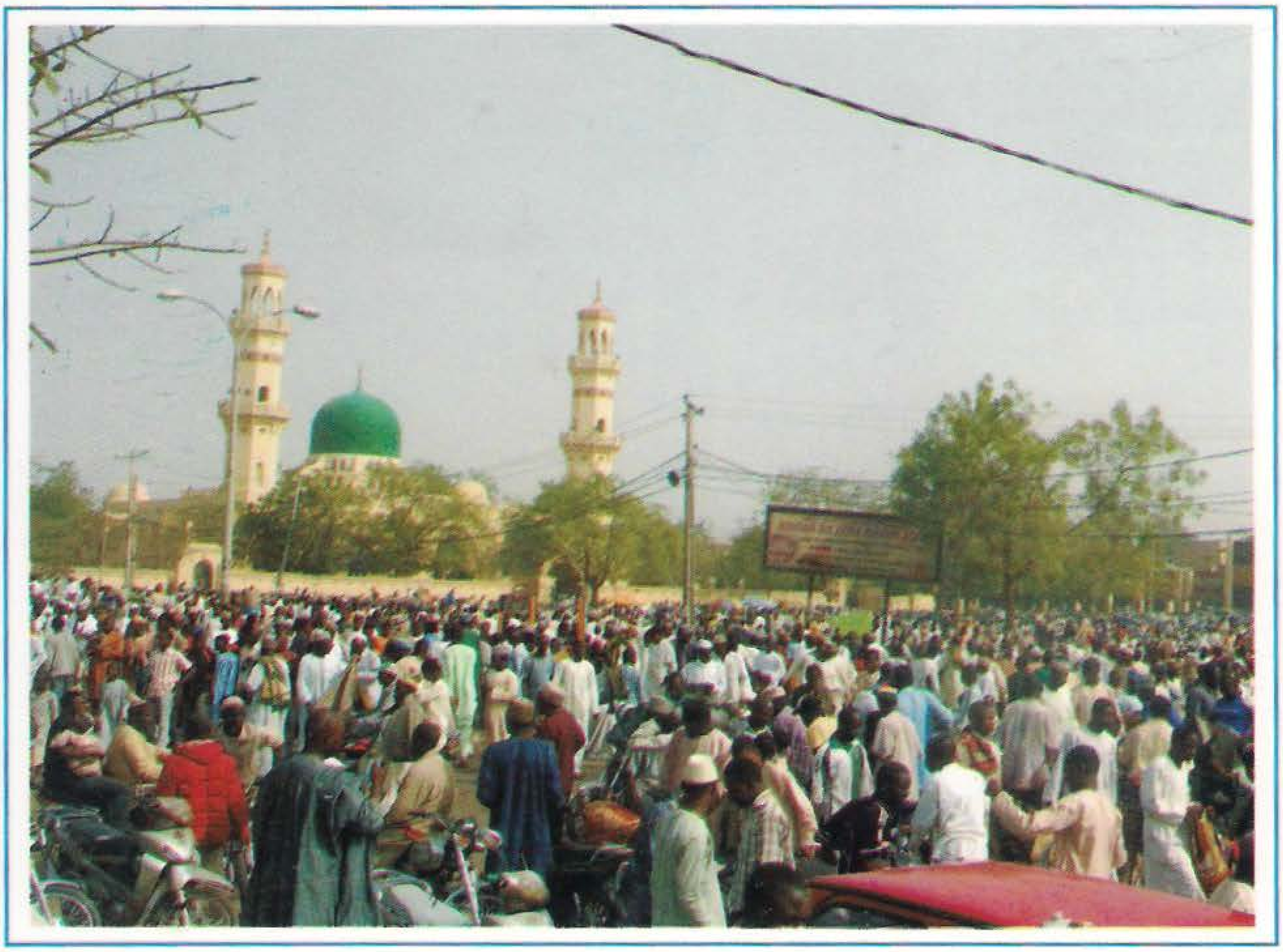
PERSPECTIVES
ON THE STUDY OF
CONTEMPORARY
KANO



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Funded by
tetfund
TERTIARY EDUCATION TRUST FUND

Supported by
KANO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, WUDIL

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ISBN: 978 – 125 – 909 – 4

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Cover Design: Murtala Muhammad

Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, Zaria,
Kaduna State, Nigeria.
Tel.: 069879121, 08065949711.
E-mail: abupresslimited2005@yahoo.co.uk
Website: www.abupress.org

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The Emergence and Characteristics of Kanywood as a Hausa Video Film Industry in Northern Nigeria

Abdalla Uba Adamu

16.1 Introduction

The development of the video film medium as a substitute for the cinema in most African countries was brought about by radical changes in the political economy of African countries in the 1980s, starting in Nigeria. In the vibrant decades after independence, cinema houses became the most visible points of community focus enabling audiences to partake in principally transnational entertainment ethos, with regular viewing of films from American, Indian and Chinese film industries. In Kano, northern Nigeria, the colonial cinema houses were established in specially designated areas outside the 'moral spaces' of the traditional conservative Muslim walled city of Kano. This area, called Sabon Gari (new town).

