The book cover features a bright orange background with a white silhouette of the African continent in the center. A white rectangular box is superimposed on the map, containing the title and subtitle. The title is split into three lines: 'Media, Knowledge Transfer & African Identity'. The words 'Media, Knowledge Transfer &' are in black, 'African' is in red, and 'Identity' is in blue. The subtitle 'A Festschrift in Honour of Abdalla Uba Adamu' is in black. The background is decorated with various social media icons in shades of orange and yellow, including Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, YouTube, Google+, Instagram, LinkedIn, and Pinterest.

# Media, Knowledge Transfer & African Identity

A Festschrift in Honour  
of Abdalla Uba Adamu

EDITED BY

Sa'idu B. Ahmad  
Nura Ibrahim

**Media, Knowledge Transfer and  
African Identity**

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**Sa'idu B. Ahmad**  
**Nura Ibrahim**



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**Prof. Dr. Abdalla Uba Adamu**  
*Professor of Media and Cultural Communication*  
*Professor of Science Education and Curriculum Development*  
*Vice-Chancellor, National Open University of Nigeria*

## **Biodata of Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu**

**Abdalla Uba Adamu** holds double professorships in Science Education (1997) and Media and Cultural Communication (2012) from Bayero University Kano, Nigeria. His main research focus is on transnational media flows and their impact on the transformation of Muslim Hausa popular culture especially in literature, film, music and performing arts. He is the creator of the Foundation for Hausa Performing Arts (Kano, Nigeria) whose main focus is archiving traditional performing arts heritage of the Muslim Hausa. He has also developed courses on digital cultures and promotes netnography as a research methodology in documenting Hausa media ethnographies. He is the Chairman of a research cluster based in Bayero University Kano that discusses researches on visual anthropology.

He was a Fulbright African Senior Research Scholar, and had his residency at the Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, from 1991-1992. This led to his first major book, *Reform and Adaptation in Nigerian University Curricula, 1960-1992: Living on the Credit Line* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1994). He was also awarded a place on the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Resident Fellows program at the Bellagio Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, and October to November 1993.

He has delivered special lectures on media and culture at the University of Cologne, Germany; School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Barnard College, Columbia University, New York; University of Florida, Gainesville; University of Basel, Switzerland; the Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, Poland, as well as Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, Germany. He was a Visiting Professor at Rutgers University, New Jersey, United States (2015) as well as European Union Visiting Professor at the University of Warsaw, Poland (2012).

He was appointed the Vice-Chancellor, National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2016.

## **Acknowledgements**

The idea for this Festschrift came as a result of an international conference on *Transglobal Media, Knowledge Transfer and African Identities* organized in Honour of Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu for his dual professorship, hosted by Bayero University, Kano in conjunction with African Identity Group and Freedom Radio, Kano. This is to recognize the tremendous contributions made by this distinguished scholar in the fields of education and media/cultural studies.

Scholars of international repute from different universities across the country and beyond presented papers at the conference which was held in 2014. More than 50 papers were presented out of which 25 were selected after rigorous exercise of peer review. We would like to use the opportunity to thank each of the authors for their valuable contributions. We are very grateful for their inspiring visions expressed on the relationship between language, folklore and African media.

We are very grateful to the former Vice-Chancellor, Bayero University, Kano, Professor Abubakar Adamu Rasheed, now Executive Chairman, NUC for his encouragement and the financial support. We also thank the current Vice-Chancellor; Professor Muhammad Yahuza Bello for making sure this publication sees the light of the day. We wish to express our profound gratitude and appreciations to Galadiman Mai Tsidau, Mallam Magaji Galadima Abdullahi for his time, financial support and for chairing the committee that worked assiduously to ensure the success of the Festschrift conference. Other people that deserve special mention are Umar Sa'idu Tudun Wada, Umar Farouk Dalhatu of Freedom Radio, Kano.

Members of the African Identities Group have played a significant role in the conference that led to this Festschrift. We would particularly like to thank Nasir Wada Khalil, Adamu Alqali, Abdulrahman Abdullahi, Barde Habibu, and Rabi'u Na'awwa for their time, energy and commitment to the conference.

To all the academic staff of Mass Communication Department, Bayero University, Kano, we say thanks for your numerous contributions that led to the publication of this book.

***Sa'idu B. Ahmad and Nura Ibrahim***

## Foreword

I am happy to present *Media, Knowledge Transfer and the African Identity*, which contains a selection of papers presented at the festschrift conference organised to honour Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu. It is a work that celebrates the achievements of one of us in Bayero University Kano, in particular and the Nigerian academic community in general. This is especially so, because Prof. A.U. Adamu has recorded outstanding success not only in his meritorious service to education and society, but also for earning a dual professorship in two distinct disciplines: Science Education (1997) and Media and Cultural Communication (2012).

*Media, Knowledge Transfer and the African Identity* is a bold attempt to confront the challenges and opportunities brought about by globalisation and developments in information and computer technology on the one hand; and African languages, cultures and identities on the other. The book comprised of twenty-five articles contributed by senior academics from many universities in Nigeria and abroad. The book focuses on Popular Culture, Mass Communication, Language and Identity in Africa, various usages and applications of the new media as well as consumption mediated messages. Concepts of trans-globalisation, the hegemony of the dominant classes and culture as commodity are all interrogated in the light of the Nigerian and African needs and values.

Going through the articles in this festschrift, one perceives the power of the intellect to bridge the gap between ICT, which is largely invented and driven by the Western world, and the Nigerian and African cultural identities. I am, therefore, happy to recommend this timely publication to all students of Media and Cultural Communication in particular and the public in general.

**Prof. Abubakar Adamu Rasheed**, *mni, MFR*  
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## **Scambaiting: Cyber Vigilantism between Interactive Fiction and Racist Blood Sport**

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### **Introduction**

The clip “Colt Seavers vs. the Unknown Stuntman” opens with the image of a bare-chested African holding a handwritten signboard, which reads: “Jackson Emewakeme. Trainee Fall Guy.” To the tune of the 1980s American TV serial, *The Fall Guy*, which featured the adventures of the fictitious stuntman Colt Seavers, Emewakeme is introduced to the viewers as a South African lotto scammer who was tricked into believing that he was being offered a serious chance to enter into the Hollywood film business by a scambaiter. Posing as Hollywood stuntman ‘Colt Seavers,’ the scambaiter had pretended to search for new stuntmen to join his team. What follows is the footage Emewakeme produced as an ‘audition tape.’ It shows Emewakeme in more or less stuntman-like standard situations – receiving a fist blow on his forehead, rolling over a car and jumping from a roof top. Obviously unaware that he is being duped and also unaware of the reference to the title song of the American TV series, he repeats the phrase “I am the unknown stuntman that makes Eastwood look so fine” after each of his ‘stunts,’ just as he has been asked to do by ‘Colt Seavers.’

This essay explores scambaiting – a counter-scamming activity developed by self-proclaimed cyber vigilantes in response to the Nigeria-related online crime also known as 419. So-called scambaiters pretend to be naïve victims who fall into the traps set up by 419 conmen who attempt to entice the addressees of their unsolicited emails by the prospect of huge fortunes. The cyber vigilantes then bait the scammers in return and entice them to perform outlandish tasks in their desperate pursuit of money. Depending on the gullibility of the individuals involved, such “games of revenge and entrapment” (Glickman 2005: 462) may last up to several months before the scammer finally realizes that he has been duped. According to one of its practitioners, scambaiting “is equal parts theatre,

chess game, psychological study, crime prevention, education and vigilante justice; it's a battle of the wits" (Andrew 2006). Most important for this developing genre of "collaborative fiction" (Edelson 2006: 153) is an online community of several thousand people on whose websites the email exchanges between scambaiters and scammers are published.

During such exchanges the digital vigilantes involve their victims, the African scammers, in fantastic stories that serve to ridicule them, often by persuading them to send pictures or even video clips showing the unsuspecting fraudsters in the course of some more or less ludicrous action. The vigilantes thus succeed in giving anonymous internet crime a face and in subsequently exposing this face to public ridicule. On closer scrutiny, however, the thousands of images of mostly black men holding up obscene handwritten messages presented on these websites accompanied by stories many of which are barely able to conceal their racist undertones provoke a disquieting feeling.

#### **From Curiosity to Revenge: The Evolution of Scambaiting**

In the late 1990s, a number of Americans and Europeans who sensed that the letters and faxes they were receiving from Nigeria were part of a fraud scheme began to reply to such letters. Driven by curiosity, they wanted to find out how the scam scenarios would develop if they played along for a time. Among them was Brian Wizard, an American who refers to himself as "investigative novelist." His contact with Nigerian scammers lasted about six months (September 1999 to February 2000) and came to an end when he met the fraudsters in London face to face. He turned his adventure into a "collaborative novel", which is interesting to read, particularly on account of the numerous facsimiles of the original correspondence between the author and the scammers it contains (Wizard 2000).

Despite his policy of "bullshitting the bullshitters," he even admits, "I actually liked these people. I had to respect their personal and professional dedication to the scam. I could see how some had grown, no doubt through practice and were upwardly mobile on the ladder of the ultimate scam" (Wizard 2000: 71). Others who started to respond to scam emails in the early 2000s show far less admiration for the scammers. "Turning the tables on email scammers" (Edelson 2006) became the motto of a growing number of people, who attempted to beat the scammers with their own weapons and hence invented the practice of scambaiting, which eventually developed into a mixture of creative writing, reverse scamming, blood sport and mob justice.

419Eater.com is perhaps the most prominent scambaiting website. It hosts a community of about 35,000 members and receives between 10,000

and 15,000 hits daily. It was founded in 2003 by Mike Berry, a.k.a Shiver Metimbers, a 43-year-old self-employed computer engineer from Manchester, England. According to Metimbers, the initial idea came to him when he received a reply from a Nigerian scammer, whose scam e-mail he had answered stating that he knew that his proposal was a scam. To his astonishment, the scammer continued to communicate with him as though working through the lines of a script.

In his next answer, Metimbers invented a scholarship for up and coming young artists from Africa and claimed to be part of a committee that was looking for suitable applicants. This bait was swallowed by the scammer who then claimed to be an artist himself. Soon he began to send wood carvings to England which he had worked after images Metimbers had send him. On receiving the first carving, the scambaiter developed a series of tricks, such as ‘shrinking’ the carving through picture editing, in order to persuade the scammer to send even more carvings. This continued for some time, until the scammer turned artist had ultimately spent around USD 475 on shipping the objects to England and had received nothing in return (Metimbers 2007).

Other scambaiting sites include Scamorama.com, which was founded by Eve Edelson around the year 2000, the now defunct theScamBaiter.com, whose motto was: “Fighting Scammers Worldwide for Fun and Justice” and Ebolamonkeyman, who pledges to “piss off Nigerian scammers one at a time.”<sup>1</sup> Hence, scambaiting has developed considerably over its fifteen years of existence. Early scambaits dating back to 2001, such as those archived on the Scamorama site, simply try to string along the scammers, their objective being to waste the fraudsters’ time, the longer the better. In the course of the evolution of scambaiting, however, the “baits” – as the correspondences between scambaiters and scammers are called – became more inventive in terms of their casts and story lines.

Sharing successful baits with others on the web turned scambaiting into a competitive hobby and prompted the growing numbers of cyber vigilantes to push the limits continuously. The more humorous scambaiters began to draw on personages from American and European popular culture or literature for their characters, having Bart Simpson, Darth Vader, Captain Ahab and others converse with Mariam Abacha or the son of Jonas Savimbi. Others made up names like “Dick Cyzinya” (*Seizing-you*), which are almost instantly decodable for English native speakers but may prove difficult for the average African scammer to decode.

Thus, the scambaiters increasingly constructed their baits with an audience in mind that would be able to decode these signs and would be amused by the irony of such correlations; an irony based on the fact that



those at the other end were unable to understand the references. “This was a revelation to me,” writes Australian scambaiter, J. Cosmo Newbery, in an editorial to one of his ‘baits’ that made it “quite clear” to him “that the Nigerians are totally out of touch with the real world – or just totally blinded by their own greed. In this story, Lord Vader (he of the dark side of the Force) and his wife Juanita have retired to western Victoria to raise pedigree stud courgettes (zucchini, to some people).”<sup>2</sup>

Next in the evolution of scambaiting, the cyber vigilantes persuaded scammers to take pictures of themselves holding up handwritten signs with messages encoded in a similar way to the mock names. This not only served as another means of ridiculing the scammers – or at least those the scammers may have had photographed and passed off as themselves – but also the important function of giving anonymous cybercrime a face. Suddenly, the “lads from Lagos” – a phrase coined by Eve Edelson and used frequently by scambaiters – could be removed from the anonymous safe havens of Nigerian internet cafés. Such pictures figure prominently on all scambaiting websites where they are displayed either as more or less humorous entry thumbnails to certain sections of the sites or simply as trophies, as in 419 Eater’s “trophy room” where they attest simultaneously to the scambaiters’ success and the scammers’ foolishness.

When I began to visit scambaiting websites in 2004, most baits were still rather harmless.<sup>3</sup> The odd sexual allusion could occasionally be found as, for example, in J. Cosmo Newbery’s bait featuring Lord Vader’s wife Juanita whose daughter, Fellatio, “recently won a ‘wet T-shirt’ competition” and who is unable to make a payment the scammer expects from her because of “a public holiday in Victoria (Missionary Position Day),” and who continues to remark that Western Union, whose head office is in “Exhibition Street,” “sponsors the official entry to start the Progressive Copulation Ball at the World Congress Centre.”<sup>4</sup>

With regard to images, Shiver Metimbers launched several successful baits, in which he had made scammers produce hilarious self-portraits posing with strange objects – a fish on the head and a loaf of bread in the mouth, for example. This was rationalized by Metimbers, who posed as “Father Bateyoo Reelgud” of the “Holy Church of Fish and Bread,” as approval of the scammers’ identity with a view to their gaining membership of the church, a prerequisite for them to benefit from a church loan he had invented.<sup>5</sup>

In yet another scambait, Metimbers, this time posing as Father Hector Barnett of the “Holy Church of the Order of the Red Breast,” managed to obtain an image of a scammer with the church’s logo painted on his bare chest, this, again, being a condition of gaining membership of the church. This ‘bait,’ which was carried out between April and September 2004,

marked the beginning of a new dimension of scambaiting. Until then, scambaiters had only humiliated scammers symbolically, using various means to expose their foolishness and alleged backwardness and making fun of their limited command of the English language, their ignorance about Euro-American pop culture and their credulity that prompted them to fall for the scambaiters' stories, which were growing more absurd by the day.

The pictorial trophy of the scammer who was made to paint an alleged church logo on his breast – the logo resembled a mars symbol with a dangling arrow instead of an erect one – proved that, despite all mediations involved, it was possible to reach out to the scammers' physical bodies. Marking the bodies of perpetrators is a very old judicial practice that serves to castigate through physical harm and an enduring visibility that is likely leading to social exclusion. While a painted breast doesn't really hurt and paint can be washed away, other scambaiters soon set out to prove that scammers could indeed be manipulated to hurt and mark themselves physically. Some drastic forms could be found in the image section of the now defunct site theScamBaiter.com, which was called "Mugu Museum" and which hosted dozens of photos of scammers hurting themselves in their desperate pursuit of money. Entire series of images depicted naked scammers with clothes-pegs all over their bodies, others, scammers who manipulated their manhood with makeshift penis enlargement devices that really looked painful.

In terms of literally branding scammers, Shiver Metimbers has been responsible for setting yet another trend. Posing as Father Bruce Corbin of the "Holy Church of the Tattooed Saint," he managed to persuade a desperate Nigerian fraudster to get himself a hand-sized tattoo reading "Baited by Shiver."<sup>6</sup> This particular scambait, ironically titled: "A 'mark' of my respect," has a portrait of the sad-looking scammer placed at the beginning of the thread. The word "OWNED" is superimposed on the image. A representative of former colonial subjects who appear to have found a way of gaining retribution through scamming is thus disciplined by a representative of the former "colonial masters." The deeper significance of this combination of physical punishment and symbolical humiliation appears to have been well understood by many scambaiters who have adopted Metimbers' strategy with varying degrees of success.<sup>7</sup>

### **Symbolic Castrations: Of "Anus Laptops" and "Limp Dick Lads"**

In the following sections, I will present exemplary scambaits which have been published on 419Eater.com and theScamBaiter.com, the two largest online vigilante communities during the past decade. The most prominent theme that is difficult to overlook even when taking the most cursory glance

at a scambaiting website is the obsession with African manhood – in every sense of the word. The strategy most often used by scambaiters to symbolically deprive the scammers, most of whom are male, of their power and agency, is to deny their ‘manhood’ by labelling them – or rather persuading them to label themselves – as either sexually aberrant or homosexual. The image sections of the scambaiting websites contain hundreds of images showing African men holding up handwritten messages that turn them either into sodomites (“I shag sheep”) or homosexuals (“I love cocky sucky”).

This use of homosexuality as a stigma says more, of course, about the scambaiters’ negative feelings towards homosexuals than about those who become gay symbolically – while most likely unaware of how the messages refer back to themselves. Over the years, the scambaiters have learned that if they are only lucky enough to encounter the right person at the other end, someone who is both naive and desperate enough, a scammer can be manipulated to do almost anything. Since many baits aim to obtain a picture or a video showing the scammer naked, the scambaiters’ obsession with “exposing” scammers must be taken quite literally. The two worst nightmares of the average white heterosexual male converge in these images and are employed to neutralize each other: the Black super-stud and the homosexual, whom homophobes consider to be not a man at all.

“Simeon – A scammer broken, humiliated and ‘degraferated,’” which is one of several baits involving the fictitious American company “Anus Laptops” invented by “the Failure,” owner of the ScamBaiter.com, may serve to highlight a number of strategies employed by cyber vigilantes to symbolically emasculate African scammers. It starts with Simeon the scammer, being led to believe that Anus Laptops is looking for retailers of its products in Nigeria. A first consignment of 20 laptops, to be sent to Nigeria via DHL as soon as the “human resources department” of Anus Laptops accepts its new African representative, serves as bait. In order to prove his identity, Simeon must fill in forms and send a “customs security photo” and a video of himself, in which he must state why he is interested in the company.

When Maxx, the head of Anus Laptops, is reported as being dissatisfied with the video so Simeon has to redo it. It must show the would-be representative of Anus Laptops naked so that Maxx can see that he has no tattoos. This second video becomes the Failures’ first real trophy from this particular scambait. Other members of the ScamBaiter.com, who have been following this bait from the beginning, post commentaries and suggest possible twists in the storyline. Once the video of the naked scammer is put on display, a host of juicy comments about his manhood, targeting the

alleged shortness or weakness of his genital organ, are posted. While comments like, “My recommendation would be that normally a strong or long cock is needed to really make a splash in the Anus business,”<sup>8</sup> retain a certain level of irony, others bluntly reveal the purpose of this image-making strategy: “What the hell is with all these limp dick lads, Jesus the entire country is full with needle dicks for god sake.”<sup>9</sup>

Maxx explains to Simeon on the phone that he is still not satisfied with the video: he wants to see him excited about the new business, which means that he has to see his excitement physically. Like all of the other 40-plus telephone conversations between the scambaiter and his victim, this phone call is recorded and posted on the web, adding to the growing excitement of the community members as the scambait proceeds.

The conversations between scammer and scambaiter, who impersonates several personalities, almost turn scambaiting into a form of radio drama. Although they involve a different sense and a different media technology, the audio files that allow the scambaiting community to listen to the scammer’s voice satisfy the same desires, as the images the scammers are made to produce of themselves, insofar as both attest to the physical presence of the scammer and his being in the world, despite all of the technological mediations involved. In addition, audio technology is much better suited to conveying the scammer’s mood than mere letters on a screen; actually hearing a scammer become angry is part of the scambaiters’ satisfaction, at least that is how I interpret a number of comments on the audio files of this particular ‘bait’. Finally, scambaits use phone calls as tools of persuasion and make-believe in much the same way as the scammers use them on their victims.

To ensure that Simeon has understood what is at stake, Maxx sends him an email after the phone call:

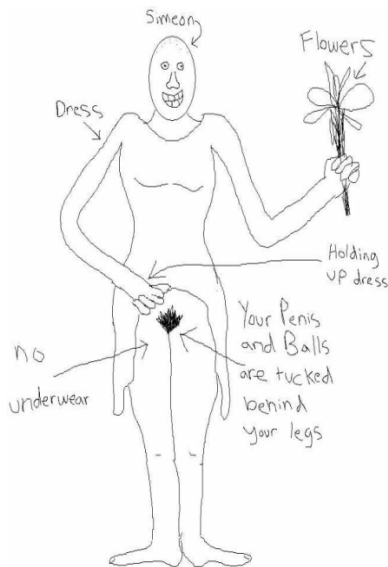
As I said on the phone, you looked very sad in that video with your penis being so soft. If you are excited about this business like I am, I want proof. I want the video done over, no clothes, this time with your penis looking happy. I want your penis as hard as it can be, just like mine. I am always happy and strong, and I would like to see you that way. Do it and the laptops are out the door tomorrow. If not, please do not email me anymore, I am tired o(f) wasting all this time only to be treated like cat shit.

Following the exchange of a few more e-mails and the passing of a few days when the scambaiter receives no reply from the scammer, the initially

reluctant Simeon sends the requested video, which is then commented on by the community members much in the same way as the first one. Maxx tells Simeon that he now considers him part of the team of Anus Laptops, but “Human Resources” still require a “security photo,” and Maxx explains how this should look. The photo, which has to be redone before it is accepted – every assignment scambaiters give to scammers has to be redone in order to string them along and waste their resources – shows the scammer wearing a suit, holding a “fire stick” (a burning torch which provides supposed proof of his trustworthiness) in his left hand and a piece of paper with a “security code” in his right hand (in fact there are three photos with different “codes” – all of which turn out to be dedications to fellow scambaiters and may be used later on in the internal exchanges of the scambaiting community).

The scambaiter then introduces a second character to the scenario, the gay product manager, Randall, who has seen the video footage of Simeon and falls madly in love with him. Before he is willing to ship the laptops, Randall requests Simeon to take a photo for him, this time dressing as a woman, as proof that he accepts his courtship.

Of course, Simeon is very upset about this new twist, and complains to Maxx about it, who explains to him in several phone calls and emails that Anus Laptops in fact is a gay company, that Randall is the co-founder of the company, and that he is unable to do anything without Randall’s consent. Finally, Simeon complies and sends in the photo that turns him into a woman. To make sure that he gets it right, the scambaiter, alias Randall, had sent him a pencil sketch showing how he should pose for the photograph.



**Fig. 1:** Instruction sketch by the scambaiter



**Fig. 2:** Reproduction by the baited scammer

The photograph shows the scammer wearing a woman's undergarment, which he lifts with his left hand to expose his crotch. His manhood is invisible, because he has been told to bend it backwards and clamp it between his legs, so as to appear as a woman. The bouquet of plastic flowers that he holds in his right hand and the involuntary grin on his face give the entire picture a strange aura. On seeing this image, the community members immediately realize that it will become a "classic" of scambaiting, congratulate their "hero," the Failure, for his ingenuity, and begin to consider how they can exploit the image to the disadvantage of the scammer. From here, this particular bait develops into a so-called "freight bait," the objective of which is to send junk – damaged and useless laptops – to the scammer, for which he is forced to pay the shipping fees. Fake visual evidence, such as a fake *DHL* tracking device on the website of *AnusLaptop.com*, is a central tool in this game of manipulation and make-believe.

Finally, after nine months, Simeon receives a parcel that contains a broken Laptop with a print-out of his most embarrassing photograph glued to the screen. In his final e-mail, he complains bitterly about the humiliation he suffered at the hands of the scambaiter and hopes for divine intervention: "God will reward you for what you have done all these days."

The stories used in scambaits of this type may vary – some bait their victims as fake agents of the American porn industry,<sup>10</sup> others as desperate women who ask their future husbands to join the “Church of Kinky Mary Magdeline,” which only accepts circumcised members<sup>11</sup> – however, their trophies are always the same and consist of numerous images of naked scammers. These images are then commented on by the online communities as described above or even reworked into posters, each image carrying a caption or superimposed words such as “Gay boy,” “Mr. Soft Dick,” “Impotent” – phrases that turn the images against those they represent.<sup>12</sup>

The scambaiters’ obsession with the private parts of scammers suggests that they construe the sexual organ as the symbolical seat of a scammer’s agency and power. Attacking the manhood of a scammer, either symbolically through practices of image magic and commentary, or even physically,<sup>13</sup> aims at robbing him of his agency. The fact that it is the penis and not so much the heart or brain that metonymically represents the dangerous agency of scammers refers back to deep-seated white male fears about the sexual capacity of Black men and this, in turn, is rooted in centuries-old racist discourse about African sexuality. Born out of Europe’s and America’s own ambivalence towards sexuality, this discourse projected what the Europeans and Americans had repressed in relation to the self onto the African other. Subsequently, controlling one’s own sexuality meant controlling those on whom the repressed libido was projected (Nederveen Pieterse 1992: 172).

It is revealing that during the lynchings that took place in the American South in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Black men who had allegedly raped White women were not only murdered by hanging but often castrated as well (Nederveen Pieterse 1992: 176-177). A similar linking of libido and lynching appears to be present in scambaiting too, although castration only assumes symbolical forms. Likewise, remnants of the twin myths of the “black beast” and the “white goddess,” of the idolized woman who must be protected against the brute, appear to persist in the imagination of the American scambaiters. TheFailure, for example, turns out to have had a special grudge against Simeon, the Nigerian scammer, because the latter had allegedly scammed an American woman:

Most of the scammers I come across are the standard idiots who email me at (the) anus site. But this one (is) special (...). This one has scammed a friend of mine for \$9000 in a love scam. Scammers like these are the scum of the universe (...). They don’t attack businesses, they attack women.<sup>14</sup>

Although not all members of scambaiting communities are male and White, judging from comments, speech patterns and self-descriptions on websites, I have the strong feeling that most fall into this category.<sup>15</sup> Hence, it comes as no surprise to learn that they built their anti-scaming strategies on the dominant historical imaginaries of the societies to which they belong.

### **Safari Baits and the Demonstration of Technological Superiority**

The image of the West's others as technologically inferior, which African scammers challenge so aptly through their mastery of digital technology, is another enduring Western stereotype that resurfaces in scambaiting. According to Erhard Schüttpelz (2005), the demonstration of technological superiority by Europeans is a recurring theme in the history of European-African encounters and may be traced as far back as the era of early European exploration. Media – the mirror, *laterna magica*, telescope and later on the camera and gramophone – were used by European travellers to inspire wonder and awe in those they encountered (Behrend 2004: 73). Already topical in early travelogues, such scenes of technological superiority enacted over and over again during Europe's scramble for Africa in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century served to re-affirm the European imaginary about African technological backwardness and Europe's own advancement. And it is precisely this imaginary that is challenged by successful African scammers who, through their success, prove that they have mastered the latest technologies and are able to turn their mastery against members of the very societies credited with their invention. The following bait thus introduces GPS (Global Positioning System), a media technology rather uncommon in Africa in the 2000s.

In “The Road to the Skeleton Coast” the scambaiter Yeawwhatever impersonates Troy McClure, “a disgruntled maintenance worker located at an outpost in Northwestern Namibia, (who) stumbles across several hundred thousand dollars in a room.”<sup>16</sup> The scambaiter responds to a scam email he received from a certain Steve Okoma from Nigeria as Troy McClure, an alias borrowed from the American TV serial *The Simpsons*. McClure tells Okoma up front that he knows the email is part of a scam scheme, but pretends to need help exactly from someone like Okoma in order to move the money he has just discovered out of the country. Of course, the topos of a huge sum of money discovered somewhere rings a bell. In fact, this bait is the most literal transcription of a scam mail of the money transfer format I have ever encountered on a scambaiting website.

Not surprisingly, the scammer asks for proof. Over the course of their email exchange, however, the scambaiter is somehow able to persuade his victim that Troy McClure's plan is genuine. He suggests that Okoma fly to



Namibia and drive to a certain point on the beach at the Skeleton Coast to pick up the trunk with the money which he, McClure, will deposit there at night. In terms of a rationale behind this plan, McClure explains to Okoma that he cannot leave his inland desert outpost for much longer than a couple of hours without raising suspicion and this explains that he would not be able to take the money to the next town himself as he would only have enough time to drive to the coast and back.

The scambaiter makes ingenious use of visual evidence, such as a map and a fake GPS tracker that shows the scammer where McClure is located. The scambaiter gradually introduces GPS technology to the scammer, who is led to understand that he will be able to track the trunk of money McClure is going to deposit on the shore with GPS because McClure will put a GPS transmitter into the trunk. “Do a Google search on ‘GPS’ or ‘geocaching’ for more information,” the scambaiter advises his victim, and thus makes use of the intertextual properties of the hypertext medium internet, just as scammers do.<sup>17</sup>

Because Okoma discovers that he cannot obtain a visa for Namibia, he introduces his brother-in-law, Tony Kabali, who lives in South Africa to the scheme. Equipped with a GPS tracker and a satellite phone rented in South Africa, Kabali eventually travels to the Namibian Skeleton Coast where he spends a few days searching for the trunk only to discover that it has been washed into the sea. Kabali is furious, particularly because he is able to see the trunk floating off shore on his GPS tracker but cannot reach it because he does not know how to swim. Kabali thus quits, and returns to South Africa having spent approximately USD 4000 in vain.

However, McClure succeeds in convincing Okoma that all is not lost because the trunk will not sink and, due to the prevailing current, will gradually float to Nigeria where Okoma can pick it up if he can manage to rent a boat. At this point, as the scammers do, the scambaiter adopts the internet as a secret tool in the full knowledge that his victim would turn to it in search for information about currents, even if he does not ask him to do it.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, the fake GPS tracker, which has been manipulated by the scambaiter, enables Okoma to actually ‘see’ how the loot is moving up the Namibian coastline, passing Angola, and gradually floating towards him. To put his victim under pressure to rent a boat, the scambaiter fabricates a bogus newspaper clipping of a report entitled “West African fishermen trawling for treasure” disclosing that a huge number of fishermen from Gabon to Nigeria are searching for a floating case filled with over USD 600,000 apparently fitted with a GPS transmitter.<sup>19</sup> This, of course, is another instance of the adoption of a strategy used by scammers and turning it against those who

employ it in the first place. Okoma finally manages to rent a boat in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, of which he sends a picture showing a real worn-out vessel,<sup>20</sup> and disappears for a couple of days. Then this email arrives:

i received your email but i did not answer it cuz i was so sick and i did not get the chance to get the box from the ocean. instead i had the most terrible time suffering from sickness for days on that boat. almost two days after we left to get the box the boat stoped and could not start again. this was a big problem cuz we were very far from land and no one would come to our help for 3 days.

when the boat stoped there was no electric for anything to work so we had to operate a pump with our own power to pump water from the boat which was filling. i was so sick that i could not stand for this.

when someone came to help us, he was able to start the engine again so we went back to land for our saftey. people carry me from the boat and bring me home. i never want to go on a boat again.

now i have nothing but angered sister and brother in-law. i gave all my money away for (fuel) and can not get it back for a service i did not receive. that is not fair. i have no money for food and i am still sick. now i see the money is in nigeria rite under my nose to see but i can not get it. i beg for you to help me with some money cuz it was your doing that caused (all) this to happen to me. if you can send me even a token \$500 western union transfer i could buy some food and get myself back on my feet.

please respond urgently.<sup>21</sup>

An email of this type is exactly what the scambaiters are after. It attests to the efficiency of their work, their ability to cause financial, social and even physical harm to scammers, and thus to avenge all those who have fallen victim to other scammers. Irrespective of whether he has ever successfully scammed someone, Okoma, who has been punished and humiliated, merely represents one of his kind. Following this e-mail, McClure and Okoma exchange a few more emails, in which McClure tries to talk Okoma into renting scuba diving equipment, which Okoma refuses to do as he does not know how to swim. Their email exchange which covered a period of only five weeks in 2006 eventually dies out.

Sending scammers on a wild goose chase, making them travel back and forth between wherever they may be located and places they are supposed to meet someone or pick something up, has become a staple of scambaiting.<sup>22</sup> This makes perfect sense to the vigilantes since it increases both the time and money a scammer wastes on a “game” that he is sure to lose from the outset. At the same time, being able to control someone from a distance like a puppet on a string creates the possibility of experiencing a powerful feeling of omnipotence.

“Scambaiting is collaborative fiction, and as such may not be your cup of tea. It requires a certain *talent for manipulation*, a sensitivity to your scammer’s moods, and patience” (Edelson 2006: 153 – emphasis added). The very control scambaiters exert over scammers, demonstrated most overtly in “safari baits”, helps in the reclamation of agency on the side of the scambaiters. While the cyber vigilantes are sitting comfortably at home or in their offices, sipping a can of beer or two in front of their computer screens,<sup>23</sup> the conmen are made to suffer in the outside world, be it as non-swimmers on a wreck of a ship whose engines break down far off-shore, or as civilians sent into a war-zone like Darfur.

In a bait that lasted from November 2005 to May 2006, YeaWhatever, the scambaiter who would later go on to set up the above-described GPS bait, persuaded a scammer who called himself Koffi Kuku and pretended to be a “barrister” from Lagos to send his nephew and another young man on an overland trip to war-torn Darfur, supposedly to collect several thousand dollars from a fictitious American reverend. This bait triggered a discussion about ethics among scambaiters, a subject I will discuss in greater detail below. At a certain point on their trip, the two boys disappeared and it is still not known what actually happened to them.

The scambaiter, who couldn’t have cared less about their whereabouts,<sup>24</sup> even exploits this situation to his own advantage by leading the ‘barrister’ to believe that the two boys are actually being held in a Khartoum prison and that he needs to go to Sudan personally to bail them out. When the conman from Lagos actually does this, he finds out that he has been duped. One of his last emails, again, attests to the fact that he must have had a terrible time in Khartoum: “I went to Kober prison and was met with hostility. The officials there denied having the boys with them. I was made to feel like a fool. This stress is more than I am able to continue with. If I go back to Nigeria without the boys I am dead.”<sup>25</sup>

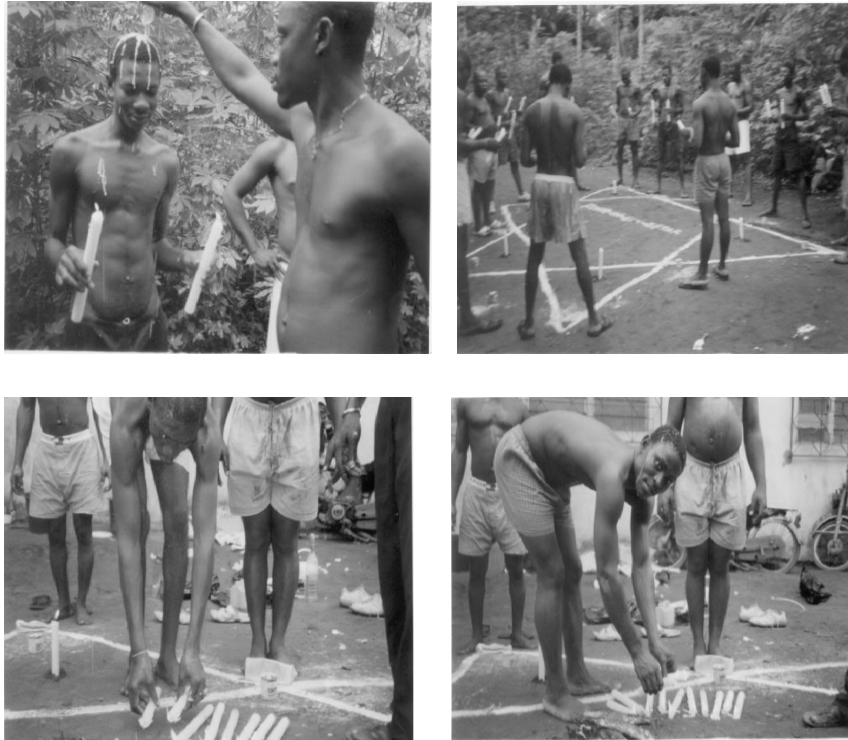
### **Church Baits: Scripting Rituals for Scammers**

In terms of the logic of scambaiting, the fact that the so-called safari baits, do not produce much visual evidence of a scammer's humiliation must be considered as a disadvantage. Although the scammer's "safari" actually takes place and may be verified by checking the IP addresses of computers used to send emails over the course of the journey, images of the journey usually do not exist. This means that scambaiters have to rely on the written reports provided by the scammer or their own imaginations to visualize the hardship their victim endures on his journey. Other bait scripts are more efficient when it comes to harvesting visual trophies, i.e. images that not only prove the scambaiters' agency but may also be used as evidence of the scammers' foolishness.

These other scripts include so-called church baits, which have been used by scambaiters to manipulate scammers into producing entire series of photographs documenting dubious rituals. These rituals must be performed by the scammers in accordance with detailed scripts drafted by the scambaiters who claim that the rituals are initiations into fictitious churches, which provide grants to their members. Such baits appear to be based on a blueprint of African religiosity as revelling in strange rituals and occult practices. However, the scammers rarely send as perfect a template as that sent by a Nigerian scammer who left a message on the website of a fake church (set up by a scambaiter to attract charity scammers) requesting a modest grant of GBP 2000 to sponsor ...

... A TWO WEEK CRUSADE IN A REMOTE AND FETISH VILLAGE TO RID IT OF ITS AGE LONG FEMALE DEITY BELIEVED TO BE EATING UP FEOTUS/EMBRYO MONTHLY FOR SACRIFISE. MANY ATTEMPTS TO GET RID OF IT PREVIOUSLY HAD SOME RESULTANT FATAL EFFECTS ON THE TEAM BUT NOW, REKNOWNED MEN OF GOD ARE WILLING TO COME WITH ME IF I AM READY. VERY STRONG MEN OF GOD EVEN SOME FROM GHANA.<sup>26</sup>

The scambaiter picks up on this and tricks the scammer into actually staging a "cleansing ritual" involving twelve other people to invoke a certain guardian spirit, "Fohr-Un-Ein-Eetar," "who was personally blessed by his eminence, Pope John Paul of the Vatican whilst he was on a visit to our church in the UK, her power is beyond anything you have there, and we use her in our cleansing ceremonies when performing exorcisms on haunted houses and against poltergeists (...)."<sup>27</sup>



**Fig. 3.** Alleged scammers performing a “ritual” following detailed instructions provided by a scambaiter

The cleansing ritual, which was enacted on the basis of a detailed script provided by the scambaiter and is on display in a series of 162 photos, actually looks like a cabalistic fantasy comprising Solomon’s seal, candles, milk and honey, fish and bread. Of course, such images say more about the mindset of the scambaiter than about any African belief system, and by displaying bare-chested Africans involved in strange ritual practices, they appear to attest to stereotypical notions of African religiosity.

A church bait of this nature, initiated through the website of a fake church set up by a scambaiter as a trap to attract scammers, raises a fundamental problem inherent in all baits that use fake websites. The website may attract visitors who are genuinely interested in the grants the church offers. The site of “The Church of Goodwill,” which was used in this scambait, looks quite genuine – to the unsuspecting eye, at least – and not so

different, for example, from the site of the “Goodwill Church,” a real church with a similar name.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, the question arises as to how the scambaiter can be certain that he is dealing with a scammer and not with someone who is genuinely looking for the assistance of a foreign church in sponsoring a crusade. After all, crusades like that mentioned by the alleged scammer are frequently organized by all kinds of independent churches in Nigeria.

The scambaiter tells his readers only that his correspondence is with “a known Nigerian charity scammer called, Donald Pedro,” who “rips off churches and charities,” a claim that is not substantiated anywhere. Early in this ‘bait’, after the scambaiter had given his detailed script to the alleged scammer, a period of time passed when no further communication took place until the latter sent a message which – in my eyes at least – raises some doubt about the true nature of this scammer. Even the scambaiter appears puzzled when he notes: “I have received a strange email from the fetish lad, talking about killings, machete attacks, riots, etc. not heard from him since 10 days ago on June 9<sup>th</sup>, now this, bullshit or true, hmmm, bear in mind he is a lad and no photos were attached of the bulldozers or of the cleansing ceremony, vivid imagination?” The message reads as this:

DEAR FATHER O'H(anlon),

(...) HEAR WHAT HAPPENED TO US;  
AS WE EMBARKED ON THE CLEANSING EXERCISE  
AS YOU DIRECTED IN THE FRONT OF THE EVIL  
DEITY'S SHRINE, WE NEVER KNEW THAT THE CHIEF  
PRIEST OF THE SHRINE AS WELL AS HIS COHORTS  
HAD PREMONITIONS ABOUT OUR OPERATIONS  
AND INTERCEPTED THE CLEANSING EXERCISE.  
WHILE THE 13TH MEMBER WAS ABOUT LIGHTING  
THE FIRST CANDLE, WE STARTED SHOUTING "Fohr-  
Un-Ein-Eetar" AND ONE OF OUR MEMBERS WHO WAS  
NOT IN THE 13 GROUP BUT WAS OUTSIDE POINTED  
HIS CRUSIFIX AT THE CHIEF PRIEST AND  
SUDDENLY THE EVIL MAM BECAME EPILEPTIC  
AND STARTED FOAMING FROM HIS MOUTH AND  
RIGHT NOW HE HAS DEVELOPED A PARTIAL  
STROKE AND THIS MADE HIS COHORTS TO INFLICT  
HEAVY MATCHET CUTS ON OUR MEMBERS AND  
UNFORTUNATELY ONE OF OUR FEMALE MEMBER  
DIED ON THE SPOT.

THIS OBSCURE AND RANCOUR ATTRACTED THE POLICE WHICH BUNDLED WE UNINJURED TO THE CELL WHILE THE CORPSE AND THE INJURED WERE RUSHED TO THE HOSPITAL.

I WAS JUST GRANTED BAIL THIS MORNING AND I DECIDED AFTER TAKING A GOOD SHOWER TO CHECK MY MAIL IN ANTICIPATION THAT YOU MUST HAVE BEEN WORRIED OVER ME BUT NOT. MY CHURCH MEMBERS WHO CAME TO OUR RESCUE HAVE BEEN ASKING ME IF MY DIRECTOR BEING YOU IS AWARE OF THE MISHAP BUT I SAID NO SINCE I COULD GET FREEDOM AND ACCESS TO EMAIL.

BUT TO GOD BE THE GLORY THAT EVERY DISAPPOINTMENT IS A BLESSING.

THE YOUTHS OF THE COMMUNITY IN OUR SUPPORT WENT ON A RAMPAGE TO THE STATE GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE AGAINST THE DEITY AND THREATENED A RIOT IF THE SHRINE WAS NOT DEMOLISHED. CONSIDERING WHAT THEY DID TO US [MESSENGERS OF GOD] AND THIS PROMPTED THE DISPATCH OF THREE BULLDOZERS BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DESTROY THE SHRINE WHILE WE WERE STILL IN DETENTION BUT FORTUNATELY, THE YOUTHS WHO WERE IN POSSESSION OF THE BANNERS WE MADE TIED THEM ON ONLY ONE OF THE BULLDOZERS.

FOR NOW THE SHRINE HAS BEEN DEMOLISHED AS PLANNED BUT WE LOST A MEMBER AS WELL AS GOT INJURED.

LOOKING FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU.

REGARDS,  
BROTHER DONALD

To my mind, this description – like several others that follow in this particular bait – sounds quite genuine. This could be either a sign of the mastery of this particular scammer, if he truly is one, or, indeed, of the genuine nature of the message. Although the scambaiter appears to be unsure as to the true nature of this message, he certainly knows how to exploit its content to his own advantage. He tells Donald that he is in great danger now.

As only half of the cleansing ritual has been performed, the spirit Fohr-Un-Ein-Eetar is in limbo and may turn against those who invoked him. The alleged scammer appears to be worried and agrees to perform the ritual again and to send the photographs requested by the baiter. Nevertheless, the unresolved question about the validity of the first aborted ‘cleansing ritual’ somehow leaves a crack in the scambaiter’s framework.

Several of his editorial comments, which are directed towards us, his readers, attempt to repair this crack. He is thus quick to downplay Donald’s concern as “more likely false worry as he probably never did the ceremony in the first place,” refers to him as “dumbass” and “idiot,” and calls his plea for financial help to take care of “the dead sister in the morgue,” as well as those injured during the first ceremony “lies.” Such editorial comments are essential to secure the moral legitimacy of scambaiting, which rests on framing its performance as a battle between professional liars, who lie for individual material gains, and professional liars, who deceive the former for the sake of a greater good – to prevent crime and protect the innocent.

#### **Contested Imaginaries and Narcissistic Injuries**

Anton Kirchhofer (2009: 185) who studied scambaiting as a literary genre, observes that “the effort to secure the legitimacy of scambaiting requires of its practitioners a complex negotiation of difference.” In order to avoid accusations of racism, scambaiters must downplay the difference in skin colour between themselves and those they bait – a difference that is impossible to overlook even with the most cursory glance at any scambaiting website – and instead highlight an ethical difference between their targets, the criminals, and themselves, the criminal hunters.

This negotiation of difference takes place in editorials, FAQ sections, and disclaimers against racism. The baiters address their audience through such paratexts, which can be found on most scambaiting sites. “We at ebolamonkeyman.com are not racist nor do we have any associations with racist people of any sex or persuasion,” writes scambaiter Ebolamonkeyman on his entry page,<sup>29</sup> and 419Eater.com informs its readers: “In no way whatsoever do any self-respecting ‘scambaiters’ deliberately target people purely because of the colour of their skin. It is worth noting that it is the 419 criminals who contact us, not the other way around.”<sup>30</sup> References to the exclusion of community members who have used racist aliases or have been found to be members of web communities with overtly racist orientations appear to substantiate this claim. Likewise, reference to the occasional African, even Nigerian, in their own ranks along with the fact that scammers also target Black people serves to prove the sincerity of the vigilantes’ claims.



A look at the ‘hate mail’ section<sup>31</sup> of ebolamonkeyman.com clearly shows that several visitors to this site do not buy into the scambaiter’s racism disclaimer, a look at his “fan mail” would suggest the opposite, however. Unfortunately, this site is the only one that publishes such audience feedback, although it is undoubtedly received by all of the other sites. Comments on video clips uploaded on YouTube provide another means of gaining insight into how internet users perceive scambaiting. For example, comments on a clip entitled “We are the baiters,” which was produced by several members of theScamBaiter.com,<sup>32</sup> suggest that the scambaiters’ bargaining on “ethical capital” (Kirchhofer: 2009:185) yields results. “I admire the time and effort you all put in scam baiting. I’ve read quite a few bait-stories and I love the creativity of excuses and requests you make up!Keep it up!” writes one commentator and another states: “Scambaiters are awesome! I love you guys – you’re like real life super heroes!”<sup>33</sup> The last comment is especially revealing. Although the buckets and lampshades the scambaiters use to disguise their faces in this video are a far cry from the fancy masks and costumes of comic book super heroes, the comparison with such mythological figures fits in well with how scambaiters conceptualize themselves and their task. Like American super heroes, they work on a basis of strict anonymity and strive to protect a community against dangerous evil forces coming from ‘outside’, which cannot be effectively controlled by official law enforcement agencies. Moreover, according to the scambaiters’ song, the community whose wellbeing is at stake, is no longer territorially bounded – Gotham City or America – but “the web.”

The video clip itself is revealing as another paratext of scambaiting. Deliberately ironic, it borrows its tune from the 1985 hit song “We are the world,” which was produced by a coalition of international black artists labelled “United Support of Artists for Africa” (short: USA for Africa) as a fundraising project with the aim of fighting poverty in Africa. Unlike the artists of USA for Africa, the scambaiters of the video all appear to be white, which gives scambaiting the connotation of a latter-day “white man’s burden” (cf. Kipling).<sup>34</sup> The lyrics of “We are the baiters,” which at once are a manifesto and call to arms, are worth quoting at length:

Online crime, it needs to take a fall / when the web must  
come together as one / There are people trying / Oh, they try  
and hide these crimes from us / the greatest task of all / It  
can’t go on / We hear it every day / when someone will lose  
all they have / Now, I am part of a place called TSB /  
Fighting scams, you know it’s just what we need /

*Chorus:* We are your friends / We are the baiters / We are the ones who make the scammers pay / So let's start baiting / We are anti-scammers / We are helping to fight crime / It's true we make the scammers pay / at TSB /

We waste their time / so they don't have time to scam / They fill our forms / take snaps for us to see / And when they send in / the photos they have made / We tell them 'wrong' / 'Take them again for me' /

*Chorus*

When you are running out / of things to make them do / Ask your baiting friends / and they'll give advice to you / Yes, Yes, Yes, Yes / Let's realize, that a change can only come / When we bait together as one / Yeah, Yeah, Yeah, Yeah /<sup>35</sup>

This matches the statements scambaiters make about their objectives elsewhere when they describe themselves as “sporting people out there in cyberspace (...) ready to play the scammers at their own game (...) with the sole objective of trying to waste as much of the scammer’s time and resources as possible,” thus “distracting them from taking money off the compassionate and gullible” (Berry aka Shiver Metimbers 2006: 4). It is perhaps revealing that two still images used in the video clip show white men with fire arms, one dressed in military camouflage holding an automatic rifle, the other one pointing a gun. “Sporting people” may, therefore, infer a different meaning here. Moreover, the term “baiting”, not only refers to the setting of a trap to catch an animal. As Kirchhofer (2009: 187) reminds us, it also involves a particular kind of blood sport, in which an animal or a person is tormented and harassed for the enjoyment of spectators. Accordingly, the old English blood sport of bear-baiting finds its more recent equivalents in bull-baiting, “red-baiting” – referring to the harassing of communists in America during the 1920s and 1950s – and “negro-baiting” – associated with the Jim Crow period. It may come as no surprise to learn, therefore, that the skull avatar of “Nailgunner,” one of 419Eater.com’s members, is surrounded by an epithet that reads: “Scambaiting – the 21<sup>st</sup> C(entury) bloodsport.”

The fact that scambaiters fight scammers using the same basic tricks that the scammers use on their victims, thereby blurring the lines between good and bad and adding to the difficulty of boundary maintenance, is not lost on the critics of scambaiting. As one comment on the scambaiters’ song notes: “Scammer baiter = scammer too”. Depending on the observer’s ethical perspective, the scambaiters’ aim to “aggravate and humiliate”<sup>36</sup> scammers may not help them in gaining ethical capital either. “Making scammers pay,”

as the song's chorus puts it, tastes of retaliation and self-justice, practices many people object to or view as ethically problematic at least. Hence, the scambaiters feel the need to caution their readers against sympathizing with the scammers duped by them: "Feel sorry for Martins?" writes Shiver Metimbers in an editorial to one of his baits, "DON'T! Martins makes a career out of stealing money from people on a daily basis. Like most other scammers he has absolutely no compassion or feelings of guilt, and more likely he would cut your throat for a few dollars if you were ever foolish enough to bump into him on his own turf" (in: Kirchhofer 2009:184).

Others quote real 419 victims they have met or exchanged emails with, tragic cases such as a "53 year old disabled man (from Florida) whose house is being foreclosed" and is about to commit suicide<sup>37</sup> and that of the Greek business man, George Makronelli, who was lured to South Africa by 419 fraudsters who then kidnapped and murdered him when his family refused to pay the ransom.<sup>38</sup> The message of this rhetoric is clear: scammers are criminals who deserve no better than to suffer humiliation at the hands of those who fight crime and protect the innocent. Even if this 'humiliation' no longer assumes symbolic forms and is achieved by sending scammers on dangerous trips into deserts or war zones, the scambaiter's responsibility for setting the traps is downplayed and shifted to the scammers:

I have heard people claim that the baiter would be responsible if the criminal being baited was hurt during the bait. If I had a bag of money, tossed it off a cliff, and a person jumped off the cliff after the money, would I be responsible for that person being killed? I would say no, even if I had a pretty good idea that the person was going to go after the money if I tossed it. I did not make the person jump. They chose to do it on their own. Did the person know that there was danger in jumping? Yes.<sup>39</sup>

Kirchhofer (2009: 189) concludes that the "characteristic work of transforming race into ethics shows everywhere in the genre." A number of the prominent 'baits' I have discussed above, however, call into question whether this transformation actually works beyond the editorial comments and disclaimers. As I have tried to demonstrate, many scambaits are deeply infested by stereotypes that can scarcely conceal their racist origins. This is not to say that scambaiters are necessarily racist. At the very least, however, they fail to reflect on some of the basic assumptions that inform their writing. What is above all problematic about the practice of scambaiting is the fact that it helps to perpetuate a familiar pattern that equates 'black' with

dishonesty and selfishness and ‘white’ with “integrity and self-sacrifice for the sake of a higher good” (Kirchhofer 2009: 189).

### **Conclusion**

In their endeavours to punish African scammers and prevent 419 scams, scambaiters have copied the strategies of their enemies – the invention of fictitious personalities, the promise of large fortunes or gains in material wealth as baits, the mimicry of bureaucratic paperwork, the provision of fake visual evidence using counterfeit documents and websites of fake institutions, authentication through intertextual links to genuine media, the use of multiple communication technologies, etc. In fact, their endeavours to beat the scammers with their own weapons, “to let them taste some of their own medicine” – as I read somewhere on a scambaiting forum – makes the vigilantes resemble the very criminals they engage with even more than they would probably wish to admit.

That the good becomes infested by the bad – the very old topos of hunter resembling the hunted, a sheriff the outlaw he pursues – is perhaps inevitable in a game of entrapment and revenge, such as scambaiting. Not only did vigilantes borrow their basic strategies from the scammers, they also refer to their victims in scammer parlance as *mugus*, and sometimes delight in mimicking Nigerian English in in-group discussions. The fact that they use hunting metaphors to refer to their activities is something else the two groups have in common. Like the scambaiters who consider scambaiting a “21<sup>st</sup> century’s blood sport” and speak about “traps” and “baits,” the scammers also consider themselves as hunters who are out for prey and sometimes refer to their victims as *mgbada*, an Igbo term meaning “antelope” (Igwe 2007: 94).

Although they do it for different reasons, both groups work with codes in their written texts which are only partially decodable by the primary addressees. While scambaiters often draw on Western popular culture in naming their fictitious scambaiting personalities with the intention of ridiculing the scammers who do not recognize such references, the scammers sometimes name their fictitious personnel using Igbo phrases that may sound like strange African names to European ears but are, in fact, a form of sympathetic magic or even mockery. The name Barrister Egobia, which appeared as signatory in thousands of scam letters issued around the year 2000, thus translates as “Barrister money-come!,” and Ibu Onye Biribe, who signed a dubious business proposal, literally means “you are a fool” (Smith 2007: 41). Finally, scammers and scambaiters appear to devote equally huge amounts of time to their activities. Keeping scammers busy, means that a scambaiter has to keep himself busy, too. Eve Edelson (2006: 9) thus

advises: “Be warned that anti-scamming may become an obsession, which alienates your friends.”

Despite the difference in their primary goals – scammers are driven by the prospect of misappropriating money, scambaiters by crime prevention and a desire to punish – both are equally united in a discourse about retaliation and revenge. The fraudsters justify their scams as retribution for the centuries of exploitation suffered by Africans at the hands of Europeans and Americans (Igwe 2007: 7–9). They thus link individual criminal acts to a collective trauma. To my mind, this looks like a secondary justification, which serves to diminish the crime. Nevertheless, it appears to have some currency in Nigeria. As may be expected, scambaiters refute this justification, and remind their critics that scammers should not be considered social bandits but ordinary thieves.<sup>40</sup>

What is remarkable about the scammers’ claim to revenge, however, is the binary logic of black versus white that it introduces. In their genre’s paratext, which is crucial to the scambaiter’s complex negotiation of difference, the cyber vigilantes deny that their own activities are informed by the colour of their adversaries’ skin. Nevertheless, the reproduction of a very similar binary logic is deeply rooted in the structure of the genre. Scamming is mostly a communication between only two people – the scammer and the victim. Scambaiting is based on at least two different sets of communication: one between scambaiter and his victim (the scammer) and another one between the scambaiter and a community of like-minded individuals. This community, which constitutes the audience for scambaiting, is not just out there in cyber space but built into and shaped by the first set of communications (i.e. between scambaiter and scammer).

Scambaiters deliberately load their emails to scammers with a host of references to British or American popular culture in order to ridicule the scammers who are unable to decode such references. This inevitably limits the scambaiting audience to people familiar with Western cultural products, such as *Moby Dick*, *Frankenstein*, *Star Wars*, and *The Simpsons*, whose command of English is also good enough to enable them to follow the ironic use of language that is so characteristic of many baits. Needless to say, Americans, British and Australians, followed by Europeans and other inhabitants of the global north who have learned English as a second language and are acquainted with the former’s cultural products, are most likely to belong to this category. Othering is a constitutive element of scambaiting and is deeply built into the genre. The other of the scambaiter is thus constructed not only as a moral other – a criminal – but also as someone who does not belong to Euro-America and its extensions in the global north. Since the vast majority of scammers with whom the scambaiters

communicate come from Africa, the circle of the scambaiters' others is further reduced. Scambaiting reproduces *de facto* a binary logic of 'us and them,' which comes very close to the 'black versus white' logic of the scammers.

Scambaiters construe their activities as a public service.<sup>41</sup> Organized in groups of like-minded vigilantes, they protect and defend a public constituted by members of their own kind – the global north with its European and American core – against a threat from outside. Emanating from Africa or from Africans who live abroad, this threat has something unexpected about it because it originates from a people, whom the dominant Euro-American historical narrative accords a lack of agency. Hence, scambaiters defend not only their own kind but also the dominant historical narrative of their kind. I would assume that scambaiters identify with their own group to such an extent that they experience this threat to their world order as narcissistic injury; after all, ethnocentrism is egocentrism writ large. Scambaiting might, therefore, be understood as a symptom of narcissistic rage (Kohut 1972). This would explain the urge for retaliation and the extreme forms assumed by the punishments meted out by the scammers.

As I have shown, such forms are semantically related to long-standing Euro-American stereotypes of Africans, constructs that already served to establish a substantial difference between the 'West and the rest' at the time of their historical emergence. Socially, the extreme forms of collective punishment executed by scambaiters fulfil the same functions as other forms of mob justice. Even if it was only symbolic, the collective castration of Simeon constitutes the scambaiters as a community of like-minded individuals and allows every member to experience the power of that community. Thus, scambaiting is not only a matter of "fighting scammers worldwide for fun and justice,"<sup>42</sup> but probably more concerned with regaining agency. This would also explain why scambaiters are so obsessed with sending scammers on futile journeys or having them perform an assignment scripted by them. Moving the scammers around like puppets on strings surely satisfies their narcissistic fantasies of omnipotence.

One puzzle that remains is the question as to why the African scammers fall for their own tricks. Given that the strategies of scambaiters are more or less an exact reversal of the scamming tactics used by Nigerian conmen, one would expect the scammers to be able to detect such fraudulent propositions easily and avoid them. One answer lies in the fact that, despite the magnitude of successful scambaits, we simply do not know how many attempts at scambaiting remain futile. Reading between the lines on scambaiter forums, I suspect that the success rate enjoyed by the scambaiters is not much higher than that achieved by the scammers (i.e. less than two percent). Given the

large number of young inexperienced recruits among the scammers, it may also be assumed that scambaiters are probably most successful among such naïve newcomers.

On another level, I would suggest that scambaits have the potential to be successful, precisely because – like the original 419 scams – they feed into existing stereotypes about the other prevalent among those who receive the ‘proposal’ and eventually swallow the bait. African imaginations of life in Europe and America may thus turn out to be as fantastic and factoidal as the common European or American imagination of Africa. To a certain extent, strange things appear to be possible on the respective other side and this is even more likely to be the case if these somehow connect to the snippets about life abroad heard of, read about in magazines and seen in movies, television or the internet.

African scammers who fall for scambaits do so for precisely the same reasons that Europeans and Americans fall victim to scams. The equivalent of the dictator’s widow looking for assistance in the transfer of stolen millions, the dubious solicitor in search of the next-of-kin of a dead expatriate and the maltreated orphaned heiress of millions on the one side, the sponsor of upcoming African artists, the porn film agent casting new talent and the missionary on a humanitarian mission to Darfur on the other. They are all more or less conceivable, depending on the location and cultural context from which they are considered. The fact that scambaiters have even been successful with absurd stories, such as Darth Vader making a living as a zucchini farmer in Australia, does not necessarily attest to the naivety of the scammer. Scammers probably assume that their targets are likely to include people who are somehow strange anyway – so what if a certain zucchini-growing Darth Vader has problems with a daughter taking part in a wet T-shirt contest and takes the trouble to tell him about it?

Even the fact that a scammer does not immediately recognize the name of his “business partner” as belonging to the *Star Wars* storyworld says nothing beyond the fact that the George Lucas saga is probably unknown among large segments of the Nigerian society, just as the allusion to Nigerian sympathetic magic encapsulated in the name of “Barrister Egobia” is lost on the average target in Europe and America.

Another possible explanation as to why scammers do not immediately identify a bait as an attempt to poke fun at them could be that they are somewhat blinded by the routine of their own tactics, which aim to extract advance fees from their victims, and, therefore, merely scan and skim the elaborate emails from the scambaiters – this possibility is considered by scambaiters in their internal discussions. Finally, in the case of extreme “trophy baits,” which aim to persuade scammers to perform actions that

clearly go against the ethics of their own societies, for example, the symbolical castration of Simeon, a certain cultural explanation should, perhaps, also be considered. Stories about the quests that struggling young men must overcome to gain success and wealth in Nigeria abound. Moreover, Nollywood has visualized such quests for the rapid accumulation of wealth as being full of occult practices, in which a man desperate enough to get rich quick must participate. Seen in this light, taking a picture of oneself posing naked as a woman may be rationalized by the scammer, who finally succumbs to such an ordeal, as just another form of a strange initiation ritual that so-called ritualists are said to expect from their neophytes. Seen from this perspective, such images and videos lose any vestiges of entertainment value or humour they may have had and become a sad expression of these young men's desperation to partake in the good life – a desperation that drives them to throw away their sense of dignity and self-respect in the pursuit of money.

### Notes

1. A non-comprehensive list of other sites includes: [sweetchillisauce.com](http://sweetchillisauce.com), [whatsthebloodypoint.com](http://whatsthebloodypoint.com), [baita.mugu.co.uk](http://baita.mugu.co.uk), [scambuster419.co.uk](http://scambuster419.co.uk), [419baiter.com](http://419baiter.com), [scambaits.com](http://scambaits.com).
2. <http://sweetchillisauce.com/ntales/vader1.html>
3. For another account of the evolution of scambaiting during the past decade see Kirchhofer (2009: 174–185).
4. <http://sweetchillisauce.com/ntales/vader9.html>
5. <http://www.419eater.com/html/tope.htm>
6. [http://www.419eater.com/html/ahmed\\_sadiq.htm](http://www.419eater.com/html/ahmed_sadiq.htm)
7. Another “tattoo bait” can be found at 419Eater.com (<http://forum.419eater.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=178558>). Members of this community can also claim a special award if they succeeded in getting a scammer tattooed. This appears as a special sign in the footer of their messages posted to the community's discussion forums.
8. <http://thescambaiter.com/forum/showthread.php?t=10594>
9. <http://thescambaiter.com/forum/showthread.php?t=10594>
10. <http://thescambaiter.com/forum/showthread.php?t=8234&highlight=Cyzinya>
11. <http://pugwash.100free.com/patrickbait2.htm>
12. <http://thescambaiter.com/forum/vbimgghost.php?do=displayimg&imgid=4240>
13. In the above-mentioned porn film bait, for example, the scammer is led to believe that he needs to increase the size of his sexual organ. To this end the scambaiter sends him a cream that he must apply to his penis. At the same time the scambaiter reveals the ingredients to members of the scambaiting website, who delight in envisioning the devastating effect it will have on the poor



scammer's member when they learn that it is made of hot chili sauce and other skin irritating substances.

14. <http://thescambaiter.com/forum/showthread.php?t=10594&page=98>
15. See for example a Fox news documentary on scambaiting featuring Anthony, a.k.a. theFailure (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whHEaenkY6M>) and the video clip "We are the baiters" featuring several members of TheScamBaiter.com (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywZRZ9ojVGM&feature=related>).
16. <http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/index.html>
17. <http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/safari3.html>
18. In fact I did the same, and thus learned about the Benguela current, a northward flowing ocean current that at least could carry something from Namibia to Angola.
19. [http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/newsarticle\\_small.jpg](http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/newsarticle_small.jpg)
20. <http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/boat.jpg>
21. <http://www.419eater.com/html/SkeletonCoast/safari7.html>
22. Another prominent example is a collaborative scambait carried out by three scambaiters published as "The road to nowhere" ([http://www.419eater.com/html/martins\\_davis.htm](http://www.419eater.com/html/martins_davis.htm)).
23. References to the fact that a scambaiter spilled his beer or even sprayed a mouthful of it all over his screen because he exploded with laughter while looking at a new entry or image are frequently made in scambaiting forums.
24. Earlier on, on learning from 'barrister' which road the two boys took, he makes the following comment which is aimed at his readers: "This area of West Darfur is extremely violent and dangerous. There are an estimated 500 people a day getting killed in this part of the country. Satellite images show entire villages have been burned to the ground." (<http://www.419eater.com/html/RoadToChadDarfur/safari4.html>).
25. <http://www.419eater.com/html/RoadToChadDarfur/safari5.html>
26. [http://www.419eater.com/html/user\\_sub/crusade/crusade-to-a-fetish-village.html](http://www.419eater.com/html/user_sub/crusade/crusade-to-a-fetish-village.html)
27. [http://www.419eater.com/html/user\\_sub/crusade/crusade-to-a-fetish-village.html](http://www.419eater.com/html/user_sub/crusade/crusade-to-a-fetish-village.html)
28. The address of the fake church is <http://www.churchofgoodwill.int.tc/> and that of the genuine church <http://www.goodwillchurch.com/>.
29. <http://www.ebolamonkeyman.com/>
30. <http://www.419eater.com/html/info.htm>
31. <http://www.ebolamonkeyman.com/mail.htm>
32. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywZRZ9ojVGM>
33. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywZRZ9ojVGM>
34. I owe this particular reference to Kirchhofer (2009: 188), however he uses it in a different sense.
35. Transcript from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ywZRZ9ojVGM>
36. From a statement of the theScamBaiter.com's entry page (<http://www.thescambaiter.com/>).

37. YeahWhatever,  
<http://www.419eater.com/html/RoadToChadDarfur/opinion.html>
38. <http://www.419eater.com/html/ethics.htm>
39. YeahWhatever,  
<http://www.419eater.com/html/RoadToChadDarfur/opinion.html>
40. See point five of 419Eater's "Ethics of scambaiting"  
(<http://www.419eater.com/html/ethics.htm>)
41. See for example the entry page of 419Eater.com (<http://419eater.com/>).
42. Thus reads the epithet of theScamBaiter.com – however debatable the semantics of 'worldwide,' 'fun' and 'justice' may turn out to be.

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## **Popular Culture and Transglobalization as Domains for Social Identities in Africa**

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### **Social Hegemony and the Concept of Popular Culture**

The field of popular culture has always attracted negative responses from the dominant social groups, which exercise authority and hegemony in society. This explains why John Storey submits that issues related to the field have always been cast in binary opposition between “culture and anarchy” in Arnoldian terms. According to this pattern of thinking, culture was seen as “the best that has been thought and said in the world” (as cited in Storey, 2006, p.3). In this binary opposition, “popular culture,” being the domain of the oppressed working class, was perceived to pose anarchy to the established hegemonic institutions and moral values of the society. In paternalistic terms, this resulted in anxiety on what to do with the polluting influence of the degenerative artistic practices and moral values of the working class.

In contradiction to the above liberal humanist approach to popular culture represented by the works of scholars, such as Matthew Arnold and F.R. Leavis (*Culture and Anarchy* and *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*, respectively), is the Marxist approach to popular culture, which, according to John Storey, is “situated within Marxism’s wider concerns.” Storey submits that Marxism is “a body of political theory with the purpose of changing the world.” This radical project of commitment to change the world is the defining feature of Marxist critical theory.

Antonio Gramsci in “Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State,” argues that the “supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as “domination” and as “intellectual and moral leadership” (2006, p.85). The concept of hegemony makes allowances for the interest and the tendencies of the group over which hegemony is exercised. It also requires some level of economic sacrifices on the part of the dominant group, but such sacrifices

must not tamper with the foundational basis and authority of the dominant class. The dominant class must exercise hegemony to foster a political consciousness that is all embracing and inclusive to the extent that the subordinate classes can perceive their interest through the ideological filters provided by state institutions. The scholarly views of Antonio Gramsci help to explain the paternalistic attitudes of the elites in African societies toward popular culture. The conditions of post-coloniality which has vested power in the educated classes which form the elite class in society also ensure that they should provide intellectual and moral leadership in the post-colonial state, thereby conflating and superimposing their values on the subordinate classes across Africa.

### **Transglobalization, African Popular Culture and Social Identity**

In his article, "The Popular Economy," John Fiske has emphasized the need to distinguish between the two types of economies in every society: "the financial economy" and "the cultural economy." Working within the concept of "cultural commodities," Fiske has noted that, though cultural goods do not have a clearly-defined use-value, they do "have a more clearly identifiable exchange-value which the technology of reproduction has put under severe pressure." According to Fiske, the media for the propagation of cultural commodities, such as photocopiers, radio, television, film, posters, popular literature, music and so on, are "agents of popular power, and thus the producers and distributors have had to argue for elaborations and extensions of copyright laws to maintain some control over exchange-value..."

Of course, such agitations have largely been unsuccessful because the dubbing of radio, TV and films are widespread and socially acceptable. Fiske's argument, which is imperative to issues of popular culture and the construction of social identities fully explains what is exchanged and circulated through cultural commodities. For instance, he argues that cultural commodities cannot be adequately explained in financial terms alone because the issue of circulation that is crucial to its popularity occurs in the parallel economy, which is the cultural economy. Most importantly, what is exchanged and circulated through the cultural economy is not "*wealth but meanings, pleasures and social identities* (my emphasis)" (Fiske, 2006, p.53).

While agreeing that commodities primarily based on the financial economy work in the cultural economy also, consumer choice between similar commodities is often not between competing use-values but between cultural values in terms of the "selection of meanings, pleasures, and social identity for the consumer" (p.539). The dominant class in every society finds it difficult to totally suppress or clamp down on popular culture because it

provides a source of social meaning, aesthetic pleasure and social identity to the masses. This is because popular culture circulates and flourishes in the fringe economy, black market or underground market to the chagrin of the dominant class.

Writing on the concept of transglobalization, Adamu (2006) has argued in his article entitled, "Transglobal Media Flows and African Popular Culture: Revolution and Reaction in Muslim Hausa Popular Culture," that:

No social system can remain insulated or isolated from the dynamics of global media eddies, especially a society making a transition from a traditional society to a cosmopolitan one. In studying the eddy of transfusion of media messages from various locations to others, four distinct terms, often used interchangeably, emerge: globalization, transglobalization, transnationalism... and glocalization (Adamu, 2006, p.3).

The discourses of globalization, transglobalization, transnationalism and glocalization are loosely interrelated in attempting to explain the media driven transnational hybridization and popularization of cultural commodities, which authoritarian regimes and cultural nationalists find difficult to contain because of the power and influence of the informal economic sector, which provides aspects of its engine room, but also because of the meaning, pleasure and social identities constructed from them. The transgressive nature of the spirit of the age is appropriately captured by Peter Smith in the "Introduction" to *Transnationalism from Below*:

Expansion of transnational capital and mass media to even the remotest of hinterlands has provoked a spate of discourses on "globalization," "transnationalism," and the "crisis of the nation-state." A core theme in these discourses is the penetration of national cultures and political systems by global and local driving forces. The nation-state is seen as weakened "from above" by transnational capital, global media, and emergent supra-national political institutions. "From below" it faces the decentering "local" resistances of the informal economy, ethnic nationalism, and grassroots activism. These developments are sometimes viewed in celebratory terms. For some, they bring market rationality and liberalism to a disorderly world "from above." For others, they generate conditions conducive to the creation of

a new liberatory practices and spaces “from below” like transnational migration and its attendant cultural hybridity (as cited in Adamu, 2006, p.4).

Cultural hybridity is the defining character of the transglobal world. In the domain of literature, fine art, film, radio, television, the popular press or popular culture in general, the masses are daily trying to re-invent themselves by cannibalizing images from both the global and local media in attempts to construct and re-construct for themselves images of modernity that are transgressive and yet reassuring that they are moving with the spirit of the age as Africans and as citizens of the world.

### **African Popular Literatures, Performances and Social Identities in a Transglobalized World**

Popular culture as the domain of the masses is, therefore, a transgressive affront which elites find difficult to understand, appreciate or accept. They are perceived to be a source of pollutants to the delicate nostrils of the elites who use the instrument of cultural nationalism to condemn what they perceive to be the international display of the dirty and tattered cultural fabric of the nation before the rest of the civilized world. In our analysis of the aspects of the Nigerian video film industry known internationally as Nollywood, these sentiments are openly expressed. The same goes for the hip-hop music culture and popular literature. I shall return to these issues later on.

The concept of transglobalization is driven by the mass media. This fact has been re-emphasized by Karin Barber in her article, “Orality, the Media and New Popular Cultures in Africa.” In this article, she has magisterially argued that the print and electronic media “have had profound transformative effects in African culture.” This is of course true in terms of medium-specific transformation and the modernization of traditional performance practices across Africa. Barber submits that what is now regarded as “popular” as distinct from the “traditional” in African culture was forged in colonial and post-colonial contexts through the instrumentation of print, film, radio, television and the video film. In being subjected to these modern media, the “traditional” has been transformed and modernized (Barber, 2009, p.3).

Writing on the theme of popular culture and oral traditions in the African film, Manthia Diawara makes specific reference to the oral storytelling tradition of the griots as a source for the narrative techniques in the modern African medium of film. He has argued that popular culture is filmed through the incorporation of popular traditional performance practices of songs and dance, the narrative techniques of the griots and through the incorporation of

traditional African social practices like polygamy. According to Diawara, these practices are dexterously employed by Ousmane Sembene in his classic film, *Xala* (Diawara, 1988, pp.6-14). This is one such classic example of an oral practice being transformed and transglobalized by the modern medium of film.

Barber's submission that "live, oral, improvised popular culture with traditional (that is, in some handed down from previous generations) has retained its vitality in most of Africa" (pp.3-4) is thus confirmed by the revitalization of the oral storytelling tradition of the griot system across the continent through the medium of the cinema. It is an institution which has helped to revitalize and popularize traditional African performance practices of storytelling, song and dance, employed to celebrate births, puberty rites, marriage ceremonies, burial rites and other ancillary ceremonies that help to define and characterize who we are as Africans. Karin Barber has given many examples of how traditional oral performance practices are being transformed by modern media in Africa. I will give three examples: the *ebyevugo* Ugandan aristocratic poetry, the *Yoruba popular theatre of Oyin Adejobi* and the *izibongo* workers' poetry of South Africa of the 1980s.

The *ebyevugo* is an aristocratic Battima traditional men's poetry of Western Uganda. It was composed and performed as a personal praise poetry. According to Barber (2006, p.6), "each man composed his own, as part of the process of creating his own manhood. Allusion to his own cattle, and to memorable events he had personally participated in, consolidated and enhanced his social presence in appropriate circumstances – receiving honoured guests, competing with his peers for prestige." This kind of eponymous praise song/names also exists among the Urhobo of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. It is widely used during public ceremonies and receptions. Sometimes these praise names become more popular than the original names given by parents.

The Urhobo praise name poetry is transgender in the sense that older women are sometimes permitted to own and answer a praise name. The Urhobo praise name poetry is also republican in origin and this differentiates it from its Ugandan aristocratic type. Barber has noted that it was unthinkable that a stranger should perform another nobility's *ebyevugo*, especially by people who were untutored in the genre's specialized allusive poetic form. However, as a result of modernity, these long-standing relations between performer, text and audience have been subverted by the peasantry who are getting modernized through migration to towns and cities where there is very little reverence for traditional institutions. In the cities, the non-aristocratic enthusiasts of *ebyevugo* learn and perform these praise poems at weddings or other social ceremonies for fee-paying patrons.



Barber's second example is that of the Yoruba popular theatre practitioner, Oyin Adejobi. He began his professional career as a church choir master in 1948, performing religious compositions. In their quest for local contexts, Radio Nigeria heard one of the performances of Adejobi and his group and provided them a regular slot on radio. This opportunity encouraged Adejobi to start secularizing and expanding the group into a semi-professional concert group called: "Adejobi Singing Party." He also started composing topical, satirical and philosophic songs which became the hallmark of the group.

According to Barber (2006, p.8), it was the fame gained from broadcast radio that enabled Adejobi to make the transition to musical Biblical drama, "a form which had been in existence since the turn of the century, but was given a new lease of life and new creative development in the 1940s." Many church leaders who heard of the group's performances on Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) (now referred to as Radio Nigeria), invited Adejobi to work with their choirs to produce "cantatas" or "native air operas" on Biblical themes. By 1962 when Adejobi decided to turn his group into a professional travelling theatre group, its activities had been long popularized throughout Western Nigeria by Radio Nigeria, Lagos. When the Western Region government of Obafemi Awolowo established the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) in October, 1959, it also started promoting Adejobi Theatre Company performances. By this time, the performances of the company had been transformed to non-Biblical musical dramas, performed live to audiences in Western Nigeria.

The other example of popular oral performance made popular by the transglobal media, which was referenced by Karin Barber, is the *izibongo* workers' poetry of the 1980s in Durban South Africa. These poetic performances were used "to raise political consciousness, forge solidarity or mobilize a political constituency" during those crucial years of anti-Apartheid struggles in South Africa. The oral praise poetry was part of dramatic ensemble performance by the workers. One of them, Alfred T. Qabula, reportedly suggested the introduction of the *izibongo* in praise of the activities of their union, *Federation of South African Trade Unions* (FOSATU), the general council of trade unions. Qabula's suggestion was popularly accepted because the new form of *izibongo* "drew on recognizable features of the older *izibongo* tradition, including performative elements such as style and speed of delivery, intonational contours and costume" (Barber, 2006, p.13). The new genre of *izibongo* also continued the mode of affirmation and validation of identity but this time around, there was a shift from the individual identity of the chief, which was the main emphasis of the

traditional *izibongo* to emphasis on the corporate identity of the unions, in their struggles against apartheid.

The Ghanaian scholar, Kwabena N. Bame (1991, p.iii) in his book, *Profiles in African Traditional Popular Culture: Consensus and Conflict*, has argued that there is the need to study the popular culture of Africa because of the “vital roles they play in the social, psychological, physical and spiritual well-being of the African peoples who engage in them.” In the book, he analyses four African traditional popular cultural genres: traditional dance, drama, festivals and funerals. A typical example is *The Kalela Dance* of the Bisa people of the Copperbelt region of Zambia. The Kalela dance was first researched and documented by Clyde Mitchell in his book, *The Kalela Dance*. In this dance, the Bisa people form themselves into a dancing team headed by a “King” elected by members to organize and supervise the team. The King also acts as the treasurer of the team. According to Bame, the team has a leader who actually leads the dancing, in contrast to the “King.” The team also has other officials they refer to as “Doctor” or “Nursing Sister.” Members of the team attempt to break class barriers and distinction by imitating classes higher than theirs. The “King” wears a suit, collar and tie, a hat and a pair of sunglasses. The “Doctor” is dressed in a typical professional clothing, with a white operating overall, with a red cross in front, while the “Nursing Sister” also wears a white nursing dress, with a mirror which she makes the dancers use to see how well they are dressed. The rest of the team dresses in “well-pressed grey slacks, neat singlets and well-polished shoes” (p.28).

According to Bame, a characteristic of Kalela songs is the element of self-praise which pervades them. The dancers sing in praise of their personal appearance and also extol the virtues and importance of their ethnic group, the Bisa, and of the beauties of their land. Other songs deal with the urban situation in which the dancers find themselves in the midst of ethnic diversity and thus exposed to different languages and customs. He submits that occasionally, some of the songs satirize some customary practices or behaviour they find obnoxious such as the mercenary behaviour of some parents in terms of their children’s marriage partners or people’s preoccupation with adultery cases. Since Kalela dance is part of the popular culture of the Bisa people, its songs deal with commonplace things and events familiar to the audience. The dance also stresses the unity of Bisa people against other ethnic groups of the Copperbelt region. The dance plays some important roles in the social life of its performers. It provides recreation and revitalization for the migrant workers. It was also a source of ethnic solidarity for the team in terms of the songs they compose, which invariably project their ethnic identity.

Nigeria's modern entertainment forms are hybrid by nature in the sense that they are neither forms of traditional African entertainment nor can they be considered pure Western forms. This is, of course, as a result of being subjected to British colonialism. Even though in the heydays of colonial occupation, the British practised a form of colonial policy known as the *policy of association* with the manifest tendency of ruling through traditional African institutions, this in itself did not mean that they had respect for traditional institutions. Both this policy and that of the French known as the *policy of assimilation* denigrated traditional African institutions. In fact, both policies saw traditional African institutions as primitive types, which should be tolerated so long as they did not obstruct colonialism. The only difference was that the French tended, in the early days of their colonial policy, to be accommodative of their subjects who had acquired French education. They were seen as people who could be assimilated into French culture and political institutions.

The British, on the other hand, practised a colour bar policy, which even though was not strictly enforced in a non-settler colony like Nigeria, exhibited a great distrust for educated Africans. The colour bar policy also affected the way they planned the urban centres from where they exercised power. The space of urban planning was conceived in terms of Government Reserved Areas versus Native Quarters, an anomaly which has remained with us till this day. The fact that traditional African belief-systems, which provided the fertile ground for the growth and development of popular culture was thoroughly denigrated by the British colonizers and their missionary allies, Christian converts were made to see popular traditional entertainment as forms of idol worship.

The denial of African social identities, which were reflected in these popular traditional forms of entertainment, sowed the seeds of cultural nationalism. In point of fact, popular traditional African forms of entertainment had their roots firmly established in traditional religion and belief-systems. They were related to their conception of their creator, to the worship of deified heroes and founders of their communities and to the various gods and goddesses conceived as assistants to the great God who created the universe. The deified heroes or ancestors, together with the gods and goddesses, were responsible for the welfare of the lineage in terms of the fertility of the land for farming, the rivers for fishing and the forests for hunting.

The African belief-systems generated traditional songs and dances that celebrated the African universe. When these songs and dances and the re-enactments of stories of how communities evolved were denigrated, many early Christian converts felt their self-hoods and personal identities were

being called into question. The resultant effects of the hostility of early missionaries towards the incorporation of popular traditional African entertainment forms into church worship led to the breakaway and the formation of African oriented churches such as Bethel African Church, Cherubim and Seraphim Church, the Aladura Church, the Christ Apostolic Church and so on.

Yemi Ogunbiyi, in his article, “Nigerian Theatre and Drama: A Critical Profile” in the book, *Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: A Critical Source Book*, ably represented the atmosphere of the events which led to the breakaway and formation of native churches in Lagos towards the end of the nineteenth century, which were very popular with the indigenous population:

By 1890, a major schism had occurred within the Protestant Church in Lagos, which led to the establishment of several secessionist churches in Lagos – fourteen, to be more precise, by 1917. The reasons for this situation must be understood within the context of the wave of a Yoruba cultural nationalist movement, itself the consequence of the disillusionment and alienation experienced by the educated elite of Lagos... Not only was the call made for independent African churches where Yoruba music and language could be freely used, there were beginning to emerge attempts to blend Yoruba and European materials in entertainment (1981, pp.18-19).

Ogunbiyi equally submits that the “lead for such ‘innovation’ came from Abeokuta and Ibadan, but especially from Abeokuta where, for instance, traditional masquerade songs were reworked into church songs as a means of winning over converts from traditional religions” (p.19). In fact, the roots of modern Nigerian drama is traced to the activities of these African independent churches. As Ogunbiyi puts it:

...in 1902, under the joint sponsorship of the Bethel African Church and St. Judes Church, Ebute-Metta, a play written by D.A. Oloyede, *King Elejigbo and Princes Abeje of Kontagora* was performed by the Egbe Ife at the Bethel African Church School-room. On April 22, 1904, the play received a public performance at the Glover Memorial Hall, thus earning for itself the distinction of being “the first appearance of a church drama in a public hall” (19).

Accordingly, for “nearly two decades, *King Elejigbo*, became the prototype of most Yoruba drama being written in Lagos between 1904 and 1920” (19). This was the tradition that fostered the Concert Parties or the Native Air Operas, which were made popular by the likes of Hubert Ogunde, Kola Ogunmola, Duro Ladipo, Moses Olaiya (of the Alawada Company fame) and so on. As from 1944, Ogunde decided to inject a dose of Yoruba music and dances into a Native Air Opera, which he produced for the Church of the Lord, a breakaway sect from the Aladura Movement, founded by Josiah Ositelu in 1931 at Ogere. The success of this experiment resulted in the production of *The Garden of Eden and the Throne of God* (1944) and *Worse than Crime* (1946), a play on the inhuman nature of the slave trade. Having launched his professional acting career, Ogunde resigned from the Nigeria Police Force and established his theatre company, the African Music Research Party (Ogunbiyi, pp.22-23; Clark, 1981, pp.295-320).

