

Tunde Kelani's Women: A Look at Patriarchy in Selected Nollywood Films through a Womanist's Len

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Abstract

Although filmmakers in the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood, have consistently depict the family setting as a reference point for x-raying the struggles and trials of individuals or a group of people within the larger society, researchers in the field have rarely concerned themselves with highlighting this connection. While conflicts in marital relationships continues to receive attention as a significant thematic preoccupation in Nollywood, analyses of these films are usually focused at identifying issues vis-à-vis the negative representations and objectification of women. This is often to the exclusion of how the films serve as commentaries and reflections on social relations in the large society. Against the foregoing background, this study examines the role of patriarchy in the ordeal of two protagonists in the oeuvre of Nigerian filmmaker, Tunde Kelani, namely, Ngozi in *Thunderbolt* (2001), and Awero in *The Narrow Path* (2007). It adopts the conceptual frameworks of auteur theory and Womanism in the analyses of the film texts. Analyses reveal that the films are commentaries on gender relationships in African societies where women are victims of cultural inequities dictated by patriarchy. In addition, in line with womanist ideology, they emphasize the significance of cooperation between both sexes for the peaceful coexistence and development of any community.

Keywords: Patriarchy, auteur theory, Womanism, Tunde Kelani, Nollywood

1. Introduction: Patriarchy, the African Woman and Nollywood films

Patriarchy has been variously defined by scholars to reflect a situation where male members of a family or community dictate the rules that govern the lives of the female members of that community, usually with bias that protect male interests and self-expression while denying or suppressing that of women. Discrimination and subjugation of women is a worldwide phenomenon that is as old as the human society. It is an existential fact that women face a lot of suppression especially in developing countries in Africa and Asia. In many African societies, the subordination of women is ingrained in traditions and cultural practices that employ double standards to impose restrictions on them, thereby hindering women from reaching their full potentials to be equal contributors to the development and advancement of their societies. Patriarchy is rooted in religions, cultural practises, and traditions that favour men at the expense of women. Rich notes that within patriarchy, men "by

force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor” determine women roles in the society (41).

In her definition of patriarchy, Bhasin avers, “Patriarchy refers to male domination, to power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterise a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways” (3). The subordination of women occur both in private and public spheres, thus it is observable both in family settings and in the larger society. In private, females are subordinate to their fathers, husbands, brothers, uncles and other male members of their family. In public, they experience discrimination in terms of accesses to sources of production and employment opportunities. Although patriarchy has often been justified by arguments of biological determinism, Walby explicates patriarchy “as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women” (20). Walby proceeds to identify what she describes as the six structures of patriarchy, namely: “The patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institution” (*ibid*).

The definitions put forward by Rich, Bhasin, and Walby are significant. Patriarchy is about the relationship between men and women. It also manifests in the various relationship structures in different spheres of life as suggested by Walby. The reference to “male violence” is also instructive here; acts of rape and domestic violence are the results of a socialization system that make men think they are superior to women to the point of justifying subjugation of women with force. Bell Hook foregrounds this sexual violence in her definition of patriarchy as “the institutionalized structure of male dominance,” which “encourages males of all races and classes to define their masculinity by acts of physical aggression and coercion toward others, women and children” (148). Understandably, patriarchy is considered “the prime obstacle to women’s advancement and development” (Sultana 1).

In many African communities, discrimination against the women manifests in regards to property inheritance, the privileging of boy-child education over girls, forced and underage marriages, and household chores. Men make the rules while women comply. The suppression of women’s sexuality through cultural practises detrimental to their lives such as female genital mutilation, marriage of underage girls and widowhood rites are examples of women subjugation in patriarchal societies. Nollywood, Nigeria’s burgeoning film industry, dominated by male filmmakers has been criticised for upholding and promoting a patriarchal agenda in terms of the dynamics of the portrayal of women in their films.ⁱ In their comments on patriarchal representation of women in Nollywood, Shaka and Uchendu note:

Patriarchy is a deep-rooted societal ideology almost as old as time. By mental, social, and cultural conditioning, the female is framed into two extremes of a divide. On the one hand, there is the docile, submissive, accepting, never protesting, never questioning, and quiet model of a woman. This is the dream desire of man in a patriarchal society.... This image of the Nigerian woman in video films is a fictional construct borne out of the repressed desires and imaginations of patriarchy. On the extreme left is the shrew, the tigress, the independent activist woman. This is the scheming, politicking, demanding, wayward rebel who would do anything including

kill, and use any means, including diabolical means to achieve her aims and ambition (1).