By the time the British granted Nigeria independence in 1960, the Sabon Gari in Kano has come to epitomize unbridled hedonistic pleasure and freedom. The early cinema theaters – Rex, Queens, and later El Dorado – were located within its precincts, and became attracting points for young and old patrons; with women patrons being considered prostitutes. As Brian Larkin (2008:77) points out:

> Commercial cinema theaters screened entertainment films from the United States and the United Kingdom to urban viewers who paid for the privilege of entrance...Mobile film units, however, offered something very different. These were educational teams created (by) the government to show a mix of documentaries, newsreels and pedagogical dramas intended to instruct audiences about the achievements of the state and educate them in modes of health, farming, and civic participation.

With the cinemas being located in urban centers—thus catering to few—it was clear therefore that the mobile film units would hold sway in demonstrating the power of the new technology in communicating information. If this is tied down to the traditional worldview of Hausa entertainment ethos that sermonizes even in its popular culture, it was clear, then, right from the start, that the cinema in northern Nigeria was going to have a didactic function, leaving little room for imaginative use of the cinema as an entertainment or even cultural process. For when the Seller's rules were applied to filmmaking process, Neil Parsons (2004: 11) notes that they:

> resulted in slow, pedantic movies without imaginative imagery, hammering home a simple message. In treating all 'natives' as permanent children new to cinema, and in giving control to white 'experts' who claimed to know what 'natives' thought better than the 'natives' themselves, Sellers' rules were racist.

Cinema going became established as a social activity, an experience that was always much more than the viewing of the film itself, even if the film is not understood by the audience. This is reflected, for instance, in a letter to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, by the then Resident of Kano, E.K. Featherstone who noted, while commenting on Film Censorship in Kano:

> "Frequently when I see films in Kano which I know are going to be shown on subsequent nights to African audiences I realise how little suited they are to an African public. Among a large youthful class of Kano City, Fagge and Sabon Gari which has money to spare in its pockets it has become the thing to do to go to the Cinema quite regardless of whether they understand what they see and hear or not. For example the other night I saw a large African audience sitting attentively through an exhibition of "Night Boat to Dublin". The next day an educated Hausa admitted to me that he had been unable to understand what he had heard and see in this film but that he went regularly to the cinema to be seen and to see his friends." E.K. Featherstone, Resident, Kano Province, 13th January 1948 (Kano No G.85/94).

Thus whether they understand the plot of the films or not, the mere process of going to cinema provided urban Hausa youth with a focal point of social convergence that was to make the spectacle of the cinema a central catalyst in the transformation of the popular culture of the Muslim Hausa. As a result of the social nature of the cinema, cinemagoers, mainly youth, often do it furtively without the knowledge, and certainly not the consent of their parents. A dedicated cinemagoer was often seen as *□an iska* (wayward), and cinema-going habit itself seen as *iskanci* (moral laxity). This perception was accelerated by the location of the cinemas within areas—Sabon Gari and its peripheries—for which most traditional Kano city residents believed there were no moral control, where alcohol, drugs and prostitution were common.

Other cinemas followed, and their dates of establishment are shown in Table 16.1

Table 17.1: Establishment of Notable Cinemas in Kano

S/N	Cinema	Year
1.	Rex	1945
2.	Kamfama/Rio*	1945
3.	El Duniya	1947
4.	Palace	1952
5.	Plaza	1957
6.	Queens	1968
7.	Orion	1971

*Located at Hotel D'France, Tafawa □alewa Road, Kano.

As noted earlier, all cinemas in Kano before Nigeria's independence in 1960 screened American and Europeans films exclusively. No film from either the Middle East or Asia was screened—principally because the initial concept of the cinemas was targeted at Europeans and settlers from other parts of West Africa. Thus the standard fare was either war, Roman history, cowboys or historical films.

