

The Orange Economy, Nollywood, and Decoloniality: A Critical Appraisal

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria's Nollywood has evolved into a significant cultural and economic force in Africa and the world. It is renowned for its abundant production of movies, ranking second in the number of films produced annually, surpassing Hollywood and trailing Bollywood. In terms of revenue, it ranks third globally. Its popularity has gained international recognition. However, Nollywood has not managed to transcend the coloniality of its being and repertoire. Hence, this article adopts a corrective and emancipatory agenda to present a discourse on the coloniality of the application of the Orange Economy concept to Nollywood as well as the imperative of applying a decolonial epistemic regime to the operations of Nollywood. This is aimed at engendering the transformation along more decolonial and equalitarian lines of the growing exploitative stranglehold on Nollywood by non-state financial entities that exploit individuals within the Nollywood industry.

Keywords: Coloniality, Decoloniality, Global South, Nigeria, Nollywood, Orange Economy

INTRODUCTION

International Relations has traditionally emphasized the significance of "great powers" or nations in the so called "global North" because of the dominance of Euro-American perspectives and cultural influence gained from their ontological and epistemic privileges. Historically, the cultures and knowledge production of Black African States have perennially been considered subaltern or assigned other derogatory terms, or their histories and values have been distorted by the colonialists in their pursuit of domination and exploitation under the guise of enlightenment, modernization, civilizing, or even humanizing. It is also observed that Euro-American cultural stereotypes of Africa and Africans by Euro-Americans as not only primitive and demonic but even to the extent that Hegel could define the continent as being devoid of morality, religion, thus being outside of history (Kuykendall, 1993). These corollaries of colonialism are still pervasive and deeply imbedded in the erstwhile colonies even after "decolonization". Hence, post-colonial scholars contend that little has been done in the post-decolonization era to remedy the concocted "Otherness" or the fictional "primitive" image of Africa and the rest of the global South (Arukwe, 2010; 2014).

Culture and cultural relations have gained relevance in international relations owing to globalization, technology, and constructivism (Stelowsha, 2015). Consequently, cultural arts have been commercialized. As a result, formerly colonized societies, which were fictively framed as primitive societies, are becoming increasingly significant and exerting greater influence on the global stage. Under the framework of the Orange Economy, the commercialization of cultural art forms from the global South has upended the major-to-minor cultural influence dynamic. Cultural elements, including Dancehall, Reggae, Nollywood, and Afrobeats have attained worldwide prominence, and their intrinsic value is now subject to market forces (Arukwe & Chukwu, 2012). In recent years, there has been a substantial body of literature proposing the Orange Economy as a potential option for

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developing countries. Yet, few sources have critically analyzed the initiatives related to this concept. This article seeks to among other things highlight the potential risks that result from the confluence of culture and economics, particularly for the countries of Africa and the rest of the global South. Ofttimes, the evaluation of the economic value of their artistic initiatives is undertaken by external agents, which can have adverse implications. Income and earnings are unevenly distributed, as these initiatives favor individuals over collectives and ultimately benefit transnational corporations (Stevenson, 2023, pp. 51–70). Equally important is the need to illuminate the subtle yet significant privileged ascendancy that exists in the Orange Economy, allowing a set of nations to apply specific classifications to others.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The first time the term "creative economy" was used was in 1966, when Baumol and Bowen published "Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma." Subsequently, "Economics of the Arts" emerged as a distinct subfield of the economic sciences, and the moniker "creative economy" was used to describe it (Lorente, 2016). In 2011 to 2013, however, the cultural elements that make up the creative economy were coined the Orange Economy by John Howkins, the writer of the renowned *The Creative Economy: How people make money from ideas* (Howkins, 2013).