Between these two extreme framing of women, Nigerian filmmaker, Tunde Kelani, creates a balance. His films reveal a deliberate effort at redeeming the degrading, pejorative, and stereotypical images of women, on both sides of the divide. Thus, in contrast to the often despicable, immoral, and arrogant images, Kelani's depictions are realistic and affirmative. His representation asserts the agency of women as dedicated mothers committed to their children's upbringing, submissive wives committed to their marriage vows, and admirable maidens who speak up against injustice.

However, in most Nollywood films, as in reality, patriarchy persists, in spite of the fact that women have made several advancements in various spheres of life, showing they are capable of taking lead, making rules, and solving problems to the benefit of every member of their communities. Nevertheless, human society has fared better with the recognition of the abilities of women, the acceptance of their support, and contributions to the development of their communities.

2. Conceptual Framework and Methodology

This study adopts auteur theory and Womanism as conceptual frameworks for discussions in this paper. Auteur theory emerged from the idea that the director of a film "functioning as an author, integrates all the elements into one composite design, much as the author of a book may integrate ideas or actual work of others into his overall composition (Cahir 86)." The central idea in *auteurism* is the conviction that it is possible to identify certain characteristics of style, and recurrent themes in the work of a particular director (Sarris 562). It recognises directorial vision and inspiration as critical components in the analysis of films. Concerning methodology in auteur analysis of films, Cahir enumerates approaches usually adopted to explore "particular patterns traceable throughout the works of one director" (255), as follows:

1. Defining the stylistic traits of one film *auteur* and tracing those traits either through his/her *oeuvre* or through one specific film of his/hers
2. Tracing a particular genre favored by one film *auteur* through several of his/her films
3. Tracing a particular theme favoured by one film *auteur* through several of his/her films
4. Tracing the influences (historical, literary, filmic, and personal), that shaped the work of one film *auteur* (Cahir, *Ibid*).

Subsequently, two films from Kelani's *oeuvre* are analysed to explore recurrent themes, and influences in his art with particular reference to his adoption of a womanist philosophy. The selected films are; *Thunderbolt/Magun* (2001) and *The Narrow Path* (2007).

Womanism is an offshoot of feminism, which focus on the African woman or the woman of color. Womanism is a term credited to African-American novelist, Alice Walker, in reaction to the inadequacy of the feminism to capture the historical antecedent and lived experience of African

women and others who do not have the privileges of white feminists (x-xii). Womanism goes where feminism stops short by addressing both racism and classism, while opposing separatism between the sexes in cognizance of men's role as an integral part of black women's lives as children, lovers, and family member. Womanism celebrates the black woman's "outrageous, audacious, courageous, and willful behaviour," the agency of women and their "strength" as survivors of various forms of oppression, their "commitment to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female," an ideology of non-separatism, and are 'traditionally universalist,' thus advocating inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in relation to race, class, or gender (Walker, *Ibid*). Womanism is thus interested in empowering the female while promoting equality for sexes, races and classes. A filmmaker manifests a womanist orientation when the elements of his style reveal a celebration or promotion of the principles of Womanism as enumerated by Walker. Tunde Kelani fits this description.

3. Tunde Kelani: A brief Biography

In the corpus of directors in Nollywood, there are few whose works stand out for technical quality, consistency, and commitment to a vision. Tunde Kelani leads this group. Kelani is recognised as Nollywood's "most respected and technically-accomplished practitioner" (Haynes 1). His vision and commitment to the production of films that can hold their own alongside his counterparts anywhere in the world sets him apart in the Nigerian movie industry. His technical style is attributed to his professional training and cultural orientation. Kelani's first professional training was as a photographer. He also spent several years as a camera operator with different Media houses including Western Nigerian Television (WNTV). He holds a diploma in the Art and Technique of Filmmaking from the London International Film School, UK. In a career, that spans over forty years, he has been involved in the production of over twenty movies as a cinematographer before venturing into private production. He has produced over twenty feature films of his own. According to Jonathan Haynes, he is the director "on whom the mantle of a film auteur fits most naturally" (113).

