

THE JOLLYWOOD MANIFESTO: TRANS-LOCAL FILM CULTURES IN HAITI'S EMERGING CINEMAS

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Abstract: Taking into account Haiti's peripheral and/or temporary position within *World Cinema's* politics, this paper focuses on a recent phenomenon of cinematographic productions of Haiti's emerging filmmaker's generation: *Jollywood*. The *Ciné Institute* is the only film school in the French-speaking part of the West Indies that currently provides training to a young generation of filmmakers and videographers. Its *Jollywood Manifesto* is based on the political, cultural and societal as well as media-related vision of a self-sustaining film market in Haiti. Based on lowest-budget productions made possible by the huge rise of digital film, this recent phenomenon not only asks for new modes of production, circulating distribution and reception. It also stands for a reconsideration of film and media theory for "internationalized" *World Cinemas* on a discursive level. This level will be approached by interlacing a twofold concept: On the one hand, theories on (Post-) Third Cinemas that have been known since their inception in the late 1960s in Latin America and that have subsequently been adapted in the Asian and African Cinemas. On the other hand, today's assumptions of considering cinema in its political message on a transglobal space are called into question. The global film market, mostly dominated by the triad of Bollywood, Nollywood and Hollywood, also questions the margins of hegemonic centerlines of power

relations. Haiti's cinematic productions are located at the interstices of local and national(ist) *imaginaries* in line with a (post)colonial independent film industry. This ambiguity stands for the resulting translocal and transcultural attributions of Haiti's emerging film cultures and the ambiguous formations of the notions of *being* and *belonging*. The analysis of the *Jollywood* phenomenon on transnational/-local/-cultural levels aims at a methodological detangling of geopolitical spaces and temporalities in the media.

Keywords: Haiti's Film History, Transnational Cinemas, World Cinemas, Postcolonialism, Local/Global

I. INTRODUCTION

The multiple effects of globalization in film theory have been studied extensively in recent years. Concepts and theories of *Transnational Cinema* and *World Cinema* have become increasingly crucial, when it comes to the notion of film production in so-called post-national cinemas. However, these recent studies have largely failed to recognize the contribution of (trans-)local film cultures on the atlas of today's *World Cinemas*. The aim of this article is to highlight various

focal points lacking in research on both local and global scales. Therefore, I will first present a contemporary model for establishing a self-sustaining film market in a so-called “peripheral” region of cinematographic productions: Haiti. Secondly, I will correlate the political, cultural and economic, as well as media-related models of Haiti’s emerging phenomenon called *Jollywood* to current assumptions of *World Cinemas* and *Transnational Cinemas*. I will describe the politics, as well as the concepts of post-nationalist *World Cinemas* being challenged by Haiti’s current trans-local film cultures. In a final step, I will delineate in how far this recent phenomenon of adopting new modes of production, circulating distribution and reception implicates a reconsideration of film and media theory for what can be called “internationalized” *World Cinemas*.

II. HAITI’S EMERGING FILM CULTURES

Haiti’s only film school was recently founded in Jacmel, a city of forty thousand inhabitants located on the country’s south coast, also known as Haiti’s artistic capital. David Belle, a documentary filmmaker based in New York, started establishing the *Ciné Institute* in 2008 as a result of the practice-oriented debates and master classes of the *Festival Film Jakmèl*. The festival was inaugurated in 2004 as a retrospective of the history of film in Haiti (Belle, 2012). The institute teaches around seventy students,¹ who learn documentary, narrative, as well as advertising film techniques in a two-year curriculum. The curriculum was conceptualized in 2010 as a “living organism” (Marco², 2013: 5). A process of criticism and in response to the students’ and professionals’ experiences and results, this *organism* tries to take

updates and modifications into consideration in order to keep shaping it as a “road map” (Marco, 2013: 5). Trans-local film cultures emerging as a result of its specific historical, economic, cultural and geographical situation are part of the concerns of the *Ciné Institute* (Bruno, 2012) and its productions.