In recent times, international organizations have widely accepted and sometimes used the terms "cultural industries" and "creative industries" interchangeably. These industries are recognized for their cultural and commercial value and are considered significant drivers of economic growth and employment (Stevenson, 2023, pp. 51–70). The term "Orange Economy" became well-known after the Inter-American Development Bank published a book in 2013 titled, 'The Orange Economy, an Infinite Opportunity', co-authored by Iván Duque (President of Colombia 2018-2022) and Felipe Buitrago (Vice Minister of Digital Economy-Ministry of Culture 2019-2021). Subsequently, its capacity to enhance unity, stimulate creativity, and enhance societal welfare has gained greater acknowledgement due to its dual commercial and cultural significance. It is acknowledged that it is relevant for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Inter American et al., 2013; UNESCO & World Bank, 2021). The year 2021 was declared the *International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development* to promote economic growth, foster innovation, and support developing countries in diversifying production and exports (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2021). The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) promotes itself as encouraging 'the development-friendly integration of developing nations into the world economy' (Newbiggin, 2010). The objective is to combine the creative economy with wider development goals. Moreover, its Creative Economy Programme (CEP), which is highly regarded, provides statistical data on the purported economic benefits of the creative economy. UNCTAD's studies provide robust statistical evidence for the expansion of the creative economy in the global South. This sector economy was not just a post-industrial replacement sector in the developed world; it was a component of a global paradigm shift on a really epochal scale. The Orange Economy is a rapidly growing sector that is believed to offer over 30 million jobs worldwide (Datta & Hatayama, 2020). The Nigerian film industry, or Nollywood, has experienced significant growth and is currently the second-largest employer in Nigeria, providing 300,000 direct jobs, trailing only the agricultural sector (Solutions for Youth Employment, 2020).

African cinema has historically depended on external funding and has faced challenges stemming from colonialism. Africa's integration into global networks happened early, albeit in unfavorable circumstances that were determined by colonial power structures. Nollywood is the second phase of postcolonial filmmaking in Nigeria. The nascent phase of the industry, which began in the 1970s, faced comparable challenges to those encountered by other

African film sectors. Filmmaking in Nigeria was disrupted in the late 1980s, mainly as a result of the country's economic downturn (Obiaya, 2021). Nonetheless, there was a revival and a boom in the sector. The neologism 'Nollywood' was introduced somewhat sarcastically by Norimitsu Onishi, a journalist from the New York Times, in 2002, after he witnessed the burgeoning film industry in Lagos, Nigeria. The term refers to Hollywood in the US and Bollywood in India's Bombay, both renowned areas of film production (Igwe, 2015).

Notwithstanding, the term has been disputed by those who oppose cultural imperialism in naming a Nigerian product after Hollywood (McCain, 2013). Nollywood refers to the Nigerian film-making process that utilizes all available resources, regardless of their (in)adequacy. Filmmakers may produce movies under challenging circumstances, including unstable environments and tight deadlines. Norimitsu coined the term 'Nollywood' after observing a challenging production environment, referring to the creation of something out of nothing (Igwe, 2015). Nollywood has become a significant center for individuals to experience various cultural aspects in Africa, owing to its worldwide influence, financial feasibility, and artistic creations. Netflix has also gotten aboard and has added a category for Nollywood films to its on-demand video streaming service. Netflix, YouTube, and *irokotv* provide a wide range of Nollywood movies. Canal+ from France and StarTimes from China are also expanding their presence in the world's second largest film industry (France24.English, 2019).

DECOLONIALITY AND GLOBAL COLONIALITY

Decoloniality necessitates unconventional epistemological interventions. In a globalized world, evolving power structures present novel geopolitical challenges. Decolonial practices prompt discussions on how to develop, revise, and adjust philosophies and policies in various contexts. The variances in individuals' historical positions are noteworthy as they result in diverse epistemic outcomes. Decolonization poses a challenge for academics, administrators, managers, and policy makers as it involves restructuring and redefining frameworks, resulting in the emergence of new stakeholder relationships that were previously marginalized. This is because postcolonial nations in the global South have predominantly adopted Western philosophy, scholarship, and culture. This adoption is influenced by national and international systems of governance and capital, which shape its feeding and grounding. These factors largely determine the observable characteristics of the adoption. The narratives supporting the Orange Economy are not exempt.

Theoretically, global coloniality draws from the interdisciplinary works of Latin American scholars operating under the Modernity/Coloniality Research Programme who believed that post-colonialism, neo-colonialism, world-system theory, Marxism, and colonialism theoretical frameworks were insufficient (Jazbhay, 2021). They opined that the colonial system has yet to be completely dismantled. It has, however, evolved into more beneficent forms, albeit ones that are even more overreaching and malevolent than its previous iterations. Development assistance and grants, international trade, policy advice, and multinational corporations are all modern mechanisms that penetrate deep into postcolonial contexts. The 'colonial' axis between Europeans/Euro-Americans and non-Europeans is etched not only in exploitation (between capital and labor) and dominance (between core and peripheral states), but also in people organization and subjectivities production, as well as the reconstruction of specific groups, their heritages, and values. Quijano, contends that the ruling classes of "Western" Europe and North America, as well as those of Japan and the rest of the world that are not quite former European colonies, continue to reap the vast majority of the benefits. The oppressed and exploited populations of Latin America and Africa still bear the brunt of the consequences. In a similar vein, he also argues that coloniality and modernity are inextricably linked and were corollaries of colonialism. For him, the conquest of the