Kelani's films stand out as the exception in an industry that thrives on original script for feature film production. This is because his films are often adapted from Nigerian Literature in English or Yoruba. The films selected for this studies fall into this category. *Thunderbolt* is an adaptation of Adebayo Faleti's *Magun*, and *The Narrow Path* is an adaptation of Bayo Adewale's *The Virgin*. The Yoruba cultural upbringing of his childhood is his major influence and he is committed to the promotion and preservation of his cultural heritage. While culture and politics have a central place in his films, he engages several topical issues that are national as well as universal and through his narratives, he "takes controversial social issues, converts them into culturally relevant topics, and injects them into public discourse" (Giwa-Isekeiji 99).

One observable element of Kelani's style is the frequent use of women as protagonists in his films. Kelani is of the opinion that African culture is a burden to women, and one of his missions as a filmmaker is to highlight some of the injustice usually meted out on the female gender. Adeduntan attests that: "There is an unmistakable womanist bias in many of Kelani's movies" (5) and viewers encounter realistic, resolute, and admirable women who come out stronger in spite of the suffering

and the emotional anguish of their experience. Usually, the women experience betrayal by the men in their lives, whether as husbands, trusted friend, or fiancé. Kelani therefore compels viewers to look at the other side of a woman's life, as he highlights the atrocities of men against women in patriarchal societies.

Izgarjan and Markov observe that "at the center of Womanism is the concern for women and their role in their immediate surroundings (be it family, local community or work place) and more global environment" (304). In their diverse roles as mothers, wives and maidens, Kelani portrays their experiences and calls certain aspects of the African culture to question as he highlights the inequity against women. He agrees that African culture is a burden on women, and seeks to be part of mitigating this in many of his films (Yeku n. p.). His women protagonists manifest the characteristics traits of Walker's womanist; they are 'wilful,' 'audacious,' and 'courageous.' Ngozi acts against folk wisdom and marries outside her ethnic group in *Thunderbolt*. Awero, the protagonist of *The Narrow Path*, find her voice and is audacious to point out the incongruity of a tradition that punishes a rape victim while the culprit goes scot-free. As Busia posits, these women are bright, articulate, and face the dilemmas of our day, whether the legacies of ancient customs or the consequences of contemporary social forces" (113).

4. Discussion: Patriarchy and the Travails of African Women through a Womanist Lens

Thunderbolt (2001) focuses on the marriage relationship between Ngozi, an Igbo woman, and her husband, Yinka, a Yoruba man. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society and distrust among ethnic groups is commonplace. Every marriage relationship has its share of conflict. Marital conflict, due to difference in ethic, national or racial background although common, is surmountable. However, it requires compromise from both parties otherwise; the couple have to go their separate ways.

Ngozi, the protagonist of *Thunderbolt*, is a wilful, beautiful, educated, faithfully wife and mother, who go ahead to marry a man she loves even though they are of different ethnic backgrounds, against warnings that such a marriage is bound to fail because of ethnic difference. She is a Youth Corperⁱⁱ and her place of primary assignment is in a secondary school in a village. She leaves for the village every Monday and returns to her home at weekends. When her husband, Yinka, express concerns about insinuations of infidelity on her part, she reminds him that he married her as a virgin thus suggesting that if she was not promiscuous before getting married; he has no reason to doubt her faithfulness to their marriage vows. However, Yinka is obstinate; his action makes Ngozi recall the warning of a fellow Igbo Youth Corper, and admirer who predicts her marriage to a Yoruba man will not work because of ethnic differences. At this point in her flashback, Ngozi cries out, "Oh God, it must work, please make it work."

Days later, Ngozi encounters a strange old man in the market who warns her that her life is in danger. Ngozi's landlady convinces her to consult an herbalist to unravel the mysterious message. This leads to the revelation that *magun*ⁱⁱⁱ has been placed on her. Ultimately, the purpose of *magun* is for any man that has intercourse with such a woman to die minutes later while the woman becomes the subject of societal stigmatization as an adulteress. She undergoes treatment but the last stage

requires her to have sexual intercourse to ensure she is completely free. Yinka, her husband, is informed of her predicament but refuses her intimacy and confesses to being responsible. To disabuse the impression that his behaviour is characteristic of his tribesmen, Veepee's (the Vice principal of the secondary school in which Ngozi teaches), declares, "An evil man gives a bad name to his race, even when that race contains a host of angels, but a race is a race; a man – a man" (Murphy n. p.). It is remarkable that besides Veepee' upbraiding of Yinka, walks away without being accused of endangering Ngozi's life, neither is he compelled to right his wrong thus confirming the acceptability of his action in cultures where patriarchy holds sway.