When Nigeria became independent, the Lebanese cinema owners took the unilateral decision to reduce the number of European films and show films from Asia, particularly India. It was not clear what motivated this decision. The Lebanese who owned the cinemas in Kano at the time, and who decided what was screened, were Christians, and thus had little reason to promote Islamic films from the north Africa (especially Egypt). At the same time the need to continuously show European films in theaters has been drastically reduced by the political independence which saw the departure of many of their clients. Since the main purpose of setting up the cinemas for the local popular was entertainment, Hindi films with their spectacular sets, storylines that echo Hausa traditional societies, mode of dressing of the actors and actresses, as well as the lavish song and dances would seem to fill the niche. Rex cinema led to the way to screening Hindi cinema in 1961 with *Chenghiz Khan* (dir. Kenda Kapoor, N.C. Films, 1957). From 1960s to late 1970s, the "must see" Hindi films of urban youth in Kano included *Raaste Ka Patthar* (dir. Mukul Dutt, 1972), *Waqt* (dir. Yosh Chopara, 1965), *Jab Pyar Kisise Hota Hai* (dir. Nasir Hussain, 1961), *Love in Tokyo* (dir. Pramod Chakravorty, 1966), *Aradhana* (dir. V. Madhusudan Rao, 1962), *Rani Rupmati* (dir. S. N. Tripathi, Ravi Kala Chitra, 1957), *Dost* (dir. Dulal Guha, 1974), *Nagin* (1976), *King Kong* (dir. Babubhai Mistry, 1962), *Sangeeta* (dir. Ramanlal Desal, 1950), *Sholay* (dir. Ramesh Sippy, 1975), *Jugnu* (dir. Pramod Chakravorty, 1973), *Farz* (dir. Ravikant Nagaich, 1967), *Tessri Manzil* (dir. Vijay Anand, 1966), *Junglee* (dir. Subodh Mukherji, 1961).*Amar Deep* (dir. T. Prakash Rao, 1958), *Chori Chori* (dir. Anant Thakur, 1956), *Yaadon Ki Baaraat* (dir. Nasir Hussain, 1973), *Mother India* (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1957), *Awara* (dir. Raj Kapoor, 1951). These became the staple entertainment diet of Hausa urban youth, as well as provincial cinemas.

And although, predominantly based on Hindu culture, mythology and traditions, there were very few Hindi films with an Islamic content which glosses over the Hindu matrix and became more acceptable to Muslim Hausa viewers. These faintly Muslim films (most adapted from Arabian stories) included *Faulad* (dir. Mohammed Hussain, Broadway Pictures, 1963), *Alif Laila* (dir. K. Amarnath, K. Amarnath Productions, 1953), *Saat Sawal Yane Haatim Tai* (dir. Babubhai Mistri, Basant Pictures, 1971), *Abe Hayat* (dir. Ramanlal Desai, Filmistan, 1955), and *Zabak* (dir. Homi Wadia, Basant Pictures, 1961), among others. Interestingly, despite the strong influence of Pakistani Muslim scholars on Hausa Muslim youth in the 1970s (especially through the writings of Maryam Jameela, Syed Abu A. Maudodi), films from Lollywood (Lahore, Pakistan) were not in much favor, at least in Kano. Thus by 1960s Hindi popular culture, at least what was depicted in Hindi films, was the predominant foreign entertainment culture among young urbanized Hausa viewers, and when the Hindi film moved to the small screen TV, housewives at last became recognized in the entertainment ethos. Even radio music request shows predominantly play soundtrack music from Hindi film—thus those who did attend cinema screenings of the films had a chance to partake in their musical spectaculars.

Subsequently, however, two factors served to define the cinema for the Muslim Hausa. First was the didactic nature of the medium as introduced by the colonial film unit that screened essentially documentaries that educate and enlighten. The matrix meshes very well with the nature of Hausa narrative styles of finding a particular social significance to any structured and especially literary (whether oral, written or visual) activity. Secondly, when cinema became less didactic with the departure of the British, commercial entertainment cinema abandoned the fairly elitist American and British film, that appealed mainly to the few educated urbanites anyway. This saw the deluge of sensory Bollywood films that find direct hooks in the social fabric of the Muslim Hausa. The spectacular cinematography and the song and dance routines of Hindi films that appeared after the immediate departure of the British colonial administration thus came to define, to the Hausa, what cinema should do: educate, entertain and at the same time, became an identity tag.