current day Latin America by the Europeans began a process of global power, resulting in a violent concentration of the world's resources under the control of a small European minority and above all, of its ruling classes. This domination is known as a specific Eurocentric colonialism and has been defeated in the large majority of cases (Quijano, 2007). Ndlovu-Gatsheni also echoes this point, where he states that global coloniality has existed since Christopher Columbus declared in 1492 that he had found a "New World," it started with the enslavement of Black people and ended with global coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020). Against this backdrop, the focal point of the analysis is the historical system rather than the "society." Historical systems span much more time and geography than a single nation and can be traced back many more centuries (Grosfoguel, 2002).

The study of global coloniality has come to represent three distinct lines of inquiry; these are the *coloniality of power*, *coloniality of being* and *coloniality of knowledge* (Jazbhay, 2021). Coloniality of power refers to the systems and institutions that favor and permit the emergence of the dominant Euro-American alliance and keep them at the top of the contemporary world order (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015, p. 53). Adding to this point, Grosfoguel opines that colonial ideology can persist even in the absence of a colonial administration, showing that it is not limited to internal or classical forms of colonialism (Grosfoguel, 2002). One of the founding fathers of this theory, Anibal Quijano, views the 'racial' social categorization of the world's population under Eurocentric global dominance as the basis for coloniality of power. Nonetheless, this coloniality of power has become pervasive; it is ingrained in and regulates the fundamentals of Eurocentric capitalist colonial/modern world power (Quijano, 2007, p. 171). Furthermore, Mignolo views coloniality of power as the "darker side of modernity" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 159).

The term "coloniality of knowledge" is used to describe how information is shaped in the current global system with an eye on dominance in two key areas. The first is the education of academics who don't challenge the current status quo, and the second is the regulation of what kind of research is legitimate and hence worthy of being disseminated internationally (Mignolo, 2009, p. 162). A key tenet of the coloniality of knowledge is "Eurocentrism." Modernity/coloniality, an essential principle in decolonial thought, theorizes that (settler and neo-) colonialism, imperialism, racism, enslavement, forced migration, genocide, apartheid, and colonial ecocide/Epistemicides/linguicide, which started in 1492 and continues to exist today, cannot be disassociated from capitalist Euro-modernity and its guarantees of progress, democracy, growth and development, among other ideals (Mantz, 2019). In other words, it is possible to interpret the seeming success of Eurocentric modernity as the imposition of a global design by a specific local history, to the detriment of other local histories and designs (Escobar, 2004, p. 210). This "universalistic" epistemology, which pretends to be objective, has degraded alternative modes of knowledge creation to the point that, unbeknownst to non-Euro-Americans, so-called Euro-American rationality has reshaped their thinking. In this regard, I re-echo the post colonialists' views that knowledge is not innocent, and always speaks from a particular location in the power hierarchy (Arukwe, 2014), or as per Haraway's critique, our knowledge is always 'situated' (Haraway, 1988). While Latin American philosopher of liberation Enrique Dussel termed it the "geopolitics of knowledge" (Grosfoguel, 2002, p. 168), Mignolo argues that this geopolitics of knowledge exposes the epistemic privilege of the "First World," which has the advantage of creating classifications and participating in them (Mignolo, 2009, p. 166). Grosfoguel, on the other hand views the coloniality of knowledge through the lens of "*ego-politics of knowledge*" (Grosfoguel, 2002, p. 168). Power and knowledge function as inseparable twins in global imperial frameworks, and that this renders the coloniality of knowledge inextricably linked to the coloniality of power. Furthermore, he contends that the coloniality of knowledge, is directly related to epistemological colonization, in which Euro-American techno-scientific