It takes the courage and consent of an admirer, another Yoruba man, Dimeji, a medical doctor with a scientific interested in testing the authenticity of the reality of *magun*, to rid Ngozi of the spell finally. Dimeji agrees to have sexual intercourse with Ngozi but insists it has to take place in the hospital where his medical colleagues will be at hand to take action to forestall any casualty. He almost lost his life in the process but for the prompt action of the herbalists and his colleagues. After mating with Ngozi, as he got up from the bed, he staggers and starts vomiting blood. It takes the combined effort of the herbalists and the medical doctors to save Dimeji's life. While the herbalists' utter incantations and apply a substance on his forehead, his colleague quickly get him to lie on a bed and place him on drip.

Through *Thunderbolt*, Kelani interrogates the distrust between two ethnic groups, using the inter-ethnic marriage between Yinka and Ngozi as a point of departure on one hand, and on the other, highlighting one of the evils of patriarchy where husbands can treat their wives as possessions through Ngozi's ordeal. He shows that the cause of conflict is not their different ethnicity but rather the betrayal of one of the partners, in this case, the husband. More specifically, he calls to question the inequity of the cultural practise of placing *magun* on women on suspicions of infidelity and examines the place of traditional medicine in juxtaposition to orthodox medicine. He also highlights the importance of cooperation between men and woman in the building of an equitable society.

In addition, the collaborative efforts of the herbalists and his fellow doctors to save Dimeji's life through traditional medicine and orthodox method is Kelani's way of suggesting that both methods are not mutually exclusive. Again, the principal of non-separatism between women and men is foregrounded here. It took the enlistment of the assistance of both men and women for Ngozi to be finally free. First, her landlady enlists the assistance of the Veepee, and gets her father to convince her of the grave danger of *magun*. The herbalists' team also includes a woman because the initial one consulted admits he could not do it alone. This is Kelani's way of making viewers realise that the well-being of a society requires the cooperation of both men and women. In the closing scene, Dimeji tells Ngozi, "You might think that all Yoruba men are wicked." To which she replies, "There are only good and bad people. Those are the two tribes." This statement is an affirmation of the womanist philosophy of universalism and non-exclusiveness in terms of race, gender, and class.

Thunderbolt questions the injustice of a cultural practice where both the innocent and guilty are equally vulnerable. One can only imagine the inherent evil of this practise considering how some men could take advantage of this practice to commit cold-blooded murder for selfish reasons without anyone having the slightest notion that the death of their spouses are deliberately executed acts. The

possibility is more appalling when we consider the fact that any person could place *magun* on a woman even when he is not her husband. *Thunderbolt* therefore uses Ngozi's ordeal to highlight the injustice of this practices on women who are innocent like her. Ironically, adultery which is the reason *magun* is placed on Ngozi is what saves her life in the end. The resolution of the film is a critique of the incongruity of the cultural practise and its limits. As Olusegun Soetan notes:

The uniqueness about Kelani's projection of Nigerian cultures stems from his critiquing the obsolete and outdated cultural practices on one hand, and the elevation of useful cultural observation, that are coterminous with contemporary innovations and post-colonial modernity on the other hand. Essentially, Kelani condemns cultural practices that are both unpalatable and appalling, especially cultural practices that demonize and commodify women in rapidly transforming postcolonial societies. In *Narrow Path*, Kelani...lays bare the agony and the pain certain cultural practices inflict on individual and groups of people, especially women, in Nigeria (11).

The Narrow Path is the second film in our selection. Here also Kelani interrogates another cultural practice detrimental to the psychological well-being of women. In *The Narrow Path*, Awero, a young woman from Orita village, makes a choice between three suitors, Odejinmi, a clumsy hunter, Lapade, a gold merchant, and Dauda, a childhood friend and irresponsible city dweller. She decides on Odejinmi. However, weeks before their marriage ceremony, Dauda rapes her. Awero is traumatized because of the shame that awaits her on her wedding night when her husband is expected to show the wedding guest evidence of her chastity with a blood stained white handkerchief. The discovery on the wedding night that she is not a virgin leads to intercommunity conflict. Odejinmi, her husband, feels cheated and accuses her parent of giving him 'a broken pot' as bride. The punishment for a bride who is not a virgin on her wedding night is either to name the man who deflowered her and marry him, or dance naked around the village. Awero refuses to name her violator and choses to dance naked because of the incongruity of the punishment.