A. Where and what is Haiti’s Film History?

To portray Haiti’s history using a few keywords, it could be described as follows: first black republic in the world; first independent country in Latin America and in the Caribbean (in 1804); and first autonomous non-European state to carve itself out of Europe’s imperialist project. Haiti, as a Caribbean state and part of the Greater Antillean archipelago, has been central to the very concept of socio-political modernity. Groundbreaking works that put into perspective “modernity” in its multilayered processes and multi-spatial terrains have especially emerged in the early and late 1990s, including works such as Antonio Benítez-Rojo’s *The Repeating Island*, Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic* and Sybille Fischer’s *Modernity Diavowed*. Benítez-Rojo has further developed the concept of modernity from a postcolonial perspective. He thereby confronts the legacy and myths of colonialism (Benítez-Rojo, 1996). In *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy has pointed out the challenges of a black Atlantic culture, whose subjects and concepts transcend hegemonic categorizations, such as “ethnicity” and “nationality.”³ (Gilroy, 1993). Fischer’s study points out Haiti’s role in the formation and understanding of the occidental concept of modernity. In particular, she refers to the cultural, political, and philosophical significance of the Haitian Revolution, which took place between 1791 and 1804 on a local and global level.⁴

At this point, it might be of interest that Haiti's film history is hardly known. Besides Mbye B. Cham's work on Caribbean cinema of 1992, Meredith N. Robinson's recent investigation of the Francophone Caribbean Film Circuit in the past fifty years, and Gilberto M. Blasini's essay on the concept of *Créolité* in the cinema of the Caribbean, systematic studies explicitly concerning Haitian film date back to Arnold Antonin's publication of a prehistory of Haitian cinema from 1981/1983 (Antonin⁵ in: Hennebel/Dagrón, 1981, Antonin, 1983, Antonin/Lorquet, 2008). Arnold Antonin is one of the internationally best-known filmmakers of the early generation, who also lived and worked in the diaspora. Haiti's cinema is and has been strongly regulated or made almost impossible on account of occupation, colonialism, dictatorship, as well as strong economic and tectonic turmoil in the recent past. Until the early 1930s, the main film productions available in Haiti were signed on behalf of the US-American occupation. Port-au-Prince's movie theatres (*Paramount* et al.) mostly screened Italian and French productions until the 1960s, and subsequently Hollywood productions, as well as commercial productions, mainly in dubbed versions (*Maxence Elisée Group*) (Robinson, 2010: 48f.).

B. The Jollywood Phenomenon Between the 'Local' and the 'Global'

The resulting movement that was born of the *Ciné Institute* on a contemporary scale is called *Jollywood*. This phenomenon is Jacmel's local answer to a global film market that is mostly dominated by the triad of Bollywood, Nollywood⁶ and Hollywood (Barlet, 2012), all three of them multibillion-dollar film industries.⁷ The term *Jollywood* therefore refers directly to those film markets that either have a canonic and/or a

predominant status within the global film industry. It adopts the concept of the economic viability of Nigeria's film industry based on digital technology, direct-to-DVD release as well as fast track, low- and lowest-budget⁸ production models. Nollywood served as a model for production,⁹ as well as a model for distribution. Obviously, there is a huge video and DVD distribution model corresponding to the response of Nigerian movie theatres closing down at a specific time. However, *Jollywood's* situation is different. Haiti is not exactly known for its movie theatres. The actual screening on site takes place predominantly in a so-called "grassroots" manner. This means creating and inventing projection spaces on an irregular basis at diverse locations where screenings are shown to a local audience. Those initiatives are conceptualized mainly as street guerilla marketing campaigns (such as outdoor screenings and pop-up screenings, etc.). In this sense, *Jollywood* is a phenomenon at the intersection of both Hollywood and Nollywood, due to its cultural and economic proximity to the Americas on the one hand, and because Nollywood serves as a production and, in part, as a distribution model, on the other hand (Bellegarde in: Barlet, 2013: 3). However, *Jollywood's* clear distinction to the world's major film industries, in terms of production and distribution, is its production on a specifically *local* scale. The founding principles of the *Jollywood Manifesto* (of "Manifes Jollywood" in Haitian Kreyòl) are part of the formation and vision of the *Ciné Institute*. One central claim of the *manifesto* refers to making use of local resources that already exist on location. This comprises collaborative ways of narrating local stories, using local locations and local labor (cf. Fig. 1 "Manifes Jollywood"). Facing DVD pirating throughout the country through open-air markets or *guérilla* film

screenings, the aim of local and regional distribution paths is furthermore to broadcast, stream and distribute through video on demand, in order to prioritize a local audience¹⁰.