16.2 Small to Small – TV Dramas to Video Dramas

The predominant entetainment focuses for most families in Kano, northern Nigeria, in the 1980s were the TV operas screened by Kano station of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). These drama series were made by the established drama group stage actors who thus found a comfortable niche in the new medium, and soon hour-long prime time television dramas like *□ulliya Manta Sabo, Taskira Asirin Mai □aki, □waryar □ira, □an Kurma* (The deaf one), *Karo Da Goma, Kowa Ya Bar Gida, □ai□ayi, Ba'are, □an Hakki, Jauro, Katantanwa* and *□an Malam* became the in-house programs of the NTA Kano. It was from these television dramas—most focusing on the intrigues and intricacies of traditional Hausa society—that the major respected actors of the subsequent Hausa video film were to emerge.

The NTA Kano still lacked a night-time entertainment program to "pull audience", and hit upon the idea of asking some firms to sponsor the showing of the "late night movie" of their choices which will guarantee high ratings—and advertising audience. Dala Foods Ltd and Unifoam (makers of mattress) accepted the offer. Starting in 1976, NTA Kano started showing Hindi films at "late night movies" on Fridays. By the following year other companies had shown interest in sponsoring the screening of Hindi films as a platform to advertise their products. Thus from 1977 to 2003, Unifoam sponsored the showing of Hindi films on NTA Kano, while Dala Foods Ltd sponsored the Hindi film screenings from 1982 to 1985. Between the two of them, the firms made it possible for NTA Kano to broadcast 1,176 Hindi films through television from October 2nd 1977 to 7th June 2003.[1] The first Hindi film shown was *Aan Baan* (dir. Prakash Mehra, 1972).

This availability of the Hindi cinema releases on video tapes shown on television merely consolidated the gains of the popularity Hindi cinema in Kano from mid 1970s to late 1980s where the cinema going culture had been well-established since 1950s. The new audience for this home-based entertainment were youth aged 12-25, and urbanite housewives of all ages who avidly followed the Hindi films, especially the songs. Hausa housewives were thus particularly taken in with the new entertainment media because it enables them to see what they have been missing out in the cinemas. To further facilitate this Hindinization of Hausa entertainment was the repeated plays of songs from popular Hindi films on Hausa radio request shows targeted at women. These programs were sponsored by major commercial firms such as Paterson Zochonis (PZ) and United Africa Company (UAC) who use the thirty-minute slots to advertise their products. Thus programs such as *Za□en Robb*, *Uwargida Barka Da Rana*, *Za□en Almuru*, *Za□en Dare* and others where listeners send greetings to each other and often request for specific songs to be played, had heavy dosage of Hindi film and Sudanese music—along with Hausa music, giving legitimacy to the view that Hindi, Sudanese and Hausa music are all the same. No music from southern Nigeria was played in these shows.

At the same time, the massive popularity of Kano NTA's soap operas in the late as well as the increasing availability of video film recorders, and the first tentative Yoruba VHS-recorded video films in mid 1980s, created the right catalytic atmosphere for the emergence of the *commercial* Hausa video film. Hausa *drama episodes* were sporadically available in urban northern Nigerian markets. But these were rather furtively taken to the cassette dealers by workers of the various television stations (so in effect, the tapes were illegal). There was a market especially for the more popular episodes.

Surprisingly, despite the massive popularity of Hausa drama in the television houses, and despite government financial muscle, the idea of full-scale commercial production of the Hausa drama episodes by the television houses was never considered. An individual wishing to own certain episodes simply go to the television station and pay the cost of the tape and a duplication fee and that was it. There was no attempt to commercialize the process on full-scale.

One of the more noticeable drama groups was Tumbin Giwa, particularly its Secretary, the late Aminu Hassan Yakasai, an innovative novelist who could be credited with creating the Hausa video film industry due to his vision. Tumbin Giwa was made up of television drama actors who were already familiar with the technology and therefore saw its potentials in popular cultural mediation. Tumbin Giwa requested Bashir Mudi Yakasai, the pioneer cinematographer in Kano, to become a consultant to the group on media technologies, specifically how to produce their own video film. They soon started collaborating on production projects, with the first being *Gamzaki*, a CTV 67 project which focused on *almajirci* (young migrant Muslim pupils) which aired eight episodes in 1984 before being canceled. Canceling *Gamzaki* made the producer, Salisu Galadanchi, rather redundant. The studio, in conjunction with History and Culture Bureau (HCB) then allocated to him a series of documentaries, starting with *Allura Da Zare*, a traditional trades and crafts program, and later entrusted with the coverage of the National Festival of Arts and Culture in Lagos. His relationship with HCB became so close that he sought and obtained a transfer from CTV 67 to HCB. It was while he was at HCB that he was drafted into Tumbin Giwa Drama Group for which he handled the camera, as well as directed its first production, *Turmin Danya*, released in 1990. Thus *Turmin Danya*, released in March 1990 is often regarded as the first commercial Hausa video film which kick-started an industry. In the meantime, the southern Nigerian films were also about to be developed as a full-fledged industry, with its first commercially recognized debut being *Living in Bondage* (dir. Chris Obi Rapu, 1992). Historically, therefore, the Hausa video film industry was established at least two years earlier than the southern Nigerian film industry.

