentary format.³⁰ I observed that another possible explanation for the virtual absence of documentary film production in Benin video culture is that Benin filmmakers are scared of venturing into that aspect of film because of ignorance and the lack of technical know-how for making documentary films that are edutaining, and, at the same time, cohesive.³¹ Although the quantity of documentary film productions is also relatively low in greater Nollywood, there are notable documentaries, such as *Uncut Playing with Life* (dir. Sandra Obiako, 2000), *Tides of the Delta: The Saga of Ozidi* (dirs. Peggy Harper and Francis Speed, 1969), *Defence of a Mandate* (dir. Ogie Ogedegbe, 2010), among others.

All film genres go through the same production process, thus, the noticeable fear in making films in the documentary format in the Benin film circuit of Nollywood is groundless. Steve Ogun-suyi's contention that "documentary filmmaking is an art and therefore an issue of composition,"³² wholly applies to the feature film also. Indeed, Elo Ibagere and Osakue Omoera claim that, in terms of production, all three broad types—feature, documentary, and animation—undergo the same process of pre-production,

shooting (or production) and editing (or post production).³³ The same filmic equipment and materials are also required to actualize all three types, and the same basic terms apply. And, of course, available digital technologies have significantly enhanced the production quality and aesthetics of films of all genres. Structurally, there is a common feature characterizing all three: this element is known as plot.³⁴

Documentaries as Elixirs of Life: Implications for Human Development

Documentaries can serve as elixirs of life because they mirror human lives from different perspectives with the clear objective to improve the human condition. In the following section I draw on Hjort's views on some of the ways in which documentaries can significantly contribute to various aspects of our lives as a people, such as perspective, therapeutic intervention, alternatives, and advocacy.³⁵

Perspective: Documentaries, among many other things, offer the possibility of encounters that help to make us a whole lot more capacious as human beings. Many of documentary films show us the dignity of other lives, and this in ways that cannot but become invitations to rethink the perspective we have on our own lives. When we meet, in what is usually an incredibly intense 60- to 90-minute encounter, people whose lives are separated from ours by such things as geographical distance or the realities of race, culture, language, class, religion, age, sexual orientation, profession, disability, and so on, we very often do so on the sorts of terms that really are the basis for mutuality, respect, and recognition. For instance, one readily sees depth and perspective in the documentaries of Sorious Samura.

Therapeutic Intervention: The most efficient way of getting at this dimension is via the term *therapeutic*, which is used here in a very broad sense that refers, quite simply, to situations in which people begin to overcome some of the more damaging aspects of their lives. Edionwe's *Witness to Survival: Kingdom vs. Kingdom* (2010) contains scenes that point to a kind of trauma healing of the historical consciousness of the Benin people, which was dealt a huge blow by the British in 1897. We can readily identify another instance in the life-enhancing "Shashat experiments" among

Palestinian women as seen in *My Lucky 13, A Day in Palestine; Girls and the Sea, If They Take It*, among other life-changing documentaries, which empowered and encouraged young female Palestinians to relive their stories and develop effectual coping strategies against policies that tended to hem them in. Documentary film can be quite a powerful thing in this kind of therapeutic context. One can then imagine if other future documentaries in the Benin segment of Nollywood are made to explore other vexatious issues in the historical and social reconstruction of the Benin consciousness in the age of globalization. For instance, certain socio-cultural practices that financially, psychologically, and physically drain many Benin people such as “4 in 1” marriage ceremonies (engagement, traditional marriage, court marriage, and church marriage events) can be therapeutically negotiated using the documentary format to reorient people to cut their coats according to their clothes—spend money within their financial means. The point being made is that through well-thought-out documentaries aimed at changing societal perceptions on excessive or wasteful spending on marriages, the Benin society could systematically begin to de-emphasise such negative practice of ‘4 in 1’ marriage ceremonies.

Alternatives: Another contribution that I seek to highlight has to do with *alternatives*—the idea that many independent documentary filmmakers work hard to provide a deeper and more thoughtful perspective on the issues and events that various providers of news also “cover.” For instance, the broader media in Nigeria were awash with news about the political stalemate in Edo State following the various tribunal sittings for a period of over eighteen months when the PDP and ACN (now APC) governorship candidates were slugging it out at the various courts. The *Defence of a Mandate* (2009), a docu-drama made by Ogie Ogedegbe, laid bare the alternatives before the Edo people about their political future: whether to support Adams Aliu Oshiomhole in the governorship race against all odds or not.

Advocacy: Movies have been known to be great advocacy tools. More so, documentaries are oriented to meet pro-development causes. For instance, *Uncut Playing with Life* (dir. Sandra Obiako, 2000) is an advocacy movie against female genital mutilation (FGM) in Nigeria. Also, *Yellow Cassava* (dir. Zeb Ejiro, 2014), with vestiges of documentary, is an advocacy film on yellow

cassava, which, according to research, is nutritionally rich in vitamin A and could boost the immune system, improve sight, and is cheap. Accordingly, Benin documentary films can be made to explore, for instance, age-long traditional beliefs of the average Benin person, such as the eating of pounded yam (a high carbohydrate food) in the evening or the stigmatization of women who do not produce male children, for the general enlightenment of the Benin populace.

Conclusion

This study has examined why filmmakers rarely make documentary films in the Benin video-film segment of Nollywood, even though it has established itself as a viable variant with a rapidly increasing viewership as a result of its propagation of Benin language, history, and culture. In as much as the dynamics of a growing society require that certain cultures and behaviours be inevitably altered, I argued in this study that encouraging documentary filmmaking in the Benin video culture would help to ensure that such alterations and changes do not obliterate indigenous Benin identity and positive cultural heritage. Important, too, is the need for relevant governmental and nongovernmental organizations to provide funds and grants that Benin cineastes can access to make films in the documentary genre.