The *Ciné Institute* was conceptualized as a model of free access to training (Belle in Bruno, 2014) for students with practically no audiovisual background. The educational format, however, is still dominated by imperialistic ideals that have yet to be reformed and reformulated.¹¹ The majority of students have not experienced great exposure to visual culture media, such as films, television, magazines, museums etc., as these have not been accessible on a regular basis. Adopting the terminology¹² *Visual Culture* in that context also means expounding its ambivalences on transnational and diasporic scopes, as the term *Visual Culture* is rooted in a *corpus* of (occidental) traditions. It does not necessarily take into account the significance of *Visual Culture* in contexts, such as oral her/histories, as is the case in Haiti. On the one hand, we can see its mainly unquestioned transmission and reception on a global scale. On the other hand, a contemporary level of digital culture that reinforces popular culture, hence trans-concepts in equal measure, has recently become a driving force in shaping the term.

Taking into account Haiti's lack of a position of economic power on a global scale, this phenomenon is quite extraordinary, yet contradictory. The appropriation of the term "...ollywood" first of all distorts its use and value by being adopted on a local scale. In doing so, it questions the margins of hegemonic centerlines of power distribution and power relations within a global film industry. However, its internal structure in line with a purely local film market also creates a co-dependency of (trans-)global

funding strategies. This is the case for films produced at the *Ciné Institute* and its visibility platform at *Cannes Film Festival*, for example. As the *Ciné Institute* relies on the economic and incorporeal support of representatives of an internationally renown film market,¹³ the *Cannes Film Festival* is definitely among the most coveted trans-national destinations for films produced at the *Ciné Institute*, since it is formatted by the tradition of a strongly (European) *auteurist* concept, which has a great distribution output, especially on an international value. In the end, the locally structured *Jollywood* phenomenon's target is, by force of nature, being *seen*, in terms of cinematographic productions, as well as *heard*, in terms of an emerging concept that focuses on (also, but not exclusively subaltern) cultural expression, on a transnational scale. Drawing on an in-between state of the binary model local/global, the *Jollywood* phenomenon ultimately aspires to a transnational distribution and reception of (trans)local film cultures.

As can be seen, the strict focus on making use of exclusively local resources for filmmaking implies a high degree of ambivalences when it comes to the question of re-appropriating space, culture(s) and their distribution on a global scale. The pitfall of the various locally structured elements¹⁴ of the "*Manifes Jollywood*" is closely intertwined with a nationalist discourse. It prohibits making use of non-local requisites or resources, such as "*social and economic realities that are not your own,*" or "*characters, locations, wardrobes or props that can't be found within your community*" (cf. Fig. 1 "*Manifes Jollywood*"). Considering the process of an *up-cycling* of local resources in its reception on a transnational scale, former (local/nationalist) *imaginaries* of a (pre)colonial imaginary may imply exotic attributes of

Haiti's local heritage. This contrasts with the intended purpose of a film school focusing on the use of local resources for economic reasons only. Since "*work(ing) through culture and for (the) humanity*" is in line with "*rebranding Haiti and showing the world the richness of our country.*" In the final analysis, a film produced within a *Manifes Jollywood* understanding is supposed to stand for "*a better reality for all of us*"¹⁵ (cf. Fig. 1 "Manifes Jollywood"). The economic aspect here becomes a pretext for a worldwide *imagined* cultural artifact of Haiti. The original economic drive of the "*Manifes Jollywood*" is therefore a double-bind. It cannot only serve a self-sustaining film market in the first place, but also implicitly reiterates a neo-colonialist purpose when it comes to economic aspects. Here, the term *imagined* refers to the *Jollywood* phenomenon not only as a set of practices and concepts of filmmaking, but also to the *imaginary* and *imagined* setting¹⁶ of the *moving image per se* and its spatial ordering. As imagination is "*the key component of the new global order,*" it has become both a form of work "*and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility*" (Appadurai, 1996: 31).