According to Eburn Clark in her article entitled, “Ogunde’s Theatre: The Rise of the Contemporary Professional Theatre in Nigeria, 1946-72” it was with this theatre company that Ogunde produced political satires such as *Strike and Hunger* (1946), based on the national general strike of 1945, *Bread and Bullet* (1950), based on the November 8, 1949 Enugu coal miners’ strike, at which eighteen miners were shot and killed by the police and *Yoruba Ronu* (1964) on the quarrel between Obafemi Awolowo and Akintola, which resulted in the latter breaking away from the Action Group to establish his own party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party. The play was an allegory relating these events to a historical one in the nineteenth century when a Yoruba Field Marshal, Afonja of Ilorin, revolted against the Alaafin of Oyo and entered into an alliance with Alimi the Fulani jihadist (Clark, pp.295-320). Ogunde later produced such works like *Aiye* and *Jaiyesimi*, which were adapted for the cinema by Ola Balogun.

Attempting a historiography of popular modern entertainment in Nigeria would be considered an incomplete enterprise if nothing is said of the contributions of popular literature, especially the genre known as Onitsha Market Literature, in which most Nigerian youths of the 1960s and 1970s cut their literary teeth in terms of cultivating a reading culture. It is a truism to say many youngsters who grew up in Nigeria of the 1960s and 70s grew up on a diet of Onitsha Market Literature in terms of record song books or other pamphlets, which purported to teach them how to speak in public or how to write love letters. In the 1960s down to the 1980s, Nigerian youths fed their appetite for popular literature by devouring Cyprian Ekwensi’s *Ikolo*, *the Wrestler*, *The Passport of Mallam Ilah*, *Iska*, *Jaguar Nana*, *Jaguar Nana’s Daughter*. High School Dramatic Societies were built on the works of O.A. Ogali’s *Veronica, my Daughter* or James Ene Henshaw’s *This is Our*

*Chance*. While these works may lack the literary depth or sophistication of modern Nigerian Literature, without doubt, they weaned and prepared the minds of young Nigerian readers for the more sophisticated literature, which later emerged on the literary scene.

The role of radio and television in the promotion of Nigerian popular entertainment is very vital. In fact, we first heard on radio or watched on television our favourite music stars ever before we decided to buy their music albums as we used to call them in those days, or watch their live performances. In this respect, both media have contributed enormously to the popularization of modern Nigerian entertainment forms. Radio, of course, was the first to be introduced by the British colonial masters, who brought its crude form of wired broadcasting in 1935 before they replaced it with the wireless broadcasting system in 1957. This marked the commencement of the Nigerian Broadcasting Services (NBS), which was subsequently renamed Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) through an Act of Parliament passed in 1956. The NBC has since been re-christened Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), popularly called *Radio Nigeria*.

Unlike radio, television was an indigenous initiative undertaken by the Action Group government of the Western Region of Nigeria headed by Obafemi Awolowo. The setting up of Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) in October 1959 was a visionary and pioneering effort, the first of its kind in Africa, which motivated the Federal Government and other regional governments in Eastern and Northern Nigeria to undertake similar projects. Both radio and television were instrumental in bringing to our living rooms our favourite musicians or our radio or television dramas.

Writing on the role of radio in popularizing drama in the late 1950s, Matthew Umukoro has documented the contributions of John Dunn, then Head of the Drama Section in NBC, in creating a popular radio comedy in pidgin English entitled, *Safe Journey*:

Under John Dunn, the drama section blazed a major trail with the creation of a powerful and remarkably popular radio comedy series in pidgin English christened “Safe Journey”, the first episode of which was broadcast on April 5, 1959 (Umukoro, 1993, p.125).

According to Umukoro, the “original cast was made up of a highly talented trio: Peter Chigbo played Alao, the master driver, Bob Nwagoro played Shakey-Shakey, Alao’s apprentice, while Ralph Opara featured as Chief Appolonius Umezurike Okonkwo, alias Umez-Baba” (Umukoro, p.125). As he notes, this innovation popularized the use of pidgin English as a medium

of broadcasting. Radio was also instrumental in popularizing several modern music genres such as highlife, juju music, rhythm and blues, Afrobeat, reggae, pop, rap, and so on. In those days, radio was instrumental in introducing new songs to the youths before they trooped to record stores to buy them. Many spent fortunes in those days collecting record albums which were showed off to friends as evidence that they were keeping up with the music trends. Nigerian musicians like Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Ebenezer Obey, Sunny Ade, Sunny Okosun, Bongos Ikwe, Chris Okotie, Christy Essien-Igbokwe, Onyeka Onwenu, Shina Peters and many others were very popular in the 1970s and 1980s. They also became very rich. Today, the musical taste of Nigerian youths seemed to have been so influenced by transglobal trends that it has caught the attention of cultural nationalists like Reuben Abati. In an article he wrote in his weekly column "Crossroads" entitled, "A Nation's Identity Crisis," he laments:

Nigeria is suffering from an identity crisis imposed on it in part by an emergent generation of irreverent and creative young Nigerians who are revising old norms and patterns. And for me nothing demonstrates this more frontally than the gradual change of the name of the country. When Flora Shaw, Lord Lugard's consort came up with the name, Nigeria in 1914, she meant to define the country by the strategic importance of the River Niger... I am beaten flat by the increasing re-writing of the country's name not only as naija or nija, but consider this "9ja" (Abati, 2009, p.70).

This is a typical elitist lamentation that perceives popular music as a corrupting influence on the Nigerian youth. These irreverent creative youth have equally ironically whipped up a nationalistic favour and a can-do-spirit among Nigerian youths. Right now, there is no putting down the Nigerian youth. There is a general belief among them that there is no mountain so high that they cannot conquer. In this respect, their irreverence for national icons has been with a unique style representative of the irrepressible Nigerian spirit. No wonder then that Abati had to concede to the youth the creative ingenuity that has enabled them to currently rule the airwaves across Africa:

And so the most impactful musicians in Nigeria today, the ones who rule the party include the following: D'Banj, MI, Mode Nine, Sauce Kid, Naeto C, Sasha, Ikechukwu, 9ice, Bouqui, Mo'cheddah, Teeto, P-square, Don-Jazzy, Wande Coal, 2-Face, Faze, Black Face, Dr. Sid, D'prince, K-

Switch, Timaya, DjZeez, DJ Neptune, Banky W, Big Bamo, Art Quake, Bigiano, Durella, Eldee, Kelly Hansome, Lord of Ajasa, MP, Terry the Rapman, Weird MC, Y.Q., Da Grin, Kel, Root-top MCs, Pype, Niga Raw, Ghetto P., Kaka, Kaha, Terry G., Ill Bliss, Zulezoo, Pipe, DJ Jimmy Jat, X-project, Konga, Gino, Morachi... Well, the Lord is God (p.70).

The entertainment antecedents of television have been well-documented by Segun Olusola, one of the pioneers in the medium. He has reported how the colonial bureaucracy was alarmed when it came to their knowledge that Wole Soyinka had set his eyes on the young medium, as an additional avenue for dramatic productions, besides the stage. As Olusola puts it, they were afraid that

a television programme of ideas in dramatic form, created by a singularly imaginative writer like Wole Soyinka would cause ruptures to established, if questionable, models of a developing colonial society. Their consternation and resultant threatening stances were suitably conveyed to the producer, their own employee (Olusola, 1981, p.372).

It was in the midst of this distrust that Wole Soyinka's play, *My Father's Burden* was televised in August 1960, thereby scoring a number of firsts, as Olusola had put it: "It was the first television drama in English language on Nigerian television. It was also the first ever commissioned play on Nigerian television" (p.377). Other productions by Wole Soyinka included another televised play entitled, *Night of the Hunted*, adapted from an unpublished trilogy "House of Banigeji."

According to Olusola, between 1961 and 1964, "most of the major dramatic activities of WNTV stemmed from the close collaboration between the station and the '1960 Masks'" (p.378). What he referred to as the turning point in television drama production came in 1965 during a "week-long African Festival of TV Drama, scheduled to mark Nigeria's Independence celebrations in that year" (p.379). This event which showcased the production of J.P. Clark's *Song of a Goat* and *Masquerade*, in addition to Wole Soyinka's *The Trials of Brother Jero* and Duro Ladipo's *Oba Koso*, may have stimulated the conception of the television drama series, *The Village Headmaster* in 1968. This singular effort inspired other television drama series such as *Hotel de Jordan* and *The Masquerade*.

In the 1970s most Nigerian television viewers were addicted to foreign TV soaps such as *Dynasty*, *Good Times*, *Dallas*, *The Cosby Show* and



Christian soaps like *Another Life*” (Shaka, 2003, p.55). By the mid 1980s, Nigerian soaps had started to grace the screen of national television network. As Shaka has documented:

The experiment began with the highly rated Lola Fani-Kayode’s *Mirror in the Sun* (1985), followed by *Victims* (1988), created by Mabel Oboh; *Ripples* (1988) created and directed by Zeb Ejiro, *Behind the Clouds*, created and directed by Matt Dadzie; *Supple Blues* (1988), created by Paul Emeni and directed by John Ndanusa; and *Checkmate* (1991), created by Amaka Igwe and directed by Bolaji Dawoda (Shaka, 2003 p.55).

It was also within this period that the widely acclaimed Ken Saro-Wiwa’s *Basi and Company* hit the air waves. The competitiveness of Nigerian soaps were eventually undermined when multi-national conglomerates such as Lever Brothers, UAC and AG Leventis began to sponsor Mexican soaps like *The Rich Also Cry*, *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *The Lady of the Rose* to the detriment of Nigerian soaps. This unpatriotic act starved the producers of Nigerian soaps existing channels of funds, thereby leading to the extinction of Nigerian soaps from the airwaves.

Before the advent of the video film, the fledgling Nigerian film industry was being kept afloat by the likes of Ola Balogun, Eddie Ugbomah, Adamu Halilu, Ade Afolayan, Bredan Shehu, Wole Soyinka, Jab Adu, Afolabi Adesanya, Saddiq Balewa, and others. As from the late 70s, Ola Balogun had started turning the plays of the Yoruba Travelling Theatre like *Aiye* (1979), *Jaiyesimi* (1980), *Aropin N’ Tenia* (1982), *Ayanmo* (1988), *Orun Mooru* (1982), *Mosebolatan* (1986), and others into films, besides his personal works such as *Black Goddess* (1978) and *Cry Freedom* (1981). The second most prolific filmmaker of the period, Eddie Ugbomah, had such titles to his credit like *The Rise and Fall of Dr. Oyenusi* (1976), *The Mask* (1979), *Oil Doom* (1981), *Bolus’ 80* (1982), *The Boy is Good* (1982), *The Death of a Black President* (1983), *Vengeance of the Cult* (1982), etc. Towards the end of the 1980s, Ola Balogun, Eddie Ugbomoh, and other struggling filmmakers had also been squeezed out of the market by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Haynes, 1997, pp.1-25; Okome, 1997, pp.26-40; Shaka, 2003, pp.51-64). As the film industry was being squeezed out of the market due to SAP introduced by the President Ibrahim Babangida government, the resilient spirit of the Nigerian entertainer was being put on display through the invention of the video film industry, which was appropriately characterized as a video film industry because the films were shot on the

video format rather than on the celluloid format for commercial consumption.

Historically speaking, experimentation in the production of video films seemed to have commenced simultaneously in the late 80s in Onitsha, Lagos and Kano. The experiment was started in Onitsha between 1987 and 1988 by Igbo video film producers known as Solomon Eze (alias Mike Oriehedinma). His productions, according to Israel Uge, were not scripted. Rather, he devised scenarios, which starred himself and which he also produced and directed. The video films were shot in series by Solomon Eze and carried titles such as *Ochofekwu*, *Adeze*, the *Ola Nna* series, the *Onyemaechi* series and the *Ihe Ne Erne Na* series. Most were shot with Camcorders and then transferred to VHS tapes (Uge, 1996, p.53).

At the Lagos axis, the experimentations began with Babatunde Adelus whose photoplay magazines inspired Ade Ajiboye (Big Abass) to produce *Sonso Meji* (1988). This may have inspired Muyideen Aromire to produce such video films like *Ekun* (1988), *Obirin Asiko* (1988), *Ayo Ni O* (1989) and *Sisi London* (1989). The commercial success of these video films encouraged the entrance of people like Jide Kosoko and Kenneth Nnebue, the producer of the legendary *Living in Bondage* (1992), to move into what was then uncharted waters of video production. Jide Kosoko produced and directed *Asiri Nla* (1989), while Kenneth Nnebue, who was then producing for the Yoruba language aspect of the industry, produced for his outfit, NEK Video Links, *Aje Ni Iya Mi* (1989) and *Ina Ote* (1990). The fact that he had to relocate to the East to produce in the Igbo language, the blockbuster, *Living in Bondage*, is a matter best left for speculation. Suffice it to say that the release of the blockbuster confirmed the commercial viability of what has grown to become a multi-billion naira entertainment industry, which has produced numerous movie stars.

Today, the video film industry is arguably one of the largest employers of Nigerian youths rated by UNESCO as the second largest film industry in the world (Hussein, 2009, p.58). Today, Nollywood movie stars such as Justus Esiri, Clarion Chukwurah, Stephanie Okereke, Richard Mofe-Damijo, Rita Dominic, Sam Dede, Genevieve Nnaji, Omotola Jolade-Ekeinde, Jim Ikye, Emeka Ike, Ramsey Noah, Ejike Asiegbu, Pete Edoche, Hilda Dokubo, Bob-Manuel Udokwu, Lilian Bach, Kate Henshaw-Nuttal, Stella Damasus, Sam Loco Efe, Kunle Bamtefa, Segun Arinze, Shan George, Uche Jombo and many others are internationally acclaimed as movie stars. In keeping with their high profile star status, many of them have become unofficial cultural ambassadors of Nigeria.

Beside the video film and music industries, the exploits of Nigerian stand-up comedians have opened up another fledgling entertainment genre

which has also gained international acclaim for the country. The country's stand-up comedians such as Ali Baba, Julius Agu, Okey Bakassi, Gbenga Adeyinka, Yibo Koko, Mike Ogolo, Mike Ogbolosigha and many others have internationalized their acts by regularly undertaking tours of Europe and North America. They also have various programmes aimed at discovering new talents. In this way, they are taking many unemployed youths off the streets.

### **Conclusion**

This study has been arguing thus far that the concepts of social hegemony, transglobalization and cultural commodity help us understand the meanings, pleasure and social identities derived from popular culture across Africa. African popular culture is rooted in the belief-systems, socio-cultural practices and moral values of the masses. Social identity is constructed out of popular culture and this is the source of anxiety and conflict between the dominant classes that want to force an elitist concept of cultural values on the rest of the society. From the analysis carried out on popular culture across Africa, it is clear that popular culture provides the template for the construction of social identities across the continent. Even though popular culture is under constant watch by the socially dominant classes of the continent, they have not been able to impose their views and cultural values on the grassroots population both in the cities and in the rural areas. In this respect, popular culture still provides the foundation of both traditional and modern forms of entertainment in Africa. It is in this regard that popular culture helps to define social identities across Africa.

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## **The Loss of Colonial and Post-Colonial Celluloid Film Templates as the Gains for Video Film Template in Nigeria: An Analysis**

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### **Introduction**

Film was first introduced into Nigeria more than ten years before the country's different protectorates were amalgamated in 1914. Opubor, Nwuneli and Oreh (1979, p.2), Ekwuazi (1991), Akanni in (Hamza 2002, p.78), Adenuga (2007) and many other authors agree that it was first exhibited at the Glover Memorial Hall in August 1903. They note that, while its first screening could be traced to the European merchant, Stanley Jones of Messers Balboa, Spain, Herbert Macaulay was the first Nigerian to manage it as a business enterprise. The success of this exhibition led to the influx of other foreign films in Nigeria. At the beginning, their exhibitions concentrated at Lagos in particular, where they competed with concerts and drama shows, (Ekwuazi 1987, p.9). Perhaps more important is the fact that, notwithstanding the early interest shown in the film business in Nigeria by Macaulay, its importation, distribution, screening and exhibition were effectively under the control of Lebanese and Indian business men. When colonial films were later introduced, it was with the major aim of propagating and promoting colonial policies in the colonies, Nigeria inclusive. While those foreigners whose main interests in importing films were mainly the profits they made remained in firm control up to the tail end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, colonial film importation, production and exhibition remained under the colonial administrators up to 1960 after which indigenous politicians more or less, replaced them in promoting their policies, perspectives and profiles.

From all the films imported and produced in the country, several templates can be identified. For the purpose of this discourse, three main templates have been selected. These are the colonial, the post-colonial and the digital film templates. Arguably, how long a template lasts, its success,

importance and relevance or otherwise depend to a large extent on, among other factors, its appeal to the audience, adaptability to new technology, independence from extraneous control and the like. Based on this perspective, it can be stated that film, whether colonial or commercial in the colonial template, had been imported or produced to perform certain temporary functions after which it almost certainly lost its appeal, relevance, audience and therefore, faded.

Similarly, at the post-colonial template, films at the hand of many Nigerian producers, as was the case with their African counterparts, were mainly focused on addressing cultural, political and those serious issues of decolonization and underdevelopment. Finally, currently there is the digital video film template in Nigeria whose life span, successes or failures are, to a large extent, dependent upon how it is produced and also how it appeals and satisfies audience needs now, and in the future. At the moment, as part of its survival strategies, it seems to rely on creating, adopting and adapting motifs from within and other more advanced film industries utilizing cheap technologies, manpower and distribution systems where desirable.

### **The Colonial Film Template**

Under this template, several types of film genres can be identified. These include American commercial films, English films, Christian colonial films, Indian commercial films and others. Although all these film genres also crossed over into post-colonial and even into video film templates, they are placed under the colonial template because that was the original template period under which they were first introduced. However, under a broad category, three major types of films can be identified with this template. These are imported commercial films, imported colonial films and locally-produced colonial films. In general, many of the early colonial films imported to Africa, shot with Africans or shot in Africa, were more or less for frivolous entertainment, propaganda purposes or the portrayal of the superiority of European-cum-American cultures vis-à-vis those of Africans. American commercial films, which were said to be made for entertainment purposes, had the singular dishonour of being the first to expose to the public sphere a massive portrayal of sex, gangsterism, crime and erotic dances to a large number of the Nigerian audience. This was what made the British colonial authorities express serious concern on the possible negative message these early commercial films could spread about the much touted white civilization, as well as the negative effect it might have on the youth in the British Empire in general.

Larkin (2004, p.47) observes that: “Then, as now, crime and sex featured heavily and for the British this generated great anxiety that wrong ideas

about “white civilization” were being spread and that this would erode local cultural values.” In fact, this was not the first time this type of concern was expressed on the negative contents of these commercial films. For instance, Arulogun (1979, p. 27) states that, during a conference in England in 1925, a bishop who was conversant with the set-up in India, expressed concern about how these types of films, especially the American types, could negatively portray white civilization and degrade white women, when he lamented that, “The majority of films which are chiefly from America, are of sensational and daring murders, crimes, and divorces and, on the whole, degrade the white woman in the eyes of the Indian.” This observation may as well be applicable to the African situation, Nigeria inclusive.

In fact, if viewed more critically, the major concern expressed by the bishop was on the excessive representation of murders, crimes, divorces and the personality of the white woman as to how she was going to be viewed by the audience. However, one other important negative component that should have been included was how such films and others denigrate others. For instance, in the Christian missionary film: “Life of Jesus Christ”, it portrayed Judas, a disciple of Jesus who collected thirty pieces of silver from the Jewish authorities to betray him, as a black man (Hamza, 2002, p.78). Of course, this could have negative effects on the psyche of black men and women, as well as on many international audiences.

As a matter of fact, a large part of these commercial films portrayed Africans as savages, uncivilized, uncultured and the like. Take for instance films such as: *Snows of Kilimanjaro*, *Below the Sahara*, *Mogambo*, *Tanganyika*, *African Adventure* and *Untamed*, all American films, and also two others from Britain, namely: *The African Queen* and *West of Zanzibar*. In these films and many others, Africans in general were highly denigrated and insulted all in the name of entertainment to satisfy the audience, in the words of Rice (2008), “...in accordance with imperial prejudices and propaganda.” Arulogun (1979, P.26-27) observes that, for long, African distorted images were mainly seen through the eyes of Hollywood, which negatively portrayed them with the active connivance of subsequent United States governments. Under the guise of libertarianism and social responsibility of the media, they allowed these types of films to be produced. In India, it took the intervention of the African students of the Delhi University in 1956 for the first six films to be banned.

Even instructional films screened in Africa, in general, and Nigeria, in particular, were not free from propaganda, stereotyping and attempts to display white supremacy over others. Take for example the film, *Mr. English At Home* (Dir. Hales Gordon, 1940). It was a film with running commentary ostensibly meant to educate Africans about a typical and exemplary life of an



average British family, thus impugning the short-comings of those of typical Africans. In a journal article with a derogatory title: *Films for Primitive People* (1941: 173-174), the head of CFU Sellers glorified the film's outstanding success especially in the colony. This sentiment was also echoed by the Educational Advisory Committee members of the Colonial Office, as well as those from the Film Division (Rice, 2010). In fact, a colonial office document (CO 875/IO/11) regarded the film as the most successful not only in Britain but also among the elite in Gold Coast, Nigeria and Kenya. However, an exception came from members of the Film Division who expressed their reservations and pessimism about the film's propagandist contents.

As a matter of fact, Smyth (1988) notes that, rather than being successful, the film succeeded in exposing the other unknown but realistic aspects of true British family working-class life. For example, she cited the observation of a Colonial Film Officer who remarked that, "To many Africans, it came as a revelation that not all English households had a complement of servants." Further, when the film was watched by a British man, he wrote in the *Colonial Cinema* magazine in 1945 that, when the film was shown to African teachers in Accra with a view to educating them on the orderliness and the beauty of the British way of living, after watching the film, they asked: "Do many English women have to work as hard as that? Do they have no servants?"

### **The Portrayal of Africans in the Early Films**

Some of the early portrayals of Africans in films could be found on the realism and in form of travelogues which presented the "thrills of life in wild and exotic Africa." These included the *Empire Series*, by British Instructional Film, (1925) and *African Native Tribe*, (1931), while the early narrative ones include *She* (d. Will Barker, 1916), *Love in Wilderness* (d. Alexander Butler, 1920), *If Youth But Knew* (d. George A Cooper, 1926), and *Palaver* (d. Geoffrey Barkas, 1929), etc. The film, *Palaver*, was regarded as unusual by the site, in that a "significant speaking role to native Africans" was provided in it. According to Adamu (2015), it was the second film shot in Nigeria, the first being *Crossing the Great Sahara* (1924), which recorded the 3,500 mile journey of Captain Angus Buchanan (the producer), which began in Kano, in northern Nigeria, early in 1922 and ended in Tougourt, Algeria in April 1923.

However, the actual African-centred portrayal in films as part of the fast media propaganda, i.e. the type of communication which almost instantly exerts an effect on the intended audience (Osgood, 2002) and for supremacy purposes, could be traced to one of the earliest films such as *Save South*

*Africa-Savage Attack And Repulse* (Warwick Trading Company, 1899). The film was a typical example of how the colonial authorities viewed the Africans as a whole. It was a dramatic re-enactment of a real war fought, tagged the Matebele war, between Africans and British soldiers.

Although the film, which lasted for one minute and fifteen seconds, was actually shot in London, it contained real African performers who were brought by a South African company as objects of display for an exhibition at the Earl's Court for performance at the Empress Theatre, for the Greater Britain Exhibition. In the film, a group of British cavalry and infantry men were shown being confronted by African "savages". In one swoop, the British infantry aimed and fired their canon at the "savages", who dispersed and were consequently pursued by the British cavalry soldiers. After a while, the triumphant British soldiers were shown returning and joining their compatriots in celebrating their success in defeating the "savages". In fact, to underscore and complement their military prowess and cultural superiority, the African performers were presented in the show in semi-clad postures allowing visitors to wander among them (British Film Institute *Screenonline*, 2003-2014).

However, the above propaganda back-fired when a British lady fell in love with one of the "savages" on display, forcing the British press to take a position. This they did by blowing the negative aspect of the issue and referring to it as demeaning for a white lady to fall in love with a "savage" as scandalous, thereby exposing its racist postures. Notwithstanding this racist and seemingly generated negative public opinion from the British public, Brooke (2003-2014) observes that the "savages" display was not only cherished by the British women, but that it became the most popular with them. Arguably, it was as a result of this popularity and appreciation that an English girl, Kitty Jewel, fell in love with the show's most popular star, Peter Lobengula. This exposed the failure of this propagandistic depiction of the black man as an inferior race and the white man as a superior one with advanced and superior civilization, key to salvation and as harbingers of modernity. Their daughter domiciled in London, among the superior white race, not in the colony among the savage Africans, fell in love with a "savage".

As a matter of fact, portrayals of black men within pre-independence colonial films tend to go hand in hand with the mindset of the imperialists on the "savage" Africans. Apart from the fact that Africans were regarded as an inferior race with low mental capacity, they were also largely portrayed in degradable roles in these early films. This stereotyping was even carried over to the independence and post-colonial periods of many African countries. For example, Ekwuazi (1991, p.101) notes how (in a journal article by one of

such imperialist authors) Mark Koenigil believes that there is "...a fundamental difference of mentality" between the Africans and the Europeans. He, therefore, prescribed that, for this and other reasons, the structures of films meant for the African market should simply be:

Photographed in natural background, stripped of any cinematographic tricks. The shots should be taken at eye level, with the least possible movement of the camera and reproducing faithfully what the human eye sees. The maximum possible visual continuity should be maintained from scene to scene. Persons, or objects requiring attention should be seen again in the following picture... A minimum number of actors should be used because a great number of people on the screen will confuse the viewer. The film should consist almost entirely of long shots or medium close-ups and in much longer sequences than those we are used to seeing with normal techniques. At the intellectual level, they, (Africans) need more time to understand, to 'digest' each picture and series of picture...Let us tell a short plausible story with an actor of his own race, with whom he can identify himself and avoid scenery and paraphernalia....

The view as copiously quoted above summarized the mind-set of many imperialists on Africans, film or reality. Of course, this type of belief in form of propaganda or any other form may only last for some time before they are countered and rejected if it has not already been done. Therefore, mind-sets expressed in these types of film genres and several others like them in form of entertainment or propaganda or instructions and the like are transient. In this respect, they and their propaganda contents have their life spans and their purposes ought to be transient.

With their negative contents exposed, the acquisition and spread of more education, struggle for independence and subsequently gaining the independence by those colonialized, these types of mind sets, films and the like were bound to lose their appeal not only to the gullible audience but also to their producers. That was exactly what befell almost all the film genres in this template at a latter period of its sojourn in this country and elsewhere. They dissolved into oblivion to be of no significance other than to be used as reference material and evidence that they really existed.

### **The Colonial Film Unit**

The Colonial Film Unit was established in 1939 and between then and 1955 when its life span ended, it had produced well over 200 films most of which were primarily aimed at the African audience (Rice, 2010). At a latter stage after its establishment, the Unit, especially its film production aspect, was decentralized into national units, which operated within its ambit. One of them was the Nigeria Film Unit (NFU), which came into existence in 1949 and served at least two major important functions. At the home front, it utilized its large number of mobile cinema vans to exhibit and promote educational, health and propaganda films to its Nigerian audience, especially in the rural areas.

Also, among other things, it produced documentaries on festivals, celebrations and achievements of colonial administrations for its Nigerian and overseas audience members (Rice, 2010). For this and other reasons, she regards the Unit as effective in “formalizing and legitimizing a film technique specific to African audiences, in foregrounding film as a pedagogical device for colonial administration and, in particular, in establishing a network for distribution and exhibition of film throughout Africa...” On the surface, this may be so, but further analysis will show that a great number of these films could simply be discovered to have further assisted in portraying the supremacy of the colonialists over the “natives” in such areas as culture, civilization, economy, trade, education, religion, politics and others.

Ekwuazi (1987, P.2) states three major objectives for making films in the colonies. These were to: portray Germans as common enemies to both Africans and the English; promote communal developments in the colonies; and also to show-case the impressive work the British were executing in the colonies. It was along this line of objectives that the Unit sent some smaller units to West Africa for the purpose of producing instructional films, among others.

In Nigeria, for example, the film *Good Business* (1947) was produced to instruct Nigerian rural audiences, while *Towards True Democracy* (1947) was produced so as to showcase constitutional landmarks in the country. These films and many others like them fit into what Dandago and Imam (2004, p.208) stated were films produced in the country which, to a large extent, had tremendously assisted in perpetuating colonial ambitions in which their subjects were merely reduced to “its scope of reference” in politics, culture, economics and the social system. In this respect, therefore, the colonial period films, whether instructional or commercial, were basically meant to serve as propaganda tools for the purposes of either

demonstrating the superiority of colonial authorities, particularly in the case with the foreign films.

Later, with the locally-produced colonial films, they were meant to serve in promoting certain educational programmes on health, documentaries on festivals, celebrations and the achievements of the colonial administration, among others, for both the Nigerian and overseas audiences (Rice, 2010). It is not surprising that their immediate indigenous successors at independence and even beyond also adopted similar patterns due to their rich propaganda values. Although their American, Indian and Chinese commercial-cum-entertainment counterparts were more popular and resilient (Larkin, 2004, P.46), yet they were the anti-thesis of the people's culture. In general, however, this is not to say many of these films did not serve any useful purposes. They did to some extent. For example, they were used as documentaries on how people in the colony, Nigeria in this case, could, among other things, imbibe good health habits, new farming methods and also in recording major thrusts made in providing good roads, the erection of bridges, building factories, waterworks and the like (Larkin, 2004, p.49). Also, as instructional, entertainment and propaganda tools, they, in an unintentional way, provided the impetus for the growth of post-colonial and subsequently video film templates.

But as propaganda tools, they recorded minimal success partly because for propaganda, whether positive or negative to serve any useful purpose in films, its time limit, reach and effects, if any, must be assessed and put into consideration. According to the United States' Department of Army Headquarters, Washington DC (1979) and also its counterpart, The Army Institute for Professional Development (1983), motion pictures are veritable tools for propaganda. This is more so especially with their ability to combine face-to-face communication with other aspects of television to create the required visual and aural senses to produce the desired impact on the target audience. These types of films can be produced as entertainment, newsreel, documentary or for training. However, the same documents also specified that, among other things, "films are rapidly outdated by events, clothing, vehicles, equipment, location or dialogue... diverse language differences are a major problem...."

Thus, in a way, this explains why, with the ushering in of political independence in Nigeria, like in many independent African countries, there emerged new ideas, new thought, new priorities, new focus and, therefore, new film templates, which hitherto were either suppressed or denied public space. These and many other factors combined to facilitate the development and grounding of the post-colonial film template, which also came with its types of audience, focus, method, philosophy and the like.

### **The Post-Colonial Film Template**

Understanding the sojourn, focus, philosophy and roles of different types of colonial films in Nigeria, in particular, and Africa in general, will enable a deep grasp, appreciation and understanding of the emergence of the post-colonial film template. This is to say that any isolated readings of the post-colonial film template without understanding the consequences of the roles of colonial films may only becloud the necessity and reasons for the emergence of the latter. It is a fact that media contents and the technology that produces and drives them cannot be divorced from the mind-set of their producers. In this respect, it can be stated that colonial film images of Africa and Africans produced by colonial filmmakers are products which are neither from neutral technology nor are they devoid of interference and manipulation by their source. Technologies are controlled and tilted to favour those who own and master them (Rowland, 2000).

This belief has not escaped the attention of African filmmakers and intellectuals in recognizing the effect of the ownership and use of this technology as used by the colonial authorities in administering the colonized. In addition, the need to also own it so as to help in decolonizing the continent had not escaped their calculations, especially with their tremendous differences in philosophy, focus and ideology. It is, therefore, not surprising that majority of the contents of the African post-colonial films were political in nature aimed at demystifying colonialism, fighting subjugation and, at the same time, promoting self-worth, independence and economic freedom among Africans (McCall, 2007, p.92).

They were also focused on addressing serious issues of decolonization, cultural nationalism and under-development. For example, Orlando (2007, p.448) believes that the most important aspects of film should be its contents, which must focus on group consciousness as its ideological framework. This framework Haynes (2000, p.5-6) observes was largely hinged on Cabral's and Fanon's political thoughts and also adopted the "Third World Film" framework concept developed from the Latin America's New Cinema of the Third Cinema of the 1960s and 1970s. This concept advocates adopting neither the auteurs' nor the illusionist cinemas but rather should aim at promoting social justice, decolonization and uprooting neocolonialism.

From this perspective came post-colonial African films by giant and respected African filmmakers, such as Sembene Ousman, Musa Absa, Mahmet Saleh Harun, Suleiman Cisse and the like whose films centred on group consciousness and served as the voice of the people in challenging actions by the authorities (Ukadike, 1994, p.129). According to Enahoro (1988), Anglophone films, such as *Dinner with the Devil* by Sanya Dosunmu, *Black Goddess*, *Cry Freedom*, *Money Power* and others produced

by Ola Balogun, and Soyinka's *Blues for a Prodigal* are among the Anglophone versions of African films, which touch different aspects of the African struggle for liberation. Their French-speaking counterparts include Ousmane's films like "Black Girl", 1966, *Xala*, 1974, and *Faat Kiné*, 2001.

Specifically in Nigeria, there is a variety of such films, which include but are not limited to Francis Oladele's *Trials of Brother Jero* (1966), *Kongi's Harvest* (1970), which was based on the Wole Soyinka play of the same name, and Chinua Achebe's "Bulfrog in the Sun", an amalgam of his novels *Things Fall Apart* and *No Longer at Ease*; Ola Balogun's "One Nigeria" (1969), *Fire in the Afternoon* (1971), *Alpha* (1972), *Thundergod* (1972), *Owuama, a New Year Festival* (1973), *Eastern Nigeria Revisited* (1973) *Nigersteel* (1975) and *Amadi* (1975). A large number of these films cut across different genres, themes and topics, ranging from comedy such as *Trials of Brother Jero* to documentaries like "Alpha" (1972), *Eastern Nigeria Revisited* (1973) and *Nigersteel* (1975). There are also many films produced to reflect political situations like *Ija Ominira* (Fight for Freedom) (1977) and festivals, such as *Fire in the Afternoon* (1971), *Thundergod* (1972), and *Owuama, a New Year Festival* (1973).

From the 1970's especially, there were attempts by many first generation indigenous film producers to produce films across a wide range of subjects. These include Sam Zebba, who produced the film *Fincho*, and several others like Ossie Davis, Ola Balogun, Moses Olaiya, Chief Ogunde, Chief Eddy Ugbomah, Nuhu Ramalan, Francis Oladele, etc. Their second-generation counterparts included Sadiq Balewa, Sule Liman, Ladi Ladebo, Olu Makinwa and others. One important common feature among almost all their films was the painstaking expertise carefully demonstrated and employed in producing them.

Their storylines, plots, themes, editing, lighting and the like demonstrate the expertise and high competence of their producers. However, some of the compounding problems experienced by these two generations of film producers was their failure to make appreciable profit and make in-roads into the commercial realm. In fact, in most cases, they could not even break even (Mahmud et al., 2002). Additionally, they encountered several other new and perhaps more inhibiting problems. For example, Adamu (2015) notes that piracy was one of the major problems, citing as an example the case of "Moses Olaiya (Baba Sala) (who) went bankrupt because his films, *Mosebolatan* and *Orun Moru* were pirated before they could be shown at the cinemas."

Others include the issue of lack of sufficient funding for some at home and others from foreign donors. Sama (1996, p.148) and also McCall (2007, p. 93) criticize many of them for relying largely on European boards for their

funding and budgets. However, Adamu (2014) observes that these problems mainly apply to Francophone films as many of their Anglophone filmmakers have some ways of sourcing their funds without necessarily resorting to foreign donors. In fact, Ukadike in (Orlando 2007, p.447) rather places all the blame on corruption, poverty, coercion and the economic manipulation of the African economy all traceable to colonial legacies.

However, irrespective of where the blame lies, one indisputable fact is that right from the onset the major components of celluloid film production, distribution and exhibition in Nigeria were not designed to favourably compete with or replace the more glamorous Chinese, Indian and American films. For instance, up to the recent past when video film made its debut, almost all the theatres for film exhibitions and distributions were controlled by foreigners (Sama, 1996, p.148, and also MacCall (2007, p.93). Efforts by subsequent governments to curtail their influence by incorporating the production, distribution and screening of indigenous Nigerian films met with a strong resistance. For example, Mahmud *et al.* cite as futile and ineffective the enactment of the 1963 Cinematography Act, the 1972 Indigenization Decree, and the 1979 Decree Number 6 to, among other things, control several aspects of film production, distribution and screening in Nigeria.

In fact, along the above efforts there were further developments some, positive and others negative. For example, there was the oil boom, which enabled many Nigerians to purchase television sets and later VHS video machines to watch films at home. However, on the negative side, there was the issue of the Nigeria Enterprises Decree of 1972. It was specifically promulgated to transfer exclusive monopoly for the distribution and exhibition of feature films to Nigerians, but many expatriates, especially Lebanese, pre-empted its effect by naturalizing and thus tightened their control of cinema as major distributors of film to the detriment of other Nigerians (Adamu, 2015).

Also, at a later period, there was a decline in the country's revenue. These negative factors, together with the elitist philosophy, audience and expensive expenditure in producing post-colonial films, among other factors, made it nearly impossible to either continue with Indian, American and Chinese commercial films or with the production of post-colonial Nigeria celluloid films in commercial quantity. All these factors combined to pave the way for the gradual but steady emergence of the video film industry in the country.

Notwithstanding the minuses of celluloid films discussed above, the post-colonial African/Nigerian films in celluloid format serve several important functions towards making Nigeria video films better. For example, their production, lighting, editing, costume production, intellectual depth,



technical mastery and the like are by far superior to those of the Nigerian video films. For these, the former serve as templates for a comparison between the two with a view to improving the latter. To some extent, this also applies to the serious contents of the former vis-a-viz the latter, which are more or less illusionary in content and form and also lack a clear-cut ideology and social and cultural utility. (See for instance, Haynes, 2000, p.3; Akpabio, 2003, p.130; M'Bayo and Onabajo, 2009, p.64, etc.)

Be that as it may, despite their long years in the country and despite their beauty and technical excellence, they have failed to achieve what video films have realized in a short time: independence, market penetration, an effective distribution system, multiple audience, financial clout and the like. With these strong financial indicators, therefore, the development and consolidation of Nigeria video film template became a matter of time.

### **The Nigerian Video Film Template**

The decline of celluloid film and the rise of its replacement in the form of the video film in Africa, in general, and Nigeria in particular, came as result of many factors some of which have already been discussed in this paper. Although it may be difficult to trace and pin down the decline of a particular celluloid film to a specific African country, the production of the first video film cinema can be traced to the production of a video film, *Zinabu*, in Ghana. The film itself was an adaptation of the novel, *She: A History of Adventure*, by H. Rider Haggard (Adamu, 2015). According to him, it was shot by a celluloid film merchant, William Akuffo, in 1985 and premiered in 1987.

In Nigeria, the emergence of what can be regarded as the first Nigerian video film was preceded by the emergence of several indigenous Yoruba Theatre films followed by other indigenous language films. According to the author, such films, which were circulated to a restricted audience on video formats gradually leading to 'a small scale informal Yoruba Theatre films, as *Kadara* (1979), *Ija Orogun* (1982), *Taxi Driver* (1983), *Iyaniwura* (1985), *Jaiyesinmi* (1981) and *Aropin N'Tenia* (1982), were among these early films. At the initial stage, the producers of these and many other video films were not interested in producing them in commercial quantities even for a large homogeneous Yoruba speaking audience. Rather, they were more interested in screening them at public places for those audience members with similar cultural backgrounds and understanding of the Yoruba language.

Along this path and line of reasoning, some other non-Yoruba video films like *Igi Da* (1990) and *Turmin Danya* (dir. Salisu Galadanci, 1990) can be mentioned. In this respect, Kenneth Nnebue, who had earlier on produced two Yoruba video films, *Living in Bondage* and *Aje Ni Iya Mi* both in 1989,

produced a film in the Igbo language, produced *Living in Bondage* (1992), which is considered as the first Nigeria video film in commercial quantity. It was followed by *Dirty Deal* (1993) and *Glamour Girls* (1994) produced in English (Adamu, 2015). This development led Adamu to observe that, together with other factors, they brought about an increase in audience for the film. From this point onward, a plethora of video films across the whole country, consisting of different video film industries and in different languages sprang up that by the year 2006, about 7,630 video films were already produced.

Being new in the market and substantially non-conformist to the standardized international film practice of production, distribution and exhibition, the Nigeria video film template often comes under criticism. For example, the video films' quality, production and lighting are regarded as bad, while its directing, background noise, musical imitations are, to say the least, poor (Uzoatu and Ogunde, 2000, p.15). Also, according to Lawuyi (1997, p. 476-90) and M'Bayo and Onabajo (2009, p.64), most of the films lack a clear-cut ideology, agenda, social and cultural utility and generally concentrate on portraying illusionary wealth, fetishism, violence, sex, jealousy and treachery. In fact, Balogun (2005) eulogizes the Nigerian celluloid films as the real films and video films as not. As a matter of fact, he was so sceptical about considering video films as films, their industries as film industries and their productions as film productions because according to him, the term "video" is not synonymous with film and, therefore, their contents should not be regarded as such.

In a similar vein, Zajc (2009, p. 69) observes that Nigerian cinema, together with many others has for so long been regarded as "a language of the poor, inferior to European art cinema and to commercial Hollywood alike." To a large extent, this may be true considering the sophistication, expertise and the resources injected into producing these foreign films. Added to these are the elitist nature of the European Art cinema and also the tremendous number of the audience, market penetration and financial gross, as well as the rewards attached to commercial foreign films, notably Hollywood, Chinese and Indian.

However, notwithstanding these criticisms, it is logical to accept that at whatever template and at whatever genre, film is produced to present the messages, history and images from their makers' perspectives. If this is so, then it is also logical to accept that no film content can be sufficient for all types of audience. This means that foreign films cannot fully satisfy the yearnings of the Nigerian audience members. In fact, even within the country, no single film industry or film content or genre can cater for all the audience. Certain plots, themes, issues, perspectives and scenes presented in

one film may necessarily be similar to others. Even where two or more films are found to be so, certainly they will not be the same. These differences may be more profound between foreign and Nigerian films.

Thus, imported foreign films, produced from the perspectives of their producers' idiosyncrasies, may not necessarily fulfil the desires of Nigeria's population of more than 180,000,000 people with a possible good market for commercial films. But to a large extent, the Nigerian video film template, with its simple-to-use technologies and cheap method of production and distribution and huge audience members, can substantially satisfy a large part of these desires. Recognizing this market potentiality, the "Western, Indian and Chinese film community" are quick to partake in the production of Nigerian video films with substantial Nigerian narratives and/or collaborate in their productions (Zajc, 2009, p.66).

It is, therefore, not an irony that, despite its sophisticated technology, well-trained power and extensive distribution channels, among others, the foreign commercial films, colonial and post-colonial celluloid film templates tend to fail while their relatively new, poorly-equipped, poorly-organized and poorly-produced Nigeria video film template seems to be succeeding. This is more noticeable in their efforts in reaching several heterogeneous audiences within and outside the country and in providing job opportunities to thousands of Nigerians. This feat was made possible due to the combination of many factors.

#### **Some Contributing Factors for the Success of the NVF Template**

The Nigeria film template came at a time when other templates like the colonial template had either outlived their purposes or failed to sustain itself by reaching and retaining the desired audience, as was the case with the post-colonial template. It is a fact that colonial films produced as propaganda or instructional films cannot have space in this century. This also applies to early imported commercial films. Also, for the post-colonial African films, they have not only failed to actualize their philosophy, but were also unable to reach and convince their desired audience.

Additionally, they failed to resolve their contradictions of adopting a radical framework, a radical revolutionary concept, revolutionary political thought and an ideological framework (Haynes, 2000, p.5-6) and also realize their philosophy of decolonization, ideology and group consciousness (McCall's 2007, p.93). In the same vein, they could not extricate themselves and be independent from relying on foreign funding for their survival. On the other hand, the Nigeria video film template is able to appeal to its audience, localize its production, distribution and content and, importantly, it is relatively free from outside control.

All these came about as a result of several factors, some directly related to the industry and others remotely related. For instance, Olubomehin (2012, p. 7-8) argues that the oil boom of the early 1970's did not only provide opportunities to a large number of the country's population to purchase and own television sets in Nigeria, but it also provided opportunities for governments to establish several television stations in the country. In addition, it offered the citizens the ability to purchase VHS machine sets. But consequently, the subsequent harsh economic conditions, which later befell the country, led to the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which wiped out the middle class and made the import and production of celluloid film almost impossible in Nigeria.

Coupled with the above were the Yoruba Theatre films, which went out of their way to combine real time play with video film show. This highlighted the possibility of exploring the use of video films to record and screen their dramas on video film. Importantly, this marked a shift to a new film culture, which subsequently served as a bridge between the celluloid films and video film referred to as Nollywood films. Actually, a combination of these factors paved the way for the cheap production of video films in Nigeria. Along this line of thinking, Ali (2014, p.8-9) adds other factors, such as the failure of African auteur films to achieve their goals of mobilizing Africans, relying on foreign funding by auteur film producers in Nigeria, which was continuously drying up; the political nature of celluloid and apolitical stance of video films; the elitist contents of celluloid film, the generalist approach of its video counterparts and the requirement of huge budget to produce film in celluloid format versus the small budget of the video film. He also mentioned other factors as celluloid's need for theatres to be screened versus video's flexibility to be used at home and at one's leisure; the requirement of relatively small amount of money to purchase video films on DVDs, as well as the video's access to free content-sharing sites, such as YouTube, MYSpace and the like to watch hundreds of films. This contrasts with celluloid films requirement for payment.

#### **Some Contributions by the Nigeria Video Film Template**

The Nigeria video film template emerged and continuously develops to provide job opportunities to many Africans. More importantly, it provides a more flexible format, which offers opportunities for different African and Nigerian ethnic, linguistic and local groups to express themselves on different social, political, economic and cultural spheres. This template does that without necessarily falling into the traps of post-colonial celluloid of attempting to treat all Nigerians or, as the case may be, all Africans as a single entity. The industry continues to grow such that, by 2008, it was

estimated to have provided job opportunities to 500,000 Nigerians and contributed about \$540 million to the country's economy, according to Chowdhury, Landes, Santini, Tejada and Visconti (2008). Further, according to Orya (2013), in the recent past, Nollywood generated between \$300m and \$800m in three years.

In a way, this template has achieved what the post-colonial template failed to achieve. For example, because of its popularity and appeal to numerous audiences, at least across the African continent, video films within this template are found in some African countries, such as Congo and Namibia, where they are broadcast by their television and other media outlets, while in some other countries like Kenya and the United States, they are even sold in the streets. This singular feat alone elevates it to the status of a force to be reckoned with in the area of contributions to African popular culture. They encourage different local, national, ethnic, linguistic and other types of expressions not only across Nigeria and Africa but even in some parts of the world.

Also, apart from its unique independence from governmental or a few individuals' control, video film on this template, more than its auteur predecessor, situates films within the global media context and, at the same time, draws its themes, aspirations, styles and focus from the global media (Haynes, 2007, p.106). For instance, while African auteur filmmakers believe in using art as a medium for uniting Africans and presenting common African positions on social, political, economic and cultural spheres, the video film tends to de-emphasize them. This strict lack of ideology and strict agenda seems to be a plus, for not only in achieving its variety of goals, but in highlighting myriad of issues, problems, world views, values and ideas across different communities.

The template also has a simple entry method. With little effort, anyone can be an actor, a producer, a distributor or a promoter without much complexity (McCall, 2007, p.96). In fact, its operations are still simple, such that it does not require a large crew, as is the case with celluloid production. A minimum requirement of camera, a computer, actors and a little equipment to produce a commercial video film may suffice.

Thus, on the strength of the developments and contributions associated with the Nigerian video film template, it is pertinent to argue that, despite the short-comings and criticism of film on this template, it serves its purpose well. Unlike the post-colonial film template films on this template pay little or no attention to culture, deconstructing colonialism and promoting African heritage. But the truth is that not all audience members are interested in them. Actually, a large segment of the audience seems more interested in

watching glamorous items/scenes in illusive films produced on the template even if they negate reality.

With the current development in world politics, technological breakthroughs and massive shifts in the composition of audience demography, most films on the colonial template will fail even if they are transferred and re-produced through the prism of Nollywood video films, utilizing the same channels, using cheap methods of re-production and making use of a variety of Nigerian/African languages. Besides, the audience's proximity and commonality with the local actors, may be more than with the other actors in foreign films. To a very large extent, this also applies to post-colonial celluloid films since it may be difficult for them to appeal to as much audience and make sufficient profits as their Nollywood counterpart.

The glamour and make-belief scenes, plots, themes, etc. which Nigeria film template provides, seems to be the preference of the modern African/Nigerian audience. Besides, what the post-African celluloid films portray is the realm of realities, which most audience members live within in their daily lives. Therefore, any opportunity to associate with illusive wealth, power, strength, and unreal world, even if for a temporary period as provided by Nigeria video film, may not necessarily be harmful just as reminding them about their real situation by the post-colonial films may not necessarily solve their problems. However, this preference for Nigeria digital video film template notwithstanding, its continuous successes or failures in Nigeria, and indeed elsewhere, are dependent upon how it continues to satisfy the fluid audience needs by continuously devising new marketing strategies.

### **Conclusion**

Celluloid film played significant roles in portraying Africans to the world, Africans to Africans and the world to Africans. While the portrayal, especially of Africans to the outside world specifically from the colonial perspectives, was often to the latter's advantage, it was to the disadvantage of the Africans. In Nigeria, it was not any different. Several types of film templates can be identified, each with its peculiarities, aim and purpose. This paper identified and analysed three major types, namely, the colonial, the post-colonial and the Nigeria video film templates. It is argued that the colonial and other types of authority controlled film templates were not designed to survive beyond their periods, some short and others relatively long.

From the above perspective, it can be stated that a large part of films produced in the colonial template in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular was in the majority, created to perform the functions of promoting

colonial interests. With the attainment of political independence in almost all countries, it lost its relevance, appeal and audience.

On the other hand, a substantial part of the post-colonial film template, which followed and picked up the gauntlet, was so elitist in nature and reliant on foreign donors, foreign training and was too political to survive the current rigours of the commercial film market in the country and elsewhere. Further, film in the hands of many Nigerian producers, as was the case with their numerous African counterparts, was focused on addressing cultural and other serious issues of decolonization and under-development without making serious impact on the market forces. For these and many other reasons, they either fade away with the needs that arose for their production or faded into oblivion due to their failure to cut across and appeal to multiple layers of audience to enable them to sustain themselves. At best, they manage to appeal to specific segments of the society, which is hardly sufficient for them to stay afloat.

The Nigeria video film template, on the other hand, manages to remain relevant as Nollywood and other indigenous language films by applying Hollywood and sometimes Indian patterns. A large number of Nigeria Nollywood video films (including Kannywood films but perhaps excluding many Yoruba language films) are more often than not patterned after the American films. Also, in some instances, a large segment of Hausa video films is patterned after Indian films or their imitation. Thus, the Nigeria video film template is not only the most current, but the most visible and successful.

In general, its ability to imitate, adopt, adapt and localize contents of international films assists in its sustenance and development. One out of many advantages of localizing the production of these video films is that, the audience may easily identify more with local actors and actresses with whom they share a lot in common than with the foreign ones. The same applies to their association and familiarity with the language in use, the issues under discussion, the problems raised and addressed as well as plots, themes, scenes and so on. One of the important factors responsible for this is their commonality of content. They both provide glamour, temporary relief, illusion, action and avenues for identification with wealth, good living and other ostentatious way of living.

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## **Mediatization of Cultural Symbolism: Analysis of Shi'a Religious Posters in Northern Nigeria**

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### **Introduction**

The study of visual culture generally has become necessary because, developments in general linguistic theory have informed the interpretation of other communication modes besides language. Halliday (1978) uses linguistically-derived insights to examine non-linguistic modes based on the theory of language and communication, which is referred to as *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL). O'Toole (1994) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) accordingly argue that the most interesting thing in their approach to the interpretation of visuals is the adaptation of the Halliday's model to link the meanings of visuals to their producers and their particular social contexts. They build on Halliday's framework to be able to analyse the *grammar* of images in educational contexts, and the visual semiotics of images in posters, carved wooden artefacts, architecture and general photography and painting.

Also, the interest shown in the visual mode by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) in social semiotics leads to many discoveries in the realm of *reading* images. They make the same assumptions as social semiotics about the nature of human communication and apply similar approaches in interpreting visual and verbal meanings in multimodal texts. They note that others working in visual semiotics before them have tended to concentrate on the 'lexis' rather than the 'grammar' of images, in that they have concentrated on the meaning projected by the individual scenes and objects portrayed within images rather than the connected meanings. Kress and van Leeuwen's

interest in visual literacy is for the significance of visual communication in the media age.

Mediated religious symbolism falls in the sphere of the socially-based visuals that Kress and van Leeuwen are referring to. This aspect of social visuals forms one of the conspicuous interfaces of religion, media and popular culture. In fact, the evolution of media to their current complexity has tremendously affected religion in terms of the production, designing, distribution and consumption of religious content by categories of consumers (Moriarty, 1996; Soukup, 2013).

Clark and Clanton (2012) assert that the concept of religion and popular culture is a new academic area, which is emerging as an important subset of two larger subject areas known as Religious Studies and Cultural Studies. They explain that these twin fields enable scholars to think critically about the ways in which popular cultural practices and products, such as the posters and other forms of entertainment, such as music, dance, etc. are laden with religious ideas, themes and values, because religion and media are inseparable in terms of what one does to the other (Kreinath, 1976; De Vries 2001).

Cacho (2007) argues that symbols are powerful and suggestive and their powers lie in their lack of precision and un-specificity. Instead, they are vague and capable of evoking several meanings at a time. This implies that the open-ended suggestiveness of symbols makes up for their lack of conceptual specificity. Also, according to Geertz (1965: 101), symbols play a double role. They simultaneously express images of reality and shape that reality. Religious symbols thus provide a representation of the way things are (“models *of*”) as well as guides, programmes or directs human activity (“models *for*”). Accordingly, the studies of rituals and cultural symbolism expose the limitation of language as a means of holistic communication, because all expressions must be accompanied with relevant socio-cultural contexts before they make any meaning. It is in this regard that Lippman (1922) argues that language is by no means a perfect vehicle of meanings.

### **The Shi’a and Religious Symbolism**

The term “Shi’a” refers to an Islamic religious sect which originated and was mostly practised in Iran. According to Blanchard (2009), literally it means the “partisans of” or “supporters of”. In its broader religious sense, the term refers to those who support Ali bin Abi Talib (the Fourth Caliph of Islam) and the *Ahl bait* or the Prophet’s family as the sole custodians of divine right and knowledge (*Walayat*) and, therefore, is the divinely ordained heir apparent to the Caliphate at all times after the Prophet. By implication, the Shi’a doctrine of *walayat* actually assumes that the first three Sunni Caliphs,

namely Abubakar, Umar and Uthman, were unqualified to preside over the affairs of Muslims after the death of Prophet Muhammad, because they did not have the divine prerequisite for the office. Such a divine order is an exclusive preserve of the *Ahl Bait* or the Prophet's family. Shi'a symbols, like any other, can be referred to, by the followers, as "meaning picture" or "meaning sign" to best describe the revealing and at the same time the concealing aspects of religious experience.

### **The Shi'a in Nigeria**

According to Ostien (2012), there is a relatively small Islamic religious group in Nigeria often referred to as "Shi'a", but the same group prefers to call itself the *Harakah Islamiyah*, that is, "The Islamic Movement" or in the local Hausa language as "*Harkar Yan Uwa Musulmi*", meaning, "the Muslim Brothers Movement". Whereas practically the observable ideologies and practices of the group fits only those of the Shi'a sect, particularly the *Twelver/Ja'afariyya* Iranian sub-set, the group on many occasions is reluctant to categorically refer to itself as "Shi'a".

Also, according to Modibbo (2012 in Ostien 2012), the *Amir* (leader) of the Plateau State branch of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMAN) asserts that it is a misconception to suggest that the Brothers Movement is indoctrinating Shi'a ideologies among Nigerian Muslims, because, according to the Amir, this fuels the hesitation of many Sunni Muslims to support the group's struggle for an "Islamic State of Nigeria". Obviously, however, this thinking that the group is solely Shiite is a result of the observed group's admiration and veneration of Imam Husayn bin Ali and other contemporary Shi'a leaders, such as Imam Ayatollah Khomeini and Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah, amongst others. The *de facto* headquarters of the group in Nigeria is Zaria city – home of its leader: Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky.

### **Semiotics and the Nature of Signs**

According to Berger (2012), the discipline of semiotics looks at everything as a sign or at best a convergence of signs for the generation of relevant meanings. He further asserts that we can appreciate the nature and roles of signs in the construction and circulation of meaning when we, for example, observe people, either in real life or in mass-mediated text. We naturally notice some things like the clothing and the shoes they wear, the insignias fitted on their uniforms, the tattoos they paint and their other body ornaments. All these bits and pieces are signs meant to convey certain ideas about what these people are like, what they are doing or not doing at a given time.

Mere *visuality* – the biological process of seeing - is not sufficient in building the meaning of signs. Those objects seen, according to him, must be related to those things within our socio-contextual experiences of the particular objects we see. The objects and ornaments referred to by Berger, when mass-mediated, become especially more powerful, because of the media's ability to mythically transform them and transmit them to a wide range of recipients. Signs, according to Charles Sanders Peirce (1839 – 1914) in Berger (1984), are related to objects by resembling them, being causally connected to them; or being conventionally tied to them. Peirce uses the term *iconic* for resemblance; *indexical* for *causal connection*; and *symbol* for *conventional association*. Thus, for Peirce, both icons and indexes have natural relationships with what they stand for (Berger, 1984).

Auge (2005: 91) holds that a symbol is “something that stands for something else” (Berger 1998: 206). Further defined, it is “anything to which meaning is attributed.” Saussure (1966), on the other hand, holds that signs consist of two elements: a sound-image, such as a word or visual representation, and a concept for which the sound-image stands. What is central to Saussure's model is the notion of oppositional relations. According to this perspective, concepts have meaning because of the basic oppositional or positive-negative relations they maintain with each other. This viewpoint holds that signs do function not through their innate value but through their relative position, because nothing has meaning in itself. Things only have meaning when they relate with other things.

It can be seen that Peirce and Saussure differ in their conception of the relationship between signs and what they signified. Whereas Peirce argues that the relationship between symbols and their objects are conventional and natural, Saussure maintains that symbols and their objects are independent of each other; their inter-relationships are not conventional. For Saussure, before symbols can produce any meaning, the signs and the signified must be separately understood to be referring to each other.

### **Visuality**

Visuals are those mediated cultural products that we can see; *visuality* is, therefore, the sole biological act of seeing. Is our ability to focus and see media visuals enough to produce their intended or even implied meaning? Lippman (1922:300) asserts that mere “...visual perceptions are liable to great error, as in identification, recognition, judgement of distance, estimates of numbers, for example, the size of a crowd. In the untrained observer, the sense of time is highly variable. All these original weaknesses are complicated by tricks of memory, and the incessant creative quality of the imagination”.

Also, Bal (2003), in explaining *visuality*, notes that the act of looking is profoundly impure when focused against objects. According to him, instead of our *visuality* to precisely define the exact features of focal image, it is rather the practice of looking invested in an image that constitutes the object field. The real pictures of objects are dependent upon their historicity, social context and their openness to their *synaesthetics*. The idea of *synaesthetics* in the context of perceptive activity is the psychological evocation of one kind of sense impression when another sense is stimulated, for example, the sensation of a given colour when a particular sound is instead heard or the evocation of a conserved healthy environment when the word “green” is aurally perceived from a spoken sound.

Without these processes, visuality can be inherently blurred and will thus not lead to the coherence of the constructed discourse. In the construction and deconstruction of artefacts, thus, no part of the “corporeal sensorium” (the interaction of body and senses) will be excluded; because right during the production of such an artefact, no part of it was to be excluded. Ishaq (2012) concludes that the depiction of the battle of Karbala, with the imaginary portraits of the Prophet and Imams along with narrative scenes of the tragedy, has influenced the development of aesthetic and ritual practices within the context of Shi’a ideology.

### **The Potency of Posters as Mass Communication Media**

Marcus (2002) and Fridlung and Russell (2006) posit that the human brain is trained to automatically respond to our immediate environment through automatic emotional reactions, as well as to recognize non-verbal messages from others. Moreover, perspectives in evolutionary psychology on facial expressions provide evidence that facial displays are tools that signal behavioural intents and presuppose social interaction.

Also, Manusov and Patterson (2006) argue that visual communication is impactful not just in political circles where poster use is most pervasive. There is significant evidence, in religious and other social engagements that people attend to visual communication and even behave rather intuitively to the presence of certain images.

In another study, Berk (2012) discloses that empirical studies demonstrate the sustaining influence of religion on practices in business organizations and the production and consumption of religious symbols and images in popular culture. The advertisements on posters and handbills focused on religious-spiritual narratives through popular culture and commercial and commodified manifestations in books, music, film, posters, jargons, advertising, marketing, branding and special dress codes. Berk (2012) posits that, although religious leaflets contained appeals to *logos*,

which is the name of Jesus Christ as the personification of the wisdom of God, in their structure or actual arguments, the main rhetorical technique in this form of propaganda was an appeal to the audience's emotions.

In many ways, the study offered a condensed version of the scientific and religious pamphlets, presenting their most striking and compelling arguments through images. Despite their scientific and factual claims, many of the underlying messages of these posters were embedded in religiosity and appeal to emotions. Temperance Era posters hinted both at the importance of responsible parenting and the Protestant work ethic, both deeply held religious values for the Americans at the time (Berk, 2012). Again, Babb and Wadley's (1998) collection of essays, *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia* (1995), examines how new media affect religion in India. Considering everything from religious posters and comic books to television and video, they and their contributors argue that the new communications media have significantly changed the distribution of religious and cultural symbols in South Asian societies.

#### **Theoretical Framework: The Multimodal Social Semiotic Theory**

Hodge and Kress (1988) propose that their perceptions of the limitations of language as the sole vehicle of meaning production prompts them to engage in social semiotics studies, which is based on two facets. The first is the predominance of the social dimension in understanding language structures and processes. The second is the idea that no single communicative signal can be successfully studied or fully understood in isolation. Meaning is not restricted only to the linguistic code, but resides in the multiplicity of other co-systems of meaning making. These co-systems are: visual, aural, behavioural and other codes. Visuals are, therefore, multi-dimensional in that they simultaneously utilise a range of different visual processes in order to project their meanings to their viewers.

Kress and Hodge acknowledge that this view is derived directly from M.A.K. Halliday's work, especially his *Language as Social Semiotic* published in 1978. In all communication in the contemporary social world, meanings are made in ensembles drawing on, and consisting of, different modes. Communicative modes are the gestures and speeches, objects, writings with images, gazes of different intensities, postures of all kinds and actions of other kinds that all contribute to meaning making in complex multi-modal conjunctions. Each of the modes in such ensembles works in a functional manner to offer specific affordances, that is, the potentials for meaningful communication (Berger, 2012).

The foundation theory of Multimodality was first hinted at by Arnold Lazarus in 1967 as a sole instrument for psychotherapy. Multimodality

assumes that the management of psychological problems can only be successful when approached from a broad-based social and cognitive learning perspective, because the social learning theory assumes that all manner of behaviours are found and sustained through bio-environmental interactions that manifest in the individual or group. Lazarus argues that earlier behavioural theories rested on the analyses of stimulus-response exigencies, but the advent of what is now termed cognitive behaviour therapy is anchored on the finding that cognitive processes determine the influence of external events, and can in turn be affected by the social and environmental consequences of behaviour (Noad, 2007).

### **Methodology**

This research used both quantitative and qualitative research techniques in the data collection. Specifically, qualitative research techniques were applied in the forms of in-depth interviewing and non-probability sampling methods, such as purposive and snowballing sampling process. The quantitative research technique, on the other hand, was employed in examining the patterns of Shi'a poster consumption across the Shi'a administrative centres (*Markaz*) in northern Nigeria.

### **Study Population**

First, in order to explore the motives, expectations and intents of the Shi'a visual media producers, this study considered all Shi'a-related visual media producers and consumers in northern Nigeria, as the population from which the sample was drawn for in-depth interviews and survey respectively. Second, for the text and textual analysis, the population for this research consisted of all Shi'a visual media produced and circulated out of which the sample was drawn for semiotic analysis. Third, for this researcher to investigate the process of the consumption of Shia visual media in Nigeria, the research area was considered to be the entire 19 states of northern Nigeria out of which the survey sample was drawn for questionnaire distribution.

### **Content Categories**

Ibrahim (2014: p. 94) cites Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) in identifying eight markers that determine the multimodality of a visual, namely: "colour saturation, colour differentiation, colour modulation, contextualization, representation, depth, illumination and brightness..." In the event of an excessive application of any sub-category above, the viability of the visual will be deficient. All the modes making up a visual must be adjudged harmonious in relation to another if the believability of the visual object is



sought – typically, and in this research, too, these multi-modal markers will function as the content categories for the analysis of selected Shi’a symbols.

### **The Presentation and Analysis of Data**

Data from the in-depth interviews conducted was used in order to discover the symbolic, historical and ideological significance of semiotic elements in the research sample from informed sources in the research area. The second method used to generate data is the multimodal textual analysis framework. This paper incorporated the data collected from the two methods into a formalized analytical framework of Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual grammar. The analysis was based on the following Shi’a Poster (produced and consumed in northern Nigeria).

### **The Perceptual Analysis**

Figure 1 has an aggregate of three images one of which is placed in a horizontal orientation across the top half of the page while two smaller images (Image 2 and Image 3) face each other also vertically below the largest image. The first image has bold caption of transliterated Arabic text thus:



*Figure 1: Husayn and ZhulJanah poster obtained from Husainiyyah Markaz, Zaria (2015)*

“LABBAIKA YA HUSAYN”. The font of the caption is all in caps and bold. There is an Arabic text “Husayn” decipherable right in the middle of the sky

in the first image. Image 2 is the picture of a horse supposedly made from the surrounding white clouds. The third image has three adults walking: two men

behind a woman. The woman wears a face veil and holds a toddler. The infant has an arrow stuck in the middle of its neck. The man in the middle spread his two hands in some gesture of Muslim ritual of supplication while the second man behind him is putting one of his hands across his eyes while his other hand is placed on the shoulder of the man ahead of him.

### **The Ideational Meta-function**

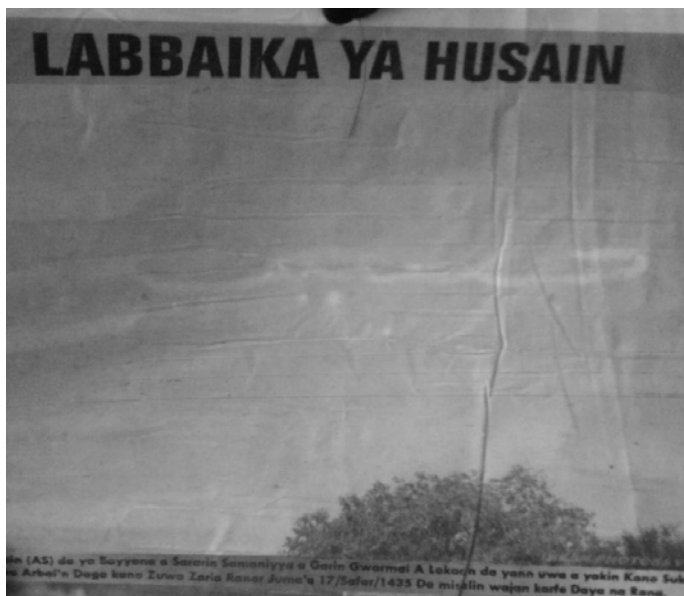
The most striking image in the poster is the image of the *ZhulJanah* supposedly formed in the sky from the adjoining cloud. The embedded assumption around the image is that it is a horse belonging to Husayn bin Ali. The horse is named *ZhulJanah* (one that wings) for its unusual speed in combat. According to the Karbala legend, the horse fought and killed many attackers of its master before the attackers subdued the master. After the battle, the horse found its way home. The second most unusual image in Figure 1 is in Image 1 where we have a clear blue sky upon which *Husayn*, in Arabic letters, supposedly appeared. The most dominant character in Image 3 is Husayn bin Ali, who is in the middle of the two adults in the picture. This is recognized as such because of the visual weight of the Husayn's image occasioned by the lower angle of his shot and for his comportment despite his current travails, part of which has already overtaken his little child. The visual syntax shows off Husayn as an enduring leader who resorted to God via his raised hands in faith and trust - the ritual also suggests the piety of Husayn as a custodian of divine virtues. The analytical frame of the picture seems to be the various humiliations and ordeals suffered by Husayn in Karbala some moments before he was killed.

### **The Textual Meta-function**

*Labbaik ya Husayn*, meaning *we have answered thee O, Husayn*, is the caption of the poster. The other Arabic text in the sky is a montage in furtherance of the ideological narrative of the picture. The Hausa text narrating the venue and time of the miracle occurrence re-confirms to the researcher that the image was a local content production. The compositional relationship of all the images in this poster can be seen bounded by only one ideological sentiment that is expressed in all of the three images in the poster. All the three images have the participation of Husayn.

### **The Interpersonal Meta-function**

The text of the name of “Husayn” represents the primary participant. Hence, it is shot from a low angle to enhance the representative power and miracle of Husain on the day of commemorating his martyrdom. The contact between the inscription and the viewer is guided by the frontal display of the text to viewers for their contemplation and reverence. The distance is a far social distance, because the whole figure appears and the surrounding space of the sky. The dominant analytical frame of this poster can be said to be the tragic end of Husayn and his family during the Karbala battle.



*Figure 2: Husayn's name on the sky in Gwarmai Town*

### **Textual Meta-function**

The horizontal text that runs in the middle of the poster reads: **Sunan Imam Husain (AS) da ya Bayyana a Sararin Samaniya a Garin Gwarmai a Lokacin da 'Yan'uwa a yankin Kano Suke Tattakin Yaumu Arba'in Daga Kano Zuwa Zaria Ranar Juma'a 17/Safar/1435 Da misalign karfe Dayana Rana.** Meaning: This is the name of Imam Husain (AS) that appeared in the sky in Gwarmai town during the Arbain walk by brothers of the Kano Zone who were observing a trek from Kano to Zaria on 17/Safar/1435 by 1 pm.

The major issue with the composition of the event in Image 1 “is the rare miracle that befits none but Husayn. God is confirming to the sceptic Muslims from rival sects that Imam Husayn is the lead way to heaven and

that the followers of *Ahl bait* (Shi'a) are the righteous group of Muslims” (Mallam, 2015).

The verbal text thus represents the primary participant that is *Husayn bin Ali*. This particular picture is shot from a low angle and this enhances the power, authority and miracle of Husain on the day of commemorating his martyrdom. The contact between the inscription and the viewer is guided by the frontal display of the Arabic inscription to viewers for their contemplation and reverence. The distance is a social distance, because we have the full portrait and the surrounding space of the expanse sky on which the text *Husayn* was inscribed. The dominant analytical frame of this poster, therefore, can be said to be the issues surrounding Husayn and his family during the historical Karbala episode and those that have just happened recently along Kano - Zaria road.

**Social distance:** Far social distance, because the whole figure appears with complete physical environment context.

**Angle representation:** The picture was shot from a low angle to indicate the represented participant power.



**Figure 3:** *ZhulJanah* image formed by the clouds in Gwarmai town

**Textual Meta-function**

The image of the horse occurs in the sky – and although the sky is predominantly blue, the horse was formed by the surrounding white clouds to take the actual live colour of the *ZhulJanah*.

**Interpersonal Meta-function**

**Contact:** The image that carries the biggest visual weight is the *ZhulJanah* image. The image act is realized by the miraculous nature of its appearance in the sky in the local town of *Gwarmai* on the *Arbain* commemoration day. The viewer is, therefore, offered an unusual image of a horse supposedly formed by adjoining white clouds the viewers' contemplation and reverence. The cloud-horse is shot frontally to emphasize its dominance and also shot in a very low angle to accentuate its prominence. There is an ideological and dogmatic statement expressed by the place of the "horse" in the sky. First the horse is not ordinary: it is *ZhulJanah*, Husayn's horse and God has miraculously formed its solid image in heaven.

**Social distance:** The photo was shot wholly with space around it having a far social distance.

**Attitude angle detachment:** The picture was shot in an oblique angle and so we do not have a complete view of the horse, because there was emphasis on the details of the "raw materials" that form the horse image – the clouds.

**Angle representation:** The horse was photographed from a low angle to denote its prominence in Shi'a creed.



*Figure 3: Poster of Husayn and Ali Asghar in Karbala*

#### **Textual Meta-function**

The third image has three adults walking, two men behind a woman; the woman wears a face veil and holds a toddler. The infant has an arrow stuck in the middle of its neck. The man in the middle spread his two hands in some gesture of the Muslim ritual of supplication while the other man right behind him is putting one of his hands across his eyes while his other hand is placed on the shoulder of the man ahead of him.

#### **Interpersonal Meta-function**

**Contact:** The frontal angle of the shot presents the viewer with Husayn and, particularly, his little infant, *Ali Asghar*, both looking straight in the direction of their attackers. This leaves the viewer in unresolved tension, “feeling of anguish and the zeal to protest or fight for or at the extreme go on revenge mission on behalf of Husayn and family” (Mallam, 2015). Critically speaking, the fact that even the little child follows the same visual direction to where the arrows are coming leaves the viewer in awe, sober reflection and pain.

**Social distance:** The distance between the depicted participants and the viewer is the far *personal distance*, because the participants are depicted from the waist up in which the background context of the image presents to the viewer with a weak and further weakened helpless people far away from homely protection. The viewer presented with supposedly powerful figures, but trapped amidst violence by rival army through the frontal view of all the characters in the image. The foremost highest angle of the child struck by the arrow in the neck, when ironically contrasted from the low angle shot of his father, reveal to the viewer how on the spur of the moment the mighty Imam Husayn was falling to martyrdom in a short moment to come.

**Attitude angle detachment:** The mediated signs in this image were shot frontally and the sign is viewed wholly

**Angle representation:** The picture was shot from low angle to pronounce the prominence and Power of Husayn bin Ali

Based on the verbal texts complementing the images in the poster being investigated, it was discovered that several terminologies were used to give details of the visual elements in the posters. In some cases, the written languages were used to domesticate the images in such a way that the secondary interactive participant or image reader will be more acquainted with them. This paper further discovered that very often, the terms and phrases used in the production of the Shi'a posters in northern Nigeria are framed in Arabic, English, Fulfulde and Hausa. The statements are often awe-inspiring, provocative, inviting and/or prompting sympathy. The terms and phrases, however, could only have meaning when interpreted within the context of the image they accompany.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), the composition of images relies on the interrelation of three systems one of which is information value. That is how certain elements in the text are placed within it to give it a particular value. For example, there is a caption written in Hausa in Figure 1, Image 1, which complements the poster of Husayn's name being formed by white clouds in the middle of the sky in Gwarmai Village along Kano-Zaria road on the Arbain (40th day of the martyrdom of Husayn) when the Brothers were observing a walk to celebrate the day.

From the foregoing, therefore, this paper confirms the assertions in the literature review about the multimodality of semiotic resources – that is to say, visual and verbal clues have to collaborate within a social context to construct meaning. The verbal terminologies, as enunciated above, play only

complementary roles in such a way that a holistic meaning cannot be achieved where even one semiotic mode is distorted or removed.

### **Shi'a Poster Production in Northern Nigeria**

All the people interviewed regarding the pattern of Shi'a poster production in northern Nigeria believed that it is pioneered and monopolized by the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMAN) Publications Company and other private businesses owned by individual Shi'a adherents. There are only a few neutral people who are merely handed down approved designs of posters only for mass printing. According to Mallam Hassan, the Marketing Manager of the Islamic Movement Publications Company (IM publications) Zaria:

Our primary assignments are the magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and other literatures in both Hausa and English languages – as you can see these involves many pictures and posters. Our mandate is to publish only issues and subjects relating to the Movement and then other current affairs regarding the Movement and other national issues. one important fact: our company is not solely driven by profit making motives. In fact some of our publications are offered as token for a charity offered to some of our outfits (Hassan, 2014).

Alkanawi Umar, Mustafa Kona and Yunusa Badamasi are poster designers/sellers who are currently based in Zaria and working at the Husainiyya Centre. According to them, the process of posters production starts with the intuition of what an average Shi'a poster producer feels will sell when placed on the market. According to Barde Haruna:

We the students of Mallam (Sheikh Zakzaky) *Hafizahullahu* (may Allah protect him) are basically our own producers, distributors and vendors of our own visual media products (Umar, 2015, Sabon Gari, Zaria). (Badamasi, 2015, Nusra Prints, Kano). Once we sort photographs into a “screen play”, that is the arrangement of narrative, the next thing is to do the art work, present the dummy for the approval of the *Lajannah* (gate-keeping committee) for mass printing (Haruna, 2014).

On the other hand, the entire non-Shi'a poster producers interviewed, for example, Kabiru Rurum, who has been in the business of poster production



in Gumi Market, Kaduna, said that the non-Shi'a could not on their own try to source for the publishable ideas, subjects and persons, for fear of misrepresentation that might cause a backlash from Shi'a adherents.

From the foregoing responses, this research has found out that there are four categories of people involved in the production and circulation of Shi'a symbols in northern Nigeria, namely: the Shi'a owned Islamic Movement Publications Company, Zaria whose products are sometimes offered as a token for the charity to some funds ran by the company; second, there are individual poster producers who belong to the Shi'a group, who also form majority of the Shi'a poster producers. They own professional print outfits and run their activities both based on greater ideological propagation and profit-making motives. Third, there are other outfits, such as the photographers who print and sell pictures from local events – also in this category there are desktop computer workers. This category also involves people belonging to the Shi'a sect and are known more popularly for Shi'a-related productions, running the business both for enthusiastic ideological propagation (*da'awah*) and for profit.

The fourth category is the non-Shi'a conventional poster producers in the hubs of poster industries in Kasuwan Rimi, Kurmi Market in Kano and Gumi Market in Kaduna. The producers under this category do not on their own define and select Shi'a symbols for mediation. They depend on approved dummies and wait for instruction by customers for eventual mediation.

The paper further discovered that most of the non-Shi'a producers of visual media are somewhat cautious of mediating the Shi'a ideologies or the ideologies of other specific religious sects like the Izalah, Tariqa or the outlawed *Boko Haram* for fear of repercussions in the event of representative mistakes. It was also discovered that the hunch of the Shi'a visual producers guides the production of posters in the study area. It is also clear that the hunches of the publishable ideas depend on the conversance of an average producer of the inner workings of the Shi'a Movement.

The research also discovered that both pictures and verbal texts are framed and presented to the target audiences in such a way that they touch the deepest feelings of the consumers, just as observed by Geeertz (1965). Shi'a image designers create provocative feelings against the attackers of Shi'a icons, especially in relation to the images of the Karbala tragedy. In some cases, sympathetic feelings towards represented participants are prompted by the image makers with the aim of mobilizing the audiences to identify themselves with the represented participants and to carry on with the missions of the later.

## Conclusion

This paper's main object was to investigate the interplay of production processes and the textuality of mediated religious symbolism by analysing Shi'a posters produced and circulated in northern Nigeria. The paper was able to offer an insight into the nature of Shi'a poster industries and their products. Based on the data generated using both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, the study discovered that:

1. The Islamic Movement Publications Company based in Zaria and other private Shi'a adherents monopolise the production and the circulation of visual media products of the Shi'a in Nigeria. In rare cases where the non-Shi'a are involved in the process of production of Shi'a culture, the individual has limited participation in the production chain. The main reason for this is the fact that visual media production processes are tied to the main Shi'a clerical and administrative hierarchy with a Committee known as the *Lajannah* (for screening poster dummies), which vets and provides serial numbers to the approved artworks that will proceed to the printing stage.
2. The political economy of Shi'a posters mostly is not solely premised on the profit motive, as the conventional poster businesses, but primarily on ideological propagation as "service in the cause of Allah". For example, the Islamic Publications Company in Zaria offers a certain category of posters on the "market" asking for larger monetary contributions than the real price of the product to enable it to raise funds for some organs of the "*Harakah Islamiyyah*" (Islamic Movement). Shi'a poster production in Nigeria was started through the importation of free literature by mail, particularly from Iran and Lebanon, to Nigerian audiences. This accentuates the ideological content uniformity of locally produced and imported posters.
3. Responses indicate the importance of modern media technologies in facilitating both the production and consumption of Shi'a visual media products in northern Nigeria.
4. The semiotic analysis conducted on selected Shi'a posters indicates that virtually all Shi'a poster contents solely communicate the victimhood of the *Ahl bait*, which began during the Caliphate succession conflicts. The victimhood narrative takes many forms, but the most dominant of them of all is the various depictions of the wide varieties of scenes from the Karbala battle.
5. The semiotic analysis also shows that the main photographic elements used in the construction of the Shi'a posters analysed are: the narrative of

Husayn and the Karbala episode and pictures of the *Zhul-Janah* – The horse.

6. It was also discovered that textually, pictures, written texts and artistically designed verbal texts have been used in the poster and are framed and presented by the primary interactive participants to the target audiences in a way that creates in the audiences an attachment between them.

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## **Truck Slogans and the Advancement of Road Safety in Kano-Nigeria**

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### **Introduction**

The development of cars has radically transformed and revolutionized road transport system and affected or influenced the medium, channel, pattern and direction of mass communication flows especially in Africa, Asia, North America and South America, where public transport vehicles are used as channels of advertisement, cultural communication, identity construction, and social reflection. Transport literature popularly known as the bumper sticker, is a genuine North American product or culture, which evolved in post-World War II experimentation, especially on the maturation of commercial screen painting (Schwab, 1952). He argued that the culture overlapped from the tradition of advertisement on one's mode of transportation during the era of horse-drawn carriages, where horse-fly nets were sometimes imprinted with the name of an advertiser. Moreover, Elias (2006) observed that in pre-industrial society people used to decorate their horses with visual messages, especially in South Asia.

Baker (2011) argued that America's post-war obsession with the automobile and the freedom it afforded influenced the popularity of the bumper sticker. He observed that the earliest bumper stickers were used to advertise tourist attractions, public safety initiatives, as political campaigns strategy, advertise radio and television stations and express political and personal viewpoints. They are equally used to document social and historical events and trends.

In the mid-1960s, bumper stickers began to feature opinions and social statements that were often reflective of the turbulent times, such as the popular "Make Love, Not War" signs. The bumper sticker became a form of folk advertising, allowing anyone who owned a car to send messages to anyone who happened to read it. Bearing diverse messages from the usual to the bizarre, bumper stickers appear not only on bumpers everywhere, but are also found among significant cultural heritage collections to document American history and support research and scholarship in cultural communication.

In Africa, low access to established mass media and the relative size and sophistication of information and communication technology and infrastructure have forced individuals and socio-political groups to use alternative communication media to disseminate news and information. The use of road transport vehicles, buildings, rocks, clothes and other cultural artefacts by non-professional individuals and subcultures in the process of mass communication is popular and prevalent in most African societies. This development has forced a redefinition of the concept of mass communication from organizationally- and technologically-based concept or process, which subordinated human condition, to a more expressive perspective, which strives to maintain the society in time, represent shared beliefs and interpret our experiences (Carey, 1975 and 1989).

The development of the first automobile and the advancement in information and communication technology have democratized the process of information dissemination and liberalized the struggle between professional and non-professional individuals, as well as between corporate and independent bodies in the use of conventional and alternative media to satisfy their audiences in an environment full of possibilities.

### **Conceptual Background**

The Federal Road Safety Corporation (FRSC, 2012) Report on Road Accidents provided a complete and comprehensive statistics of road accidents in Nigeria. According to the report, there was a drastic decline in the frequency and fatality rate of road transport accidents in the country, as a result of the compliance by drivers and other stakeholders in road safety and road management with road traffic rules. The report indicated that in 2008, there were 6661 deaths and 27980 injuries from road accidents. While in 2009, there were 4120 deaths and 20975 injuries sustained from road accidents. Moreover, in 2010, 5330 deaths and 18075 injuries were recorded. Similarly, in 2011, a total of 4065 deaths and 17464 injuries occurred from the road accidents in the country.

In view of the road accidents statistics presented above, the Corps Marshal argued that there is no disease that kills Nigerians as much as road accidents. Consequently, in 2012 *Punch Newspaper* reported that the United Nations had ranked Nigeria as the second country in the world with highest rate of road accidents and unsafe roads (*Punch*, 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2012). According to the report, 1.5 million people die from road accidents in the world yearly and 35% are from sub-Saharan West Africa. The UN identified bad attitude to road usage among drivers and the poor condition of roads as the major contributory factors to the high and unacceptable rates of road accidents in the region and recommends a global effort at reduction by 50%.