knowledge succeeded in displacing, disciplining, and destroying alternative knowledges it discovered outside of Euro-American zones (colonies), while also appropriating what it deemed useful to its global imperial designs. Evidence of this 'Epistemicides' may be seen in the way that the introduction of so-called modern science to Africa has led to the decimation of alternative knowledge and sciences, bringing dishonor to the social groups that relied on them to forge their own path to development, a pattern that was most recently dramatized under the dubious shadow of the recent COVID-19 pandemic with the Epistemicidal attacks against Africa's attempts to find a home-grown solution to the COVID-19 pandemic (see Arukwe, 2021; 2022; see also De Sousa Santos, 2005). In the context of the Orange Economy, this is evident in the plenitude of varying yet intertwined literature and discourse that focuses on the benefits of the Orange Economy. These discourses have been developed within Western-thinkers' academic and intellectual circles, then subsequently spread by politicians (Gerosa, 2021). The coloniality of being, on the other hand, draws on racist thinking that informs the "politics of 'Othering' [...] colonized people (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015, p. 55). As Ndlovu-Gatsheni sees it, the racist/imperial Manichean misanthropic skepticism that justified the treatment of Africans as property that can be bought and sold, or reduced to the status of animals that could be forced to work for others was evidence of the coloniality of being (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020, p. 198). The epistemic regime(s) that primarily produce Euro-American knowledge for dissemination within the modern/colonial world system, as well as the associated power-values that facilitate such a phenomenon, are the subject of my analysis, which mobilizes the inextricably linked coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of power as analytical tools. Given the extent of this inquiry, the coloniality of being would not be emphasized against this background. What makes this particular school of thought suitable for the present purpose is that this theory sheds light on how postcolonial societies are still impacted by colonial ways of thinking, sentiments, and beliefs, which perpetuate exploitative social hierarchies between Westerners and Africans. These influences are deeply embedded in social systems, politics, and culture, and are often presented as universal perspectives from Euro-American epistemic privileges. Additionally, incorporating Ndlovu's analysis of the impact of colonial power on contemporary Africa, it helps to demonstrate how the coloniality of power has facilitated the exploitation of labor and resources by industrialized nations, while also exerting control over African economies. It has enabled the usurpation and control of African kingly and chiefly authority, resulting in African leaders playing subordinate roles in global governance and following the directives of Western leaders. The promotion of Western bourgeois models as the ideal has impacted the governance of educational institutions, amongst others. Finally, it facilitated the regulation of subjectivity and knowledge, encompassing the imposition of Euro-American epistemology and the molding of the developmental processes of black subjectivity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015, p. 31). Moreover, I agree with Grosfoguel that an epistemic perspective from racial/ethnic subaltern locales beyond the specified dichotomies can reframe our understanding of capitalism as a global system (Grosfoguel, 2006, p. 167).

THE ORANGE ECONOMY

The 21st century presents interdependent global challenges and polarization. This refers to disparities in both intra- and inter-national contexts. Development strategies that unlock the creative potential of individuals in response to the extensive cultural, economic, social, and technological changes of our time are critical for economic sustainability. Globally, the concept of the creative and cultural economy is expanding as it serves as the intersection of culture, economics, and technology. The United Kingdom has been at the forefront of advancing this economic catalyst agenda, which is ostensibly intended to foster social inclusivity, diversity, and development. Critics of this model contended that it was an effort

by the "New Labour" party to advance "Blairism," which combined neo-liberal, conservative, and economic policy ideas with the aesthetic value crisis linked to postmodernism. The cultural policy of New Labour in turn shifted from promoting art and diversity acceptance to endorsing the neo-liberal concept of the citizen-subject as self-reliant, entrepreneurial, and self-creating (Gerosa, 2021; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014).

Orange Economy Delimitation

In recent years, the creative artforms that made up the creative and cultural economy have been classified as the *Orange Economy*, albeit without a general consensus amongst institutions. Without a universal definition of the Orange Economy, terms such as cultural industries, leisure industries, entertainment industries, cultural economy, and creative economy are used interchangeably (Restrepo & Duque Márquez, 2013). The labels employed reflect the distinct analytical perspectives and ideological interests of the researchers. In this article, I adopt the term Orange Economy to denote a range of economic activities encompassed by cultural and creative industries. The goal of these endeavors is to promote and advertise cultural, artistic, or heritage-oriented commodities, services, and activities. The Orange Economy's cultural domains are listed in the table below.