Considered from a recent perspective, the global media transition from analogue to digital film and the stronger formations of a transnational network,¹⁷ as well as the elaboration of new forms of interregional and local networks, have become relevant aspects in relation to current film production, presentation and reception. Other forms of *thinking* films (have) become more and more relevant on a transglobal space. These may be linkages of different forms of circulation that are not focused on highlighting only regional/cultural/geographic similarities of cinematic landscapes. Recent approaches may encompass

looking for new modes of distribution that seek a new viewership.

C. Visual Culture versus Hybrid Cultures

Contrasting the terminology of "Visual Culture," as specified beforehand in relation to media access and media consumption, here I refer to a specification of the term on a cultural and a (postcolonial) media-related level: *hybrid cultures*. Hereby, I mostly refer to the aspect that Kien Nghi Ha has revealed by depicting the concept of hybridity (as Homi K. Bhabha has mainly shown in relation to language in: Bhabha, 1994: 85). Ha's understanding of hybridity is in a continuing interrelationship with contemporary economic developments and "national" power distributions (Ha, 2006). This model can be equally transferred to film, music and expressions of popular culture, as Elisabeth Bronfen's concept of *bricolage* equally shows (Bronfen/Marius/Steffen, 1997). These assumptions are intrinsically interwoven with the term *postcolonial* (Young, 2003; also see recent study of *Postcolonial Cinema Studies*, Ponzanesi & Waller, 2011). Likewise, *postcolonial* refers to a changeable and flexible set of practices and discourses and is therefore, valid for the very concept of *bricolage*. In other words, in a *bricolage* understanding, the prefix *post-* stands for its errors and lackings and also for the implicit misunderstandings and misrepresentations *within* its self-referring definitions (Posch, 2014a: 255).

As a consequence, hybrid media formats seek (human) states of being beyond binary patterns that are supported by the emergence of "*aesthetical and technological innovations through mix(ing) (sic!) and endless (re)compositions*" (Ha, 2006). These are counterparts of new modes of aesthetical production based "*on inclusion and transgression of images,*

languages, sounds and subjectivities to enrich a cultural flow that promises to lead us to a transglobal popular culture and a dramatic change of values” (Ha, 2006). Further, Ha emphasizes media and its shaping through economic aspects: “(...) in the context of the political economy of culturalisation, the once highly politically charged catchword of ‘crossing the border’ turns into a depoliticized attitude of the mainstream society, referring to a phenomenon only attached to the colorful and entertaining surface of the economy of popular culture and not necessarily including any basic political questions, such as institutional access, group interests,

profits for whom, decision-making process, political rights, etc. (...) ... it seems that we are at the beginning of an economy fundamentally based on the industrialization of models of hybridity (sic!).” (Ha 2006). Ha’s statement inevitably implies a reflection on what cinema is today. Subsequently, it inquires the following: How can the state of *being* of the Jollywood phenomenon be shaped on a map of World Cinemas and what will be its *becoming*? (in Grewal’s and Kaplan’s understanding in: Grewal & Kaplan, 1994).



Fig. 1 “Manifes Jollywood,” *The Jollywood Manifesto*, Haitian Kreyòl and English, *Ciné Institute*, Jacmel, Haiti: 2012

III. JOLLYWOOD BETWEEN TRANSNATIONAL CINEMAS AND WORLD CINEMAS

Haiti's emerging trans-local film cultures have been strongly influenced by the movement of *Third Cinemas*. *Third Cinemas* had their inception in the late 1960s in Latin America resulting in a critique of the already existing First and Second Cinema traditions. Debates within a Third Cinema tradition have subsequently been adapted in the Asian and African context, including today's assumptions of considering cinema through its political message on a transglobal space (Posch, 2014b: 3). In its earliest emergence in the 1960s and 1970s, *Third Cinema* manifestos and debates embraced militant practices parallel to revolutionary struggles (Solanas & Getino, 1969, and its English translation Solanas & Getino, 1970), mainly criticizing Hollywood's and hegemonic European Cinema's policies, as well as dominant regulations in terms of canonic cinemas of global regions and individual countries in Latin America.