Consequently, the FRSC solicited the support of all the stakeholders in road usage and management, including drivers, transport workers associations, traditional rulers and road safety agencies to halt or reduce road accidents by 50%, as advocated by the UN. It is within the purview of the advocacy presented that this paper examined the impact of road safety slogans and mottos featured on trucks/lorries in sensitizing road users about the dangers of road recklessness and the importance of road discipline in Kano State, Nigeria.

### **Literature Review**

The culture of transport literature which involves the practice of writing textual and visual messages on public transport vehicles is very common in South Asian countries, especially India, Nepal and Pakistan. In these countries, public transport vehicles present an entirely different insight into life by their textual and visual messages, which reflect the feelings, beliefs, and social history of the vehicles' owner or driver. For example in India, there is a popular culture of writing textual and visual messages on public transport vehicles. Some of these messages are basically to alert approaching vehicles, some are creative and others philosophical. Santosh (2009) argued that Indian public transport drivers/owners reflect a healthy sense of patriotism and social responsibility through the various messages. He identified some of the most popular road literature on Indian public transport vehicles: **'Horn Please, Slow-down Genius, It Is Just a Journey.'** Moreover, Nepal is one of the South Asian countries where road literature is flourishing. Almost all commercial vehicles are inscribed with either textual or visual messages, which, in Featherstone and Urray's (2005) view, reflect creativity, pride, ideology, romance, philosophy, social responsibility etc. Some of the textual messages on public transport vehicles in Nepal include: **"King of the Road", "Road Hero", and "Road Life".**

Van Der Geest (2009) observed that in 1985, Nana Ampadu, one of the Ghana's most popular performers of highlife, launched a song (in Twi) called *Driverfo*. It was an ode to public transport drivers that recounted the attractions and frustrations of their work, the passenger's behaviour, the role of the police and the solidarity among drivers. The artist culminated with a comprehensive list of slogans and inscriptions found on public transport vehicles that expressed both the bravura or glamour and anxieties of the drivers. An excerpt from Ampadu's song translated into English reads:

...What I like about the work of drivers is that  
every driver chooses a name which he writes on his car.  
Some drivers are called by the name



they have written on their cars.  
Some inscriptions on cars are interesting:  
Some are religious, some romantic.  
Some are about family problems.  
Some are insulting....' (2009, 258).

In most European colonies especially, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, public transport vehicles are not only used in the absolute sense of their function, but equally as a means of social and cultural communication (Miller, 2001).

Field (1960) was one of the earliest anthropologists who tried to decipher the meanings of vehicle texts in Ghana for a western audience. In 1960, she presented an extensive case report on 146 patients who visited priest healers in *Asante* in 1956. The complaints and requests put before the priests ranged from bad luck in business to infertility and marriage problems. Field was struck by the large number of bus and lorry drivers in these clients and began to take an interest in their way of life and studied their histories and the text they wrote on their vehicles. She collected 144 inscriptions and interviewed the drivers for their possible contextual meanings. In her study, Field (1960) categorized the texts as defensive, offensive, aggressive and provocative.

For example: **“God Is Grace”**, **“God Help Me”** are defensive inscriptions. While **“Life Is War”**, **“Mind Your Own”** are offensive texts. Moreover, she observed that some of the texts are romantic in portraying the driver as a cultural hero. Here the central concern is not anxiety over unsecured undertaking but of bravura and self-confidence in spite of many dangers. Examples of these texts, as identified by Field (1960), include: **“Fine Boy”**, **“Sharp-Sharp”**, **“No Play”**, **“Show Boy”**, **“London Boy”**.

However, since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, automobiles have become a central feature in the African road transport system and by implication, the entire African culture. This is probably the reason why Kopytoff (1986) articulated for an anthropological research into the meaning of the car in Africa. He argued that what originated in western culture has become too visible in other settings - schools, hospitals, factories, electronics and cars. He concluded that an anthropological study will reveal the extent to which these phenomena have assumed exotic features in new contexts and are subjected to profound cultural re-interpretation

In response to the above call, historians, anthropologists and cultural communicators have studied the role of the car in the colonization and missionization of Africa (Albert, 2002). Consequently, Miller (2001) described the car as a manifestation of popular and material culture. Moreover, public transport messages are so appealing and captivating to the

extent that scholars, journalists and even casual observers have tried different analytical skills on them. Lawuyi (1988), for example, used the interpretative approach to study the world of Yoruba taxi driver in Nigeria and Burke (1996) did the same in Brazil. Similarly, Klaeger (2009) studied religion on the road in Ghana and Van Der Geest (2009) studied lorry inscriptions there. These scholars conducted their studies by discussing the contextual meaning of the texts with either the drivers or the owners of the vehicles and the readers. Most of these scholars used in-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion to ask authors or readers about the possible meanings of the texts.

Lawuyi (1988) argued that the presence of religious or spiritual messages on commercial vehicles in Nigeria is a resort to symbolic action in the face of uncertainties. He observed that in Nigeria, armed robbers may attack and steal the car and the road-side mechanic may mistakenly or deliberately connect wires that could ignite and set the vehicle on fire. Moreover, nobody could predict when an accident could happen as drivers are often reckless. He used the interpretative approach to study the world of Yoruba taxi driver in the context of the taxi drivers' and owners' struggle for wealth accumulation and social mobility. He found that taxi drivers/owners used religious slogans to seek for the intervention of superior spiritual powers to prevent accidents, keep off policemen and possible dishonesty from drivers and mechanics. He noted that 100% of traditional religion adherents, 80% of Muslims and 60% of Christians, used religious slogans on their vehicles because they feel they are operating in a condition where life and property are highly insecure. Thus, inscriptions such as: **"The Lord is my Shepard", "Jesus is Lord", "Jesus is in Control", "No King as God", "Ba Mai Yi; Sai Allah"** etc. are prominent on taxis.

Van Der Geest (2009) observed that scholars have developed a variety of category systems to classify the primary themes of the popular inscriptions on public transport vehicles in Africa. He noticed the virtual religionization of inscriptions especially in West Africa and particularly Ghana and Nigeria. He argued that more inscriptions are inspired or motivated by religious dogma. He concluded that religious texts and visuals are prominent on public transport vehicles and constituted more than 30% of the sample he studied. He provided some typical religious inscriptions, which include: **"Blood of Jesus", "Clap for Jesus", "Holy Spirit"**, etc. Based on this finding, he argued that the general purpose of the inscriptions has not remarkably changed since Field's analysis in the late 1950s.

In his study, Van Der Geest (2009) found that some themes related to vehicle inscriptions in Ghana may not directly relate to the car itself but to an important life event. For example, a lorry driver commented that a popular politician had many cars in Accra. When Rawlings came to power, he went

on exile in England. Suddenly all his cars carried the inscription “**I Shall Return**”.

Consequently, cultural anthropologists (Field 1960, Law 1980, Lawuyi 1988 and Miller 2001) concluded that public transporters in Africa expressed their worries, anxieties, glamour and happiness through vehicle inscriptions, texts, slogans and visuals messages. They, therefore, observed that the greatest problem and concern for transporters is the uncertainty about the future, which they believed lay in the hands of others. Some inscriptions reflect financial concern, flatter a rich person, provoke witchcraft or other destructive actions that others are envious. Most of the African scholars that studied and analysed public transport messages in Africa were heavily concerned with the textual (written) messages. However, advances made in the information and communication technologies (ICTs) have expanded and altered the composition and social sophistication of media audiences. Consequently, public transport vehicles drivers/owners resort to the use of visual and graphic arts to communicate their feelings to the public.

During the 1960s, transporters used what Iwu (1984) called visual art to display messages on their vehicles. He argued that visual messages were associated with trucks and lorries in the period due to the low level of western literacy among the car drivers/owners, the artists as well as the audiences of textual messages. Most of the visual messages are meaningful in their contexts but, in most cases dull, clumsy, awkward and ambiguous to the intended audience. In a preliminary ethnographic interview with a truck driver in a Kwakwachi automobile workshop in Kano, I asked him about the meaning of a visual message on the truck displaying a flying eagle carrying a snake. He explained that:

A lot of people including friends and relatives are envious of my twenty-two years of successful driving career. They consistently pray and plot for my eventual downfall. You know snake is a horrible and dangerous animal to humans but an eagle deals with it diligently. That is how I intend to deal and defeat my enemies, as reflected in the visual art.

Moreover, industrialization, modernization and advancement in information and communication technologies, which facilitated rural-urban migration, have expanded and altered the pattern of social structure in Europe and subsequent European colonies. This development equally altered the pattern of the visual messages displayed on public transport vehicles, particularly in Africa and specifically in Nigeria.

Since the early 1990s, there has been an increase in the use of graphic arts in the form of stickers carrying inscriptions, slogans and visual texts of celebrities, traditional rulers, political heroes, spiritual faithful, scriptural verses, religious symbols, sports stars, soccer teams, political party logos, actors and actresses, national flags and symbols, etc. This communicative culture has become a phenomenon in the Nigerian road transport system. Ironically, these graphic visual messages are not only used for aesthetic purposes but to reflect the social history or personal identity of the vehicle driver/owner. Some examples of such visual images are shown in Fig. 1.



**Fig 1:** Bus featuring the Portrait of Gen. Buhari as a Presidential Aspirant a Tricycle Featuring the Logo of the Nazi Party and an Inscription, “Sarkin Gida” - (Head of the House)

Both the driver of the bus and the rider of the tricycle acknowledged the construction of their political identity and sympathy through the visual messages. In an interview with a commercial tricycle rider in Kano, I asked him to explain the meaning of a graphic visual image displaying the portrait of Sheik Ibrahim El-Zakzaky (the spiritual leader of the Shia Islamic Sect in Nigeria). He replied it symbolizes his membership of the Shia sect, his sympathy and obedience to the leadership of Zakzaky and the stage of his faith proclamation.



**Fig 2:** Bus Featuring the Spiritual Leaders of the Tijjaniyya Islamic Sect (Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani and Ibrahim Inyass) and a tricycle featuring the visual image of the late Emir of Kano (Ado Bayero), who is regarded as a traditional political hero

These feelings – spiritual concern over witchcraft and bad luck, anxiety, self-confidence, bravura and optimism expressed by drivers/owners of public transport vehicles are shaped by cultural and contextual traditions, which dictate the selection of the textual or visual message displayed on the vehicles and determine its latent or contextual meaning. These possibilities provide an opportunity for examining the use of transport literature to promote road discipline and de-emphasize road recklessness in Kano State.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

The study espouses the Emancipatory Media Theory developed by Klaus Krippendorf in the 1970s. It essentially seeks to free the society from social pathology and abnormalities in societal socio-economic and political structure. The proponents of the theory (Krippendorf and Enzensberger) argued that social pathology presupposes entrapment, which occurs when individuals or social groups are trapped within the fabrics of reality construction, collective beliefs, social attitude, habit of thought and action. They also observed that social pathology becomes that of communication when it is constituted in language and the interactive use of discourse. To

alter, change or liberate societies from social pathology, the proponents recognize the need for communication as the purposeful extension of power. The argument is that communication is most influential where it is least resisted and when it succeeds, power is assured to have flown from the sender to the receiver. The theory is relevant to this study, as it describes or explains the reasons why individuals, social groups and sub-cultures use the inherent power of communication to alter, transform, change, shape or influence social actions and decisions, as in the case of utilizing road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano to reduce the frequency and magnitude of road accidents.

### **Methodology**

The study adopted Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as the principal method of scientific inquiry. It is a qualitative research approach used in social and behavioural sciences as well as in communication and media studies (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock (2007)). The approach enables participants to provide a full and rich account of events or experiences while allowing the researcher considerable flexibility in probing interesting areas. Wimmer and Dominick (2011) observed that the (FGD) is a research strategy for understanding peoples' attitude and behaviour where six to twelve people are interviewed simultaneously in a relatively unstructured discussion about the subject under investigation. The people should possess certain pre-determined characteristics and are recruited to share these features of interest to the researcher. The choice of the method is informed by the argument that social knowledge, experience and meanings are co-produced out of the multiple encounters, conversation and arguments held with the people under study.

The population of the study consists of all textual road safety slogans featured on trucks and all the truck drivers with road safety slogan in Kano. Purposive sampling technique was used to select truck drivers with road safety slogans who have been in the job for ten years to participate in the study. A group of five drivers was constituted in three national motor parks in Kano: Yankaba, Kofar Wambai and Unguwa-Uku.

The study is qualitative and less concerned with providing an extensive perspective that could be generalized to the population than generating an intensive insight into complex human and social phenomena in a specific circumstance. Consequently, samples are not meant to make inferences but stop gathering information once the research reaches saturation point. Therefore, as obtainable in the qualitative research tradition, samples in this study are considered as illustrative of broader social practices rather than as strictly and generally representative.

### **Data Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis**

The study was embarked upon to examine how textual and visual road safety messages featured on commercial vehicles in Kano sensitize road users on the dangers of recklessness on the road and on the importance of road discipline. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was used as the principal method of scientific inquiry and self-contained, face-face FGD was used as the primary instrument of data gathering. Moreover, purposive sampling was used to recruit drivers of trucks with road safety slogans who have been on the job for ten years to participate in the study. Three national motor parks and a group of five drivers in each were used to generate the data as presented below.

To answer the first research question, which seeks to identify the authors of the road safety slogan featured on trucks in Kano, three participants in Yankaba Motor Park differently said the truck owners were the authors and sources of the road safety slogans displayed on their trucks. Each participant said he was not involved in any way in the process of inscribing the vehicle with any of the road safety slogans and when he was assigned as a driver the vehicle was already inscribed with the slogan and that he was the first commissioned driver of the truck.

The other two participants independently said that truck drivers were responsible for the road safety slogan featured on the trucks. One of them said when he was assigned as driver, the vehicle was new and not inscribed with any road safety slogan. Consequently, he organized for all the inscriptions featured on the truck. The other participant said he was totally involved by the truck owner in the preparation and subsequent inscription of the entire slogan featured on the truck. Contrary to the above opinion, all the participants in Kofar-Wambai Motor Park agreed that all the slogans, including the road safety slogans displayed on their trucks were initiated and prepared by the vehicle owners. They differently agreed that they were just drivers, hence they did not have the power or authority to inscribe the vehicle with any slogan because of the inherent instability of their jobs.

In another conflicting view expressed by the participants at the Unguwa-Uku Park, three participants independently said the truck drivers were the source of all slogans featured on the vehicles. Each said he was given the freewill to do whatever was right and necessary to ensure the smooth running of the vehicle. They observed that a truck owner's most concern was the weekly remittance. While the other participants were of the view that truck owners were the sole authors of the entire slogan featured on vehicles. It is, therefore, evident that there were conflicting views among the participants on the sources or authors of the road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano.

While some believed that truck owners were the authors, others recognized the truck drivers as the authors of the slogans. It can, therefore, be argued logically that truck owners and drivers are the mutual or reciprocal authors of the road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano, Nigeria.

The second inquiry is on the purposes of the road safety slogans featured on the trucks. In response to this question, a participant at the Yankaba Motor Park noted that the road safety initiatives or slogans had manifest and latent purposes. He argued that the manifest purpose is to reduce over speeding, recklessness and general bad attitude on the road by drivers, while the latent purpose was the struggle for personal safety. The remaining four participants agreed that road safety slogans were primarily displayed to promote road usage awareness and general traffic regulations.

For three of the participants at Kofar Wambai Park, road safety slogans is a cultural coincidence among truck drivers. They individually do not believe that the slogans are featured to promote road safety or encourage road traffic compliance among road users. However, one of the participants did not even know or understand the meaning of the road safety slogans written in English and to him they were mere decorations. The last person was indifferent of the specific purpose of the slogans.

For all the Unguwa-Uku Motor Park participants, there is always a reason or purpose for human actions and inactions. They independently believed that the basic purpose of the road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano was evident in their apparent meaning, which is the reduction of unsafe and reckless driving culture and promotion of compliance to traffic regulations. It is, therefore, logical to argue that truck owners and drivers in Kano have reasons for the displayed road safety slogans and this purpose revolves around the promotion of road safety, reducing road recklessness and promoting road discipline, as captured in Figure 3.





*Fig 3: Truck with five distinct road safety slogans in different colours*

The first is the “**No Standing**” injunction, which cautions passengers not to stand on the apex of the vehicle, as it is the tradition in most African societies for passengers to board fully loaded trucks. The second is the recommended speed limit for vehicles on highways: **76 KLM/H** (i.e 76 kilometre per hour). The third road safety slogan, which is not apparent and written in white, is “**Horn Before Overtake**” (i.e Hoot Before You Overtake). Another slogan is the “**Stop**” caution and finally “**Go Well**”, which implies to an advice to avoid recklessness on the road.



*Fig 4: Truck with three road safety slogans*

Figure 4 presents a truck that displays three different safety slogans in compliance to road traffic regulations. The first is the recommended speed limit of **56 KLMH** (i.e 56 Kilometres per hour). The second is the **“Stop”** caution, which reminds drivers of the recommended distance between vehicles on the road. The third is the **“Slow Down”** injunction, which cautions against rough and reckless driving.

The third investigation is on the most frequent road safety slogans displayed on the trucks. The FGD conducted revealed that each of the five participants in each of the three Motor Parks was able to mention either: **“Slow Down”**, **“Horn Before Overtake”**, **“Stop”**, **“56 kmph or 80 kmph”** as the most frequently featured road safety slogans on trucks. This shows that truck drivers in Kano are conscious of the existence and purpose of the road safety slogans featured on their vehicles. It equally suggests that the culture is a deliberate participatory communication effort aimed at creating and promoting road safety awareness among all the stakeholders in road usage and management.

In discussing the impact of the road safety slogans featured on the trucks to reduce the frequency and fatality of road accidents, five out of the fifteen participants individually expressed their inability to read and understand the road safety slogans, especially the ones written in English. Hence, they cannot measure or assess their impact (compliance and positive action) while

seven of the participants noted that the slogans served as a caution for them. They fully comply with the dictates of the slogans by controlling speed, appropriately hooting, using traffic lights and maintaining the speed limit. The remaining three participants independently said that although they were conscious of the slogans, they neither complied nor acted accordingly because they do not think that the authors were serious. One of them was more concerned with the challenges posed by competition and uncertainty than with being careful and traffic compliant.

### **Major Findings**

Based on the data presented, the study found:

- That truck owners and drivers are the mutual or reciprocal authors of the road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano State.
- That truck drivers are conscious of the existence of road safety slogans as a deliberate participatory communication strategy, which serves as an advocacy for the advancement of road safety awareness.
- That the basic purpose of road safety slogans featured on trucks in Kano is to reduce the frequency and magnitude of carnage on the roads by promoting compliance to traffic rules.
- That road safety slogans featured have impacted on the attitude change of most drivers who participated in the study because they have acknowledge compliance with traffic rules, as championed in the most frequently featured slogans or mottos.

### **Conclusion**

It can, therefore, be concluded that road safety slogans have impacted positively in view of the grassroots organization, sub-culture participation and the real sense of communality exhibited which aims at promoting road safety awareness and the reduction in the frequency and magnitude of road accidents in Kano. This culture is championed by the proponents of the Emancipatory Media Theory and is in agreement with the findings of Lawuyi (1988), Burke (1996) and Guseh (2008), who have all researched the use of road safety messages on commercial vehicles in Nigeria, Brazil and Liberia. This symbolizes a trans-national flow of influence, as well as the adaptation and appropriation of culture.

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## **Audiences Perception of Medialization of Some Stories in *Magana Jari Ce* from Book to Television Drama**

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### **Introduction**

It is indisputable that modern urban life entirely depends on the media for fast and efficient sharing of information to a large number of audiences within the shortest possible time. As a result, the relationship between the media of mass communication, on one hand, and the audiences, on the other hand can be said to be a very intimate one. While mass media are the disseminators of information, the audiences are the consumers of such information. Thus, one cannot do without the other.

On the other hand, information and communication technology contributes in an unquantified way in bringing the different parts of the contemporary world into what McLuhan (1987) described as the “global village” through the use of technological devices. The applications of these devices, which are portable, digital and sophisticated in communication process, have paved the way for the rapid disappearance of cultures across communities, nations and continents. At the same time, media productions and reproductions have completely changed from analogue to digital technological devices, such as compact discs, video compact discs, MP3 and MP4, among others, which led to the formation of a systematic and organized interconnected society and simplified sharing cultural and literary products across heterogeneous societies.

However, scholars in media studies singled out the audio-visual medium, as having effective consequences on other social institutions – the cultural, the social, the political and the religious. It is against this backdrop that the audio-visual medium receives series of criticisms and condemnations among other media of communications. This might not be unconnected with the perceived influence of audio and visual on television viewers. Communication and information technology contribute in not only the creation of new audiences, but, at the same time, determines how the audiences receive and react to media contents. This paper, therefore, attempts

to analyse the receptions and reactions of audiences *drawn* from Kaduna, Kano and Katsina who read *Magana Jari Ce* and at the same time watched the adapted *Magana Jari Ce* drama series. The aim is to discuss the audiences' views on the adapted drama series.

### **Contextual Background**

For proper understanding of the context within which this paper is situated, this section attempts to provide a brief explanation on *Magana Jari Ce* – the book and the films.

#### **(a) *Magana Jari Ce* - The Book**

*Magana Jari Ce* was written in three volumes by Alhaji Abubakar Imam in 1938, 1939, and 1940, respectively. The volumes contain a total number of eighty three (83) short and long stories. The stories in *Magana Jari Ce* are either adapted, appropriated or translated from *Alfu Laylah Wa Laylatun; Kalilah Wa Dimnah; Bahrul Adab; Hans Anderson Fairy Tales; Aesop Fables; the Brothers Grimm Fairy Tales; Tales from Shakespeare* and *Rauldhal Jinan*. (Abdullahi, 1998). The Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (NNPC), which is the publisher of the three volumes of the book, explains that fairy tales and folktales from different parts of the world, particularly from the Middle East, were used in producing the book. It went further to say that the adaptation of the stories in *Magana Jari Ce* was done with the assistance of Abubakar Kagara, who was at the corporation on part-time basis for six months (Translation Bureau, Zaria, Annual Report 1936).

*Magana Jari Ce* is written in the form of a frame novel (narrative technique), as every volume is bound by its own independent stories. It is commonly believed that the book, constructed in line with the manner of *Thousand and One Nights* is constructed in which a narrator relates story after story. However, in the first volume, the stories are told not to delay the execution of a stubborn princess like in the Arabian work but to delay the imminent departure to war of a stubborn prince. In all the three volumes, the main narrator is a parrot, which tells the stories and fulfils different functions in each particular volume of the book. The parrot secures, in all the three volumes the continuity of action and the unity of message. At the beginning of the work, the parrot appears like a useless pet, hardly worth the high price requested by the owner, but his vast knowledge and keen intuition saved it and it soon become an irreplaceable adviser to the king. The parrot warns the king of the impending danger of the approaching enemy. It also plots how to overcome them and the intrigues of the king's vizier (Pilaszewicz, 1985, p.222).

The setting of Volume One is in an unnamed eastern country ruled by King Abdurrahman Dan-Alhaji. Readers were told from the outset that the king has no son and it keeps worrying him, which means he would have no successor. And his grandson, Mahmud, is not entitled to ascend the throne because he is a maternal grandson. On the advice of a certain wise man, King Abdurrahman convokes forty Malams who pray for forty days and nights. As a result of their prayers, one of the King's wives gives birth to a baby boy and is named Musa.

The birth of Musa distracted the plans of the ambitious *Waziri*, who aims to take over the throne. *Waziri* brews mischief in order to separate Musa from Mahmud, his very intimate friend and then kill Musa. He deceitfully offers his services to the King of Sinari on condition that the latter will place him upon the throne. When King Abdurrahman with the two boys – Mahmud and Musa, went on a stroll they met the Arab with the parrot. Musa wants to have the bird, but the Arab fixes a high price of a hundred pounds for him. This enrages King Abdurrahman who orders the capture and punishment of the impertinent Arab. The parrot hastens to save its master: it praises itself for its eloquence and boasts of itself having the competence of foretelling the future.

The parrot unfolds a plan for King Abdurrahman that would take the enemy by surprise and overcome the King of Sinari. It proves to be successful. King Abdurrahman is very satisfied with the bird. He buys it immediately and got it a companion, a she-parrot. The King and Mahmud set out for war whereas the parrots were charged with taking care of Musa. Whenever Musa makes a move to join his friend on the war, the she-parrot attempts to deter him and soon loses its life at the hands of the hot-tempered Musa. The parrot is wiser and for twenty-eight nights tells Musa interesting stories and keeps him from leaving. On returning from battle, the king appoints the parrot to the exalted position of his vizier in place of his treacherous vizier who is condemned, bundled and thrown into the river into die.

In Volume Two, the parrot is involved in a story-telling competition with the parrot, Hazik, which belongs to King Jama'anu, who rules over a western country known as Sirika. The competition takes place in the palace of King Abdurrahman in the presence of large audiences and judges, who listen to the stories everyday and say their verdict. The stories are separated from one other by discussions between judges and the parrots on the themes raised by them. Thrice, Abubakar Imam introduces the person of a messenger from the Sirika country, who informs King Jama'anu about the fulfilled prophecies of *Aku*. The very last day of the competition, a sort of the finish-play takes



place: the two birds ask each other some riddles. The victory of *Waziri Aku* is glaring and convincing for having the competence of foretelling the future.

In the third and final Volume, the parrot teaches his son, *Fasih* the art of story-telling. When *Waziri Aku* witnesses how parents go the great lengths to teach their children a particular craft, he decides to teach his son the skill of telling as *Managa Jari Ce* –“Wisdom is an asset.” *Fasih* is not a complete novice, as he used to overhear a certain Malam Iro, who is a teacher in a Qur’anic school. *Waziri Aku* hands down to his son some twenty stories each charged with lessons to derive therein.

**(b) *Magana Jari Ce: The Drama Series***

The *Magana Jari Ce* drama series was a Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) drama series, which was televised between 1985 - 1986. The drama series was a classic production of 43 weekly episodes from a direct adaptation of Abubakar Imam's book of tales, *Magaja Jari Ce*. The production of the *Magana Jari Ce* drama series was sponsored by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Headquarters, Lagos under the Federal Ministry of Information in conjunction with the Defence Headquarters, *Daily Times* and *New Nigerian* newspapers. The transmission of the series on television was highly popular, especially in northern Nigeria, because, apart from the fact that it was the first Hausa drama series to be produced in the English language, the characters were people who had created a niche for themselves in both radio and television drama having been in acting for a long period of time.

It is important to note that Nollywood as well as Kannywood film industries were not in existence at the time when the drama series were produced. The only option for viewers in northern Nigerian in the 80s was Bollywood (Indian) films. Though majority of audiences could not understand Hindi, they had a serious interest in their films, perhaps because of the singing and dancing, which are the main features of Indian films. The *Magana Jari Ce* drama series ran for over a year on a weekly basis with a repeat broadcast, which made it twice in a week. Arguably, it can be said that the acceptability of the *Magana Jari Ce* adapted drama series motivated yet another adaptation of the story of *Sarki Jatau* in the Kannywood film industry. The producer, *Alhaji Bashir Abdullahi Rijau*, states that it was a direct adaptation of the story of *Sarki Jatau* in *Magana Jari Ce* (Volume 3).

Likewise, the inspiration of this adaptation was out of the realization that there is abundant Hausa literature materials in northern Nigeria and some of the ways to preserve it is through productions and reproductions, particularly from books to drama series, with a view to updating and preserving the

literature for the benefit of the contemporary generation and those yet unborn.

### **The Concept of New Audiences**

The emergence of audiences as a concept is, in fact, older than mass media itself. Audiences all over the world have been sending and receiving information for a very long period of time. But as a result of the emergence of mass media, audiences became very active in shaping the programme output of both print and broadcast media. They transform to news producers and receivers of a series of adverts from manufacturers through advertising agencies. However, the evolution of the new media, which has the potential of marginalizing the conventional media, has drastically changed the nature of the concept of audiences, which is now taking the driving seat in the production of media content as against what it used to be. To underscore this statement, Karen and Nightingale (2003, p.1) maintain that:

As the emerging information age begins its re-organizations of everyday life, the study of media audiences has taken on renewed importance. This is not just because more information is mediated, it is also because people's integrating both old and new media technologies into their lives in more complex ways. Today being an audience is even more complicated. The media 'environment' is much more challenged. Where once there was one television set and one radio in the average home, there are now several of each. Where once listening and viewing were group activities in the home, now individual listening and viewing is the domestic norm, with people some times using several different media simultaneously.

In view of Karen and Nightingale's submission, it is correct to say that the role of the audiences in the contemporary world is very vital. Arising from the above, the significance of the audiences who might have read *Magana Jari Ce* and at the same time seen the drama on television is very vital because they form the basis for this paper. Their views and individual experiences form the data analysed in the paper. The objective is to discuss their views on the selected stories in the book, as well as in the drama series.

### **Method**

Research in media studies can be carried out both from three perspectives: at the level of the media output, at the level of the audiences or both. Since this

paper is primarily concerned with investigating audiences' views on the adaptation of some selected stories in *Magana Jari Ce*, the in-depth interviews was used in data gathering. The idea for studying the media at the level of the audiences is to describe how they receive, interpret and react to the media content. In the context of this paper, the aim was to find out how they read the selected stories in *Magana Jari Ce* and at the same time watched the adapted drama series. The in-depth interview is regarded as one of the key methods of qualitative research and in this approach, there is no uniform reality. Each observer creates reality as part of the research process. The qualitative researcher, therefore, examines the process, believing that reality is holistic and cannot be sub-divided. Unlike quantitative research, which believes that all human beings are basically similar and look for general categories to summarize their behaviours or feelings, qualitative research believes that human beings are all fundamentally different and cannot be pigeon-holed (Sanny, 2005).

The main concern of in-depth interviews is that it generates immeasurable data concerning respondents' opinions, values, motivations, re-collections, experiences and feelings. Though the method uses smaller samples in which generalization is sometimes not necessary, yet, the approach paves the way for the lengthy observations of respondents of the study (Campbell, et al, 2006).

To buttress the above point, Pickering (2008) writes that, though interviews vary in terms of in-depth, focus, scope and degree of structure, there is a common underlying idea that interviews produce in-depth and complex knowledge. Historically, the rise of interviews and other qualitative methods in the social sciences is associated with the breaking of the dominance of the positivist approach, as well as the development of alternative conceptions of social knowledge as inter-relational and defined by meaning rather than quantifications (Kvale, 1996).

In this regard, research participants are seen as active meaning makers and interpreters rather than passive information providers and interviews offer a unique opportunity to study the processes of meaning production directly. The shared premise of the importance of meaning generates a particular affinity between qualitative methods and cultural studies (Pickering 2008).

The population of a study, as defined by Wimmer and Dominic (2003, p.84), is "a group of class of subjects, variables, concepts or phenomena." For the study, the purposive sampling method was used in selecting 15 respondents for the interview, drawn from Kaduna, Kano and Katsina. Five were chosen from each of the three towns mentioned above. The use of purposive sampling was done with a view to: first ensure that the

respondents have prior knowledge of *Magana Jari Ce* and the adapted drama series; and *second*, the adapted drama series were televised on NTA Kaduna, Kano and Katsina.

It is important to note that a qualitative study of this type based on in-depth interviews usually does not fulfil the criteria of statistical generalization because the sample size tends to be small and not informed by the systematic random rule (Bloor et al., 2001). This is to say that the sample is not in any way regarded as representative of the whole population. However, the most important advantage of in-depth interviews, as argued by Toyin (2005, p.99), is the wealth of detail that it provides. When compared to more traditional survey methods, in-depth interviews provide more accurate responses on sensitive issues under investigation.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

As mentioned earlier, this paper used in-depth interviews in investigating the audiences' views on the adaptation of some selected stories in *Magana Jari Ce* into drama series. The idea was to find out the level of their perception as regards the drama series they watched. In this regard, respondents were asked ten questions for the study and the analysis was done based on this:

1. *Have you ever read Magana Jari Ce written by Abubakar Imam and watch the adapted drama series sponsored by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)?*

The study discovered that all the 15 respondents interviewed confirmed that they read the stories in *Magana Jari Ce* and also watched the drama series sponsored by Nigerian Television Authority. Their affirmative answers warranted the continuation of the interview.

2. *How do you know about Magana Jari Ce and the adapted drama series for television?*

Most of the respondents stated that they came to know about *Magana Jari Ce* during their primary and secondary school days. For instance, Adamu one of the respondents said:

Well, *Magana Jari Ce* was a book that was always there. I read it when I was in primary and secondary schools. In fact, we have copies of *Magana Jari Ce* in our primary school and we read it from book 1 to 3 each time we had a free period. Somebody would read it up till we reached all the three

volumes and that time there was NTA Kaduna. And at that time, there was no option because there was only one TV station which everybody watches and that was how we came to know about it.

Likewise, Aminu confirmed knowing *Magana Jari Ce* when he was in primary school. In his words:

I read the book several times because in primary school it was made a compulsory reading as part of the topics in Hausa literature. And concerning the drama series, I watched it during my Industrial Attachment (IT) with NTA Kaduna, and sometimes I attended some courses on drama shootings. And I also watched the weekly presentation of the drama series on NTA Kaduna.

From the responses of the respondents interviewed, it was clear that all had read the book either in their primary or secondary school days. On the adapted drama series, the study found that the respondents had contact with the drama series on NTA stations in their respective towns. For instance, Mandawari says: “Naturally, I like watching Hausa drama since childhood, so when the drama series for *Magana Jari Ce* were televised, I used to watch them especially the Hausa versions and some years after, the English version came on NTA Kaduna and I also watched almost all of them.” The adapted drama series were shown on NTA Kaduna, Kano and other states that have NTA stations in northern Nigeria. It is important to note that the only films that were available before the audiences prior to 1980s were Indian, as maintained by Adamu (2012, pp. 20 - 21) that:

The biggest boom for Hindi cinema in northern Nigeria was in the 1970s when state television houses (as distinct from Federal broadcasting networks) started operating and became the outlet for readily available Hindi films on video tapes targeted at home viewers. For instance, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Kano alone screened 1,176 Hindi films on its television network from 2nd October 1977 when the first Hindi film was shown.

This shows that audiences had only the choice of watching Indian films at NTA stations or at cinemas. This problem of the inavailability of variety of films to watch might be one of the reasons why when the *Magana Jari Ce*

adapted T.V series were shown on television stations, audiences were amazed, taking into consideration that the series was locally produced and acted by famous indigenous characters, particularly in northern Nigeria.

3. *Did you read all the eighty three (83) stories contained in the three volumes of Magana Jari Ce?*

All the respondents interviewed admitted that they had read all the eighty three (83) stories in the three volumes of *Magana Jari Ce*. This indicates that the audiences are familiar with the six selected stories that have been adapted for T.V. For instance, Baso, one of the respondents says, yes, he did read all the stories but he could not remember the specific volumes where the six stories are because the book has three volumes. But he remembers that the main idea of the book is about King Abdurrahman and his son (Musa), as well as grandson (Mahmud).

The stories represent typical traditional Hausa culture and they also portray the style of leadership in royal palaces and how their subjects obey them, as well as the relationship between the kings in the stories and their subjects whom they tried their best to ensure that they did not hurt their feelings. He went further to say that another prominent figure he remembered in the stories is Waziri Aku, who engages King Abdurrahman with a series of stories regarding leadership, benefits of being patient and hardwork, among others. Baso says the story of *Telu Fari* and *Telu Baki* is about a disagreement between two friends, which turned to be a competition. For instance, if *Telu Fari* does something positive, *Telu Baki* will go against it. This attitude causes them to deceive one another in a dubious manner. Suleiman, another respondent is of the view that: “Yes, in fact, not only the six stories you mentioned, I read almost all the stories in *Magana Jari Ce* over and over again.”

4. *What is your impression on the following stories: Telu Fari and Telu Baki; Wowo – the Malam’s son; Bawa - the hunchback; Kowa Ya Daka Rawar Wani... (Auta – the ungrateful husband); Zakaran Da Allah Ya Nufa Da Cara (Grass to Grace); and Prince Kamaruzzaman, the son of King Shahruzzaman?*

This question tries to find out the impression of audiences on the six selected stories they read and saw. The findings of this question reveal that the stories are quite inspiring and interesting. For instance, Mandawari, one of the respondents has this to say:

They were quite interesting especially the story of *Telu Fari* and *Telu Baki*. I remember that apart from the educational aspect of it, there is also entertainment which I like most. I like the entertaining aspect because like I told you, I was very young then and God so kind, the producers of these series were able to make the entertainment aspect in the series successful. The actors did very well to the best of their abilities by entertaining the viewers and they were able to reflect what was written in the book.

Also, responding on the same question, Bala stated that like the rest of the stories in *Magana Jari Ce*, the six stories mentioned above are interesting. The interesting thing about them, according to him, is the way in which the writer contrasts them from values and put them on different scales what in literature is called binary opposition between what is good and what is bad, between light and darkness and between what is aspired to and what is disliked. He cited an example with the story of *Telu Fari* and *Telu Baki*, saying that it is about “the way in which two friends in the same profession but, one harbours bad thought, the other one is morally upright, so I think this for me is the basis for my liking of the stories.”

From these responses, it can be concluded that the audiences perceived these stories as interesting, as maintained by both Mandawari and Bala. Mandawari, attributed his likeness for the stories, particularly the adapted drama series, because they have educational and entertainment qualities. But, Bala admitted that what interested him was the way the adapted stories contrast from the values and are located in a different scale.

5. *Are the six adapted stories inconformity with Hausa cultural norms and traditions?*

In an attempt to answer this question, some of the respondents disclosed that the six stories are in conformity with Hausa culture and traditions. While some maintain that there is a relationship to some extent. For instance, Mandawari said:

You know culture, like if we keep on saying that it is very dynamic. It changes from time to time. For instance, you are wearing this kind of cloth I am sure a Hausa man of 100 years back, did not know it entirely but, you may describe it as a Hausa dress these days, so it is very dynamic but the dynamism limits at our attitudes, so I can describe these

stories as 1980s to 1990s in conformity with our culture. So, I want to believe the drama series are within the context of Hausa culture.

Fatuhu, another respondent, is of the view that, quite rightly, the six adapted drama series conform with Hausa culture, norms and values. But he argued that the only problem advanced by many critics is that this kind of adaptation kills the culture of originality. However, when it comes to cultural studies, the adapted *Magana Jari Ce* drama series are certainly in conformity with Hausa culture, particularly the mode of dressing and the architectural designs used as the palaces of the Kings.

Also, responding on the same question, Bala admits that it was much later that he came to realize that almost all the stories in *Magana Jari Ce* were in one way or another adapted from different cultures, mostly European tales and Arabian folktales. He went further to say that there is no way one could transfer, transform or transmute or adapt a story from a different context culturally, linguistically, religiously or socially to another context without in any way modifying the main elements in the story. He concludes that Abubakar Imam had reasonably done well in that regard, though T.V production, as a medium, is limited as you cannot have the story as it is in the book.

**6. *Are there similarities in the themes of the six selected stories in the book and in the drama series?***

This question tries to find out the similarities among the six selected stories as contained in the three volumes of the book and in the T.V series. The study discovered that there are so many similarities, as indicated by most of the respondents interviewed. For instance, Mandawari stated that:

There are because those who produced the drama series, when you look at Malam Abubakar Imam who partially came from Zaria where he did his education, and did his working career. Likewise some of the principal characters such as Kasimu Yero are also from Zaria. They tried to reflect what Imam did in his book. Secondly, when you look at their age also, they are close to Imam age wise, if somebody who is around 30 years tried to emulate what Imam did in that book, it may not even be possible because the setting, the costumes, the wordings and so on may be entirely different with the time Imam wrote the book. There has to be some



modifications. Therefore, the producers of *Magana Jari Ce* drama series both the Hausa and the English versions made lots of efforts and achieved the objectives. There are also some differences by adding some scenes to suit T.V production because television is different from the book. When you are reading a book you are simply imagining what is happening but, when you are watching a T.V drama, you want to see reality. So, in an effort to make it real, they created some scenes and some actions which were not in the book. Perhaps, it would be more preferably if you cast somebody entirely different based on specialization in assigning roles. For instance, comedian should go for comedy.

Also, responding on this question, Umar says there are similarities and differences to some extent, but identifying the similarities seems difficult because the book has already been written and it is difficult for one to identify the terms and locations used. Regarding the drama series, Umar is of the view that, looking at the environment these series were produced in, he believes it is in an eroded area of high temperature but in some way they have tried a lot in the drama series. One particular example he cited to justify his answer is where King *Shahrzaman* launches an assault and the arena becomes so clouded with dust because of the horses he used. Now if one wants to portray this kind of atmosphere, how many horses would he use? So, for a producer to depict this type of scene with hundreds of people and houses it involves a great deal.

Aminu, another respondent, also admits that there are similarities. In his words:

Of course, there are similarities between the stories in the book and those in the drama series. In fact, the drama series tried to copy the book exactly but, perhaps, due to some constraints in terms of equipment, funds and technology affected the production. But, despite these problems the drama series is interesting though there are problems here and there particularly in the quality of the pictures.

7. *Are there differences in the themes of the six stories as contain in Magana Jari Ce book and in the drama series?*

Apart from the similarities, this question tries to find out the differences between the six stories in the book and in the drama series. The study found that majority of the respondents were of the view that there are differences, though they admit that these differences are minor. Muktar, for instance, he says:

You know, one has to consider time. In those days there was nothing to watch because there were very few movies in the market. Television sets were few as well. It was therefore, more interesting to read books in those days but, with the introduction of new communication devices, I think the movie is more interesting. It therefore depends on the time. These days, if you adapt an interesting book to T.V drama series, it would be more interesting.

But Suleiman says he could not remember noticing any difference. Mu'azu's reason might not be unconnected with the manner the drama series were produced, using indigenous characters, Hausa traditional costumes and locations, which portray typical Hausa culture and traditions. It is evident that the six stories in the drama series have similar themes with the same stories in *Magana Jari Ce* but with minor changes. Suleiman went further to say that these changes might not be unconnected with the fact that T.V series, as an audio-visual medium, stands a better chance than a book in the eyes of viewers. Another issue, according to Suleiman, has to do with technical limitations in T.V drama production. In his words, "It is not everything that can be featured in a T.V drama."

A critical analysis of these series reveals that the themes of the six selected stories are the same but with minor changes, as pointed out by some of the respondents. For instance, there was no background music in the book because it is a written text but there is background music in all the series. To this end, it could be concluded that anything that was not in conformity with Hausa culture was changed by the producers of the T.V series. On the other hand, they introduced scenes regarding issues that would be accepted and appreciated in Hausa communities because the whole idea, according to the producers, was to project Hausa culture the way it was then. On the choice of characters, it is discovered that, with a view to making the series interesting and acceptable, the characters that featured in these drama series were carefully selected. They were people who excelled in the production of television drama, particularly in northern Nigeria.

8. *Can you identify some changes in the stories of the drama series compared to those in the book?*

This question tries to go beyond admitting there are similarities and differences between the stories in the book and in the drama series, but to specifically point out those similarities and differences with a view to understanding them clearly. In this regard, therefore, some of the people interviewed were able to identify specific changes in some of the stories. For instance, Adamu points out that:

Well, the stories are more detailed and they give you the opportunity to use your imagination to visualize the stories. On the other hand, the drama series try to visualize for you. So, the difference is that in the book, you use your imagination to see how *Telu Fari* and *Telu Baki* or how Bawa looks with a hunchback on him and so on. But in the drama series, you are restricted to what was presented to you as a representation of the stories. That was the sharp and specific difference.

Also responding, Garba, another respondent, admits that the differences may not be so much to the extent of identifying specific instances, but certainly there are differences between the stories in the book and those in the adapted drama series. He maintains that the limitation in the book from which the story is adapted means that you cannot have the stories as they were written down. That's one consideration. Secondly, the person who is adapting the stories from the book to T.V drama series must also, like what Abubakar Imam did, decide on things that will go into the series. So, it all comes down to the person who is adapting the stories. Also responding, Fatuhu is of the view that:

Well, they tried in the area of costumes in the series but, what I understand is that there are some modes of dressing I expected to see but were not there. For example, like in the case of the story of Prince Kamarruzaman, I expected to see pure Hausa fashion but, what I saw was a light Hausa fashion. And another thing is on the screenplay particularly on the voice is somehow different from what is contained in the book but, the language and the dialogue among others, we expected to see a colonial or ancient dialogue because the

stories in the book came at the eve of the period of colonialism.

9. *Which between the book and the drama series as medium of mass communication interests you most?*

The aim of this question was to try to measure the effectiveness or otherwise of one medium over the other, as argued by Marshall McLuhan, that the medium is the message. In the context of this paper study, the question tries to find out which, between the medium – book or drama series, is more interesting in terms of entertainment from the perspectives of the respondents who read the stories in the book as well as saw the drama series on television.

Their responses vary. Some are of the view that reading the book was more inspiring while some say watching the drama series. For instance, Adamu argues that the choice of medium depends entirely on the time when a particular content was produced. He says, *first*, when the book of *Magana Jari Ce* was written in the 1930s, the book inspired the readers not only because of its interesting contents, but because of the fact that there were few available books to read at that time. *Secondly*, he argues that in a book a reader uses his imagination to visualize what is happening in the stories. This, to him, is quite interesting. He concludes that both the book and the drama series are quite interesting. While answering this question Garba states, thus:

No doubt, the book is more interesting than the drama series without taking anything away from the drama series, the book is more interesting. Well, as someone who is used to reading written stories the written medium offers so much possibility than the visual medium. There are so much inhibition regarding the visual television medium which you cannot say are there in the visual medium, the writer has his imaginations and he can allowed his imaginations to take him anywhere which probably cannot be said about television not just on *Magana Jari Ce* drama series but, about television as a whole.

According to Garba, the reason for choosing the book as the most preferred medium is perhaps, given the development in technology as well as the information we know now about Abubakar Imam, which people who have adapted the stories from the book to drama series at that time didn't have,

Garba laments that he wished someone could take up the challenge to re-adapt those stories in the light of the present dispensation, where there is so much advancement in technology and even in the culture of adaptation. This, according to him, would pave the way for new perspectives on how literature could be adapted and how we could see what has already been adapted with fresh eyes given the inputs we now have.

On the other hand, Fatuhu says he chose the book as the most interesting medium of communication, particularly on the entertainment aspect, because he felt it contains the original idea and without it, the stories in the drama series wouldn't have been adapted. His simple reason is that there is no originality in the stories in *Magana Jari Ce*, according to scholars, with the exception of one or two. In his words "we are not talking about the originality of those stories and their root but, the originality of the concept that somebody said yes, I can adapt it or Hausanized it and that is where the originality comes." Fatuhu suggests that there is the need to dig deep into the book of *Magana Jari Ce*, perhaps a conference can be organized on *Magana Jari Ce* to discuss more about it.

### **Conclusion**

This paper discussed the medialization of some stories in *Magana Jari Ce* from book to drama series and analysed the views of the audiences, particularly those who read the stories in *Magana Jari Ce* as well as watched the adapted drama series on TV. From the data gathered through in-depth interviews, it appears that the producers of the adapted drama series were faithful to the stories because the adapted drama series have almost everything similar to the stories in the book. The theme, the plot, the characters, the settings and the conflicts are all in conformity with the stories in *Magana Jari Ce*. Perhaps this might be the reason why most of the respondents interviewed could not identify specific scenes where the drama series differ from the stories in terms of the story elements enumerated above. Majority of the respondents are of the view that the book as a medium of communication is more interesting than the television medium. Their reasons are: one, in the book, the reader uses his imagination to draw conclusions; two, the book serves as a reference material.

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## **Portrayal of *Dambe* in *Karen Bana* as Filmic Folklore in Hausa Video Film Production**

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### **Introduction**

Most indigenous societies go to great lengths to preserve their cultural identity by passing it through generations by conscious or sub-conscious means. This means of passing down cultural distinctiveness is what is regarded as “folklore” and is the traditional, unofficial, non-institutional, informal aspect of culture. Folklore has no standard definition, but from a number of definitions: (Dundes, 1965; Brunvard, 1978; Toelken, 1979; Klien, 2001; Sims and Stephens, 2005), a conclusion can be drawn that it encompasses knowledge, understanding, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, beliefs and even material forms of culture that are distinct to a specific group of people.

From carvings on the walls of caves, societies have progressed to preserving images using digital cameras with sophisticated functions, from crude musical instruments to the composer, from the spindle to textile machines, from spears and arrows to guns and missiles. The list is endless. Every aspect of life has and is still transforming. Change is a necessary part of man's existence and most times it does not happen by chance. It is instigated.

In early human societies, folklore, in the form of oral tradition, has always been a major means of passing down values. History proves that as societies developed and invention thrived, folklore evolved to suit each new development. When societies became literate, folklore included written material. This fact indicates that the cultural and social system in general transforms alongside technological evolution. Rogers (1986) has traced the turning points in the development of social life vis-à-vis technological advancement from the invention of the printing press in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Technological revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has made it such that various screen devices compete with one another, each capable of performing another's function. Today's young generation is a "screen generation" with



the screen taking over most aspects of human life, such as the oral transfer of messages, letter writing, phone calls, relationships, examinations, dating and studying. The list is endless. The present society is also information-based with people relying on one device or the other for the satisfaction of some or most of their needs. This technological advancement alongside modernization and urbanization has resulted in the weakening of the close-knit, extended family and social system that are essential for the transfer of norms and values in the form of oral tradition and demonstration through generations (Mohammed, 2012).

In many Hausa societies, oral tradition has always been a major means of passing down values and social codes of conduct through various folksongs, children playground songs (*wakokin gada*), women domestic songs (*wakokin nika, daka*), men work songs (*wakokin noma, wakokin aikin gayya*) and boxing songs (*wakokin dambe*). Other forms of oral tradition are folktales (*tatsuniya*), legends (*hikaya*) and many more. In many contemporary urban families, most of the avenues for passing down oral tradition have been rendered almost non-existent due to lifestyle changes, which take both parents and their children out of the home either to the workplace or in search of formal education for a large portion of the day. The extended family system of co-existence where the elderly members of the family are the major transmitters of folktales and songs is also on a rapid decline. Even when families are back home in the evenings, they spend more time in front of their television, phones and computer screens than they do interacting with each other (Mohammed, 2012).

It is, therefore, incontestable that, to a large extent, socialization has been taken over by the various mass media more so instigated by the portable nature of most of the contemporary information and communication technologies. Today's young generation can consume media messages as they wait for a doctor's appointment, eat in the cafeteria, ride in the bus or even while in the classroom. Utilization of these technologies for socialization and passing down identities, is therefore, necessary for any society willing preserve its distinctiveness. The Hausa video film is a recent form of communication that has gained acceptance among the younger generation, especially indigenous Hausa ones. It is in light of this that this paper explores the extent to which folklore can be successfully passed on using Hausa video films.

### **Problem Statement**

"Every society takes pride in its identity and sees its values and codes of conduct as sacred" (Mohammed, 2013, p). To these societies, this identity gives members a sense of pride and belonging and it is closely guarded.

Despite the influx of colonialism and subsequent globalization, "In Nigeria, the Hausa society has remained one of the most conservative and resistant to cultural filtration especially from the West basically due to the religious differences" (Mohammed, 2012). Mohammed further observes that "Hausa society places much emphasis on preservation of norms and values..." and "...children are brought up to identify and not lose touch with their roots" (Mohammed, 2012, P.67).

Technological advancement alongside modernization and urbanization has resulted in the weakening of the close-knit, extended family and social system that are essential for the transfer of norms and values in the form of oral tradition and demonstration through generations. In many contemporary urban societies, even when families are together they spend more time in front of their television, phone and computer screens than they do interacting. Does this decline in family interaction indicate the demise of folklore in urban societies? Dundes (1965) argues that urban people also have folklore and rather than dying out it is constantly being created and recreated to suit new situations. According to Gar (2015, p.6), "The emergence of the Hausa video film industry has shifted cultural narratives to the living room of the teeming population of city dwellers in northern Nigeria." He sees these films functioning as folklore. Along these perspectives, can a Hausa video film depicting folklore for the consumption of the younger generation be considered folklore re-bottled? To what extent can these films be determined as folklore? These are the questions this analysis seeks to address.

### **Conceptual Framework**

This study is based on the Technological Determinism Theory. According to McQuail (2010), technological determinism is: "A tradition that searches for a link between dominant communication technology of an age and key features of society" (p. 101). Marshall McLuhan, a Canadian literary scholar, is believed to be the founder of this tradition. He gained worldwide prominence as someone who had a personal profound understanding of the electronic media and their impact on both culture and society (Baran and Davis, 2011). McLuhan's theory is actually a collection of a lot of intriguing ideas bound together by some common assumptions. Postulation is "that all media, from the phonetic alphabet to the computer are an extension of man that cause deep and lasting of changes in him and transforms his environment" (Baran and Davis, 2012, p.272). He further argues that changes in communication technology inevitably produce profound changes in both culture and social order.

This study is, therefore, suitably stemmed on this theory. The paper argues that the emergence of Hausa filmic folklore is very much related to the technological revolution that has caused profound changes (close to the non-existence of oral tradition in urban areas, busy parents and grandparents, the dominance of nuclear families, screen culture, etc.) in indigenous Hausa societies but the same technological revolution offers a new package for transfer of folklore to upcoming generations.

### **Understanding Folklore**

Folklore includes all the knowledge and understanding of issues, values, attitudes and also the assumptions, feelings and beliefs traditionally passed down by oral means or demonstration (Bruvard, 1978). According to Klien (2001), folklore has four basic meanings: First, it denotes oral traditions, ritual, crafts and other forms of vernacular expressive culture. Second, folklore or folkloristic names an academic discipline devoted to the study of such phenomena. Third, in everyday usage, folklore sometimes describes colourful folkloric phenomena linked to the music, tourist, and fashion industries. Fourth, like myth, folklore can mean falsehood (p.571).

Dundes (1965, p.2) explains that the term "folk" should never be limited to "peasant" or "rural groups", but

Can mean any group of people who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking factor is - it could be a common occupation, language or religion-but what is important is that a group have some traditions that it calls its own.

He gives no definition of folklore but lists folktales, legends, ballads, festival, folk dance, food recipes and architecture, as well as group communication with animals, pointing out that these aspects are just a part of subjects that folklore studies can address (Dundes, 1965).

To Sims and Stephens (2005), folklore is what folklorists study and also the name of the discipline they work in. They admit that it is difficult to define but say that "It involves values, traditions, ways of thinking and behaving. It's about art; it's about people and the way they learn. It helps us learn who we are and how to make meaning of the world around us" (Sims and Stephens, 2005, Pp.1-2).

In most definition of folklore, there is the repeated reference to the word "tradition." It, therefore, becomes necessary to also understand what tradition entails. To Atkinson (2006), the term "cultural traditions" is generally applied to the practices, art forms and objects that represent the presence of

the past in contemporary life. To her, if something is traditional we assume it is valued, perhaps even revered. She further argues that defining or identifying groups of people as folk and interpreting their culture as traditional depends upon the construction of political, social, ethnic and religious identity and that these identities may be ascribed by outsiders rather than assumed by the individual so identified.

Tradition represents a part of the past that has become valuable in the present. According to Toelken (1979), tradition means not some static immutable force from the past, but those pre-existing culture-specific materials and options that bear upon the performer more heavily than his or her own personal tastes and talents. Many modern folklorists do not limit their attention to the rural, out-dated or backward elements of culture. Rather, they study and discuss any expressive phenomena—urban or rural—that seem to act like other previously recognized folk traditions. At certain periods in history, tradition is preserved because the present folk have noted its extinction and see it as precious, though not conversant with their lifestyles. It is also worthy to point out that current lifestyles, the social system of today, will be termed as tradition by upcoming descendants.

### **Mass Media and Folklore**

Dorson coins and defines “Faklore” as the presentation of synthetic folklore under the claim they are folklore. Sullenberger (1974) coins and sees “Folklore” as the association of folkloric concepts under media products for commercial gain. Newall (1987) coins and says “Folklorismus” is the adaptation of folklore and tradition into the mass media. Scholars, such as, Rysan (1971), made attempts to mark out the difference between folklore and “masslore” (Liyanage 2013, p.237). These terms and definitions bring to the fore the attempts by folklore scholars to resist the coming together of the mass media and folklore in the 1970s and 80s.

However, over the years there have been many studies on media and folklore, many dating as far back as the 1960s. Notable among them: *Advertising and Folklore* (Dundes 1963), *Folklore in Mass Media* (Dundes, 1969), *Between Film, Folklore and Urban Legends* (Dundes, 2008) and *Folklore-Cinema* (Sherman and Koven, 2007), among many others.

"The folk and mass were considered opposite because it is assumed when the mass arises, the folk ceases to exist, but the return of folklore in mass media contradicts the former belief" (Liyanage, 2013, p.238). Degh (1994) is one of the few folklore scholars who has wholeheartedly embraced the relationship between folklore and the mass media. To her, the relationship between folklore and mass media is a complex one. She summarises Rudolph Sceda's ideas thus:

With the advent of mass production book printing and audio visual production- the earlier harmonious give and take between oral and non-oral folklore ceased to exist" (Degh cited in Liyanage, 2013, p. 238). Degh further explains that "not only is folklore embraced by mass media but it is more truthful to admit that the media have become part of folklore (Liyanage 2013, p.240).

### **Film and Folklore**

There are three major categories of looking at folklore and film (Kalmre, 2013). The first is what is referred to as *Folkloric film*, which is produced by folklorists or producers interested in folklore. Such films are documentary by nature and record un-staged events for the purpose of sharing culture-specific information and are ethnological documents that focus on cultural presentation in a bid to preserve tradition. "The trend of folkloric film has been fostered by Sharon R. Sherman, one of the compilers and editors of the collection, who is both folklorist and an independent filmmaker" (Kalmre, 2013, p.1).

*Folkloristic film* is the second and it is the staging and recording of folklore also for the purpose of cultural preservation. It is also ethnological in approach and purpose.

*Filmic folklore* is the third and,

It is a term is used to signify folklore which has emerged and which exists in the film of mostly fictional content. Outside its original context, this lore may function the same way that it does in a folkloric film. Filmic folklore employs and emphasizes certain stereotypes (ideologies) and meanings which are perceived as truthful by a specific group of people (Kalmre, 2013, p.1).

The term *filmic folklore* was coined by Zhang (2005) in response to the writings of Sherman on folklore, folkloric or folkloristic film and defines it as:

An imagined folklore like performance that exists only in films, it is folklore or folkloric like performance that is represented, created or hybridized in fictional film. Filmic folklore imposes or reinforces certain stereotypes (ideologies) and identifies certain meanings identified and consumed (as the truth) by a certain group of people. The

folklore in filmic folklore may appear as a scene, an action, an event or a storyline (plot) and in verbal or non-verbal form (Zhang, 2005 cited in Koven and Sherman, 2007, p.2).

*Filmic folklore* refers to a kind of artificial folklore-like phenomenal that only exist cinematically in fictional films and may behave like "proper" folklore does but it is entirely a construct for the camera" (Koven and Sherman, 2007, p.2).

### ***Dambe* (Traditional Boxing)**

*Dambe* is a traditional boxing game distinct to the Hausa people of the Sahara region of West Africa (Green, 2005). Historically, it was a martial sport that was peculiar to village settings during occasions and festivities. The boxing match is done with one hand clubbed with strips of cloth and one arm acting as a shield (Francis, 2008). It is a game that has its origins from the butchers guild (*mahauta*) as a means of practising military skills but gradually evolved into a game (Green, 2005).

In contemporary times, *Dambe* has become a means of demonstrating masculinity, accessing personal prestige and bringing honour to one's family and village. *Dambe* normally takes place in an arena (*dandali*) accompanied by music from the *kalangu*, *kuntuku* drums and praise chants (*kirari*) and is tournament in nature, according to season or annual event (Green, 2005). A typical *Dambe* consists of three rounds. Winning a round is guaranteed by *Kwab daya* which means giving a fatal blow that will throw the opponent on his knees to the ground three times. A better way to win is what is referred to as *kisan abokin dambe*, i.e killing the opponent, signifying striking the opponent flat on the ground. Another ritual of *Dambe* is the *takala*, i.e an affront/invitation on a boxer to compete. A boxer from a team runs over to another team and touches the chest of the boxer they wish to slug it out with. The invited boxer may accept the challenge if he perceives the one doing the *takala* as an equal. If not, he sends his lieutenants to deal with him in a duel and only if he is able to win over them will he have a match with the known boxer.

Strength and training are not the only requirements for winning a *Dambe* match but it is a sport that is well known for its use of supernatural medicines and amulets (Abubakar, 2005). *Carambe* is a former *Dambe* champion with 29 wins and only seven losses who later sought formal education, attained a B.Sc in physical and health education and became a coach of a martial arts academy. In an interview granted to Green (2005), he states that supernatural medicine and traditional boxing cannot be separated because, in all traditional forms of martial art, charms are used due to the belief that they

can confer *Sa'a* (victory), i.e protect the wearer from and enhance victory over an opponent. Abubakar (2005) explains that there are some boxers who go to the extent of dipping their boxing hand into a grave and spending the night in the graveyard (Abubakar, 2005).

**The Film *Karen Bana***

*Karen Bana* is a 187min. 51s film divided into four parts set in a typical Hausa village, spanning the life of two generations of a family. The story revolves around the themes of romance, bravery and revenge with its main focus on the challenges, perception and intrigues that control the lives of the ‘*yan Dambe* (i.e those who participate in the *Dambe* competition). The title of the film, *Karen Bana*, is a shortened form for *Karen bana maganin zomon bana*, the direct translation is “The modern dog deals with the modern rabbit.” The deeper meaning of the phrase is the necessity of being up-to-date and mastering modern skills to challenge and win over contemporaries. The major thrust of the film is the role which *Dambe* plays in winning over a wife and how winning and losing a *Dambe* competition is associated with both personal and family honour and pride.

The film *Karen Bana* was produced in 2012 by Adam A. Zango’s film production company, Prince Zango Productions. The film was directed by Falalu Dorayi and is divided into four parts: Part I - (30 minutes, 10 seconds), Part II - (56 minutes, 7 seconds), Part III - (45 minutes, 34 seconds) and Part IV - (56 minutes) with the following major characters:

Ibrahim Himana	Mada
Tahir Fagge	Gadanga
Hadiza Mohammed	Haule
Adam A Zango	Dahiru , Tahir
Tijjani Asase	Ashiru, Horror
Maryam Booth	Barira

**The Analysis**

The university of Illinois library folklore home determined six genres of folklore that are as a result of the cumulative viewpoints of many folklore scholars. Also taking into cognizance, the views of some notable folklore scholars, such as Dundes (1965, 1980), Toelken (1979), and Oring 1986, I could also arrive at the same genres of folklore. They are:

1. Material culture (art, architecture, clothing)
2. Music and dance

3. Narrative (folktales, legends, ballads)
4. Verbal (art, proverbs, address)
5. Religion and belief (ritual, mythology, religion)
6. Food culture (traditional cooking customs, relationship between food and custom)

This paper, therefore, adopts the first five genres for an analysis of *Karen Bana*, the sixth being non-applicable to the *Dambe* group under study.

***Material Culture (Art, Architecture, Clothing)***

The establishment scene of *Karen Bana* is that of the village (Kurmi) and its environs, which gradually dissolve to the second scene of *Dambe*. In Scenes 2 and 5 of Part I, we are shown a typical *Dandalin Dambe* (arena) with the stakeholders and spectators, including fair maidens, forming a temporary boxing ring. We can also see the physical dressing of ‘*yan dambe* (fighters) can be identified from their dressing, in shorts or rarely long trousers and attack hands tied with the cloth and rope. In *Dambe*, a stake is put to serve as a motivation to the fighters; sometimes a maiden’s hand, cash, assets or just the pride and honour that come with winning. In scene five of part one, a ram is visible as a stake and Mada who wins the contest gets the ram.

***Music and Dance***

In Scene 2 and 5 of Part I, the dominating sounds in the boxing ring is that of praise songs and drumming accompanied by praise chants. The song is accompanied by drum sounds and in the background drummers using the *kalangu* and *kuntuku*, which are the major instruments used by *Dambe* singers, are visible. Music plays a very important role in *Dambe*. It instigates action, praising the warriors and putting fear into the hearts of those challenging, such as the lyrics in Scene 1, Part I where the singer says: “*A bugi ciki, a naushi baki*” (Hit the belly and punch the mouth). Another example is the song that was the voice over for the opening scene:

***Narrative: Folktales, Legends, Ballads***

The film opens with an establishment shot of the setting of the film, *Kurmi* village with the following voice over:

*Cinikin mahaukaci*  
*Kai da jin kalmar kasan za’ a sha wuya.*  
*Cinikin mahaukaci*



*Ga masu hankali na kallo  
Wasu har da karfi suna ihu, suna shewa, suna tsalle, suna murna ganin  
kato ya sha kasa, baki na zubda jinni.*

*A wani gari cikin wata alkarya, shekaru aru aru, tun iyaye da kakanni akai  
ta gumurzu  
Wasu sun mutu  
Wasu sun yi kudi  
Wasu sun sami farin ciki  
Wasu sun sami budurwa  
Tun farkon duniya, har zuwa wannan zamani mazaje ba zasu daina mutuwa  
saboda mai dankwali ba.*

The mad man's trade  
The phrase connotes a promise of hardship  
The mad man's trade  
But sane people are the spectators  
Many of them loudly booing, hailing, and jumping with glee seeing a  
strong man embrace the ground with bleeding mouths.

In a settlement, of a town, many years ago, from the days of our forefathers  
battles were fought  
Some died  
Some got rich  
Some got happiness  
Some got maidens  
From the beginning of the world, up to the present times, men will not  
cease dying due to the one that wears the scarf.

This narration is an accurate summary of what characterizes *Dambe* sport. The narration likens it to a mad man's trade due to the glaring dangers in it that, however, do not deter the participants. It also brings to the fore the motivating factors behind *Dambe*. It is a sport that has existed for years. But some have died in the process and some got wealth, happiness, maidens, injury, loss of pride and even death.

***Verbal: Art, Proverbs, Address***

Throughout the film, there is the use of forms of address distinct to the 'yan *dambe*. In Scene 6 Part I, the following conversation ensues between Mada and Haule, when he tells her that one day she will be stolen due to her accepting nature. She panicks and asks him if he is a thief. He replies that: *A*

*filin dambe ba, Ni ke sa keya ta kwashi rairayi. Ni ke yi ma mazaje fashin kyauta a filin dambe, ni ke sa baki ya debi kasa* (In a boxing ring, I adorn heads with straw, I rob men of stakes in the boxing ring and fill the mouth with sand). He could have simply answered that I am a boxer but choose to lace the message in an artistic form of address.

This use of proverbs and verbal art is visible throughout the film. In Scene I, Part 3 Mada tries to reason with Barira's father that, in contemporary times, a girl should have the right to marry the man of her choice and should not be treated as a trophy. Barira's father is angered by the statement and reiterates that, as a former *dan Dambe*, it is a shame for him to give his daughter out without a contest. He throws a snide remark at Mada that he is making such a statement because he failed to win Haule's hand to which Mada also gets angry and mocks Barira's father *Kisa biyar dole ka kullace ni*, meaning he gave him a face flat five times in their boxing days to which he wants to get revenge. It is also a boxing tradition for boxers to adopt nicknames for the sole purpose of boxing. In *Karen Bana* both *Gadanga* and *Mada* were boxing names and so is *Horror*. When Dahiru becomes a boxer, he is referred to as *Shagon Mada* after his father in the arena.

In Part IV Scene 8, after Dahiru was blinded by a spiritual substance, he admits to his father that he cannot carry on, to which Mada responds "*Tashi kai namiji na haifa ba mace na haifa ba*. This statement is an indirect assertion that a man is never allowed to be weak and any form of weakness results in the man being ridiculed. In Scene 10, Part II, Horror makes a similar statement when Dahiru asks him if he is implying they have a physical fight, saying "*Fadan maza nake nufi ba na mata ba*.

*Kai ne maganin su kaje in sun san wata ba su san wata ba*, this was the statement Mada made when Dahiru was about to give up, bringing to the fore the title of the film. Dahiru is now the modern dog that will deal with the modern rabbit by fighting around their (*Gadanga* and *Horror's*) treachery of blinding opponents which the old dog (*Mada*) could not comprehend in his own time.

#### ***Religion and Belief: Ritual, Mythology, Religion***

The *Dambe* sport has a number of rituals attached to it. Many of them occur in the boxing ring, which is a place full of activity: chants (*Kirari*) and praise-singing by *Dambe* singers make the fighters so excited that they engage in the warrior dance (*tsima*.) The winner also holds his trophy (*kambu*) up high as he is praised and cheered. In all the fights between *Horror* and *Dahiru*, we see the *kambu* in *Horror's* hand whenever he does the warrior dance. Another ritual that is projected in *Karen Bana* is the *takala*.

We see Dahiru inviting Horror for a challenge. Horror initially declines and sends his lieutenants to fight Dahiru as the normal response by champion boxers to look down on other contenders. In the film, we are also shown winning and losing in *Dambe*. In Scene II, Part 1, we see Gadanga strike a man down with a single blow (i.e *kisa*) to the ground and the same happened in all the boxing ring scenes. In Scene VIII, Part 4, Dahiru defeats Horror with a *kwab daya* that puts him down on all fours. If the stake is a maiden, the winner is carried shoulder high to where the girl stands. We see Dahiru carried shoulder high to Barira after the winning.

It has been previously established in the literature review that mystic practices are very much associated with *Dambe*. Gadanga is able to defeat Mada by blinding him with a spiritual powder. It is the same thing that happens to Dahiru as seen in Scene VIII, Part 4. Horror's family believe in the use of supernatural powers. This is evident wherever Dahiru fights Horror, Dahiru keeps hearing snarls and cries of wild animals emanating from Horror. In Scene I, Part 4, Horror is shown performing a mystic ritual in a pot illuminated by a strange light late at night and confesses to Haule that it will bring death to Dahiru. In Scene VII Part 4, we see Dahiru praying *salat* and refuses to engage in mystic powers. Instead, after *salat* he goes to his mother to ask for prayers to which she gives him sa'a. All fighters look for sa'a but follow different means to get it.

The driving force for most *'yan Dambe* is the ideology of pride and honour. In Karen Bana, the major reason behind the brawl is to get back lost glory and a sense of family obligation and pride, what Mada kept referring to as *share hawaye*, (wiping tears). In Scene VII Part 2, when Barira portrays her fear of Horror's short temper, he answers her that, "*Zuciyar maza da sanyi ai ta zama tsumma. Ai maza da zafi aka san shi*" meaning (A docile heart in a man is a rag. Men are known for bravado). The statement emphasizes the ideology that it is a thing of pride for a man to be aggressive.

In Scene X Part 2, Horror dares Dahiru to a match in the following words:

*Fadan maza nake nufi ba na mata ba, mu shiga filin daga mana dan samari. Kaman yanda mazan jiya suka yi duk wanda ya kashe wani ya auri Barira. Ba kai ne Tahir ba dan gidan Mada? To ka je gida ai maka bayani, a gaya maka waye Horror dan gidan Alti. Za a gaya maka nasan in har an yima bayani ba zaka sake dawowa ba muyi ido hudu.*

I talk about a manly battle not how women fight, small boy.  
To fight how men of yesteryears did, whoever emerges

winner to marry Barira. Are you not Tahir son of Mada? Go home and ask for explanation, ask to know who Horror son of Altı is. You will be told and I am sure once you get to know, you will never allow our eyes to meet.

This dialogue oozes with ideology and daring. Horror associates their names with that of their fathers, digs up a painful history to portray the depth of the challenge. It is this challenge that serves as a catalyst for Dahiru to engage in a tough competition and refuse to back off no matter the pressure. In the last part of the film, many people attempt to deter both Mada and Dahiru from opting out as he (Dahiru ) has a bright future having secured a university degree but it only rubs on their sense of pride. In Scenes IV and V of Part 4, Barira and a friend attempt to discourage Dahiru . He replied that “*Raini*” (looking down) is the reason behind the advice. In Scene VII, Part 4, Mada responds the same way when Dahiru’s mother makes an attempt to reason with him on religious and logical grounds. He used the same word “*Raini*” and even threatens to divorce her if she refuses to shut up.

In Scene VI Part 4, Malam Tukur also attempts to discourage Mada, to which he angrily responds “*Wallahi Tahir ko mutuwa zai yi sai ya karasa tun da yayi alkawarin zai share min hawaye na*”( I swear even if Tahir is going to lose his life, he will fight to the end since he promised to dry my tears). In Scene VII Part 4, despite the emotional farewell with his mother and sisters, the father is unaffected and calls him to depart for the boxing ring.

In Scene VIII, Part 4, after Dahiru is badly hit and tells his father he cannot continue fighting because he is blinded by Horror’s spiritual powder, Mada responds that “*Tashi! Kai namiji na haifa ba mace na haifa ba. Zaka iya don uban ka. Wallahi sai kayi! Wallahi sai kayi!! Kai ne maganin su, kaje in sun san wata ba su san wata ba*” (Get up! I bore a son not a daughter. You can do it because of your father. By God, you have to! By God, you have to!! You are the straw to break the camel’s back. If they have mastered one method, they are unaware of the other).

He reminds Dahiru of the blindfold training given to him and his confidence returns. He goes back to the ring wearing a blindfold, undaunted even when the praise singers chant that a funeral bier is by the ring awaiting corpses. It is the same sense of pride and confidence in the spiritual powers that brings about Horror’s downfall. He looks down on Dahiru, puts little or no effort and is caught unawares by the blows that land him on all fours.

Having secured the family honour and gotten back lost glory Dahiru returns the *kambu* he has no need for to Horror. When Dahiru asks Mada if he is retired from *Dambe* for good, he answers that, “*Ni da dambe ai har abada. Alhamdulillah da gidan daka shiga ka karbo kambu damben*” (I am

done with Dambe for good. I give gratitude to Allah for the house you collected the trophy from), emphasizing that pride has been the major driving force for the championship battle.

### **Conclusion**

Based on the analysis of *Karen Bana* guided by the genres of folklore, the paper is able to provide explanation on:

1. How representative is the portrayal of *Dambe* in *Karan Bana*, and
2. The extent to which the film, *Karen Bana*, be categorized as filmic folklore?

From the analysis above, it is evident that *Dambe* as a folk group is well-portrayed in *Karen Bana*. All the genres of folklore are well represented from the material culture to beliefs and practices. The film is able give an insight into the driving forces, beliefs and perception that have maintained the sport over the years and also brings to the fore its pains and gains. *Karen Bana* portrays that *Dambe* is not just a sport but a way of life that binds a certain group of people in earning a living, romance, getting a wife and even their social affiliations. To a very large extent, the film depicts the intricacies and ideologies surrounding the *Dambe* folk group.

Although *Karen Bana* was produced with the intent to make a profit, it can be categorized as filmic folklore because it acted and emphasized many ideologies and stereotypes of the *Dambe* group, which, according to Kalamre (2013), is what filmic folklore does. Also, according to Koven and Sherman, "filmic folklore refers to a kind of artificial folklore-like phenomenal that only exist cinematically in fictional films and it may behave like "proper" folklore does, but it is entirely a construct for the camera" (Koven and Sherman, 2007, p.2). *Karen Bana* is a fictional construct that is entirely for the camera but is able to behave like "proper folklore." It is able to introduce to the viewer, knowledge of the basics of *Dambe*, done very convincingly and with attention to detail from dressing to ideology. The paper, therefore, concludes that it can therefore be categorized as filmic folklore.

### **Recommendations**

Hall (2000) points out that information, images and ideas made available by the media may, for most people, be the main source of an awareness of a shared past time (history) and a present social location. They are also a store of memories and a map of where we are and who we are (identity) and may also provide the materials for orientation into the future. This study argues that it does not project a future whereby children will ever come back to sit

under the moonlight and be told stories by grandparents, but there is a rapid change in the social system, the continuous emergence of nuclear families from the extended, the emergence of parents that are themselves attached to different technological devices and grandparents that are career men and women. The only way forward is to entrench our revered traditions into the devices we hand over to the younger generation so that they have a sense of where they are coming from. McQuail (2010, p.82) also points out that the media, to a large extent, serve to constitute our perceptions and definitions of social reality and normality for the purpose of a public shared social life and are a key source of standards, models and norms. Based on these arguments, this paper therefore recommends that folk groups should utilize new bottles when old ones become outdated. Filmmakers, as members of the Hausa folk group, should put more effort into the use of filmic folklore to transmit tradition.

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## **Media Consumption and Mediated Experience: Example from the Use of Hausa Language in Broadcast Media Advertising**

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### **Introduction**

Under normal circumstances, if someone hires a labourer for a certain amount of money to work for him on his farmland, such a labourer must do the work no matter what the situation may be. It is probably in line with this idea that propagandists for advertising make much of the fact that advertising revenue enables us to watch television free of charge and buy newspapers and magazines at a price considerably below the sum they cost to be produced. The “fact” is itself slightly misstated. We do, of course, have to pay the full price in the end for our papers and television programmes by means of a small impost (tax) every time we buy detergents, cigarettes, petrol or toothpaste. Moreover, this indirect form of compulsory levy reduces the power of each one of us to decide what he will pay for and how much he will pay for it.

These subsidies, which advertising pays on our behalf, adds up to vast amounts. For instance, it is more difficult to estimate the net financial gain to the press, since a newspaper has to pay for the paper and ink needed to print the advertisement and also to staff and maintain its own advertising department. But it seems safe to say that, at least, half the total advertising revenue can be regarded as a new subsidy. If there were no advertising, it is likely that we would have to pay nearly double its present selling price for a popular paper and more than double for a quality paper.

The main effect of this dependence on advertising can be stated very simply. Advertisers want their advertisements to reach as many people as possible; they pay for space in newspapers at the rate of so much per column-inch per thousand readers. They pay for time on radio and television commercials according to the number of captive listeners and viewers they can count on having delivered to them. Also, dependence on advertising moreover implies a subtle distortion of purpose, in that the paramount need is



to please the advertiser rather than to satisfy the reader, listener or viewer. After all, it is the advertisers who pay most of the bill for the broadcast media. And it is with realization of this key role of advertisers that broadcast media cannot be bold enough to critically review the commercial products sent to them by advertisers. This may be tantamount to a serious loss of revenue from their clients.

Therefore, dependence on advertising revenue from clients (advertisers) inhibits most broadcast media, as well as newspapers and magazines, from any attempt to review critically ordinary commercial products in the same way that they review books or films. And this equally ensures that audience will never hear, view or read, from either commercial radio, television or press, any radical criticism of the advertising industry itself however much this may be in the public or audience interest. Hence, the Hausa saying goes:

*Kowa ya ci ladan kuturu dole ya yi masa aski” or “Ko ina huntu za shi da sanin mai riga”*

#### **Translation**

He who has been paid to do a job must carry it out however distasteful it may be.

Or

Wherever the semi-naked man goes, it is with the knowledge of the owner of the gown.

(“He who pays the piper dictates the tune”.)

This probably shows that advertising has a negative effect on society. Advertisements bombard the public from radios, televisions, billboards and boards. What effect does this information have on society? Critics say the public’s perception of reality is warped by the wanton materialism, sexism and stereotypes portrayed in mass advertising.

#### **The Dawn of Mass Advertising**

Bernards (1988, P.188) reports that mass advertising has not always been with people. It grew with mass media or rather mass media grew with it. Mass advertising was a response to significant transformations in the productive system. The growth of modern technology and mass production generally brought changes in the lives of people. For example, the usual small community with its local economy and homebred recreational and cultural life gave way to an urbanized, industrial society of people who were obliged to turn more and more to a mass commodity market.

The age of mass consumption came into prominence in the 1920s. It was more pronounced in the post-war (World War) era. With it came the

advertising industry, called into being by the economic imperative of having to market vast quantities of consumer goods and services. Among the new products were those that enabled advertising itself to happen: the newspaper, the magazine, the radio and the television set - all in their turn were to become both mass consumption items and prime conduits for mass consumption advertising. Today, the family and the local community are no longer the primary units for production, recreation, self-definition or even personal loyalty. Self-image, role models and emotional attachments are increasingly sought from those whose speciality is to produce and manipulate images and from the images themselves.

The obvious purpose of advertisements and commercials is to sell goods and services, but advertisers do more than that. Over and above any particular product, they sell an entire way of life, a way of experiencing social reality that is compatible with the needs of a mass production, mass consumption, and capitalist society. Media advertising is both a propagator and a product of a consumer ideology (Parenti, 1986). This will now lead us to briefly look at modern consumerism.

### **Modern Consumerism**

According to Parenti (1986), people have always had to consume in order to live, and in every class society, consumption styles have been a measure of one's status. But modern consumerism is a relatively recent development in which masses of people seek to accumulate things other than what they need and often other than what they can truly enjoy. Consumption is no longer just a means to life but a meaning for life. This is the essence of the consumer ideology. As propagated through mass advertising, the ideology standardizes tastes and legitimizes both the products of the system and the system itself, representing the commodity-ridden life as "the good life" and "the American Way." The consumer ideology, or consumerism, builds a mass psychology of "moreness" that knows no limit. Hence, the increase in material abundance ironically also can bring a heightened sense of scarcity and a sense of unfulfilled acquisition.

Advertisements often do not explicitly urge the consumer to buy a given product, rather they promise that the product will enhance a person's life, opening a whole range of desiderata, including youthfulness, attractiveness, social grace, security, success, conviviality, sex, romance and the admiration of others. Strictly speaking, the advertisement does not "sell" the product as such. Rarely does the television commercial say "Buy Pepsi." Instead, it urges us to "Join the Pepsi Generation." Similarly, radio advertisement hardly will tell you to "buy Star lager beer." It simply invites you to "Enjoy a brighter life - Star!"

Most consumers, if questioned on the matter, would agree that many advertisements are exaggerated, unrealistic and even untrue: but this scepticism does not immunize them from the advertisement hype. One can be critical of a particular commercial and yet be swayed by it at some subliminal level or by the overall impact of watching or listening to thousands of commercials a week. Thus, millions of people bought high-priced designer jeans even if a few actually believed the product would win them entry into that never-never world of slim-hipped glamorous people who joyfully wiggled their blue-denim posteriors into the television camera in an endless succession of commercials during the early 1980s.

The consumer ideology not only fabricates false needs, it panders in a false way to real ones. The desire for companionship, love, approval and pleasure, the need to escape from drudgery and boredom, the search for security for oneself and one's family, such things are vital human concerns. The consumer ideology does something more pernicious than just activate our urge for conspicuous consumption. Like so much else in the media and like other forms of false consciousness, consumerism plays on real human needs in deceptive and ultimately unfulfilling ways. The foregoing is closely followed by the true aim of advertising, as we can see below.

### **The Gospel of Advertising**

One of the goals of advertising is to turn the consumer's critical perception away from the product – and away from the system that produces it – and toward herself or himself. Many commercials or advertisements characterize people as loud-mouthed imbeciles whose problems are solved when they encounter the right medication, cosmetic, cleanser or gadget. In this way, industry confines the social imagination and cultural experience of millions, teaching people to define their needs and lifestyles according to the dictates of the commodity market.

The reader or listener of advertising copy/campaign and the viewer of commercials discover that they are not doing right for wife's or baby's needs or hubby's or wife's desires; that they are failing in their careers because of poor appearance, sloppy dress, or bad breath; that they are not treating their complexion, hair or nails properly; that they suffer unnecessary cold misery and headache pains; that they don't know how to make the tastiest coffee, pie, pudding or chicken dinner: nor if left to their own devices, would they be able to clean their floors, sinks and toilets correctly or tend to their lawns, gardens, appliances and automobiles. In order to live well and live properly, consumers need corporate producers to guide them. Consumers are taught personal incompetence and dependence on mass-market producers.

Critically speaking, therefore, people are subconsciously urged not to worry about the security of their homes, and families! This is because the corporate system knows what formulas to feed your infants, what foods to feed your family, what medication to feed your cold, what gas to feed your engine and how best to please your spouse, your boss, or your peers. Just as the mass market replaced family and community as the provider of goods and services, so now corporations replace parents, grandparents, midwives, neighbours, craftspeople and oneself in knowing what is best. Big business enhances its legitimacy and social hegemony by portraying itself as society's Grand Provider.

The world of mass advertising teaches us that want and frustration are caused by our own deficiencies. The goods are within easy reach before our very eyes in dazzling abundance, available not only to the rich but to millions of ordinary citizens. Those unable to partake of this cornucopia have only themselves to blame. If you cannot afford to buy these things, goes the implicit message, the failure is yours and not the system's. The advertisement of consumer wares, then, is also an advertisement for a whole capitalist system, a demonstration that the system can deliver both the goods and the good life to everyone save laggards and incompetents.

### **Why Advertising Some Products Should be Restricted or Banned**

Before discussing the subject matter of this section, it is important to give a brief background of consumer culture. This will probably show a picture of the intrusion of foreign products and even habits, which have pandered to the public by advertising them in an indecent manner.