Table 1: Examples of the Orange Economy

Advertising	Books	Newspapers	Visual Arts	Film	Magazines
Architecture	Gaming	Music	Radio	TV	Dance
Crafts	Fashion	Cultural Tourism	Design	Software	Photography

Source: Solutions for Youth Employment (SY4E) (2020)

A Critical Approach to the Orange Economy: Structuralism in International Political Economy

Balaam and Dillman assert that structuralism originates from Karl Marx's concepts (Balaam & Dillman, 2018). Marxism, as explained by Oatley, critiques capitalism based on two key principles: private ownership of capital and wage labor. Marx contended that the value of manufactured goods was determined by the labor input required for their production. Capitalists did not fully compensate labor for the value they added to the goods they manufactured. Factory owners paid workers a minimum wage and kept the remaining profits for further investment. Contemporary structuralism includes a wider range of scholars and activists who may not share Marx's dedication to the socialist system. A prevalent belief is that the existing global capitalist system is inequitable and requires restructuring towards a more equitable alternative (Oatley, 2019).

Balaam and Dillman further expounded on Marxism's four distinct contributions to structuralism: defining class, identifying class conflict and worker exploitation, recognizing capitalist influence over the state, and acknowledging ideological manipulation. We accept that ideological manipulation is an integral mechanism employed by Euro-American nations to ensure that their narratives and ideologies are the predominant ones shaping worldview, which can be described as what Gramsci termed *intellectual hegemony* (Balaam & Dillman, 2018). This intellectual hegemony can also be tied to the coloniality of power and knowledge.

Structuralism posits that the global capitalist system serves as the fundamental structure that governs and influences society. It influences the economic, political, and social structures of society and establishes limitations on potential outcomes (Balaam & Dillman, 2018). Going against the common belief that free markets are the optimal political-economic system, the structuralist perspective provides a useful starting point to comprehend the historical development, functioning, and resource distribution of the capitalist structure, despite lacking a singular analytical approach or cohesive policy proposals. Simply put, the structuralist

approach presents a critical challenge to the current structure. Adopting a Neo-colonialism perspective, I am in consonance with Kwame Nkrumah, the former Ghanaian President and originator of the term neo-colonialism (Nkrumah, 1965), that Nollywood's present economic dependency exhibits features of Neo-colonialism. The association of a territory with a state is commonly presumed, but exceptions exist. A financial consortium lacking state affiliation may exert neo-colonial dominance. Neo-colonialism entails the utilization of foreign capital for exploitation rather than development in underdeveloped regions of the world. Neo-colonial investment exacerbates global economic inequality. International organizations such as the United Nations system, Netflix, and others can be viewed as non-state financial entities that exploit individuals within the Nollywood industry.

NOLLYWOOD AND DECOLONIALITY

Nollywood, a once rudimentary art form, is now a significant cultural and economic force in Nigeria and Africa. It is renowned for its abundant production of movies, ranking second in the number of films produced annually, surpassing Hollywood and trailing Bollywood. In terms of revenue, it ranks third. Its popularity has gained international recognition. Nollywood has received scholarly and policy attention, making an extensive review of the literature beyond the scope of the present article. However, I aim to provide an overview of the key themes relevant to the current study.

The historical and cultural context of Nigerian cinema is crucial to consider when analyzing the correlation between Nollywood and decoloniality. Nigeria, similar to other African nations, has a multifaceted history of colonization and its consequences. Colonialism had a significant impact on Nigerian society, including its arts and culture. Nollywood serves as a means of cultural expression within the framework of decoloniality, contesting the hegemony of Western viewpoints and narratives. The very origin of Nollywood shows Nigeria's resilience.