Notes

- ¹ Osakue S. Omoera, "Audience Reception of the Benin Video-Film" (PhD diss., University of Ibadan, 2014), 141.
- ² Joseph B. Ola-Koyi, "From Photographic Documentation to Video Documentary: The Nigerian Experience," *The Performer: Ilorin Journal of the Performing Arts* 9 (2007): 171.
- ³ Hyginus Ekwuazi, "The Other Nollywood: The Documentary," *Ijota: Ibadan Journal of Theatre Arts* 2-4 (2008): 284.
- ⁴ Mette Hjort, "On the Interest of Documentary Film," (An Inaugural Lecture of Lingnan University (Hong Kong: Lingnan University, 2012), 3.
- ⁵ Xia Jingfeng, "An Anthropological Emic-Etic Perspective on Open Access Practices," *Journal of Documentation* 67, no.1 (2011): 75.
- ⁶ Conrad Kottak, *Mirror for Humanity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), 47.
- ⁷ Xia Jingfeng, "An Anthropological Emic-Etic Perspective," 78.

- ⁸ Hjort, "On the Interest,"8.
- ⁹ Ibid., 3.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Semiu M. Bello and Steve Adesemoye, "Western Films and Teenagers in Nigerian Society: The Question of Cultural Promotion," *Continental Journal of Arts and Humanities* 4, no.2 (2012):18.
- ¹² Hjort, "On the Interest,"8.
- ¹³ Gloria Emeagwali "Professor Gloria Emeagwali's Videos on Vimeo," <http://vimeo.com/user5946750/videos>. (accessed June 10, 2014).
- ¹⁴ Payal Kamat, "Short Essay on the Impact of Films," <http://www.preservearticles.com/2012011821120/short-essay-on-the-impact-of-films.html>. (accessed August 20, 2013).
- ¹⁵ Foluke Ogunleye, "Television Docudrama as Alternative Records of History," *History in Africa* 32, no.1 (2005): 481.
- ¹⁶ "Sorious Samura," Insight TWI: The World Investigates, <http://insighttwi.com/sorious.html>. (accessed June 5, 2014).
- ¹⁷ Alia Arasoughly, "Film Education in Palestine Post-Oslo: The Experience of Shashat," in *The Education of the Filmmaker in Africa, the Middle East and the Americas*, ed. Mette Hjort (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 100.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ See Osakue S. Omoera, "Benin Visual Literature and the Frontiers of Nollywood," *International Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Scholarship (Special Issue- Motion Picture in Nigeria)* 3-5 (2008):234; Omoera, "A Taxonomic Analysis of the Benin Video Film," *Ijota: Ibadan Journal of Theatre Arts* 2-4 (2008): 41; Omoera, "Arresting the Endangerment of Benin Language through Benin Video-Film Productions in Nigeria," *Africa Update* 20, no.3 (2013):2; Omoera, "Bridging the Gap: Answering the Questions of Crime, Youth Unemployment and Poverty through Film Training in Benin, Nigeria," in *The Education of the Filmmaker in Africa, the Middle East and the Americas*, ed. Mette Hjort (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 39; Omoera, "Audience Reception of the Benin Language Video Film in Nollywood," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 26, no.1 (2014): 69; Omoera, "Audience Reception," 146; Omoera, "An Assessment of the Economics of the Benin Language Film in Nigeria," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 31, no. 5 (2014): 389; Omoera, "Nollywood Unbound: Benin Language Video-Film as Paradigm," in *Re/Negotiating Nationhood through the Filmic Tradition: Nollywood and the Logic of Language, Culture and Narrativity*, ed. James Tsaaior (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).
- ²⁰ Lancelot O. Imasuen, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Lancewealth Images Nigeria Ltd., interviewed by the author, June 4, 2013 in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria.
- ²¹ Victor E. Omozuwa, "Mr. Wright, is Saying it Right Necessarily Writing it Right?: Understanding the 'Soundscape' of a Language for a Better Orthographic

Rendering,” 125th Inaugural Lecture of the University of Benin (Benin City: University of Benin Press, 2012), 19.

²² Omoera, “An Assessment of the Economics,” 387.

²³ Omoera, “Nollywood Unbound,” forthcoming.

²⁴ Omoera, “A Taxonomic Analysis,” 46.

²⁵ Omoera, “Audience Reception,” 91.

²⁶ Hjort, “On the Interest,” 9.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ogie Ogedegbe, Nollywood film producer/director, interviewed by the author, April 12, 2014 in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria.

²⁹ Peddie Okao, CEO Prolens Movies Nigeria Ltd., interviewed by the author, December 2, 2014.

³⁰ I gathered this information in my capacity as the Jury President of the 2nd Edo Movie and Music Academy Awards, held on August 21, 2013, at the Oba Akenzua 11 Cultural Centre, Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria.

³¹ Ogie Ogedegbe interview.

³² Stephen A. Ogunsuyi, “Dramatic Undertones in the Documentary Film,” *Ijota: Ibadan Journal of Theatre Arts* 2-4 (2008): 251.

³³ Elo Ibagere and Osakue S. Omoera, “The Nigerian Film Plot: Motion Without Movement?” *Matatu: Journal of African Culture and Society* (forthcoming).

³⁴ Hyginus Ekwuazi, *The Television/Film Documentary: A Production Resource Book*, 2nd edition (Ibadan: Kraft Books Ltd., 2009), 3.

³⁵ Hjort, “On the Interest,” 9-12.

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