Stuart Ewen (1976) has explored the historical roots of what we now call consumer culture, tracing the role of early-twentieth century advertising in its creation. Turn-of-the-century capitalists, captains of industry, saw mass advertising as a means of shaping the consciousness of the American population in a way that would give legitimacy and stability to the rapidly industrializing society. The key to this new consciousness was the creation of a new way of life based on the pleasures of consumption. Mass advertising emerged in the 1920s when leaders of the business community began to see the need for a coordinated ideological effort to complement their control of the workplace. Advertising would become the centrepiece of a programme to sell not only products, but also a new American way of life in which consumption erased differences, integrated immigrants into the mainstream of American life and made buying the equivalent of voting as a form of commitment to the democratic process.

From the start, then, advertising was more about creating consumers than selling individual products. If a mass production economy was to be

profitable and if those who worked for long hours under difficult conditions in the factory were to be pacified, new needs and habits had to be stimulated. This was the job of advertising. Its early practitioners built on people's insecurities about their lives and their appearances to shape the desires for new consumer products. Solutions to personal problems were to be found in the world of consumption, an early version of the currently prevalent attitude that views a day of shopping as a way to cheer up oneself.

Advertising suggested that new products, such as mouthwash, hand lotion and deodorant, would protect people from embarrassment and give them a ticket to the modern world. Old habits and folkways, the traditions that recent immigrants brought to the United States - were to be discarded in favour of the new "American way", participation in a consumer society. Advertising sold consumerism as a gateway to social integration in twentieth century America and as an ideology that would smooth over social conflict—especially class conflict—and serve as a form of social cement.

One way advertising tried to sell across class ideology of consumerism was through its focus on the realism of consumption and its neglect of production. The industrial workplace might be unsatisfying, even degrading but advertising offered a world that was far removed from the drudgery of work, emphasizing the wonders of the consumer lifestyle. It was after all that lifestyle and associated worldview that advertisements were selling, regardless whether people had the means to really live it.

As Ewen (1976: 10) puts it, while the ideology of consumerism:

Served to stimulate consumption among those who had the wherewithal and desire to consume, it all tried to provide a conception of the good life for those who did not... the broader context of a burgeoning commercial culture, the foremost political imperative was what to dream.

Croteau and Hoynes (1997) say such dreams could be realized only by consuming goods and even this was only a temporary realization, requiring continuous consumption in search of the lifestyle promoted by advertising. Our culture of consumption, then, is intimately connected to advertising, which helps to create it and continues, in new forms, to sustain consumerism as a central part of contemporary American ideology.

### **The Concept of *Talla* – Advertising in Hausa**

In Hausa, basically speaking *talla* means hawking. It is, however, synonymous with advertising in English. It is essentially all about hawking

assorted commodities as well as goods and services for sale. *Yan talla* hawkers and/or advertising agents normally carry goods and services from place to place and orally through an artistic use of language to persuade their prospective consumer to buy or patronize the goods and services. The use of Hausa as one of the languages of both national and international broadcasting has equally earned it an indisputable role to play in advertising. Hausa in advertising is primarily used to persuade the Hausa speaking consumers to buy and patronize goods and services presented in the advertisements. Put differently, advertisements in Hausa are specifically meant for the attention of the audience in the predominantly Hausa-speaking northern Nigeria and the 'Hausawa' of other parts of Hausaland. According to Bello (1992, P.1):

Hausa is the language spoken by millions of people living in Hausaland. Territorially, Hausaland comprises an enormous area of that part of the western Sahel which lies adjacent to the Lake Chad Basin. By the Sahel is meant that dry belt of Africa which stretches across the continent from the Senegal River in the west to the Red Sea in the east. It lies south of the Sahara and north of the equatorial and coastal jungles and rain forests.

It is interesting to note that in Nigeria, the concept of modern media advertising in Hausa is already well-established, most especially in the broadcast media—radio and television. The use of broadcast media for mass communication in Nigeria has existed for over five decades. It is, however, imperative to recognize here that for any broadcast media to develop, survive and thrive, it must broadcast commercial programmes; and one of the commercial programmes which pay the bills of the broadcast media is certainly – advertising.

Critically speaking, there is controversy in the field of advertising. Accordingly Crystal (1987, P.390):

The field of advertising is a controversial one, as people dispute the ethics and effects of 'hard' selling tactics, fraudulent claims, commercial sponsoring in sport, the intrusiveness of advertisements, and their effect on children. Its language therefore needs careful investigation and monitoring. But it is not an easy field to make generalizations about. Its boundaries blur with other forms of persuasive language, such as speeches, sermons, and public

announcements. And within the genre, there is so much variation in subject matter that it is impossible to maintain a single attitude that will encompass everything. Whatever our view about advertisements for cigarettes, washing powders, or cough remedies, it is unlikely to be the same as the view we hold about advertisements dealing with the dangers of smoking, the sale of houses, or the needs of the Third World.

In view of the foregoing, it is important to realize that the intrusion of some foreign products to Nigeria and the northern part of the country, particularly through advertising, has in association with these products brought certain habits, which pander to the ordinary citizen, especially the Hausa people. Some of these products include: cigarette, alcohol, drugs, etc. This presentation will specifically exemplify on the use of Hausa in cigarette advertising.

**Why Cigarette Advertising in Hausa should be Regulated or Banned**  
In America, Cummins (1984) reports that:

Since 1971 cigarette advertising has been banned from the airwaves. Many critics of the tobacco industry believe this restriction should apply to all forms of media. Anti-smoking activists would especially like to ban advertising directed at children and teenagers. ...congress must restrict tobacco companies in advertising a product that causes 340,000 premature deaths per year. If congress fails to act, Cummins believes that media leaders should voluntarily restrict cigarette advertising.

But as far as commercial media are concerned, the restriction of cigarette advertising is almost an impossible task. It is even difficult to handle because of an 'unhealthy dependence' on revenue they do generate from cigarette advertising. According to Warner (1985 in Bernards 1988, P.201):

Studies dating back to the 1930s provide evidence that media's dependence on revenue from cigarette advertising has repeatedly led to suppression of discussion of smoking and health matters.... The apparent failure of the media to cover issues related to smoking to the extent that their importance should warrant suggests that the public is less knowledgeable about smoking than it ought to be. As a

consequence, it seems likely that there are more people who smoke today than there would be in an environment of responsible media coverage. The result is an avoidable excess burden of suffering and premature death.

At the time cigarette advertising was being restricted in America, i.e. in early 1970s, in Nigeria, cigarette advertising in Hausa was indeed reigning and even vibrating at about the same period. For example, Furniss (1996:86) reports that:

In the late 1960s, commercial sponsorship of drama (at Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) by tobacco companies such as; Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC) and the Multinational Philip Morris, through their local branch in Nigeria produced the radio drama: *Taba sa farin cikin Aljihu* Meaning: Cigarette makes for happy pockets.

This was a radio drama specifically designed to entice farmers to grow and produce the tobacco plant. However, Ladan (1992) reveals that perhaps the Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC) was aware of the impact of “*Noma Yanke Talauci*” (farming is an antidote to poverty), which was the first successful farmer’s programme. Hence, they approached the management of BCNN to allocate air time to them to sponsor a special drama programme for tobacco farmers. Ladan was (himself) asked to write and produce it. The play was named “*Gundumi Fasa Kwanya*” (A giant who breaks the brain). The drama was complemented by the ‘Danmaraya Jos’s oral Hausa advertisement song: advertising *Target Super* cigarette:

**Hausa:**

*Dandana dandanon Sigarin Target  
Dole ka more dadin kallo.*

**Translation:**

Have a taste of Target cigarette.  
You must enjoy watching the  
play

Accordingly, Ladan (1992:31) explains further that: “when the programme took off, it was a great success because more and more farmers took to tobacco farming; however, as responsible radio station, we had to mount a



campaign on farmers not to abandon food crops in favour of tobacco (a cash crop).”

One feels that even if Ladan (1992:31) says they were a “responsible radio station”, because, according to him, they “had to mount a campaign on farmers not to abandon food crops in favour of tobacco (a cash crop)”, it is immaterial. Their being “responsible,” so to say, can best be described in a Hausa proverb:

*“Thu bayan hari” ko “Fargar Jaji”* Meaning: (Too late to cry when the head is cut off).

Critically speaking, the management of the BCNN then ought to have acted more responsibly to turn down the request when the cigarette manufacturing companies “approached” it to sponsor the programme. But instead, they were then propagating the production, through farming, of deadly product - tobacco. Again, they ought to have realized their role as “responsible” professional producers who were seen to be championing the cause of Hausa cultural values, especially through the production of a variety of Hausa radio drama. They were well placed to propagate that smoking was a pernicious habit. One would have expected them to have commissioned an oral Hausa singer to sing against smoking!

But unfortunately, they only commissioned an oral Hausa singer in the person of Danlami Nassarawa to encourage the farmers to take to tobacco farming with the following song:

<b>Hausa</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<i>Manoma ‘yan Arewa</i>	Farmers of northern Nigeria
<i>Ku yi noman taba”</i>	Take to tobacco farming.
<i>Domin karin arzikinku</i>	For your personal enrichment
<i>Da na kasa gaba daya</i>	And that of your country generally
<i>Manoma ‘yan Arewa</i>	Farmers of northern Nigeria
<i>Ku yi kwazon aiki</i>	work hard
<i>Yin aikace-aikacen taba</i>	Do all preparation for tobacco farming
<i>Ku yi dashe da wuri</i>	Do the planting on time
<i>Ku sa taki da wuri</i>	Apply the fertilizer on time
<i>Ku kuma yi noma a kan</i>	Do the weeding when it is due
<i>lokaci</i>	
<i>Manoma ‘yan Arewa</i>	Farmers of northern Nigeria
<i>Ku yi kwazon aiki</i>	work hard

Of course, it is impossible to envisage the “responsible radio station” mounting a campaign against cigarette smoking. This is because of the revenue the broadcast media will generate. It is on record that over the years, media generally, especially in America, are usually dependent on revenue from cigarette advertising. Bernards (1988:201) report what Warner, (1985) says:

Studies dating back to the 1930s provide evidence that the media’s dependency on revenue from cigarette advertising has repeatedly led to a suppression of discussion of smoking and health matters....

We should be rest assured that the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) could not be an exception especially during the period under discussion. Even though BCNN received subvention from the government, it used the advert revenue to complement its financial expenses. There is no denying the fact that tobacco is a deadly product and smoking is dangerous and bad for health. Sagan (1996:218) rightly reports that: “Tobacco is addictive, by many criteria more so than heroin and cocaine... More people have died of tobacco than in all of World War II.”

According to the World Health Organization, smoking kills three million people every year worldwide. This will rise to ten million annually by the year 2020 in part because of a massive advertising campaign to portray smoking as advanced and fashionable to young women (and probably men) in the developing world. For the avoidance of doubt, smokers in ‘developed’ countries like America, who have been affected or suffered, including those who are suffering from various types of sicknesses, as a result of smoking cigarette are taking tobacco companies to court to claim damages.

For example, the history-making one hundred and forty five billion United States Dollars (\$145 billion) penalty was handed against the tobacco industry, Philip Morris. The judgement was given by a Florida State court judge Robert, Paul Kaye, in July 2000. It was the largest damage award in history, dwarfing any previous judgement. In the trial, the jury found that the tobacco industry produced a deadly product and deceived the public about the dangers of cigarettes. The damages award was in favour of five hundred to seven hundred thousand (500,000 to 700,000) sick smokers. One interesting thing about the verdict is that “During the punitive phase of the trial, Michael Szymanczyk, the Chief Executive of Philip Morris, went so far as to admit on the stand that **“smoking is bad for your health.”** (*Newsweek July 24, 2000: 33*).

Lest we forget, it is the same Philip Morris industry, whose local agent in Nigeria was advertising some brands of their cigarettes like: *St. Morris*, *Sweet Menthol*, *Flight*, *Link*, *Target*, etc. in the 1970s. They were depicting all sorts of gratification of social life a consumer will benefit from their advertising campaigns. They also offered an assortment of persuading gifts to consumers and even young children to influence and entice them to take to smoking. For example, an advertisement for *Link*, which was aired in the late 1970s and in the 1980s, read as follows:

<b>Hausa</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<i>Sigari mai Dagi</i>	<i>Link</i> cigarette
<i>Dandano mafi dadi</i>	It has the best taste
<i>Ita ce kan gaba wajen gamsarwa</i>	Number one in satisfaction
<i>An yi ta da ganyen taba mafi aminci</i>	Produced from quality tobacco
<i>Dandanon ta babu dama</i>	

Although the use of Hausa in the advertisement is obviously laudatory and positive, there is, however, a seemingly unnecessary exaggeration of the cigarette's 'taste', using a variety of vocabulary, such as *dadi dandano* and *gamsarwa*. This is deliberately and intentionally employed to persuade consumers to take up smoking! Only God knows how many took to smoking and are sick or have lost their lives as a result of that campaign.

Again, a popular oral singer in the person of Danmaraya Jos was commissioned to sing for one of their tobacco products - **Target super cigarette**. The song, which was mainly for the advertisement of the cigarette, featured heavily as one of the musical interludes of the then Radio Television Kaduna Hausa drama programme – *Gundumi Fasa Kwanya* (A Giant who breaks the brain). The same Yusuf Ladan wrote and produced this radio drama. It was indeed an interesting Hausa drama on traditional boxing. It used to be very humorous. An excerpt from the advertisement song is as follows:

<b>Hausa</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<i>Dandana dandanon Sigarin Target</i>	<i>Target</i> cigarette (Have a taste of)
<i>Mai biyan ku bukata</i>	Satisfies your needs <i>Target</i> cigarette
<i>Sai Sigarin Target Lalle dandanon yai dadi</i>	Indeed it tastes good
<i>Kai da kanka ka more</i>	You enjoy a good life of this world

<i>Dadın duniya in ka sha</i>	if you smoke it.
<i>More jin dadın ka na duniya</i>	Enjoy your life in this world with
<i>Da sigarin Target</i>	<i>Target</i>
<i>Ko ina kake malam</i>	Wherever you are Malam
<i>Ko wajen kwallon ne</i>	Be it at watching football match
<i>Ko silima Malam</i>	Be it at cinema house
<i>Ko ko kallon wasa</i>	Or at any performance
<i>Sha sigarin Target</i>	Smoke <i>Target</i> cigarette
<i>Dole ka more dadın kallo</i>	You most enjoy a good show!

### **Regulating Tobacco Advertising in Hausa**

In view of the foregoing and following the kind of proliferation of our markets with several types of foreign cigarettes, there is the urgent need to control or indeed regulate their advertising campaigns. In this section, the concentration will be on regulating tobacco advertising in Hausa. But, briefly, regulating tobacco advertising elsewhere in other countries of world will be cited as a preamble. The fact that tobacco advertising is regulated in many countries of the world is now acknowledged generally. But while the regulations are draconian in some countries, they are not so strict in some and are lenient in some others. For example, in India, cigarette advertising is banned on television, while in Nigeria, regulations on tobacco, one can say, belong to the lenient category; going by the available guidelines on tobacco advertising.

Basically speaking, these regulations are based on medical grounds everywhere in the world. This is because the fact that tobacco causes cancer is now generally accepted and recognized even by the multinational cigarette manufacturing industries like Philip-Morris, whose chief executive admits that “smoking is bad for your health” (*Newsweek*, July 24, 2000:33). Again, it is interesting to note here that following recent huge fines in the United States of America, tobacco industries now openly admit on their websites that tobacco causes cancer, one of the world’s deadliest diseases.

Additionally, a World Health Organization (WHO) report says, according to Dogkudge (2000:19):

The nicotine in tobacco is addictive and is responsible for the death of about half of all persistent smokers. By 1997, about 3.5 million people died of cigarette-induced cancer worldwide. And the report says the figure is expected to increase to about 10 million yearly during the 2020s with 7

million of the deaths occurring in developing countries, including Nigeria.

Similarly, the Nigerian Health Care Foundation (NHF) admits that the consequences of tobacco smoking are already evident in the country. "These are manifesting in the form of stroke, heart disease, cancer and respiratory disease." In view of these consequences therefore, it is necessary to examine the role of advertising agencies, advertisers and the media to see whether they are making any serious effort(s) to ensure strict compliance with regulations in our country which belong to the lenient category.

As far as this study is concerned, these trio (advertising agencies, advertisers and the media) are not cooperating to any reasonable level of satisfaction to see to the compliance of tobacco advertising regulation in Nigeria. For instance, advertising is one of the socializing forces in our culture. It sells more than just commodities or products. It also sells images, values and goals, as well as concepts of who we are and who we should be both local and foreign. It shapes our attitudes and our attitudes shape our behaviour. Advertising almost always uses all sorts of appeals, from imagery to compelling language both verbal and written, to touch audience's innermost fears, emotions and fancies. In fact, it goes beyond the selling of goods; it, at the same time, sells a kind of consumer lifestyle.

In the case of advertisers, the reason is not far-fetched. It is a well-known fact that advertisers, who are usually manufacturers, always want their goods or products to reach as many people as possible. In order to achieve their aims and objectives, some of which include making the presence of their goods and services well-known to a large number of audience and thereby creating both immediate and future needs and desires in the minds of their audience, advertisers would not mind spending huge amounts of money to achieve their goals. In fact, they do spend and could always spend a lot of money and resources with the ultimate aim of gaining acceptability and marketability for their goods or services.

As for the media, both print and electronic, advertising is actually what pays their bills. The continuous existence of most of the media houses depends entirely on the revenue they do generate from commercial programmes, especially advertising. Therefore, in their lusty quest to generate revenue to supplement their subventions, the Nigerian media, especially broadcast media, carried, and still, continue to carry tobacco advertising. Since regulations for tobacco advertising belong to the lenient category in Nigeria, the various existing media are at liberty to advertise tobacco reluctantly at their wish. According to Doghudge (2000:19), tobacco

advertisers are expected, while advertising tobacco, to follow either of the three guidelines:

- a) They should not broadcast tobacco commercials before 6pm on radio or before 9.45 pm on television.
- b) They should not have tobacco billboards near stadia, schools and hospitals
- c) They should not feature women, children and sportsmen in tobacco television commercials.

In view of the acceptability and recognisability throughout the world of the fact that “smoking is bad and dangerous to health,” advertising agencies are now compelled to carry or feature one of the two health warnings advocacy in any tobacco advertising and on each packet of any brand of cigarette. For example, on the packets of *Benson & Hedges (B&H)*, *Rothmans*, etc. there are these warnings:

- (1) “The Federal Ministry of Health warns that tobacco smoking is dangerous to health.” (*Ma’aikatar Kiwon lafiya tana gargadi cewa shan taba na cutar da lafiya*).
- (2) “The Federal Ministry of Health warns that smokers are liable to die young.”  
(*Ma’aikatar Kiwon lafiya tana gargadi cewa mashaya taba za su iya mutuwar kuruciya*).

It is interesting to note, too, that one of the popular brands of cigarette, that is, *Target Super* (which was popular in the late 1970s and early 1980s) and a product of Philip Morris, carries a different ‘health warning’. It reads; “U.S. SURGEON GENERAL’S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to your Health.” Meaning:

*Gargadi daga likitocin Amurka: Barin shan taba yanzu yana mutukar rage mummunan hadari ga lafiyar ka.*

This study is of the opinion that, as far as the desire of effective compliance to these warnings is concerned, the aspirations and goals intended to achieve are nothing to write home about. These are unserious regulations or they can be described as: ‘tame restrictions on tobacco advertising by any standard.’ One of the major languages of tobacco advertising in Nigeria is Hausa. The use of Hausa in tobacco advertising in the media dates back to the beginning of broadcast media advertising in

Nigeria. Some instances have been cited earlier on. Hausa oral singers, such as Danlami Nasarawa, Danmaraya Jos and Sani Danindo, have been used in tobacco advertising. These singers, along with many others, have produced various commissioned Hausa oral songs selling various brands of cigarettes to Hausa audience.

One of the powerful broadcast media that is used in disseminating tobacco advertising is the *Radio Nigeria Kaduna*, which has the largest number of listeners within Nigeria, most of whom are Hausa native speakers. A figure of 40 million listeners was discovered after a survey conducted in 1991. Some of the latest information, though unauthenticated, gives a current figure of the Hausa listeners of the Hausa Service of the *FRCN-Radio Nigeria Kaduna*, as 70 million (Shehu, S. 2014. Text Message, sent on 29th July, 2014, 05:23:35pm). With this development, therefore, there is no denying the fact that *Radio Nigeria Kaduna* has a tremendous influence on its audience. In fact, the influence is interestingly described by Funtua (1997, P.31) thus:

The cumulative effect of the Radio Nigeria Kaduna on its audience is that an overwhelming majority of the Hausa speaking inhabitants of northern Nigeria have made radio listening not only a habit, but have accepted the habit as one of their acquired cultural values.

In view of the foregoing, therefore, there is no doubt that tobacco advertising in Hausa, especially through broadcast media, could have a deleterious impact on Hausa audience. For the avoidance of doubt, possible measures should be provided and used to eradicate and eventually eliminate tobacco advertising in Hausa through the broadcast media (radio and television). Since media communication is said to primarily serve the function of maintaining cultural, social, moral, economic and political allegiance, as well as informing, educating and persuading the public, this context of Hausa language use, especially in tobacco advertising, should be regulated and controlled.

For example, broadcast media and their executives should not be allowed to hide under the guise of ‘freedom of speech’ or language of free speech to gain economic and financial benefits and debase *Hausawa*. Again, one of the greatest threats to *Hausawa* and their cultural, moral and medical values is the way Hausa popular culture is utilized in tobacco advertising. This advertising regularly pushes the limits of decency and bombards the Hausa audience with destructive messages that are pernicious by any standard. Advertising agencies and the entire Advertising Practitioners Council of

Nigeria (APON), as well as national and international tobacco manufacturers, should be held accountable for putting profit ahead of common moral and medical decency.

Similarly, tobacco advertisers in Hausa should be seen as people who cultivate cultural and social deviance, as well as moral and medical exploitation for profit. Therefore, severe punitive measures should be taken against them. APCON, (established by Decree 55 of 1988) with six other advertising media bodies drafted the Code of Advertising in Nigeria and have agreed to abide by its provisions. The code is a body of regulations designed to control and regulate the practice of advertising in Nigeria and is commonly referred to as "The Code of Advertising Practice." It also guides professional advertising practice in Nigeria. However, related bodies of advertising will also benefit from the use of the code as a guide. These include printers, public relations firms, film and television production firms and institutions offering advertising and related courses.

Some of the most interesting provisions of the Code are as follows: 'APCON's ethical code of advertising practice has a seventeen points general principles, thirteen points presentation and claims, as well as special categories of advertising guidelines for: alcoholic beverages, TOBACCO PRODUCTS, (emphasis added), direct media buying, media owners, political advertising, medicine and re-treatment, food (including non-alcoholic beverages), cosmetics, children, mail order advertising direct sale advertising and banking and financial services.' (*APCON Advertising Annual, Vol. 2, 1995*).

From the foregoing, it is evidently clear that The Code of Advertising Practice has made provisions to control and regulate the practice of advertising, including that of TOBACCO products in Nigeria. It is in this respect that one would like to blame and condemn the APCON for its lackadaisical attitude towards enforcing the provisions of the Code, especially on TOBACCO advertising in our broadcast media. Specifically speaking, therefore, Hausa people as citizens of this country have the moral, social as well as the constitutional rights to complain against the use of their language, popular culture or literary genres in TOBACCO advertising, especially through broadcast media.

Such barrage of complaints shall emerge from various interest groups as the elite, the traditional institutions, politicians, students, market men and women, etc. through using various media both nationally and internationally. Again, mass orientation and mobilization campaigns should be undertaken to discourage smoking habits among the *Hausawa*, as well as trading or having any business transaction or anything to do with TOBACCO products. This



type of campaign should be spread to families, wards, hamlets, villages, towns, cities, schools, places of worships, ceremonial functions, etc.

Lastly but not the least, efforts should be made to use government through the available democratic provisions to see to the empowerment of APCON to exercise the full powers of enforcing the compliance of regulating and even banning TOBACCO advertising in Hausa specifically through the broadcast media, namely radio and television, that exist in the predominantly Hausa-speaking northern Nigeria. This should be seen to be done basically on the basis of health reasons, as it is generally admitted and accepted all over the world that “TOBACCO smoking is dangerous to health.”

### **Conclusion**

In the foregoing, attempt has been made initially to share the critical views of scholars of the language of advertising, especially with regard to the manipulation of language use and other forces of appeal that are usually employed to complement this function of language in media communication. The use of Hausa in advertising in the broadcast media, which is the focus of this study, can be better appreciated when we are well-informed about both the positive and negative purposes it serves to its audience in respect of its development as one of the languages of mass media broadcasting in Nigeria. It seems reasonable to agree that media communication is said to primarily serve the functions of maintaining cultural, social and economic values, as well as informing, educating and persuading the public. But this context of language use, as categorized above, as an instance of using Hausa for specific purposes (communication), is generally examined and critically analysed.

Lastly, as remedies, some strategies have been proposed and provided for regulating Hausa advertising use, especially in the broadcast media. And this cursory survey of regulatory measures makes clear that forces both within and without the advertising media industry could be used to achieve the desired goals and objectives. Some of the major findings of this study are that tobacco and its product, cigarette, have enjoyed a lot of advertisement in Hausa. Again, popular Hausa singers have been commissioned to compose Hausa advertisement songs for cigarettes. And, regrettably, Hausa oral singers have not composed any songs against the dangers of tobacco and cigarette smoking.

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**Globalization, African Identity and the Northern  
Nigerian Novel: A Critical Appraisal of Kamal Aliyu's  
*Portrait of a Patron and Women Without Borders***

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**Introduction**

Beyond the common things that unite us as human beings on the same planet, are those elements of culture which mark us out and define our distinct identities... These are precisely the things that we have sadly ceased to value, or even remember in our seductive dance to the music of the imperialist American salesman (Osofisan. In Menegbe, 2005:20).

The theme of global media, knowledge transfer and African identity cannot come at a better time when Nigerian and the global communities are experiencing violence and the destruction of lives and properties on an unprecedented scale. The role of literature as a historical marker, especially in Africa, signifies the crucial function of literature and culture as instruments of not only keeping pace with the hardships and pains of neo-imperialism, which globalization implies, but also as an important ingredient of cultural and social identity in an increasingly changing global scenario. This paper attempts a critical analysis of Kamal Aliyu's *Portrait of a Patron* and *Women without Borders* using the New Historicist theory in the context of globalization.

**Globalization, Identity and African Literature**

The concept of globalization has a long and complex history. It is a varied and highly contested term viewed variously from different angles. The aim in this paper is, therefore, a working definition for the purpose of situating Kamal Aliyu's works from local, regional, national and continental perspectives. According to Kaarbo and Ray (2011:502- 503), globalization is similar to interdependence, which means that in contemporary society, what happens inside one state can have a significant effect on what happens inside

another state and that there has been a rise in the significance of non-state and sub-state actors, which connect states in a network of relations. Unlike interconnectedness, globalization places more emphasis on the growing similarity of people, places and things in a "borderless world". They opine further that definitions of globalization typically stresses "increase in interconnections or interdependence, a rise in transnational flows, and an intensification of processes such that the world is in some respects becoming a single place."

Globalization has many faces, such as the economic, the political, the social and the cultural, although the four faces cut across each other. Like its cognates interdependence and post-modernity, globalization has a long history in evolving but, as pointed out by McLean and McMillan (2003), it is marked by "deterritorialization" or the "reconfiguration of social space or new understanding of identity" or community. Although some scholars see the distinction between globalization, on the one hand, and internationalization, westernization and modernization, on the other, all are perceived in the context of this paper as the "continuation of a deep-rooted set of historical process...(which) contemporary globalization represents as a critical breakpoint or fundamental discontinuity in world politics" (p.222 - 223).

This discontinuity is marked by the rapid expansion of international trade and investment, the increased awareness of ecological interdependence, the declining utility of military power and the increasing power of non-state actors and/or multinational corporations and terrorist groups. Thus, the critics further adduce that globalization constitutes a systemic shift that increasingly undermine the traditional role of the nation state. Therefore, it is further argued, globalization is the process or processes which generate a multiplicity of linkages and interconnectedness that transcends states and societies that make up the modern world system. It also involves the dramatic increase in the "density" and "depth" of economic, ecological and societal interdependence with "density" referring to the increased number, range and scope of cross-border transactions and "depth" to the degree to which that interdependence affects and is affected by the ways societies are organized domestically.

### **Cultural Globalization**

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. Some globalization sceptics assert that there is an established trend of empires, such as the Roman and the British, which, according to Kaarbo and Ray, conducted imperial educational policy and imperial communication infrastructure akin to present day globalization. Secondly, the English language and English Studies that

include Literature and Cultural Studies and Education are models of institutionalized socialization processes that produced elites throughout colonial empires, who later became leaders and movers and shakers of international affairs. So also is the impact of religions, such as Islam, Christianity, Judaism and others, in shaping the world by calling on their adherents to worship one God in the case of monotheistic religions or be guided by a single, uniformed code of social, ethical rules, which, in turn, brought a sense of "sameness" and unity to diverse peoples and cultures. Since culture is a repository of values, norms, traditions and practices, the homogenizing effects of globalization on peoples' life, namely their thinking, value system, customs and practices, become deeply and radically affected and affect other cultures and practices. This aspect of culture is important for literature and the novel in the context of global media, knowledge transfer and African literature and identity.

Modern African literature is a product of colonialism, which is the imperialist cog that kick-started the engine room of globalization. It signifies the colonialist dual but mutually contradictory efforts and intentions to both "civilize" and control and hence dominate culturally and therefore politically, economically and socially while physically appearing not to do so (Liman 2010, Menegbe 2005 and Said 1993). This is done through the imposition of "education", "literature" and "language" via the agency of the "canonical texts" of Western and/or English literature. The forceful introduction of the "reading list" canonized and institutionalized for the colonized countries, such as Nigeria, became one of the most effective and easy methods of brainwashing, which enhanced the process of globalization.

A significant aspect of the manipulation of culture and education to achieve domination can easily be cited in Nigeria, where the deliberate refusal or the biased and segregated manner in which British education was used to keep the north down serves as a good example. Moreover, the conscious efforts of the British colonial authority to promote indigenous literature without equally doing the same with English literature, as in the Southern parts of the country, was the harbinger of northern Nigerian authors and their subsequent inheritors like Kamal Aliyu to devote time and energy and artistically stamp the "northern perspective," which determines and defines the northern identity in literature generally and in the novel in particular.

Due to the complexities, multiplicities and interconnectedness of not only capitalist consumerism and the shifting nature of cultural diversities, we require a conceptual framework that can accommodate these complex, varied human interactions and activities with some measure of accuracy, flexibility and objectivity. New Historicism is, therefore, apt in this regard, especially

when discussing the issue of identity in society. However, identity is not a fixed phenomenon because any given person or a group of persons has a number of shifting identities, which, in the final analysis, constitutes that person or group under a given socio-political condition, especially in the context of the ever and rapidly changing forces of global information, science and technology. This is an era of flying and "arrested" time where events could be transmitted all over the world with "embedded" journalists reporting "breaking news" at the moment it is happening. Thus, identity is always in the process of formation "always constituted within not out of representation" as Bello-Kano (2002) would say. Thus, the novel provides the symbolic representation of self-projection, or group representation and/or projection which is often equated with group esteem.

From the Nigerian perspective and in the context of globalization, the northern Nigerian identity, which the political character of the Nigerian novel presupposes, is concerned with the "distance" or "exclusivity", in Joseph's words, of the North, which, in the opinion of this paper, evolved as a result of the Islamic and cultural imperatives that however, "it transcends by approximating national and international parameters of literary practice and discourse". This is the crux of the thematic concerns of Aliyu's creative efforts. New Historicism as a conceptual framework comes in handy at this point because from this perspective, historical and contemporary periods, as depicted in the two novels, are treated as periods of power struggle which leave their traces or imprints on the aesthetic productions of their time. According to Montrose, the theory is concerned with both the textuality of history and the historicity of texts. Therefore, our main concern this far is to unearth the cultural, religious imperatives of national and international identity issues underlining the themes of the two novels.

#### ***Portrait of a Patron and Women Without Borders as Works of Art***

*Portrait of a Patron* (2006) and *Women Without Borders* (2010) are both concerned with the depiction of traditional Muslim Hausa/Fulani socio-cultural life in and around the Kano metropolis. In *Portrait*, the patron, who is variously the landowner, the august visitor or Haji Yunus, is shown at the beginning of the novel deeply in a romantic altercation with Goshi, a virtuous beautiful lady and divorcee, who ultimately turns out at the end of the novel to become his future wife. The novelist then systematically and with circumspection, traces the daily routines of the quasi-aristocratic, wealthy and religiously conservative landlord, who is, however, very conversant with the world as a regular listener of VOA, BBC and DW. His personal habits and relations with clients, neighbours and his wife and

children are graphically captured to highlight his immense wealth, property and ethical values:

He owned houses of the barrack-like type, filled with rooms taken by single and married men alike, non-indigenes originating from the Middle Belt and from down South and working as factory hands. Then there was a fleet of buses plying the road of Kano city or travelling as far as Sokoto or as far down as Lagos. Inner Kano city has not failed to attract the landowner's commercial instincts, as he owned roadside stand-up trading stalls, an innovation in the form of a table covered with zinc in which cigarettes, sweets, salted groundnuts, packets of milk and detergent and such other sundries are sold by adolescent boys who have spurned school. The local commercial drivers dropped in everyday in the evening to pay in the day's takings - an amount stipulated as giving enough margin for profit for the vehicle owner and stipendiary earning for the drivers (p.37)

Not only is Haji Yunus shown to be a very consummate, serious and very meticulous local businessman, he is invariably portrayed as a very ethical, religious and morally upright person:

For a man who didn't believe in earning profits from bank loans or paying interest because of the obnoxious clinging to usury and who also avoided the risk of keeping money at home, he had taken the decision to invest his wealth in landed property and in the risky Nigerian transport system (P, 37).

The reason for the patriot's character and personality is perhaps succinctly summarized by the author where it is stated that "the cultivation of impeccable manners which has made Kano famous transcends the business of making money. In Kano in its entirety, the same rules apply" (P.11) *Portrait* is an exercise in probing deeply into the social fabric of Hausa society by bringing up-close the whole gamut of Haji Yunus' life and those around him. He is shown in a face-to-face encounter with modernity, especially as represented in his commercial and business life, which is, however, gradually being eroded by the abrasive effects of new and modern values. Although he values tradition, especially associated with core Islamic ethics, he sends his children to modern schools at home and abroad and is also concerned that his wife and son should make a good job of the field research because:

The father of the two young men took the decision that his wife and eldest son should expend some of their energies towards the achievement of an objective as laudatory as



those they carried out daily as researcher and full time housewife. They should see to it that Harun marry and return to the United States with a wife in tow. To that end, the landowner asked his wife to make enquiries among her female friends and acquaintances about the possibility of securing a girl the young man will find suitable as a bride (p.124)

However, the patron's major concern in life is the desire to observe the dictates of his religion's moral and ethical life on which his whole existence and that of his family and community depends:

Haji Yunus' singular intent to observe the purity ethic, something that earned him, along with the Imam, the Muezzin and the Ward Head, the esteemed position of a pillar of the society, prevented "the wretch" from approaching him for money to pay for "a shot" or heroin or cocaine (p.121).

The total impression of the patriot, therefore, is that of a quintessential Hausa/Fulani gentleman, who is desirous of modern development and at the same time jealously guards his cherished Islamic tradition for the betterment of his family, friends and community and /or society.

Unlike *Portrait, Women Without Borders* is written with the complex and modernizing influences of contemporary life in mind. However, the same hankering for tradition inevitably creeps in and the motif of the preservation of the purity essence of the Hausa/Fulani Islamic culture is everywhere hinted at, as in most of the artist's novels. For example, despite his modernist desires and tendencies, MajeAuta lives in a traditionally-built Hausa house. In style that is, rather than structure. Built of cement, the house still looked local, even though it wasn't built of mud as the Hausa house is. It held the central ground of four other buildings all of which shared the same walls. In other words, there was no vacant space between all the four houses. None of them stood alone by itself (P. 1).

Bearing in mind the title of this novel, the sensitive reader could be justified if he imputes symbolic dimensions to the house and how its description captures aptly the mixture of tradition and modernity, but most appropriately the introduction of the house on the first page of a novel dealing with the theme of "women without borders" seem to be a deliberate act. The house symbolizes not only Hausa culture and identity, but it is also

symbolic of the kinship relations that tend to bind the Hausa people as a community.

In *Women Without Borders*, MajeAuta stands for the contemporary Hausa worker/civil servant who is easily mesmerized by the glitter of modernity. His wife, Biriji Alto is also modernist in disposition but, unlike her husband, although an educated school teacher, she is wary of certain excesses of modernization like attitudes towards the institution of marriage in preference to certain feudal traditional values.

The novel begins with Maje ruminating over his intention to divorce Biriji, the instrument of which he has already perfected. He, however, visits his spiritual leader, the Imam, to verify from a religious angle, the situation of his marriage. He discovers, to his amazement, that his wife stands divorced in view of his unintended actions though, but that he has two more divorces before their marriage ends. Although Maje tries his best to stop the bubble from bursting, Indo, Biriji's mother learns about it and like most Hausa women makes heavy weather of it. On account of that, Maje is prevented from Biriji, but due to the patriarchal power of Biriji's father, the wife is forced back to his house with a warning to her mother never to perpetrate a similar incident. On the other hand, an amorous affair between Jinjin Abuja and Maje is brewing.

On a visit to his mother, Nani, his elder sister, insinuates and dissuades him from taking a second wife and advised him instead to put his money where his mouth is by completing his father's building project instead of looking for another wife. From all indications, Nani is aware of the goings on between Maje and Jinjin. Based on her relationship with Maje and Biriji, Jinjin Abuja offers to baby-sit for Maje's wife who needs that to enable her do to her teaching job unencumbered. However, in order to bolster his economic position to cope with Jinjin's demands and in his desire to improve Biriji's status to compete favourably with her peers, he perfects a plan to enable him to satisfy his new spending habits. It so happens, however, that this action comes at the moment when a new audit system is being introduced at the revenue office. Nevertheless, he succeeds in defrauding the public treasury to augment his income. This scheme is hatched by Maje in order to please Jinjin who he is madly in love with. In one of his escapades with her, Maje is caught unawares by Nani when she walks in on them in his house to find them in an intimate romantic mood. Nani visits Indo to warn her of Jinjin's misbehaviour. At the end of the novel, Maje's scheme is discovered and he is suspended from work. The novel ends in shock suspense. Auta Alto, Biriji's father, discovers the amorous relationship between Maje and Jinjin who is suspected to be HIV positive.

### **Situating *Portrait of a Patron* and *Women Without Borders* in the Context of Globalization**

Kamal Aliyu is perhaps one of the most prolific writers of fiction in Nigeria for having churned out twelve works in the span of a decade. The professor of Applied Linguistics has to his credit, twelve novels, one poetry anthology, *The Freshman* and an anthology of short stories, *The Starlet and Other Stories*. Of the dozen novels, *Fire in My Backyard* won the ANA/Chevron Prize in 2005. The novelist's efforts could be categorized into three phases as the early, middle and the later works. *HausaLand* (2003), *Fire in My Backyard* (2005), *Silence and a Smile* (2005a), *Blaming Soul* (2005b) and *The Minor of the Hospital Ward* form the early phase of his artistic endeavours.

The second phase saw the publication of *Portrait of a Patron* (2007), *A Possible World* (2008), *Hausa Girl* (2009) and *Hausa Boy* (2010) while the final phase of the author's literary output is marked by the publication of *Women Without Borders* (2011), *Life Afresh* (2013a), *No Sweat* (2013b) and *King of the Boys* (2015). *The Starlet and Other Stories* (2014) is an updated version of *The Minor of a Hospital Ward*, which was first published in 2005.

Critical reviews on Aliyu's novels tend to over-flog the often repeated refrain of being concerned more with the "dispensable aspects of Hausa culture", which "infringes on the rights of men rather than religious precepts, which neutralize the opposition between the sexes." That, in the opinion of this paper, grossly limits the scope, depth and texture of the works and their literary significance. By implication, this description of the author's efforts has the effect to easily tuck away his artistic merit in the ordinary pigeon-hole of feminism, thereby giving it a semblance of a "vogue" appeal and at the same time denying it the uniqueness that the cultural identity extols. This is pushed to the background of critical discourse.

Kamal Aliyu's canon is significant from local, regional, national and international contexts. Locally, the novels are concerned with upholding the dignity of traditional northern Nigerian culture and ethics, particularly of Kano and its environs. From the commercial, reading public perspective, this could be a limiting umbrella for an aspiring national and international author. However, if we agree that the local is also the global and that experiences could be replicable from any part of the world, and applicable in any part of the world, then the author has a lot to be commended for. Moreover, as a regional canon, that is, as a northern Nigerian novel within the permutations of the controversial literary mine-field of the Nigerian novel tradition, these works speak volumes in terms of national, regional and African character discourse.

Therefore, Aliyu's novels could be perceived as indicators of the North's response/reaction to the deliberate marginalization of the educational and literary cultural potential of the region, which is, suppressed or neglected by the powers of colonial administration. From the global perspective, however, the writer's effort at projecting the group identity of northern Nigerian is by implication a projection of African identity in general. This identity is, however, under constant challenge by the globalizing forces of modern and post-modern conditions, which are characterized by the cultural mix and extraordinary changes and transformations that affect and are affected by the globalizing influences of the various types of "flows" that characterize contemporary national and international as well as personal relations.

One of the major features of the globalized world is the multiplicity of linkages and interconnectedness, which transcends the states and societies that make up the modern world system. Another is the degree of the interconnectedness or interdependence, which affects and is affected by the ways in which societies are organized. Moreover, globalization places more emphasis on the growing similarity of people, places and things in a "borderless world".

In *Women Without Borders*, Jinjin is modern and "globalized" in contrast to the other characters. For instance, she is current and up-to-date with global affairs. She is free and educated and unmindful of the restrictions of the traditional Hausa customs and morals regarding marriage. She wants to be free and not bother about dull and tedious cultural impositions. For example, she cannot marry a person she does not love simply because her parents want her to do so. And as she opines, "...as a married woman, I can't move about whenever, and wherever I like to sell my wares" (P.137). Jinjin is here portrayed as a free woman who does not respect tradition.

Unlike Jinjin, Biriji is "modern" but not averse to the "good aspects" of Hausa culture and tradition. She happily accepts her arranged marriage with Maje because: "I loved Maje, I still do. We never quarrel. After all, he lets me work as a teacher. Some husbands don't allow their wives to work... Maje is traditional in his own way but he does not infringe the rights of women" (P..138).

The total impression created by the plot of the novel and the interaction of the characters creates a representative, symbolic role for the personae, in which case one can deduce that, while Maje represents the changing traditional Hausa man in the face of the forces of globalization, Biriji is a typical hybrid personality in terms of her attitude and practices of traditional Hausa culture. Although she conforms to certain aspects of modernity, like Diya in *Silence and a Smile*, she is prepared to entertain both worlds of

tradition and modernity within a globalized world of change. This typifies one of the major concerns of the literary efforts of the author.

Another concern is with the ecosystem, a glimpse of which is hinted at in *Portrait of a Patron and Women Without Borders* but particularly in *Fire in My Backyard*, which won an ANA/Chevron price in 2005. Socially, one of the foreign educated sons of the patron in *Portrait of a Patron* gave up the "stethoscope in favour of the turban... It is a wise career choice; it may have something to do with politics. Whatever I turn out to be may therefore have something to do with what you imply to be my politics" (P.120), as he informed in a discussion.

Aliyu points out that the major concern of his novels is with Muslim life in the Nigerian context which is elaborately explained in his professorial inaugural lecture titled, *The Islamic Novel Style and Structure*. Contestable and discordant as the title of the inaugural is, it vividly gives us the major pre-occupation of the novelist from his unique personal perspective, leaving certain questions lingering in the reader's mind that could be a subject of another paper. Such questions as: Is there such a thing as "The Islamic Novel"? as there is the English Novel for example, and is there indeed the Arabic Novel for want of a better word? "The Islamic Novel" is a contestable term and essence, especially viewed from the perspective of Islam's attitudes towards fiction and the very idea of a "creative" activity like novel writing, which could be considered as blasphemous Islamically.

According to Karrbo and Ray (2011: P.510), language capacities have been globalized through the diffusion of bilingualism, which is "easing the transmission of cultural products and ideas". This means that certain languages dominate others in the global arena. However, they go on to say that it is English that stands as the most dominant international language. The concept of globalization, therefore, has a linguistic and literary dimension. This is especially exhibited in post-colonial literatures where controversies, ranging from the inappropriateness of English as a fitting medium of expressing African literature to passive accommodation and acceptance and its outright rejection as a medium of expressing African Culture. Thus, post-colonial writers adapt, adopt or are adept at using the language. Kamal Aliyu adopts and is adept at using it. The influence of the Hausa language is easily seen in the use of proverbs, anecdotes and nuances that are typically Hausa/Fulani in essence.

While his use of English to express Hausa culture could be comparable to Achebe's excellent adoption of the language to express Igbo culture, Aliyu's style seems to have added a new dimension to this trend. The confidence and mastery of the English language by the Professor of Applied Linguistics are incontestable. The nuanced manipulation of the language to

express Hausa cultural and social repertoire is so vintage such that the proverbs and idioms appear to be originally English. Thus, the impression the reader gets is that the use of proverbs and idioms from Hausa transposed into English is one of the writer's forte. Although this could be read as a skewed use of the English language, the ease with which it is executed points to a very competent cognate bilingual. The sheer pleasure in exhibiting this "gift" - notice the author's knowledge of botanical terms - is never in doubt either in the rendition of the proverbs, idioms and other cultural nuances or in the stream of consciousness, which is reminiscent of James Joyce's style.

### **Conclusion**

The paper examined the concept of globalization in its various ramifications by concentrating more on cultural globalization in view of its relevance to the study of literature and culture. It is noted that virtually every facet of human existence affects and is affected by the relations between individuals, nations, cultures and societies. The concept of the global village affects the concept of African identity, especially from a literary/cultural dimension. Identity, especially from a cultural/literary perspective is perceived from a literary political angle and thus, by implication, the issue of identity, especially in African literature, is given a political colouration in view of its antecedents.

The paper then looked at Kamal Aliyu's works with emphasis on *Portrait of a Patron* and *Women Without Borders*. The two novels were examined from the local, regional, national and international perspectives, noting the author's growing profile not only as a national literary figure but also as an important pillar of northern Nigerian literature and culture. The significance of the novels is best appreciated from the point of view of an emerging regional canon with the potential to compete with other novelistic canons in Nigeria.

It is the contention of the paper that the Islamic culture in the context of the Nigerian socio-political milieu is key in the context of the identity of Northern Nigeria as reflected in Kamal Aliyu's works. There emerged in these novels a sense of a collective identity of the north, which is anchored on Islamic ethos and the suppression of individualism in favour of the communal spirit – the desire to work for the common good rather than the triumph of the individual will. The final argument of the paper is that, although critical opinion of Aliyu's novelistic efforts emphasises the dispensable aspects of Hausa culture, there are more serious concerns with the religious and epistemological issues that are valued and esteemed in the social fabric of the northern Nigerian society. This forms the collective identity-projection of the region as portrayed in the novels.

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## **Sustaining Folklore through Innovation: The Transition of *Gada* into the Mass Media**

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### **Introduction**

Scholars, such as Wilson (1988), have observed that no other discipline is more concerned with linking us to the cultural heritage from the past than folklore; no other discipline is more concerned with revealing the interrelationships of different cultural expressions than folklore; and no other discipline is concerned with discovering what it is to be human. It is this attempt to discover the basis of our common humanity and the imperatives of our human existence that puts folklore study at the very centre of humanistic study. Folklore is the traditional arts, literature, knowledge and practice that are disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioural examples. Every group with a sense of its own identity shares, as central to that identity, folk traditions – the things that people traditionally believe, do, know, make or even say. Hence, folklore is an enormous and deeply significant dimension of culture. “Among other things, folklore denotes oral narration, rituals, crafts and other forms of vernacular expressive culture” (Klein, 2001: 5712). Thus, folklore is artistic communication in small groups. It is simply the unwritten literature of a people as expressed in folktales, proverbs, riddles, songs, etc.

Music, dance and art play are important in the everyday lives of Hausa people. This is because such performances are common forms of traditional entertainment for the people. As such, musicians or certain groups perform at ceremonies or during leisure periods as a sort of recreational or entertainment activity. One of such forms of recreation is *gada*. However, in recent times, in many Hausa communities, *gada* has been overtaken by modern events like parties and retreats, thereby causing a lot of setbacks for it as a traditional form of entertainment. “For many years now, *gada* has been overtaken by events; most festivities, even in villages are celebrated with events like parties, picnics, gala nights and the likes” (*Sunday Trust*, 2011). In recent times, however, it has been quite interesting that the age-long tradition of



'gada' has been given much credence and opportunity to transit its way into the modern mass media.

However, as old wine in a new bottle, the *Muje Gada* programme of the Kaduna State Media Corporation (*Kada* AM Radio) seems to appeal to a much larger population group than ever before, in fact, to a much broader array of diverse social groups. As such, Hausa folklore (folk songs) permeates societies assisted by the mass media. It blossoms and proliferates as it emerges from new conditions more vigorously and forcefully empowered with more authority and prestige than ever before because its bearers manipulate new instruments and conditions to fit the needs of modern consumers.

This paper therefore seeks to ascertain the type of programme the *Muje Gada* programme is? That is, whether it is sponsored or not? What the programme philosophy is and also the reason behind transiting the programme from the village square to the mass media (in this case radio).

### **Culture and the Mass Media**

Man is a social being and thus cannot live outside his society and other governing agents that conduct the affairs of his existence. One of these governing agents is culture. Every person is born into an existing culture, which must be learned and which shapes his/her life. Culture here, refers to what a group shares or holds in common and is deeply rooted and stable. To this end, therefore, culture is seen as "the sum total of the learned behaviour of a group of people which are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation" (Sitaram, 1970 cited in Ademola and Okunola, 2013:179).

Culture is likened to tradition, which is a belief, principle or way of behaviour of a people in a particular society or group and followed for a long time. A culture or tradition exists in a community for a very long time because it is passed from one generation to the other. It is of great importance to note that all culture is learned rather than biologically inherited, hence the yearning to pass it on. It is this yearning for preserving culture and passing its information from generation to generation that makes communication imperative.

Society's survival, growth and development depends on a number of factors that includes a communication system through which people exchange symbols for social interaction and learning. Communication facilitates information sharing, social understanding and system strengthening for personal and societal development. In simple terms, information connotes the reduction of uncertainty in the mind of the individual and the promotion of systemic processes for societal growth. In

this entire matrix, social information sharing and reception, particularly through the mass media, remain critical.

Scholars have variously argued that communication and particularly the mass media serve important functions of correlating the multiple parts of the environment, transmitting societal cultural heritage and acting as surveillance systems for the society (Lasswell cited in Dominick, 2009). In this respect, the society and its people are linked and are informed through communication processes on important issues like cultural heritage. In modern societies, the mass media serve as important sources of information, as well as the transmission of attitudes, perceptions and beliefs (Dominick, 2009). Mass media are tools for the transfer of information, concepts and ideas to both general and specific audiences. This means that the mass media serve as important sources of information for a wide range of topics, culture inclusive.

In recent times, we are surrounded by the mass media as a result of its explosive growth. They have become almost a natural part of life. According to Voelker (1975:22): “The mass media are important forces in our society. They provide information and entertainment and, at the same time, have persuasive powers that are cable of affecting radical changes.” Media messages are said to be increasingly dominating individual communication experiences, thereby shaping their understanding and insight into culture. Perhaps that is why Baran (2009:17) posits that “mass communication has become a primary forum for the debate of our culture.” For this reason, the role of the mass media in the development and promotion of our culture, moral and community life is very profound.

Many social changes evident today are at least partially attributed to the mass media. Electronic media, in particular, provide a global view that has allowed people to become involved in concerns far beyond the scope of earlier generations. Cultural, moral and community opinions have been changed largely by the fact that mass media can provide seemingly uninterrupted news and programmes that have informed, influenced or even changed community life and, by implication, indigenous culture (Onabajo, 2005).

Cultures emerge as shared historical experiences of a given society, which of course is continuous, ever changing and developing. “Culture is not merely a return to the custom of the past, but embodies the attitudes of people to the future of their traditional values faced with the demands of modern technology which is an essential factor of development and progress” (Ademola and Okunola, 2013:179). Hence, the mass media is a significant force in modern culture. In the transition to modernity or even post-modernity, the mass media have gone from being one institution among

many within our cultural environment to bring to the fore, the very basics of our cultural environment. In this instance, the radio has been a very effective means of transmitting and promoting cultural, moral and community life most especially because of its unique characteristics. One of this characteristics is its easy access and mobility and so, “radio stations have therefore capitalized on this advantage to promote cultural heritage” (Onabajo, 2005:96).

According to Moemeka (2000:120), radio can be used in cultural innovation and diffusion. Since culture is not static, radio could help to remove the negative aspects of some of our cultures and help citizens to absorb what will improve their welfare and culture awareness. It could also be used to bring to children, youths and adults the greatest achievements of our cultural heritage in art, drama, poetry and so on. The radio is clearly an effective means of cultural promotion. Not only that, it is live in the ear of the listener but also through dramatization, etc; it has the ability of drawing and sustaining attention.

#### **Folklore and the Mass Media**

Folklore refers to the traditional beliefs, customs and stories of a community passed through the generations by word of mouth. All folklore is oral tradition, the lore, traditional knowledge and beliefs of cultures often having no written language (Kaur and Thapar, undated).

Oral tradition consists of history, religious practices, cosmology, rituals, folklores, proverbs, riddles, games, songs, dance, magic, epic tales, myths and narratives (Finnegan, 1976). Traditional African societies were not literate; they had cultures, traditions and music that provided the necessary entertainment. In Africa generally, “music plays an important part in the lives of the people” (Nnamani, 2014: 304). Folk music is a spontaneously-composed music of a race, tribe, group, etc orally transmitted from generation to generation with an unknown composer. Folk music originated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a term for musical folklore. It has been defined as “music transmitted by word of mouth, music of the lower classes.” As such, folk songs are a medium through which women are afforded an opportunity to express their bottled-up feelings and their longings in a socially-acceptable form.

Technological development and the rise of the mass media have influenced human society and people’s way of life. People have been able to adapt to the mass media and have used them to reach certain goals. Elements of folklore have appeared in the mass media, from myth, legend and fairytale to costumes, songs and dances, although they are often transformed and used in numerous ways (Klaus, 2010). The mass media liberate folklore from its

earlier confinement to the lower layers of society and from the prejudice – both pro and con – that stigmatized it. According to Degh (1994:2), “folklore belongs to everyone; not only to the underprivileged, uneducated. It has become a common cultural property characterizing our ways of thinking, believing and dreaming, and our modes of defining our identity.” The observer of emergent folklore may be able to decipher the meaning of basic human ideas that continue to recur in a myriad of new interpretations through the accessibility of modern media. “We are eyewitnesses to a new era in which folklore gains power and prestige as an authoritative voice – the voice of the urban industrial folk, the voice of concern, fear, daydream, and hope; the voice of all humanity alienated and featured by electronic efficiency” (Degh, 1994:2).

Schenda (1992 cited in Degh 1994:2) posits that, “never did folklore fare better than under the flag of mass culture,” adding that “folklore reproduced and placed in new contexts produces new folklore genres... it became evident that the mass media contributes to the maintenance and the creation of folklore.”

Studies on the encounter between folklore and mass media date back to the 1960’s. According to Degh (1994), Alan Dundes’ *Advertising and Folklore* (1963) and Tom Burns’ *Folklore in the Mass Media* (1969) are important fore-runners in this regard. Folklore studies have examined, or at least have recognized, the importance of examining popular cinema from a number of perspectives. According to Koven (2003), folklorists are able to observe and trace the process of homogenizing cultural expressions through the mass media. Also, a great deal of folklore scholarship has explored those traditional narrative types and motifs when they appear in popular films and television. Still, other folklorists have noted further areas for the fruitful exploration of popular cultural texts. Oven (2003:176) identifies such areas to include “how popular culture texts reflect contemporary belief traditions, ethnographies of fan culture, the rituals involved with popular cultural consumption, narratives about technology and technological industries and the existence of multiple versions of seemingly fixed texts.” However, there has been little attention focused on folklore transiting to the mass media.

### **Gada Recreational Songs**

In Hausaland, *gada* is a form of recreation activity that is done by young girls and ladies who are usually of the same age bracket during ceremonial or festive periods. It involves clapping, dancing and singing, usually done at designated venues of events or in the village square. Specifically, it is a form of moonlight entertainment embarked upon by young girls. The girls, usually of the same age group normally sing songs of morality containing strong

messages. Also, festive periods are usually marked with special *gada*, especially in the rural area. The recreation is a very decent one meant for girls only, hence providing them with the leverage to sing and dance the way they wish. The wording in the *gada* lyrics provides them with some form of information that aims at inculcating good morals for societal development. Examples of some *gada* songs include:

**i. *Wakar Danmaliyo***

*Waka:* Danmaliyo, maliyo

*Amshi:* Maliyo

*Waka:* Danmaliyo nawa

*Amshi:* Maliyo

*Waka:* Ya je ina ne?

*Amshi :* Maliyo

*Waka:* Ya je Ilori

*Amshi :* Maliyo

*Waka:* Ba zai dawo ba

*Amshi :* Maliyo

*Waka:* Sai a watan gobe

*Amshi :* Maliyo

*Waka:* Gobe da labari

*Amshi:* Maliyo

*Waka:* Jibi da labarai

*Amshi:* Maliyo

*Waka:* Karkada mu gani

*Amshi :* Maliyo

(Sani and Muhammad, 2001:7)

This is an example of a popular *gada* song. Ideas expressed therein are overtly entertaining for young girls. The song refers to a particular character called *Maliyo*, who belongs (a boyfriend) to the person singing the song and who has travelled to a certain town called *Ilorin*. The boyfriend would be away for a while and when he returns it is expected that there will be plenty of gist.

## ii. *Wakar Carmandudu Carmanduduwa*

*Waka:* Carmandudu carmanduduwa  
*Amshi:* Carmande  
*Waka:* Akwai wani bako a gidan mai gari  
*Amshi:* Carmande  
*Waka:* Baya bashi baya lamuni  
*Amshi:* Carmande  
*Waka:* Baya neman 'yan matan gari  
*Amshi:* Carmande  
*Waka:* Ko ya nema wa zai ba shi ma  
*Amshi :* Carmande  
*Waka:* Kanwa ta landiyo mana  
*Amshi :* Carmande  
*Waka:* Yaya ta landiyo mana  
*Amshi :* Carmande  
*Waka:* Shashi na landiyo mana  
*Amshi :* Carmande  
*Waka :* Shegiya mai tsiwar tsiya  
*Amshi :* Carmande  
*Waka:* Shashi na me zan ba ki ne?  
*Amshi:* Carmande  
*Waka:* Carmandudu mu ci kaza da kwai  
*Amshi :* Carmande

(Sani and Muhammad, 2002 :11)

The above is another example of a *gada* song. The song informs girls that there is a stranger in town who resides in the village head's house. He has been identified as someone who does not mingle with people or befriends girls. However, the girls singing the song are also on the defensive, saying that even if he tries to befriend anyone, he will not succeed. This is a typical example of a *gada* song that cautions girls against strangers.

As time went on *gada*, as a traditional Hausa recreation became relegated to the background and was sort of replaced by other social events like parties and picnics. However, it is gratifying to note that in recent years, it has enjoyed a sort of revival in various forms. Such form of revival is in the form of adaptation by modern-day indigenous musicians. One of such musicians that adapted *gada* songs and sang them with modern day musical undertones is Funmi Adams. Examples of her adapted songs are the: '*Ahayye Yaro*', '*Dan Maliyo Maliyo*' and '*Ina Gizon yake*', which have for long found their way into modern mass media via the music industry. However, it

is more impressive that the conventional tradition of *gada* entertainment has found its way into the programme schedule of a modern-day radio station in the form of a programme, *Muje Gada* at *Kada* AM radio, Kaduna.

### **Framework for Analysis**

The Innovation Approach serves as the basis for analysis in this work. This is because innovation is increasingly interpreted as a highly social and cultural process. Our environment, including our belief and value systems, shapes the way we view the world around us and determines how we react to ongoing changes. An innovative approach encourages tradition to evolve into new forms of expression. This is because “an innovation model offers the most viable strategy for sustaining traditional culture in the long run. The model views traditional culture like all culture – not as an assemblage of canonical forms governed by fixed meanings, but as a dynamic system of shared understandings that are contingent, evolving and subject to contestation. Therefore, “rather than seeking to preserve *authentic* expression in its original form, the innovation model actively encourages hybridity, experimentation and subversion” (Pager, 2012). Such processes allow the source community to reclaim its own traditions, re-inventing meanings and adapting forms to reflect contemporary values.

Appiah (1992 cited in Pager 2012) observes that by failing to adapt traditions to new circumstances, societies hasten their own demise. Hence, embracing change becomes the key to long term survival. This is because traditional culture will only endure to the extent that it retains meaning and value to the source communities that perpetuate it. This requires the freedom to creatively adapt and hybridize tradition to keep it responsive to current needs.

This paper, therefore, argues that the *Muje Gada* programme on KSMC (Kada AM) radio, as an example of a folklore genre that has transited from the square to the mass media, is an innovative approach that may preserve and promote the Hausa culture among both the Hausa and non-Hausa people alike.

### **Methodology**

The qualitative research approach was used as methodology. Specifically Focus Group Discussion and In-depth Interview were used to elicit data for this study. The in-depth interview was done with the producer of the *Muje Gada* programme, Hajiya Balaraba Tanko, and the Focus Group Discussion was conducted with six (6) out of the eight current (8) members of the group. They were conducted in an office at the *Kada* AM Radio Station, Off Rabah Road in Kaduna.

## **Findings and Discussion**

### **About the Programme**

According to the participants of the FGD, the *Muje Gada* is an in-house programme produced by some staff of the Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC), AM Radio (now referred to as *Kada* AM Radio) wing. The programme is not a sponsored one. Hence, it forms part of the station's internally-generated programmes. *Muje Gada* dates back to 1988 when it was originated by the then General Manager of the Corporation, Alhaji Yusuf Ladan. The first producer of the programme was the late Hajiya Kulu Suleiman and the current producer is Hajiya Balaraba Tanko. According to the respondent of the In-depth Interview (who happens to be the producer of the programme), part of the things that aimed in making it appealing to its audience is a special signature tune that was produced by the *gada* group with the assistance of the instrumental drums (calabashes) of the late Hajiya Barmani Choge with the popular *gada* song *Ahayye Yaro* anchored by Salamatu Ahmad, a member of the *gada* group, as at then. The resultant song has remained the signature tune of the programme till date.

Respondents of the FGD concur that the members of the *Muje Gada* programme range from 8 – 11 employees of the radio station. According to the interview respondent, when the programme was initially introduced, it started using artistes that do come to the station for other programmes. With time, however, the artistes were absorbed as permanent staff of the station partly as a result of an interest to sustain the *Muje Gada* programme. The programme is usually aired three times a week (Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays) at 9:30 pm and it lasts for 30 minutes. Some of the respondents of the FGD stated that it is aired at night with a view to emulating the way and manner traditional *gada* is done outside the media that is, usually performed at nights during leisure periods.

### **The Objective of the Programme**

According to the interview respondent, *Muje Gada* is a programme whose aim is to entertain while at the same time enlighten the populace about the customs and traditions of the Hausa people. It is produced in the studio in form of a pre-recorded programme. It involves the normal singing and clapping associated with *gada* songs in Hausaland. All the FGD respondents concur that talk shows do feature in-between one song and another, which usually serve as the basis for explaining the topic being addressed for the day or even sometimes trying to explain the wording found in a particular *gada* song that may appear difficult to comprehend at the face value of the words.



According to one respondent, this is done to buttress the fact that meanings are in people's heads, hence the need for proper interpretation so as to create a better understanding among the listeners of the programme, who may lack the adequate skills of interpretation or who may not necessarily be the indigenous Hausa people.

All the respondents also concurred that *gada* songs are usually categorized to take different forms. Some songs could be just to entertain in ceremonies, such as weddings or child-naming ceremonies, some to caution, others to ridicule and despise, especially wrongdoers. Some are purely love songs that promote the culture of love and passion while others take the form of promoting a particular idea or issue that is needed to be welcomed and accepted by the community.

The producer of the programme, who is also part of the FGD respondents, adds that "*Manufar shirin ita ce domin a koyar da musamman mata harkar girke-girke, sana'oi, tare da nishadantar da jama'a,*" meaning "*Muje Gada* programme aims primarily at educating especially women in terms of issues, such as teaching how to cook certain traditional delicacies and teaching people certain trades and professions". The programme through the discussions in-between also informs the audience of day-to-day discoveries and issues that are considered to be the leading agenda in the society. It enlightens the populace about some attitudes that are encountered in the society and need to be either promoted because of their benefit or discouraged due to their potential of being harmful. This finding corroborates the assertion that in order to promote a particular cause, there is a need for the freedom to creatively adapt and hybridize, tradition to keep it responsive to current needs (Appiah, cited in Pager, 2012).

Ideas expressed in the *Muje Gada* programme, according to the interview respondent, are first and foremost, sourced from day-to-day personal experiences and encounters of any of the programme's stakeholder, that is, either the producer or any member of the *gada* group. Some respondents of the FGD also added that at times, ideas also do come in form of letters to the programme handlers from listeners, who sometimes request in their letters for particular issues to be addressed. The *Muje Gada* programme is usually discussed, rehearsed and learned by members of the *gada* group, who subsequently produce it in the studio as a recorded programme to be aired at a given time and day set aside for it by the station's programme schedule.

### **The Reasons for the Transition to the Mass Media**

According to the interview respondent, members of the *gada* group consist of elderly women that range from the ages of 50 and above who hail from

different Hausa communities, such as Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto and Katsina. As such, this makes it easier for *gada* to transit into the radio because people that are the generation that sang *gada* songs. The FGD respondents also said that *gada* songs have suffered some setbacks and the present generation of young ladies does not even know it as a form of recreational activity. For this reason, therefore, they are of the belief that if *gada* songs find their way into the mass media, they could appeal to the younger generation, as well as revive the age-long tradition. The ages of these women is one of the striking deviations from the girls and young ladies who normally perform the traditional *gada* plays in the village square. This, however, can be explained by the assertion that by failing to adapt traditions to new circumstances, societies hasten their own demise. Hence, embracing change becomes the key to long term survival (Appiah, 1992 cited in Pager, 2012). Therefore, a change in the composition of performers is not necessarily the issue here.

According to the respondents for the Focus Group Discussion, the opportunity of the *gada* group having members from different Hausa localities gives room for variety to be achieved both in terms of the songs, dialect and also in terms of ideas and issues being commented upon in the programme. Also of importance in this programme, as disclosed by members of the Focus Group, is the fact that the some wordings of conventional *gada* songs are sometimes changed or substituted with others when used in *Muje Gada* in order to meet up with the changing needs of the society or if the words are found to be implicit in targeting respected members of the society that could feel offended. This way, the group ensures that *gada* moves with modernity. This re-echoes the assertion that “such processes allow the source community to reclaim its own traditions, re-inventing meanings and adapting forms to reflect contemporary values” (Pager, 2012).

The interview respondent further added that the adaptation of *gada* songs by modern-day musicians and filmmakers has given them another reason to transit *gada* songs into the mass media for the culture to claim its age-long tradition and educate the younger generation among the listeners to realize that those that adapted the songs are not their actual originators. She further stated that an example of a *gada* song adapted in a film, which has become popular among the younger generation of Hausa movie viewers, is the *Wakar Wasila* (song of *Wasila*) in the Hausa film called “Wasila.” The respondents of the FGD added that as a result of this radio programme, they truly believe that the age-long tradition of *gada* is gaining the necessary recognition because they get feedback from listeners in form of daily visits to the station to commend them, as well as seek for further clarification while others write letters to the producer of the programme. With this, it could be said that conventional *gada* recreation could be revived through the mass media.

### **Conclusion**

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that traditional culture is an important aspect of every society and that for any society to promote and maintain some part of its cultural heritage, there is the need for the acceptance of innovation. This is because modernity, with its accompanying mass media, is putting pressure on some aspects of culture.

Modernity has, therefore, given rise to the transition of folklore into the mass media and has made it become something close to an old wine in new bottles, thereby belonging to everyone rather than being confined to only the uneducated or the underprivileged. *Muje Gada* programme of KSMC Kaduna provides an example of a mass media programme that attempts to sustain cultural heritage through innovation.

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## A Content Analysis of Selected Hausa Video Films

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### **Introduction**

Story-telling is a prominent social activity in many parts of Africa. The stories, mostly in the form of oral tales and myths, are often narrated in the evening after the day's work on the farm. The narration is usually done by old men, women and newly-weds (Bichi 2014:1). The tales are used to recount the history of the community, entertain the listener and inculcate in him/her proper moral behaviour that is acceptable to the society. Folktales are, therefore, the earliest *school* for the African child (Usman 2003: vii). According to Mandela, in (Usman 2013:23), the tales contain *valuable moral lessons*.

Story-telling is also a popular social activity among the Hausa people of northern Nigeria. The thoughts of the Hausa people, their notions of right and wrong are contained in their tales. The animal in Hausa tales represents a character calling either for admiration or detestation (Rattray 1913:viii). The popular fictional character in Hausa tale is *Gizo* (Spider) and his wife, *Koki*. The animals most often used in Hausa oral tales are *Dila* (Jackal) and *Zomo* (Hare), (Bichi 2014:6). Story-telling in Hausaland is generally known as *tatsuniya* (Bichi, 2014:1). To establish that the tales are fictional, a *tatsuniya* usually ends with *Kurungus kan kusu* i.e (off with the rat's head or this is the end of my story) (Bichi 2014). *Kurungus kan kusu* is used to avoid offending any member of the audience. "By employing this traditional technique, Hausa narrators are in effect indicating that nothing in the preceding story should be construed as pointing to any known individual (Bichi 2014:2).

Despite the transition from an agrarian and traditional society to a modern one, characterized by big cities, tall buildings and fast cars (Adamu, 2007), the Hausa society still largely retains story-telling as part of its social activity. But, unlike in the past and except in the villages, traditional Hausa '*tatsuniya*' (tales) are now packaged and narrated through the electronic media of television, radio and the home video film.

The use of the electronic media to narrate traditional Hausa tales has changed the context of their performance and also the consumption. The

tales are now modernized, modified and packaged in compact discs (CDs) or digital video decoders (DVDs) and sold to a diversified and anonymous audience within and outside Hausa society. The traditional story-teller is now replaced by the film-maker. The film-maker is the griot in modern Africa (Diwara 1992). The animal character in the traditional Hausa tale is now replaced by actors and actresses. The use of the modern electronic media to narrate traditional tales is what scholars like Walter Ong in (Sekoni 2013:53) described as *secondary orality*. With specific reference to Hausa society, Adamu (2007:9) described this new electronic mediated art form as *media domestication*.

Generally, this paper tends to achieve three objectives: First, to draw attention to the structural similarities between Hausa oral tales and their modern version as home video film. Second, to show that the Hausa video film is a cultural reproduction of contemporary Hausa society and third, to implore society to exploit the benefits of contemporary Hausa visual narrative.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Structuralism is traditionally a scientific tool for the study of human language. As an analytical tool, it is wide and complex. Its origin is often associated with Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss linguist (Hawkes 1985:19), although Saussure himself never used the term *structuralism*. During his teaching at the University of Geneva (1906-1911), he made several postulations on human language. Structuralism was used by his students to describe Saussure's interpretation of human language as a system of structures.

After his death, his students collected his essays together and published them in 1915 as *Cours de Linguistique Generale* (Course in General Linguistics), (Hawkes 1985:19). In the opinion of Saussure, human language is a *structured system of signs* used for communication by human beings. Human language as a structure is a self-sufficient, self-regulating unified system of signs. Each *sign* in the linguistic structure exists independent of other signs. However, it is only meaningful in relation to them. Linguistic signs, therefore, depend on each other for their meaning.

The relationship between a linguistic sign and what it denotes in real life in the opinion of Saussure is *arbitrary*. What linguistic concepts stand for or represent in real life is a matter of societal convention. According to him, there is no visible link between the linguistic signs articulated in speech/writing and what they denote/represent in real life. Thus, there is no direct link between the sound image *tree* and the actual *physical tree*

growing in the earth (Hawkes 1985:25). This is the reason why languages use different linguistic *signs* to represent the same object.

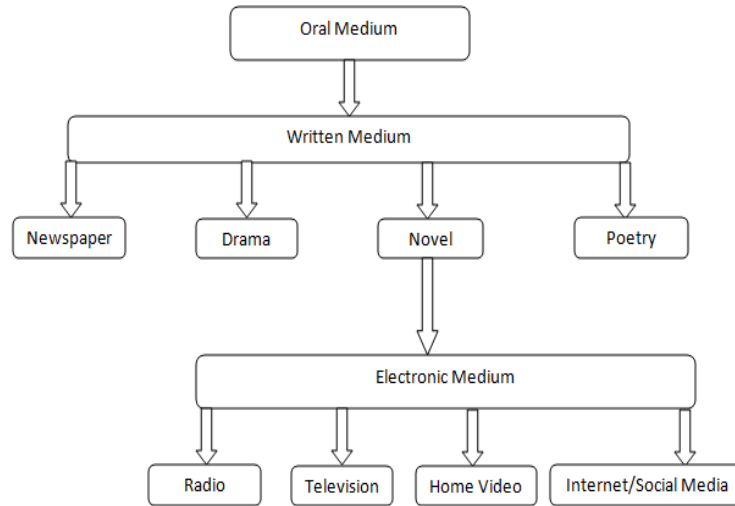
Most of the concepts used in *structural linguistics* could also be used in contemporary Hausa film discourse. The different *genres* of the Hausa video film (*Soyayya, chamama*) could be described as *langue*, while the individual films produced by Hausa film makers are *parole*. The Hausa home video is a *signifier*, signifying contemporary Hausa society.

As a *signifier*, the relationship between the Hausa video film and society is *arbitrary*. What the camera presents is determined by the filmmaker. The filmmaker in contemporary Hausa society is using the video camera to represent the ancient tales of his society to the public. He is doing this as a way of preserving the cherished traditions and custom of his people. This purposive use of the camera by the contemporary Hausa filmmaker could be seen in the general direction of Hausa visual narrative.

### **Methodology**

Anozie in (Olaniyan and Quason 2007:595-607) recommends the use of *genetic structuralism* as a sociological theory of the African novel. Genetic structuralism, according to him, is an attempt to explain in terms of natural growth and adaptation to milieu the causes of the dynamic changes such as are taking place within the West African novel... Growth, change, adaptation, are common features of Hausa literary expression. Literary activities in *Kasar Hausa* (Hausaland) have never been static. Apart from the remarkable literary changes that occurred during the *Jihad* of 1804, the artistic medium in Hausaland has gone through three distinct social transformations. During each social transformation, different techniques, as could be seen from the diagram below, are used for literary production and consumption.





**Figure 1:** Techniques used for literary production and consumption.  
 Source: Fieldwork, 2013

This paper, with modifications, adopts genetic structuralism as a tool for analysing the structural features of traditional Hausa tales and their modern electronic version. The emphasis is on their common structural features. These are easily discernible and could be identified and isolated for analysis. Three traditional Hausa oral tales are compared with three selected Hausa video films.

The tales are *Takokowa* and *Langida, Babuga - the wood seller, Bora and Mowa* from Hausa oral narratives (Bichi 2014). They are contrasted with three Hausa Home Videos: *Rigar Arziki* (directed by Jakara), *Kanwar Ibro* (directed by Umar Jallo) and *Murjanatu Yar Baba* (directed by Ashiru Nagoma). The aim is to show the similarities in their structural elements. As suggested in Anozie's *Genetic Structuralism*, the structural elements emphasised are:

- Language
- Setting
- Characterization
- Theme
- World view
- Plot

- Moral lesson(s)
- Conflict

### **Structural Analysis of *Babuga, the wood-seller and Rigar Arziki***

The story of *Babuga – the wood seller* in (Bichi 2014:73) expresses a moral view (patience), which is central to Hausa culture and tradition. It is the story of a wood-seller who suddenly becomes rich through patience and divine intervention. According to the story:

Once upon a time there was a man called Babuga. Every morning he went to the forest to collect some firewood brought it back to the town to sell. He earned his living by this occupation. One day, he went to the forest as usual to get some firewood to bring back to the town to sell. After collecting the wood, he decided to rest for some time under the Kalgo tree. When evening came and it was time for him to leave, he rose and said. “Well Kalgo shade is very cool and nice. But to his surprise, the Kalgo talked to him and said: you can’t know how nice and cool I am, until you have cut me down with an axe. So the man took an axe cut the Kalgo tree and immediately came out ten big sheep, ten goats, ten camel, ten donkeys and ten horses (Bichi (2014:73-74).

Through providence, the status of the wood-cutter has changed. He changes from being a poor wood-cutter to become one of the richest men of his society. This story reflects the Hausa proverb which says that *komai daga Allah ne*. (Everything is from God).

The Hausa video film *Rigar Arziki* (directed by N.S.B Jakara) is very similar to the traditional Hausa tale of *Babuga the wood-seller*. *Rigar Arziki* is about a cobbler (*shoe-shiner*) and a wood-cutter who are very poor but suddenly become rich through patience and divine intervention. The wood seller, like Babuga is very poor. He is so poor that he could not feed his family. One day, he is arrested for a debt he could not pay. He lives in a rented apartment and when he could not pay his rent, he is evicted together with his mother, wife and children. In the course of thinking about his frustrating life, he meets an *Alhaji* who comes to his rescue. The *Alhaji* appoints him to look after one of his big companies. Suddenly, the wood cutter becomes a rich man. He now drives posh cars around town and could now help the poor and the needy.

*Rigar Arziki* the title of this film is a Hausa proverb. Its full rendition in Hausa language is *Rigar Arziki daga Allah ne* (literally, the gown of wealth is from God). God is the creator of everything. He creates both the rich and the poor. He could make a poor man rich and a rich man poor. Except for a few modifications, the Hausa video film *Rigar Arziki* is a modern version of the Hausa oral tale of Babuga, *the wood seller*. Below are their structural similarities:

**Table 1:** *Structural Similarities between Babuga the Wood Seller and Rigar Arziki*

S/N	Structural Elements	Babuga the Wood Seller	Rigar Arziki
1.	Setting	Traditional Hausa society	Contemporary Hausa society
2.	Central character	A poor wood cutter	A poor wood seller
3.	Conflict	The rich versus the poor	The rich versus the poor
4.	Plot	Linear/episodic	Linear/episodic
5.	World view	Hausa (Tawa'ilu) fate/patience/endurance	Hausa (Tawa'ilu) fate/patience/endurance
6.	Ending	Ends happily	Ends happily



**Figure 2:** *Jacket Cover of the Home Video, Rigar Arziki*  
**Source:** *Rigar Arziki Poster*

The second story is that of Takokowa and Langido. This story, according to Bichi (2014:45), is very popular among the Hausa, especially newly wedded brides. Takokowa and Langido are two children who fell in love with each other but their parents will not allow them to marry. This is a common theme of Hausa video film especially the *Soyayya/Kwalissa genre*. There is always a conflict in every good story. The story of Takokowa is that of a beautiful girl and a young man called Langido. According to the story:

Both Takokowa and Langido lived in the same town and liked each other very much. When they became of age, Takokowa wanted to marry her sweetheart, Langido but her parents refused.... (Bichi, 2014:45-48)

In order to compel her parents to allow her marry Langido, the man of her choice, Takokowa caused all the wells and streams in her village to dry up. People and animals started dying. When her heartthrob was about to die, Takokowa, in disguise, came to his rescue:

One night, Takokowa came in disguise to the house of her sweetheart who was already weakened and in bed. She gave him water to drink and said, "Look Langido, I have done this because of you. And no matter how long it takes, you will not die because of water" (p. 46). To save the entire society from total destruction, Takokowa was allowed to marry Langido, her boyfriend.

Except for a few modifications, the Hausa Home video *Kanwar Ibro (Ibro's sisiter)*, directed by Comrade Umar Jallo, and is very similar to the traditional Hausa tale of *Takokowa* and *Langido*. In *Kanwar Ibro* Ibro's younger sister, is denied the right to marry a man of her choice. In spite of several protests from his sister, Ibro refuses to allow her to marry a man of her choice. He collects money from a houseboy who pretends to be a "big" man from Abuja. The houseboy deceives Ibro by wearing his master's clothes and attire which makes him look like someone affluent.

After the marriage, his true identity is discovered and Ibro is totally devastated. He discovers that he has mortgaged the future of his sister to a mere fraudster and impostor. The lesson of this film, like the tale of *Takokowa* and *Langido*, is simple. Children should be allowed to marry those they want to marry and not those imposed on them by their parents or guardians. Children, especially the girl-child, should be given the freedom to choose their life partners. Abduction, imposition or forceful marriage should be discouraged. Parents should not mortgage the future of their children on the altar of materialism or personal aggrandizement.

**Table 2:** *Structural Analysis of Takokowa and Langido and Kanwar Ibro*

S/N	Structural Elements	Takokowa and Langido	Kanwar Ibro
1.	Setting	Traditional Hausa Society	Contemporary Hausa Society
2.	Conflict	Love/Marriage	Love/Marriage
3.	Plot	Linear/episodic	Linear/episodic
4.	Central Characters	Boy & Girl	Boy & Girl
5.	World view	Hausa (tawa'ilu) fate patience/endurance	Hausa (tawa'ilu) fate/patience/endurance
6.	Moral lesson(s)	Spouse imposition is wrong	Spouse imposition is wrong
7.	Ending	Ends happily	Ends happily

Cinderella tales are popular in many parts of the world. The Hausa tale of *Bora* and *Mowa* (Bichi, 2014:70) is a Cinderella tale. The story is about the maltreatment of a step-daughter by a step-mother. The step-mother often discriminates between her daughter, *Bora*, and her step-daughter *Mowa*. According to the story:

Once there was a man who lived with his two wives. Each has a daughter. The daughter of the senior wife was called Bora, while that of the junior one was called Mowa. The main occupation of the man was fishing. When the junior wife died, the husband asked the other wife to take care of the deceased woman's daughter. However, immediately the co-wife started mistreating and at time beating her step daughter, (Bichi 2014:70-72)

Mowa suffers a lot in the care of her stepmother who always denies her food and over-burdens her with work. During festivities, Mowa is given old, tattered clothes to wear while her sister Bora, is given fine new clothes.

Again, except for a few modifications, the Hausa home video film, *Murjanatu Yar Baba*, directed by Ashiru Nagoma, is a modern replication of the traditional Hausa tale of *Bora and Mowa*. Like *Mowa*, *Murjanatu* loses

her mother at a very tender age. After the death of her mother, her father (*Mallam*) gives her to the step-mother to train. A few days after this, the father (*Mallam*), too dies.

Now an orphan, Murjanatu's step-mother finds the opportunity to maltreat her. She sends the small girl on impossible tasks and starves her. Murjanatu is almost raped in the process of selling petty things for her step-mother. Unable to bear the torture and the deprivations she is subjected by to her step-mother, Murjanatu runs away from home. She suddenly finds herself with a rich family that is willing to take care of her. Like *Mowa*, *Murjanatu's* story ends happily. The two stories have the following common structural elements as indicated in Table 3.

**Table 3:** *Structural Analysis of Bora and Mowa and Murjanatu 'Yar Baba*

S/N	Setting	Traditional Hausa Society	Contemporary Hausa Society
	Structural Elements	Bora and Mowa	Murjantu Yar Baba
1.	Conflict	Maltreatment of a step daughter	Maltreatment of a step daughter
2.	Plot	Linear/episodic	Linear/episodic
3.	World view	Hausa (tawa'ilu)	Hausa (tawai'lu)
4.	Central Characters	Step mother and a step daughter	Step mother and a step daughter
5.	Moral	It is not good to maltreat a step daughter	It is not good to maltreat a step daughter
6.	Ending	Ends Happily	Ends Happily



**Figure 2:** Jacket Cover of the Home Video, *Murjanatu Yar' Baba*  
**Source:** *Murjanatu Yar Baba* Poster

However, in traditional Hausa society, a Mowa is the name given to the wife who appears to be the favourite of the husband and Bora of the least loved of a husband's wives (Isa and Daura 2009:28). The symbiotic relationship between the ancient Hausa tales and their modern electronic versions is easily discernible. Contemporary Hausa visual narrative should be used as a culture preservation tool.

### **Conclusion**

From the structural analysis of selected Hausa oral tales and their modern electronic versions, it is established that the art of narrating stories has never been static in Hausa society. The narrative context changes with the available technology and the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions. There is a visible synergy between the “old” and the “new” in the artistic expression of the Hausa people.