Nollywood and Economic Empowerment: From Survival Mechanism to Profit-Generator

Following Nigeria's adoption of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), the resultant economic fallouts hit Nigeria so hard in the 1980s that it was difficult for the first generation of celluloid filmmakers to sustain their market. These were a group of Nigerian filmmakers who carried out film production practice by themselves without Government sponsorship between 1960s and 1980s and due to the high cost of production had to give it up (Amana, 2020; Ezeonu, 2013). Nigeria lacked film productions for an extended period, leading to a reliance on stage dramas. The Nigerian film industry has experienced significant growth in recent years, gaining international prominence and interest. Nollywood accounted for approximately 2% of Nigeria's \$500 billion GDP, according to a summer 2018 IMF report and recent PWC statistics. The sector earns \$700 million annually, with producers paying \$50,000 to \$200,000 or more to make a typical film. Nollywood movies are earning decade-high amounts. The 2016 romantic comedy "The Wedding Party" was the first Nollywood film to gross \$1 million (about N400 million) at theatres, and its sequel, "The Wedding Party 2," surpassed its predecessor. The Nigerian Federal Government identified Nollywood as a priority sector in its Economic, Recovery, and Growth Plan (ERGP) in 2019, estimating \$1 billion in export revenue by 2020. The same Nairametrics report estimated the industry's annual revenue at \$500 million to \$1 billion, despite its low budget compared to Hollywood and Bollywood (Amana, 2020). Nollywood received recognition for establishing a domestic production and distribution sector with its own economic model. The digital revolution, initiated two decades ago, has been significantly expedited by the Covid-19 pandemic, and is projected to be the primary catalyst

for change (Klaassen & Ibrahimova, 2022). UNCTAD findings indicated the integration of industry 4.0 technologies in the Orange Economy is revolutionizing the creative cultural arts, although the extent of its influence is yet to be determined. The digital revolution has had a noticeable impact on developing countries, with digital revenues experiencing a steady increase in recent years. Despite existing asymmetries among and within sectors of the Orange Economy. Streaming has emerged as a dominant distribution channel for certain creative endeavors, enabling digital platforms to gain leverage and capture a significant portion of the value. What is the status of intellectual property rights for individual creatives? Challenges related to intellectual property rights, inadequate royalties for creators, and industry domination by a handful of streaming platforms have arisen (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2022). The data above highlights that Nollywood—which has been classified as an element of the Orange Economy—is as a non-oil sector with prospects to boost Nigeria’s foreign earnings, which runs parallel with Lagarde’s views (APO Group-Africa Newsroom & International Monetary Fund, 2016). Conversely, O’Connor critically analyzed UNCTAD’s findings and challenged the prevailing narrative that the creative economy is a viable option for developing nations. The growth rates previously promoted by UNCTAD’s Creative Economy Programme have decelerated and are limited to a specific type of manufactured product. Additionally, the growth is predominantly concentrated in Asia, particularly in China. The author challenged the dominant creative economy model that emphasizes entrepreneurship, creative human capital, and open market opportunities. The researcher’s results indicated that the creative economy does not fulfill its development promise and has significant impacts on local cultures, which are increasingly exploited by the digital platform’s global network. As a solution, the researcher recommends revisiting the previous focus on "culture and development," as experts now recognize both the advantages and disadvantages of cultural economies in an unpredictable global environment (O’Connor, 2019).

Nollywood and Cultural Representations

Some Nollywood filmmakers demonstrate their autonomy and cultural reclamation by creating original narratives and visuals. This aligns with the objectives of decoloniality, which aims to decolonize knowledge, cultural production, and representation. Nollywood has significantly become involved in the process of Africa’s self-reflection and identity construction by means of its cultural representations. Ebere Uwah suggests that the prevalent religious ideology in Nollywood films reveals the significant role of identity formation and cosmology in African culture. The objective is to decipher the aesthetic patterns of the industry’s representational brand in contrast to the narrative approach adopted by other major film industries (Ebere Uwah, 2011). Nollywood produces films that feature Nigerian languages and cultural motifs. Akomfrah argues that African filmmakers prioritize addressing local issues driven by African nationalism and cultural identity, despite their primary motivation being financial gain (Akomfrah, 2019, p. 282). African diaspora is enormous. Nollywood films also show African immigrant characters’ complex emotional, epistemological, and phenomenological responses to their new homes and African roots. Arthur explores how Nollywood films depict the African immigrant experience in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta, mixing local and global settings, cultural attitudes, identity politics, and the fluidity of American life (Arthur, 2010). Nollywood empowers Nigerian filmmakers and challenges Western domination, yet it faces obstacles and criticism. Critics argue Nollywood films foster stereotypes or social norms. Through discourse analysis, Jedlowski revealed Nollywood’s "metacultural" stereotypes and global reach. Nollywood’s current image is a "postcolonial exotic" in which non-Western modernism replaces archaic,

traditional, and tribal. Metaculture moves cultural items into new territories and builds knowledge systems that govern and constrain their reception (Jedlowski, 2013).