Thus, the intention of filmmaking within *Third Cinema's* tradition was primarily based on an articulation of challenging visions of the colonial past. Within this intention, cinema is supposed to provoke its audience and is thereby responding to new forms of cultural oppression. In order to combine both cultural and political critique, *Third Cinema's* aesthetic innovations explored first and foremost a huge heterogeneity of visual and narrative styles and genre juxtapositions. However, the manifesto's driving terms for aesthetic means of expression, such as the "*Aesthetics of Hunger*" and the claim to an "*Imperfect Cinema*" or Ousmane Sembène's understanding of "*mégotage*" were also historically situated in national(ist) contexts (Baugh, 2004: 56, Förster,

Perneczky, Tietke & Valenti, 2013: 14), such as *Jollywood* manifesting the use of local resources only.

A. Post-Third Cinemas

From a current perspective, a re-framing of *Third Cinemas* (Ekotto & Koh, 2009) has been taking place. This perspective can be considered in line with a today's view of trans-local film cultures.¹⁸ Haiti's contemporary film cultures are situated in a peripheral and/or temporarily existing position within theories and debates on *World Cinemas* (Dennison & Lim, 2006; Āurovičová & Newman, 2010; Nagib 2011; Nagib, Perriam & Dudrah, 2012) and *Transnational Cinemas* (Ezra & Rowden, 2006; Shaw & de la Garza, 2010). In order to refer to both the moving image as a geo-temporal construction of the world (Martin-Jones, 2011: 234ff.) and to the concept of *World Cinemas* as "*transcultural communication*,"¹⁹ the question arises as to *where* and *what* cinema is on a spatial ordering beyond First and Second cinemas, as Hollywood's hegemony is slipping and the Eurocentric model of film history has become redundant. The concept of cultural nationalism (that is intrinsically intertwined with the *cosmopolitan*) emanates from a fundamental distinction and differentiation, as mentioned above. National²⁰ cinemas (Higson, 1989), seen from a historical perspective, can be outlined as being shaped and equally trapped by the pitfalls of its *ambiguous spatio-temporality*. The ambiguity of the *moving image*, seen as a geo-temporal construction of the world, serves spatial ordering, as well. The hype of the prefix *post-* can be scrutinized in this context: As the "post-" in "post-colonial" suggests a temporal and discursive level of reflection, in the sense of "after" and "beyond" colonialism, "*it is therefore imbued with an ambiguous spatio-temporality*" in equal measure (Stam & Shohat

2000: 391). This ambiguity again recalls the *imaginary*, as well as the *imagined*, characteristics (in Appadurai's term "*the imagination as a social practice*") of a theory on (trans-)national cinema(s) (see chapter II. C.). The founding principles of a national cinema are based on the following characteristics: a) a state funding concept (a key tool of the fascists in the 1930s and 1940s); b) festivals as engines of spatial ordering; c) film archives (national/*auteur*) producing cinema space; d) film history as national histories, and therefore a paradigm of producing a specific space.²¹ Given these aspects, the contradictory elements of Haiti's emerging trans-local film cultures become evident. On the one hand, they are not part of a (trans-national) film history. The aim of Haiti's film cultures is the production of a specific space by creating a self-sustaining film market on a specifically local scale. But at the same time, this market is dependent on global funding strategies, as has been previously shown.

B. Trans-local Film Cultures as a Polycentric Phenomenon

There are several reasons for adopting trans-local film cultures for the *Jollywood* phenomenon instead of creating a form(ul)ation of a Haitian national cinema. The concept of 'translocality' focuses on the relationship between spatial flows and social and/or cultural change in "non-European" regions. This relationship is seen as a field of tension, involving entanglements at a variety of scales, from small to global (Freitag, 2005). Since audiovisual spheres have equally entangled with transnational flows of culture and form(ing)s of economic globalization, studies in contemporary cinema, which are framed within national paradigms, seem quite anachronistic. Shifting stable categories in post-national cinemas only