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## **Hausa Movies: The Trans-Global Media Struggling for an African Identity**

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### **An Overview of the Nigerian Motion Picture Industry (Nollywood)**

The Berlin Conference of 1884/85 dubbed “The Scramble for Africa” resulted in partitioning and apportioning the continent of Africa to the world’s hegemony that eventually colonized most of Africa for their benefit. Through colonialism, the agent of their rule in the territories, seeds of “global symphony” were planted in the form of mass movements today, being described interchangeably as globalization, trans-globalization, transnationalism and glocalization. The relationship between the colonial powers and the colonized has always been in the vintage advantage of the former. And there is hardly any miracle that seems able to easily reverse the trend. It is glaring that “cultural imperialism” displayed in the dominance of economic and media influences from the developed countries (largely made up of the colonial powers) to developing ones (those colonized) continues to this modern era.

Thus, the world has been inevitably divided into the makers of machinery and the users of machinery; First and Third Worlds, exporters and importers. The list is endless. Perpetually, those at the receiving end remain disadvantaged (Kevin, 2005). In this context, media was imported (with all its attendant ripple effects) from the First to the Third World like all other trades and services. In 1903, the first film screening in Nigeria was held at Glover Hall in Lagos. Since then, a Nigerian Motion Picture Industry has evolved, albeit not following the traditional pattern of evolution. Ekwuazi (2001) adduces his opinion to the following facts:

- The industry is not aligned to the larger industrial sub-sector of the economy.
- Sectoral development in the industry has been lopsided in favour of production.
- Distribution and exhibition have performed poorly in the build-up of production capital resources for the industry, and
- Television, too, has performed poorly: as an outlet for movies and in the build-up of production capital resources, its performance has been virtually missing.

He further holds that the industry, nonetheless, evolved from the critical phases of colonial, post-independence/Pre-Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) era and the Post-SAP phase. The first Nigerian feature film debut was the 1970's "Kongi's Harvest" and between 1972 to 1990, about 80 indigenous feature films had been licensed by the censorship board for public screening.

Kasimu Yero, Chief Pete Edochie, Chief Eddy Egbomah, Tunde Kilani, Brendan Shehu, Jide Kosoko, Sadiq Balewa, Omotola Jolade-Ekeinde, Desmond Elliot, Ali Nuhu, Genevieve Nnaji, Sani Danja and a host of others too numerous to mention have all qualified to be Nigerian Motion Picture Industry Ambassadors. Without a doubt, Nigeria is the convergent point for Yoruwood (for Yoruba language films), Kanywood (for Hausa language films) and Nollywood (mainly English language films made by Nigerians) because they are all Nigerian brands.

Akande (2010) captures the views of Ron Lavery, a Hollywood filmmaker working on Ken Saro-Wiwa's story, who said: "It will be a wonderful day when Africans tell their own stories, filling the silver screen with their personal stories and not looking to emulate Hollywood style but look at how stories have been told within one's culture." The reality is that Nigeria, with an annual average production of 2,300 video films, is a nation that has attained some level of international recognition.

The United Nation's Institute of Statistics, under the auspices of UNESCO, conducted and released the 2009 global cinema survey results that ranked the 99 surveyed countries on the number of video films produced in a year. The Nigerian motion picture industry was ranked in the second position. The survey found the multilingual element in the nation's production output as a success story and states: "About 56% of Nollywood films are produced in Nigeria's local languages, namely Yoruba 31%, Hausa 24% and Igbo 1%. English remains a prominent language, accounting for 44%." If language is a vehicle of culture, we must admit that the Nigerian

motion picture industry, with 56% productions in indigenous languages, has scored a pass mark to qualify it being of an African identity.

However, Akande (2010) laments that the UNESCO rating does not call for celebration because it is an irony for a number two globally-rated industry to be, "Like an elephant, but eats like an ant." He is simply referring to the industry being adjudged on "quantum without excellence." Hence, he doubts the validity of "a farmer who sweats to sow, but harvests with ease?" He concedes that the Nigerian filmmakers "have refused to take advantage of transforming this trade into a viable industry," while tracing the problems to a "culture of individualism," which prohibits filmmakers from looking at the "bigger picture."

Oris Arigbkhavbolo, a Nigerian film critic, attended the 2014 Durban International Film Festival where his presence was greeted by surprise. Many participants wondered how one could possibly operate as a "critic" in such a chaotic industry. Why? Despite Nigeria's sheer number of productions, Gavin Hood's Best Foreign Film Oscar for *Totsi* has eclipsed the Nigerian film industry's success.

Invariably, the *Totsi* feat has shown that Nigeria's film industry is "not evidence of artistry." Nollywood was virtually excluded at the 2014 DIFF with only two and a half films from Nigeria listed in the festival's catalogue. They are Idoha Oyeka's short film "Living Funeral" and Chika Amadu's "B for Boy". Biyi Bandele's "Half of a Yellow Sun" was credited to both United Kingdom and Nigeria - which made Arigbheavbolo consider Nigeria's presence as two and a half films. "Gone Too Far," directed by Destiny Ekaraha (who is of Nigerian parentage) would have made up the list of four films from Nigeria. All the entries were not screened in the competition. Perhaps the greatest jest on the Nigerian film industry was made by a Rwandan, who asked a critical question when a Nigerian journalist was discussing Rwandan cinema, thus: "Is it not better to produce nothing than to produce crap?"

Despite all odds, in the aggregate, the Nigerian film industry, says Haynes (1997) "contain a staggering amount of narrative energy. Only the daily press rivals the videos as a medium for telling the story of Nigeria in the 1990s." He cast some rays of hope on the industry when he says: "There is much to hope for, and to think about." It is an industry that employs the highest amount of labour outside government; while each film project benefits upward of 60 small and medium enterprises. In the process, it boasts of five distinctive value chains of pre-production, production, post production, packaging, marketing, exhibition and distribution. Besides, it is an avenue through which the Nigerian nation's image is being laundered.

### **The Hausa Video Film Industry: A Historical Perspective**

“Majigi” was a familiar word referring to films being projected on a large screen for the cinema theatre audience. “Majigi” probably originated from the English word “magic” because it must have been “magical” for the Hausa to see the novelty of moving images. It was also referred to as *dodon bango* or “evil spirits on the wall,” thereby giving cinema a “disreputable, un-Islamic air about it.” The celluloid films being projected for entertainment were at theatres predominantly owned and operated by Lebanese businessmen.

The first cinema screen (from 1945) in the ancient city of Kano was that of Rio (called Kamfama) because it was located at the former French Military Confinement at the present Hotel De France along Tafawa Balewa Road. It now remains as a historic relic. When it commenced screening, it was exclusively entertaining the European colonial staff. However, when locals began to show interest, a space was created to allow them to satisfy their quest for the Western novelty form of entertainment.

The first recorded commercial “majigi” or cinema screening was “Gheghis Khan” shown at Palace Cinema of Jakara Quarters in Kano city in December 1960 (Adamu, 2007). However, much earlier, there was the popular “majigi” screening Western films across Nigerian towns that was for the general public and was free of charge conducted by multinationals like the United Africa Company (UAC), Phillip Morris, Lever Brothers and a host of others. They went round with mobile cinema vans fitted with projection facilities, showing “majigi” laced with advertisements and product promotion activities to enhance their sales. It is important to note that the initial developments of screening and watching “majigi” were the exclusive reserve of foreigners and their business concerns.

As for the production of Hausa films on the celluloid format, pioneering efforts were made by Abubakar Hong with “Baban Larai” in the 1960s (a docu-drama celluloid film on agricultural promotion), Adamu Halilu with “Kanta of Kebbi” (1980s) and “Shehu Umar” (1976) based on a book of the same title by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Nigeria’s Prime Minister which was for Nigeria’s entry at FESTAC ‘77. Ramalan Nuhu produced “Ruwan Bagaja”, Brendan Shehu produced “Kowa Ya Kwana Lafiya Shi Yaso” and “Kulba Na Barna” in the 1980s. Sule Umar produced “Maitatsine” (1989) and Sadiq Balewa produced “Kasarmu Ce” (1990/91). All these films were confined to festival/ceremonial screenings and then to the arsenal of history.

Adamu (2007), however, suggests that the Hausa video film industry started in 1990 with “Turmin Danya” from Tumbin Giwa Drama Group of Kano. Mohammed (2014) made a slight modification when he recalls how the 1980 NTA Kano 4<sup>th</sup> year of existence anniversary celebration became the

foundation for the Hausa video film industry. Zakari Mohammed produced a three-hour drama “Ko Biri Ya Karye” (1980), which was star-studded with artists from the northern states like Dan Haki, Alhaji Buguzum, Alkali Kuliya, Karo da Goma (Kano), Samanja, Mutuwa Dole, C/O, Kasimu Yero, Umar Kontagora (Kaduna), Bodara, Karkuzu (Jos), Baba Soja and Rahana from Sokoto. Mohammed (2014) concludes that the foundation for Hausa video film must have emerged from the “Ko Biri Ya Karye’s” pioneering efforts due to the following reasons:

- 1) It demonstrated that Hausa drama can be stretched beyond the half hour or one hour television space allotted to it in the programme schedule.
- 2) At the time, television closed at 12 midnight but on the day of broadcasting “Ko Biri Ya Karye”, the station closed at about 2am and viewers remained glued to their TV sets to the end. Thereafter, the station was inundated with viewer appreciation and comments and calls for its repeat broadcasts became frequent.
- 3) It also proved to both television crew and artists that Hausa feature video films can be produced and viewers will go for it.

Akande (2010) corroborates the above standpoint of television serving as the entry level for the Nigerian Motion Picture Industry dubbed Nollywood, which includes Hausa video films (Kanywood), when he asserts that the industry is indeed “an offshoot of the ingenuity of the television drama” because “it is our most influential broadcast tool to the world.” Of course, many fruitless efforts were made but their stories were deliberately shielded from becoming public knowledge. This is very understandable because failure is a bastard while success has multiple fathers. Hence, it was easy enough for “Turmin Danya” to put a claim to being the first Hausa video film because it was a success.

It is pertinent, however, to acknowledge some of the pioneering productions of Hausa video films, so as to appreciate the beginning of the industry. One of the early efforts include “Waiwaye Adon Tafiya” (1994) produced and directed by Abdulkareem Mohammed for Moving Image Limited, Kano. It was the first commercial Hausa video shot on standard (of the time) broadcast U-matic format and the winner of 2000 Arewa Films Award (AFA) as the “Most culturally inclined film.” “Soyayya Kunar Zuci” (1996) of the Nigerian Film Corporation, directed by USA Galadima, was the first Hausa and Nigerian Betacam video format film that was shot on a dual sound system, which went on to win Best Sound Film of the 2008 Nigerian Film Festival and Best Foreign Language Film of the 2008 Seoul

International Film Festival. “Nurul Zaman” on Shehu Usman Dan Fodio produced for the Sokoto State Government by Ibrahim Abubakar Ganyu was the first Hausa epic film shot on the Betacam video format (the film was not released). “Alhaki Kwikwiyo” (1998) of Films Laboratory and Production Services Limited (FILAPS) is the first private sector initiated Hausa film project that was professionally produced on the Betacam format at a time when all productions were made on VHS format. It was produced by Abdulkareem Mohammed and directed by USA Galadima – both trained filmmakers from the United States. None of these pioneering efforts, however, recorded commercial success. It will be interesting to find out why?

Despite the commercial failure of the earlier films, resilience later paid off, following the success of Hausa films like “Gimbiya Fatima” (that claimed to have sold over 200,000 copies) and “Sangaya” (that claimed to have grossed about \$107,914). It was only then that the birth of Hausa video film industry was recorded with a bang. The moment it started with a commercial breakthrough, the Hausa film industry had a ready-made audience both within and outside the shores of Nigeria. The largest population of Hausa speakers, estimated at about 70 million, are domiciled in Nigeria; while the existence of International Hausa Service broadcasts on the BBC, VOA, Radio Beijing, Radio Moscow, Radio Cairo, Dueche Welle Radio and a host of others, indicates the viability awaiting the emergence of a Hausa video film industry.

### **Hausa Movies and the Conflict of Representation**

Technology and globalization are two inseparable mass appeals and mass conquer influences the world embraces per second, per minute and without a choice. The media, in whatever form, is both technologically driven as well as consistently growing and developing at a phenomenal rate. The choices on the media menu are numerous. The question is, which one to choose? The Hausa video film industry has emerged out of the array of media options to gain ground in Hausa society to the point that no one can wish it away.

Adamu (2007) states that Hausa video films have had three main characteristics, namely *Auren dole* or forced marriage; the love triangle – with or without the forced marriage motif; and, lastly, the song and dance routines. Consequently, Hausa video films are extremely popular with women because they readily identify with the tensions portrayed in the storylines while being entertained in the comfort of their private domains. As for Hausa youth, they are attracted to the films mainly because of “exuberant sexuality.” He further states that identifying the content form and the nature of the target audience is very important. The content and the audience largely

determine the language used in the art of storytelling by filmmakers because there lies the commercial value. The more one captures the audience to buy copies of his film, the more revenue he grosses.

The General Manager of the Nigerian Film Corporation, Brendan Shehu, speaking at the premier of “Maitatsine” on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1989, advised that the quality of Nigerian films should not be assessed using global standards. Rather, “We should be able to learn and appreciate Nigerian films no matter the technical or aesthetic shortcomings.” That was since 1989. This position needs to be re-appraised now because globalization has forged all the nations ahead; presumably at par, in terms of media exposure. None can afford to be in isolation unless at its own peril.

In fact, Haynes (1997) provides the premise upon which this re-appraisal should be made when he observes that, “An anthropologist, Brain Larkin, places Hausa videos in a broader context of global transformations of the media environment, which allows Nigerians, both vastly increased access to the world’s audio-visual culture, and, simultaneously, allow grassroots appropriation of video cassette technology to produce a local popular culture outside of state control.” Nonetheless, it is noted that Hausa videos under the aegis of Kanywood “are normally invisible from the perspective of southern Nigeria.” Yet, according to UNESCO study mentioned earlier on, 24% of Nigeria’s annual production are from the Hausa video industry; bodies of newspaper/magazine reporting and reviewing, university thesis and long essays, broadcast programmes, conferences and workshops have provided “an extensive and lively chronicle of the industry” that this discourse can be hinged upon.

Larkin (1997) defines video culture as: “The articulation of transnational economic and technological flows and the cultural forms they have generated with the particular social context of Hausa culture.” It signifies the emergence of a new kind of public sphere that is based on the privatization of media production and consumption. Consequently, it is creating new configurations of audiences, new communicative spaces and grounds; while largely operating as a private sector business rather than public owned. In this context, Johnson (1997) observes that commercial films do not serve culture or morality – “They break norms and serve a culture that is more of their own, which is frowned at even by the supposed owners of the culture.”

Ten years later, Adamu (2007) argues that the trans-global focus suggests a “phenomenon that spans the gaps of distance, culture, race, language, economics, and heritage. It is a tale of both cultures mixing with each other in an unprecedented way.” This is an indicator that we are all in some way, cultural hybrids that are generally influenced by “Transglobal movements of media, of ideas, of peoples, of cultures.” Media, as a diasporic



element, therefore, promotes cultural intersections “midwifed by trans-global broadcasting channels” that are neither with borders nor with limitations of distance, culture, race, language, economics or heritage.

In the light of the above, how much of the mediated experiences of Hausa movies are of, or about, Hausa people? In other words, do Hausa movies truly represent Hausa people and culture? Several scholars, critics, *Ulama* (Islamic scholars) and public commentators argue that Hausa movies do not mediate the experiences of the Hausa people, especially in the cultural sphere. For example, according to Balarabe Baharu, the presenter of Freedom Radio’s *Fina-Finan Hausa* or Hausa Films, a weekly one hour programme that discusses Hausa video film industry’s issues from 2004 to date, “About 95% of Hausa films are of Indian film origin” and “about 65% of Hausa films do not reflect the real Hausa culture.” His opinion is based on “text messages and phone calls” he receives from audience in the course of the live transmission of his programme that takes listeners’ text messages and phone calls. He aggregated audiences’ complaints against the lack of African identity in Hausa films to:

- i. Song and dance (which he said is used in Indian films not because it is their culture but rather to appeal to Arabian audiences whose culture consists of song and dance in their romantic relationships).
- ii. Dressing mode portrayed in Hausa films is more of those with deviant behaviours than the average Hausa person, which suggests that the costumes do not represent Hausa culture.
- iii. On-screen male/female relationships are portrayed devoid of the Hausa culture’s core value of “kunya” or shyness.

Media is certainly a persuasive force in today’s technologically-driven world and it influences the society as a whole while influencing every one of us individually. Hence, there is an obligation to understand why people need to interact with the media. Yet, the media has been blamed, at least in part, for a vast array of ills confronting the society. For instance:

- The excessive time wasted watching films that prevents people from engaging in more worthwhile activities.
- Children displaying violent behaviours due to exposure to violence in films and television.
- A rising crime rate is caused by media contents.
- The continual description of inappropriate language and indecent dressing causes a rise in immorality and rape cases.

All these criticisms, and more, are levelled because media cannot be all things to all people. Although what constitutes Nollywood include Kanywood, most of the times they are judged independently because of their distinct peculiarities. But the Nigerian film industry is constituted by both, whether for good or bad, they take bashing or credit jointly.

Nigerian films are saddled with lengthy dialogue, which tends to kill the technique of master story-telling where the story unfolds through showing a lot of things in action and expressions rather than dialogue. And for this reason, majority of Nigerian films are not shown outside at festivals. Hence, they lack cross-over appeal at the global arena, because they hardly appeal to the Western audience. Instead, they are confined to a smaller market consisting of Nigerians based abroad and some of their African brothers.

Akande (2010) observes that the Nigerian Motion Picture Industry is bedevilled by low budgets that affect technical quality, basic structures like non-existent channels of distribution/exhibition and piracy. Moreover, filmmakers are “yet to tell stories about the cultural heritage and history of Nigerians and Africans at large.” Akande went on to assert that the industry “is like a derailed train which continues to attract the interest of people who desire not just to get it back on track but who are also canvassing urgent rescue operations for it.”

### **The Challenges and Constraints to the Hausa Video Film Industry**

Specific to Kanywood, however, what are the challenges and constraints confronting the Hausa video film industry? The operators definitely have a dearth of knowledge, skills and exposure. To paraphrase Ali (2004), majority of the key players in the Hausa film production lack expertise, more especially among the producers and directors. The actors and actresses are talent-driven without formal education beyond the secondary education. This impedes their drive or even capacity to pursue excellence via knowledge. The result is producing films that leave a lot to be desired.

In the film “Ziyadat” or “The Revenge,” for example, Hadiza Gabon was taken to hospital to deliver a baby. She displayed glaring symptom of eclampsia (a condition in which a pregnant woman has high blood pressure and convulsions) only for the doctor (Lawan Ahmed) to advise the husband (Shuaibu Lawan) to take her home and seek spiritual help. It is apparent that such a situation does not reflect real-life hospital circumstances. In the same film, we have a flashback whereby the husband reflects on the moments before the incident that rendered Hadiza mentally deranged, some eight months back, but wearing the same clothes in these two different scenes and time-periods. This is an unacceptable situation to the viewer because it does not depict real life.

Beside this, there is the influence of “Imamian transmutative strategy,” which is the legendary Abubakar Imam’s methodology of adaptation, which Adamu (2007) refers to as “being a genius in one’s language” by perfecting the art of adapting arts products of different cultures to fit a local one. The song from the Indian film “Rani Ruptani” (1957) as Adamu (2007, p. 39) puts it, “Is a good example.” The third influence is that of Eastern sources stemming from Hausa literature that mastered the art of “Foreign tale to a Hausa mindset, or directly translating from foreign sources.”

By the 2000s, these ingenuities were adopted by Hausa video filmmakers who use the literary template to adopt trans-global sources for their storylines. This perhaps gave rise to criticisms that Hausa films do not reflect Hausa culture because there is no originality in their storylines. Ibrahim Ado Gwagwarwa, a media consultant, summed it up in an interview when he states that, when one is watching Hausa films, “You tend to be watching foreign films in the Hausa language.” He went on to say that most of them do not have cultural content in terms of costume, environment (hotel scenes are dominant in the films) and even the language used is mostly urbanized Hausa.

“Tunatarwa” (Stern Warning), a film written and directed by Sulaiman Bello Easy readily comes to mind. Almost 95% of the scenes are shot in one location, presumably a hotel, even when the story is centred around a family. It is a story of a family man whose payment default earned him tunatarwa (stern warning) from the murderous thug he owed. Eventually, his two daughters and a wife are mysteriously found dead at different instances in the ‘house.’ The limitations of using a hotel shows how the death scenes are portrayed because all of them lack true-to-life depictions as per Hausa society. Even when the man goes to the police to report one of the cases, the police station is glaringly the hotel environment rather than a proper police station. Also, the victim’s house and that of the suspected culprit share the same entrance and vicinity. These kinds of lapses truly compromise cultural ethos of the Hausa people to the point that they tend to disown the identity being portrayed as their own.

Ironically, Johnson (1977) states that the Hausa filmmaker “...fully appreciates the power of film as a pipeline for culture” but that he “often does not give the artistic dimension of film its due.” The films generally suffer from “didacticism” because they tend to revolve around culture and morality, which are often presented in a classroom manner. The result is that “often the viewer is left confused as to the cultural point of view from which he is expected to look at the issues.” He further notes that: “It is the pervasive presence of Islam as a way of life that gives the Hausa film its distinctive character.”

In contrast, Barau (2008) believes that Hausa writers and filmmakers often reflect an African identity “in the most unprofessional way or with a very stunted intelligence or abuse of the principles of art” because they invariably “reflected, adopted or imported the romance of the Indian films.” He alleges that this serves as a “means for the promotion or the corruption of our (Hausa) cultural values.” Inadvertently, conflict is rising between Hausa values and the video popular culture. Perhaps what explains the conflict graphically is the poser thrown by an Imam while presenting a paper at the 2003 First International Conference on Hausa films, where he challenged any producer to give an example of where he witnessed a Hausa male trying to date a girl through singing. Although the challenge elicited laughter from the audience, the point was perfectly made.

Although public functions (turbanding, wedding, funeral, etc.) are usually rendered in their full traditional colours in Hausa films, those criticizing them for lack of originality are not impressed. Yet, the films are well known in re-enacting the tensions and dramas in polygamous households. A good example is in “Miyetti Allah” or Thank God, which is a love motif story adapted to co-wife rivalry between a wife that has given birth in the marriage and the other who has not. After a prolonged rivalry, the latter is subdued to accept her barrenness as a fate in order for peace to reign in the household. Such situations do exist in Hausa households and lessons drawn from ‘Screen School’ as in “Miyetti Allah” can be of valuable use to polygamous families.

Films like “Karen Bana” (The Unbeatable) and “Koren Ganye” (Green Leaf) have really told Hausa stories of befitting praise. “Karen Bana” was the Best Film of 2013 Kwankwasiyya Film Award emerging out of 42 entries. The film tells the story of second-generation enmity between two local boxing (*dambe*) families. The entanglement between the families is woven into a love story between the children of the two feuding families.

The village sceneries capture day and night; the appropriate costumes with the correct attire of the boxers; the local boxing arena and fanfare of entertainment at such events are aptly projected to make the viewer appreciate the real culture of the professional Hausa local boxing tradition. “Koren Ganye,” (directed by Isyaku Abdulkadir Jalingo), on the other hand, tells the story of a love relationship between a *talaka* (the poor) and a *saraki* (royalty). The lower class girl (Sadiya Gyale), when confronted with the choice of who to marry, prefers a boy of her class (Baballe Hayatu) to the prince (Shuaibu Lawan) with whom she could have a better life. The costumes and rural environment depict the Hausa setting quite correctly, including the local pottery industry. Through the images portrayed in the two films, like many others of their genre, one can argue that the Hausa film

industry portrays an African identity, especially where (Hausa), an indigenous African language, is used.

### **Hausa Movies: The Way Forward**

There are views or challenges expressed that point the way forward for the Hausa film industry. The Kano State Censorship Board's vision is: "Repositioning films, literary and other industries of the Board's assignment." The Board says that more weight is put on the movie industry because: "It comes like a torrential rainfall that must be contained in order to nourish life or else it destroys life if let alone" (Barau, 2008). Therefore, the Board's challenge is for the industry "to nourish life." The second challenge comes from Islamic scholars. For example, Ustaz Yusuf Ali views Hausa films as swords manufactured by a blacksmith; if bought and used by a butcher, the blacksmith has added value to the economy and society. But if an assassin purchases the knife and goes ahead to commit murder with it, the butcher has been of great disservice to humanity for facilitating an act against humanity. Hence, his challenge is that filmmakers are to appreciate the enormous burden of society that rests on how they use the medium at their disposal. They must serve the community by representing it aptly and projecting it to the world honourably and favourably, while upholding the tenets of the culture and religion diligently.

Diawara (2010), on the other hand, expresses what should be of concern to the African filmmaker when he quotes Bernd M. Schere as follows: "African film makers' concern is to develop their own cinematic language, creating a voice definitely not there to fulfil Western expectations, projections and stereotypes." The key lesson here is to remain "original."

### **Conclusion**

The art of film making can never be hinged on ignorance. Knowledge, skill and exposure are prerequisite requirements for any practising or aspiring filmmaker to continuously search for and uphold. It is an art that demands knowing *what*, *when*, *where* and *how* to make films that always seek to depict realities in different spheres of human endeavour. This can never be achieved without knowledge with which to inform, educate and entertain the audience. So, the film practitioner or aspirant must remain in search of knowledge at all times because the medium is driven by technological trends and the dynamism of life, which constantly change. It is through his flowing with the trends that a Hausa filmmaker, or indeed any African filmmaker, can survive the struggle for an African identity in the trans-global media of movies.

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## Interview

- Interview with Balarabe Baharu, presenter of *Fina-Finan* Hausa programme on Freedom Radio, (2014).



## ***Literacy by Radio Programme: A Tool for Mass Literacy in Nigeria***

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### **Introduction**

Over 776 million adults worldwide are still illiterate and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of them are women while about 75 million children are out of school with a very high dropout rate. This fact is a reflection of the illiteracy situation in Nigeria (UNESCO, 2009). This is corroborated by the assertion of Fasokun and Pwol (2010) that illiteracy continues to be a significant problem in Nigeria. About 60 million Nigerians are non-literate and nearly two thirds of Nigerian non-literates are women, who generally are responsible for nurturing and raising children (UNICEF/NMEC, 2010). This means that the children of these women are less likely to benefit from motherly support for their education (UNICEF/NMEC, 2010). Therefore, the inability of those parents to attend school may hinder them from checking their children's homework and they may not consider schooling as a priority. Governments, whether military or civilian in the country, had introduced various programmes in order to educate the adult population in the country but still, the number of illiterates or non-literates continues to grow. Every year, a lot of money is spend on the education of children but not of their parents. If half of the amount is spent on the latter, the problem of children not attending school would be solved.

However, due to the presence of a large number of non-literates in the country, several approaches to literacy education were considered in order to achieve the Education For All (EFA) goal because of the failure of past programmes towards eradicating illiteracy in the country. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2015), there are 42% of adult non-literates in the country. The *Literacy by Radio* programme was conceived because of the need for Nigeria to move at a greater pace in its effort to making the many non-literate people literate. The National Commission for Mass Literacy Adult and Non-Formal Education, the government institution charged with the responsibility of eradicating illiteracy in the country, felt the need to seek other means of reaching the teeming population of non-literates through the



use of mass media. The baseline study to the project showed, among other things, that the radio is the cheapest and most easily affordable medium for non-literates (NMEC, 2004). The survey findings also revealed the following:

- i. That 80 per cent of the respondents have access to radio sets;
- ii. Respondents preferred the following programmes: News, Drama, Education, Agriculture and Health Education in that order;
- iii. Respondents preferred that programmes be aired using their local language and;
- iv. That the National Broadcasting Code (1996) recognizes using electronic media for educational instructions and culture in Nigeria;
- v. A greater number of people like listening to radio in groups; it is a forum of discussion of news, drama, education and other programmes;
- vi. Majority of the respondents would want more time allotted for their favourite programmes (such as education, news, drama and health) on radio, etc; and
- vii. The monopoly of government on the ownership of the media houses is gradually being eroded as private radio (media) stations are established (Paiko, 2012).

Education cannot be separated from the culture of the people, as the two concepts are interwoven. As a result of the various studies conducted, it was discovered that the radio is a powerful weapon to reach the mass of the people, most especially those in the rural areas. It covers a wider area in the dissemination of information, entertainment and education, as well as in the mobilization of people. Radio is also cheap, affordable and relatively available to everybody (Paiko, 2012).

#### **What is *Literacy by Radio*?**

*Literacy by Radio* is a process of promoting reading, writing and computing through the use of radio. It is equally a strategy for the effective delivery of basic education to a large number of learners scattered over a large geographical area. *Literacy by Radio* is a socialization process that gives learners the opportunity to improve culturally and socially. It, therefore, naturally promotes behavioural change among facilitators and learners. Through the radio, one facilitator can reach many learners at once. Learners can learn in their bedrooms (UNICEF/NMEC, 2010).

This is another approach for teaching reading, writing and calculation to adult learners through the use of radio; it can be done in any language, but

mostly in the learner's mother tongue (NMEC, 2013). This process of learning keeps families together because the whole family, the young and the old, can come together to learn and support each other in the learning process. It makes people enjoy and gain confidence by working themselves. Okediran and Momoh (2004) asserted that the radio is a powerful means of communicating ideas, information and knowledge on various subjects under the sun. This is because it is the commonest, cheapest and all-purpose means of mass communication. Because of its spontaneity of message delivery, it has the effect of a hypodermic needle on the listeners as they absorb and react to its message. Adepoju (2000) asserted that radio helps in increasing the economic productivity of a nation. Shaibu (2000) asserted that radio is useful in political communication, education, mind-bending, mobilization and orientation, as well as in creating and strengthening mankind unity. Radio is accessible, even to the poor and the illiterate. While radio ownership in rural areas is still spotty, a receiver is available in most communities.

To understand the programme better, some staff of the National Commission of Mass Literacy Adult and Non-Formal Education and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria undertook a sponsored study tour to Cuba to study the use of radio for literacy. The agreement entered between Nigeria and Cuba led to the sending of a Cuban expert in the area of literacy by radio to assist the National Commission for Mass Literacy Adult and Non-formal Education (NMEC) in starting the programme in Nigeria. With the Cuban expert, an English primer was then developed for the *Literacy by Radio* programme in the country. Subsequently, pilot states used the English primer to develop some language primers peculiar to them for their own use. Of all the existing modes of *Literacy by Radio*, Nigeria adopted the Cuban method. It is a mixed method. It is mixed because ideas and elements from different methods of literacy were brought together. It recognizes the fact that education cannot be separated from the culture of the people, since culture and education are interwoven. It adapts its techniques to the culture of any country where it is practised.

The Cuban method of learning reading and writing through the radio is carried out in two phases, namely:

1. The radio listening session.
2. The face-to-face session

In the Nigerian project, the methodology adopted the two phases, as indicated above. When learners have listened to a lesson, they are expected to go for the contact session known as face-to-face meeting at a place and time agreed upon by both the facilitator and the learners. The contact session

is an opportunity for facilitator and learners to meet together face-to-face. During the session, they solve the learning problems that may have arisen (NMEC, 2010).

### **The Objectives of the *Literacy by Radio* Programme**

The objectives of *Literacy by Radio* programme are:

- i. Sensitizing and mobilizing the people for action toward community development;
- ii. Providing access to basic literacy and non-formal education to the unreached and marginalized people in the country;
- iii. Providing essential education for community development through health and nutritional education, vocational skills acquisition, life skills, civics education and agricultural education; and
- iv. Empowering the people to be able to take necessary actions based on their acquired knowledge to address their full needs (Paiko, 2012, NMEC, 2013).

### **Subject Area**

The programme is Basic Literacy and has the following subject areas:

- i. Health and nutritional education;
- ii. Vocational skill acquisition;
- iii. Life skills;
- iv. Civic education; and
- v. Agricultural education

The languages of instruction for *Literacy by Radio* programme include: English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Efik, Kanuri, Kolokoma, Nupe, Gbagyi, Tiv, Igala, Khana, Edo and Ibibio (Paiko, 2012).

Twenty learners per community in ten communities per state were registered to participate in the pilot project. This means that, after the successful broadcast of radio lessons for a period of three months, two thousand four hundred illiterates would have been made literate (attained basic literacy level) in Nigeria, with the use of radio literacy programmes (NMEC, 2010).

### **The Impact of Radio in Literacy Project**

According to Fajoyonmi (2011), radio has been with us in Nigeria for not less than six decades. Its entertainment and propaganda values have been extensively explored. But the instructional potential of the medium seems unexploited for the promotion of literacy, especially as a means for adult

literacy instruction. However, there are evidences of its use for educational and literacy instruction and for resource mobilization in both developed and developing countries of the world and very recently in Nigeria.

Fordham (Fajoyonmi 2011) reminded us that both radio and television have important roles to play in raising public awareness, increasing the motivation to learn, assisting in enrichment and reinforcement and in stimulating the participation of both learners and teachers. These values were said to characterize Zambian literacy radio broadcasting. Here, radio and television were not used in the actual instruction but to support the campaign. However, more than playing supportive role, radio was used in Gujarat, India, to educate illiterates in agriculture and health, as well as for basic education (Paiko, 2012). Other examples were reported by Lestage (Fajonyomi, 2011) and gave examples of Sutatenza (Columbia) where the needs of isolated communities in the Andes were met through radio for thirty years, and Brazil where tens of thousands of instructors were trained through the radio (Lestage, in Fajonyomi, 2011).

Meanwhile, radio was being developed as a means of promoting rural development in Francophone Africa, with sponsorship from the Bretton Woods School institutions. In the West African region, governments and/private-owned radio stations broadcast programmes (mostly sponsored) that propagate useful messages on people's daily realities, such as poverty, disease, illiteracy, agriculture and political awareness (Miama, Kamlogera, cited in Tukur, 2012).

### **What is Mass Literacy?**

Mass literacy according to Indabawa (1991), is an expression of the right to education for all the young and the old. It is also seen as an instrument for achieving universal schooling for effective (improvement) in the situation of economic production and community development. It is sometimes used as Mass Education.

### **Mass Literacy Efforts in Nigeria**

#### **1. *The 1946 - 1956 Mass Literacy Campaign***

The 1943 Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa report titled: "Mass Education in Africa Society" recognized the need for training the colonial community in order to improve their lives. This was the pioneer mass literacy campaign of the colonial period. Its objectives were said to be "Community betterment and the need to facilitate obedience to law and order and performance of civic duties such as payment of tax." It was realized that the percentage of illiterates ranged from 83% in the southern provinces to 97% in the North (Paiko,

1999). Primers were produced in many languages with both federal and regional financial support. Such programmes were primarily run by local governments' public enlightenment departments. It led to the opening of literacy centres in Bauchi, Zuru, Lafia, Okrika and Asaba. Other areas where centres were established also included Ilaro, Ekiti, Abuja, Aba, Badagry, Afikpo, and Jos but this effort did not achieve much success (Paiko, 1999). It is perhaps both naïve and presumptuous of Nigerians to expect the alien and colonial administration to undertake the work of the emancipation of Africans through the provision of elaborate programme of an Adult Basic Education (Ayandele, 1974).

2. ***The 1982 - 1992 National Mass Literacy Campaign***

During the Second Republic, a 10-year nationwide mass literacy campaign was launched on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1982 by the then President Alhaji Shehu Shagari (Paiko, 1999). In order to eliminate mass illiteracy within the shortest possible time, an intensive nationwide literacy campaign was launched as a matter of priority and as an all out effort on adult literacy programmes throughout the country (Indabawa, 1991). The campaign was launched for ten years within which all the available resources would be mobilized towards the achievement of total eradication of illiteracy. State Agencies for Mass Education were established. The first to establish was Kano later followed by Bauchi State. At present, there is a State Agency for Mass Education in all the 36 states and FCT to coordinate all the activities of adult and non-formal education in their respective states, as well as the National Commission for Mass Literacy Adult and Non-formal Education at the federal level, which is responsible for the policy formulation of adult and non-formal education in the country. The campaign has not produced the desired results as a result some problems that bedevilled it like inadequate funds, inaccurate statistical data, lack of political will and ineffective coordination.

3. ***Mass Mobilization Social and Economic Reconstruction 1984 - 1993 (MAMSER):***

The organization was established by Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's administration with the following functions: the positive mobilization and education of Nigerians towards economic recovery and development; to inculcate in the people the spirit and importance of civic responsibility; the re-orientation of Nigerians to shun waste and vanity and avoid all vices in public life; the promotion of the sense of

self-reliance and pride in the consumption of the commodities produced in Nigeria; the inculcation in all Nigerians of the virtues of patriotism and positive participation in all national affairs (Anyawu, 1991). In spite of all these numerous functions, the organization was unable to actualize its stated goals. Therefore, it came under heavy criticism. It was alleged that it failed as a body to effectively mobilize the people for meaningful development (Omoruyi, 2001).

4. ***Each One Teach One or the Fund the Teaching of One 1990 (EOTO):***

The birth of the Each-One-Teach-One (EOTO) strategy of learning is attributed to Frank C. Lauback, who first practised it in the Philippines for religious objectives. It was introduced in Nigeria during the inauguration of the National Commission for Mass literacy Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) in 1991 for the purpose of using it to eradicate illiteracy in the country. The hope was high then among Nigerians that the almost 50 per cent illiterate population in the country would be helped to acquire literacy quickly within the two years of the adoption of the EOTO strategy. The main objective of EOTO or Fund the Teaching of One strategy is to personalize the literacy education with the view to highlighting its importance for national development (NMEC/UNICEF, 2010). In this regard, all individuals (the rich, the poor, workers or the unemployed) were to be mobilized to promote literacy education at the individual, community and association levels. It was conceptualized that if literacy education was promoted this way, it would have reduced the cost of literacy and enhanced patriotism amongst Nigerians. The campaign could not achieve its objectives because of lack of adequate finance, inadequate and qualified personnel, poor logistics and inadequate support from non-governmental organizations (Indabawa, 1994).

5. ***Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques (REFLECT) Approach 2006 - 2012***

This is an approach to learning and social change developed in response to past failures in literacy campaigns throughout the world. It is an innovation adopted in order to respond to the realities of adult learners. The key to the REFLECT approach is creating a space where people feel comfortable to meet and discuss on their cultural, socio-economic, political and physical environment. REFLECT aims to improve the meaningful participation of people in the decisions that affect their lives

through strengthening their ability to communicate (Archer & Newman, 2003). By coming together, people learn from one another through sharing experiences. People in REFLECT circles not only learn to read and write but are also empowered to address the community's problems. REFLECT builds on the theoretical framework developed by the Brazilian Adult Educator, Paulo Freire, and provides a practical methodology by drawing on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). In a REFLECT programme, there is no textbook, no literacy primer and no pre-printed materials except manual for the literacy facilitator. Each literacy circle develops its own learning materials through the construction of maps, matrices, calendars and diagrams that represents the local reality; organizes the existing knowledge of participants and promote a detailed analysis of local issues. Despite all these efforts by various groups, the literacy rate of the country is not anything to write home about. According to the 2010 National Literacy Survey, the literacy rate of the country is 57.9% and adults and youth in country constitute 61% of the population (NBS, 2010). This provides the need for more concerted efforts in literacy delivery in the country.

### **Challenges**

The programme has the following challenges:

1. ***Inadequate funding:*** The federal government over the years released the sum of 96.5 million naira to states for the *Literacy by Radio* programme with each state receiving the sum of 2.6 million. This is grossly inadequate, as one or two slots of the Nigerian Television Authority advertorial will gulp the money, depending on the time allocated (Fajoyomi, 2011). Also, the Commission has supplied 100 radios each to the 774 local government areas in Nigeria, with 1800 personnel, trained as facilitators to handle the programme.
2. ***Monitoring and Evaluation:*** This is a serious issue in the Adult and Non-formal Education sub-sector. Supervision by state and local government officers of State Agencies of Mass Education is inadequate. As such, nobody can ascertain what is happening at the centres as vehicles and other logistics are not provided for the officers to go on monitoring. Therefore, effective monitoring and evaluation are not carried out.
3. ***Broadcast of Programmes:*** Programmes are supposed to be broadcast weekly with a repeat but due to the commercialization of state-owned radio stations, the prime time required for the airing of

lessons of *Literacy by Radio* cannot be paid with the available funds. As such, they relied on some free time that would be given by the radio stations, and this may not be conducive for the learners.

4. **Policy/Statute:** States and local government support for the strategy is still very low and this remains a serious setback for the project to succeed.
5. **Lack of adequate trained facilitators:** Majority of the facilitators are not well-trained. This is a serious problem for the programme to succeed. However, in the places where there are trained ones they are moved to the cities leaving the rural areas without facilitators. Facilitator remuneration is so small considering the level of inflation in Nigeria. The monthly stipend given to facilitators is not even enough to transport them to their radio study groups' centre.

### **Recommendations**

In view of the foregoing, the following recommendations are made:

1. **Increase in funding:** there is the need for government to increase in funding of the programme. States and local governments should also support it in the payment of airtime and facilitators and take full responsibility for the funding and sustenance of the programme.
2. **Regular monitoring and evaluation:** It is essential to train and re-train the manpower to manage monitoring and evaluation activities in the *Literacy by Radio* programme. There should be capacity building for monitoring and evaluation officers through short, medium and long term training programmes, workshops and conferences, amongst others.
3. **Recruitment of adequate and qualified facilitators:** Persons having the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) and those who specialize in adult education should be employed as facilitators in the *Literacy by Radio* programme and more capacity-building programmes (pre-service, in-service and on-the-job-training) for Adult and Non-Formal Education personnel at all levels should be put in place. Effective programming and implementation would require appropriately qualified personnel with definite schedules of duty (Hussain, 2013). Rural allowance and some other incentives should be introduced for the facilitators working in the rural areas. Facilitator's honorarium should be increased to accommodate the inflation level. Facilitators should be well-guided on the use of the primer before allowing them to guide the learners. The Federal government should pump enough money, so that the whole thing will not be like a show case (Borode, 2011).



4. ***Mobilization and Sensitization:*** governments at all level should put in place a mechanism for mobilization and sensitization. Many interested learners are not aware of the existence of adult education centres and which programme to enrol. This seriously affects the efforts to achieve Education For All (Hussain, 2013). There should be the proper mobilization of all the stakeholders to come and embrace the programme so as to achieve the desired results.

### **Conclusion**

The lip service given to adult and non-formal education over the years speaks louder than every pronouncement. For Nigeria to achieve Education for All, therefore, attention should be given to the marginalized and the underserved. Literacy is a fundamental human right considered as an indispensable tool for personal empowerment. The dismal performance of Nigeria's economy is not unconnected with the country's literacy rate. *Literacy by Radio* is the teaching of reading writing and calculation to adult learners in the mother tongue. It is an alternative approach to reach to the teeming number of adults who are non-literate. The organization is such that the presenter and the broadcaster work hand in hand, following the curricula and primers provided. The government (both federal and state) should be more committed financially for the effective implementation of the programme.

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## **Radio Listeners as Participants: The Impact of Mobile Phone in the Programming of Freedom Radio 99.5 FM, Kano**

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### **Introduction**

Most radio listeners never had access to the telephone, which, in times past, was basically land line, much less own it and use it for any purpose. Recently, however, they have mobile phones — their first phones of any kind. This, at first, allowed them to call their family members, friends and well-wishers and receive calls as well from them. Later on, they started listening to radio stations via the mobile phones, reading the programmes as well as sending their replies, feedback or reactions in form of SMS texts to be read in the later programmes by the radio stations. The radio stations further adjusted their programming by accommodating listeners’ live comments, as well as by producing live phone-in programmes. These have increased listeners’ usage of mobile phones in listening and participating in radio programming. At the same time, they use the mobile phones to communicate via voice and SMS to their friends and relations. The mobile phone is already becoming a common feature with the populace. Tangaza (2011:3) estimates that, “More than three quarters of the world’s population today are mobile phone subscribers, making it now the primary form of telecommunication in both developed and developing countries. Users access information, express views, produce, share and consume media. As such, news organizations, including the BBC, strategize on how to maximize the use of mobile phone as platform for content delivery.”

Despite this growth, however, “The use of mobile phones as a platform for news consumption in Nigeria - which is Africa’s biggest mobile market - is relatively low. This is even more so in rural areas where illiteracy and poverty levels are significantly high” (Tangaza 2011:3). However, the dedication of some programmes to listeners’ views solely by Freedom Radio, Kano and the listeners’ right to feedback, by call or text messages, in almost all of its programmes have promoted mobile phone usage in radio

programming. Since the launch of *An Tashi Lafiya*, (Good Morning), a live phone-in programme, there has been a substantial growth in the use of mobile phones via calls and text messages. It is observed that listeners prefer to make call(s) to sending text message(s), because they express themselves better and more clearly with voice calls. Texting limited. This rapid increase, particularly in the area of listeners' calls, has shown that the mobile phone is not only used for calling and text messages as well as receiving same between family members and friends, but also in radio programming. This paper focuses on the way radio listeners are using mobile phones.

This study, based on a survey in Kano, Nigeria, uses two analyses to show how people use mobile phones in their day-to-day activities, apart from the traditional use of the mobile phone - placing and receiving calls, as well as sending and receiving text messages between and among their fellows. First, it explores how the mobile phone was first used by Freedom Radio 99.5 FM, Kano in its programmes. Second, it uses a questionnaire to explore how listeners use mobile phones to call and send SMS messages to radio stations, a development that transformed radio listeners into active participants of radio programming and how the mobile phone has found wider acceptance and a greater range of usages.

### **Evolution of Mobile Phones in Nigeria**

The liberalization of Nigeria's telecommunications industry, which began in the early 1990s through 2000, was responsible for the introduction of the mobile phone in Nigeria. Pyramid Research (2010) says that "The first set of GSM licences was issued in 2001. MTN and Zain launched their services in May and August 2001, respectively. The duo have since deployed their networks across Nigeria's 36 states. In September 2002, Glo Mobile also received a digital mobile GSM licence to provide service in all parts of the country. National carrier licences were issued to Glo Mobile and Nigerian Telecommunications (NITEL) in September and November of 2002, respectively. In the same year, both companies were also issued international gateway licences for 20 years, until 2022, along with Prest Cable & Satellite TV Systems.

In January 2007, the Mubadala Development Company, a business development and investment company based in Abu Dhabi, was issued a licence for the provision of mobile, fixed and broadband services. Etisalat joined Mubadala during the same year as its operational partner in Nigeria and the duo launched a mobile GSM service in October 2008. At present, there are four active GSM operators: MTN, Zain, Glo and Etisalat. There are also smaller operators, such as Visafone etc. "The top mobile GSM operators, MTN, Glo Mobile and Zain" according to (Pyramid Research

2010), “account for over 85% of mobile subscription in Nigeria.” Nigerians, who never had access to land lines, see the emergence of the mobile phones as a noble idea and a blessing. Hence, they were quick to embrace it. This, according to Pyramid Research (2010:34), has been responsible for the rapid pace, from 422,000 subscriptions at the introduction of GSM networks in 2001, to 73m at the end of 2009. Measured in terms of the mobile penetration, growth has been equally exponential, from just 0.33% of the population in 2001 to 48.9% in 2009.”

According to Smith (2009), research shows that, “Africans are buying mobile phones at a world record rate, with take-up soaring by 550% in five years. Mobile subscriptions in Africa rose from 54m to almost 350m between 2003 and 2008, the quickest growth in the world.” However, most of the mobile phones owned by Africans, especially Nigeria, are “feature” phones, with which they will make and receive calls and send text messages, which are low cost, as many cannot afford smartphones, which are expensive. “In 2012”, according to Murugesan, (2013), “approximately 58.4 percent of global mobile phone shipments were feature phones and 85 to 90 percent of the people in Kenya and Nigeria use feature phones as BuzzCity data shows.” Whether feature or smartphones, what is certain is that ownership of mobile phones is increasing at an exponential rate, hence hardly do you find street vendors offering mobile access on a per-call basis in Kano today. They provide them the comfort of speaking with their family, well-wishers and business partners. Apart from these traditional roles the mobile phone plays, it has since been utilized by radio stations in their programming in Africa (Myers 2006 and 2009), and in the whole world as the major global broadcasters, such as the BBC (Tangaza 2011), DW, VOA and RFI send their content to the audience, as well as receive audience feedback, views and comments (Garba 2014b).

#### **Freedom Radio99.5 FM**

Freedom Radio 99.5 FM was established on 31<sup>st</sup> December, 2003 in Kano. It is perhaps the first indigenous independent radio station in the whole of northern Nigeria (Mohammed 2003). The station’s reach covers the whole of Kano, Jigawa, and Katsina States and parts of Bauchi, Kaduna, Plateau, Yobe and Zamfara States, as well as Zinder and Maradi in Niger Republic (Mohammed *ibid*). As a result of the Hausa people’s long and well-established radio listening tradition, as captured in Ibrahim (1994), Funtua (1997), Larkin (2008), Garba (2010) and Abubakar (2011), this station enjoys spectacular patronage and growth right from inception. This development was occasioned by the station’s programming, professionalism and, of course, favourable competitive climate in which, at the time, only the

State-run radio stations - Radio 1 (AM) and Radio 2 (FM), both owned by the Kano State Government, dominated the air for several decades.

Freedom Radio met with immediate success due largely to its programming in Hausa, interactive broadcasts, presenting young, new voices and musical shows. This new programming format satisfied the varied needs and aspirations of listeners who, for several decades, had been seeking for these, but were bombarded with official news and programming served them by government-control radio stations day in day out. The listening public discovered the virtues of free expression, through the many interactive broadcasts and the different treatment of issues and events that Freedom Radio brings in radio programming. The freedom of expression and relevance it brings to analysing current events, the recency with which news is relayed, as well as the balanced handling of issues and events, have been the core factors that enticed listeners to the station. Hence, Freedom Radio became a model in radio broadcasting in the state and even beyond. Its début spurred the government radio stations to break its traditional ways of programming by adjusting to compete with the private ones.

Freedom Radio introduced a new approach to radio production by inaugurating a truly local form of communication via the deployment of mobile phones, which gave listeners the chance to participate in their programming. This has engendered greater familiarity between the station and its listeners, as well as created positive relations, not only with the listening public, but also with the political and governmental authorities in respect to development issues.

The emergence of Freedom Radio has broken the jinx of radio monopoly in Kano and has brought important political effects through the provision of several political platforms such as *Kowane Gauta* which provided the political opposition a greater presence on the airwaves as opposed to what was obtainable before where even their paid adverts and jingles were not welcome not to talk of featuring in a programme. It heralded some form of radio pluralism in the state and the North of Nigeria in general. In Kano, many more private radio stations sprang up after Freedom Radio hit the airwaves. These include: Rahama Radio, Wazobia FM and Cool FM, as well as the re-instatement of Ray Power FM after a long silence.

The nearly all inclusive nature of the station via the use of several Nigerian languages, such as Hausa, Arabic, English, Pidgin, Igbo, Yoruba and Igbira in its programming has met the cosmopolitan nature of Kano and endeared the station to the heterogeneous listening public. However, Hausa has the most considerable airtime (85.7%) in the station's overall programming schedule, according to Abdullahi et al (2011:6).

Several research works have been carried out on Freedom Radio since its inception among which are: Adamu (2013) who looked at the *Aiki da Hankali* and *Tamburan Kano* and the role they play in the boosting Hausa culture; Garba (2012), who studied the Hausa news magazine programme *Ku Karkade Kunnuwan ku*; Sani (2009), who beamed her searchlight on the translation and Hausa language use in some programmes of the station and Ramatu (2011) who looked at political language in *Kowane Gauta* programme. However, the current work is interested in the employment of mobile phones in the station's programming.

### **Freedom Radio and the Mobile Phone**

The emergence of the mobile phone has strategically aided programming in Freedom Radio 99.5 FM, Kano. The station came into being at a time when mobile phone ownership among the populace was peaking. According to Garki, (2014):

Freedom Radio took the advantage of this new technology to deliver its programmes and get listeners' feedback in return." "Part of the reasons we use mobile phone in our programmes," he continues, "are the speed of information provided by the mobile phones, the modernity and user friendliness. It also brings us closer to the public. This is why most of our programmes are interactive and participatory; hence accommodate listeners' comments, views and feedback via both calls and SMS messages.

The emergence of Freedom Radio in Kano and its subsequent employment of the mobile phone in its programming brought about considerable changes in improvements in information dissemination and the shifting of the development paradigm towards a more participatory programming. This "community" initiative by Freedom Radio combines a number of approaches, the most obvious being that it gives the community a voice and encourages the active participation of the audience in the making and scheduling of its programmes. This not only reinforces the participatory nature of its programming, but ensures local ownership and a greater chance to listeners to express their feelings, concerns and views that will lead to the development of the society and these, on their own provide programme materials and content. With the use of the mobile phone, it has replaced the one-way, top-down relationship, which rendered listeners passive, as characterized by traditional radio programming.



Freedom Radio has been praised for encouraging audience participation and dialogue in its programming, which brings about greater closeness between transmitter and receiver, transforms governance and social lives in the state.

***An Tashi Lafiya: Freedom Radio's Phone-in Programme***

Freedom Radio 99.5 FM, Kano, launched the *An Tashi Lafiya*, (Good Morning) programme in 2010. It broadcasts from 6am to 7am daily and relies on listeners for live comments and contributions on developmental or communal issues via voice calls and SMS messages. It is an interactive debating forum that gets to the heart of the matter of a single issue in each edition.

The format of this programme is such that the presenter introduces a topic and invites listeners to participate for the purpose of interaction. The programme serves to build community development initiatives and civic culture in which issues of community concerns are discussed. It allows listeners to comment and proffer solutions to the topic of discourse via their mobile phones. A caller usually identifies himself before he is permitted to comment on the issue being discussed. These types of programmes make listeners become more active in their listening habits and makes radio programmes strong vehicles for the voices of the community it serves by addressing developmental issues, such as girl-child education, abolishing street begging, increasing political participation and dialogue, and so on.

This programme is drawing increased audiences and is one of the staple programmes in the station. It receives an average of 15-20 calls per day. This is even due to a call traffic that usually ensues as many callers want to call, and therefore, jams the number to hinder them to get through. Even though the station welcomes both calls and text messages, a high number of listeners' contributions, about 75%, comes in the form of calls. For calling allows them more interaction and opportunity to air their views more lucidly on the topic of discussion, greet their family and loved ones and request songs and so on.

The fact that the caller bears the cost of the voice calls and the text messages does not deter callers' participation. Rather, they consider it a rare privilege to be a part of a popular programme. Freedom Radio does not have a toll-free line which callers can use, but the popularity and emotional appeal which phone-in programmes have is played up here and callers do not mind to bear the cost of calls and texts.

However, some of the seasoned radio callers have their way of calling without spending much credit money. Rabi'u Akalta Dandago (2014) bears his mind:

About 70% of seasoned radio callers in Kano use Visafone to call radio stations because it's powerful in Kano and most radio stations, especially Freedom Radio, use a Visafone number. It's this service operator's numbers it issues out to listeners to call back - 064431551 and 064431548. So, it is naturally easy and straightforward to get Visafone line using a Visafone number. Above all, Visafone has a package where it converts N200 credit to an 80-minute call time, which is functional within 15 days after which it elapses to a N100 credit for 30 minutes, which is functional within 5 days after which it elapses. This simplifies our calling costs. However, some of our colleagues who live outside Kano, where the Visafone service is not present use service operators, such as MTN, ZAIN, GLO and ETISALAT.

In about two decades of mobile phone existence in Kano in particular, and Nigeria in general, the mobile phone seems to have found a particular new usage, apart from its traditional one, in radio production and presentations.

### **Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

The accelerated diffusion of digital media from telecommunications and information technology over the last decades has broken the jinx of traditional audience of one-way communication, such as the situation between the Freedom Radio and its listeners (see: Poster 1995, Turkle 1995, Chaffee & Metzger 2001, Jenkins 2006 and Holmes 2012). For instance, these scholars maintain that, with media convergence, audience will interact with the media with greater and easy participation in programming, content production and feedback by using new media platforms, such as mobile phones and internet, thereby making a direct transition from traditional media to a more modern one.

This study is guided by the theory of the rise of the new media, which claims that traditional media environments have been challenged not simply by technological innovations, but at an ecological level, consisting of substantial, qualitative changes rather than incremental developments to media environments (Holmes 2012) and provides much more active participation in media (Jenkins 2006). The emergence of the new media brought an end to traditional passive listenership and brought about the opportunity for the audience to actively influence media content through

active participation in the production of programmes. This study is premised on the fact that new communication technologies have greatly substituted the traditional one-way programming of Freedom Radio to a participatory one. This is corroborated by Jenkins (2006) where he argues that whereas old consumers of media were more isolated, new consumers of convergent media are more socially connected because they can upload their own content and choose from a much wider array of fragmented information, including being able to choose between corporate media and grassroots media.

The study was conducted in Kano in August and September 2014. The population are all the people who listen to the radio, possess phones and at the same time do call and send texts to radio stations. This is to ensure that the respondents have a knowledge of the case study and also have details to provide. All the respondents were from different areas of the Kano metropolis. Two hundred and fifty designed questionnaires were administered to them, out of which 179 were returned, representing a 71.6% return rate. The type of questions asked included: age and sex, educational status, ownership of mobile phones, whether they do call the radio stations with the mobile phones for comments and feedback purposes, when they began doing so, why they venture into calling and texting radio stations, the benefit they derive, whether they have associations and their manifestoes and the language in which they prefer to call and text radio stations. The non-inferential statistical tool, i.e. percentages, was used to summarize the information obtained from the field and the descriptive method was used in explaining the report.

### **Results**

Of the 250 questionnaires administered on the respondents, 179 were returned, representing a 71.6% return rate. Of this, 54.5% were males and 14% females. It was revealed that 38.6% were aged between 20 and 30 years; 27% were between 30 and 40 years and 6% were 40 and above. Most had completed junior secondary school (8.5%), secondary school (21%), Diploma (32%) and university (10%). Because of the screener, all 179 had mobile phones. Of this, 162 (90.5%) listen to FM radio stations via their mobile phones and 17 (9.5%) do not. Of the number who listened to radio stations via their mobile phones, 14 (8.6%) began doing so since 2006, 32 (19.7%) in 2007, 23 (14.2%) 2008, 22 (13.5%) 2009, 56 (34.5%) 2010 and 15 (9.2%) 2012. On calling and sending of SMS texts to the radio stations, all the 179 do so. But the time or year they all began varied, as 16 (8.9%)

began since 2005, 20 (11.2%) 2007, 25 (14) 2008, 27 (15%) 2009, 37 (20.6%) 2010, 28 (15.6%) 2011 and 26 (14.5%) 2012.

Factors that informed the respondents to venture into calling and sending text messages to radio stations also varied, but include the following: 57 (32%) do so to enlighten the general public, 51 (28.4%) to contribute to community development and 37 (20.6%) and 34 (19%) wish to educate the public. The benefits the respondents claimed to have been deriving from calling and sending SMS messages to radio stations are varied but almost similar and thus grouped into three: Many said it expands their knowledge and that use the medium to advice governments and the general public to solve some societal problems. Majority of them derive joy whenever they make a clarion call on both the government and the general public to do something good to the society or to stop doing something that is inimical to the society and it makes them become popular in the society. The callers and senders of text messages to radios have different associations, which were occasioned by the emergence of the mobile phone. They include: Youths Mobilization via Media, *Alferi Ya Fi Mugunta*, *Majalisar Nasiha*, *Muryar Talaka*, *Zumunta*, *Zumunta Group*, *Ina Mafita?*, *Nemi da Kanka*, *Aminan Juna*, *Danbatta Youth Awareness via Media* and *Lefe ba Dole*. These associations' aims and objectives are almost similar and includes: To ensure good governance by holding political leaders responsible; To eradicate ignorance, help the less privileged in the society and community development. Of the total number, 145 (81%) call and send text messages to radio stations in Hausa and 34 (19%) do in both Hausa and English, but preferred doing so in Hausa.

### **Discussion**

The analyses provide some insight that really radio listeners now use their mobile phones to call and send SMS messages to the radio stations. It makes them very active in shaping programme output and even become producers of programmes of a sort. As for the gender of the radio callers and contributors, there is a considerable dominance of male callers over females. Over three quarters are male. However, this extracurricular activity does succeed in attracting younger listeners: about two thirds (38.6%) were in the 20 to 30 age group, 27%, 30 to 40 age group and 6%, 40 and above age group. Another usage of mobile phone adopted by the respondents is listening to FM radio stations via their mobile phones, as indicated by a whopping 162 (90.5%). This new usage of mobile phones by radio listeners began since 2006 when the device was relatively new to them.

Respondents use the mobile phone predominantly for a mixture of personal and radio participation related communications, as all the 179 of them attested to calling and sending SMS messages to radio stations. This suggests that they see value in the mobile phone across a variety of activities. This has marked a change in mobile phone use behaviour over time. These mobile phone owners in Kano began by using it for personal use and slowly, the use has shifted to a greater proportion of radio participation in broadcast programmes. Further studies would shed more light on the adoption process and on the evaluation of mobile use by radio listeners over time. It is likely, however, that the result identifies mobile users who are more interested in using the mobile phone for radio participation than for the maintenance of family and friendly ties. For this, an open-ended questionnaire could be used and respondents asked what they do more with their mobile phones.

The other set of finding concerns the changes radio listeners record in participating in radio programming facilitated by mobile phone ownership and use beginning from 2005 with 16 (8.9%), 2007 with 20 (11.2%), 2008 with 25 (14%), 2009 with 27 (15%), 2010 with 37 (20.6%), 2011 with 28 (15.6%) and 2012 with 26 (14.5%). This has shown an increase in the listeners' participation in radio phone-in calls and SMS messages sent to radio stations. The fact that there is a significant higher proportion of new callers and SMS senders illustrates a dynamic change in mobile phone usage is happening in Kano.

The most frequently stated reasons by the respondents for their venture into calling and sending SMS messages through the use of mobile phones to radio stations were their efforts to enlighten and educate the general public, deliver the general public from the shackles of government officials who for decades have neglected the yearnings and aspiration of the masses through holding them up to their responsibilities and contributing to community development. Hence, these listeners who use mobile phones to express their views in radio programmes, to a certain extent, are setting the agenda for the society and this has benefitted the community in different ways.

For instance, Rabi'u Akalta Dandago, a regular and popular caller on a call-in programmes in Kano, in a phone-in programme: *Allah Daya Gari Bamban* run by Freedom Radio, drew the attention of the state government to some four classrooms at Dandago Special Model Primary School Kano whose roofs needed urgent attention but were left unattended for close to four years and pupils had to be crowded in available classrooms. That call prompted the former Deputy Governor of Kano State, Dr Abdullahi Umar Ganduje (subsequently the Governor of the state) to respond to the complaint the following day by inspecting the site and there and ordering the Caretaker Chairman of Gwale Local Government Area to instantly reconstruct the

classes. Had the complaint been made directly to the government directly, it is possible that authorities might not have responded with such promptness. But by making the complaint public through the radio, it compelled government to act upon it immediately.

Similarly, the same Rabi'u Akalta Dandago in another phone-in programme, *An Tashi Lafiya*, complained of a refuse dump, which emitted irritating stench right by the collapsed fence of Dandago Special Primary School. The refuse was approaching a class in which pupils took lessons. Two days after the call, the Kano State Refuse Management Board evacuated the refuse and the collapsed fence was reconstructed by the Education Authority, apparently at the instance of the state government. The same Akalta sent an SMS to *Barka da Hantsi*, a Freedom Radio interactive programme, sometime in 2013, complaining of an abandoned road project, from the Mandawari area right at the backyard of the house of the District Head of Dala, Alhaji Aminu Ado Bayero, and terminated at Gidan Wanka in Goron Dutse. The mobilization fee for the road contract was given and the affected people compensated, but the work was abandoned at commencement. Four days after the call was made, the contractor mobilized to the site for the work. And the work is almost completed now.

Furthermore, radio listeners who engage in calling and sending text messages via mobile phones later formed different associations, as indicated earlier. One interesting thing is that the associations have decentralized their activities of sort. For instance, *Muryar Talaka* whose members, such as Zaidu Bala Birnin Kebbi, Aminu Abdu Bakanoma Sani Mainagge Kano, Balarabe Yusuf Babale, Bashir Dauda Katsina, Sade Sa'idu Daura, Hajiya Gambo Mamman Gusau and so on, pay more attention to calling and sending SMS messages to the foreign Hausa radio stations, such as the BBC, DW, VOA and RFI, etc.

Meanwhile, some like: Rabi'u Akalta Dandago, Hamisu Skipper Gwammaja, Rabi'u Coach Gwammaja, Umar Dan'inna Daneji, Nasiru Ibrahim Koki, Usman Nzagi Kofar Gabas Danbatta, Shuwatu Danbatta, Halima Kademi are more concerned with local radio stations. Most of them relate with the foreign Hausa radio stations, too. These associations have their own objectives, which are: community development and assisting the poor and the needy in the society. For example, the *Alheri Ya Fi Mugunta* Association carried out some humanitarian service in 2013 and 2014 which included visiting the psychiatric hospital at Dawanau, the Kano Central Prison, Kurawa and the Orphanage at Nassarawa and donated food-stuff, clothes, shoes and sanitary items. It also freed five inmates at the Kurawa Prison by settling their fines. It provided some drugs to sickle cell patients and its members regularly donate blood to them at Murtala Specialist

Hospital, Kano. The association sponsored the marriage of a certain orphan bridegroom whose marriage had been postponed severally due to lack of money to provide bridal goods. Other associations, too, engage in these kinds of community and humanitarian services.

Majority of the respondents preferred to call and send SMS messages to radio stations in the Hausa language. As succinctly demonstrated by Garba (2014a), radio listeners in Kano prefer to listen in that language because they get a better grasp of the subject matter and are able to contribute more meaningfully. Indeed, the callers' decision to call and send SMS messages in their native language will undoubtedly enable them to pass their messages to their listeners.

### **Conclusion**

The advent of private radio stations and their subsequent introduction of phone-in programmes have, to a great extent, made listeners become very active participants in shaping programme output, as well as becoming programme producers of some sort. These technological changes also changed radio broadcasters' relationship with their listeners, drawing them closer to the people, who, in turn, have gained greater freedom through expressing their minds in form of comments, feedback, etc. usually via mobile phones. The convergence between radio and the mobile phone, in Kano in particular, has opened up interesting prospects by converting listeners into more active participants in radio programming.

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#### **Interview:**

- Alhaji Adamu Isma'ila Garki, Manager Programmes Freedom Radio Kano in his office on 4/9/2014
- Rabi'u Akalta Dandago, a regular radio caller, at Dandago Special Model Primary School, Dandago, Kano on 11/9/2014.

## **Women, Multiple Identities and Media Consumption**

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### **Introduction**

Identity is simply a person's own sense of the self. It is the personal sense of who we are. Our identity is formed and shaped by internal and external factors. The internal factors are physical appearance, character, personality and sex while the external factors are family, gender, race, class, religion, culture, occupation, ethnic group, political affiliation or belief and nationality, including the media. According to Heckert (2002), identity is a process of creating and maintaining borders and creating different kinds of people. This keeps the world packaged in tiddly little boxes. By implication, people belong to different categories, which make identification easy. According to Chenoy (2010), historically, identity formation was a useful tool in the formation of nationalism, as it undermined feudal states, led to anti-colonial movements and assisted in creating the modern nation state in the image of its oppressor. Identity has been associated with nationalism and progressive movements. Hence, identity is a socially and historically constructed concept. However, identity in its present form is applicable to different groups in the society.

Many women see themselves as females who belong to the same gender identity. Gender identity is an important identity and, according to Chenoy (2010) it is a very important marker of our social identity. Idyorough (2005) defines gender identity as one's conception and perception about the self as being male or female. Consequently, the roles one is expected to perform is consequent of that positioning. Therefore, gender identity is one's private sense of being a man or a woman, consisting primarily of the acceptance of membership into a category of either male or female. An individual's gender identity determines the roles he/she performs.

However, apart from gender identity, women also have other identities like family background, culture, race, age, social status, economic status, marital status, religion, profession or occupation, political beliefs, ethnicity, nationality etc. This implies that they are not a single homogeneous group and that people belong to different smaller groups. In the words of Jackie

(1993), the notion of any kind of fixed identity is problematized and thus “women,” as a category, is regarded as a constantly shifting signifier of multiple meanings. Jackie’s position further reinforces the fact that women are different in many ways. In addition, their roles are changing. Many women have ventured into fields and professions exclusively occupied by men. These professions are part of the identities of contemporary women. For example, a typical female journalist has multiple identities. First of all, she is a woman (gender identity) and then she is either young or old (age identity). She is a journalist (professional identity), she is a wife and mother (marital identity); she is probably of the middle class (class identity), she could be a Muslim or a Christian (religious identity) and from the North or South (regional identity), she has her culture (cultural identity), she is a Nigerian (national identity) and an African (African identity). She could be a feminist or an anti-feminist (ideological identity). All these are multiple identities.

There are various institutions like the family, education and the mass media, which play strategic roles in the construction and reinforcement of identities. Specifically, on a daily basis, individuals watch television, listen to the radio, read magazines and newspapers and access the internet on different issues. In the process, identities are formed. In the words of Grodin and Lindlof (1996), with a simple flip of the television channel or radio station or a turn of the newspaper or magazine page, we have at our disposal an enormous array of possible identity models. This means that the mass media present issues, events and people to the audience, which make them construct and shape identities.

Media consumption by women has been researched by media scholars. For example, McQuail (2010) and Trowler (2008) argue that women prefer media messages that talk about maternal health, child health, marital relationships, family, housekeeping and other feminine or female gender issues. However, the issue of multiple identities should be taken into consideration, as women now consume media messages that also address issues related to these identities. A woman is likely to consume media messages about her religion, her culture, her political belief, her occupation or profession, her ethnic group and her country. By implication, our identities determines our preferences for certain media and content, which affect our media consumption.

### **Understanding Identity**

Jackie (1993) defines identity as one’s sense of the self and place in the world. It also refers to general groups of people and social categories, such as

gender, class, nationality, race, ethnicity, sexuality, region, religion, parental status and so on. Burton (2010) broadly explains that identity is that sense of self-ness and belonging to a place and a history, belonging with certain others, which gives people a sense of who they are. He further states that identity comprises different factors, such as family background, personality traits, sexual orientation, etc. Identity may be about a sense of place-belonging to a certain city or country. It may be about history-having a certain shared background of events and experiences. It may also be about cultural practices. It may be about role and relationships-taking on the experiences and responsibilities of motherhood or fatherhood. It could also be about occupation.

Gauntlet (2005) also sees self-identity as an individual's own reflexive understanding of their biology. Gripsrud (2002) identifies two main types of identities: personal identity and social or collective identity. He argues that personal identity is what is unique about ourselves; what makes us distinguishable from other people we know or know of. Social or collective identity, on the other hand, is the identity we get by way of other people's perception of us and the collective contexts we are part of, for example, an individual's city, country, gender (male or female) age, parental background, education, hobbies, culture, job, etc.

These definitions suggest that identity as a concept can be looked at from two perspectives: from the angle of the individual (self) and from the angle of group, that is, belonging to and identifying with various groups. Identity affects everything we do in life from the way we think, the food we eat, what we wear, the way we talk, who to socialize with and the way we socialize. Our identity shapes our live experiences, how we are treated, what kind of education we acquire, the type of employment we get, where we live, what opportunities we are afforded and what kind of challenges we face. Our identities also comprise our ideas, ideologies and ways of seeing the world around us.

Heckert (2002) views identity from a negative perspective. He believes that it separates people. And that it encourages us to believe that "we" are different from "others". He further argues that identity encourages isolation and creates opposition. By dividing the world into opposing pairs, for example, men/women, ruling class/working class, whites/blacks, and identity creates opposite types of people, who perceive themselves as having opposing interests. Our identities are formed, shaped and maintained through socialization. According to Schaefer (2005), socialization is the process by which people learn the attitudes, values and behaviours appropriate for members of a particular culture. Otite and Ogionwo (2006) see socialization as an interactional process whereby a person's behaviour is modified to

conform to the expectations held by members of the group to which he belongs. This means socialization is a learning process whereby individuals imbibe the values and behaviours of the group they belong to, thereby making it unique from other groups. In the process of learning, members of a group or culture interact in order to create and shape the attitudes and behaviours of individuals in a particular group. Through socialization, individuals learn about the roles, norms, values and expectations of each identity.

The agents of socialization are family (parents), peer group, school, work place, religion and the media. The family is regarded as the primary socializing agent (Schaefer 2005), while the others are termed secondary agents of socialization. In addition, Gripsrud (2002) asserts that the secondary agents show and tell us something about who we are in all such contexts and about what is expected of us. Therefore, we learn about our identity from the primary and secondary agents of socialization. We respond to the world we encounter, creating, shaping and modifying our own identities and actions through our interactions with other people within various social institutions.

It is worthy to note that some identities are magnified and placed on higher levels than others and, in some cases, a clash occurs between identities. This position is explained by Chenoy (2010), who stated that feminists have shown how some identities like ethnic or religious ones are magnified and imposed while other identities like gender can be subsumed or positioned within other identities as and when necessary. This implies that in a situation of identity politics, identities do not occupy the same status. The experience of being a particular sex, of belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group or socio-economic class, occupation, etc. involves recurring or even systematic or institutional discrimination. This discrimination can manifest in unequal opportunities and rights, as well as being stereotyped, marginalized or persecuted. Hence, some identity groups have more social, political and economic power than others. Further, our identities determine what opportunities we are afforded and what kind of discrimination, obstacles and inequalities we are likely to experience. In the words of Cudd (2006), individuals are sometimes oppressed by virtue of their membership in a particular social group. This means that some groups are disadvantaged, sidelined and oppressed. Some groups dominate others and some are subordinate to others.

Curran (2010) poses a fundamental question, from the pack of available identities, which is to be judged as salient? Hence, the big question an individual should ask himself/herself is, what is the most important part of your identity? Is it your sex, your race, your religion, your age, your

ethnicity, your profession, your political belief, your economic status, your culture, your family background or your nation? Which among these identities stands out from the rest?

### **Women and Multiple Identities**

Though women identify themselves as women or female, they are different in many ways. Hence, differences among women suggest multiple identities. According to Jackie (1993), the consideration of the class, race, ethnic, national, sexual and other identities of women can prevent any kind of generalizations about them at all. This means it will be difficult to make generalizations because women are different in a lot of ways. Feminists have recognized and written extensively on the differences among women. Therefore, women should not be taken as a single homogeneous group. Feminism is centred on the inequality, discrimination and oppression of women. However, Moser (1993) argues that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history, culture and position in the international economic order. This further points to the fact that they are not a single homogeneous group.

Jackie (1993) and Chenoy (2010) are of the opinion that women are different in many ways. They are different in age, economic status, social status, interests, education and occupation, ethnic affiliations, class and sexual orientation and so on. Hence, it will be difficult to make generalizations about them. According to Butler (1990), the insistence (by some feminists) upon the unity of the category of women has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social and political intersections in which the concrete arrays of “women” are constructed. This, therefore, implies that, apart from belonging to gender as a group, women have other identities. This is corroborated by Barker (1999) in Burton (2010), who states that the self is made up of multiple and changeable identities. These multiple identities are professional and lifestyle (Gauntlett 2005), cultural, national and religious identities (McQuail 2010), gender, age, ethnicity and disability (Ross 2010).

Further, Chenoy (2010) believes that each of these identities comes with their roles, stereotypes, relationships and cultural symbols. For example, cultural identity or multiculturalism implies a form of cultural relativism that prevents judgement of or interference in the practices of groups of individuals. In the name of cultural relativism, Moller (1999) argues that women experience female genital mutilation, forced marriage or denial of education. These affect them negatively. However, Rachels (1993) cautions that cultural relativism should not be tenaciously held or we would have to agree that all sorts of questionable behaviours are not bad because those countries in which they occur do not define them as human rights abuses.

These roles, stereotypes, relationships and cultural symbols are reinforced and maintained by the agents of socialization, including the mass media. Apart from the fact that women have multiple identities, these identities are constantly in motion. Identities are modified, updated and sometimes changed completely. In the words of Hamley (2003), identities are constantly under construction. That there is no such thing as one fixed identity; it is negotiable and is sometimes possible to have multiple identities. Hence, identities change, depending on where we are, whom we are with, the situation we find ourselves and our state of mind.

The issue of multiple identities creates identity politics. This is a topical phenomenon among contemporary feminists. Chenoy (2010) argues that, even though feminists support equality and the empowerment of women, there are important differences between them on how this can be achieved. Though women face discrimination and oppression, the nature of these experiences differ, which means that they are not a homogeneous group. The differences gave rise to multiple feminist groups. The categories of feminism are: socialist, radical, liberal and black, among others. Socialist feminists argue that women are disadvantaged and oppressed because of class exploitation; that capitalism results to the exploitation of women; and the work women perform at home serves to sustain the capitalist system because it is unpaid for and not valued.

Radical feminists are concerned with the biology, reproduction and sexuality of women. Because of the heterosexual relationship between men and women, women consequently depend on men sexually, economically, socially and psychologically. The dependency leads to their exploitation by men. Radical feminism also demands for a total change of all the structures in the society. According to LittleJohn and Foss (2008), feminist inquiry in this category (radical) seeks to transform society rather than simply just incorporate women's voices within it. Liberal feminists, on the other hand, believe in equal opportunities for everyone, both men and women. The emphasis is on human progress or development for individuals. That progress for all could reduce the oppression and the challenges faced by women. Black feminism developed out of dissatisfaction with other types of feminism. Black feminists are concerned with the oppression of women in line with other issues like class, colonialism, imperialism and racism. Therefore, 'black women face triple oppression by virtue of their race, gender and social class' (Haralambos and Holborn 2008; Brewer 1993; and Witz 1993).

Aguila (1997) provides that in the 1970s and 1980s, African-Americans, Latinos and other women of colour fought tenaciously to unmask the white, middle-class woman masquerading as the "universal woman". It was this

white, middle-class, usually professional woman who, having the authorial voice, could speak of her own experience of subordination and appear as though she were representing womankind. Therefore, the bone of contention between black and white feminists is that white feminists are accused of making generalizations of women's experiences and formulating theories and strategies that fail to work out for other women of colour, including black women. In addition, black feminist work has frequently been marginalised within women's studies. This, therefore, shows that, among feminists, the problem of identity politics is a formidable factor because women share different experiences. According to Gauntlett (2005), the assertion that women make up one united oppressed group has not enabled a realistic understanding of women in society.

### **Media and Identity Formation**

The media have been recognized as very powerful agents of socialization and identity formation in our society (Burton 2010; McQuail 2010; Otite and Ogionwo 2006; and Gripsrud 2002). Gripsrud (2002) specifically refers to the mass media as the most important institution of secondary socialization in the society. He further stated that the media contribute significantly to the definition of the world around us and thereby also to the definition of ourselves. The McBride Report (1981) also provides that the media have such a socializing effect that they could tell their audiences how to think and behave.

Further, Brown et al (1994) assert that individuals actively and creatively sample available cultural symbols, myths and rituals as they produce their identities. And for many people, the mass media are central to this process because they are a convenient source of cultural options. Similarly, Hamley (2003) posits that, through television, magazine, advertising, music and the internet, individuals have a great deal of resources available to them. And that they are influenced to some degree by what they see, read, hear or discover for themselves.

The media play a strategic role in the formation and construction of identities in our society through what media scholars refer to as representation and portrayal. The mass media also play a role in identity construction through persuasion, especially as it relates to advertising. Advertising messages 'persuade' us to buy things through the images that are shown to us in magazines, on television, on billboards and even the internet. Hence, individuals construct or form identities based on advert images of whom we should be and who we should become in order to be 'happy'. Advertising messages and images of beauty treatments, clothes, shoes, cars, mobile phones, houses and many products are presented in the media, which



individuals sometimes identify with. Identifying with these products leads to the formation of identity. For example, Holmes (2009) posits that the mass media daily present air brushed and digitally altered images of impossibly thin and perfect women. Meaning women are expected to conform to the cultural standards of beauty by altering their bodies. The alterations extend from dieting to going to the gym to visiting beauty salons to undergoing cosmetic surgery (Gimlin 2001 and Black 2004).

The mass media, through the portrayal and representation of words, images, pictures and issues, generally help in defining and forming our identities. Further, the mass media create, shape and convey specific ideas and values related to different identities, including gender identity. In the words of Burton (2010), representations of social groups help to create identities for their subjects. That representation constructs a sense of identity for us individually, as well as about others. The audience, on the other hand, are expected to imbibe, learn and accept the representation of these identities by the media. Hence, McQuail (2010) asserts that the audience in consuming media messages engage in the active construction of meanings and identities. Individuals are expected to play each role identity appropriately and any deviation from these roles is regarded as not conforming to societal norms, values and expectations. As a result of multiple identities, the mass media create different and specific messages to cater for different and specific interests of individuals. Hence, all the media, from the internet to local radio, produce and convey specific messages for specific identity groups.

### **Identity and Media Consumption among Women**

Who we are determines our media consumption. The existence of multiple identities implies that media consumption varies among women. They differ in media consumption based on factors like belief, age, interests, opinions, views, marital status, socio-economic status, culture, occupation, affiliation and literacy level. Other-factors include tastes, stored memory structures, habits of attention, imagery and intelligence (Watson 2003 and Lamphere 2007). These are multiple identities that affect media usage among women. Similarly, Silverston (Burton 2010) found that cultural and ethnic identity provides a significant determinant of different relationships to media content, differences which are an expression of those groups culturally and politically in the wider society.

Gans quoted in Watson (2003) posits that media researchers should look into the processes by which people choose what to consume in the various media; how they consume it, with what levels of comprehension, attention and intensity of effect; what if anything, they talk about while using the media, whether and how their uses of various media connect to other aspects

of their lives and which and what kind of traces, if any, these media leave in their psyches and lives and for how long.

Hence, in looking at media consumption among women, apart from gender as an identity, other identities also require a thorough examination in order to understand their relationship with women and media consumption. This is also important in order to understand that women should not be categorized as a single homogeneous group. According to Gallagher (2001), arguments that do not take account of the complexities of media relationships and audience interpretation risk imposing an outmoded definition of what 'all women' want and think. Gender identities and evaluations are in fact filtered through other fundamental constituents, such as class, ethnicity, socio-economic position, geography and many more. For example, Nielsen (2011) found that among women media consumption varies between different ages. Internet is accessed mostly by young girls and ladies; television tends to be consumed by housewives, while radio and print are consumed by working women. Similarly, in media consumption, Burton (2010) argues that there are differences between what younger and older females prefer. These analyses further show that women cannot be treated as a homogeneous group because of the differences that are inherent among them.

Scholars like McQuail (2010), Trowler (2008) and Moores (2000) have argued that media consumption is gendered. In addition, Moores (2000) asserts that women prefer media content that are of human interest and soft. However, Moores' position should not be taken as uniform or the same for all women because of the factors mentioned earlier. Hence, Burton (2010) cautions that the whole notion of a 'female audience' implies a coherence of interest, of background and of gender definition, which hardly stands up to examination and is in its own way demeaning.

A study on women and media use has to engage with the situational contexts in which the media are used and interpreted. For many women, much of media consumption takes places at home or in the family context. According to Burton (2010), media is consumed in the private sphere of the home for the most part. By implication, therefore, the social setting which media consumption takes place needs to be studied to properly understand media consumption among women as audience. The social context is itself made up of multiple identities. In the private sphere, women are wives, mothers, caregivers, etc. and they are expected to perform these roles. These multiple identities affect their media consumption because they are demanding roles, especially for a typical African woman. Therefore Moores (2000) argues that women only give full concentration when the rest of the

family members are absent or when they are done with their household chores.

In explaining the context of media consumption, McQuail (2010) explained that one is alone or in company of friends, family, others, where media are used, for example, at home. It can also influence the character of the experience, as well as the process of choice making.

### **Conclusion**

Women identify and belong to the female gender in many societies, especially African and Nigerian societies. However, individuals generally, including women, also have multiple identities. These identities create role conflicts in some situations. However various institutions (family, school, workplace, the media, etc.) in our society reinforce and maintain these identities and the roles expected of individuals. The mass media are identified as very important institutions in forming, shaping and reinforcing these roles. In consuming media messages, gender identity and other identities determine the type of messages women attend to. The identities include age, culture, socio-economic status, religion, political belief and others.

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## **Language and Identity in Africa: The Use of Place Names as Part of a Person's Name in Hausa**

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### **Introduction**

The study of personal names falls under the umbrella of onomastics, which is the science that generally studies names. Onomastics is divided into anthroponymy, which focuses on the names of human beings, and toponomastics, which is the study of place names (Crystal 1998). A name is not simply a conventional sequence of sounds but often refers to something. The name of a person may be used to trace his family, genealogy, culture, language, occupation, town, etc. Tiav (2012) sees the name as a linguistic item that is used to refer to all created things that exist physically or abstractly. Therefore, a name could be regarded as a word by which a person, animal, place or concept is known or spoken of.

Personal names among Africans serve as a communication tool and storehouse for the culture and history of the society. African societies use personal names as a means of conveying the cultural values and traditions of their daily experiences. Before people could read and write, personal names were used as a means of documenting important events and they were part of the oral tradition, making them an integral part of every cultural system (Mandande 2009:1).