Nollywood and Globalization

Nigeria has the largest African culture industry. Nollywood's global recognition and popularity have transcended geographical boundaries, captivating audiences worldwide. Some call it the *Nigerianization* of African popular culture due to its influence on other regional producers (Krings & Simmert, 2020). Global influence promotes diverse perspectives and narratives that challenge the Western-centric worldview, fostering a more inclusive and diverse cultural environment. Nollywood is also considered significant by scholars in shaping Nigeria's soft power and has been proposed as a potential cultural diplomacy initiative. Nollywood's continental influence is apparent, which is why the first Africa Magic Viewer's Choice Awards (AMVCAs) was hosted in Nigeria in 2013 and there has been an influx of investment by international media corporations in what Krings and Simmert proposed could be dubbed the scramble for African mediascapes. Ogunnubi and Isike suggested that Nollywood actors and actresses can act as cultural ambassadors for the Nigerian brand (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2017). Conversely, some scholars also comment on Nigeria's government lack of interest in using its "cultural advantages" to further national objectives, especially throughout Africa. For Akinola and Ogunnubi Nigeria's foreign policy from independence to the present has been shaped by leaders who saw power primarily in terms of hard power and deny soft power's efficacy and implications (Akinola & Ogunnubi, 2020).

Nollywood and International Political Economy

Globalization has been identified by scholars as a significant factor in the development of Nollywood. This includes the impact of Western media, the diasporic links between Nigeria and other nations, and the dissemination of Nollywood movies to global markets. Although most scholars speak positively on this area, other scholars have also criticized the term globalization and its limiting factors. Marston et al, provided a discussion of Nollywood as a material critique of how particular spatial imaginaries of globalization significantly limit the understanding of how the world works and highlighted the analytical limitations of the spatial imaginations that researchers bring to the study of globalization. In addition to illuminating the political limitations that are built into these imaginations and the alternatives that are made possible by a flat ontology (Marston et al., 2007). Miller proposes alternative networks to the current cultural industry, however, there seems to be a general consensus by the practitioners involved in Nollywood that the "international way" is a model that Nollywood should aspire to (Miller, 2012). Moreover, in Nigerian film and pop music circles, nothing is more coveted than international recognition, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom as highlighted by Krings and Simmert (Krings & Simmert, 2020).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Africa and the rest of the globe now view Nollywood as an important cultural and economic force. It is recognized for its prolific film industry, coming in second in terms of annual production behind Bollywood and surpassing Hollywood. Nollywood also comes in third place in terms of revenue. Its appeal has received notice on a global scale. Nollywood has not, however, been able to escape the colonial roots of its identity and output. Similarly, Nollywood has not been able to resist the onslaught of neocolonialism as non-state commercial entities from the so-called global North such as Netflix, YouTube, Canal+ and StarTimes, amongst others, continue to increasingly exploit individuals within the Nollywood industry. Notwithstanding this coloniality and neo-colonial exploitation problems of

Nollywood, it has managed to make some progress in decolonizing narratives and promoting cultural independence, but decoloniality is a continuous process that demands ongoing engagement and critical reflection.

On the theoretical front, the structuralist perspective was chosen for this study because of its distinctive quality of giving the disadvantaged a voice. Contrary to liberalism and mercantilism, structuralism enables us to view international political economy from the viewpoint of the oppressed groups, particularly the developing countries located in the "global South" and the local actors in the industries they develop, such as the Nollywood industry. The structuralist viewpoint also forces us to pay close attention to topics, problems, and events that we might overlook if we only consider liberal or mercantilist viewpoints. Hence, this viewpoint emphasizes how important class concerns, exploitation, the distribution of wealth and power, dependence, and the global dimensions of capitalism are. Markets are founded, governed, and supported by social, economic, and political variables, according to structuralists, who contend that these variables are not apart from the market but rather integral to and sustaining to the markets. As we've seen, the dominant viewpoints, attitudes, and beliefs of those at the head of the global colonial power structures and hegemonies are reflected in even the criteria used to evaluate commercially successful cultural art forms and their placement within the Orange Economy.

Also, the coloniality of knowledge can theoretically be used to explain two related issues with Nigeria's Nollywood industry. The first is exclusion, Epistemicides *inside* of Nigeria; and the second is Nigeria's need to look *outside* for assistance. The ramifications of these two problems are not only that they transform the production within the academic and economic realm, but also the society as a whole.

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