provides a viable framework for film history and film theory, but does not respond to an up-to-date approach (Kantaris, 2006), as it is linked with the formation of modern national imaginaries. Film history, seen as "*traditional historicist concepts of periodization*," (Minh-ha, 1993: 90) clearly shows a lack of considering concepts beyond a history-related chronology, including its dis-continuities: "*In a completely catalogued world, cinema is often reified into a corpus of traditions. Its knowledge can constitute its destruction, unless the game keeps on changing its rules, never convinced of its closures, and always eager to outplay itself in its own principles.*" (Minh-ha, 1993: 90). A pure altering of audiovisual technologies can have a dramatic impact on virtually all possible perennial issues engaged in film theory (Stam & Shohat 2000: 394). Hence, media *deterritorializes* subjectivity more and more in a Deleuzian reading. Recent approaches in film and media theory suggest the prefix '*trans-*' as an appropriate demarcation for the above mentioned: "*(...) the prefix 'trans-' implies relations of unevenness and mobility. It is this relative openness to modalities of geopolitical forms, social relations and especially to the variant scale on which relations in film history have occurred that gives this key term its dynamic force and its utility as a frame for hypotheses about emergent forms.*" (Đurovičová, 2010: X). Discourses of 'difference,' reducing *World Cinemas* to essentialist dichotomist visions of a cluster of national cinemas, perpetuate the very colonial partition of the world they claim to deconstruct. Therefore, I shall first suggest the adoption of an '*inclusive approach to film studies*' that is in line with Lúcia Nagib's proposition of a World Cinema understanding: "*To that end, I suggest the adoption of a positive, democratic and inclusive approach to film studies, which defines world cinema as*

a polycentric phenomenon with peaks of creation in different places and periods. Once notions of a single centre and primacies are discarded, everything can be put on the world cinema map on an equal footing, even Hollywood, which instead of a threat becomes a cinema among others" (Nagib, 2011: 1). In fact, this inclusive approach allows an in-depth study of the inherent fluidity, meaning an understanding of a non-stable and non-fixed entity. This encompasses the unevenness of cinematographic landscapes in times of digitization and the multilayered forms and shapes they take, in equal measure. In that case, the major force in the triad of Bollywood, Nollywood and Hollywood could then be seen as playing an influential role in the media-related economic shaping of Haiti's emerging film cultures, indeed. Nevertheless, the political discourse could break away from hegemonic politics of power distribution: On the one hand, in terms of Hollywood's visibility and, on the other hand, in terms of Jollywood's non-existence on a global scale of "world" cinemas. Instead, the intersectional entanglement of currently existing multifaceted cinematographic landscapes pleads for re-definition of the actual "road map" of World Cinemas. The notion of a single center and multiple peripheries that have been regulated and formulated by this single center would overlap to multiple centers and peripheries in equal measure. This approach would be ultimately finalized in a definition of "world cinema as a polycentric phenomenon" (Nagib, 2011: 1).

C. Jollywood in the Atlas of World Cinemas

Almost two decades ago, Robert Stam and Ella Habiba Shohat formulated the concept of a 'polycentric multiculturalism' in their introduction to the groundbreaking book *Unthinking Eurocentrism*. This

concept summarily dismisses a world division between 'us' and 'they' being intrinsically seen as the 'other,' the 'centre and periphery,' the 'West and the Rest,' as being insufficient and ultimately wrong. According to Edward Said, we already owe to Frantz Fanon an unmasking of the dichotomist notion of 'us' versus 'they.' Fanon unveils this dichotomy as being a fiction of the colonial project and an identifying element in European sovereignty: "*Que veut l'homme? Que veut l'homme noir?*" (*What does man want? What does black man want?*) (Said, 1993: xxviii). From a polycentric perspective and within a current approach to cinemas, this concept unfolds the interconnectedness of an atlas of world cinema, according to Andrew Dudley's terminology. Drawing on Franco Moretti's organization of world literatures into an 'atlas' of literatures, Dudley Andrew subsequently draws an 'atlas' in reference to world cinemas. This concept allows film history to be seen as a sequence of "waves (...) rolling through adjacent cultures" (Andrew, 2006: 21f.). Approaching *World Cinemas* through its parallel, yet disperse, waves is a promising perspective, above all for the supra-national (Bergfelder, 2005: 324ff.) and cross-temporal networking it enables (Nagib, 2011: 2f.). As Andrew's terminology of a various number of "phases" of World Cinemas has been catalogued between the 'federated' National Cinemas of the 1960s and the so-called 'Global' Cinemas of today, the suggestion of the term 'waves' focuses on a challenging aspect, considering its spatio-temporality. To start from the premise that the term is related mostly to the emerging new cinemas of the 1980s, which came "from places never before thought of as cinematically interesting or viable,"²² these cinemas fill the gap "caused by the retreat of the modernist art cinema" of the 1960s (Andrew, 2010: 77).