The study of personal names in Africa has attracted a number of scholars over the years. For example, Yanga (1978) in his research on onomastics in Zaire discovered that personal names do not merely distinguish people from each other, they also operate as the “linguistic indicators” of socialization in that they are usually representative of various social relationships within a family. He found out that African personal names play an indexical role reflecting the socio-cultural changes or events in the community. He discovered that the Zairean onomastic system reflects the history, culture and socio-political events, which have marked the national scene. Agyekum (2006) studied Akan personal names and typology within the perspective of linguistics anthropology. The study shows that naming is a crucial aspect of Akan society and confirms that personal names reflect important aspects of the culture of societies. Rather than being arbitrary labels, names are socio-cultural tags that have socio-cultural functions and meanings. For example,

the name Tárishúkw Tári (lit. sixth born male child born in the market-place) is given to a child born at the market. Yuka (2007) studied names in Lamnso (Grassfield language spoken by the Nso people of Cameroon) and identifies the linguistic structure in Nso' personal names and relates them to their primary structures and meanings within Lamnso syntax.

Mandande (2009) made an extensive study on the morphology of Tshivenda personal names. He stated that proper names are meaningful as they are derived from Tshivenda verbs, nouns, adjective, etc. Guma (2001) noticed that among the Basotho of southern Africa, the naming process is a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. He concentrated on the cultural aspects of the use of personal names, such as teknonymys and the names acquired from initiation schools. He has further argued that Basotho personal names are not just words but they also include socio-cultural interpretation of historical events embodying individual life experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority, as well as personality and individual attributes, i.e the name Kofi refers to a wanderer/ traveller.

Wappa & Abanga (2013) investigated the typology of Kamuə names and discovered the names providing an important insight into the kind of social and cultural patterns of the Kamuə1 community, e.g. Tìzhé means first born male and Kùvè, female. The results of the above researches show that African names have value and meaning. This is against Bach & Moran's (2008) assertion that personal names are arbitrary and there is no relationship between the name and its significance.

In the present work, the main attention is paid to Hausa, a Chadic language spoken in West Africa.<sup>2</sup> In Hausa society like in other African societies, a name is given to a child at birth by its parents or guardians. There are a number of works referring to the field of Hausa antroponymy (Ibrahim 1982, Daba 1987, Ahmad 2001, Chamo 2012 and Almajir 2013, among others).

The studies providing the typology of Hausa names (e.g. Chamo 2012) also show that names are not arbitrary, as each Hausa name has a meaning attached to it. The sources of the names might differ. Almajir (2013) examines Hausa anthroponyms taken from the Qur'an.

In the available literature on Hausa onomastics, less attention has been paid to place names that are a source of person names. The purpose of this paper is to fill in this apparent gap in Hausa linguistics by finding out why Hausa people use place names as part of their names. The concept of identity, which helps to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves, is used for the interpretation of the data.

### **Theoretical Background**

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed by psychologists (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1986) in the social cognition tradition of social psychology. Within this theory, social identity is defined by an individual's identification within a group: a process constituted firstly by a reflexive knowledge of a group membership and, secondly, by an emotional attachment or specific disposition to this belonging. The Social Identity Theory explores the phenomenon of the "ingroup" and "outgroup" and is based on the view that identities are constituted through a process of difference defined in a relative or flexible way dependent upon the activities in which one is engaged (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 25). The assumption is that besides our uniquely personal sense of self, we also have social identities based upon the various groups to which we belong. Thus, we can maintain and enhance self-esteem through valued social affiliations, as well as by purely personal activities and achievements.

According to the theory, within-group favouritism is predictable since it reflects and supports the particular "us and them" boundaries that can heighten feelings of individual worth. A corollary is that in-group solidarity should be expected to strengthen at a time when one's sense of worth is threatened or tenuous (Edwards 2009: 27). Herrigel (1993: 371) states: "By social identity, I mean the desire for group distinction, dignity and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the policy and the economy." The concept of identity helps to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture (Deng 1995: 1). The theory is advanced in the work of Hogg and Abrams (1988, 1991); Breakwell (1992); Robinson (1996); Benwell and Stokoe (2006) and Edwards (2009), among others.

### **The Structure of Hausa Personal Names**

The naming practices among Hausa people include various factors that determine the form of person's name. Names of Muslim origin, given at birth, are the first names which function in direct communication as forms of address at various levels of social hierarchy. Patterns of personal naming include other names acquired at a later stage. Very often the Muslim name is followed by the father's name, sometimes introduced by 'dan' (son of) occasionally followed by the name of the father's father, e.g. Ibrahim (dan) Bello Abdullahi (lit. Ibrahim son of Bello Abdullahi). Instead of (or along with) these additional names, place names may be used, e.g. Ahmadu Bello Zaria where the first element is a Muslim name, the second is the name of the father and the third is the name of a city a person comes from. The first



name is very important in a person's identification, but for official purposes (for example, when one is enrolled to a public school) it is this additional name that functions as the surname in the system of person's registration. Taking into consideration that among the Hausa there is no widespread adoption of a family name that is hereditary, the surname becomes the subject of personal choice. Naming conventions reflect some social aspects and their significance for person's identity.

This paper investigates Hausa personal names that have a place name (town, quarter, village, and region) as its constituent. The linguistic material was gathered as both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected through the distribution of a questionnaire to seventy (70) respondents drawn randomly from different Hausa speaking areas. The corpus was enriched in 2012 as a result of a fieldwork conducted in Kano and Jigawa. The secondary data were taken from Bayero University attendance list of the 45th Congregation of 2012. As a native speaker of Hausa, I was able to identify these names when people were addressed, called in public gathering or mentioned in broadcast media.

#### **Motivations for the Use of Place Names as Part of a Person's Name**

I present here a sample of Hausa names from the corpus of collected data. The person's name is written plain, while the place name is italicized. Through the analysis of situational use and common practices, I try to establish the reasons for the acquisition of place names by the Hausa.

#### ***Avoidance of the Use of Father's Name***

People under this category acquired place names to avoid mentioning their father's names in public. Introducing Western education in northern Nigeria played a key role in the process of changing a father's name into a place name. In public schools where the system of education is based on Western education, students are addressed with at least two names: their first name and that of their father. This practice is contrary to that of the Hausa society where people are called by their first names only. When students are asked to say their full names (i.e. their first name and their father's name) they feel ashamed. The reason lies in Hausa culture where elderly people are not called by name by the young regardless of the nature of their relationship. Instead the proper forms of address, such as Baba or Malam, are used.

Besides, people avoid pronouncing the names of their parents and grandparents and if it happens that their friend bears the same name as that of their father or mother they would rather call his or her with a nickname. The shame of pronouncing one's father's name makes the students replace the name of their father with a place name referring to a quarter, hamlet, village,

town or city they come from. Majority of names under this category belong to pioneer Hausa students of public schools in northern Nigeria. Below are some examples of the names:

**Table 1:** *Some Hausa Names Showing Place Names*

S/N	Name	Gender	Types of Place
1.	Aminu <i>Kano</i>	Male	Province
2.	Isiyaku <i>Kiru</i>	Male	Town
3.	Abubakar <i>Tafawa Balewa</i>	Male	Town
4.	Yahaya <i>Gusau</i>	Male	Province
5.	Sa'adu <i>Zungur</i>	Male	Village
6.	Inuwa <i>Dutse</i>	Male	Province
7.	Magaji <i>Dambatta</i>	Male	Town
8.	Musan <i>Musawa</i>	Male	Town
9.	Isa <i>Kaita</i>	Male	Town
10.	Tanko <i>Yakasai</i>	Male	Quarter
11.	Shehu <i>Minjibir</i>	Male	Town
12.	Muhammadu <i>Gwarzo</i>	Male	Town
13.	Sani <i>Zangon Daura</i>	Male	Village
14.	Bello <i>Kano</i>	Male	Province
15.	Garba <i>Dankano</i>	Male	Province
16.	Shehu <i>Galadanci</i>	Male	Quarter
17.	Wada <i>Limawa</i>	Male	Quarter
18.	'Dahiru <i>Kiyawa</i>	Male	Town
19.	Haruna <i>Ungogo</i>	Male	Town
20.	Baba <i>Chai-Chai</i>	Male	Village
21.	Maikudi <i>Karaye</i>	Male	Town
22.	Sule <i>Katagun</i>	Male	Town
23.	Shehu <i>Azare</i>	Male	Town
24.	Ali <i>Rano</i>	Male	Town
25.	Mansur <i>Yola</i>	Male	Quarter
26.	Sule <i>Gaya</i>	Male	Town
27.	Safiya <i>Sallari</i>	Female	Quarter
28.	Jamila <i>Tangaza</i>	Female	Town
29.	Abba <i>Kwaru</i>	Male	Quarter
30.	Ado <i>Gwaram</i>	Male	Town

The social significance of this practice is confirmed by the fact that many well-known people from the post-independence period have a place name in

their surname, as, for example, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a famous writer and the first Nigerian Prime Minister; Aminu Kano, a former Federal Minister and National Chairman of Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and Sa'adu Zungur, a former Minister, poet and activist in Nigeria.

***Place Name as Part of a Father's Name***

Names belonging to this category were acquired from parents. Some of the first Hausa students who received Western education started working for government or set up their own businesses. Many became successful, popular and influential and their children who wanted to be identified with their well-known fathers used their full names, i.e. their first name is followed by a full name of their father's consisting of a Muslim name and a place name. It is worth mentioning that these names were mostly used by males. The females rarely took the full name of their fathers, but such instances are represented in the corpus in Table 2:

**Table 2:** *Examples of Place Name as Part of a Father's Name*

S/N	Name	Gender
1.	Ibrahim <i>Bello Kano</i> (i.e. Ibrahim son of Bello Kano)	Male
2.	Bashir <i>Shehu Galadanci</i>	Male
3.	Ma'aruf <i>Shehu Minjibir</i>	Male
4.	Tijjani <i>Inuwa Dutse</i>	Male
5.	Sadik A. <i>Tafawa Balewa</i>	Male
6.	Attahiru <i>Muhammad Jega</i>	Male
7.	Hilal <i>Kabiru Galadanci</i>	Male
8.	Ahmad <i>Tanko Yakasai</i>	Male
9.	Asim <i>Yusuf Chamo</i>	Male
10.	Auwalu <i>Baba Chai-Chai</i>	Male
11.	Aliyu <i>Yahaya Gusau</i>	Male
12.	Fatima <i>Haruna Ungogo</i> (i.e. Daughter of <i>Haruna Ungogo</i> )	Female
13.	Halima <i>Isiyaku Kiru</i>	Female
14.	Fatima <i>Maikudi Karaye</i>	Female
15.	Salamatu <i>Sabo Bakinzuwo</i>	Female
16.	Maryam <i>Mansur Yola</i>	Female
17.	Binta <i>Sule Gaya</i>	Female
18.	Jamila <i>Suleman Gezawa</i>	Female

However, the above category used either second name or place name as their surname depending the user interest.

### ***The Place Name as an Identity Marker***

This category is most widely represented in the collected data. The people belonging to this group use the place names as an identity marker, which allows associating the bearer with the place of his origin, hence attributing some other social or historical aspects to his identity. This is practised by all Hausa social groups: politicians, academics, businessmen, labourers, students, etc. The bearers of the place name are usually proud of their place of origin and for this reason decide to add it to their name. Nowadays, it is the most representative pattern of the Hausa personal name (with 58 users) in which the place name is preceded by two first names (the first name being the first name of the person, the second – the first name of their father) , as shown in the following data:

**Table 3: Place Name as an Identity Marker**

S/N	Name	Gender	Type of Place
1.	Bello Baƙo <i>Dambatta</i>	Male	Town
2.	Abdu Yahya <i>Bichi</i>	Male	Town
3.	Kamilu Sani <i>Fagge</i>	Male	Quarter
4.	Aliyu Muhammad <i>Bunza</i>	Male	Town
5.	Sadik Isa <i>Radda</i>	Male	Village
6.	Murtala Sabo <i>Sagagi</i>	Male	Quarter
7.	Sa'idu Ahmad <i>Babura</i>	Male	Town
8.	Suleman Ibrahim <i>Katsina</i>	Male	Province
9.	Aliyu Mustapha <i>Sokoto</i>	Male	Province
10.	Abdullahi I. <i>Darki</i>	Male	Village

Moreover, this category used place names as identity markers acquired by themselves and not from their parents, as in the second category.

### ***The Use of Place Names to Differentiate People with the Same Name in Schools***

The last group of the users of place names is connected with some practical reasons. The bearers acquired the names at schools. In order to differentiate two students having the same names, the administration of the school adds the place name to the first name and that of the father's. It happens regularly in boarding schools where students usually come from different places. By using a place name, the student can easily be identified for internal or external communication purposes. Below are some examples of such names:

**Table 4:** Place Name Used to Differentiate People with the Same Name in Schools

S/N	Name	Gender	Type of Place
1.	Isa Yusuf <i>Aujara</i>	Male	Town
2.	Isa Yusuf <i>Chamo</i>	Male	Town
3.	Musa Garba <i>Dandago</i>	Male	Quarter
4.	Musa Garba <i>Beli</i>	Male	Village
5.	Salisu Ahmed <i>Alkanawy</i>	Male	Province
6.	Salisu Ahmed <i>Kontagora</i>	Male	Town
7.	Usman Muhammed <i>Balangu</i>	Male	Village
8.	Usman Muhammed <i>Gwale</i>	Male	Quarter

#### **Analysis and Interpretation of the Results**

As stated earlier, 70 questionnaires were distributed to various respondents. The results are summarized in a series of Tables that follow.

*Table 5: Distribution of respondents by Gender*

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	51	73
Female	19	27
Total	70	100

Table 5 is about the sex of the respondents with seventy having the place name as part of their names. They were asked to respond to questions provided. 51 (73%) were male and 19 (27%) female. This indicates that the number of Hausa men using place names as part of their names is higher than that of women.

**Table 6:** *Distribution of Respondents by Educational Qualifications*

<b>Qualification</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Nil	7	-	7	10
O' level	6	2	8	11
National Certificate of Education/Ordinary National Diploma	11	4	15	21
Degree & above	31	9	40	58
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6 concerns the educational qualification of the respondents. 31 (58%) have higher degrees. This relates to the fact that the secondary data was collected at the university.

**Table 7:** *Distribution of respondents for the purpose of using place names in Hausa*

<b>Reasons for the Use of Place Names in Hausa</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Avoidance of the use of father's name	9	1	10
Identity marker	40	3	43
Acquired from father's name	11	2	13
differentiating names at school	4	-	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>70</b>

Table 7 shows the reasons of using place names as part of a person's name. Most of the respondents (43) use place names as an identity marker and 13 of them acquired the names from their fathers. 10 use place names to avoid mentioning their fathers' names at school and 4 acquired the names at school to be distinguished from other students with the same names. The comparison is further reproduced in the form of multiple bar charts in Fig. 1.

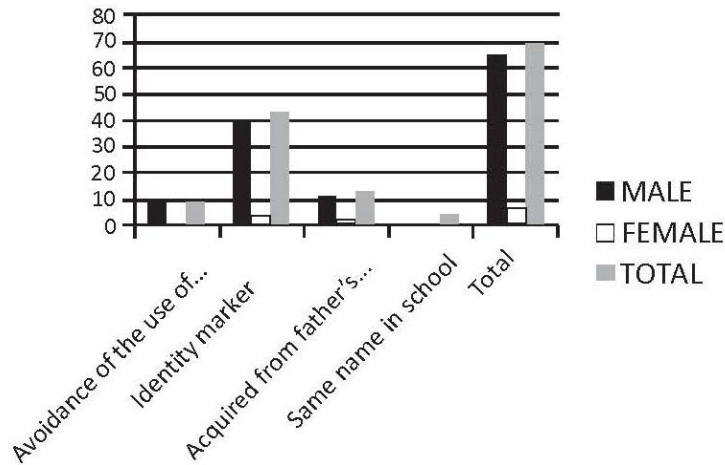


Figure 1: Multiple Bar chart showing reasons for the use of place names in Hausa

Table 8: The Significance of the Use of Place Names

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	59	84
No	11	16
Total	70	100

Table 8 shows the response of respondents on the significance of the use of place names. Most of them (84 %) think that the use of place names has some advantages, which include receiving recognition and getting a favour from inhabitants of the very places. The rest (11, 16 %) believe that the use of place names has no significance to them because it does not bring them any privileges.

Table 8. *The Disadvantages of the Use of Place Names*

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Yes	13	19
No	57	81
Total	70	100

Some respondents (19%) disclosed that the use of place names has some disadvantages, especially if someone is living outside his state of origin. The children of such a person are deprived of some privileges restricted to the inhabitants of a given state even though the children were born there. People living in a different state than their state of origin discourage their children from the use of place names as part of their names. However, for most of the people (81%), the use of place names has no disadvantages.

### **Conclusion**

This paper investigated the rationale behind the use of place names as part of a person's name in Hausa. It discovered that four reasons account for the use of place names by the Hausa. These include the avoidance of the use of the father's name, the use of an identity marker, the use of the full name acquired from father and distinction of the same names in school. The paper also confirmed that place names are subject of individual choice as opposed to proper names (i.e. first names), which are given by parents or relatives. In addition, the research revealed that Hausa females use place names less frequently as part of their names.

### **Acknowledgement**

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### **Note**

Hausa is a name of both the language and the people (Adamu 1974:1). It is a major world language spoken as a mother tongue by more than 30 million people in northern Nigeria and southern parts of Niger, in addition to the diaspora communities of traders, Muslim scholars and immigrants in urban areas of West Africa (southern Nigeria, Ghana and Togo and the Blue Nile Province of the Sudan). It is widely spoken as a second language and expanded rapidly as a lingua franca (Jaggar, 2001:1).



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## **Towards the Restoration of African Identity in a Globalizing World**

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### **Introduction**

Africa, perhaps, is one of the continents that have a myriad of identity problems to grapple with. This fact stems from the multifarious cultural and heterogeneous nature of the continent. This primordial experience even prevailed before any of their cultural contacts and has continued until today. Many scholars within and outside the shores of Africa have written on the African identity issue and concluded that it will be an effort in futility for one to talk of it. Principal among them were Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992), a British-trained philosopher, and Terence Osborn Ranger (1999), another United Kingdom trained historian. The sceptics of African identity also considered the devastating effects of the Berlin conference of 1884-85 that gave rise to what is popularly termed the *Scramble for Africa*. By this exercise, all the interested European sovereign states partitioned African territories for themselves for easy exploitation, suppression, oppression, subjugation and denial of the black continent's contribution to the development of the human race. Other critics insist that the African identity question is still a far-reaching dream in this present dispensation. They consider hindering factors to include the bitter experiences of slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the recent globalization. Terence Ranger (1999) contends that whatever is referred to as an African identity or civilization, was invented by Europe. He concluded that everything about the Black race has its origin in Europe that has even invented the name Africa.

The early 1442 slave trade witnessed the arrival of African slaves in Portugal. This inhuman treatment was championed by France, Britain, Spain and the United States of America, among others. On a sad note, the slave trade lasted for more than two hundred years from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Colonialism, from the Afrocentric perspective, was a bad omen to Africa. Its primary purpose was to destroy the African heritage and possibly put the continent in perpetual agony, sorrow and darkness in all

the facets of human life. Neo-colonialism and globalization are there to hatch the eggs of hatred on Africa, which was laid by colonialism. This view is evidenced on the operational framework of globalization at present. It is obvious that Europe, America and other sovereign “super powers” have hijacked the system. African countries as well as other developing nations are yet to be integrated in the system.

Africa started witnessing external attacks on its identity through the perpetuation of *European hegemony*, as was characterized by Eurocentrism. This concept implies European centredness, which, in turn, suggests attributing and tracing the origin of civilization and all other aspects of human endeavour to Europe and Greece. The idea emphasizes that Europe is the cradle of civilization but denies the value of other cultures, philosophy and identity, especially that of Africa. Eurocentrism refuses to accept the Egyptian contributions to intellectual development, as well as other spheres. It promotes racial and religious bigotry and as well places European values above others. Volney (Nwala’s Oxford lecture April 27th 1993), however, believes that “Prejudice is the only safeguard of that which cannot be safeguarded in the open: What cannot be answered must be hushed up”.

However, the above expressed ideas never bothered the Afrocentricists who first championed the restoration of African identity. People like Casely Hayford, George Padmore, G.M.G. James, Marcus Garvey, Edward Bylden, Nnamdi Azikiwe and others believed that regaining the African identity, which had been attacked by America and European writers, was a mission to be accomplished. They remained resolute and ready to fight with the last drop of their blood. Many of them were jailed, (Nelson Mandela of South Africa) for example, because of the cause that they believed in, but the struggle remained continuous. These Afrocentricists then resorted to finding lasting solutions to their identity problem. They concluded, at last, that negative Western orientation should be rejected while they cherish their cultural heritage and imbibe the spirit of Africanity.

### **The Clarification of Concepts**

For clarity, basic concepts as used in this paper are going to be explained, namely: restoration, identity and globalization.

#### **Restoration**

This can be defined as an act of bringing back what has been taken away to the rightful owner. This means that the owner of the item in question has lost it. The loss, as the case may be, happened as a result of force or tricks that were employed by the thief, so to say. Restoration also suggests compensating for the damage done to somebody or a group of individuals (a

state, nation or continent). The fact remains that the person whose item has been taken away without his approval must do everything possible to get back what belongs to him. It is obvious that something is missing in the life of the owner, who cannot be himself until his item is restored. In the case of Africa, what has been stolen from them by Europe and America is its legacy – identity, economy, intellectual property and so on. The damage done to Africa even goes beyond the frontiers of culture, politics, religion and tradition.

### **Identity**

The term “identity” is etymologically derived from the Latin word “idem”, meaning “same”. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*, the term “identity” refers to the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties or in particular qualities under consideration, absolute or essential sameness, oneness... the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else (Simpson and Weiner, 1991:620). This dictionary goes on to underscore the law or logical principle of identity as the principle expressed in the identical proposition “A is A” or a thing is the same as itself” (Sampson and Weiner, 1991:621).

In social science parlance, identity refers to those qualities and particular characteristics that a person or groups of people are made up of. It means that there are issues which that group shares in common. In the case of an individual, he or she has distinct faculties that are constant. Group identity, in this case, suggests cultural identity, national and/or even socio-religious identity, etc. This concept, identity, can also mean the uniqueness of a thing and its essential distinctive characteristics. This opinion implies that there are some elements which must come into play before any given identity can exist.

### **Globalization**

Globalization is an age-long issue whose emergence is more by design than accident. Its basic target is to bring together the entire world into a small unit in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic matters. The nature of this integration is that which gives every nation the opportunity to participate in any measure in the global economy - to say the least. It is designed to accommodate both dependent, independent and inter-dependent countries across the world in all the aspects of human life. Claude Ake (1995:23) insists that globalization:

...is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in the world economy; it is growing

interdependence across the globe; it is about the nation-state coming under pressure from the surge of transnational phenomena; it is about the emergence of a global mass culture driven by mass advertising and technical advantages in mass communication.

Ike Obiora (2004:7) also submits that globalization refers to the phenomenon of the increasing integration of configurations, of nation-states through economic exchanges, political configurations, technological advancement and cultural influences. A close look at globalization from the historical standpoint will attest to the fact that Africa, as a continent, has not been comfortable with the so called economic and other integrations. This is because Africa is yet to come out from the effects of colonialism with its attendant slavery. Tandon (2000:57) captures it thus:

...within this broad sweep of history, there are shorter movements. The colonial conquest of most of what we call Third World by the West was one such short movement of history. Within this particular movement, there have been several stages from slavery which cost Africa 20 million lives, there was a movement of trading in commodities followed by the export of capital and the direct appropriation of the labour and natural resources of the countries in the south.

The contention that globalization promotes capitalism is not far-fetched and, of course, it cannot be otherwise since the entire world economy is being controlled by capitalism. It is also seen as a process promoted by the openness of most countries to international trade, investment and finance (Onimode, 2001:62). Notably, the openness, or simply put, reform, manifests in using the instruments of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The domestication of the latter by most the African countries, especially Nigeria, Ghana and Zambia, had serious effects on their respective economies. Among other things, it shifted attention away from social service delivery, which was detrimental to Africa's development.

### **Africa and the Identity Question**

The emergence of colonialism not only gave Europeans the leeway to control the economic and political spheres of Africa but to enslave the latter both culturally and mentally. Europe and America condemned African cultures, histories and realities but gave primacy to European values and traditions. Racism and discrimination became the order of the day with a view to suppressing African values and ideologies. In the minds of the Europeans, it is an aberration to see an African, who is regarded as a mere ape and sub-human, mingling with the former. Lucien Levy- Bruhl reportedly expressed this view that Africa was yet to be a part of logical reasoning in his *Primitive Mentality*. He concludes:

These people (Africa) were so ignorant that they did not even understand the law of nature. They had not yet known the difference between cause and effect or identities and contradictions (Boris de Rachewiltz, 1996:49).

Fieldhouse (1965), in his bid to extol European intellectual ability while relegating that of Africans argued that:

The fact that Europe supplies better government to her subjects and fears that colonies could not maintain the complex political and economic systems created by the West; all tended to breed distrust for nationalist demand and encouraged delaying action (Decolonization) (Fieldhouse, 1965:3-4).

This inference that Africa is not yet mature in anything, such as politics, economies, the intellect and history, is a serious matter. It is only a careful and sincere observer who will attest to different developmental strides which Africa has recorded in the distant past in every aspect of human undertaking. This, therefore, counters the view expressed by Fieldhouse and Bruhl, which was largely done out of mere jealousy. They have fallen victim of the age being ignorant of the fact that development involves improvement irrespective of race, generation and continent.

In line with the same Eurocentric view that Africa lacks any historical process, Hugh Trevor-Roper of Oxford University opined wrongly:

Perhaps in the future there will be an African history to teach. But at present there is none ... there is only the history of



Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness ....and darkness is not a subject of history (Travor-Roper, 1993:6).

Incidentally, this opinion was mainly the product of the nineteenth century European historians. Arnold Toynbee, in one of his most celebrated books, *Study of History*, argued that Egypt belongs to Europe. This was another false claim which W.E.B. Dubois challenged extensively, pointing out Egyptians and ancient Greek acceptance that Egypt is part of Africa.

### **African Identity**

One of the critical issues that have raged among Afrocentric crusaders and scholars is the basic elements that can be described as African. That is to say, what are those things that are peculiar to Africans which perhaps are not shared by others? Some people are of the view that what is African or African identity involves the practice of African communal way of life that is deeply rooted in its metaphysics. Okolo (1991:5) believes that what is easily said about the self in African metaphysics is that its horizon is essentially towards others. This is purely an individual relating with his neighbours as a being with others.

The understanding or identification of the self in an African setting is quite different from what obtains in Europe or the occidental world, since every African is so attached to his neighbour and does not live in isolation. According to Placide Temples (1959:103), just as Bantu (black African) ontology is opposed to the European concept of individuated things existing in themselves, isolated from others, so as an individual, as a force existing by itself and apart from its ontological relationship with other living beings and from its connection with animals or inanimate forces around it. This submission was the foundation of ancient Africa before the colonial invasion.

Furthermore, what forms the crux of African identity is that which rejects Eurocentric claim or European negative orientation, tradition, culture and aspiration. Simply put, African identity is the totality of the Africaness of Africa. It is a situation where African languages and art are retained without adulteration and dislocation; even if there will be any change in its existing culture and tradition, it must be within the confines of the accepted African tradition and metaphysics. This, as a matter of fact, has to be embedded in African myths, proverbs, wise sayings, folklores and idioms.

### **The Problems of African Identity**

The problem of African identity has posed a very big question, as well as challenges to the intellectual consciousness of the Africans. There are indeed many hindrances on the road to affirming the authenticity and identity of the

African people. The issue boils down to the fact that anybody canvassing for African identity should first of all identify or define those people that can be called Africans. Some of the constantly asked questions include whether the African people in contention primarily meant those people living in Africa. What of those blacks in other parts of the world? Are they African people or not?

Another problem in a bid to define African identity borders much on defining those things that fall under the rubrics of African culture (language, history, religion, philosophy, etc.). Is Western technological and scientific orientation which the African people have assimilated part of African identity? Can the jinx of colonial vestiges be broken? -viz-a-viz the adoption of the European style of religion, education, economy and politics to enable Africa to talk of her authentic and un-dislodged identity? The Afrocentricists who first championed the cause of African identity knew that the suppression of the African rightful position in the scheme of history was one of the problems confronting the restoration of African identity. They (Africans) trace the roots of African-Americans' feelings of frustration and inferiority to the education (miseducation) that the system has imposed on them - an education that has stuffed them with an overdose of Western ideology and denied them knowledge of their own ancestral history and culture (Onyewuenyi, 1993:39).

The latest discourse on the identity question is that raging among the Western scholars concerning the Invention theory, which was championed by Terence Ranger. The view canvassed by the above theory is that African cultural identity as well as its philosophy has in one way or the other been influenced by Western cultural values and tradition. The theory is rather suggesting that since Africans were colonized by the Europeans, they cannot go beyond what the latter has bequeathed to them. The identity in question has some elements of European tradition.

However, the argument put forward by the invention theory is not watertight since no culture is static. Rather, everyone is open to influence. It then follows that if African culture and identity were invented as a result of colonialism, other cultures and identities must have been invented, including European, Roman and Greek cultures. It is only Babylonian and Egyptian cultures that can be said to be autonomous in this respect.

As mentioned earlier, one of the attacks launched on African identity was by Anthony Appiah, who had a multi-identity by virtue of his parental background. Appiah was born into the family of Enid Margaret Appiah and Joe Emmanuel Appiah, a Ghananian. Anthony Appiah condemned the efforts of the advocates of African identity and labelled the exercise as racism in one of his Western celebrated books titled: *In My Father's House*. The scholars

he criticized included Cheikh Anta Diop and W. E. Du Bois, as well as others and most especially Martin Bernal's book – *Black Athena*.

### **The Afrocentric Proof for the Existence of African Identity**

Afrocentric crusaders for (example, Nnamdi Benjamin Azikiwe and Mosiah Marcus Garvey etc.) through their various means have demonstrated that Africa has a rich cultural identity despite the Eurocentric view, which argues otherwise. Most of the demonstrations have shifted from the existence of African identity to its restoration. They contend that colonialism did nothing for Africa rather, it eroded its cultural identity. The Afrocentricists also claim that it is those people who are ignorant or rather jealous of Egyptian contributions to world intellectual development that will deny Africa a sound philosophy, identity and culture. References were usually made to the Egyptian *Mystery School System*, which is regarded as the source of Greek/Western philosophical thought. The school had existed before the emergence of Ionian/Milesian school and that the teachers there were Priests who specialized in Mathematics, Sciences, Philosophy, Religion and so on. Eneh submits:

Thus, Africa led the world in religious philosophy as we have discussed with the Essence of Egypt. Pharaoh Akhnaton (1375 – 1358 BC) took advantage of the Essence organization. He was the first man in the world who introduced the notion of one God -monotheism through the encouragement of his wife, Queen Tiye (14-15-1340 BC). Akhnaton revolutionized religion by suppressing the world of other Egyptian gods, such as Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates known as Horus, Anubis, Ammon, Butastis, Bes (Eneh, 1999:2).

In another sphere, there is the presence of African identity in every aspect of European culture. Seventeenth to nineteenth centuries witnessed the exportation of African sculpted images to Europe. Those objects that were smuggled in thousands to Europe were scattered in their museums and private houses. Notably, the images that were meant for rituals in Africa had penetrated European markets, cultures and education arts. There were also established museums for African traditional sculptures and art as part of European culture. This exercise later extended to the establishment of African Studies Departments in many European universities. Other Afrocentric response to Appiah's argument on the issue of invention theory is that the ancient Greek civilization was influenced by ancient Egyptian

civilization; even Egypt was a Negro African civilization; and that there are still features common to Negro African civilization.

Africans had in so many areas established that they have a rich cultural identity. They also embarked on cultural renaissance, as evidenced in the Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC), which took place in 1977 in Lagos, Nigeria. The cultural fiesta provoked the interest of Africans within and those in diaspora (Mobutu, 1975:3), Mobutu in his cultural identity symbol, namely “authenticity” concludes:

Zaire is neither to the left nor to the right, that is neither capitalist nor communist. Zaire wants simply to be authentic, and those who leap to hasty conclusions should rather learn what Zairean authenticity is and how our traditional society was organized (Mobutu, 1975:3)

The Afrocentricists made yet another laudable mark through the outcome of the great debate concerning the existence, nature and scope of African philosophy-cum-identity (1970-90). The aim of the debate was to re-assess the existence of African philosophical identity. Many African and non-African scholars took part in the nerve-racking discussion, each arguing from his own perspective. Participants in the debate included Momoh, Houtondji, Odera Oruka, Boudunrin, Nwala, Philips and others. Most importantly, despite expressed individual opinions, the debate, among other things, opened up subsequent issues for discussions pertaining to African philosophy.

### **The Effects of Globalization on Africa**

Globalization, to all intents and purposes, given the way it is being paraded today, has not provided any soft landing to Africa’s development. This submission can thus be categorized in tripartite form for a better understanding of the argument being canvassed, namely economic degradation, marginalization and territorial hazard. The purposes of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as a tool for world economic stabilization has left much to be desired. This is because its operational framework gave little or no room for the continent to cater for the social needs of the people.

Aside from this, Africa is still lagging behind in the areas of advanced technological know-how, as well as commerce and industry. Of the 64 countries ranked as “low income” by the World Bank 2000 Report, 38 are in Africa (Xavier, 1996:9). Even in the field of human development, Africa is still lacking. Of the 35 countries ranked “low human development” by the

UNDP report, 27 are in Africa (JOHN XXIII: 1963). Continuing on the deterioration, Africa's GNP per capital income annually, for about eight years (1990-1998) World Bank report reveals, increases by more than 4% in only one country; from 3-4% in three countries and less than 0% in nineteen countries (World Bank: 2000/2001).

Readers may be familiar with the expression: "*Champagne glass economy*", a picture of the globe emerging from the recent UNDP Human Development Reports that document that the richest 20% of the world's population receives just 1%. (United Nations: 2000). This feel is only a tip of the iceberg. The scenario depicts the rich enjoying life in the system while the poor countries are on the bottom, suffering deeply in their poverty. In summary:

- The assets of the three richest people are more than the combined GNP of all the least developed countries;
- The assets of the two hundred richest people are more than the combined income of 4% of the world's people;
- A yearly contribution of 1% of the wealth of the two hundred richest people could provide universal access to primary education for all (Human Development Report, 2000).
- 

It is also being contended within and outside the shores of Africa that globalization, in its strict sense, is not integrating Africa economically, especially on the issue of trade, technology and investment. Incidentally, the widened gap has remained. The following illustrates it further:

**Trade:** the shares of the export markets of goods and services are 82% to the richest 20% of the people living in the highest income countries, the bottom 20% just 1%.

**Investment:** the shares in foreign direct investment go 68% to the richest 20% just 1% to the poorest 20%.

**Technology:** taking the share of internet users as one example, 93.3% got to the richest 20%, 0.2% to the poorest (Human Development Report, 1999).

A third observation deals with the growing environmental threat to Africa that comes from a particularly disturbing aspect of globalization, the phenomenon of global warming (Ike, 2004: 14). The truth of the matter is that the ozone layer is being disturbed as a result of human activities.

Industrial wastes coming from the automobile plants in advanced countries are causing damage to Africa.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper, the author made efforts to demonstrate the Afrocentricists' doggedness to rescue African identity from the dungeon as a result of Eurocentric scorn. Other issues x-rayed were the challenges facing the restoration of African identity in the face of colonialism, neo-colonialism and globalization. It equally laid bare the achievements recorded by the Afrocentricists concerning the existence and restoration of African philosophical and cultural identity. On the effects of globalization on Africa, it examined the widening gap between the so-called advanced countries and developing countries of which Africa has the greatest poor rating percentage. This fact was placed on the balance scale of economy, industrialization, trade, investment and Africa is at the lowest ebb. African identity in a globalizing world is a hard nut to crack. Africans need to do serious homework involving both blacks within and those in the Diaspora.

### **Recommendations**

Having discussed from the roots, the ups and downs of African identity in a globalizing world, it is therefore suggested that there is a need for education and re-education of the people. Education, among other things, exposes people to the realities of life. It will enable Africans to realize the damage done to their cultural identity by colonialism. In doing this, the phobia of slavery and suppression will be reduced all round. African children should be given the proper academic instruction devoid of Western negative values. In the same vein, those African elites who are still suffering from the overdose of Western orientation need to be re-educated on the issues concerning Africa.

Subsequently the call for cultural re-awakening should be taken seriously. Inclusion of cultural identity as a course/subject should be paramount in every school curriculum at all levels throughout Africa. African communal living should be re-kindled to ensure unity of purpose and that durable sense of brotherhood. On another important note, since the developed countries are the major stakeholders in globalization, they should ensure an equitable formula for equal participation. The platform for African's participation should not be that of a servant cleaning the table for the master and waits for the crumbs that will fall down. Africa can only be comfortable with globalization when there are universally acceptable values that represent mankind. The search and the need for this study is very

pertinent, so that the actual goals and aims of globalization shall be achieved without destroying Africanness.

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**Folklore as Confluence of Cultures: A Cross-Cultural  
Reading of Select Tales Collated in Dr. Bukar Usman  
Foundation’s Commissioned Research Projects on  
Nigerian Folktales, Volumes 1- 4**

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We are the product of our cultural practices, arts, aesthetics and history, as they all assist us, not only in negotiating existence and self-realisation, but in determining fundamentally what we are as a people in the greater scheme of being and knowing; what the philosophers of antiquity call ‘ontology’ and ‘epistemology’.

- (Professor Abubakar Adamu Rasheed,  
Former *Vice Chancellor*,  
*Bayero University, Kano, April, 2014*).

**Introduction**

The heritage of folktale is as old as mankind. Marett (1913) says folktale offers humans “the chance of discovering the laws of change.” Therefore, folktale does not only shape human behaviours, mirrors the society or records their historical struggles and evolution but, it also in more ways than one, serves as one of the rich tributaries that fed and is still feeding the farmland of human’s diverse cultures. To boot, folktale validates the humanity of humans— setting mankind apart from other creatures— affording them the ability to think critically not just to find possible answers that would best address the challenges life brought into their world, but to equally entertain self and develop the community mankind inhabits. The stories of human struggles, the socio-cultural transformation, including the socio-economic and technological developments humans have so far recorded could, to a large extent, be traceable in the goldmine of folklore.

Needless to add, one would rightly say, some of the ground-breaking revolutions, civilizations and transformations human communities have had the privilege of witnessing today, are, without stressing, made possible via the reciprocal sharing of life-changing ideas, and ways of lives. All this, in the past, were made easy, if not realistic, through the tradition of folklore.

This healthy tradition of tale-telling was usually the first school where the African child (especially in the past) learnt the traditions of not just the immediate environment, but also the act of critical thinking as well as the entrenched universally-accepted values of honesty and assiduity.

Considering the striking nature, the inseparability and similarity of thematic concerns, settings, characters, characterization and many other folkloric traits which were prevalent in folktales irrespective of continental distance and/or cultural diversities that set humans apart, one would be right to affirm that folkloric tradition could have been the first “Internet”-revolution humans had enjoyed, but probably did not recognize. Indeed, today, the Internet has fundamentally and radically removed all doubts about the demise of distance — all borders (and to a great extent, one would add barriers) were shattered due to the all-conquering powers of information technology, a development which further supports the spread of folktales universally. But is it not that wise to inquisitively pose: What else, before the Internet, would have ravelled folktale in bringing all human societies to the global village? Diverse cultures, pristine values were transported on the wings of folktales from one community to the other and from one continent to the other due to the invading powers of tale tradition. True, the famed folkloric race between the *Tortoise and the Hare* is one example of a tale that is evident in virtually all cultures across the world. Therefore, the heritage of folktales not only served as the vehicle of transporting cultures, but also it was the very first school that helped man to not only identify his bearing, but also to start philosophizing. True, if not for the leading role tale played, and still plays, human societies would have been nothing than a wandering train without a definite destination. For this and many other reasons, a cross-cultural reading of folktales (especially of African indigenous cultures) is strongly advocated.

A leading Hausa folklorist, Emeritus Professor Dandatti Abdulkadir (2014) explains that folktale is a broad term, and its all-inclusive definition pervades the frontiers of what is known in Hausa as *tatsuniya*— a well-dressed *karya* (falsehood) adorned in the beautiful garb of truth. As if in reference to the aforesaid postulation on the definition of tale, which some define as mere concoction or fictional stories that, Abdulkadir (2014) strongly states, folklore, in a broader perspective, include not only the arts of storytelling, but also the industrial exploits of indigenous blacksmiths, painters, artists and other creative artisans. Bukar Usman (2012) notes that ‘*folklore is a worldwide oral tradition deeply rooted in history*’. Commenting further, Usman (2012) states that:

Folklore, for centuries, serves as the ‘earliest school of a child in many communities in the olden days. And the tales told

mainly at night were of entertainment value to the children but more importantly embodied educational values pertaining to the culture and history of the communities. They also imbibed in the children such social values of kindness, bravery, obedience and honesty. Some of the stories being factual narration of events particularly of communal history may not necessarily be nice to the hearing of the children as audience. That is why some of the tales are laced with songs and rhymes to capture their imagination and sustain their attention.

From the foregoing argument, one could decisively say that the tradition of tales has been an effective tool for education, transmission of cultural values as well as the historical struggles and development of local communities to the successor generations. And this innovative and proactive approach of adopting the tradition of folktale by the older members of the society to educate and initiate the younger ones into the ways of life of the community has proved effective in the olden days, and is still one of the best means of moulding the characters of children into becoming upright citizens of their communities.

### **Folktale as Confluence of Cultures**

The convergence of large bodies of waters flowing from different rivers of human divergent cultures at the confluence of folklore has been a great fountain of ideas and inspirations to the formation of modern story and all the transformations the world has so far witnessed. Folktale mirrors the society and teaches useful lessons in a unique way. It tells the history of many cultures and shows how the stories of those divergent cultures and traditions meet and part. Bukar Usman (2013) asserts that folklore and history are twin rivers of world heritage and it is the flowing waters from those rivers that serve as foundational bedrock of fiction.

Notwithstanding the loud disputations from some critics and writers that fiction and short stories are two different things in term of style, structure or techniques, one can still find many reasons alluding to the fact that the tradition of modern fiction emanates from folklore. Also, what any informed scholar would not deny is that the roots of modern fictions, be it prose or short story, couldn't have been watered from any source than the waters flowing from the confluence of the aged heritage of folklore.

As if to affirm the impact folklore had in making her a writer, the Canadian winner of the 2013 Nobel Prize in Literature, Alice Munro, in an answer to a question Stefan Asberg, a journalist with Sveriges Television

Aktiebolag (SVT) posed to her on how she got started in writing, she swiftly responds, thus:

I got interested in reading very early, because a story was read to me, by Hans Christian Anderson, which was *The Little Mermaid*, and I don't know if you remember *The Little Mermaid*, but it's dreadfully sad... I can't tell you all the details. But, anyway, as soon as I had finished this story (*The Little Mermaid*) I got outside and walked around and around... I made up a story with happy ending... and from now on the little mermaid would marry the prince and live happily ever after.' (See, Page 36, *Literary Review/Essay, Saturday Sun, September 6, 2014.*)

The revelation above coming by the likes of Alice Munro goes on to further validate the postulation that strongly supports the argument that folklore provides the basic foundation upon which the edifice of fictional prose writing rests. Folkloric stories like the classic fictions flooding our homes and libraries are thrilling and magical. And despite its didacticism and the sweeping dismissal from those who consider folktale as old fashioned, the plain truth remains that the tales are still very relevant and useful as parables on the game of life.

Talking about life as a game, Bill Gates, asserts: Everyone needs a coach. It doesn't matter whether you're a basketball player, a tennis player, a gymnast or a bridge player. (See, Bill Gates, 'Quote Unquote', *Weekly Trust, Saturday, September 13, 2014.*) The point here is that folktale (especially in the past) couldn't have been nothing but the *coach* the child needed to hone his or her skills, which the game of life usually would present to him or her as an adult.

#### **Moral Philosophy or Global Moralism: Tale as a Universal Heritage**

Tale is a universal heritage rooted in human history and watered by the stream of cultures. Since Adam, man, who is blessed with the capacity to think possesses the special ability to skilfully create and recreate. In spite of this unique endowment, which elevates humans above other creatures, man has been craving to understand the phenomenon of life— for its mysterious nature and complexity. This onerous task has over the centuries, made all human societies, irrespective of their sophistication or advancement in civilization to devise diverse ways to discover the secret of life. The art of folktale, believed to be a universal heritage, has played an essential role in assisting humans to find the right answers on what scholars refer to as *social*

*dynamism*. The fast changing nature of life and its social dynamics is what pushed humans to wear their thinking caps. For ages, folklore has served as the river human societies relied on either as potable water for societal survival, moralism and progression or all. And it is evident that the tributaries feeding the mighty river of folkloric tradition have criss-crossed all human cultures before converging at their confluence.

Duve Nokolisa (2006) believes that folktale could have first served as building blocks of what Marett calls *moral philosophy*, which, Khalid Yasin (2003) calls *global moralism* before man discovered religion(s). Sheik Khalid Yasin, in one of his many lectures titled: "The Purpose of Life", explicitly explains *global moralism* as those lore and mores regulating man's behaviour in relation to his God, neighbours and the world he inhabits.

From time immemorial, societal norms and cultural values are passed to generations via the vehicle of folkloric tradition, which had served, and still serves as laws governing human conducts as they live within their community. Some of these laws predate the coming of religious laws in most societies. But as man tasted the honey of divine revelation and the beam of religion lighted his heart, man walked out from darkness. Moreover, religion reinforces some of the good man-made laws as well as completely jettisoned all the ill-motivated ones man accepted as a way of life.

For example in many folktales, one could discover the law that forbids one from stealing and cheating or the laws that approve one to be honest, generous and helpful to the weak and oppressed, etc. R. R. Marett (1913), in reinforcing the significance and the genuine role of tales in Hausaland, (if not the world), says thus:

Besides, quite apart from the purely scientific interest in origins, the reader [of tales] will come to understand the thoughts and ways of the Hausa as they are now. Their notions about right and wrong, for instance, are indicated pretty clearly by many of the animal stories; seeing that each animal tends to represent a type of character calling either for admiration or detestation, and, being more or less humanized into the bargain, affords a nucleus round which a nascent moral philosophy can be observed to gather.

One cannot wish away the fact that the seed of *global moralism or moral philosophy* could be easily watered with the rainwater of cross-cultural study of the major world folktales. Interestingly, the world is now reduced into a mere village with the Internet revolution. Professor E.D. Jones, cited in Ben

Tomoloju's "Bukar Usman: Literary Voyage in Biu Folktales" (2006), remarks thus:

In looking at the African authors' works, we may be able to recognize its Africaness; we must be able to see its universality. Fortunately, the two things often go together. A work which succeeds in realizing its environment to the full often achieves this universality. The happy paradox is that to be truly universal, one must be truly local. (Ben Tomoloju's "Bukar Usman: Literary Voyage in Biu Folktales", *The Guardian*, Monday, December 18, 2006).

In the light of the above argument, therefore, it is pertinent here to note that the mystery and complexity of life couldn't be fully understood if scholars continue to ignore the critical questions posed in many tales. For instance, Abdullahi M. Lawan's Hausa tale entitled, *Why Lizard Nods its Head* (pp. 20-21) which is anthologized in *The Bird's Evidence* (2005) concerns itself not only with all the 'whys' this and that happens this or that way, but also relates the nodding of the lizard's head with indiscipline and disobedience. Essentially, the story of *Why Lizard Nods its Head* and others like the Igbo tales asking: *Why Spirits Eat Dead Body*, *Why Hawk Kills Chicken*, *Why Fish Lives in Water* or the Yoruba tale: *Why the Sky is Very far from the Earth*; and the Tiv tale, *Why the Sea-Water Tastes Salty*; or the Idoma tales: *Why the Donkeys Live with Human Beings* and *How the Tortoise Shattered its Shell* are all intriguing questions which could be fully appreciated if cross-cultural reading is given prominence.

#### **Why Cross-Culturalism is Crucial**

Cross-cultural reading of folktales is very crucial as it would promote cross-cultural understanding among communities. Cross-cultural understanding does not suggest one's culture should be subordinated or swallowed by other superior ones. Rather, cross-cultural understanding seems to lend credence to what that Hausa proverb that "An isolated broom-stick would hardly sweep anything". To stress further, cross-cultural reading is aimed at entrenching the culture of critical cultural dialogue or cross-cultural discourse which would not only foster peaceful co-existence, but also expedite the socio-economic transformation of all communities.

The advent of internet and the digitalization or filming of many fictional and non-fictional works such as that of the iconic Nelson Mandela's biography: *Long Walk to Freedom* or Nigeria's Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* in 2014 is revolutionary. The digitalization of

some tales into motion cartoons such as the Nigerian popular folk-hero film known as *Kiriku* or the American worldwide children entertainment cartoon series, *Tom and Jerry* is not revolutionizing folklore studies alone, but also calling on stakeholders to brace up to the challenges of modernity and technological advancement. And one cannot hesitate to point out that digitalization revolution opens new windows for cultures to meet, and for new creative investment to strive.

If you ask, there is no better time for scholars and stakeholders interested in folktales to embrace *cross-culturalism* than now. The old practice of telling stories to children in local communities has waned, especially in African communities due to the ascendancy of Western films and the effect of multimedia, especially the social media. However, one could safely say a cross-culture reading of tale is crucial as it offers the key to the palace of human and societal transformation.

#### **Recurring Motifs in the Folktales of Select Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and Tales from Riverine Minority Communities of Niger Delta**

Nigeria is a country with a huge population and widely dispersed diverse cultures. The diversity of cultures and communities inhabiting the vast shores of Nigeria is what makes the country great and rich. This richness, though multi-dimensional in nature, could be vividly seen in the folktale traditions of Nigeria's various cultures or communities. One very striking thing about the uniqueness of folktales examined in this research is the similarities and dissimilarities inherently found in their themes, characterizations, plots, settings and metaphors which, in more ways than one, are greatly influenced by the physical environment the tales are set. Equally, worthy of note is the leading roles the fauna and flora familiar with the environment serve as actors or actresses in the tales. In supporting this position, Zaasi Dawn Meneh, (2014) observes, thus:

The most frequent character(s) used in the folktales collected from the South-South states were tales about witches, mermaid and other sea-creatures... This, in another sense reflects the South-South environment and gives credence to the school of thought that the storyteller generates tales from the natural attributes of the environment the storyteller belongs.

So the natural environment here serves as a king. In addition, the Hausas, geographically speaking, live in the Sahel savannah region of the North, hence their tales are not dominated by folk-heroes like the tortoise, the frog,



the mermaid, the river goddess, or witches etc. as in the tales from the Ijaws and other riverine communities of South-South.

The predominant characters one could find in Hausa tales include 'Kura' (the hyena), 'Dila' (the fox) and 'Dodo' (the monster), while the human characters are largely, Sarki (the Emir) Marainiya (the female orphan-child), Amarya (the bride) and 'Kishiya' (a co-wife). As argued earlier, apart from aiding easy comprehension or shaping and re-shaping the mind-set of the listener, the intimate relationship that exists between the environment and the story, in my view, poses more questions than answers. For instance, one may ask: why is it the animal or spirit protagonists in many Hausa tales are animals and spirit one would readily see or associate to *Kasar Hausa* (the old Hausa states situated within some parts of north-western Nigeria and a great part of Niger Republic)? Or, why is it that the folk-heroes in many Hausa tales are polygamous, while those in Igbo tales or tales from riverine minority communities of Niger-Delta are not? Could this striking difference be a result of what one would call a 'tailored mind-set' or simply that of cultural or religious influence, or all?

Again, one would want to know why characters like: 'Gizo' (the spider) 'Dila' (the fox) or 'Kura' (the hyena) are absent in tales collected from the tropical states of Nigeria. Other important posers one has to ask are: Why the Hausa storyteller arrogates uncommon wit to the spider or the fox and not the tortoise, which he dismisses, in some tales, as lazy and unwise? In contrast, to the Igbo storyteller, any talk about wit, the tortoise has no rival. A critical study of some of the Igbo tales cited below restates the Igbo storyteller's position, thus: 'Tricky Tortoise' (Pp. 6), 'Tortoise and Lizard' (Pp. 7) and 'How Tortoise Married Princess' (Pp. 15). To Africans, the indigenous cultures, would remain like an empty can without witticism, hence a wise man, which is regarded as a rich man, is occupying an enviable place in the community.

And at this juncture, one may equally ask these pertinent questions: what makes the Yoruba and the Igbo storytellers, for instance, think that the tortoise is wiser than other animals and is also cunning and at times, evil or good? These and many other questions need be answered by folktale experts and scholars interested in cross-cultural study.

Zaasi Dawn Meneh (2014) further notes that the Yoruba storyteller mostly uses human characters in his story unlike the Hausa storyteller who often uses either animal or human characters separately or interchangeably. But in Igbo tales and tales from riverine communities of Nigeria's delta area, the names of animals and spirits take centre stage. Fundamentally, the aforesaid interesting discovery instructively suggests that the psychological state of mind of a storyteller, should, as it is, takes prominence if not play

greater role in piloting the direction the tale takes than its setting or theme. In view of the above, one is safe to assert that the independence the characters enjoy in the tale is equally very vital.

Another very important factor to note is the deft manner the tale teller allows the listener to see the dress code of the community the tale is set and the designs of the buildings or cities, and the food or fruits available in each of the diverse communities the tale represents. For instance, in these Hausa tales: *The Girl and Mahogany Tree* (Pp.41) or *A Girl and the Pumpkin* (Pp. 101) one could see the nature of the trees in Hausaland of the north as against the tall palms in the largely tropical south.

One more recurring motif the tale teller often uses is the deployment of song or poetry to delight the listeners and ingrain his message in their minds permanently. A closer examination reveals that the Hausa and Yoruba storytellers use more poetry renditions in their tales. Here are some examples of Hausa tales with songs: ‘The Prostitute Goat’ (Pp. 6), ‘The Hen, Salt and the Sheep’ (Pp. 7), ‘A Goat and Hyena’ (Pp. 9) and ‘The Girl and the Calabash’ (Pp. 13), while the Yoruba tales with enchanting songs include: ‘Lala and Lele’ (Pp. 23), ‘Olukorodo the Naughty Fighter’ (Pp. 25), ‘The Bed-wetter’ (Pp. 27), ‘Tiroro the Orphan’ (Pp. 36-38) among others.

Instead of songs, what is noticeable in the Igbo tales is the preponderance of proverbs. As Chijioko Amadi (2013) notes, a good number of Igbo tales open with what one would call *dialogic proverbs*, below are few examples:

**Storyteller:** If dog leaves home with his bag  
**Listeners:** Surely, shit will finish in the bush  
**Storyteller:** Bush with bones that prick hen  
**Listeners:** No human being dares to roam in it, etc.

Hausa tales usually open with stimulating wake up opener: ‘*Ga ta nan ga ta nan ku*’, and ends with ‘*Kurunkus ga bera nan ga bera nan*’. This similar technique is equally noticeable in Igbo tales. Citing examples with an Igbo tale number 205, which, is titled: ‘Frog and Elephant’ (Pp. 100); George Chijioko Amadi (2013) observes:

Telling an Igbo folk-tale, as a norm, is preceded by wake up memory gems spiked with wit and humour. This needs to be done by the story teller, so as to keep the listeners wondering where the unfolding story, especially, a new one, is headed.

### **Conclusion**

In the final analysis, this paper argues that the heritage of folklore is as old as man and folktale is a treasure of values that needs to be continuously studied deeply just as archaeologists and anthropologists dig deep into our past (Usman, 2013). It also identifies tale as a confluence of cultures, which watered the acorn of modern fiction. The paper further advocates the desirability for scholars of Hausa folktales tradition, and tales of other cultures, especially neighbouring cultures such as: Bura, Fulfulde, Zaar (Sayawa), Itulo, Yoruba, Igbo communities of Nigeria to embrace the rewarding culture of cross-cultural marriage of ideas or *cross-culturalism* in the reading, re-reading and critical analysis of folklore. The paper conceptualizes what *cross-cultural discourse* should be; by analytically discussing the similarities and differences existing from tales of different Nigerian cultures collated in the unpublished volumes of tales, which, *Dr. Bukar Usman Foundation* has commissioned experts to compile. And, the paper concludes by applauding the solo, but commendable effort of *Dr. Bukar Usman Foundation* as well as call on the foundation to join hands with all willing stakeholders, culture activists and well-meaning folklore enthusiasts, to publish the compendium of the ten volumes of tales from Nigerian communities scattered among its six geopolitical zones. This, I strongly believed, would help in entrenching and promoting *cross-cultural discourse*.

### **Explanatory Notes**

- Dr. Bukar Usman Foundation is situated on No. 20 (Plot 637), Kwame Nkrumah Crescent, Asokoro, Abuja, Nigeria. The Foundation is established, financed and chaired by Dr. Bukar Usman and has vast interests in the preservation of indigenous culture and promotion of knowledge. It commissioned research in folktales of various communities in Nigeria since 2012.
- Dr. Bukar Usman, OON, a culture and folktale enthusiast is a scholar and inarguably the only Nigerian famed and respected for compiling the largest compendium of Hausa tales and hundreds of tales of other communities in Nigeria, which he made available in print and audios. Dr. Bukar Usman, who is presently, the national President of the Nigerian Folklore Society (NFS), was born in 1942 in the ancient Biu town of North-Eastern State of Borno. A philanthropist and public policy analyst, Dr. Usman, has written over 20 books including his most recent: *A History of Biu*. Usman, a recipient of dozens of prestigious awards including an honorary doctorate degree from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, is a thorough-bred bureaucrat and public

administrator who rose from a third-class clerk to a Permanent Secretary in the Presidency before his retirement in 1999. For more on Dr. Bukar Usman's folklore activisms, folktales in print and audios visit: [www.bukarusman.com](http://www.bukarusman.com)

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# **Fifteen Years of Global Systems of Mobile Telecommunication (GSM) Services in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges**

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## **Introduction**

The growth of technology across the world in recent times is very profound. Globalization and technology have indeed made the world a small village. Technology, no doubt, has found its way into every corner of the world, even crossing the divide between the rich and the poor, and has become part of life for many, if not all. The pervasiveness of technology is perhaps most apparent in the proliferation of the Global System of Mobile Communication (GSM) and cell phones.

The Global System of Mobile Communication (GSM) was approved in Nigeria on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 2000, as part of the economic liberalization that started in 1986 under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and was viewed as a vital economic infrastructure necessary for modern growth and development. Since its introduction nearly fifteen years ago, Nigeria has witnessed dramatic changes in information dissemination. GSM serves as an effective avenue for information dissemination, entertainment, social networking, awareness creation, mass mobilization, spiritual advocacy and a reliable channel for sending and receiving remittances. Individuals and associations also utilize the GSM for fund-raising, consequently providing the basic necessities of life to the beneficiaries.

This innovation since its introduction to Nigeria has no doubt provided job opportunities to teeming Nigerians. Nevertheless, fifteen years after the introduction of GSM in Nigeria, subscribers are still experiencing drop calls, drop balance, high tariff, undelivered text messages and network failures to mention but a few. All these are potential avenues, which may undermine subscribers' satisfaction. These inefficiencies potentially set limits to the extent of welfare improvement that the GSM service can cause. It is against this background that this paper discusses the evolution of GSM, the success story, the challenges and issues involved in its operation in the last fifteen years.

### **The Role of Communication in Development**

Communication is broadly defined as the sharing of experience and also a social interaction through messages, which are both human and technological (Rokos-Ewoldsen, 2010; Simonson, 2010; Fiske, 1990; Mowlana & Wilson, 1988). The basic idea is that something is transferred or transmitted from one person to another during the communication process. Therefore, human communication is the process of creating and sharing meaning between two or more people (Klyukanov, 2010; Diji, 2007).

The phrase “communication for development” is generally used to refer to the planned use of communication principles, media and techniques to support programmes and projects in various development sectors, such as health, education, agriculture, community organization and associations (Bordenave, 2005). It is also the systematic use of the art and science of human communication to persuade specified groups of people to change their habits, lifestyle or ways of thought for the speedy transformation of a country (Quebral, 2005). On his part, McPhail (2009) defines Development Communication as the process of intervening in a systematic or strategic manner with either media (print, radio, telephony, video, and the Internet) or education (training, literacy, and schooling) for the purpose of positive change. This change could be economic, personal, spiritual, social, cultural, or political.

Therefore, the role of communication in development is very vital, as various scholars have proved that communication has a vital role to play in development. Bedregal (2005) argues that communication for sustainable development employs mass media, middle and mini media, in separated or combined ways according to the specific objectives proposed in a communicative strategy. The scholar added that it integrates traditional communication models with modern ones, incorporating new and old technologies, including traditional communication channels, cybernetic space and multimedia. It also makes use of interpersonal and group communication and indigenous channels, using them in a combined or selective manner according to their effectiveness in reaching the target audience (Bedregal, 2005).

In the same vein, Eribo (2004) argues that communication plays a vital role in world development and that, in a global sense, communication is present in all levels of human contacts with humans, including thought, language, speech, songs, sound, dance, touch, travels, action, inaction, appearance and love. Communication is vital to human existence, including the documentation and transmission of knowledge, the exchange of information and cohesiveness of society, the promotion of scientific inquiry, the creation and diffusion of innovation and the stimulation of market

activities. Communication generates information, an intangible, shareable, transmittable and economic product.

Similarly, Yunus (2009) acknowledges how information technology (IT) transforms the world, affecting businesses, governments, education and media, as well as boosting countries' GDP. Yet, he argues that what is less well understood is the enormous potential of new IT for transforming the status of the poorest people in the world. He posits that the new IT's unique contribution comes from the fact that it creates new relationships among people. Moreover, this transformation will inevitably have a profound impact on the lives of the poor, particularly women and children. This means there are several areas through which IT, especially telephony, can be utilized to play a powerful role in impacting positively on the lives of the disadvantaged members of the community.

The findings of Foster and Briceno-Garmendia (2010) confirmed that information and communication technologies (ICTs) have made remarkable successes in Africa. The ICT sector has had a strong positive effect on Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Buttressing this argument, Cieslikowski et al. (2009) revealed that the overall trend in voice communication in developing countries is positive. At the end of 2007, there were about 1.1 billion fixed telephone lines and 3.3 billion mobile phone subscriptions worldwide. The data further indicates that the proportion of mobile subscriptions in developing countries increased from about 30 per cent of the world total in 2000 to more than 50 per cent in 2004- and to almost 70 per cent in 2007. Sector reform, particularly in mobile segment of the market, has transformed the availability, quality and cost of connectivity across Africa. In less than 10 years, mobile networks have covered 91 per cent of the urban population, and coverage in rural areas is growing.

An advantage of wireless technologies over fixed lines is the quality of being less susceptible to problems of theft, vandalism and damage associated with wire line paraphernalia in Nigeria and other parts of Africa. Cieslikowski et al. (2009) identify two principal reasons why the uptake of mobile telephony in developing countries has overtaken fixed-line service. First, wireless technology can be deployed more quickly because it requires less upfront investment in infrastructure than do fixed telephone systems. This translates to lower prices and hence stronger customer demand. Secondly, liberalization of fixed line markets, which were before dominated by state-owned monopolies.



### **The Concept of GSM**

GSM stands for Global System for Mobile Communication. It is a special technology that enables telephone subscribers or users to make, receive and enjoy other subscribed services, such as Internet, data and Short (alphanumeric) Messages Services, known as SMS while on transit or on the move. According to Scourias (1995), the evolution of GSM was triggered by the rapid growth experienced by analogue cellular telephone system in Europe during the early 1980s, particularly in Scandinavia, United Kingdom, France and Germany.

In 1982, the Conference of European Posts and Telegraphs (CEPT) formed a study group called Group Special Mobile (GSM) to study and develop a Pan-European public land mobile system (Rahnema, 1993). The proposed system was commissioned to meet stipulated quality standard, such as good subjective speech quality, low terminal and service cost, support for international roaming and support for range of new services and facilities.

In 1989, the responsibility of GSM was transferred to the European mobile Telecommunication Standard Institute (ETSI), and in 1990, the phase 1 of the GSM specification was published. In mid-1991, commercial service had started and, by 1993, there were 36 GSM networks in 22 countries with 25 additional countries having already selected or were considering GSM. As at early 1995, there were over 5 million subscribers. Today, GSM subscribers are in billions. Over the years, there have been continuous improvements in GSM services. Besides, many additional supplementary services have been added to GSM operations.

### **The Invention of Telephone and GSM Introduction in Nigeria**

The advent of technology for remote communication started in 1830 with the emergence of the telegraph in England and the United States of America independently (McQuail, 2010; Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). Another discovery occurred in 1876 when Alexandra Graham Bell invented and made the first telephone call while Guglielmo Marconi in 1897 patented the wireless telegraph (McQuail, 2010; Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). In 1935, the first telephone call was made round the world.

Another great breakthrough was the wireless telephone system of the Global Systems for Mobile Communications (GSM). Curwen and Whalley (2008) assert that Mobile Communication has a long history and has been commercially available in some form since 1946, although the initial format in the USA involved a single transmitter covering an entity. Such a network had very little capacity and delivered calls via a fixed-wire link to the home. Mobile networks only truly developed once a cellular structure was adopted.

The idea of the first cellular network was brainstormed in 1947 and was intended to be used for military purposes as a way of supplying troops with more advanced forms of communications. From 1947 till about 1979, several different forms of broadcasting technology emerged. The United States began to develop the AMPS, i.e. the Advanced Mobile Phone Service network, while European countries were developing their own forms of communication.

In Nigeria, the decision made by the Federal Government of Nigeria to privatize state-owned enterprises, including the nation's telecommunications giant, Nigerian Telecommunication Limited (NITEL) also opened the doors for the entry of Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) operators. A new National Policy on Telecommunications in October 1999 recognized the need for reform and development of the telecommunications sector and gave it priority. That policy favoured privatization of state-owned enterprises.

Assessing the decision of Nigeria's government to bring private investors into the sector and to introduce GSM telephony, Olorunnisola (2009) believes that it was commendable and achieved two near-term goals. In the first instance, private investors brought increased tele-densities with an anticipated 1.2 million mobile lines. Secondly, wireless telephony substituted and did more than complement fixed line technologies, providing a technological leapfrogging that countries in and outside of the African continent with equally low tele-densities prior to adoption had witnessed. In the long term, mobile telephony based on wireless technologies was expected to bring a level of operational efficiency that had been lacking into the sector.

To this end, Nigeria joined the rest of the world in acquiring the Global Systems for Mobile Telecommunication in 2001 when Econet Nigeria started operation. It was a defining moment in the history of Africa's most populous nation, which had waited for several years to acquire this very important means of communication.

Prior to this breakthrough, Nigeria's telecommunication industry had been in a sorry state and was monopolized by government-owned NITEL which, according to Udutchay (2008), was characterized by obsolete telecommunication infrastructure, the non-availability of telephone lines/epileptic service delivery, inefficiency and corruption. For instance, the total available telephone lines in the country before GSM was below 500,000. This was grossly inadequate for the country's huge population (Udutchay, 2008).

As such, it was very difficult for an ordinary Nigerian to own a telephone line provided by NITEL because it cost a fortune, then to procure the

landline in addition to passing through bottlenecks of procedures and even lobbying and bribing. Telephone by that time was regarded as a status symbol and the preserve of the affluent. In fact, the former Minister of Communication, Colonel David Mark, under the Babangida's regime, was reported to claim that the telephone was not for the poor (Wilson and Gapsiso, 2009).

Today, GSM has changed the scenario. Anybody can acquire a GSM handset and a subscriber Identification Module (SIM) pack with less than N2000 (though there are handsets that run into several thousands). A potential subscriber can just walk to the roadside or any telephone shop and pick a handset or SIM pack without any hassle. Reviewing the situation, Akpabio (2003) notes that, before the introduction of GSM into the country, Nigeria ranked among the lowest owners and users of telephone in the world. In the past, many Nigerians could not acquire phones and majority had to resort to phone booths and business centres where the long queues and time wasted were inhibiting factors. However, as Okoro and Barikui (2006) explained, all the previous problems associated with telephony in the pre-GSM era have gone into extinction. The advent of GSM has simplified telephone communications, as well as made it so cheap that it is no longer the exclusive preserve of the rich.

Almost fifteen years since the introduction of GSM in Nigeria in 2001, the country has witnessed an unprecedented development of telecom infrastructure by several competing operators. Some of these operators include MTN, Airtel, Etisalat, Globacom, Multilinks and Visafone. This tremendous growth of operators and competition is not unrelated to the response to the overwhelming demand for GSM service by Nigerians. The regulatory Agency, National Communication Commission has introduced necessary measures to enhance the quality of service delivery and steady growth of the industry. Some of these measures include the introduction of unified licensing, which make it possible for fixed wireless operators to offer GSM service. Equally significant is the granting of 3G licenses to the operators, among other measures.

### **The Role of GSM and Information Technology on Economic Growth**

The Nigerian Telecommunication sector is an emerging sub-sector of the Nigerian economy and GSM mobile service is a very crucial element. The emergence of the so called New Economy and information and communication technology (ICT) is transforming the global economy. Wojuade (2006) explained that the mobile phone is the most widely used form of telecommunication in the world and has become a major engine of development. Wojuade (2006) added that mobile communications boost the

earnings of many users, change the local economy and even significantly raise the GDP of many countries.

There are examples of business people everywhere in the world using mobile phones to boost their income significantly. A study by the international consultancy McKinsey in 2010 found that the mobile industry accounts for as much as eight per cent of GDP in China, India and the Philippines. ICT in general and GSM in particular have provided easy access to the many new services, such as job information, e-government, telemedicine, entertainment and news. GSM services can provide people with valuable information that boosts their personal and economic welfare (Aker, 2010). For example, a telephone call, email or Internet search could save people from making long journeys to contact relatives or search for employment. The cellular network is also used to meet demand for sophisticated services in the rural areas, such as to find out which market is offering the best prices for farmers crops (Aker, 2010). In summary, GSM has greatly brought convenience to many people.

The Global ICT report in 2006 opined that GSM has a vast potential to bring about social and economic progress. This is in line with the conclusion of a study by Aker (2010), which submits that mobile phone usage in Sub-Saharan Africa has grown significantly over the past decade and now covers 60 per cent of the population. Empirical evidence, according to the study, shows that mobile phones have the potential to benefit consumer and producer welfare and perhaps broaden economic development.

Besides, the Indian industry exported software and services worth 25 million dollars in 1985 and between 2000 and 2004 the figure had grown to \$12.8 billion (NASSCOM, 2005) and \$50 billion exports in 2008. As at 2004, ICT accounts for 2 per cent of India's gross domestic product (GDP) and 14 per cent of the exports (The Hindu—Survey of Indian Industry, 2004). Similarly, ICT has attracted a lot of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to many countries. Addison and Heshmati (2004) believe that the determinants of FDI include natural resources, market size, socio-political instability, business operating conditions, wage costs, exchange rate, trade barriers, export orientation, openness of developing host countries, democratization and risk, infrastructure, human capital and political instability. But today, ICT is seen as the main new determinant of FDI (Addison and Heshmati, 2004). The world is rapidly moving toward an economic system based on the continuous and pervasive availability of information.

Recent advances in ICT have demonstrated an important vehicle in permitting information exchange to develop as a valuable commodity. Countries and sectors equipped with the requisite telecommunications systems have been rapidly moving into post-industrial, growth-orientated

information based economy and Nigeria cannot be left out. Indeed, the Nigerian telecom sector has become an attractive revenue source to the Federal Government of Nigeria. According to NCC (2010), the Federal Government has earned over \$2.5 billion US Dollars from spectrum licensing fees alone between 2001 and 2010. Besides, import duties and taxes from the telecom industry have also contributed substantial revenue to the Federal Government. Prior to 2001, the level of investment in the telecommunications sector was less than US\$100 million. Nearly fifteen years after the introduction of GSM, the growth of the telecommunications sector is phenomenal.

NCC (2010) reported that private investment into the Nigerian telecoms sector has grown to over US\$6 billion, from US\$50 million in 2001, with the sector now being the largest generator of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) after the Oil and gas sector. Nigeria has thus become one of the most desired investment destinations for ICT in Africa. The ICT sector can be an important source of continuous growth and revenue for Nigeria. The global as well as domestic demand for these products and services is growing by the day. The growth of the sector is likely to have a positive bearing on economic growth in general. Wojuade (2006) also agrees that Information and Communication Technologies is a vital ingredient for development, which requires government support to optimally utilize its potential. He advised that programmes that will encourage result-oriented development in the sector should be put in place. Blomström, Globerman and Kokko (2000) opined that there exists causality between ICT and FDI and that liberalization, in particular, is normally expected to increase FDI.

Seo and Lee (2000) in Asia also conducted a study on Korea and their finding showed a significant contribution from ICT investment while another study by the Australia National Office of Information in 2003 also confirmed that ICT and services have become pervasive and general purpose enablers of economic and social transformation. They concluded that, given the enabling socio-economic environment, ICT would provide the platforms on which the growth in productivity, innovation and social well-being can be constructed. According to a market research by a website (reportlinker.com), it was published that indeed the Nigerian government has realized the importance of ICT as a viable platform to transform the country's economy into a knowledge-based economy. Today, the Nigerian telecom sector is presently undergoing speedy transformation - courtesy of the GSM subsector.

### **The GSM Success Story**

Activities from the mobile industry revealed that GSM has contributed about \$3.1 trillion in economic value to the global economy in 2015, which is equivalent to 4.2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (ncc.gov.ng). Similarly, *The Mobile Economy: 2016* authored by the Global System for Mobile Telecommunications Association (GSMA) obtained by *The Guardian* newspaper, reported that the figure is predicted to rise to \$3.7 trillion by 2020 (www.guardian.ng). At a forum in Lagos, the Executive Vice-Chairman of the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), Prof Umar Danbatta, disclosed that while the Nigeria's telecoms sector's investment since the revolution began is in excess of \$32 billion, it has equally contributed over N500 billion to government coffers from earnings mainly from spectrum administration. He further disclosed that the sector has created directly and indirectly, over two million jobs, stressing that the commission has boosted the Federation Account by N70 billion in the last six months (Adepetum,, 2016).

The 2016 Mobile Economy report also noted that the widespread availability of mobile networks is accelerating the ability to achieve the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). According to the report, from improving access to vital services, such as education, healthcare and financial services, to delivering smart agriculture and electricity management solutions, building resilient infrastructures or closing the gender gap, mobile telephony is central in addressing a range of socio-economic development challenges. However, the 2016 Mobile Economy report noted the need for regulation to keep pace with rapid innovation. Similarly, the Director General of GSMA, Mats Granryd cautioned that the fast pace of change means regulation can quickly become obsolete, irrelevant or, in some cases, harmful: distorting competition, slowing innovation and ultimately depriving consumers of the benefits of technological progress (Adepetum, 2016). Mats further stressed that policy makers worldwide should, therefore, adapt out-dated market regulations to reflect the new digital ecosystem.

### **The Negative Impact of GSM**

Every good invention comes with its attendant shortcomings. The same is true for GSM. The introduction of GSM in Nigeria is accompanied by some negative attributes. These include encouraging perpetual contact, junk text messages, malicious calls from unknown callers, reception of private and intimate calls in public places, panic when there is network failure, increase in street crimes associated with cell phone thefts, use of cell phone for kidnaps, robbery, bomb-blasts, etc. Similarly, a research conducted by

Bowen et al (2008), revealed that phones set up a different form of sociability, a kind of virtual dating electronically, which allows public access to private space, which is permitted by Western mores but discouraged in many societies. The studies by Bowen et al (2008) demonstrate that young women and young men utilize mobile phones to facilitate behaviour that violates Moroccan social norms. It further indicated that mobile phones provide the technology to allow young people to evade traditional barriers to what they long for – romance for women and sex for the men. Nevertheless, cellular phones have brought a significant alteration in various patterns of relationships, social change and development.

Gordon (2006) believes that the cellular phones has become a part of the youth and popular culture. More so, it has developed a cultural meaning beyond its use and we have adopted it as a part of our popular culture. Therefore, cell phones like many technological innovations are value-neutral: they can be utilized for either positive or negative uses. This is why Levinson (2006) argues that all technologies are two-edge swords and, as such, the cell phone is a two-edged sword. He further posits that when we evaluate whether a new medium is good or bad, we need to add up the positives and the negatives.

Findings by Olorunnisola (2009) revealed that the dispatch of recharge credits as gift items became popular with the increase in the use of GSM phones by Nigerians. And that when received via recipient's cell phone, recharge credits were either used to load GSM phones (on the pay-as-you-go package) or converted into cash at a discount of the face value. The dispatch of credits is seen as serving the same purpose as remitting cash through local banks' networks or through Money Gram or Western Union. A major difference perhaps was that the practice of recharge credits for cash operated without recording the transactions solely in the informal sector, as well as off the books.

Similarly, the findings of Olorunnisola (2009) also affirmed that there is evidence of *communitarian lifestyles* that abound in the pattern of using the GSM in Nigeria. The researcher attests that the GSM telephone became an artefact in a longstanding practice where more affluent members of the community offered helping hands to others who were less fortunate. It is at this junction that we can see how the NGOs with program on children orphaned by HIV and AIDS utilize GSM to communicate to people for many purposes. Firstly, it provides room for publicity of the organizations and their activities.

The practice of exchanging recharge credits for cash is one of the methods some families, parents, friends and well-wishers adopt to receive monies from people. In other words, it is an easy way of "money transfer"

that is simple, affordable and risk-free. It contributes to the betterment of the lives of many people in the society. GSM text messages are cheap and save time, energy and resources. They also allow for abbreviations, getting rid of long greetings. In addition, Levinson (2006) commends the strategy, adding that instant messaging online has become texting on the cellphone and that it is an especially fascinating development. In addition to the aforementioned, the advantage of sending text messages over calling is its social appropriateness or lack of sleight-of-hand in the action. Besides, it enables the sender to compose the short messages (SMS) at one's private time. More so, text message services are a way of keeping the cost of GSM low. It is through the text messages that the recipients exchange recharge cards for money.

### **The Challenges**

There are several challenges facing the GSM sub-sector in Nigeria. One of which is Tele-density, i.e. the need to extend mobile coverage to every nook and cranny of Nigeria, especially the rural areas where about 70% of the inhabitants dwell. Another challenge is the need to increase the number of mobile phone subscribers. Nigeria is a vast country with a population of approximately 140 million inhabitants, according to the 2006 census figures. Thus, most of the inhabitants are not telephone subscribers, though the number of subscribers keeps increasing since the advent of GSM in Nigeria. Therefore, more efforts need to be made by the operators to ensure that most Nigerians own and use mobile phones.

According to Ndukwe (2003), for starters, telecommunication is a highly capital-intensive business, which requires the massive importation of equipment from abroad and, therefore, massive funding. Hence, financing and implementing the expansion of telecommunication facilities and lack of well-trained personnel in other specialized areas are big challenges. Operators also contend with inadequate and erratic electricity supply. The epileptic nature of the power supply system in the country had necessitated the over-dependence on generators and its fuelling by GSM operators. The direct implication of this is that call tariff will drastically shoot up because the cost of procurement and fuelling is enormous. Similarly, the bad network experienced in the country cannot be completely divorced from instability in power supply.

Another challenge is the poor security of infrastructure and vandalism. Due to the volatile nature of some parts of the country, telecommunication equipment are not safe from vandalism. There have been many reported cases of theft and vandalism at base station sites. This development has prompted telecoms operators to invest heavily on the recruitment of security



personnel at their base station sites. One direct implication of this is that the cost incurred on these security guards goes into the total cost of operation and subsequently leads to increase in call tariff. Call drop is also a problem whereby an established call is abruptly terminated while conversation is ongoing. This is a common occurrence in Nigeria's GSM system when communication is terminated unexpectedly while conversation is taking place. Calls may be dropped when the mobile phone moves out of coverage area or due to path loss or shadowing. Other reasons could be hand-off between cells within the same provider's network or battery power loss.

Network congestion is a phenomenon in telecommunication system that occurs when more subscribers attempt simultaneously to access the network than it is able to handle. In this situation, subscriber numbers have completely overgrown network capacity due to adequate infrastructure to guarantee efficient network quality and insufficient channels to support network functionality (Okeke, 2014; Moses, 2010).

### **Recommendations**

It is a fact that the number of subscribers and GSM service providers will keep increasing in Nigeria. In this light, the following recommendations will be helpful for future development of GSM in Nigeria.

- GSM providers should consider extending their services to the uncovered areas to provide the geographical spread of services. Contributors to home safety and emergency networks, improved interpersonal communications and more business efficiency should be considered.
- Operators should continue to give back to the society with the aim of enhancing social security. GSM operators should help to create public empathy easily through the disciple approach to customer acquisition and better customer care (Adeleke and Aminu, 2012). Operators still need to ensure that problems of connectivity, limited mobile coverage, high cost of services, low financial capital, the shortage of trained and qualified man power, etc. are tackled, so that Nigerians can take full advantage of mobile technology.
- On ways towards improving network performance, operators should upgrade and optimize all the existing base stations. This will stem call set up failures due to rise in traffic volumes. Similarly, operators should install additional base stations and switching centres across the country to create room for the network and increase capacity to handle more traffic. (Adegoke and Babalola, 2011).

- The government should address incessant power failures. This will stop the over-dependence on generators for power supply and call tariff would drastically go down. Similarly, government should eliminate monopolies and abuse of market dominance, ensure minimal, but transparent, regulatory intervention, locate and satisfy people's demand for services, protect consumer from ill-treatment by operators and encourage geographical spread of services. Also, if government can create more jobs for its citizens, the poverty level would be reduced and many of our youths will be taken off the streets. Hence, we would have a secure environment.
- It is worthy to note that regulation should keep pace with rapid innovation and policy makers worldwide should, therefore, adapt out-dated market regulations to reflect the new digital ecosystem.

When all these and many others are put in place, it is believed that Nigeria and indeed developing countries the world over can exploit the full opportunities offered by GSM. It means essentially that increasing GSM use will certainly positively enhance subscribers' professional and personal life.

#### **Concluding Remarks**

It is obvious that the introduction of the Global Systems of Mobile Communications (GSM) has served as an effective avenue for information dissemination, entertainment, social networking, awareness creation, mass mobilization, spiritual advocacy, a reliable channel for sending and receiving remittances and a host of others. This innovation since its introduction in Nigeria has contributed positively to the economic situations of the country. Mobile communications has served as a source of income and employment opportunities to teeming Nigerians, consequently transforming their lives. Therefore, Nigeria has not fared badly within the last fifteen years of GSM operation in the country. Though a late entrant, the country has surpassed many other African countries that debuted before it in terms of subscriber base. Nonetheless, the operation has not been without some hiccups. It is expected that, as time goes by, the country would continuously review the sector policy and register more operators in order to generate more competition that would improve on services, so that Nigeria could have value-for-money and reap the full benefits of cellular technology.

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## **GSM and Courtship among Adolescent Youths in Metropolitan Kano**

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### **Introduction**

Since the Global Service Mobile (GSM) revolution in Nigeria in 2000, as well as the advent of the internet into the country, for instance, youth have engaged in using the media for a number of purposes. Young people appear to be versatile users and manipulators of the new media because it fits into their generation's repertoire of the media gadgets available to them and for their socialization. The emergence of the new media and specifically, GSM has revolutionized mass communication process whereby the process is becoming largely personalized. Bittner (1989:149) observes that "video disc and video tape are only some of the newer more personalized technologies that may revolutionize our use of the media and further alter the definition of mass communication." Bittner (1989) explains that the media user, due to the advancement in media technology has become not only the receivers of communication but also the sender and the gatekeeper.

As these new technologies make an increasing impact on our lives, we will not only want to keep alert to how "mass" media change but also to how we use these "new" media. An interactive media society has grown up alongside the traditional mass media society. Young people around the world have already opted into it. These technological changes have made truly global flows of information possible, while they have also opened up transnational markets for global media companies (Ulla, 2006).

This influenced Filder (1997 in Osazee-Odia 2008) to adopt the concept of "mediamorphosis" in describing the transformation from the existing media technology to the technological forms of the new media landscape. He gave three principles of "mediamorphosis" as: co-evolution, convergence and complexity. Baran (2002) also pointed out the nature of the convergence.



According to him, it is the fusion of audio, video and graphics as end products of a single information entity where everything comes on at once on the computer or television or any other complementary new media forms; technological equipment, such as digital camera-recording of audio, video and graphics or other visible objects; as well as Global System of Mobile Communication (GSM), where interlinkages of sound, video, text are now a possibility.