From 1990 to 2000, hundreds of Hausa video films followed, such that by August 1999, Sunusi Shehu Burhan, a writer with a newly established magazine, *Tauraruwa* (Star) coined the expression, 'Kanywood' (fashioned after 'Hollywood') to refer to the predominantly Kano-based Hausa video film industry. Interestingly, this was a full two years before Norimitsu Onishi, a feature writer with the *New York* Times coined 'Nollywood' in an article in September 2002 for the essentially southern Nigerian film industry. Thus historically the Kanywood Hausa video film industry predated the southern Nigerian Nollywood film industry by some two years.

The Hausa video film genre emerged more or less spontaneously as a result of a considerable shift in viewer behavior from cinema to home entertainment, and the increasing availability of media technologies, especially the VHS camera, and later, computer editing facilities in terms of equipment (video capture cards) and accompanying software. This chapter focuses closely on the productions themselves.

16.3 Typologies of the Hausa Video Film

By the middle of 2003, at least four types of Hausa video film producers have drawn the battle lines for the control of the industry through allegiances – often putting the daggers aside momentarily to collaborate on projects.

The first type was what one terms the 'art' cluster, which focuses on Hausa drama revolving around the sociology of an essentially nuclear family. The second, 'commercial' cluster, was made up of Young Turks (what the industry calls *'Yan Kwalisa*, young dudes) with a desire to make it in a depressed economy and therefore produce purely commercial videos. Their main technique was to rip-off Hindi films directly and laces them with dance routines accompanied by playback songs, themselves patterned along Hindi film songs, and substituted with Hausa lyrics. Their videos are the typical *Hausa masala* (*kwa□o*). This cluster is later referred to as 'Yan Sentimental' (the romantics). The third cluster was made up of what the Hausa video film industry itself terms *chamama* — cheaply produced and cheerful video films, and shot in rural settings. These were mainly comedy and essentially the vehicle for the jester-like acting tactics of the leading proponent of the genre, Rabilu Musa □anlasan, with the stage name of □an Ibro. They also often focus on studying a specific segment of the Hausa society and parodying the segment in a humorous fashion. The fourth and final category is the involvement in the Hausa video film industry by non-ethnic Hausa, most of whom could not even speak the language, but were lured by the opportunity to cash in on a popular phenomena.

16.3.1 *Art House Blues*

The first cluster was made up of studios like Iyan-Tama Multimedia, Mazari FilmMirage, Dukku Productions and Sarauniya Films Production. This cluster represents the nearest equivalent to Hausa 'art' video film and is a likely candidate to give birth finally to a Hausa *Film*. Not only did they then had the financial base, but they were also a conglomerate of experienced stage and drama actors with considerable maturity and grasp of the Hausa culture. Their non-fray into the celluloid medium was more to financial risks of such venture, rather than lack of capital or technical expertise, even though none in this cluster – as in others – is formally academically trained in theater arts.

And while the song and dance formula applies to the generality of commercially successful Hausa video films even among the art crowd, there are quite a few who deviated from this formula — either by not including song and dance routines, or by philosophizing and moralizing about the typical average Hausa life style in modern times. Video films in this category included *Gashin □uma, Fallasa, Gagare, Tantiri*, etc.