This assumption would ideally lead to Nagib's proposition that at the core of this vision, "*different cinemas of the world can generate their own, original theories*", (Nagib, 2011: 2f.). Those different cinemas would then be neither dependent on paradigms mainly set by Hollywood classical narrative style nor on Nollywood's film industry-related economic viability. In Lucía Nagib's suggested terms, the attempt to map Haiti's emerging film cultures would inevitably lead to an extension of *Jollywood's* road map on three dimensions: 1) its geographical settings (on a trans-local level); 2) its border-crossing movements of constant exchange, considering the levels of production, distribution and reception (on a transnational level); and 3) its hybrid complexities in creation, such as artistic practice and theoretical conceptualization (on a transcultural level). Since a new *off-cinema apparatus* represents new cinematographic modes, an interlacing of space and mobility further takes place, exemplified here by the *Jollywood* phenomenon. In response to the multiple scales of complex influences on a local and global scale, the concept and practice of *Jollywood* in all ambiguity could therefore not only serve as a contemporary model to establish a self-sustaining film market. It could also generate a polycentric frame for multilayered hypotheses in redefining and expanding (Nagib, Perriam & Dudrah, 2012: xxii) the "*atlas*" of World Cinema.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Twenty-five to thirty-five students are admitted per year and per cycle.
- [2] Hermes Marco is the current pedagogical director of the *Ciné Institute* in Jacmel, Haiti.

- [3] For the elaboration of the concept of "modernity," Gilroy first and foremost refers to W. E. B. Du Bois' concept of "double consciousness" and to Richard Wright's concept of a "double vision" and to other concepts of Afro-American writers, such as Toni Morrison.
- [4] In her study, Fisher points out one major anchor point of hegemonic thought, such as Creole nationalist movements in the Caribbean and G. W. F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic have been based on the denial of revolutionary antislavery.
- [5] Although, Guy Hennebel and Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón revealed in the recent past that they did not refer to Arnold Antonin as an author in their collected edition *Cinema of Latin America* by the time of publication due to the risks of the dictatorial Duvalier's regime (Antonin/Lorquet, 2008).
- [6] Even though, the phenomenon of Nollywood is commonly and academically still considered as a "shadow economy".
- [7] It must be taken into account that on a transnational level, the categories of price and relevance are not equally shaped.
- [8] One of the major exercises in the first year of the Curriculum is to produce a short film with the means of "dix gourdes". Twenty-five cents is about ten gourdes in Haitian currency, or *dix gourdes* in Kreyòl (Belle in: Allen-Agostini, 2014).
- [9] The *Ciné Institute* held production classes in cooperation with Tunde Kelani, one of the most well known Nigerian film directors.
- [10] In the following, an international audience is also targeted, primarily the US and Europe, and first and foremost the diasporic communities in Québec/Canada.
- [11] The requirements for students are to have completed High School, but it must be noted that the Haitian high school system is based on a French education format that is still dominated by imperialistic ideals.
- [12] I hereby refer to the terminology that has known its rise mainly through the ethnographic turn.
- [13] For example, US-American actresses and actors Ben Stiller, Susan Sarandon, Paul Haggis and Nigerian director Tunde Kelani et al.
- [14] See "Manifes Jollywood": "10 - We are rebranding Haiti and showing the world the richness of our country." "11 - We work through culture and for the humanity." "12 - We are active and we work together to accomplish a better reality for all of us." (Fig. 1)
- [15] See "Manifes Jollywood": "3 - Recognize and use the local resources (sic!) around you. Do Not create characters,

locations, wardrobes or props that can't be found within your community."