The new media is also characterized by freedom. This is particularly typical of the internet. According to Baran (2002), “there is no central location, no on and off button for the internet, making it difficult to control for those who want to do so.” Apart from the characteristics mentioned above, another characteristic of the new media is interactivity, as McMillan (2002) notes three levels of interactivity as crucial to the mediated communication system i.e user-to-user interactivity, user-to-document interactivity and user-to-system interactivity pointing out that the locus of control by respective users is of paramount importance. However, because of the audience participatory nature of the new media of communication, users use it differently to suit their needs. This is as a result of the characteristics of the new media, which allows users a participatory role in the communication process. McQuail (1994) observes that attitudes towards media are considered “an outcome of empirically-located beliefs and of values (personal preferences).” It is based on the above background that this paper examines how GSM has changed the mood of courtship among youths in metropolitan Kano, Nigeria.

### **Statement of Problem**

With advancement in information and communication technologies, the media such as internet and GSM, have become more accessible to members of the society, young people inclusive. Since it gives room for manipulation according to the user’s desire, different people use the new media for different purposes. Thus, people use it to satisfy their individual needs. Therefore, young people, in whose generation the advancement in media technologies have revolutionized, have consciously or unconsciously become versatile users.

Considering the versatility of the new media, especially internet and GSM among Nigerians, young people, like any other group, use the media according to their needs and cultures. To a large extent, the new media serve as a guide for their behaviours from where they acquire values, which sometimes are positive and constructive and some other times negative and destructive. The motivation for this study is therefore, to ascertain the extent to which GSM has affected courtship among youths in a typical Hausa

community. Based on the above therefore, the paper hopes to examine the extent of GSM use among youths in metropolitan Kano. The paper also to examines the changes in courtship pattern as a result of GSM use among them and also identifies the gratifications they derive from using GSM in courtship.

### **Literature Review**

Adolescence is a period in which one goes through rapid physical, emotional and social changes, which unavoidably bring conflicts and turmoil to the developmental process (Wagner, 1996). Consequently, Rosengren and Windahl (1989) noted that there have been recurring concerns that each new medium or new media genre might “corrupt the minds and the lives of children and adolescents.” Such concerns, however, are not the only reasons for studying adolescents’ media use. Rather, most teenagers manage the period of adolescence very well (Offer, et a., 1989). There have been research works focusing on how the use of communication media might positively contribute to such management processes (Roe, 1985; Brown and Hendee, 1989). These consider media use during adolescence as part of the “developmental process by which young people acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills relevant to their functioning” (Atkin, 1982: 191) and assume it as being goal-directed.

According to Arnett et al., (1995), outlook on media use suits the researchers who study media use from various developmental perspectives, since it agrees with the proposition that adolescents use the media according to the developmental needs they want satisfied. Likewise, Erikson (1968) viewed the period of adolescence as a period of exploratory self-analysis and self-evaluation in search of a cohesive sense of identity. Scholars believe such an analytic phase begins with the acquisition of abstract reasoning skills (Larson, 1995). Psychologist Jean Piaget termed the period of adolescence as the formal operational period (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958; Miller, 1999). While children are ascribed with the sense of who they are through parental and societal influences before reaching adolescence, it is during adolescence that they deconstruct the ascribe sense of self and start restructuring it (Erickson, 1968). Adolescence is a transition from childhood to adulthood characterized by dynamic changes, which are both complex and sometimes hard to manage (Focus on Young Adults, 2001, Adegoke,2003).

A study conducted by Boyes and Chandler (1992), identified, as a consequence of going through adolescence, the emergence of epistemic doubt that, as a child matures into the advanced period, more epistemic doubts he or she shows. However, there are cases in which media use is related to negative motivations. For instance, a group of teenagers reported

that they regularly used heavy metal music because the music reflected their dire moods and affected their emotions (Wells, 1990; Arnett, 1991). McCabe and Ricciardelli (2001) wrote that it should easily be noticed that teenagers are satisfying the needs or wishes to be independent and probably making advance in the task of achieving psychological autonomy. Also, the study suggests that there could be occasions in which casual exposures to media content lead to the creation or the reminder of individual needs. For instance, the repeated exposure to media portrayals of ideal body image has been found to be related to eating disorder among adolescent girls.

Another outcome of the epistemic doubt adolescents experience as they mature is that they may end up with multiple, often contradictory, self-concepts, as they explore personal identities through a series of analyses and evaluations (Harter, 1990, Erikson, 1968). They are seen as looking to become more independent from immediate influences, such as parents, mostly who informed their early identities (Larson, 1995). Scholars like Arnett (1995) & Nathanson (2001) pointed out that peer relationships become more influential during adolescence. Besides, adolescents might be more influenced by the media in shaping their self-concepts in seeking to be more independent. This is, of course, not to argue that whatever content from the media would have a direct effect on the adolescent viewers, but to point out that the influence would be greater when adolescents are exposed to the media contents that are salient to their life issues.

Media use during adolescence is also characterized as being solitary (Kubey & Larson, 1990; Arnett, 1995). An increase in the amount of solitary television viewing, even though the viewing in general has been found to be decreasing (Comstock, 1991), and of listening to music on the radio or with CD players are some of the evidences of the shifting tendency. The increasing popularity of computer media, the internet and home video games among adolescents would qualify as examples as well. Also, as pointed out earlier, maturity was found to be related to the wishes to be independent (Larson, 1995).

The exploration of identities during adolescence, social psychology research has long explored the complexity of ethnic (or cultural) identity development among youths. Phinney (1989), for instance, observed that previous studies on different identity development stages looked at the presence (or absence) of exploration and commitment. An absence of both would mean a person has a diffuse identity. If one is committed to his or her ethnicity without having explored it, such a person has a foreclosed identity (usually inheriting parental values). The stage at which one explores without having made a commitment is referred to as a moratorium stage. Finally,

when both exploration and commitment are present, the person has the “achieved” ethnic identity.

Hill (1983) identified identity (discovering the self and understanding one’s role in social settings), intimacy (forming relationships with others), autonomy (developing a sense of social and psychological independence) and sexuality (coping with stress and confusion that come during the period of puberty and developing a better-defined sense of sex roles and gender relationships) as major tasks that, while not exclusive to adolescents, take on particular importance during the period of adolescence (Chapin, 2000). Similarly, Arnett (1995) identified five needs categories relevant to adolescents: entertainment, identity formation, high sensation, coping, and youth culture identification. One could also say that most of the adolescent needs related to media use are also related to advancing one or more of the major tasks identified.

Sometimes the need to advance a single task appears to be enough to motivate one to seek information or stimulation from media. Minority adolescents’ preference to watch programmes on which their own ethnic group members are prominently featured (Greenberg & Brand, 1994) would gratify the needs in advancing the identity task. Simply preferring the media content with characters their own age (Harwood, 1997) would be a similar example. According to Evans et al. (1991), “It is however often a combination of multiple tasks that creates the needs that could be satisfied by specific media choices. For instance, magazine use could be related to the needs related to the sexuality and the intimacy tasks (hoping to learn about boys and relationships) for adolescent girls.”

However, scholars have observed that globalization has greatly affected media use. It implies “both compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992). These two related developments would lead to a network of diverse relationships (Hannerz, 1990) that we call global society. Having a network of social relationships does not necessarily mean the global society will end up sharing homogenous lifestyles and cultural values. Hannerz (1990) noted that global culture is “marked by an organization of diversity rather than by a replication of uniformity.”

In his work, Roberts (2000) describes youth access and exposure to the full array of media in the U.S and the social contexts in which media exposure occurs. He randomly sampled a cross-section of 2065 adolescents aged 8 through 18 years, including oversamples of African-American and Hispanic youths and administered a questionnaire on their use of television, videotapes, movies, computers, video games, radio, compact discs, tape players, books, newspapers and magazines. The result of the study showed

that the youngsters are immersed in media. Most households contain most media with the exception of computers and video game systems where the majority of youth have their own personal media. The average youth devotes six and three quarter hours to media; simultaneous use of multiple media increases exposure to 8 hours of media messages daily. Overall, media exposure and exposure to individual media vary as a function of age, gender, race/ethnicity and family socio-economic level. Television remains the dominant medium according to the study. About one-half of the youth sampled use a computer daily. A substantial proportion of children's and adolescents' media use occurs in the absence of parents. The study concluded that American youths devote more time to media than to any other activity—as much as one-third of each day, suggesting that this demands increased parental attention and research into the effects of such extensive exposure.

Similarly, a survey by Jonathan, et al (2008 ) on adolescence risky behaviour and mass media use found that adolescents who had engaged in more risky behaviours listened to radio and watched music videos and movies on television more frequently than those who had engaged in fewer risky behaviours, regardless of race, gender or parents' education. While male adolescents who reported engaging in five or more risky behaviours were most likely to name a heavy metal music group as their favourite. Adolescents reported reading a wide diversity of magazines and most reported reading at least one of a few selected magazines. Sports and music magazines were most likely to be read by adolescents who had engaged in many risky behaviours. The study measured the extent of participation in eight potentially risky behaviours (sexual intercourse, drinking, smoking cigarettes, smoking marijuana, cheating, stealing, cutting class and driving a car without permission) and the use of a variety of mass media. Hall (1976: 214) defines culture as:

...man's medium; there is no aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. This means personality, how people express themselves(including shows of emotion), the way they think, how they move how problems are solved, how their cities are planned and laid out, how transportation systems function and are organized, as well as how economic and government systems are put together and function. It is the least studied aspects of culture that influence behavior in the deepest and most subtle ways.

For Al-Rodhan (2002), the term “culture” refers to the complex collection of knowledge, folklore, language, rules, rituals, habits, lifestyles, attitudes, beliefs and customs that link and give a common identity to a particular group of people at a specific point in time. This scholar explains that all social units develop a culture. Even in two-person relationships, a culture develops over time. In friendship and romantic relationships, for example, partners develop their own history, shared experiences, language patterns, rituals, habits and customs that give that relationship a special character; a character that differentiates it in various ways from other relationships. Examples might include the special dates, places, songs or events that come to have a unique and important symbolic meaning for two individuals.

Al-Rodhan (2002) added that the most complex cultures are those that are associated with a society or a nation, and the term “culture” is most commonly used to refer to these characteristics, including language and language-usage patterns, rituals, rules and customs. A societal or national culture also includes such elements as significant historical events and characters, philosophies of government, social customs, family practices, religion, economic philosophies and practices, belief and value systems and concepts and systems of law.

#### **Courtship in the Typical Hausa Society**

Typical Hausa society, like any other, has distinct culture and traditions and way of life. The focus here, which is courtship among adolescents is also unique and distinct. Madanci et. al (1982) write that a man could approach a girl he falls in love with directly or through a friend to approach her on his behalf. “If the response is favourable, he becomes emboldened enough to speak to the girl and offer her some presents. From then on, he and his friends visit the girl in her home. The girl will usually have her friends present” (Madanci et.al 1982:14). This is how the relationship grows, being satisfied that the man has been accepted, he takes the next step in the marriage process, which is notifying his parents to contact the girl’s parents to formalize the relationship.

However, it can be argued that with the coming of Islam, which is the religious practice in typical Hausa society, some of the Hausa traditions were retained, that of marriage procedures inclusive. Madanci (1982) explains that in most parts of traditional Hausaland, both boys and girls are married off at very tender ages; boys before the age of twenty and girls at age twelve to thirteen years old. With modernization and western education, the tradition with regards to the age of marriage has arguably changed. It can be argued that engagement with the new media has in one way or the other affected

relationships, courtship inclusive. The practice is “no longer what it used to be in the past.”

Giving a picture of a typical courtship pattern among Hausa people, Yusuf (1975) says, when a man sees the girl he wants to marry, he will first seek permission from her parents. The family of the future bride will then conduct an investigation on the man to ascertain his religious beliefs, morals, ethics and other issues related to his background. He is allowed to see the girl only if he meets their expectations. The man is not allowed to spend a lot of time when seeing the girl. Physical contacts, romance and sexual intercourse before marriage are highly prohibited. But Hashim (2012) writes that with modernity, there have been changes in the patterns of courtship among the Hausa of metropolitan Kano. For instance, the proliferation of social networking services through websites like *facebook*, *twitter*, *2go*, and *LinkedIn*, etc. have provided yet other channels of social encounter that connect people with friends, relatives and most particularly loved ones that are potentially marriage partners.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The Uses and Gratification and Technological Determinism theories were used as the theoretical basis for the research. The reason for using the Uses and Gratification theory is because scholars of the new media believe it to be appropriate in researches where people’s attitudes towards new media is studied. Alberto (2009) writes, “...cultural studies has a long tradition of studying the consumption of technologies in households as well as traditional media audience research - for example, the Uses and Gratification theory should be re-adopted to digital media consumption.” The Uses and Gratifications theory is also called the “Utility Theory.” According to Littlejohn (1992), Blumler and Katz are the two individuals mostly associated with the theory. It is a shift from media production and transmission function to the media consumption function. It assumes that, rather than the media manipulating the audience, it is the audience members that manipulate the media. In other words, the theory perceives the audience as actively influencing the effect process, since the audience actively chooses, attends to, perceives and retains media messages on the basis of his/her needs and beliefs.

On the other hand, the Technological Determinism theory was used because it is one of the theories developed in the cause of studies of the impact of technology on the society. The term, “technological determinism” is believed to have been coined by Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), an American sociologist while his contemporary, the popular historian, Charles Beard provided this apt determinist image. According to him, "technology

marches in seven-league boots from one ruthless, revolutionary conquest to another, tearing down old factories and industries, flinging up new processes with terrifying rapidity." Most interpretations of technological determinism share two general ideas:

- That the development of technology itself follows a predictable, traceable path largely beyond cultural or political influence, and
- That technology in turn has "effects" on societies that are inherent, rather than socially conditioned or produced because that society organizes itself to support and further develop a technology once it has been introduced.

### **Methodology**

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were used to collect data for the study. Focus group or group interviewing, according to scholars (Babbie 2010, Wimmer and Dominick, 2011), is a research strategy for understanding people's attitudes and behaviour. It is a group discussion or interview session involving 6 to 12 people (Rubin, et.al 2010, Wimmer and Dominick 2011) or 5 to 15 people (Babbie, 2010) interviewed simultaneously by a moderator leading the session in a relatively unstructured manner on the topic of study. According to Dawson (2002:24), "Through focus group discussions, a wide range of responses during one meeting could be obtained and such discussions help people remember issues they have forgotten if the issues were discussed with them individually."

The ages of the discussants range from 12 to 19 for both males and females. According to the World Health Organization (2015), adolescents are young people between the ages of 10 and 19 years. Samples were randomly drawn from secondary school students during a quiz competition organized by Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria (MCAN) for schools in Kano metropolis.

Four groups of two females and two males were conducted in three sessions concurrently, making a total of 12 sessions. The males had different sessions with the girls in order to accord them the opportunity to open up and freely discuss the issues regarding their use of GSM in courtship. All the discussions were conducted at an office within the library complex. A total of 48 discussants took part in the Focus Group Discussion sessions.



## **Findings**

Findings of the study are presented thus:

- Adolescents have a preference for mobile phones with internet facilities, which avail them the opportunity to engage in social networking apart from making calls and exchanging text messages.
- They admitted having more “personalized” courtship patterns than with the traditional manner where family members are mostly involved and easily monitor the relationships.
- The gratifications they get from using GSM in courtship, apart from the usual discussions pertaining to their relationship and other matters is that GSM is also used for emotional satisfaction and ego defence among other things.

## **Conclusion**

From the findings above, the mobile phone with internet facility is the most preferred among the discussants. They get some form of gratification by making calls, sending messages in text, audio and video while late night calls remain very common among them to the extent of romancing and engaging in what could be termed ‘sex on phone’. The implication of this is that there seem to be an alteration in courtship pattern among young people. For instance, the use of the GSM (free night calls) among youths have changed the social practice of *zance* (courtship) and provides an alternative to the “discouraged and prohibited acts” of physical contact prior to marriage.

The findings also show that the youths use the GSM phones for communication and leisure purposes and, at the same time, indicated that they access a number of websites including sports sites like goal.com, complete soccer, supersports.co.oz, tribal football, soccernet as well as social networks like the twitter, *facebook*, *hi5*, *Myspace*, *Skype*, *2go*, *Prodigts* and the like. They also attested to accessing pornographic sites like *triple X*, *xxx.com*, *bangbros.com*, *3pics.com*, *89.com*. and the likes. The findings suggest that the adolescents engage in courtship practices contrary to the traditions of a typical Hausa society. This suggests that the pattern of GSM use among the teenagers is constructive and positive sometimes and negative and destructive at other times.

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## **ICTs and Public Relations Practice: Towards a Symmetrical Relationship**

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### **Introduction**

The question of who needs who in the relationship between organizations and their publics is like the question of the egg and hen. “Publics exist because of their interaction and dependency on an organization, or because both they and the organization face a common issue” (Smith, 2009:48). Therefore, both the organization and its publics exist for one another. Whereas the public expect organizations to undertake production of goods and services that may meet their needs and aspirations, organizations expect from their publics labour force, raw materials and customers. This symbiotic relationship is established, propagated, maintained and cemented by communication.

Recent technological inventions such as telecommunication and computers have provided both organizations and their publics the opportunity to interact in a swift and responsive manner. Information and communication technologies are defined by Amos (in Haruna, Sharrif and Yusuf, 2003) as a broad range of technologies involved in information processing and handling. They include computer hardware, software and the telecommunication equipment. These equipment, to a large extent, affect the flow of information from a source to destination.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The Excellence theory as propounded by Grunig (1984) explained the value of public relations to organizations and the society based on the social responsibility of decisions and the quality of relationship with stakeholder publics. According to this theory, for an organization to be effective, it must behave in ways that solve problems and satisfy its goals and those of its publics. To behave in socially-acceptable ways, organizations must scan their environment to identify publics who might be affected by potential organizational decisions. Then the organization must communicate symmetrically with the publics, taking the interests of both the organization

and the publics into account, in order to cultivate high-quality, long-term relationship with them. A kind of relationship fostered by new advancements in information and communication technologies.

Grunig (1984:22) adds that: "Excellent public relations departments adopt the more realistic view that public relations is a symmetrical process of compromise and negotiation and not a war for power." Skinner (1994:40) further states: "An organization that uses the two-way symmetrical model uses research and dialogue to manage conflict, improve understanding, and build relationships with publics. With the symmetrical model, both the organization and its publics can be persuaded; both may change their behaviour". This means in the long run, symmetrical public relations is more effective in sustaining relationship.

### **ICTs and Public Relations**

The main vehicle of information and communication technology (ICT) is the internet. According to Ayankojo (2001), ICT is an amalgamation of television telephone and computer "all contained into the 'craze' of the moment - the internet", which interconnect networks that freely exchange information". Uter (2010) suggests that internet is "a network that link computers for the purpose of communication. The internet, in this sense, is a global infrastructure which enables any computer connected to it to communicate with any other computer at electronic speed regardless of geographical location." Citing Avila and Sherwin, Thorsteinsson (2000) states that internet is a unique medium of communication that allows instantaneous exchange of communication without interference of gatekeepers, thus, it provides an avenue for interactivity; being one of the most important characteristics of ICTs. Although all good public relations is interactive at some level, ICTs offer Public Relations practitioners the opportunity to enrich the interactive exchanges between organizations and publics as a supplement for face-to-face communication. Features such as messaging with calendaring, computing, phoning, browsing, purchasing, photography, and entertainment offer a more fluid environment for the practice of public relations.

Emphasizing the attributes of the new information and communication technology, Livingston (1991) states that its fundamental aspect is digitalization, the process by which all texts, that is symbolic meanings in all encoded and recorded form can be...shared, produced, distributed and stored. This gave internet the advantage of - in addition to interactivity which is innovative to mass communication - unlimited range of contents, the scope of audience reach and the global nature of communication (Ayankojo, 2001).

Understanding the benefits of speed and promptness of internet necessitated the incorporation of corporate information into an entity for the benefit of an organization and its publics. Thus, they provide “new opportunities for increase velocity and scope of information flow” (Van Loon, 2008), which according to (McQuail, 2007), they support communication at virtually all levels and at the same time sustain the network that connect top with the base in organization.

The array of activities in public relations such as issues management, media relations, investment promotions, governmental relations, publicity and image management rely solely on effective communication for efficient and successful operation of organizations. According to Blake (1991) therefore, ICT serves the major function of information packaging and promotion, as well as targeting appropriate publics.

Notwithstanding the complex context and position public relations finds itself, its basic environment as outlined by Cutlip and Center (1978) still obtains, with levels of complexity being added as new scientific and social issues emerge. The fundamental elements of the practice — the four-step process comprising research, planning and programming; action and communication; and evaluation—remain the foundations for a successful public relations operation. “What has undergone serious change is the impact on the speed, conciseness and wealth of access the practitioner enjoys in each step of the process” (Blake 1991). This is possible only because of the advances taking place in the information and communication fields which have opened new vistas and opportunities in channelling messages in ways unimaginable before. Thus Ayankojo (2001) emphasized that:

Internet on its own combines all the advantages, and even effects of traditional mass media into one! If it is the reach and penetration of the radio you want to talk about, the internet has them. It can be accessed and reached anywhere in the world. The permanence of the print is another. Newspapers are available and can be read online. The audio-visual and colour and movement realism of television are additional striking features. Exposures can be repeated and controlled to the desire and taste of the user.

Stressing the utilization of information and communication technologies in public relations further, Blake (1991) states:

Public relations has long outgrown its press-agentry image and has asserted itself as a genuine management function



because the... crises that challenges our ability to handle problems related to public trust and confidence brings to the forefront the important place public relations now occupies in the battle of words and visual images. With advances in satellite communication, video and audio technologies, we no longer have to spend time reading the pros and cons of an issue, we can "see" the issues, visualized by these technologies. Public relations companies now invest heavily in online broadcast PR as a means of making a client's case understandable and persuasive.

### **ICT Tools for Public Relations**

Historically, Public Relations practice at its inception is only concerned with press agency, public information and asymmetrical communication between individuals/organisations and their publics, which according to Skinner (1994:12) “not only impeded the growth of responsible public relations, but for many years caused newspapers and other people to view public relations with suspicion”. Cutlip, et al (1985:2) further add that at this stage, “emphasis was on ‘telling our story’, counter attacks designed to influence public opinion and fend-off changes in public policy affecting the conduct of business”. Grunig (1984:22) argues that press agency, public information and two-way asymmetrical public relations attempt to change the behaviour of publics without changing the behaviour of the organization. Under the press agency model, public relations strives for publicity in the media in almost any way possible to disseminate only favourable information about the organization. Therefore it is used to develop messages that are most likely to persuade publics to behave as the organization wants.

However, contemporary realities have necessitated the incorporation of scientific methods into public relations practice. These technologies provide public relations practitioners with 24 hours support system and possibility of offering stakeholder publics, such as journalists, customers or investors searchable information. Among various ICT tools of public relations are news releases, web pages, editorials, media relations, brochures, e-newsletters, Facebook and Twitter feeds, etc. The internet offers tremendous opportunities as a veritable tool for public relations. Thus the internet has become “a classical medium for press and public relations work” (Ayankoji), which according to Smith (1980) have “displaced ‘transportation highway’ in terms of information distribution”. For these advantages to be realized a web-page or website is created, making it possible for an organization to be accessed by surfers or browsers which has the provision for storage and retrieval of information about the organization,

in addition to provisions for showing photographs, graphics, animations, videos and receiving sounds. All these can be scanned onto or downloaded from the website of an organization.

Apart from displaying information about the organization, its activities, leaders, staff strength, products or services produced, the domain usually has a provision that can indicate the number of visitors, especially those seeking specific information about the organization. By this feature, the organization can measure the level of patronage of its activities by both internal and external publics. This websites must however be, according to Thorsenteinsson, (2002, p2) “information-rich and dynamic”

An organization can post its in-house publications such as in-house journals, bulletins etc, on its website and provide clues that could be clicked on by browsers to get them to access specific information. It could be a subject or theme approach that can be used for different information available within an edition—social diary, product, service, policy, competition, financial reports, news release etc. The response from visitors regarding the in-house publications posted on the website is instantaneous. Thus opinion monitoring can be swift, which in effect can lead to adjustment in an organization’s policies.

Another feature of the ICTs is the provision for chat rooms for virtual discussions, where users have the opportunity to talk on-line with organizations having the web-sites. A typical attribute of the chat room is that a user is immediately linked with other global users. Since chat rooms are integral parts of the websites, feedback on organization’s programmes and events can be received, monitored and evaluated. Survey can also be conducted using the chat rooms. Responses from users are often direct and fast. Although sampling may be a bit difficult, results are often indicative of what is being measured. Since symmetrical approach to public relations rely heavily on opinions of the publics, Blake (1991) suggests that organizations should engage in activities such as issues management, which means they are expected to keep their fingers on the pulse beat of various publics.

Most organization’s websites have provision for visitors to sign up with the organization. On logging to the site, users can create their own addresses and access it from time to time through a personal password. Since the site belongs to the organization, a good deal of information about its products, services, ideas, events and personalities are provided and sent to the various email addresses of the users. Aside from this, the same set of information and many more can be posted on the organization’s website. The reach and penetration of such information is wide since the internet’s audience is global.

The internet is also a tool for improved relationship with journalists, more accurate segmentation of publics and evaluating public relations programmes. It enhances media relations through its capacity for photography and videography as tools for public relations. They aid photo news and visual reports of an organization's activities enabling them to be inserted in digital format. Organizations can therefore seize the opportunity to create awareness about their programmes, products, services, facilities etc. and reinforce its messages to its publics. In a nutshell, Alshouhaib, et al (2012) state that practitioners use ICTs for media relations, by using their organization's websites to post text and video news releases for visitors to view. Furthermore, such sites can be used by practitioners as tools for distributing messages to publics.

Indeed, ICT has simplified data gathering on public opinion, which is a vital step in a research process. Schwartzman (2009) observed that public relations units in organizations utilized the search engines incorporated in their websites as the most common way of tracking opinions on products, brands and services. In order to influence public opinion, an organization has to have a fairly comprehensive knowledge about the opinions held by its publics, whether positive or negative. When determined, what strategies or messages could best be developed to either sustain positive opinion or image of the organization or conversely sway the public's negative opinion or image in favour of the organization. According to Blake (1991), organizations rely heavily on new information technologies to research, plan, execute and evaluate their activities. William (1989) further adds that technology led to the development of integrated data processing which, till date, is important in the area of personnel information, schedules for production and control of inventory. Along the same lines, advances in the field, computer applications moved from mere data generation to providing management with relevant and pertinent information needed for planning, control and evaluation.

Information and communication technologies also cuts down considerably on the costs involved in developing mailing lists prior to the popularization of computer-based machines, and maintains effective organization-publics relationships.

The latest developments in telecommunications make it possible for all the internal mail of major companies, all of the content of radio and television stations, all the material which passes into newspapers, all of the monetary transactions between large organizations and within them, all

of the new sensing devices...to be conducted electronically rather than by normal physical means. Smith (1980).

### **Conclusion**

ICT is a means used by organizations to reach and educate the different members of the public. Hence several organizations – educational, business, media, even individuals have their own websites through which they relate with their publics. ICT is a handy tool for public relations practitioners in the evaluation of public attitudes and opinions; and formulation and implementation of their public communication policy. It also helps them to establish a two-way instantaneous communication process and foster positive relationship with public constituents. The new trend therefore is the application of new communication technologies to achieve organizational needs. The benefits, according to Thorsteinsson (2000, p2) include “symmetrical public relations on the internet, gaining trust online, crises and issues management on the internet”.

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# **Use of Mobile Phones in News Gathering and Dissemination by Journalists in Metropolitan Kaduna, Nigeria**

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## **Introduction**

Wireless communication has emerged as one of the fastest diffusing mediums on the planet, fuelling an emergent “mobile youth culture” that speaks as much with thumbs as it does with tongues (Lenhart, Ling and Purcell, (2010). Mobile phones are a crucial piece of equipment changing not only the way readers and viewers consume the news today, but also sometimes the way the content is being produced. Mobile phones with a camera capacity are products of the mid-1990s; video capacity came a few years later. Today, there are around six billion phones around the world, many of them smartphones (Marrouch, 2014).

Also, mobile phones are now common item for people to have and an essential part of our daily lives and business world. However, this wireless communication is relatively recent. The first media to spread as a portable means of communication was the pager. It was first released in 1968 in Japan and was primarily used by sales representatives who were frequently outside the office. The world’s first mobile phone was the “cellular system” developed in the US in 1947. However, the mobile phone put into practical service was the “car phone” that appeared in Japan in 1979. These phones used the same cellular system as present mobile phones and were used with a car battery serving as the power source and an antenna attached to the outside of the car. Further developments in 1985 had its power and antenna internalized. This became the foundation for mobile phones (Sosha, 2004).

The convergence of mass media and digital technology has altered the exposure patterns of many media consumers (Finn, 1997). Improved compression algorithms now allow for the compression of video data for online transmission down telephone copper wire, coaxial, fiber optic cable and by broadcast satellite, cellular and wireless technologies (Chamberlain, 1994, p. 279). As new technologies present people with more and more

media choices, motivation and satisfaction become even more crucial components of audience analysis.

The use of cell phones to download an e-mail, view a video clip and listen to a song indicates that advances in digital technology and telecommunications networks have led to the merging, or convergence, of conventional mass media with one another and with new media forms (Straubhaar/La Rose, 2008:4). The convergence of media has been made possible by digital technologies, which have moved communication media into what's often referred to as a new "digital era," in which formerly distinct forms of communication are merged together in digital communication networks like the internet (Adamu, 2011). The development of the third screen (hand-held mobile phones) and the new digital wireless infrastructure technology, which makes it possible to carry more information faster, has changed the way journalists gather information (Straubhaar, LaRose& Davenport, 2010, pp: 376).

The idea of cellular telephony originated in the US. The first cellular call and the first call from a hand-held cellular device also were placed in the US. Commercial mobile telephony began in 1946. The cellular radio concept was thereafter published in 1947. The cell phone merges the landline telephony system with wireless communication. The landline telephone was first patented in 1876. Mobile radio systems have been used since the early 1900's in the form of ship to shore radio and were installed in some police cars in Detroit starting in 1921. The blending of landline telephone and radio communication came after World War II. The first commercially available "mobile radiophone service" that allowed calls from fixed to mobile telephones was offered in St. Louis in 1946. By 1964, there were 1.5 million mobile phone users in the US (Goggin, 2006). This was a non-cellular system that made relatively inefficient use of the radio bandwidth. In addition, the telephones were large, energy intensive car-mounted devices. According to communications scholar, Thomas Farley, the headlights of a car would noticeably dim when the user was transmitting a call (Farley, 2005).

In the drive to produce a more efficient mobile telephone system, researchers W. Rae Young and Douglas Ring of Bell Labs developed the idea of cellular telephony, in which geographical areas are divided into a mesh of cells, each with its own cell tower (Lindmark, 2002). This allowed a far more efficient use of the radio spectrum and the "cell" phones needed less power to send and receive a signal. The first installation was in 1969 on the Amtrak Metroliner that travelled between New York City and Washington. Four years later, Martin Cooper of Motorola made the first cellular call from a prototype handheld cell phone (Fapley, 2005).

In Africa, mobile phone penetration is higher than electricity penetration. In the Western world, mobile phones are getting increasingly important for journalism. But in Africa, the phone has been used as a broadcast device for quite a while. In fact, the use of mobiles in Africa is in many ways ahead of the West. Thanks to the iPhone and other smart phones, in the Western world mobile phones are getting increasingly important for journalism. But in Africa, the phone has been used as a broadcast device for quite a while. Although the mobile phone penetration is far behind Europe or Asia, it is rapidly growing (Bunz, 2009). In Nigeria, information technology is changing the face of media practice and journalism.

The increasing impact of new media in the dissemination of information has given room to an increase in both professional and amateur journalism. Today, the media is not limited to the radio, television and print alone. The Internet has created whole new platforms for the dissemination of news and information within minutes. With the click of a button, news and information can be posted on Facebook, twitter, You Tube, a blog or website and the world becomes aware of the recent development instantaneously. This new media makes use of videos, audios and pictures and can disseminate information faster than any newspaper or television house (Olakitan, 2012). Therefore, this study examines how mobile phones are used for news gathering by journalists in the Kaduna metropolis.

### **Statement of the Problem**

One of the major responsibilities of journalists the world over is to gather and disseminate information for the betterment of society. They are to inform, educate, entertain and enlighten the society about events around them. In the daily performance of their jobs, journalists and media practitioners are constantly faced with difficulties in gathering and disseminating information, which is one of their prime functions in the society. From early times, journalists sent their stories and reports through the post office and other means of transport, technology had advanced to the extent that from the confines of their room. Journalists can now gather useful information and send same to their organization for processing and dissemination. Live interviews can also be conducted from any point. This has no doubt aided quick information gathering and dissemination. It is believed that the advent of the mobile phone has greatly aided information gathering and dissemination by journalists across the globe. But in the process of gathering information with the use of mobile phones, questions have been raised about the authenticity of the information generated in the process, particularly with the advent of citizen journalism. This forms the basis of this study, which intends to find out how the use of mobile phones



has aided the gathering and dissemination of information by journalists in the north.

Based on the above, therefore, this paper is set out to, among other things, ascertain the level to which the mobile phone has contributed to the advancement of journalism practice among media practitioners in northern Nigeria. It is also the objective of this paper, to ascertain the level of reliability of the information generated through the use of the mobile phone and determine how often journalists in the north use the mobile phone in generating the required information and disseminate same.

### **Media Convergence**

Technological convergence is the tendency for different technological systems to evolve toward performing similar tasks. Convergence can refer to previously separate technologies, such as voice (and telephony features), data (and productivity applications) and video that now share resources and interact with each other synergistically. The rise of digital communication in the late 20th century has made it possible for media organizations (or individuals) to deliver text, audio, and video material over the same wired, wireless or fibre-optic connections. At the same time, it inspired some media organizations to explore the multimedia delivery of information. This digital convergence of news media, in particular, was called "Mediamorphosis" by researcher Roger Fidler, in his 1997 book by that name.

Today, we are surrounded by a multi-level convergent media world where all modes of communication and information are continually reforming to adapt to the enduring demands of technologies, "changing the way we create, consume, learn and interact with each other".

Convergence allows for different types of content (data, audio, voice, video) to be stored in the same format and delivered through a variety of technologies (computers, mobile phones, television) or to be executed in different platforms. There are two broad definitions of convergence; technological and media or content.

- a. Technological convergence occurs when multiple products come together to form one product with the advantages of all of them.
- b. Media convergence refers to the removal of entry barriers across the IT, telecom, media and consumer electronics industries, creating one large "converged" industry.

### **Mobile Journalism**

According to Hadland (2014), there are three types of mobile journalism:

1. User Generated Content - raw unedited material sent by amateur eyewitnesses who happened to be there

2. Citizen Journalists content – who manage to get their material to major broadcasters
3. Professional Journalists who tell stories with video/audio using a mobile phone, who are able to shoot, edit and upload from the spot in real time (produce on-the-spot piece of work that is uploadable).

There are many applications out there for both Android and iPhone: *Tout*, *Mobile video publishing platform*, *FilmicPro* (to shoot video on your iPhone allowing you to control exposure and white balance, etc.), *Videon*, *VideoPro Camera*, *iMovie* and *Voddio* allows you not only to record but also to edit. Many media outlets like the BBC or CNN use some these softwares. Newspapers around the world are embracing the growth of online video to engage their audience and expand their web presence. The focus is especially on videos as there is public enthusiasm for this medium. Millions of videos are viewed per day on YouTube.

However, there are many challenges with using mobile phones in reporting and production. The first challenge is getting the sound right. Any background noise is recorded so the reporter needs to stand really close to the person s/he is interviewing. Also, it seems that journalists have not fully embraced producing mobile phone content. Many use mobile phones as a backup or to take audio notes. Some radio journalist use it also when they are in a field in difficult circumstances where you don't want to trigger a lot of attention with a big shotgun mike or when you need to file quick news from a location of breaking news. Maybe this is also one of the reasons why mobile journalism has not become the next big thing as expected. Undoubtedly, it is a good back-up when your equipment fails.

### **Five Ways Journalists Can Use Smartphones for Reporting**

The good news for reporters today is that the advent of smartphones has made it possible for them to do part of their job with nothing more than a phone. However, this practice of “mobile reporting” is still so much in its infancy that there are limited resources and experts out there for guidance. Nonetheless, Belmaker, (2013), compiled five ways journalists can use smartphone apps for reporting.

#### ***1. Record and file audio clips***

Mobile reporting is largely dominated by broadcast journalists, including those who work in radio and use it for audio. The best app for this is the *VeriCorder Audio Pro*. It records good quality audio, allows editing and movement of segments, including taking a sound byte and inserting it between voice-overs and the sending the audio from the device to the newsroom.

## ***2. Shoot videos when action strikes***

Practise holding the phone in front for a stand-up in-action style that is perfect for breaking news assignments. Practise shooting video with the phone to keep focus in a dramatic event.

## ***3. Capture photos discretely***

Handling cell phone cameras during war or conflict, discretion is a major advantage. With practice, it's possible to take a photograph with a smartphone practically unnoticed, which can be the difference between getting an image or nothing.

## ***4. Live remote reporting***

One of the more useful features of smartphones is their ability to create a direct link from newsroom to reporter as the news is happening. For cross-platform transmission of live audio or video, Skype is increasingly popular.

## ***5. Filing copy on deadline***

Though slower and more cumbersome than sitting in front of a computer keyboard, the installed apps on smartphones for word processing can come in handy in meeting deadlines.

## **Mobile Phones and News Gathering**

Mobile technology and social networks have changed how news is distributed, but are becoming an increasingly important source for news. Social media is a vital tool for distributing news and information, but the increasing number of platforms and messaging apps, which interlink billions of people across the world, also bring new opportunities for news gathering. Here are four examples of how journalists and news outlets are using social platforms to source stories and gather information in different ways (Reid, 2014):

### ***Monitoring social media***

Facebook interest lists and Twitter apps like Tweetdeck are already widely used for their ability to collect relevant sources on a topic in list form, helping journalists to stay updated on their specific beat, but there are ways to delve deeper into social networks to find stories.

### ***Utilizing social networks***

Social media can be vital in getting the first word on breaking news stories it can also be a source for more investigative journalism.

### ***Closed social networks***

There is a great potential in using closed social network in finding sources for news. For instance, WhatsApp processes around 50 billion messages from its 450 million users each day, a figure that led to Facebook acquiring the messaging platform for \$19 billion in February, while recent figures from WeChat revealed the app has more than 350 million monthly active users. Such numbers represent enormous potential for journalists and news organisations in reaching sources for stories.

### ***Geo-locating social media***

As more apps and mobile software include GPS locations in the metadata of images or video, the ability to quickly find information relevant to a story or verify multimedia after the event, becomes easier for journalists. Facebook's Graph Search is a quick option for finding sources in registered to particular locations, but more detailed geolocation software is emerging for finding content or individuals.

### **Theoretical Explanations**

For this research, two theories: Mediamorphosis and the Uses and Gratification theories were applied. Mediamorphosis is a term used to describe how media forms evolve and adapt. For instance, digital media forms did not arise spontaneously and independently from old media. This paper uses the term to examine the context of mobile phone use in news gathering and dissemination in Kaduna metropolis. One of the central theses of the theory is the evolution of media forms on the online platform (e.g. news media and social media on Internet) due to the rise of *digital languages*. This is the third mediamorphosis in the historical context of communication media evolution (Fidler, 1997).

The Uses and Gratification Theory in this research explains what journalists use mobile phones for and the need they are trying to gratify. The theory was propounded by Katz in 1959. The theory is more concerned with what people do with the media. The uses and gratifications approach also postulates that the media competes with other information sources for audience's need and satisfaction (Katz et al., 1974a). As traditional mass media and new media continue to provide people with a wide range of media platforms and content, it is considered one of the most appropriate

perspectives for investigating why audiences choose to be exposed to different media channels (LaRose et al., 2001).

### **Methodology**

Survey research method was used for this study. The essence is to measure opinions of journalists on their use of mobile phones for news gathering. The population of the study consists of all practising journalists at the Kaduna State Council of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) numbering 77 as at 2015. For the purpose of the study, the correspondents' chapel of NUJ was studied. This is because they deal with news gathering for their various media houses. Hence, there are 77 members of the correspondents chapel. Based on this, the entire correspondents were studied, cutting across both government and private media organizations. This is in line with the views of Wimmer and Dominick (2008) that, if the population is few in number, there was no need for sampling. A structured questionnaire was used as the instrument for data collection, because it involves the survey method and provides divergent views to the respondents in the area of the study. In addition, the descriptive data analysis technique was used to present and analyse the data, followed by the interpretation and discussion of findings.

### **Data Presentation**

This section presents data gathered in the field.

*Table 1: The sex of the respondents*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	65	84.4
Female	12	15.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

From the Table 1 above, the number of male respondents outweighs that of females. It could be deduced that 65 (84.4%) are males, while only 12 (15.6%) are females. This may be as a result of the fear of the hazards in the practice of journalism by females. Hence, many of them stay out of it.

*Table 2: The education of the respondents*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
OND	25	32.4
HND	17	22.0
B.Sc	20	25.9
PGD	11	14.2
M.Sc	4	5.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2 shows that 25 (32.4%) respondents are Ordinary Diploma holders, and 17 (22.0%) Higher National Diploma. Bachelor's Degree holders are 20 (25.9%), Post Graduate Diploma holders 11 (14.2%) and only 4 (5.1%) have a Master's degree. The essence of the B.Sc may not be far from the fact that many of the practising journalists are graduates of Mass Communication from either polytechnics or universities. The National Diploma holders may also include students in Industrial Training in various media organizations. However, none of the respondents possessed a Master's of Science Degree. It should be noted that they all possess the least qualification needed for the practice of journalism.

*Table 3: Position's held by respondents*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Reporters	40	51.9
Correspondents	19	24.6
Bureau Chiefs	8	10.3
Photographers	10	12.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

According to Table 3 above, 40 respondents (51.9%) are reporters, 19 (24.6%) correspondents, 10 (12.9%) photographers and 8 (10.3%) Bureau Chiefs. The implication of this is that there are more journalists in the reportorial than other cadres. The reason may not be far from the fact that most media stations have only one reporter in Kaduna State. Hence, they engage in roving reportage of events to their headquarters in Lagos or Abuja. However, some media organizations have Heads in Kaduna. This may be because they have operational offices there. Such demand offices like a Bureau Chief, a correspondent for particular beats. The photographers are also journalists. This cuts across television and print media in particular. The choice of this option may be respondents who are cameramen of television stations.

**Table 4:** *Do you have a mobile phone?*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	100	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

As regards whether the respondents have mobile phones, all agree to possessing one, which they use to communicate with their colleagues, family and friends.

**Table 5:** *Types of phones used by respondents*

<b>Types of Phone</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Blackberry	25	32.4
Nokia	10	12.9
Samsung	5	6.4
Techno	32	41.5
Others	5	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above Table, one can understand that 32 respondents (41.5%) possess the *Techno* phone and 25 (32.4%) *Blackberry*. The choice of *Techno* may be because it is cheaper, yet with necessary applications, it is the same as *Blackberry*, which has all the applications needed to transact the news gathering business. Also, 10 (12.9%) possess a *Nokia* device, while 5 (6.4%) have a *Samsung* phone. This choice may have been influenced that both *Nokia* and *Samsung* also have some sophisticated devices that could be used in news gathering. Hence, they can also do the same that the *Blackberry* and *Techno* phones do. However, other varieties of phones can be used for this purpose. Under this, only 5 (6.5%) have other varieties of phones used for news gathering.

**Table 6:** *Do you use the mobile phone for news gathering?*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	100	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

According to the reactions of the respondents on whether they use mobile phones for news gathering, all chose the 'yes' option. This may be due to the fact that many of them use it to send news to their headquarters for

timely delivery. It should be noted that despite using their mobile phones, they may be exposed to using other devices like computers or through interpersonal means.

**Table 7:** *Is the mobile phone useful to you in gathering news?*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	77	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

In addition, since all the respondents use mobile phones for news gathering, they automatically chose the ‘yes’ option on whether mobile phones are useful to them in news gathering.

**Table 8:** *Has it been convenient for you to use the mobile phone as a means of news gathering?*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	77	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

Here, all the respondents chose the ‘yes’ option because they agree that it is convenient for them to use for news gathering. This choice by all of them may have been influenced by the fact that mobile phones save cost, such that reporters do not need to go to cybercafés to send news to their headquarters or post news items to their editors through the post offices.

**Table 9:** *Gains from the use of mobile phones by the respondents*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Make calls only	7	9.0
Browsing and calls	40	51.9
Calls, taking pictures, interviews	30	38.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

From the above Table, it could be deduced that 40 respondents (51.9%) use their mobile phones for browsing and calls. This may be because use of phones basically is associated with calls, while they also use it for sending and receiving mails, as well as social media. Also, 30 (38.9%) use their



phones for calls, pictures and interviews. This category may have chosen this option because they use their mobile phones for the coverage of events for television and the print media basically. They may not need the microphone to record an interview clearly. In addition, 7 (9.0%) claim to use their mobile phones for making and receiving calls only. However, this category may also have access to other computer systems, such that they can use them for news gathering. They can also use their phones for live coverage or interview.

*Table 10: The influence of mobile phones on respondents' pattern of journalism*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	51	66.2
No	0	0
Neutral	26	33.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 10 above shows that 51 respondents (66.2%) agree that the use of mobile phones for news gathering has changed their pattern of news coverage, while none chose the 'no' option. However, 26 (33.7%) chose to be neutral on this question. The introduction of mobile phones has helped media organizations to gather news in time and meet up with audience demands and deadlines. This may be the reason for the choice made by most of the respondents. However, those who chose to be neutral may have done so, because they believe that journalism in Nigeria has not left the analogue days, such that they still run after news.

*Table 11: Money as a barrier to the use of mobile phones for news gathering by respondents*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	52	67.5
No	25	32.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

From the Table above, 52 respondents (67.5%) chose the 'yes' option while 25 (32.4%) chose the 'no' option as to whether money can serve as a barrier to their use of mobile phones for news gathering. The choice of 'no' may have been influenced by the fact that some media organisations tend to sponsor the recharge of phones by their workers/employers. This transfers the expenditure incurred to the organizations, as against other media outfits,

where their employees pay for the recharge. This hampers the effectiveness of news gathering through mobile phones.

#### **Difficulties faced by respondents in using mobile phones for news gathering**

The major problems adduced by the respondents in using mobile phones for news gathering include power problem, high tariff for recharging mobile phones and poor network/services. These problems were identified as the main hindrance to the effectiveness in the use of mobile phones for news gathering because telecommunication service providers in Nigeria have poor quality service, such that the live coverage of events or reportage of news from certain places within metropolitan Kaduna are difficult.

#### **Discussion of Findings**

From the findings of the field data, the following assertions were drawn:

- a. All respondents have mobile phones and the majority being reporters who use *Blackberry* for news gathering. This means mobile phones are veritable tools for journalists in metropolitan Kaduna.
- b. Majority of the respondents agree that the use of mobile phones for news gathering has changed their pattern of news coverage.
- c. The main barrier to use of mobile phones for news gathering is the high tariffs of the various service providers.
- d. The main hindrance to the effective use of mobile phones for news gathering is poor network service, lack of electricity and poor connectivity.

#### **Conclusion/Recommendations**

The findings of this study reveal that journalists in the Kaduna metropolis use their mobile phones for news gathering. Based on that, the following are recommended:

- a. Service providers should improve their services to avoid breakage in live events.
- b. There is the need also for service providers to reduce their tariffs, particularly in bulk calls and messaging.

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## **Mobile Phone Usage and Traditional Social Values in Northern Nigeria**

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### **Introduction**

The establishment of the Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) in early 2000 in Nigeria has transformed the socio-economic and political sectors of human development in the country. The mobile phone is “a portable telephone using a cellular radio system, so that users are no longer confined to a fixed spatial location as they are with fixed telephones based on landlines” (Chandler & Munday, 2011, p.279). The unique structure and features of mobile phones have made them very popular among Nigerians. Mobile phones have the capability of enabling users to take photographs, record and play back audio and video clips and fast internet connectivity that makes it possible for users to download audio and video clips from the internet and connect to various social media platforms, such as *facebook*, *Twitter*, *Skype*, email, *WhatsApp*, etc. It also enables users to receive radio and television broadcast transmission. Thus, within few years of the commencement of GSM service in Nigeria, the system has succeeded in dominating the Nigerian telecommunication industry with millions of subscribers to the extent that it almost led to the demise of the traditional landline telephone system.

The emergence of mobile phones has enhanced the mode of social communication and interaction between individuals, groups and organizations. Also, the operations of various GSM service providers in Nigeria have created job opportunities for millions of people in the country. However, the high level of mobile phone usage, particularly among the

youth, has posed some challenges on the traditional social values cherished by the Hausa-Fulani culture of northern Nigeria. People of these cultures have always adhered to the traditional social values of shyness, patience, dignity and obedience as a means of maintaining social order in the society. This paper discussed how the mobile phone as a communication medium has been affecting the traditional values of the Hausa – Fulani people of northern Nigeria.

### **The Development and Utilization of Mobile Phone**

The emergence of mobile phones heralded a new era in telecommunication globally. Banjo, Hu and Sunder (2008) defined cell phone usage as any application of the cell phone as a tool, including talking, text messaging, game playing or the sheer accessibility of the instrument. Although the cell phone originally was a tool for business management, it now serves as a tool for social connectivity or managing relationships (Aoki and Downes, 2003). A report by Market Analysis and Consumer Research Organization (MACRO, 2004) indicates that cell or mobile phone technology introduces new senses of speed and connectivity to social life. This led to the transformation of the cell phone from “a status symbol tool” to “a necessity tool” today. Thus, the mobile phone has become a crucial tool for maintaining intimate ties.

Wei and Kolko (2005) observed that mobile phones are growing in popularity all over the world. Also Crabtree, et al (2003) said “the mobile phones progressed quickly from ridiculed to necessary technology which has penetrated most aspects of everyday life. A preliminary report of Australian Mobile Telecommunication (2007) has indicated that no other device has been diffused as rapidly as the mobile phone, but its social impact is unknown. There are over 1.7 billion mobile phones worldwide. In Australia, more than 88% of individuals own at least one mobile phone, 10% have two phones, while a few (1.4%) have more than two. However, use of mobile phones varies with age, according to the report. Among 14 - 17 year olds, only 12% do not regularly use a mobile phone, while mobile phone use peaks in the age range 18-39 years, where 94% regularly use a phone. The lower number of regular users of mobile phones is found among those aged 60 years and above. Convenience of the mobile phone is the reason given for frequently using it as shown by this report.

Aoki and Downes (2003) noted that in 1999 there were nearly 500 million mobile phones in use throughout the world. Similarly, GSMA (2014) indicates that in the last five years, the mobile industry has made extraordinary progress in bringing the benefits of connectivity to most parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America where the mobile phones have enabled

more than two billion people to become productive and efficient. However, people use these devices in a variety of contexts, but many people use them as personal communication devices. A survey conducted by Consumer Electronics Associations in 2001 suggested that 57% of cell phone users in the US used phones primarily for social purposes.

Further, young people are said to be the driving force in adopting the cell phone in Europe and Asia, where the cell phones are observed to be more prevalent. While in Finland, where cell phone penetration is the highest in the world, over 90% of the people under the age of 30 own such a device. Taylor and Harper (2001) said young people use cell phones, especially their text-messaging feature, as a form of gifts that are exchanged in a way that have a specific meaning in young people's lives, particularly with the intent of cementing social relationships. OFCOM (2013) observes that the internet capabilities of a mobile phone are significantly more important to young people than to those above 55 years.

The key findings of this report are that the most common uses of the mobile phone are voice calling and text messaging. Also, among those who use mobile data, using the internet on a mobile phone is the most used function on a daily basis. In the words of Yates (2003), the mobile phone is now as much a part of our lives as computers and the internet because it allows us to connect with the global community. Most young people over the age of 14 - 15 years now either own or have access to a mobile phone and they consider it a fashion accessory (Yates, 2003). Further, Yates observes that mobile phones have changed the way our young people communicate, while the text messaging has taught them a whole of new language. Aoki and Downes (2003) observe that the newest generation of cell phones, third generation (3G) wireless systems, is not just for talking. It provides multimedia messaging and direct internet access in addition to traditional voice communication services. Thus, according to them, the impact of cell phones on the society is great nowadays.

Also, Geser (2004) states that cell phones are used nowadays by a broader strata of the population all over the world and, for many users, they have stronger impacts on social life than personal computer and net technologies. And due to this rapid increase in cell phone technologies, as pointed by Geser, the total number of phones worldwide has surpassed the number of television sets in 2001. This diffusion occurred worldwide irrespective of cultural habits, values and norms. Thus, today the industry relies on adolescents exchanging SMS as well as audio messages. He concludes that the cell phones tend to weaken the control of all formal institutions over their members' behaviour, because they open the opportunity to all members to reduce or interrupt their formal role



involvements by engaging in alternative role behaviour and completely private interactions anywhere and anytime.

Similarly, mobile phones have become so indispensable that life may be unimaginable without them. As a result, being deprived of these devices might be perceived as so disruptive that everyday life cannot proceed as normal. This addiction is evidenced by the findings of MACRO (2004) where 58% reported that they could not manage without a mobile phone even for a day. They need to be constantly accessible and connected with friends or colleagues.

No doubt, mobile technology and connectivity are bringing lots of benefits to the life of the people. In the area of education, mobile connectivity is changing the way education is being conducted, especially with the advent of online programmes or distance learning. Students of this programmes relied on internet connectivity to obtain information on their area of study. Crabtree (2003) states that mobile broadband enhances learning activities because a multitude of education-focused applications are being introduced. For instance, in Nigeria, Longman Ladybird mobile reading was introduced to enhance reading, spelling and grammar activities. Also, in South Africa, Dr Math was introduced to provide math tutoring and education through a social networking site.

Pyramid Report (2010) indicates that more than 25% of the respondents in the 16-25 age bracket claimed use of mobile communication for education-related activities. Among those who use their mobile phones for educational purposes, 46% use it on a daily basis. A UNESCO report (2014) titled "Reading in the Mobile Era" has shown that people who read often become better readers and better reading leads to success in school and other areas of life. Reading begins with access to text, especially books. To encourage people to reading, there is the need for the provision of a library with current literature. This report has indicated that in Japan where 99% of people can read and write, there is a library for every 47,000 people. The situation in Nigeria is 1 library to 135,000. Thus, Emenanjo, an educationist, estimates that Nigeria currently meets less than 1% of its book needs, contributing to an illiteracy rate of over 40% (UNESCO, 2014).

### **The Advent of Mobile Phones in Nigeria**

The advent of GSM in Nigeria in 2001 after the de-regulation of the telecommunications industry marked the watershed in the history of the mobile phones in the country. Mobile phones have become a popular interactive forum, especially among the youth in the country, which is a global trend. It affords its users the opportunity to communicate irrespective of physical distance. Today, mobile phones provide multi-media platforms

used to perform a wide range of functions by the users. Pyramid Report (2010) indicates that Nigeria is a major market for telecommunications equipment and services on the African continent. Investments in the industry were over 18 billion US dollars by March 2010. The telecommunication industry in Nigeria has continued to grow and has led to increased access nationwide. The telecommunication market has been described as one of the fastest growing telecoms markets, especially between 2001 and 2007.

Nigeria has about 148 million subscriber lines as at the end of 2015, while the penetration rate is more than 90% of the people in the country (www.budde.com, 2015). It is common for people to conduct daily activities, such as shopping, banking, manufacturing, education, office work, medical care, governance and even commuting online. The dependence of people on information and telecommunication networks for a variety of services demonstrates the importance of ICT to the people of the country. Thus, mobile services are having a positive impact on the Nigerian people by enabling greater interaction through the provision of connectivity to remote areas and the lower income strata.

The findings of Pyramid Report (2010) indicate that mobile services are highly valued as 95% of those interviewed said mobile services have improved their daily lives. This positive perception is common across income strata, age groups and gender, stated the report.

### **The Mobile Phone and Social Communication in Society**

Communication is the life-blood of human societies. It is regarded as a pillar that facilitates and sustains human social development. Communication “is the process by which meaning is exchanged between individuals through a common system of symbols, signs, or behaviour” (Pearson et al (2002, p.10). Similarly, Hoffman (2007, p.67) noted that communication is “a transaction involving the meaningful exchange of information between sender and receiver”. The development of ICT and multimedia communication systems has contributed significantly in transforming the pattern of human social communication in the society. The mobile phone is one of the products of this technological advancement in the communication sector. Thus, there are billions of people that are using mobile phones around the world.

Explosive is the most appropriate word to describe mobile phone growth in different parts of the world, as more than half of the world’s populations are using mobile phones (Heeks & Jagun, 2007). The accessibility of mobile phones among the people of various social strata has made it a very popular and an effective means of communication for various purposes. According to Heeks and Jagun (2007), the possession of mobile phones has brought three significant benefits to users, incremental, transformational and production

benefits. Incremental benefits refer to mobile phone's contribution to "improve what people already do – offering them faster and cheaper communication, often substituting for costly and risky journeys". Secondly, transformational benefits refer to mobile phone contribution to "offer something new – new ways to access services and support livelihoods". Thirdly, production benefits of mobile phones "come not from using but from selling mobiles and related services". Social communication or interaction signifies that we are aware of the existence of others, as well as implies the active engagement between two or more parties. Thus, it implies that we are not only aware of the presence of others but we are communicating with those around us.

Although mobile phones are used for social interaction and are responsible for introducing new senses of speed and connectivity to social life, however, Banjo, Hu and Sunder (2008) argued that they can actually serve as tools for social isolation. In a situation where somebody uses his/her mobile phone to engage in an activity, he/she might have less reason to talk to anybody. They also contended that the sheer accessibility of the cell phone can hinder potentially beneficial social interaction with others, especially strangers. Further, one of the reasons why cell phone users are reluctant to initiate conversations with others is because they feel obligated to their phones. This behaviour is very evident in our society today.

Meyerowitz in (Banjo et al 2008) suggested that cell phone users tend to be less aware of the happenings in their surroundings and this may lead to reduced attention to social issues, as well as awareness of certain features in the local interaction. Thus, the cell phones and other interactive mobile technologies function as marks that hinder active users from recognizing the needs of others, concluded Banjo, et al. These studies demonstrate the dangers of mobile phones if not used properly.

Also, there is the need for mobile phone users to be aware of the effects these technologies on their attention, as well as on their surroundings. Perhaps, there is the need to develop a social code of behaviour for the proper use of mobile phones, especially for the youth. According to Suleiman and Yakubu (2012), culture is an instrument of human advancement. The cultural factor is one of the factors that differentiate one individual from another and constitutes societal norms and values. Thus, culture relates to the beliefs and values people have about societies, as well as the ideal society they seek to have. Further, they pointed out that cultural capital can be used as a method of asserting people's identity and as a method of pursuing desired goals within their society.

### **The Social Influence of Mobile Phones in Northern Nigeria**

The mobile phone is very relevant in every aspects of social life in Nigeria. Mobile phone's impact on people in Nigeria can be regarded as a high level of social influence, "the exercise of social power by a person or group to change the attitudes or behaviour of others in a particular direction" (Hoffmann, 200, p.269). This influence was identified within Hausa and Fulani cultures of northern Nigeria. These cultures have similarities on most of the social values they cherish and promote among members of their communities. The traditional social values include: shyness, patience, dignity and obedience. However, the advent of mobile phones has come with negative effects on the level with which these values are adhered to, especially among Hausa and Fulani youths.

Shyness is an important social value cherished by these cultures. It refers to the act of being "nervous or embarrassed about meeting and speaking to other people" (Hornby, 2010, p.375). In the context of Hausa and Fulani cultures, shyness as a traditional social value implies that an individual should be reserved and timid in his relationship with other people, particularly elders, seniors, strangers and the opposite sex. Consequently, as a result of high exposure to mobile phones, this value is no longer considered by many Hausa and Fulani youths. Thus, there are several instances where young girls use their mobile phones to send text messages or call men to inform them of their intention to befriend them. Also, they sometimes engage in mobile chatting or night calls with strangers that pretend to be their lovers. This trend is contrary to the renowned traditional value of shyness among Hausa and Fulani people.

Patience is a very important traditional social value in Hausa and Fulani cultures. It refers to "the ability to stay calm and accept a delay or something annoying without complaining" (Hornby, 2010, p.1076). In the context of Hausa and Fulani cultures, patience implies that an individual should observe a high level of tolerance in dealing with unpleasant situations. This social value is no longer adhered to by many Hausa and Fulani youths. This can be identified from the kind of discussion and messages they post on mobile chatting and social media through their mobile phones in relation to various social issues in the society. Also, there are several offensive text messages that are sent by the youths on sensitive issues, such as religion, politics and ethnicity. This act is contrary to the value of patience cherished by these cultures. It indicates the level of impatience among the young generation.

Dignity is an important traditional social value in Hausa and Fulani cultures. It refers to "a calm and serious manner that deserves respect" (Hornby, 2010, p.407). In the context of Hausa and Fulani cultures, dignity implies that an individual should portray a high level of self-respect in

relating with people. However, this value is disregarded by many Hausa and Fulani youths. This can be identified in the manner they use their mobile phones to post obscene pictures and video clips on various social media platforms. Also, they send graphic sensual text messages to the opposite sex. These acts are contrary to the social value of dignity cherished by Hausa and Fulani cultures. Similarly, in a study conducted by Dauda (2012) on the sexting trend among students of the University of Maiduguri, the findings indicated that about 52% of the respondents stated that they have been receiving sexy messages and pictures of naked people from their mobile phone from their friends. The study concluded that sexual gratification, emotional instability and entertainment were the major reasons for sending sexy text messages.

Obedience is also another important traditional social value cherished by Hausa and Fulani cultures. In the context of Hausa and Fulani cultures, an individual should abide by the instructions and orders given by his community elders, parents, senior brothers and sisters, etc. A young person is expected to seek the approval of older ones before taking any decision on various social issues. However, adhering to this social value nowadays is very minimal among many Hausa and Fulani youth. There are several instances where young girls engage in a serious relationships with men through mobile phones without the consent of their parents or guardians. Thus, most of their decisions were taken based on the views they shared with friends on social media.

Learning is another important traditional social value cherished by Hausa and Fulani cultures. It refers to the knowledge obtained through formal or informal study. These cultures encourage people to acquire knowledge through formal and informal systems of learning, as the only means through which an individual will be useful to himself and to the community. Although the mobile phone can be used to facilitate effective learning, as it was indicated above, it also serves as a distraction to formal learning in Nigerian academic institutions. Many students devote most of their time to mobile phones at the expense of their studies. In a study conducted by Adamu (2011) on the influence of mobile phones on some students of ABU Zaria, the findings indicated that 51.3% of the respondents stated that they use their handsets 24 hours for various activities. Also 45.4% stated they used their handsets during lectures. When students were asked to identify what was affecting their academic activities, they mentioned things that were available on mobile phones. 39.5% watched films, 34.5% listened to music and 11.8% surfed the internet. The study however concluded that, although the mobile phone has some negative impacts on the students, it can also be used for their positive development if all the stakeholders in the education

sector will play a significant role of guiding them on how and where to use their mobile phones for their academic development.

Many scholars have made similar observations in relation to the use of mobile phones. Ahmad (2006) reiterated the fear by some people that the mobile phone is a great threat to youths imbibing positive cultural norms and values, thus, doubting whether they can cope on their own with the challenges posed by new realities brought about by the new information and communication technologies and globalization without parental assistance and guidance. Indeed, there is the need for parental guide with regard to the use of the phone, as evident in the way older people are generally scornful of young people's use of the mobile phone, especially in public places (Banjo, et al, 2008). Although mobile phones can allow parents to contact their children from the comfort of their homes, there is a responsibility on all parents to explain the obvious risks associated with mobile phone ownership and usage to their children to ensure they have a clear understanding of the expectations on them in respect of its responsible use (Yates, 2003). Wei and Kolko (2005) are of the opinion that mobile phones should be used in a culturally meaningful way.

### **Conclusion**

The mobile phone is a very important communication device that can be viewed from both positive and negative perspectives. Utilizing mobile phones for social communication is an inevitable activity in our contemporary society. Therefore, it's imperative for parents and teachers to play a significant role in ensuring effective communication media and technological literacy among youths in the society. This will enable them to understand how to use various communication devices in a way that will be beneficial to their personal and societal development.

### **Recommendations**

- A special campaign should be organized by the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and mass media organizations to enlighten Nigerian youths on the need for ethical consideration in using mobile phones.
- Religious leaders should use periods of religious functions to enlighten their followers on the responsible ways for using mobile phones.

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## **Citizen Journalism in Nigeria: Towards a Strategic Approach**

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### **Introduction**

Access to information and freedom of expression are two fundamental issues as far as public communication is concerned. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ensures the right to access information and the media. Its importance certainly has not diminished with the advent of digital technology. The article proclaims that the freedom of individuals and groups to freely seek and exchange information provides legitimacy for the operation of the media globally. From this universal convention, media organizations and individuals across the world derive their legitimacy. The mass media is centred on peoples' lives.

Without the media, we cannot imagine what happens in view of the silence and uncertainties that may prevail. The media, as broadly categorized into print and broadcast and, by extension the new media comprising computer, cell phone, internet, etc. is seen as a public means of mass communication. People use mass media as a source of information, education, entertainment, and as a means of expressing their views. Over the years, mass media have emerged as a powerful means of expression in human societies. Their influence has been profound and felt in all aspects of life. As Curran (2002) argued, mass media serve as a source of cultural expression, politics, economy, philosophy and lots of other forms and values of life.

The basic role of mass media in a society, as enunciated by McQuail (2005), is to inform, educate and entertain. In a democratic society, the mass media sustain and nourish the ideal of democratic ethos and assure the guarantee and protection of the freedom of individuals and that of the media themselves. As a policy actor, the mass media help to define social reality and influence policy outcomes in the process (Chan, 1995). The mass media can help sensitize citizens on basic rights and on how to ask relevant questions about how they are governed. Hence, mass media serve as the fourth estate of the realm.



The Nigerian 1999 Constitution in Section 39(1), for example, guarantees the right to freedom of expression and the press, on the one hand. Thus: "Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference". The fact that the mass media are indispensable to the process of governance is no more debated. In democracies, the media has a complex relationship with the sources of power and the political system (McQuail, 2005). For these great roles and much more alike attached to the mass media, no society ever leaves its media to operate in a vacuum without putting down some form of regulatory codes to guide their operations. To this, Abubakar (2000) asserts that the media of mass communication have been governed with different theories based on the social and political setup of various societies. Thus, we have: The Authoritarian Theory of Mass Communication, The Communist Theory, The Libertarian Theory and The Social Responsibilities Theory, which emerged in line with political doctrines all over the world.

The right to freedom of speech is not an absolute right due to societal constraints. For this, there would always be a dialectical conflict between the doctrine of free speech and the regulation of mass media. However, the fact is that the rationale for the regulation of the broadcast media is both political and economic (Hilliard and Keith, 1996) realizing that the broadcast media can be used for good or evil. There are often needs for a system of control. Hence, media regulation is a fundamental consideration in media practice.

In order to ensure national security and by keeping relevant facts and information secret from the public and the rest of the world, the provision of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria guarantees a regulation of the freedom of expression. Thus, while section 39(1) guarantees the right to freedom of expression and the press, section 39(2) and (3), (a)-(b) quickly check the provisions by permitting its restriction or abridgement by any law, which is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society for the purpose of preventing the disclosure of the information received in confidence; or imposing restrictions upon persons holding office under the government of the Federation or State; or Members of the Armed Forces, or Police, and other security agencies (Malemi, 2009).

Citizen journalism as an emerging source of information reception and dissemination is gradually being appreciated and recognized by Nigerian citizens. This new system is now referred to always in sourcing and disseminating information as alternatives to the conventional mainstream media. Citizen journalism grew in tandem with the growth of the interactive functions on the Internet. Although it encompasses many aspects and comes in different forms - blogs, forums, uploading photographs or videos to the

media, citizen journalism has one fundamental basis: “contributing journalistic content to the news process.” The problem is that the Nigerian government, through its agency (the National Broadcasting Commission), regulates radio and television stations for better broadcasting in the country. The reverse is the case, however, as far citizen journalism, using social media to post and download news and information that are yet to be broadcast by the mainstream broadcast media organizations.

People are made to receive unregulated news and information from other people that are not exposed to journalism training. The implication is that the mainstream professionals who ought to be heard first when recurrent events of national interest happen, will always be heard second instead because people post events on social media as soon as they happen and almost immediately, one begins to see comments and responses. The snag there is that most of the postings are unverified and largely unregulated. It is against this background that this paper discusses the relevance or otherwise of the doctrine of broadcast regulations in the era of citizen journalism.

### **The Concept of Citizen Journalism**

Citizen journalism has severally been defined by many scholars around the globe. The central meaning to most of the definitions is that people who are not trained journalists participate in the activities of reporting happenings around them. Established media houses also seem to encourage citizen journalism as they urge their listeners/viewers to download their apps to enable them (the listeners) to upload contents as they happen. With the availability of internet services, Nigerians today share information and make comments on news posts and public information. More importantly, many people consider this as an opportunity to participate in the public discourse and as an alternative way of partaking in sourcing and distribution of information. Radsch (2011, p.62) defines citizen journalism as:

An alternative and activist form of newsgathering and reporting that functions outside mainstream media institutions, often as a repose to the shortcomings in the professional journalistic field that uses similar journalistic practices but is driven by different objectives and ideals and relies on alternative sources of legitimacy than traditional or mainstream journalism.

In other words, the concept of gatekeeping, popularly attributed to the different layers in reporting news within mainstream media, is absent in citizen journalism. Moreover, practitioners within the mainstream media are

bound by certain ethical rules of reporting news. Citizen journalists, however, do their work generally without thinking of the consequences of their work.

Bowman and Willis (Olarinmoye et. al. 2014, p. 1) defined citizen journalism as: “The act of a citizen, or a group of citizen playing an active role, in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information.” This definition is similar to that of Asemah (2011, p. 42), who succinctly defines citizen journalism as “...when individuals do essentially what professional reporters do - report information. That information can take many forms, from a broadcast editorial to a report about a city council meeting on a blog. It can include text, pictures, audio and video.” Citizen journalism, therefore, can be a massive help by providing written reports in addition to photographs and videos in real time (Holbrook, 2013).

Discussing the idea behind citizen journalism, Glaser (Asemah, 2011, p. 43) asserted that:

People without professional journalism training can use the tools of modern technology and the global distribution of the internet to create, augment or fact-check media on their own or in collaboration with others. For example, you might write about city council meeting on your blog or in an online forum. Or you could fact-check a newspaper article from the mainstream media and point out factual errors or bias on your blog. Or you might snap a digital photo of a newsworthy event happening in your town and post it online. Or you might videotape a similar event and post it on a site such as your Facebook [or YouTube].

It is important also to note that citizen journalism is called different names by different scholars based on their observations on what citizen journalism does and its peculiar features, as follows:

1. **Network journalism:** Citizen journalism can also be called network journalism because it revolves around the distribution of information via internet. Everyone who owns a telephone set or a computer set and can access internet connections can browse to see current information posted by different individuals. The person can also post news or current happening as an eye witness or share the same from someone posting it. In fact, citizen journalism became popular with internet that is easily accessible by everyone.

2. ***Collaborative citizen journalism (CCJ)***: Collaborative citizen journalism is another name given to citizen journalism because it encourages the reportage of facts and news that is largely ignored by large media companies. Audience of news and information tend to refer to the social media to collaborate the information heard or read in the mainstream media. Citizen journalism, therefore, becomes a collaborative source of information for the people.
3. ***Personal publishing***: Citizen journalism is sometimes referred to as personal publishing because it is easily spread through personal websites, blogs and social media, etcetera. So, a blogger or a website administrator can personally publish news and allow for comments from people reading from the blog or website. A piece of information posted can also be removed from the site by the person who posted it. So, the posted items become like the personal property of the person.
4. ***Grassroots media***: This is another name for citizen journalism, which qualifies citizen journalism as media through which individuals from the grassroots level have access to the media to share opinions, comments, information and current happenings in the society. An individual from anywhere can post news and events happening around inasmuch as he/she can get access to internet services. So, with citizen journalism, access to the media is now for all.
5. ***Open source journalism***: Citizen journalism is often called open source journalism because everybody can share the information, irrespective of whether the original source is identified or not. In another perspective, open journalism means multiple sources can report the same information, thereby providing varieties as per sources of news and information.
6. ***Citizen media***: The practice of citizen journalism is now regarded as citizen media because of the fact that news production and dissemination are no longer the exclusive preserve of media owners, government officials, journalists, large corporations and the elite but are also in the hands of citizens. Citizens can now practice journalism, irrespective of whether they were trained journalists or work with an established media organization or underwent any special training in journalism or not.
7. ***Participatory journalism***: This particular name qualifies one of the features of citizen journalism because it allows the public to actively participate in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information which journalists may have

missed. So, everybody has equal chances of participating in the practice of citizen journalism.

### **Citizen Journalism and the Imperatives of Journalistic Integrity**

Journalism is vital to the existence and growth of the society. The journalists are active participants in governance. This is why they are referred to as the fourth estate of the realm. The power of the press, according to McQuail (2005), arose from its ability to give or withhold publicity and from its informative capacity. The press has obligation to full and accurate information of matters of public interest, through which governments, institutions, organisations and all others in authority, at whatever level, are held accountable to and by the public (Alawode, 2011, p.239).

Thus, citizen journalism practice derives its legitimacy from *the right of the public to know* and, by depriving the people of this media freedom diminishes the sovereignty of the people. Freedom of expression is a sister right to the right of the public to know. Albert, cited in Inuwa (2014, p. 18) while discussing on the needs of mass media to be free all the time, asserts that “when the press is free, it may be good and bad but certainly without freedom, it can’t be anything but bad.” Individuals have the right, constitutionally, to express their opinions and practice as citizen journalists. The words contained in Section 36(2) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria reads as follows:

Without prejudice to generality of sub-section (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions....

By virtue of this section, citizen journalism becomes a career for all the citizens who can practice. To be upright in one’s career, however, “is to be truthful and never be careless or reckless in the discharge of one’s duties. Once this is in place, societal respect will automatically follow. To do the opposite is to earn disrespect from the people we interact with” (Akinfeleye, 2008, p.119).

In other words, the freedom individuals enjoy in partaking in the practice of citizen journalism with the availability of media in their hands does not automatically guarantee them to abuse the chances and cause public disturbance. Individual citizen journalists ought to understand the rights of other individuals in the society. The rights of individuals, government and other competing partners within the society must to be protected. This is because, every right or freedom claimed or enjoyed must have a

corresponding duty and social responsibility. Laws existing in every society spell out what is right and what is wrong and appropriate or inappropriate for members of a society, as well as other entities existing within it.

The existence of the law, therefore, makes conventional media practitioners careful in exercising their freedom of speech, so as not to violate other peoples' rights. However, since there is not always an established body of laws regulating the practice of citizen journalism in the social media, every citizen must respect the dignity and prestige of the practice by reporting facts, accuracy and utmost truth of every story he/she is reporting. The user should think objectively and inquiringly and write without sentiment. They should work with utmost moral values, as expressed by Akinfeleye (2008, p. 121), "Moral values determine what you genuinely do or feel should be done with absolute truth and honesty. It commands your inner self to do the right thing, to be socially responsible and to do well for the betterment of tomorrow. Its foundation is based on morality." It is only when these moral values are respected that the public will be safe and protected from the pervasive effects of citizen journalism.

Samson (2008, p. 152) discussed the ethical standards set for mass media practitioners at the fourth consultative meeting of the international and regional organizations of professional journalists held in Prague and Paris in 1983. If government and media stakeholders would put hands together in making these ethical standards known and available at the hands of citizens, the practice of citizen journalism would be enhanced. Citizens need to be educated on what is good and bad and the imperative of protecting other peoples' rights and dignity in the following ways:

1. ***Peoples' right to true information:*** A citizen journalist must be ever conscious of the rights of the reading public to true information. Thus, in posting information in the social media, a true, accurate, uncoloured picture of an event or issue must be presented.
2. ***Principles of objectivity:*** Government and media stakeholders must make sure that citizen journalists report what is true and objective. Facts must be presented honestly, conscientiously and in their proper context.
3. ***Respect for privacy and human dignity:*** Government should ensure that citizen journalism is operated within the same laws that govern other citizens. Thus, the users must not contravene the law in their reporting. As a moral precept, the users must respect the rights of individuals to privacy and human dignity in conformity with entrenched constitutional provisions.

### **Restrictions in Practice as Social Responsibility**

Although citizens are free to publish and post news and information in their various blogs and websites, the ethics of journalism states clearly that this will be done subject to the laws of the land and issues of national security. A theory that establishes a close relationship between freedom of expression and restrictions of that freedom is called the social responsibility theory. Developed by F.S. Siebert, T.B. Peterson and W. Schramm in 1963, the Social Responsibility Theory is a modified version of the free press theory placing greater emphasis upon the accountability of the media (especially broadcasting) to society. Media are free but they should accept obligations to serve the public good. The means of ensuring compliance with these obligations can either be through professional self-regulation or public intervention (or both). According to Folarin (1998), the Social Responsibility Theory provides the media with the function of raising conflict to the plane of discussion. The media can be used by anyone who has the idea to express, but they are forbidden to invade rights or disrupt vital social structure or interest. They should perform their roles in such a way as to demonstrate awareness that they have a stake in what happens to society - stability or confusion, equity or corruption.

The Social Responsibility Theory originated from the Hutchins Commission on freedom of the press, media practitioners and media codes, which was set up in the United States in 1947. The essence of the commission was to examine the concept of press freedom, as spelt out in the Libertarian Media Theory (Egbon, 1995, Folarin, 1998 and Davis and Baran, 2006). The commission came up with the report that press freedom was endangered, providing three basic reasons as follows:

1. As mass communication develops, the press (including newspapers, radio, movies, magazines and books) becomes much more important to the people. Yet, its development greatly decreases by the number of people who can express their opinions and ideas through the press, because the press, in effect, had been seized by a few rich powerful commercial interests;
2. The few are able to use the machinery of the press have not provided a service adequate to the needs of the society; and
3. The press sometimes engages in practices, which society condemns and which, if continued, will inevitably undertake to regulate or control through government and political agencies (Igboanusi, 2006).

The Social Responsibility Theory provides a justification for the argument advanced by Sunday (2007) that abuse of freedom by the press led to calls for a free but responsible press - social responsibility.

The theory, therefore, attempts to keep the media to certain standards while at the same time ensuring preservation of press freedom. Socially-acceptable behaviour was to be anchored on self-regulation, but if the press would not voluntarily behave, certain structures must then be available to ensure that they comply with recognized social standards (Folarin, 1998).

McQuail (Asemah, 2011, p.1 48 -149) provides that the principles of the Social Responsibility Theory are:

1. Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society;
2. These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance;
3. In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions;
4. The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorders or give offence to minority groups;
5. The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversities of their society, giving access to various points of view and granting all the right to reply;
6. Societies and the public, following the first named principles, have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention can be justified to serve the public good; and
7. Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society, as well as to employers and the market.

### **Citizen Journalism versus Broadcast Regulations in Nigeria**

Broadcast regulation can be described as the field of law pertaining to controlling broadcast content. These laws and regulations pertain to radio and TV stations and are also considered to include closely-related services like cable TV and cable radio, as well as satellite television and radio. Likewise, it also extends to broadcast networks. Broadcast law includes technical parameters for these facilities, as well as content issues like copyright, profanity and localism or regionalism.

The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) was established by the Decree No. 38 of 1992 and amended by the National Broadcasting Commission (Amendment) Decree No. 55 of 1999 to regulate the broadcasting industry in Nigeria. The commission was empowered to



regulate broadcasting for its betterment in the country. The NBC's mission statement, as contained in the Code, is: "To evolve defined standards, in all aspects of broadcasting, to effectively license, monitor and regulate an environment that encourages investment and development of quality programming and technology for a viable industry, which competes favourably in the Global Information Society".

In exercising its powers, the NBC formulated a comprehensive Code, which attempts to set standards of broadcasting in Nigeria. The Code dictates the standards required of the media in programming, as it affects children, politics, religions, and morality, content of news and current affairs, as well as foreign materials.

The advent of social media, which, of course, leads to the development of citizen journalism brought about transformation on how Nigerian citizens receive broadcast messages. A symbiotic relationship is created between mainstream broadcast media and social media both of which carry broadcast messages to the public. Initially, conventional broadcast media, such as television and radio, are known as outlets for carrying video and audio or audio messages respectively, to their audience. With Internet today, different social media are available with computers and mobile phones carrying the same radio and television format and can allow individuals to access both audio and video messages. In line with this argument, Van Den Dam (2010) asserts that the convergence of broadband, information in whatever form - video, audio, computing and games, become readily available in the hands of a large audience. People participate actively in the act of sending and receiving news and information. Today, regulation of media, as was known before, has shifted from the domain of media and communication companies toward the more open Internet communication platform.

In today's broadcasting environment, Nigerians are exposed to multiple unregulated pieces of news and information from different sites of the social media. The mainstream broadcast media stations, which are there to feed the public with authenticated information, are left behind presently for current information. The NBC puts down a lot of regulations to ensure quality in broadcasting amongst the mainstream broadcast media stations. Hence, the NBC emphasizes on quality and professionalism in broadcasting.

Discussing on the issue of media regulation, McQuail (2005, p.137) asserts that the most unpleasant consequence for media institutions is the convergence in terms of their organization, distribution, reception and regulation. Different media with different regulatory bodies are now converged technologically to form what is called digital communication. Internet serves as the mother of convergence by incorporating all media whether voice, data, sound or pictures. Emphasizing on this, Talabi (2011,

p.18) asked the pertinent question: “The NBC regulates broadcasting; the NPC regulates print media; then who regulates the online print and electronic by the way of convergence? Who controls the internet or internet journalism? Involvement of internet in journalism practice now press challenges for journalism regulatory bodies.”

Talabi (2011, p. 17), cited Pound, an American critic, saying, that every profession is governed by certain rules. Journalism goes beyond bringing news to the audience. For example, the question of gatekeeping involving different editors, reporters, advertisers, etc. is taken into consideration before the news gets to the final consumer. Writing on this, Bowman (2003, p.1) says:

The venerable profession of journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology and competitors but, potentially, by the audience it serves. Armed with easy-to-use web publishing tools, always-on connections and increasingly powerful mobile devices, the online audience has the means to become an active participant in the creation and dissemination of news and information. And it’s doing just that on the Internet.

A study conducted by Inuwa (2014) reveals that many cases in different parts of the world, unconfirmed reports or imageries which have been acquiesced to and used in mainstream broadcast media only turn out to be false or manipulated images. The NBC, however, cannot regulate the activities of people posting news and information on social media. All forms of balancing a story and reporting without bias, which traditional broadcast stations consider as ethical, may not be followed in today era of internet.

Another challenge this practice is posing to the profession is seen where the mainstream media could be prohibited to broadcast certain information whereas citizen journalists go ahead to publish the same information. A very good example is where the National Broadcasting Commission prohibits a radio and television station from announcing the death of a person without allowing his/her family to know first. Social media users however do not wait for this moment. In a lot of instances, families got to know the death of their relatives through social media.

### **Towards a Strategic Approach**

Although citizen journalism is free to be practised without any established regulation in the country, the moral ethics of journalism state clearly that this

will be subject to the laws of the land and issues of national security. Considering the applicability of the Social Responsibility Theory as the theoretical framework, therefore, the following recommendations can be offered for the good utilization of internet and social media for better citizen journalism in the country:

1. Citizen journalism should be practised by anyone who has an idea to express, but they are forbidden to invade other people's rights or disrupt vital social structure or interest. This would justify the saying that the freedom enjoyed by a citizen journalist does not automatically guarantee him/her to impinge the right of other individuals in the society. The government should, therefore, enact a law that will punish anyone assessed to be misusing the social media and causing public disturbances in the country.
2. Government and stakeholders should encourage citizens to perform their roles in such a way as to demonstrate awareness that they have a stake in what happens to society - stability or confusion, equity or corruption. This will, of course, involve participating in all news or generated discussion on awareness campaigns and other orientation programmes by different stakeholders.
3. Citizen journalism should be encouraged and exercised with the acceptance and fulfilling of certain obligations to society based on informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. When this is maintained, we may say that citizen journalism is a credible source or additional source second to the mainstream media.
4. Subject to the serial number one of this paragraph, citizen journalism practitioners should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups. This can only be achieved when journalists accept to account for any piece of information they are sharing.
5. Through systematic media campaigns and orientation programmes, government and stakeholders should make an effort to ensure that citizen journalism is exercised based on verified and authenticated sources of information. When this is maintained, the practice can be used by mainstream media journalists as additional sources of sourcing their reports or a complimentary source of their news.
6. Citizens should be educated using frequent information delivery through different media outlets on issues that involve the laws and ethics of journalism. This can be sponsored by government and other stakeholders in the field as to ensure sanity in practice. The following submission backs up the point raised: "Knowing legal

rights and responsibilities is important for anyone who publishes online. The CMLP's legal guide addresses the legal issues you may encounter as you gather information and publish your work. The guide is intended for use by citizen media creators with or without formal legal training, as well as others with an interest in these issues.” (Citizen Media Law Project Legal Guide) available on <http://www.citmedialaw.org/legal-guide>

7. Popular bloggers that run citizen journalism content should have some guidelines. Everyone who wants to post any information in the site or deliver a comment should have a chance of being guided on what to write and how to write it. For example, the CNN's *iReport* has a “Community Guideline”, a page write-up on what's news and what's not acceptable on their site. *NowPublic* also has a guide “I want to write something” and *OhMyNews* has a comprehensive FAQ section guiding the users of the site.