Awero's ordeal points a searchlight on rape, a global issue brought to social consciousness through the social media #MeToo movement (Khomami n.p.). Mary Daly and Susan Brownmiller argue that 'rape' is a metaphor for patriarchal aggression towards women. While Daly posits that patriarchy is "a kind of gang rape" of women's minds and bodies by cultural value systems imposed by men (9), Brownmiller explicates rape not as "a societal problem" that arises from a "distorted masculine philosophy of aggression" (450). Awero's experience justifies both assertions.

The Narrow Path, therefore, interrogates the impropriety and iniquity of the cultural practise of victimizing the victim. It dramatizes society's unsympathetic stance towards rape victims, and the stigmatization of rape victims, which is often the reason for their silence until discovery. Victim shaming has emboldened many rapists who are aware that most victims would rather hide the fact of their violation than report the incident because they are often blamed for their misfortune. In this regard, families, churches, and communities, including law enforcement agencies share a part in the blame therefore justifying Brownmiller's assertion. A classic example of how society connives against victims is the experience of impoverished women in the Central American country, El Salvador,

where rape victims are sentenced to jail for miscarriage of pregnancies or stillbirths resulting from rape (Brice-Saddler n. p.). Moreover, the overwhelming response to the #MeToo movement is a further justification of Brownmiller's stance on society's culpability, because movement gave people a sense of the magnitude of the prevalence of sexual harassment and assault as a societal problem.

In Awero's case, there is no interrogation to find out if she lost her virginity wilfully or forcefully. There is no pronouncement of possible punishment for the culprit while shame awaits the victim. Awero dilemma of either naming her rapist and be 'gifted' to him as a wife or dance naked around the village shows the injustice of the cultural practice. Worst still, the rapist has a choice to accept or reject his victim as wife. Awero, who before her misfortune could be said to be docile, suddenly finds her voice, and speaks up against the injustice of the punishment mete out against women. Her refusal to name the culprit is not to protect him but rather to highlight the injustice mete out to a victim. Patriarchy in the disguise of cultural tradition does not request the name of the culprit to punish him, but rather to dehumanise his victim further. Rare in deed is the rape victim who willingly agrees to be wife to her assaulter. At that point, where Awero speaks out, she transits from victim to agent, a woman wronged, who refuses to be silence about her predicament but forces custodians of such a tradition to re-examine their stand and by so doing, she challenges the status-quo. Through her stance, therefore, she questions the incongruity of a tradition that make a woman a double victim of a misfortune with no punishment for her assaulter. She points out the faulty logic of this punishment, and the stigma that comes with it either way, when she says to her mother 'If I name the man and he refuses to marry me, what then? I will rather dance naked, after all am I not already naked in the eyes of the community?'

Cannon notes that Walker's Womanism is a belief that emphasises the moral agency of the female "challenging inherited traditions for their collusion with androcentric patriarchy as well as a catalyst in overcoming oppressive situations through revolutionary acts of rebellion (23). This is what Kelani does with this movie through his protagonist, Awero. Furthermore, this narrative disrupts "the cultural rhetoric associated with women honor" (Soetan 11), and Kelani uses it to query the cultural practise that gloss over the immoral acts of men while placing a heavy sanction on women for seemingly breaking rules through no fault of theirs.

Meanwhile, Odejinmi, Awero's husband, sees her refusal to name the culprit as a slight on his manhood and his village. His rival, Lapade, also makes jest of him for ending up with 'a broken pot' as wife. Odejinmi, incensed by the whole incident, stirs the men of Aku, his village, to go to war against the men of Orita his bride's village, to avenge his bruised ego. The action of the men almost culminates in the loss of lives and properties as they don their battle garbs and arm themselves with guns and machetes while chanting war songs and burning some building. Awero, supported by some women, steps between the warring men and pleads that no blood be shed on her behalf. Her intervention is instrumental to averting the massacre that would have ensued. Her action dramatizes the pacifist trait of a womanist outlined by Walker as a commitment to the "survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female" (xi). Commenting on Kelani's womanist stance in the film, Adeduntan avers:

Kelani's womanist orientation is reflected in, for example, the repair of the tragic denouement in [The] *Narrow Path* Although a war ensues and a community is destroyed in the novel, the movie adaptation preempts that final violence of cleansing through the intervention of women. The gèlèdè^{iv} performance in the final scene of [The] *Narrow Path* gives precision to that pacifist achievement as a womanist triumph (6).