"5 - Use only near by locations. Do Not travel more than 30 minutes away." (Fig. 1)

- [16] "The image, the imagined, the imaginary - these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice." (Appadurai, 1996: 31).
- [17] The understanding of the *transnational* in that sense is a highly contested terminology, i.e. Border Studies and its critiques.
- [18] Among other works, Michael Chanan's *The Changing Geography of Third Cinema* and Kathleen Newman's *National Cinema after Globalization*, have given a broad insight into Third Cinema's visions and its actual appropriation in changing and altering cinematographic landscapes and geographies.
- [19] Vinzenz Hediger in discussion with Doris Posch at the *Berlinale - 64. Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin*, Germany, February 2014.
- [20] Taking into account the historical dimension that the notion of "nation" has been adopted in the 19th century.
- [21] Notes on Vinzenz Hediger's lecture on National Cinemas, *Think: Film NO. 2: What do we Know When we Know where something is?*, 64. Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin 2014, *Forum Expanded*, February 2014.
- [22] At this point, Dudley Andrew mentions the cinemas of Taiwan, China, Senegal, Mali, Iran, Yugoslavia and Ireland.

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- [1] Twenty-five to thirty-five students are admitted per year and per cycle.
- [2] Hermes Marco is the current pedagogical director of the *Ciné Institute* in Jacmel, Haiti.
- [3] For the elaboration of the concept of "modernity," Gilroy first and foremost refers to W. E. B. Du Bois' concept of "double consciousness" and to Richard Wright's concept of a "double vision" and to other concepts of Afro-American writers, such as Toni Morrison.
- [4] In her study, Fisher points out one major anchor point of hegemonic thought, such as Creole nationalist movements in the Caribbean and G. W. F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic have been based on the denial of revolutionary antislavery.
- [5] Although, Guy Hennebel and Alfonso Gumucio Dagrón revealed in the recent past that they did not refer to Arnold Antonin as an author in their collected edition *Cinema of Latin America* by the time of publication due to the risks of the dictatorial Duvalier's regime (Antonin/Lorquet, 2008).
- [6] Even though, the phenomenon of Nollywood is commonly and academically still considered as a "shadow economy".
- [7] It must be taken into account that on a transnational level, the categories of price and relevance are not equally shaped.
- [8] One of the major exercises in the first year of the Curriculum is to produce a short film with the means of "dix gourdes". Twenty-five cents is about ten gourdes in Haitian currency, or *dix gourdes* in Kreyòl (Belle in: Allen-Agostini, 2014).
- [9] The *Ciné Institute* held production classes in cooperation with Tunde Kelani, one of the most well known Nigerian film directors.
- [10] In the following, an international audience is also targeted, primarily the US and Europe, and first and foremost the diasporic communities in Québec/Canada.
- [11] The requirements for students are to have completed High School, but it must be noted that the Haitian high school system is based on a French education format that is still dominated by imperialistic ideals.

- [12] I hereby refer to the terminology that has known its rise mainly through the ethnographic turn.
- [13] For example, US-American actresses and actors Ben Stiller, Susan Sarandon, Paul Haggis and Nigerian director Tunde Kelani et al.
- [14] See "Manifes Jollywood": "10 - We are rebranding Haiti and showing the world the richness of our country." "11 - We work through culture and for the humanity." "12 - We are active and we work together to accomplish a better reality for all of us." (Fig. 1)
- [15] See "Manifes Jollywood": "3 - Recognize and use the local resources (sic!) around you. Do Not create characters, locations, wardrobes or props that can't be found within your community." "5 - Use only near by locations. Do Not travel more than 30 minutes away." (Fig. 1)
- [16] "The image, the imagined, the imaginary - these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice." (Appadurai, 1996: 31).
- [17] The understanding of the *transnational* in that sense is a highly contested terminology, i.e. Border Studies and its critiques.
- [18] Among other works, Michael Chanan's *The Changing Geography of Third Cinema* and Kathleen Newman's *National Cinema after Globalization*, have given a broad insight into Third Cinema's visions and its actual appropriation in changing and altering cinematographic landscapes and geographies.
- [19] Vinzenz Hediger in discussion with Doris Posch at the *Berlinale - 64. Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin*, Germany, February 2014.
- [20] Taking into account the historical dimension that the notion of "nation" has been adopted in the 19th century.
- [21] Notes on Vinzenz Hediger's lecture on National Cinemas, *Think: Film NO. 2: What do we Know When we Know where something is?*, 64. Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin 2014, *Forum Expanded*, February 2014.
- [22] At this point, Dudley Andrew mentions the cinemas of Taiwan, China, Senegal, Mali, Iran, Yugoslavia and Ireland.

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