### **Conclusion**

As media becomes available in the hands of individuals in society, the right to receive and convey news and information becomes actualized and realized. Nigerian citizens can now access and share information via social media to a greater extent that they could pass even the mainstream media stations in terms of being timely in reporting. These activities of reporting news and current information via social media sites are referred to as citizen journalism. It is, therefore, the act of reporting and disseminating information and the current account of events using internet services by individuals rather than by trained and professional journalists.

Citizen journalism is good because it allows the Nigerian citizen to participate in news reporting and distribution. People who could not access media before and those whose opinion and views were neglected are now active members of the society sharing and making comments on issues that affect national interests. Citizen journalism, however, could be perceived as problematic because people report and share information and current events from unreliable sources. Untrained people are involved in news reporting and this, sometimes causes serious problems in the society. Rumours and unreliable reports are now common and accessible in different social media sites. The worse thing is that those mainstream media equipped with professional staff are under regulations and could not report a lot of information and happenings in the society in as much as there are contradictions with the provisions of their regulatory commissions or agencies.

The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), for example, forbids radio and television stations to announce the death of anyone without letting his/her family know about it first. Today, many cases of reporting deaths prior to the knowledge of the family could be seen on social media. Broadcasting, therefore, is regulated in Nigeria by the National Broadcasting Commission but no established agency regulates the practice of citizen journalism in Nigeria. It becomes imperative, however, for media professionals and government to put hands together in bringing out comprehensive strategies of educating citizens and enacting laws with the sole aim of addressing the problem caused by this practice.

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# **Adoption and Usage of ICT Skills in Service Delivery Amongst Selected PROs in Public Organizations in Kano State**

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## **Introduction**

Information and communication technologies have brought changes and increasing competition amongst nations and corporations. It is also impacting heavily on peoples’ lives in various ways (Joseph 2009). Public relations, including professional practice, which is one of the avenues which ensure the smooth running of organizations falls within the spectrum of the new influence. PROs, top management officers, and international and external publics are all part of those affected by the information and communication technology. The way persuasive communication is sent and received, how organizational communication is made and how crisis communication is planned, executed and evaluated, all rely largely on how the concerned publics, as they shifted their behaviour to catch up with the mainstream system, receive instant information.

One of the popular tools of internet, i.e. social media, which is a group internet-based applications (web 2.0), allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content (Kaplan and Heinlien in Hassan 2014). It is estimated that more than two thirds of the people who use internet visit social networking sites at least once in a month, and nearly ten percent of all the time spent online is devoted to social networking. PR officers as part of the mainstream public need to be fully conversant with whatever issue that has a pervasive impact on public opinion.

The turning point for social media as a tool for political campaigning in Nigeria was in 2010 when the country’s president joined *facebook*.



Suddenly, *facebook* became the place to go if you wanted to connect with the president, high profile politicians, technocrats and those in the corridors of power (Hassan, 2014). Today *facebook*, *Myspace*, *LikedIn*, *FriendSter*, *Bebo* and similar sites have provided platforms for millions of people across the globe to communicate, socialize and gain social capital (Mohammed, 2014).

Computer literacy of PROs and the degree of adoption of the new technology is what will guarantee the expected result by the organization. In Kano State, for example, PROs are attached to each ministry and/or government agencies and directorates. Also, PROs are attached to each of the 44 local government secretariats across the state. But how well do they discharge their professional duties under the new trend? This is what this paper seeks to find out.

For public relations officers to adequately and competently reach out to their numerous and varied publics, they need to acquire the new skill and training and their organizations should provide them with the necessary ICT gadgets that will allow them to discharge their duties professionally in the digital world.

Field research undertaken on the role of public relations in the reinforcement of tax collection in the Board of Internal Revenue Kano State has revealed one reality that could be generalized to the attitude of top management towards public relations in Nigeria. Public relations departments/units or directorates in Nigeria receive less or no attention when it comes to budgets and the procurement of the necessary equipment. To this end, NIPR laments the situation. PROs are mostly left with event management and media relations. This is contrary to functions of PR in the private organizations.

### **An Overview of PR in Nigeria**

Scholars are of the opinion that proper PR activity in Nigeria emerged only after the end of the World War II. This is perhaps why Oracca – Tetteh (Ajala 2005) linked the arrival of modern public relations with January 1<sup>st</sup> 1944 when the war was about to end. It was the time many organizations in the private sector introduced PR in the management of their firms.

The Indigenization Decree served as a key instrument in making PR demanding and relevant. Several key positions in private organizations offered Nigerians the opportunity to pioneer the crusade for PR practice (Ajala 2005). The United African Company (UAC) had established its PR department since that time. Economic activities and freedom of expression are always a catalyst for PR growth. Hence it is against this background the enabling environment made masters and labourers always wrestle each other. This paved the way for the widespread social protest in the late 1920s and

1930s by labour unions. Peter Imodu's case in 1914 was a typical example. The colonial office was sufficiently disturbed to take a closer look at the labour policies of respective the colonial administration. So, to minimize social and political unrest, an ordinance was promulgated in 1941 (Otobo, 1988).

The ordinance failed to reduce the frequency of disputes or to increase the readiness of employers to take full advantage of some of its procedures. For example, UAC employees embarked on a nationwide stoppage. With this development and complexity in running the affairs of organizations, UCA felt compelled to use PR to achieve its corporate objectives. The major objectives of UAC were to inform business and commerce about its activities.

### **PR Practice in Contemporary Nigeria**

Nigeria, typically a land for the growth of PR is a West African country with over 140 million people, 2.39 percent growth rate (2008 estimate) and a land area of 923,768sq km (356,669sq miles) (Robert 2009).

Nigeria is an African giant blessed with agricultural potentials and the production of petroleum. Industry and manufacturing have kept growing in Nigeria since independence in 1960 to date; tanneries, oil crushing mills that processed raw materials for exports, textiles and farm produce are common in the country. Mining, transportation and communication are always booming as even new financial and public institutions are continuously unfolding.

This is diametrically a clear indication for the need of a befitting environment and conducive working atmosphere that will help governments and private institutions to achieve a synergy, understanding and a two-way communication for collective and hitch-free development.

However, the public relations practice is not free from certain constraints right from inception, as we shall see in the subsequent sub-headings:

### **State of the Practice Today**

Forgetting the opaque status quo of PR during colonialism and the post-independence period, a myriad of extraneous factors rendered its use a kind of military-oriented medium and later a propaganda-ridden craft. Attention should now be focused upon the practice today, especially with the rule of law in action and the sovereignty of the nation under indigenous leadership, whether capable or not. What impact does this development have over the profession? To what extent has PR affected public and private organizations in Nigeria and what are the major constraints and opportunities of the PR profession in modern Nigeria? More importantly are PR

practitioner/directors in Nigeria privy to and part of all the major decision making in their respective organizations, as they should be? These are answers we collectively ought to search for from modern PR practice in Nigeria today.

On 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1990, the then President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, signed into law, the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations via Decree no. 16 . Mike Okereke, the then president of the Nigeria Institute of Public relations (NIPR) described the day as the, “finest hour of public relations.” He stated that, by this recognition, all the members of the institute deserved to be congratulated for being part of the moment that had made professionalism and excellence the hallmark of the institute (Ajala, 2005).

Much has been said about the historical terrain of PR growth and development in Nigeria, including traces to the pioneer organizations that used it up to the modern Nigeria epoch, especially with the Decree enacted by the President to further institutionalize the practice as a professional discipline in 1990. It is equally worth mentioning that PR practice in Nigeria is regulated and promoted by the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) set up in 1963 as an association of practitioners. NIPR has opened chapters in almost all the 36 states of Nigerian, including Abuja, the federal capital. Membership of NIPR has grown to over thousands with a national secretariat in operation since 1986. Besides NIPR, the Public Relations Consultants Association of Nigeria (PRCN) was also established in 1983 as the consultancy arm of NIPR. The PRCN has over 25 members some of whom enjoy international affiliations. NIPR strives to:

- provide a professional structure for the practice of PR.
- enhance the ability and status of its members/professional practitioners.
- represent and solve the professional interests of its members
- provide opportunities for members to meet and exchange views and ideas.
- raise standards within the profession through the promotion of best practice including the production of best practice guides, case studies, training events and its continuous professional development scheme.

### **PR Practice Constraints**

Nigerian economic boom and development led to the ever increasing demand for professional PR and consultancy. This is, however, accompanied by its

evident internal and external impediments some of which will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

A great deal needs to be done to improve the quality of the service rendered by a significant percentage of practitioners. Most of the practice is largely in the area of media relations. The public relations profession, according to Iguda (2009) is suffering from the acute shortage of trained personnel and even the trained ones mostly specialize in media-related areas. It should equally be observed that the information units of state ministries do employ the services of PRO, but they fail to regularly build their capacities to cope with the new challenges of the profession.

For instance, the research conducted by Iguda (2007) on the functions of PR in the re-inforcement of tax collection in Kano shows that only 5% of the respondents (tax payers drawn from Kwari and Sabon-Gari Markets) are aware of the presence of PR department activities in the Board of Internal Revenue. This may not be unconnected with the fact that ministries rarely allocate adequate budgeting for PR researches and activities in addition to the problem of non-qualified practitioners. This can also go along with the findings of the research conducted by Iguda (2012) on the Role of PR in the Diplomatic Sector, a case study of Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that only 17% of the respondents, i.e. Ministries PROs, obtained the required qualification in PR related areas. During an interview with the ministry's spokesman, Mr. Ogbole Amedu Ode, it was learnt that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is the acclaimed *Nigerian image maker*, does not have a functional in-house journal that targets either the internal or external public of the ministry. The research could not trace any classified media activity apart from announcements and adverts.

We may summarize some of these constraints in the following points:

- Most organizations, including private ones, don't accord the PR unit a management function status, as the PR director or personnel is never included in the decision making of management.
- Shortcomings on the part of the practitioners led advertising agencies to fill up the gap. Very few could even differentiate between PR and advertising agencies among the practising PR personnel.
- Non-activation of the decree on professional PR practice.
- Lack of leadership and succession policy within NIPR.
- Non-functional secretariat.
- Improper membership registration.
- Existence of a huge number of quacks as indicated earlier.
- Extra management consultants.
- Growth of press agency.

- Deregulation of the Nigerian economy.
- Digital revolution/information age.

### **Objectives of the Study**

1. To determine the extent of ICT literacy among PROs in ministries and public institutions in Kano State.
2. To find out whether PROs use ICT to carry out their official responsibility.
3. To assess the availability of ICT gadgets at the disposal of PROs in Kano State Ministries and agencies.

### **Methodology**

The survey research design was used in gathering data from the field. A total number of 40 respondents (70.1% of the population) were randomly selected to allow for the generalization of the research findings. The area of this study covers all the sixteen ministries, government agencies and the 44 local government secretariats across the state. Remote local governments like Doguwa, Tudun Wada, Tsanyawa and Rogo were excluded due to their relative distance from the metropolitan. Directorates like the office of the Auditor-General, Fire Service and similar agencies were, however, used as replacement. A Structured questionnaire, a personal interview and field observation served as instruments for data collection in this study. See Tables 1-4 for the details of the data gathered under the subheading: Result presentation and Discussion.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The paper adopts the diffusion of innovation theory. It is a theory of how, why and at what rate new ideas and technology spread through cultures. Everett Rogers introduced this theory in his 1962 book, *Diffusion of Innovations*. He defines diffusion as “the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channel over time among the members of a social system. The key elements in diffusion research are: the innovation, types of communication channels, the time or rate of adoption and the social system which frames the innovation decision process (Wikipedia.org, 2009).

Diffusion is a process which involves a number of stages. Rogers writes that the diffusion process is the spread of a new idea from its source of invention or creation to its ultimate users as adopters. The study of diffusion has continued over the years. In the 1940s, Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross studied the adoption of hybrid corn by farmers in Iowa, USA according to the rate of adopting the innovation. In the end the study came up with five distinct groups according to rate of adoption. Rogers affirms this

classification and went on to assign a percentage to each of the groups as follows:

Innovators	2.5%
Early Adopters (	13.5%
Early Majority	34%
Late Majority	34%
Laggards	16%)

### **Innovators**

These are the first group of farmers who adopted the innovation (i.e. hybrid corn). They form 2.5% of the population and have the following characteristics: venturesome; cosmopolitan; higher socio-economic status; understand complexity; cope with uncertainty and possess large financial resources.

### **Early Adopters**

The early adopters come after the innovators and form 13.5% of the population. The members are the next to adopt the innovation and have the following characteristics: form a substantial part of the social system; serve as opinion leaders; people look up to them as role models; respected by peers; successful in their endeavours and have an enviable status. Early adopters are similar to innovators, though different in other aspects.

### **Early Majority**

The early majority is the third group to adopt the innovation and it forms 34% of the population. This group has the following characteristics: high social interaction; rarely opinion leaders; large population and they think it over before adopting the innovation.

### **Late Majority**

The late majority takes a long time before it accepts and use the innovation. It forms 34% of the population and has the following characteristics: cynical; cautious; face peer pressure; limited economic resources; and it is large. The late majority takes a long time before adopting the innovation because it is filled with doubts and unless those doubts are cleared, it refuses to adopt the innovation. It takes it a longer time because it has limited financial resources. Thus, it needs to be careful in the way it spends.

### **Laggards**

The laggards are the last group to adopt the innovation. This group is very reluctant to adopt it. They adopt the innovation only after all the other groups have adopted it. The characteristics of laggards are as follows: they are not opinion leaders; isolated from other people; suspicious; refer to past unfortunate events; lengthy decision process and have limited financial resources.

Of all the categories above, PROs in Kano could be placed under the late majorities who have limited economic resources but unlike in Roger's classification, PROs in Kano do not have any doubt about the importance of the new innovation (ICT skill). They could, therefore, be perceived by this study to swiftly adopt the ICT skill, if their organizations would motivate and support them with capacity building in ICT and the provision of basic facilities.

### **Results Presentation and Discussion**

**Table 1:** *Characteristics of Respondents/Demographic Information (n = 57).*

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Sex</b>	
Male	94.7%
Female	5.26%
<b>Age</b>	
21 – 30	0%
31 – 40	3.5%
42 – above	96.4%
<b>Education</b>	
Graduate	70.1%
Diploma	4.5%
Secondary	0. %
Others	5.2%
<b>Specialization</b>	
Mass Media/Journalism	96.4%
Social Sciences	3.5%
Adm/Secretarial Studies	3.5%
<b>Computer Training</b>	
Professional Certificate	26.3%
Diploma	3.5%
None	70.1%

*Source: Field Work, 2014*

Table 1 clearly shows the domination of males in the PR profession, i.e. 94.7% male to 5.26% female. More than 50% of the respondents (both males and females) obtained certificates in PR-related areas but are lacking the ICT skill. Whereas the percentage of those who did not attend any computer literacy training stand at 70.1%

**Table 2:** *Extent of PROs ICT use in the service delivery in Kano states ministries/agencies.*

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly agree	0.0%
Agree	15.0%
	0.0%
Strongly disagree	85.0%
Undecided	0.0%

*Source: Field Work, 2014*

Table 2 shows that PROs in Government Ministries of Kano State and other public institutions don't employ ICT in their service delivery.

**Table 3:** *The Availability of ICT gadgets in Kano state Ministries / Agencies.*

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly agree	0.0%
Agree	2.2%
Strongly disagree	80.4%
Disagree	3.7%
Undecided	13.7%

*Source: Field Work, 2014*

Table 4 reveals the core answer this study attempts to find out whether organizations' are conducive for PR activities. 80% of the respondents strongly disagree and also support the researcher's personal observation from the field. Most units do not have a functional computer set not to talk of the availability of internet service.

**Table 4:** *Effectiveness of ICT in PR service delivery in Kano ministries/agencies as of now (2014)*



<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly agree	0.0%
Agree	0.0%
Strongly disagree	15.0%
Disagree	85.0%
Undecided	0.0%

*Source: Field Work, 2014*

Table 4 supports the preceding one as there would be no of possibility of measuring the effectiveness of anything if it is not readily available.

### **Conclusion**

ICT literacy has become one of the inevitable qualities of the PRO if he is to competently work in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Both public and private organizations should build the capacity of their PROs in this respect to tap the best of their talents in creating mutual understanding between organizations and their diverse publics, attract more patronage of their goods and services, guarantee greater productivity and, above all, ensure far reaching crisis management and the organizations' befitting image.

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## **Curriculum Vitae of Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu**

Abdalla Uba Adamu was born on 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1956 at Daneji quarters in the ancient city of Kano, Nigeria. He is an academic, educator, publisher and media scholar. He taught media and science education courses in Nigerian universities and around the world, including serving as European Union Visiting Professor at University of Warsaw, Poland, in 2012; Visiting Professor, Rutgers University, New Jersey in 2015; and Visiting Professor, University of Florida in 2010. Prof. Adamu holds double professorship in Science Education and Media and Cultural Communication, both from Bayero University, Kano, in 1997 and 2012 respectively. He is the Vice-Chancellor of National Open University of Nigeria since 2016.

### **Distinctions**

1. [2013] Cited in *Who is Who in Film Studies*, Intellect Publications, UK.
2. [2012] European Union Visiting Professor, University of Warsaw, Poland, March-May, 2012.
3. [1993] *Rockefeller Foundation Visiting Resident Scholar*, October 6 November 8 1993, Bellagio Conference and Study Center, Italy. I was the first Kano State indigene to enjoy this prestigious residency facility.
4. [1991] *Fulbright African Senior Research Scholar (ASRS)*, 1991/92; as a Visiting Associate, Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. September 1991 to June 1992.
5. [1991] Cited in *Who is Who in Science Education Around the World* (1991). This is a publication of the International Council of Associations for Science Education, Australia.
6. [1985] *British Commonwealth Scholar*, 1985-1988 (at the University of Sussex, Brighton, England, for the study of Doctor of Philosophy degree).

### **Visiting Professorship/Distinguished Lecturer in Media and Culture**

1. [2015] Visiting Professor, Rutgers State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, 22nd to 27th October, 2015. Taught four classes: *Introduction to African Literatures* (Media Flows and African Popular Culture: Revolution and Reaction in Muslim Hausa Popular Culture), *Islam and African Literature* (Manuscript Learnability and

- Indigenous Knowledge for Development – Hausa Ajami in Historical Context), *Cinema Studies* (Nigerian Cinema), *Crossroad: The Classical Literatures of Africa, Middle East and South Asia* (Transnational Influences and National Appropriations: The Influence of Hindi Film Music on Muslim Hausa Popular and Religious Music).
2. [2012] European Union Visiting Professor, Media and Cultural Communication, Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw, Poland, 1st March to 31st May 2012. Taught two courses: *Transnationalism and Identity in African Popular Culture*; and *Oral Traditions in Local and Global Contexts*. While at Warsaw, participated in the supervision of one PhD in Intercultural Communication and provided logistic assistance towards the publication of Polish-language edition of *Magana Jari Ce*, a Hausa classic compendium of stories adapted from European and Asian sources and published in 1937 in Zaria, Nigeria.
  3. [2012] Specially invited Guest Speaker, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland, Saturday 2nd June 2012: *Transnational Media Flows and Contra-Flows to Africa – Typologies and Immersion*, commissioned paper presented at Politics and Culture in Asian and African Countries,
  4. [2010] Visiting Professor, University of Florida Institute of African Studies, 22nd to 26th February 2010. Taught a Class on Transglobal Media Flows and African Popular Culture. Presented two papers to the University: Paper 1 – *Islam, Popular Culture and Transnationalism in Northern Nigeria*; Paper 2 – *African Neo-Kharijites and Islamic Militancy Against Authority: The Boko Haram/Yusufiyya Kharijites of Northern Nigeria*.
  5. [2009] University of Basel, Switzerland, 18th February 2009. Opening Lecture [the first lecture in the series] for Center of Competence on Africa, Centre for African Studies, University of Basel, Switzerland (*Hell on Earth: Media-Mediated Urban Sexuality and Islamicate Popular Culture in Northern Nigeria*).
  6. [2007] Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, United States, 7th November. 2007. Public Lecture Presented at Barnard Forum on Migration, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, United States (*The Transnational Express: Moving Images, Cultural Resonance and Popular Culture in Muslim Northern Nigeria*).

7. [2006] School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, 12th September 2006. Mary Kingsley Zochonis Lecture for the African Studies Association, UK Biennial Conference, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, London (*Transglobal Media Flows and African Popular Culture: Revolution and Reaction In Muslim Hausa Popular Culture*).
8. [2004] Institute für Afrinkanische, University of Köln, Germany, 15th November, 2004. Guest Lecturer to a Class of PhD students (*Enter the Dragon: Shari'a, Popular Culture and Film Censorship in Northern Nigeria*).

## Publications

### Media and Cultural Communication

#### Category 1 Publications (Outside of Africa)

1. Transcultural Language Intimacies: The Linguistic Domestication of Indian Films in the Hausa Language. In Kenneth Harrow and Carmela Garritano (Eds.). *Companion to African Cinema*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Limited (forthcoming).
2. Islamic Calligraphy, Abstraction and Magic in Northern Nigeria. In Toyin Falola and Fallou Ngom (Eds.). *Handbook for Islam in Africa*. New York: Macmillan/Palgrave (forthcoming).
3. Hausa Language and Literature. In Thomas Spear (Ed.). *Oxford Bibliographies in African Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press (forthcoming).
4. Gender and Delineation of Intimisphäre in Muslim Hausa Video Films. In *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*, edited by Stan Brunn and Roland Kehrein. Springer (forthcoming).
5. Hausa Popular Music (Northern Nigeria). In *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World Volume 12, Part One: Africa, Sub-Saharan*, edited by Heidi Feldman, David Horn and John Shepherd (forthcoming).
6. “We Are Not in Baghdad Anymore”: Textual Travels and Hausa Intertextual Adaptation of Selected Stories in 1001 Nights.” In Orhan Elmaz (Ed.). *Endless Inspiration: One Thousand and One Nights in Comparative Perspective* (forthcoming). Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press (forthcoming)
7. “There Goes the Neighborhood.”: Film Soundstages and the Islamicate Public in Northern Nigeria. In Kristian Petersen (Ed.).

- Muslims in the Movies: A Global Anthology* (Mizan Series). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (forthcoming).
8. [2017] Transcultural Connections - Hindi Films, Transborder Fandom and Muslim Hausa Audiences in Northern Nigeria, *African and Asian Studies* 16 (2017):103-127.
  9. [2017] Controversies and Restrictions of Visual Representation of Prophets in Northern Nigerian Popular Culture. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 9 (1): 17-31.
  10. [2016] Tribute to Hajiya Sa'adatu Ahmad Barmani Choge, Griotte, northern Nigeria, 1948-2013. *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue No. 12/13, pp. 166-172. (University of Cape Town, South Africa).
  11. [2016] Environmental ethics and future oriented transformation to sustainability in Sub-Saharan Africa. (With Aliyu Salisu Barau and Lindsey C. Stringer). *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 135(1):1539–1547.
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### **Publications in Education**

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#### **Books Edited**

112. [2011] *Communication, Media and Popular Culture in Northern Nigeria*. Proceedings of the First International conference organized by the Department of Mass Communications, Bayero University, Kano, 12-13th July 2006. Ed. Abdalla Uba Adamu, Umar Faruk Jibril, Mustapha N. Malam, Balarabe Maikaba and Gausu Ahmed. Kano: Department of Mass Communications.
113. [2010] *Fulfilling the Mandate: Kano Under Shekarau, 2003-2007*, edited by Abdalla Uba Adamu, Ibrahim Ado Kurawa and Mustapha Isa. Kano: Research and Documentation Directorate, Government House.
114. [2009] *Understanding School Climate and Culture*. Proceedings of Seminars and Workshops in Education and Development Organized by Inuwar Jama'ar Kano (Kano Forum), Kano: Inuwar Jama'ar Kano.
115. [2004] *Hausa Home Videos: Technology, Society and Economy*: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hausa Films, August, 2003, edited by Abdalla Uba Adamu, Umar Faruk Jibrin and Yusuf Adamu. Kano, Nigeria. Kano: Center for Hausa Cultural Studies.

116. [1997] *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, Edited by Abdalla Uba Adamu and Isma'ila Abubakar Tsiga. Ibadan: Spectrum Publishers.
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### Conference Presentations

Media and Cultural Communication Conferences

#### *Category I Paper Presentations*

1. [2018] Inclusive Rapport: Nation, Language and Identity in Nigeriène and Nigerian Hausa Hip-Hop. Conference of the African Studies Association in Germany (VAD e.V.), Leipzig University, Leipzig, Germany. Panel: “Cross-Connections in African Literary and Cultural Studies”. Friday 29th June 2018.
2. [2017] “We Are Not in Baghdad Anymore”: Textual Travels and African Intertextuality of Selected Stories in 1001 Nights. *Paper presented at the conference on One Thousand and One Nights: Comparative Perspectives on Adaptation and Appropriation, held at the University of St Andrews, 31 August – 1 September 2017.*
3. [2016] *Blasphemy from Below: Hausa Poetics and the Sacred-Profane Dichotomy in Sufi Performances in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at Sacred Word: Changing Meanings in Textual Cultures of Islamic Africa: A Symposium Dedicated to the Memory of Professor John O. Hunwick (1936-2015), Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, April 21-22, 2016.
4. [2015] *On the Edge of Darkness: Muslim Youth, Insurgent Militancy and the Nigerian State*. Paper presented at the conference on Youth and the Allure of Terrorism: Identity, Recruitment and Public Diplomacy. Department of Political Science, Rutgers State University of New Jersey, October 19, 2015.
5. [2015] *Youth and Popular Culture in northern Nigeria*. Paper delivered at the Hausa der Kulturen der Welt/House of World Cultures, Berlin Germany, on Thursday 6th September 2015.
6. [2015] *The Influence of Hindi Film Music on Muslim Hausa Popular and Religious Music*. Paper delivered at the Hausa der Kulturen der Welt/House of World Cultures, Berlin Germany, on Thursday 6th September, 2015.

7. [2015] *The City at the Edge of Forever – Archiving and Digitizing Arabic Sources on the History of Kano, Nigeria*. Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), University of Hamburg, Germany, 13th August 2015.
8. [2013] *Veiled Voices: Islam, Women and Degrees of Visibility in Muslim Hausa Popular Singing*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Testing and Contesting Regimes of Visibility, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology/Institute for African Studies University of Cologne, Germany, 3-5 July 2013.
9. [2013] *Prophetic Wrath: Prophet, Visuality and Power Control in Northern Nigerian Popular Culture*. Paper presented at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa on 4th March 2013.
10. [2012] *Al-Hausawi, Al-Hindawi: Media Contraflow, Urban Communication and Translinguistic Onomatopoeia Among Hausa of Northern Nigeria*. European Union Visiting Professor Guest Paper Presented to the University of Warsaw, 10th May, 2012, *Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw, Poland*.
11. [2011] *The Beggar's Opera: Muslim Beggar-Minstrels and Street Oral Poetry Theater in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at West African Research Agency's International Conference, Saharan Crossroads: Views from the South, held at Hotel Tenere, in Niamey, Niger Republic from July 7 to July 10, 2011.
12. [2011] *Interdicting Images in the Islamicate Public Sphere: Sensuality and Spirituality in Figurative Representation in northern Nigerian Popular Culture*. Commissioned paper presented at the Scientific Dahlem Conference Freie Universität Berlin, Germany from March 19th to 27th, 2011.
13. [2010] *The City at the Edge of Forever – Archiving and Digitizing Arabic Sources on the History of Kano, Nigeria*. Paper presented at the Conference on Preserving African Manuscripts, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 19th December, 2010.
14. [2010] *Islam, Popular Culture and Transnationalism in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented for the Baraza Lecture, African Studies Center, University of Florida, Friday 26th February, 2010
15. [2010] *African Neo-Kharijites and Islamic Militancy Against Authority: The Boko Haram/Yusufiyya Kharijites of Northern Nigeria*. Invited paper presented to the Islam in Africa Working Group of the African Studies Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida on Wednesday 24th February 2010.

16. [2009] *Transnational Media Spaces and Hindi Films in Muslim Africa – The Hindi-Hausa Film Appropriations in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at international workshop on “Indian Cinema Circuits: Diasporas, Peripheries and Beyond”, held on Thursday 25th and Friday 26th June, at The Old Cinema, Regent Campus, University of Westminster, London. 2009.
17. [2009] *Transgressing Boundaries: Reinterpretation of Nollywood Films in Muslim Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at the Conference on Nollywood and Beyond: Transnational Dimensions of the African Video Industry held at Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany, May 13-16, 2009.
18. [2009] *Short-Circuited: Traditional Muslim Hausa Music and the Threats of Transnational Technopop in Northern Nigeria—Strategies for Survival and Preservation*. Paper presented at the conference, «Why safeguard our musical heritage for the future? » an academic and cultural conference, under the auspices of the Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage, Abu Dhabi, October 3rd and 4th, 2009
19. [2009] Planning Session of the Organizing Committee of the 3rd World Festival of Black Arts (FESMAN III), Dakar, Senegal, 2-4 March 2009.
20. [2009] *Muhimmancin Yaren Gida Wajen Yada Manufofin Ilimi* [The Significance of Mother Tongue in Education]. Makalar da a ka gabatar a Taron ASAUNIL na Jamhuriyyar Nijar, a Damagaram, 8 ga watan Disamba 2009 [Damagaram, Niger Republic].
21. [2009] *Lost in Translation: Intertextuality, Intratextuality, and Intermediality in Muslim Hausa Popular Culture*. A research methodology paper presented at Winter School for Volkswagen Foundation at the *University of Basel, Switzerland*, 16 February 2009.
22. [2009] *Life Performance, Mediation and Audience* for the Volkswagen Foundation Passage of Culture Research and Training Network, University of Yaoundé, Cameroon, September 14-16, 2009.
23. [2009] *Hell on Earth: Media-Mediated Urban Sexuality and Islamicate Popular Culture in Northern Nigeria*. Guest Lecture presented at the Center of Competence on Africa, Centre for African Studies, University of Basel, Switzerland, on 18th February 2009.
24. [2009] *“Bosho” War: 9/11, Global Media and Local Visual Re-Interpretations in Muslim Northern Nigeria*, Paper presented for

- “Remedializations of Global Events” workshop/conference, the University of Cologne, Germany, November 19-21, 2009,
25. [2008] *Sabon Girbi, Diban Farko – Samar da Mawaƙan Zamani a Nishaɗin Hululu na Hausawan Najeriya* [New Trends in Contemporary Hip Hop Music in Northern Nigeria]. International Conference on Hausa Language and Literature, *Maradì, Niger Republic*, 18-20th August 2008.
  26. [2008] Planning Meeting on the creation of the Al Ain Center for Study of Music in the World of Islam, *Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates*, July 9 and 10, 2008.
  27. [2008] *Media Technologies and Literary Transformations in Hausa Oral Literature*. International Workshop on “Transporting Oral Literatures Between Media, Cultures and Languages,” at Afrika-Asien Institute (AAI), *University of Hamburg, Germany*, 29th November, 2008.
  28. [2008] *Eastward Ho! Cultural Proximity and Eastern Focus in the Hausa Literature*. International Workshop on “Transporting Oral Literatures Between Media, Cultures and Languages” Afrika-Asien Institute (AAI), *University of Hamburg, Germany*, 30th November 2008.
  29. [2008] *Hausa da Hausanci a Karni na 21 – Kalubale da Madosa* [Hausa Culture and Identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century] International Conference on Hausa Language and Literature, *Maradì, Niger Republic*, 18-20th August 2008.
  30. [2007] *Transnational Influences and National Appropriations: The Influence of Hindi Film Music on Muslim Hausa Popular and Religious Music*. Paper presented at the Congres des Musiques dan le monde de l’islam, World Conference on Music in the world of Islam, *Assilah, Morocco*, 10th August 2007.
  31. [2007] *The Transnational Express: Moving Images, Cultural Resonance and Popular Culture in Muslim Northern Nigeria*. Public Lecture Presented at Barnard Forum on Migration, Barnard College, *Columbia University, New York, United States*, November 7, 2007.
  32. [2007] Pre-proposal Workshop for the Volkswagen Foundation, Passage of Culture in Africa project, “Popular Culture in Africa” *Mombasa, Kenya*, 2–6 October 2007.
  33. [2007] *Islam, Shari’a and Censorship in Hausa Video Film*. Paper presented at African Film Conference, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, United States*, November 8-10, 2007.

34. [2006] *Transglobal Media Flows and African Popular Culture: Revolution and Reaction in Muslim Hausa Popular Culture*. Commissioned Mary Kingsley Zochonis lecture for the African Studies Association, UK Biennial Conference, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, London, 12th September 2006.
35. [2006] *Private Sphere, Public Wahala: Gender and Delineation of Intimissphäre in Muslim Hausa Video Films*. Paper presented at workshop on Negotiating Culture for within the Context of Globalization, Saly, Senegal, Dakar, 3rd to 8th April, 2006.
36. [2006] *Hadin Kai Tsakanin Marubutan Harsunan Gida Na Kasashe* [International Co-operation in Mother Tongue Writing]. Babbar maƙala da aka gabatar a dakin taron Gashingo a dandalin Tarayyar Kasashe ta marubutan Hausa na Najeriya da na Jamhuriyar Nijar a birnin Yamai, Nijar, ranar Laraba 8 ga watan Disamba, 2006. [Niamey, Niger Republic].
37. [2004] *Passage to India: Media Parenting and Construction of Media Identities in Northern Nigerian Muslim Hausa Home Videos*. A Paper Presented at the International Conference on The Media and the Construction of African Identities, held at Holiday Guest Inn, Westlands, Nairobi, Kenya, from August 3 to 6, 2004.
38. [2004] *Loud Bubbles from A Silent Brook: Trends and Tendencies in Contemporary Hausa Prose Fiction*. Paper presented at “Janheinz Jahn Symposium on African Language Literatures: Production, Mediation, Reception”, held at the Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien, Universität Mainz (Johannes Gutenberg University), Mainz, Germany, 18th November 2004.
39. [2004] *Enter the Dragon: Shari’a, Popular Culture and Film Censorship in Northern Nigeria*. Guest Paper presented at the Institute für Afrinkanishe, University of Köln, Germany, 15th November 2004.

#### **National Conferences in Media and Cultural Communication**

40. [2017] *Commodification of Culture: The Political Economy of Hausa Popular Cultural Industries*. Paper presented at the National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO) Quarterly Public Lecture, with the theme of Promoting Culture, Developing the Economy, on Monday 10th July, 2017 at Shehu Musa ‘Yar Aduwa Conference Center, Abuja.

41. [2017] *The Role of Media in the Spread of Hausa Language and Culture*. Paper presented at the 60th Anniversary of BBC Hausa Service, Thursday 30th March, 2017, Shehu Musa 'Yar Aduwa Conference Center, Abuja.
42. [2013] *Poetic Barbs: Angst, Voter Mobilization and Urban Musics in Kano State 2011 Elections*. Paper presented at the 1st National Conference on Perspectives on Elections and the Challenges for Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the Department of Political Science, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria on 9th January 2013.
43. [2013] *An Ethnographic History of Kanywood – The Hausa Video Film Industry*. Paper presented at the Kano State Film Festival, 18th March 2013, Kano, Nigeria.
44. [2011] *Muslim Religious Extremism, Radicalization and Militancy in Northern Nigeria – Analysis of Insurgency Video Texts*. Presented at Roundtable Methodology Workshop on Religion, Conflict and Democracy in Northern Nigeria, organized by Centre for Peace Initiative and Development (CPID), Jos, held at Nevilla Hotel, Kaduna, 12th November 2011,
45. [2010] *The Management and Control of Quality films in Nigeria as relates to Culture, tradition, Norms and Values – Perspectives from Hausa Video Film Industry*. Paper presented at RATTAWU Workshop, 27th July 2010, Kano
46. [2010] *Global Images, Global Voices: Changing Paradigms in Transnational Media Flows and Contra-Flows*. Presented as the 3rd Nigerian Film Corporation Annual Film Lecture, 3rd May 2010, Abuja, Nigeria at the 2010 Zuma Film Festival
47. [2009] *Hausa Video Films – Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Intellectualizing Hausa Video Films in Retrospect*. Discussion/lead paper presented at the International Workshop on Hausa Home Video Films with the theme of Controversies, Sanity and Solutions in the Hausa Home Video Industry, held at Kongo Conference Center, Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, from 13th to 15th August, 2009.
48. [2009] *Cultural Representation, Professionalism and Challenges Facing the Hausa Video Film Industry*. Commissioned presentation at Retreat for producers and consultants, and organized by the Kano State Censorship Board, on 11th April 2009 at Royal Tropicana Hotel, Kano.
49. [2009] *Ayyukan Hukumar Tace Finafinai da 'Dab'i da Alakarsu da Hanyoyin Sadarwa Na Duniya* [The Mandate of Censorship and its Global Context]. An gabatar da wannan maƙalar a zauren A



Daidaita Sahu da taken Tace Finafinai da dab'i shi ne Daidaita Sahu, a Murtala Muhammad Library, Kano [Kano, Nigeria], ranar Asabar 24 ga Oktoba 2009

50. [2008] *Womanist Ethos and Hausa Domestic Ecology: A Structuralist Analysis of Barmani Choge's Operetta, 'Sakarai Ba Ta da Wayo' (Useless Woman)*. Lead paper presented at the 5th Annual Conference on Literature in Northern Nigeria (Poetry and Poetics in Northern Nigeria) of the Department of English and French, Bayero University Kano, 10-13th November, 2008.
51. [2008] *Using the Web as a research tool*. Paper presented at the National Workshop on Research Proposal for Fund Seeking, held at Bayero University, Kano, 11-12th March, 2008.
52. [2008] *Tarihin Adabin Hausa* [The History of Hausa Literature]. Guest Speaker, Yandutse College, Kano, on 17th January 2008.
53. [2008] *Private Passion, Public Furor: Youth Entertainment, Sexuality and the Islamicate Public Space in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at the 2-day International Conference on Nigerian Youth and National Development, held at the Center for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, August 5-6, 2008.
54. [2008] *North of Nollywood, South of the Sahara: Cultural Dynamics in the Marketing of Hausa Video Films*. Discussion Paper for Presentation at the 2-day conference on Nollywood: Challenges of Production, Entertainment Value and International Marketing Strategies, held at the Pan-African University, Lagos, Nigeria from Friday 18th to Saturday 19th July 2008.
55. [2008] *Global Influences, National Flows—The Influence of Hindi Film Music on Hausa Traditional Music and Video Film*. Lead Paper presented at the International Conference on Communication, Media and Popular Culture in Northern Nigeria, organized by the Department of Mass Communications, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 12-13th July, 2006 at Mambayya House, Gwammaja, Kano City.
56. [2008] [Active Discussant] Planning Meeting on the creation of the Al Ain Center for Study of Music in the World of Islam, *Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates*, July 9 and 10, 2008.
57. [2007] *Scriptwriting Techniques (Effective Communication)*. Paper presented at the workshop on Hausa Women's Access to Justice, and organized by Security Justice Program, DfiD on 20th July 2007.
58. [2007] *Manuscript Learnability and Indigenous Knowledge for Development – Hausa Ajami in Historical Context*. Paper presented

- at the International Conference on Preserving Nigeria's Scholarly and Literary Traditions and Arabic Manuscripts Heritage held on March 7th and 8th, March, 2007 Arewa House Kaduna, organized by Arewa House, in collaboration with the U.S. Embassy, Abuja.
59. [2009] *(PPT) Challenges Facing Girls and Young Women in Information Technology*. Paper presented at the First Girl IT Awareness Forum, organized by the Office of the National Vice President, Nigerian Computer Science Students Association at the Murtala Mohammed Library, Kano State on 31st October 2009.
  60. [2007] *Arab Images in African School Curricula – A Study of the History of Learning and Contemporary Schooling Systems in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at the Symposium on Mutual Perceptions Between Africans and Arabs in School Curricula held at Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, from 21- 23 May 2007, and sponsored by Institute Culturel Afro-Arabe (Afro-Arab Cultural Institute), Bamako, Mali.
  61. [2006] *Shari'ah, the Islamicate Social Structure and Popular Culture in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at the International Conference on "Leadership, State and Society under the Shari'ah in Northern Nigeria: The Dividends" organized by the Institute for Contemporary Research, Kano, and held on 10th to 12th July 2006 in Abuja, Nigeria.
  62. [2006] *Issues of Cultural Diversities and Social Responsibilities in Film Censorship*. March 2006. Independent paper presented at the Abuja Zuma Film Festival, 2006.
  63. [2006] *Kasuwancin Finafinan Hausa a Duniya – Tasiri da Kalubale* [The Challenges of Marketing Hausa Video Films Internationally]. Jawabin da a ka gabatar ranar Lahadi 26 ga Maris 2006 a babban dakin taro na Murtala Muhammad Library, sanadin taron yini guda domin karawa juna fahimta game da kasuwancin Finafinan Hausa a Intanet wanda [www.hausamovies.com](http://www.hausamovies.com) suka shirya [Kano, Nigeria]
  64. [2006] *East is East: Media Flows and Eastern Focus in the Hausa Novel*. Paper presented at the 4th Conference on Literature in Northern Nigeria, 15th-17th November 2006, Department of English and French, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, under the theme of Theorizing the Novel in Northern Nigeria.
  65. [2005] *Read to Reel: Transformation of Hausa Popular Literature from Orality to Visuality*. Paper presented at the 24th International Convention of the Association of Nigerian Authors, held on 11th-12th November, 2005 at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Kano.

66. [2005] *Divergent Similarities: Culture, Globalization and Hausa Creative and Performing Arts*. A Paper presented at the International Conference on Literature in Northern Nigeria, Department of English and French, Bayero University, Kano, 5th-6th December, 2005.
67. [2004] *Internet as Information Platform*, Paper presented at Kano ICT Awareness Week of the Kano State Government, 5th December, 2004 at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Kano State, Nigeria.
68. [2004] *Hausa and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)*. Being a Lead Paper Presented at the 6th International Conference on Hausa Language Literature and Culture, Organized by the Center for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 13-16th December, 2004.
69. [2003] *Istanci, Imamanci and Bollywoodanci: Evolutionary Trends in Hausa Use of Media Technologies in Cultural Transformation*. Paper presented at the first International conference on Hausa Video Films, 4-7th August 2003 at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Kano.
70. [2001] *Tarbiyar Bahausha, Mutumin Kirki and Hausa Prose Fiction: Towards an Analytical Framework*. Department of English and European Languages Seminar, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2001.

#### **Conference Presentations in Education**

71. [2015] *Philosophical and Epistemological Bases of Science and Technology Research*. Paper presented at the 1st Postgraduate Students' Workshop, Kano University of Science and Technology, Wudil, 5th January 2015.
72. [2013] *iLearning: Resource Mobilization, Management for Access and Quality Tertiary Education in Africa*. Being a Lead Paper Presented at the Conference on Resource Mobilization, Faculty of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 11th June 2013.
73. [2012] *Blending Community Science in the Class Room – Hausa Proverbs and Efficacy of Ethnoscience Methodology*. Seminar paper presented at the Department of Science and Technology Education, Bayero University, Kano, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2012.
74. [2010] *The Role of Nigerian Universities in the Actualization of Development Vision*. Delivered as the 1st Public Lecture of the

- Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University (IBBU), Lapai, Niger State, on Monday 8th November, 2010.
75. [2010] *The Role of NGOs in Promoting Peaceful Co-Existence in the Society*. Paper presented at the 2010 NGO Day Celebrations, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 31st March 2010,
  76. [2010] *The Role of Local Community in the Development of Education in Nigeria*. Discussion paper presented at the BUK 2000 Alumni Association Lecture on Saturday 2nd October, 2010.
  77. [2010] *Role of Private Sector in Scholarship Schemes*. Lead discussion paper presented at the 22nd Annual national coordinating committee meeting of Secretaries of Federal and States Scholarship Board, 8th March, 2010, Three Star Hotel, Dutse, Jigawa State.
  78. [2010] *Reading Culture, Class Transition and Examination Performances*. Background paper presented at the National Examination Summit, organized by the Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria, and held at the National Universities Commission Auditorium Abuja on 24th May 2010.
  79. [2010] *Ever Increasing Circles: The Nigerian Education Roadmap and Policy Regeneration*. Paper presented at Kano State Education Forum Stakeholders Meeting on 9th March 2010 at Center for Democratic Studies, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano
  80. [2010] *Cultural Reconciliation Among Communities: The Multicultural Emergence of Kano as Panacea for Peaceful Co-existence*. Paper presented at the World Culture Day celebration on the 21st of May 2010 at the National Institute of Cultural Orientation, Abuja, Nigeria.
  81. [2010] *Conducting Multidisciplinary Research*. Workshop training organized for Junior Academics in Nigerian Universities, funded by the Education Trust Fund, and held at Hydro Hotel, Minna 24-28th May 2010.
  82. [2009] *Writing Funding Proposals for NGOs and Civil Society Organizations*. A workshop paper presented at Center for Democratic Studies, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano, on 9th December 2009.
  83. [2009] *Use of ICT in Teaching of Primary School*, Paper presented at one-day sensitization seminar for Primary School Teachers, and held at the Masallaci Primary School, Kano, Nigeria on 26th December 2009.
  84. [2009] *Under Siege: The Dark Territory of Technical-Technological Divide in the Development of Polytechnic Education*

- in Nigeria*. Convocation Lecture Delivered at Hussaini Adamu Federal Polytechnic, Kazaure, Jigawa State on 14th February 2009.
85. [2009] *Research Traditions: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Approaches*. Paper presented at the workshop on Achieving the Millennium Development Goals: Creating a Network of Researcher/Activists, Wednesday, October 21st, 2009 at the Center for Research and Documentation (CRD), Kano.
  86. [2009] *Research Methodology in Humanities*. A discussion paper presented at the workshop on proposal writing and research methodology of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, Monday 22nd June 2009.
  87. [2009] *Fundraising Strategies in Engineering Research*. A discussion paper present at workshop on Proposal Writing, organized by the Faculty of Technology, Bayero University, Kano, on Tuesday 8th June 2009.
  88. [2009] *Feed the Minds – The Role of Government Publications in Documenting Policy Implementation*. Keynote Address on the occasion of the presentation of Government Publications to the public by the Directorate of Research and Publications, Government House, Kano, on Wednesday 14th January 2009, Government House, Kano
  89. [2009] *Achieving Universal Education for Children in Marginalized Spaces in Alternative Literate Communities – An Advocacy for Meeting MDG Target 2a for Almajirai Pupils*. Paper presented at the 2nd Workshop on Millennium Development Goals, organized by Allied Bond Consulting, and held at Agura Hotel, Abuja on 4-6th August, 2009
  90. [2009] *(PPT) Maintenance Practice in Nigeria – An Overview*. Paper presented at the one-day workshop on Maintenance Culture in Nigeria, and organized by National Orientation Agency, Kano State Branch, on 5th November 2009 at the Murtala Mohammed Library, Kano State.
  91. [2008] *Motionless Points in Chaos: Education Reforms, Innovations and the Challenges for Tertiary Education in Nigeria*. Presentation at the First Conference on Polytechnic Education, Kano Polytechnic, Tuesday 28th October, 2008.
  92. [2008] *Kano State Education Account (KASEA) – A project account briefing to the USAID Africa Regional Education Workshop 2008*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, organized by USAID, April 2008.

93. [2008] *Kano State Education Account (KASEA)* – A project account briefing to the USAID Africa Regional Education Workshop 2008, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, organized by USAID, April 2008.
94. [2008] *From Kano to North, West and East Africa: Export Potentials from the ICT Park*. Paper presented at the Workshop on ICT Park on Thursday 8th May 2008, at Tahir Guest Palace, Kano.
95. [2008] *Credible Research Proposal and Project Report: A Practical Guide*. Paper presented at the Workshop on Better Project Writing and Supervision in Kano State Polytechnic, held on 26th February 2008.
96. [2008] *Challenges Facing the Actualizing of the Five Year Teacher Education Program*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of Deans of Education held at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria on 10th July 2008.
97. [2007] *Tourism from the Islamic Perspective*. Paper Presented on Monday 3rd September, 2007 at the Tahir Guest Palace.
98. [2007] *The Politics of Belonging and Settler Cultural Identity: The Emergence of Kano as a Multicultural Society*. Paper presented a 2-day seminar on Politics and Peace: The Role of Religion, and organized by Christian Association of Nigeria Kano Branch, Bridge Builders Association of Nigeria in collaboration with British High Commission, at Tahir Guest Place on 29th March, 2007.
99. [2007] *Nigerian Universities and the Challenge of Nigerian Education Sector Reforms* Paper presented at 2nd National Conference of the Eureka Academic Foundation of Federal College of Education, Pankshin on the theme: The Federal Government's Education Reform Agenda and the Future of Nigerian Education on 10th April 2007.
100. [2007] *Education Reforms, Innovations and Democracy in Nigeria*. Paper Presented at 1st National Conference of the School of Education, Umar Suleiman College of Education, Gashuwa, Yobe State on 5th September 2007.
101. [2007] (PPT) *The Role of ICT in Education*. Paper presented at a workshop for Private School Teachers, KERD, Kano. 5th June 2007, Kano.
102. [2006] *Using Computer Aided Instruction, Learning and Design*. Resource paper presented at the Staff Training Development Workshop organized by the ETF Year 2004 Intervention for Staff Training and Development at the Niger State College of Education, Minna, Niger State, 11-14th April 2006.

103. [2006] *Transglobal Influences and Nigerian Education: The Americanization of Nigerian Universities*. Lead Paper presented at the 8th Annual National Conference of the Federal College of Education, Kano on Tuesday 27th June 2006. Theme: National Policy on Education and Problems of Implementation of Educational Objectives in Nigeria.
104. [2006] *The Procedures and Methods of Curriculum Evaluation in Higher Education*. A Paper Presented at the Workshop on Curriculum Design and Development on Wednesday 15th February 2006, at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.
105. [2006] *The Anatomy of a Circle: Reaction and Counter Reaction in Educational Policy Formulation and National Development in Nigeria, 1925-2005*. Paper presented at the Review of the National Policy on Education at the North-West Zonal Consultative Forum, held at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Kano, Nigeria, on 27th July 2006.
106. [2006] *Searching the Internet*. Outline of Workshop Talk presented at a Workshop organized by the Kano State Polytechnic in conjunction with the Education Trust Fund on 12th September 2006 at Kano State Polytechnic, Kano.
107. [2006] *Science, Technology and Mathematics Education and Professionalism*. A Lead Paper presented at the 1st Annual Conference of the Science Teachers' Association of Nigeria (STAN), Kano State Branch, on Thursday 4th May, 2006 December, 2005 Kano Educational Resource Center, Kano, Nigeria.
108. [2006] *Methods and Procedures of Curriculum Implementation in Higher Education*. A Paper Presented at the Workshop on Curriculum Design and Development on Wednesday 15th April 2006, at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.
109. [2006] *Financing Education Delivery in Nigeria – The Rhetoric and the Realities*. Lead Paper presented at the 21st Annual Congress of the Nigerian Academy of Education under the sub-theme of “Politics of Funding and Fiscal Management in Nigeria” on Tuesday 7th November, 2006 at the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi, Nigeria.
110. [2006] *Education for Sustainable Development – Theoretical Perspectives*. Being the text of Bayero University Public Lecture, presented to mark the African University Day at Center for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, on Saturday 16th December, 2006

111. [2006] *Discipline, Decency and Moral Uprightness in an Academic Environment: Principles of Character Education Explored*. Paper presented during Kano Orientation Day 2006 on Monday 6th March 2006 at Theater 1, Bayero University, Kano, organized by the National Association of Kano State Students
112. [2006] *Developing Institutional Co-operation Strategies: The Rhetoric and Reality of Academic Linkages with Nigerian Higher Education*. Paper presented at the 4th Education UK Exhibition organized by the British Council, on Education Partnerships for Community Development, and held at the Royal Tropicana Hotel on 14th November, 2006.
113. [2006] *Culture, Identity and the Multicultural Society—Perspectives from Hausawa and their Neighbors*. Paper Presented at the Tahir Guest Palace, 9th September 2006 at a Seminar sponsored by the British High Commission and organized by Bridge Builders Multi-Faith Association.
114. [2006] *Challenges to Teacher Education in the 21st Century: Approaches and Perspectives*. Lead paper presented at the National Conference on Teacher Education in the 21st Century, held at Kano State College of Education, Kumbotso, May 22-26, 2006, Kano, Nigeria.
115. [2006] *Avoiding Plagiarism in Scholarly Writing – The Do's and Don'ts*. A paper presented at the Workshop on The Role of Academic Journal in the Promotion of Scholarship in Nigeria, held on Tuesday 4th July 2006, at the School of Rural Technology and Entrepreneurship Development, Rano, Kano State Polytechnic.
116. [2006] (PPT) *Strategic Time Management: Effectiveness vs. Efficiency*. Paper presented at a Retreat for Board Members of the Corporate Affairs Commission, Abuja, organized by First Arewa Associates, Kaduna, at the Asaa Pyramid Hotel, Kaduna on 11th December, 2006.
117. [2006] (PPT) *Development of Strategic Plans*. Paper presented at a Retreat for Board Members of the Corporate Affairs Commission, Abuja, organized by First Arewa Associates, Kaduna, at the Asaa Pyramid Hotel, Kaduna on 11th December, 2006.
118. [2006] (PPT) *Co-operative Living in a Multicultural Society: Understanding Cultural Identity, Stereotypes and Prejudices*. Paper presented at a 2-Day Capacity Building Workshop for Kano Guest Settler Community, organized by Bridge Builders (Kaduna) and the British High Commission (Abuja) held on 10th-11th November, 2006 at the Royal Tropical Hotel, Kano.



119. [2006] *“Progress to Nowhere”*: *Reaction and Counter Reaction in Educational Policy Formulation and National Development in Nigeria*. Lead Paper presented at the 2006 Annual National Meeting and Conference of the Committee of Deans of Education in Nigerian Universities, Faculty of Education, Bayero University, Kano, 13th July 2006.
120. [2005] *Using Computers in Multi-Grade Teaching*. Being a Workshop Paper presented at A Series Workshops on Multi-Grade Teaching Techniques for Education lecturers in Colleges of Education, organized by the National Commission for Colleges of Education, 13th April (FCE (T) Gombe), 27th April (FCE Katsina) and 14th May 2005 (FCE Minna).
121. [2005] *The Training of Teacher Educators in Media Methods and Materials Production*. A paper presented at the Training Workshop on Improving Teaching Skills Through Information and Communications Technology, organized by National Commission for Colleges of Education, Abuja, at the Federal College of Education, Technical, Gusau, Zamfara State on 12th July, 2005.
122. [2005] *Secondary Education in an Era of Global Change—Challenges and Promises*. Being a paper presented at the Zonal Meeting of All Nigerian Conference of Principals of Secondary Schools (ANCOPSS) held on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2005 at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Kano Nigeria.
123. [2005] *Science, Technology and a Policy for Development*. Guest Lecture presented at the Opening Ceremony of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Kano Science School Old Students’ Association (KASSOSA), held on Wednesday 6th July, 2005 at the Murtala Muhammad Library Complex, Ahmadu Bello Way, Kano, Nigeria.
124. [2005] *Science and Technology Education: The Kano State Experiment*. Being a Lead Workshop Paper presented at the Workshop on the Teaching of Science More Creatively in Nigerian Schools, organized by Science and Technology Forum, Zaria, and held on 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 2005.
125. [2005] *Falling Standards of Education, or Improving Standards of Knowledge—Education and Development Paradigm Revisited (II)*. Being a Guest Lecture delivered on Monday 14<sup>th</sup> March 2005 on the Occasion of 2005 Commonwealth Day Celebrations at the Federal Government Girls’ College, Minjibir, Kano State.
126. [2005] *e-Learning: Origin, Meaning, Concepts and Utility Values*. Resource paper presented at the Staff Training Development Workshop organized by the ETF Year 2004 Intervention for Staff

- Training and Development at the Niger State College of Education, Minna, Niger State, 11-14th April 2006.
127. [2005] *Early Child Care and Education (ECCE) as an Instrument of Social Change in Jigawa State*. Paper presented at Workshop on “Towards More Effective Teaching of English in Jigawa State Primary and Junior Secondary Schools”, organized by Rushda Communications on Monday 26th September, 2005 at Kazaure, Jigawa State
  128. [2004] *The Role of Non-Formal Education in Nigeria's Development—Which Way Forward?* A Commissioned paper presented at Unicef/NMEC Strategy Meeting to strengthen NFE as a complimentary approach for reaching EFA goals. Abuja, 15 and 16 April, 2004.
  129. [2004] *The Role of Education in Promoting Peace and Development in Kano*. Being a Keynote Address at the Kano Peace and Development Initiative Peace Forum, under the theme of Enduring Peace, Progress and Development in Kano: The Way Forward, held on 25th September, 2004, at Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria
  130. [2004] *The Changing Role of Education Resource Centers in Enhancing the Quality of Education: ERCs as Information Providers (IPS)*. Lead Paper presented at a two-day interactive seminar for Directors of Education Resources Centers in the States and FCT, organized by Education Resource Center, Ministry of Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Nigeria, 28 to 29 April, 2004.
  131. [2004] *Sunset at Dawn, Darkness at Noon: Reconstructing the Mechanisms of Literacy in Indigenous Communities*. Being the Text of Professorial Inaugural Lecture Delivered on Saturday 24th April 2004, at Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.
  132. [2004] *Poverty at the Local Level – Determinants and Indices*. Being a paper presented at Workshop on Who's Poor in Nigeria? organized by the Nigerian National Poverty Eradication Program (NAEP) held at the Liyafa Hotel, Katsina, 8th and 9th December, 2004.
  133. [2004] *Participatory Approaches to Management of Rural Development Programs: Concepts, Principles and Techniques*. A discussion document presented at the Workshop on Participatory Approaches to Management of Rural Development Programs, organized by Network for the Advancement of Values (NeAD), Kano, and the Ministry for Local Government, Kano State, 30 and 31 December, 2004, Kano State.

134. [2004] *Information Management in Government Offices*. Workshop paper presented at a Two-day workshop on Record Keeping in Government Offices, for Local Government Officers in Kano State, organized by Network for the Advancement and Development of Values (NEAD), June 21, 2004
135. [2004] *Indigenous Knowledge Systems, The Writings of Shehu Usman bn Fodiye, and the Muslim Northern Nigerian Policy on Education (MNNPE)*. Being a Paper Presented at the Conference Marking the 200 Years of Uthman Dan Fodiyo Jihad in Kano, Organized by the Kano State History and Culture Bureau, Kano, 27th to 29th July, 2004
136. [2004] *Impact Monitoring and Assessment (IMA) of PLA Projects: Special Study of Rural Development Projects with a Focus on Sustainable Land Management*. A discussion instrument prepared for Local Government Seminar on Participatory Approaches in the Management of Rural Development Programs, Organized by the Ministry for Local Government, Kano State, on 30 and 31st December, 2004, Kano
137. [2004] *Funding Networks for Women Economic Empowerment Schemes: Lessons from the International Community*. Paper presented at Workshop on Sustainability of Women Economic Empowerment Strategies at the Local Government Level, organized by Network for the Advancement and Development of Values (NEAD), Held on 8 and 9 January 2004 at the Local Government Training Center, Kano
138. [2004] *Falling Standards of Education, or Improving Standards of Knowledge—Education and Development Paradigm Revisited*. Being a Guest Lecture delivered on Saturday 17th July, 2004 to commemorate 20th Anniversary of Gwale Old Boys Association, Class 1984, Held at Gwale Secondary School, Kano, Nigeria.
139. [2004] *Epistemological Dichotomy and Scriptural Transferability: Towards a New Paradigm for Muslim Hausa Indigenous Knowledge*. Being a Discussion Seminar Paper of the Text of the Inaugural Lecture titled Sunset at Dawn, Darkness at Noon: Reconstructing the Mechanisms of Literacy in Indigenous Communities. Faculty of Education Seminar Series, June 24, 2004.
140. [2004] *Conflict Resolution: Mechanisms and Principles*: A discussion paper presented at the two-day Workshop on Pastoralist and Farmer Relations in Kano, organized by Mazhabs International Educational Consultants, and sponsored by the Kano State Ministry for Local Government, 11-12th November, 2004

141. [2004] *Computer Application and Use of ICT for Teaching and Learning*. A Commissioned Workshop Paper Presented at Train-the-Teacher Workshop for Capacity Building for Lecturers in Colleges of Education in Nigeria, Organized by Education Tax Fund (ETF) and National Commission for Colleges of Education, Abuja, August (COE, Akwanga) and September (FCE Katsina), 2004.
142. [2004] *Community Participation in Education – Lessons from Best Practices that Worked*. Lead Paper Presented at the one-day symposium organized by the Kano State House of Assembly and the National Association of Kano State Students, Aminu Kano School of Legal Studies, 5th October, 2004
143. [2004] *Community Participation and the Salvation of Education in Kano State*. A Commissioned Lead Paper presented at a Symposium on Education in Kano State, organized by Kano Old Students Association (KANOSA), Murtala Mohammed Library Complex, Kano, 10 April, 2004.
144. [2003] *Youth, Politics and Sustenance of Democracy*. Being a Commissioned Paper delivered at the workshop on Strategies for Inspiring Youth Towards Self-Actualization and Development, organized by the Kano State Ministry of Information, Youth, Sports and Culture from 5 to 7 November, 2003, Kano State, Nigeria.
145. [2003] *The Promises and Challenges of Information and Communication Technologies in Nigerian Education*. Being a commissioned paper presented at the one-day workshop on Developing an Education Management Information Systems in Nigeria, held at Protea Hotel, Abuja, 2 and 3 September, 2003.
146. [2003] *The Concept of Curriculum Integration: Its Meaning, Scope and Modalities*. Lead Commissioned Paper presented at the Workshop on Integrating Qur’anic Education, held at Arewa House, Kaduna, on March 14, 2003.
147. [2003] *Strategies for Accelerating Girl-Child Education*. Being a Commissioned paper delivered at a seminar on Acceleration of the Girl-Child Education in a Democratic Dispensation in Northern Nigeria, organized by Women Development Network (WODEN), Kano, Nigeria, 8 and 9 October, 2003
148. [2003] *Reconstructing the Mechanisms of Literacy in Indigenous Communities*. Paper delivered at the British Council, Kano, on the occasion of International Literary Day, on September 8, 2003.
149. [2003] *Management of Primary Education in Kano State*. Being a paper presented at a Seminar on The Management of Primary

- Education: Emergent Strategies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Organized by the Bayero University Consultancy Services for the Kano State Primary Education Board, February 19-21, 2003, Kano, Nigeria.
150. [2003] *Kano State Science Schools*. Being the text of a Guest Speech at the KASSOSA Symposium, July 26 2003, Murtala Mohammed Library Complex, Kano, Nigeria
  151. [2003] *Guidelines on Tests Construction, Assessment of Student Projects and the Importance of Teacher Tests: A Refresher Course*. Seminar Paper Delivered at the NERDC/SPEB Refresher Course on Continuous Assessment for Primary School Teachers in Kano State, 3 to 5 March, 2003, Kano, Nigeria.
  152. [2003] *Gender, Economy and Education*. Paper presented at the Roundtable on Gender Parity, as part of the EFA Week, held at Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria, on Monday 7 April, 2003.
  153. [2003] *Electronic Record Keeping*. Being a paper presented at a Seminar on The Management of Primary Education: Emergent Strategies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Organized by the Bayero University Consultancy Services for the Kano State Primary Education Board, February 19-21, 2003, Kano, Nigeria.
  154. [2003] *Dissemination of Research Findings*. Being a Seminar paper presented in the Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano, on September 17, 2003.
  155. [2003] *Darkness at Noon: Colonial Language Policy and the Eclipsing of Education among the Muslim Hausa in Northern Nigeria*. Paper presented at the International Conference on the Transformation of Northern Nigeria, 1903-2003, organized by the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sakkwato and Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 27 to 29 March, 2003, Kaduna, Nigeria.
  156. [2002] *Women Participation in Politics*. Paper presented at a Symposium for Women Voters, organized by Women in Politics, December 13, 2002.
  157. [2002] *Networking and Library Services*. Being the Text of the Paper Presented at the Workshop on Setting up and Managing Online Library Resources, Held in Kano at the Kano State Library Complex, Wednesday August 21, 2002.
  158. [2002] *Leading and Managing Staff to Raise Educational Achievement in the Northern States*. A Position Paper Commissioned by the Northern Education Research Project (NERP), Arewa House, Kaduna. November 8, 2002.

159. [2002] *Information Literacy for ICT*. Presented at the National Conference on Science, Environmental Education and Information Technology Literacy for Sustainable Development in Nigeria, Held at the School of Sciences, College of Education, Jalingo, Taraba State, Nigeria, October 29, 2002.
160. [2002] *ICT and Business Education*. A paper presented at the Orientation Session for MBA Students, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria on Saturday June 29, 2002.
161. [2001] *Teaching and Learning using CAI*. Commissioned Paper presented at a Train the Trainers Workshop at Federal College of Education, Kwantagora, December 1-6, 2001, Organized by UNESCO and NCCE.
162. [2001] *Teacher Education in the new Millennium*. A Lead Paper Presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Conference of the Schools of Education, Arts and social Sciences and Languages of the Federal College of Education, Pankshin, Plateau State, Nigeria, on August 28, 2001.
163. [2001] *ICT and Administration*. Being a Paper Presented at a Workshop for Local Government Secretaries, Chief Personnel Officers, Treasurers, and Revenue Officers, January 9 – 11 2001.
164. [2001] *Funding Research in Higher Education*. Paper presented at an Internal Seminar on the theme of Effective Research and Administration in Kano State Tertiary Institutions held by the Kano State Polytechnic on Tuesday October 9, 2001, Kano, Nigeria.
165. [2001] *Computerization of Financial Records*. Paper Presented at a Workshop for Local Government Secretaries, Chief Personnel Officers, Treasurers, and Revenue Officers, January 9 – 11 2001.
166. [2000] *The Cultural Environment of the Child*. A presentation made at the 2-day sensitization to Media Strategists organized by UNICEF in conjunction with CTV 67 on the Convention of the Rights of the Child, July 31, 2000
167. [2000] *Revisiting UBE Objectives*. Being a Guest Speaker's Address at the Convocation of the Kano State College of Education, Kumbotso, Kano, Sunday November 19, 2000.
168. [2000] *Nature, Technology and Tourism*. Being a Guest Speech on the occasion of the World Tourism Day Celebrations, September 27, 2000, Kano, Nigeria.
169. [2000] *Girl-Child Education in Kano*. A presentation made at the one-day sensitization Workshop to Media Strategists organized by UNICEF in conjunction with CTV 67 on the Convention of the Rights of the Child, August 8, 2000, Kano, Nigeria.

170. [2000] *Computers in Education*. Being a Commissioned paper presented at a 3-day workshop on Communication Education and Information Technology at the Federal College of Education, Okene, October 12, 2000, Organized by National Commission for Colleges of Education/UNESCO.
171. [1999] *Sunset at Dawn: The Stagnation and Regeneration of Education in Kano*. Being a Paper Presented at the Occasion of 31<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of the Establishment of Gwale Secondary School, Kano, Saturday September, 25 1999
172. [1999] *Science Education in Kano in the new Millennium*. Being a Consultant's Report submitted to the Abuja Kano Forum, October 15, 1999.
173. [1999] *Non-Formal Education for Children*. A Paper Presented at the Non-Governmental Organization Capacity Building Workshop on Convention on Rights of the Child (CRC) organized by Kano Broadcasting Corporation, July 24-25, 1999.
174. [1999] *New Methods and Techniques in Teaching and Learning*. A paper presented at the Workshop on Re-assessing Nigeria's Education Future, organized by the Education Tax Fund, November 29 to December 1, 1999, Kong Conference Hotel, Zaria
175. [1999] *ICT in Nursing*. Paper presented at the Annual Seminar of the National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives, Murtala Mohammed Specialist Hospital Branch on Wednesday December 8, 1999.
176. [1999] *Forging the Chains - Status of Northern Nigerian Adolescents*. Adolescent Youth Strategy for Northern Cluster. A Program of the Center for Development and Population Activities, CEPA. A USAID Supported Activity, May 7-13, 1999.
177. [1999] *Begging for Attention: Human Dignity and Child Begging in Kano*. A Paper Presented at the 2-day sensitization to District Heads and Parents on Child Rights, organized by Ministry of Social Welfare (Women Affairs) and Unicef, Kano, September 21, 1999.
178. [1999] *Ajamization of Hausa Knowledge*. A Lead Paper presented at the 2nd National Conference of the School of Education, Federal College of Education, Kano, on Tuesday October 19, 1999, Kano.
179. [1998] *Computer Fundamentals and Information Processing*. Paper Presented at a Training Program for Legislative Staff, Organized by the Institute of Contemporary Research (ICS), Kano, 1998.
180. [1995] *Culture and Learning in Kano: Education, Social Values and Human Resource Development in Kano*. Commissioned Paper

- Presented to the Kano State Educational Development Mobilization Committee, March 11, 1995.
181. [1992] *Out of Africa, Coming to America: American Higher Education in Nigeria*. Paper presented at the Center for African Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 13th February 1992.
  182. [1991] *Operation, efficiency and desirability of special science schools at the secondary education level: The Nigerian experience*. Paper presented at the International Institute of Educational Planning, Paris, France, 20th November 1991.
  183. [1991] *Enhancing Science and Technology via the Schools (Published as Enhancing Science and Technology via the Schools*. Guest Speech, Commonwealth Day, held at the Federal Government College, Kano, 11th March 1991.
  184. [1990] *The Establishment of the Kano State Science and Technical Schools Board as a Step Towards Scientific Manpower Production in Kano State*. Guest Speech, Kano State Chapter of the National Science and Technology Week, 19th to 24th November 1990.
  185. [1990] *Teaching Science Creatively to Pre-School Children: Approaches and Strategies for a Nigerian child*. Guest Speaker and Resource Person, Kano State Chapter of the Organisation Mondiale Pour L'education pre-scolaire (World Organisation for Early Childhood Education OMEP), 22nd October 1990.
  186. [1990] *Our Environment as a Sacred Trust: The School Dimensions*. Guest Speech, Commonwealth Day, Federal Government College, Kano, 12th March 1990. Presented a paper on the theme of the Day, which was Commonwealth and Environment.
  187. [1989] *The Role of Science in Developing Countries*. Guest Speaker, Science Week, Women Senior Secondary School/Teacher Education, Gezawa, Kano State, 14th August 1989.
  188. [1989] *Science, Schooling and National Development in Nigeria: An Analysis of Kano State Science Secondary Schools Project as a Development Strategy*. Paper presented at the Third World Strategies for Technological Development - An International Conference held at Federal University of Technology, Yola, Adamawa State. 25th August 1989.
  189. [1989] *Enhancing the participation of girls in Science and Technology in Kano: A Study of Girls' Science Secondary Schools*. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Conception and Implementation of a Social Policy - The Kano State Experiment. Organized by the Department of Islamic Law, Faculty of Law, Bayero University, Kano, and held between 5th to 7th June 1989.



190. [1988] *The Function of the Science Magazine in the Attainment of Science Teaching Objectives*. Guest Speech at the launching of Gwammaja II Senior Secondary School Science Magazine on 6th December 1988.
191. [1981] *The History of Science in the Islamic World: Trends and Future Directions for Muslim Unity*. Special Guest Lecture at the Bayero University, Kano Muslim Students Society Political Class, 7th May 1981.

### **Research Grants Managed in Media and Cultural Communications**

1. [2008-2013] *Passages of Culture: Media and Mediations of Culture in African Societies – Research Project and Training Network*. This project which started in 2008 and ended in 2013, was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation GmbH of Germany within the broad scope of “Knowledge for Tomorrow – Cooperative Research Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa.” The project was managed by Prof. Dr. Till Foster, University of Basel, Switzerland. Two students of Bayero University Kano – Dr. Nura Ibrahim and Dr. Mainasara Yakubu Kurfi – received grants to do their PhD research under the project.
2. [2010-2012] *Hausa Children’s Songs and Lullabies*. This is a project initiated by the Al Ain Center for Music in the World of Islam, and funded by Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage (ADACH), Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. The project recorded audio and video performances of Hausa children’s songs as part of preserving the cultural heritage of the Muslim peoples of Africa.

### **Creative Works in Media and Cultural Communication**

#### **A. Music Concerts Facilitated: Produced and Directed [In Concert Series]**

“Celebrating the Local Performance Arts of Northern Nigeria.” British Council, Kano. The aim of the project was to celebrate and honor local traditional performance talent and showcase emerging new genres with a view to raising public appreciation of performing artists through a series of live performances. Under this project, I conceptualized, arranged, conducted and facilitated the following concerts:

1. [2008] Voices from the Desert: Pulaar Music Festival, and Introducing Pulaar Rap, 15th March, 2008 [Music EP of Pulaar Rap]
2. [2008] Amada Rap with Hajiya Barmani Choge and her Calabash Ensemble, Saturday 12th January, 2008.
3. [2007] Dueling Banjos – Gurmi and Kukuma Improvizations, 13th October 2007.
4. [2007] Kukuma Music from Northern Nigeria – Featuring Nasiru Garba Supa and Arewa 17th February, 2007.
5. [2006] Hausa Rap and Technopop – Showcasing Emergent Hausa Rap Artists, 28th October, 2006.
6. [2006] Koroso Dance Drama – Dodorido (Traditional African Ballet), 24 June 2006.
7. [2006] Mai Soso Ke Wanka – An Evening with Hajiya Barmani Choge, 8th March, 2006.
8. [2006] Muhammad Dahiru Daura – The Blind Beggar Minstrel, 14th January 2006.

#### **B. Ethnomusicological Music Studio and Field Recordings**

The following are the ethnomusicological recordings I did as part of the digital archiving project to preserve the poetics of Hausa traditional musics and performances (DVDs available). These recordings are not meant to be commercial, but deposited on the web ([www.auadamu.com](http://www.auadamu.com)) where they can be shared with the world as part of contribution towards archiving and sharing traditional musical heritages of the Muslim peoples of northern Nigeria. Those not uploaded had copyright restrictions from Maison du Culture des Monde.

1. [2011] *Beggar Minstrels from Northern Nigeria* - In Memory of Muhammad Dahiru Daura. This was a re-recording of the poetics of a blind beggar minstrel, Muhammad Dahiru Daura (1946-2010) by another group of blind beggar minstrels led by Tafida Makaho. All the known performances of Dahiru Daura were re-recorded in this session.
2. [2010] *The Short Round Crew – Gangaramarido*. This is a recording of urban Hausa Children's 'after dinner' songs performed on community playgrounds, spaces and theater in evenings in northern Nigeria
3. [2010] *Surbaajo - Pulaar Female Children's Songs*. This is a recording of camp songs by young female Fulani children from Kano, northern Nigeria.

4. [2010] *Gurmi Music from Kano, Nigeria*. This is a separate recording of the Alfijir sessions which singles out only the Gurmi recordings.
5. [2010] Aliyu Namangi's *Wakokin Imfiraji - Fauziyya Sarki Abubakar Reciting*. A recording of the poetics of Aliyu Namangi, the most famous blind classical Hausa poet, who was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. The nine-volume set of Imfiraji were fully recorded in this session.
6. [2009] *Alfijir - Gari Ya Waye*. A wholly acoustic studio recording that showcases what would be 'Hausa Experimental Music'. It is a recording of three traditional Hausa instruments – gurmi (two-stringed lute, preceding the banjo), sarewa (Fulani flute) and duman girke (Hausa bongo drums).
7. [2008] *Pulaar Rap - Two-Track EP*. The first rap in Nigeria in Pulaar language, featuring Naziru 'Ziriums' Hausawa
8. [2006] *Hausa Technopop Live*. A recording of the live concert of Hausa Technopop by Abdullahi Mighty, Billy-O, Fati Nijar and Maryam Sansangali.
9. [2006] *Arewa with Nasiru Garba Sufa*. This is a recording by Nasiru Garba Supa, the son of the late Hausa 'kukuma' [fiddle] player. The recordings were spread over three years; two of the tracks featured the UK Muslim rap group, Mecca2Medina.

### C. Films Produced and Directed

10. [2010] Muslim Hausa Children's Songs (Producer; 2010, dir. Abdalla Uba Adamu, Kano, Nigeria). This is a commissioned video and audio project of the Al Ain Center for the Study of Music in the World of Islam, Abu Dhabi, UAE, and sponsored by Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage (ADACH).
11. [2010] Muslim Hausa Children's Lullabies (Producer; 2010, dir. Abdalla Uba Adamu, Kano, Nigeria). Similar to no 1 above.
12. [2009] *Equestrian Elegance: The Hausa Sallah in Kano* (Producer; 2009, dir. Bala Anas Babinlata, Kano, Nigeria). [Reviewed by Carmen McCain, Daily Trust (Nigeria) 12th November 2011, p. 48].
13. [2008] *The Khalifa in London – A Documentary on the Visit to London of Sheikh Qaribullah of the Qadiriyya Movement* (Producer; 2008, dir. Abdalla Uba Adamu, Kano, Nigeria)
14. [2004] *Kano State Constituency Accomplishments* (Producer; 2004, dir. Ahmad Salihu Alkanawy, Kano, Nigeria)

### **Selected National Activities in the Film/Music Industry**

1. Provided the judgmental template in the First Freedom Radio Fasaha Musical Competition held 10th December 2011, Kano, Nigeria
2. Founded the first Internet based discussion group on Hausa video films on 31st August 2001 at [www.groups.yahoo.com/groups/Finafinan\\_Hausa](http://www.groups.yahoo.com/groups/Finafinan_Hausa). It has currently over 25,554 postings, making it the most active depository on Hausa video films on the Internet
3. Chaired the first conference ever held on Nigerian or even African video films – International Conference on Hausa Video films (August 2003)
4. Edited the first book on Hausa video films: Hausa Video Films: Economy, Technology and Society (Kano, 2003).
5. Chaired the first Internet Yahoo! Groups Award for Hausa Video Films on 29th March, 2003 (for 2002 Hausa video films)
6. Chaired the Second Yahoo! Groups Internet Awards for Hausa Video Films on 6th March, 2004 (for 2003 Hausa video films)
7. Chaired the Third and Fourth Yahoo! Groups Internet Awards for Hausa Video Films, 16th April 2005 (for 2004 and 2005 Hausa video films)
8. Chaired the First Kano State Hausa Video Films Award, 2005 (for Hausa video films of 2004)
9. Chaired the Second Kano State Hausa Video Films Award, 2006 (for Hausa video films of 2005).

### **Dissertations Supervised/Internally Examined in Bayero University, Kano**

#### **Theses Supervised**

##### **PhD**

1. Maude Rabi'u Gwadabe (2018). Newspaper Political Advertisements in Nigeria's Presidential Elections, 2003-2015: A Functionalist Discourse Analysis
2. Ashiru Tukur Inuwa (2018) Cross-Cultural Film Remakes: Intertextuality and Appropriation from Hindi to Hausa Films.
3. Muhammad Ibrahim Danja (2018). Drawing the Agenda: A Semiotic Analysis of Political Cartoons in Nigerian Newspapers During 2015 Nigerian General Election Campaigns

4. Ya'u, Hassan Alhaji. (2015). Textuality of Road Transport Literature: An Interpretative Study of Public Transport Messages in Kano State.
5. Mohammed, Binta Kassim (2015). Transformation in the Production Strategies of Hausa Video Films, 1990-2014.
6. Ali, Muhammad Bashir (2014). Women Representation in the Nigerian Video Films: An Analysis. PhD thesis, Department of Mass Communication, Bayero University, Kano.
7. Ibrahim, Nura (2014). Mediation of Identity: A Semiotic Analysis of Conflict/War on Terror Related Visual Media Products in Northern Nigeria. PhD thesis, Department of Mass Communication, Bayero University, Kano.
8. Kurfi, Yakubu Mainsara (2014). Adaptation of Media Content from book To Film: Text and Textual Analysis of Some Selected Stories in *Magana Jari Ce*. PhD thesis, Department of Mass Communication, Bayero University Kano.

#### **M.Sc.**

1. Muhammad Sani Abdullahi (2018). Semiotic Analysis of Internet memes in 2015 election campaign of some Nigeria's Presidential candidates.
2. Isa, Ishaq El-Qassim (2015). Visual and Aural Semiotics in Cultural Media Usage: An Analysis of Nigerian Shi'a Islam's Posters, Spoken Words and Dress Code.
3. Mairafi, Joy Manasseh (2015). Church Evangelism and Social Networking in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of the Use of Twitter, Facebook and Blogs by Living Faith and Baptist Churches in Zamfara State, Nigeria
4. Danja, Muhammad Ibrahim (2014). Print Journalism and Political Coverage: A Content Analysis of Visual Elements in Nigerian Newspapers during 2011 General Election Campaigns.
5. Minjibir, Usman (SPS/11/MMC/00013). Use of Twitter as a Means of News Distribution: A Study of Selected Newspaper Organizations in FCT.

## **Internal Examiner**

### **PhD:**

1. Ahmad, Gausu (2014). *The Rise and Fall of the New Nigerian Newspaper (1966-2012)*.
2. Abubakar, Usman Ibrahim (2014). *Government Media Relations in Nigeria: A Study of Functions and Challenges of Government Image-Makers in North-West*, PhD dissertation

### **M.Sc.**

3. Inuwa, Ashiru Tukur (2013). *Broadcast Regulations and Enforcement in Nigeria: A Study of the National Broadcasting Commission, NBC*. M.Sc. Thesis (Supervisor: Dr. Balarabe Maikaba).
4. Madahi, Balarabe Nasidi (2014). *Conduct of 2006 National Population and Housing Census in Nigeria: An Assessment of Publicity Strategies in Kano State*. M.Sc. Thesis (Supervisor: Dr. Muhammad Bashir Ali).

### **B.Sc.**

1. Bamidele, Elizabeth Bolanle (2014). *The Roles of Public Relation in an Organization: A Study of Opportunity Industrialization Center International, Kano*.
2. Suleiman, Princess Raheema (2015). *The Challenges and Prospects of Campus Radio (FM) Station: A Case Study of BUK 98. FM*.
3. Hussain, Shitu Suleiman (2014). *Internet Usage Among Student sof Kano state College of Art, Science and Remedial Studies*.
4. Sani, Adamu (2014) *The Role of Radio as a Broadcast Media of Communication in Rural Development: A Case Study of Radio Niger*.
5. Ridwanu, Adam Muhammad (2014). *The Role of Facebook in Interpersonal Relations Among Students of Bayero University, Kano*.

6. Adamu, Abubakar Mohammed (2014). *The Role of Social Media in Occupy Nigeria Protest, January 2012: An Analysis of Some Messages on Facebook Among BUK Students.*
7. Harbau, Sadiya Jibrin (2014). *Public Perception About Women in Media: A Case Study of Kano Metropolis.*
8. Umar, Kamalu (2014). *The Role of Social Media in Youth Socialization: A Study of Tarauni Local Government Area, Kano State.*
9. Chinwe, Akanwa Franklyna (2012). *The role of New Media in the Newspaper Industry.* B.Sc. thesis, Department of Mass Communication, Bayero University, Kano.

## **Department of Education**

### **PhD**

1. Nalado, Halima Muhammad (2012). *The National Board for Technical Education Curriculum and the Promotion of Technology-Based Instruction in Polytechnics in North-West Zone of Nigeria*. PhD thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

### **M.Ed.**

2. Ahmad, Suwaiba Sa'idu (2009). *Gender Differences in Attitudes Towards Teaching and Learning Science Amongst Secondary School Students in Kano and Jigawa States*. M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano.
3. Saulawa, Abdu Imam (2004) *Social Studies Curriculum and Ethnic Integration in Nigeria: Analysis and Implementation in Katsina Metropolis*. M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano.
4. Ibrahim, Danladi Sa'idu (1999). *An Evaluation of the Strategies for the Implementation of Post-Literacy Curriculum for Adult Learners in Kano State*. M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano.
5. Kiyawa, Mansur Saleh (1992). *An Analysis of Students' Performance in English Language Examinations in Senior Secondary Schools in Kano State*. M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano.
6. Abbas, Sagir Adamu (1992). *An Analysis of the Implementation of the Senior Secondary School Mathematics Curriculum in Kano State*. M.Ed. thesis, Department of Education, Bayero University, Kano.

## **International Doctoral Co-Supervision/Adjudication**

1. [2012] Isa Yusuf Chamo, *The Changing Code of Communication in Hausa Films*. PhD dissertation, University of Warsaw, Poland.
2. [2011] Sri. Gurugubelli Tejeswara Rao, *Learning Styles in English Communication – Skills Among the Students of Polytechnics of the North Coastal Districts of Andhra Pradesh (India): A Study*. PhD dissertation, Andhra University, Andhra Pradesh, India.



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