The Narrow Path, just like *Thunderbolt*, is a symbolic critique of patriarchy. It highlights how patriarchy stands behind the veil of culture to subjugate and objectify women's bodies. The film also "projects insights for rescuing the agency of women in a male-dominated society" (Soetan 12). Through the protagonists of both films, Kelani touches on the agency of women as the voice of reason. Ngozi does not condemn Yinka's tribe for his betrayal but choose to hold him singularly responsible for his action. Similarly, Awero and the women were able to avert the devastation of war on their communities through appeasement. Kelani therefore presents women as change-agents and peacemakers, whereas the men are egoistic, peevish, and reactionary. Here also he emphasized women's role as indispensable to the well-being, and progress of any society.

Conclusion

In the foregoing analyses, Kelani employs film as his medium to interrogate cultural inequities and challenges social conventions. Women are at the receiving end of abuse, both physical and psychological, for lack of political and economic powers in patriarchal societies. In most African societies, culture and traditions interplay to dictate the roles women play as portrayed in the selected films. Moreover, Kelani celebrates the fortitude of women. Thus, he belongs in the category of African filmmakers of whom Dovey's assertion is a fitting conclusion for this study:

African male filmmakers have long engaged in stringent critiques and censures of patriarchy by parodying men and 'masculine' antics in their films In this sense, they would seem to have worked in concert with African male writers, who have tended to (self-critically) represent men – across generations, social and ethnic and class groups, and races – as problematically mired in destructive cycles of violence, often initiated through the impotence occasioned by colonial violence, but also integrated into contemporary cultures in Africa (20-21).

Thunderbolt explores the mistrust among various tribes in Nigeria and advocates universalism rather than tribalism or ethnocentrism. In addition, it interrogates the conflict between modern medical practises and African orthodox medicine, and advocates collaboration. *The Narrow Path* points a searchlight on rape, a universal problem, and highlights victim shaming or stigmatization as a reflection of sexual politics of our society.

Kelani's overall message in the selected films is that while patriarchy discriminates and victimizes the female gender, Womanism promotes inclusiveness and cooperation between the sexes, ethnic groups, and communities. It sees the injustice against women as an injustice against humanity. Womanism is therefore interested in integration rather than segregation. The acceptance of people

from different ethnic backgrounds is necessary for peaceful coexistence in society. Men and women must also cooperate to work for a progressive society as each has a contribution to make for the development of the society.

Notes

ⁱ See Chinyere Stella Okunna, "Portrayal of Women in Nigerian Home Video Films: Empowerment or Subjugation?" (*Africa Media Review* 1996, 10.3: 21-36); Aje-Ori Agbese, "Setting The Agenda For Women's Liberation And Empowerment In Nigeria Through Movies: An Analysis Of *Women's Cot*, *Women In Power* and *The Bank Manage*" (*SMC: Journal of Cultural and Media Studies*, 2013, 2.1: 1-29); and Adesina Lukuman Azeez, "Audience Perception of the Reality in the Representations of Women in Nigerian films." (*Journal of African Cinemas*, 2013, 5. 2 (149-166).

ⁱⁱ A Youth Corper is a member of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) usually composed of graduates from Nigerian Tertiary institutions who are below the age of 30 years at their graduation. Graduates are required to spend a year in service of the nation. Corpers are usually deployed to regions different from their ethnic origin as their place of primary assignment.

ⁱⁱⁱ According to Olusegun Soetan, "*Magun* is a sexually activated affliction that is often put on a promiscuous woman. It can be remotely placed on any woman by making her to cross over any charmed material that contains the *magun* formulae. There are different types of *magun* in Yoruba land but the common type is the one exhibited by doctor Oladimeji in the *Thunderbolt* film." See "The Hearthstone: Language, Culture, and Politics in the Film of Tunde Kelani, (*Polymath: An Interdisciplinary Arts and Science Journal*, 2018, Vol. 8, No. 2) 13. 1-26.

^{iv} Gélèdè is a Yoruba female masquerade in ritual performance meant to celebrate and pacify mother nature as a force of reproduction, which is exemplified in women.

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