Each of these, representative of the production ethics of the studios, is a careful study of the Hausa society. *Gashin □uma* (dir. A. S. Alkawany, 2000), is a drama about an un-appreciating husband who divorced his patient and obedient wife, only to regret later after marrying a woman who showed no respect to him. *Tantiri* (dir. A.M. Sabo, 1998), is a tale of urban migration of rustic *almajirai* (migrant Muslim pupils) and the antics they get up when they mix with bad urban company. The film was loosely based on the antics of Macaulay Carson Culkin in *Home Alone* (dir. Chris Columbus, 1990). It was a children and youth drama aimed at youth, but with messages to adults who force children into such situations. *Babban Gida* (dir. Waziri Zayyanu, 2002) is a modern drama—complete with guns blazing—about the love a very rich mother has for her spoilt child who killed a peasant girl in a hit-and-run accident. The mother was willing to go any length to ensure her son was not convicted. *Kukan Kurciya* (dir. H.M. Zango, 2001), the first Hausa video film from Ghanaian Hausa, portrays how mother-in-laws often interfere too much in the married lives of their daughters and almost stifle their lives with their own personal agendas.

This 'artistic' conglomerate was not immune to the odd appropriation from Hindi cinema, ripping-off a tune or a scene here and there from an Hindi film. An example is *Buri* (dir. A. S. Alkanawy, 2001), which shared too strikingly similar plot elements with the Hindi film *Pyaasa Sawan* (dir. Dasari Narayana Rao, 1981). However, the 'artistic' Hausa filmmakers remain by and large cultural interpreters of Hausa society, whether rural or urban, whether love or life. And if there are songs, they remain background soundtracks, rather than specific plot elements in the video (such as in *Ki Yarda Da Ni, Babban Gida, Kukan Kurciya*). In some of these 'art' videos, the song and dance are *contextualized* so that they occur on *occasions* requiring song and dance, as for instance in *Fallasa* (dir. A. S.

Alkanawy, 2001) and *Alhaki Kwikwiyo* (dir. USA Galadima, 1999), in which the song and dance routines were held only at a wedding ceremony.

Each of the major production studios has a vital slice of the market and uses different approaches to visual interpretation of the Hausa lifestyles. Sarauniya Films Production focuses on rural dramas and folktales, with occasional foray into urban lifestyles. Indeed two of their films, *Daskin Da Ri□i* (dir. Auwal M. Sabo, 1998) and *Sangaya* (dir. Auwal M. Sabo, 2000) emerged among the most successful Hausa video films due to their predominantly traditional and rustic themes.

Iyan-Tama Multimedia, which also provided most of the music-making facilities for the early stages of the video film industry in Kano, has a distinct style of production guided by a group of almost Bohemian novelists (including Alkhamees D. Mature, author of the controversial first lesbian-themed Hausa novel, *Matsayin Lover*, and Bala Anas Babinlata, the author of best-selling *□a ko Jika?*), and unorthodox Islamic scholars (containing a mixture of radical Islam with rebellious Islam which included Ahmad Salihu Alkanawy, a Saudi-trained and influenced Muslim scholar and preacher, and Sunusi Shehu Daneji, a novelist (*Bankwana da Masoyi*) and also an open-follower of some of Rashad Khalifa's interpretation of Islam[2]) who migrated into the visual arts and gave the studio its distinct focus and sermonizing direction (*Gashin □uma*, *Fallasa*).

Other production studios in the same artistic category included Moving Image whose videos tended to reflect traditional life-style of the Hausa such as in *Waiwaye Adon Tafiya* and *Dodorido*, the latter being a collaborative project between the Kano State History and Culture Bureau and Moving Image. A dance drama, it focuses attention on a community of *□oroso* dancers,

Thus videos devoid of song and dance routines — became identified with quintessential Hausa cultural realism in the visual media. They became acknowledged 'classics' in the Hausa video film genre (*finafinai masu ma'ana* - meaningful videos), and established an art video concept among some of the video makers who were more interested in capturing the traditional worldview of the average Hausa person, than the commerce-driven aspirations of the new wave of producers.

16.3.2 'Yan Sentimental

The second —largest and most successful — cluster of producers who controlled the Hausa video film market from 2001, was dominated by unapologetically commercially-driven video film companies targeted directly and squarely at youth from early pre-teens to twentysomethings, with no intention or focus towards 'artistic' cinema. They were referred to as 'Yan Sentimental' (sentimental filmmakers, to reflect their over-riding focus on Bollywood-inspired romantic dramas).

With an average age of 25 for both cast and crew (including studio heads), anyone over 30, both in reel and in real, appears in their videos as a father or an elderly brother dispensing homely advise about which girl to marry. Almost without any exception, their video films are love triangle dramas patterned directly on Hindi film motifs.

A cultural hybrid, comprised of both Hausa and acculturatively Hausanized non-ethnic Hausa, and raised on a solid diet of Hindi cinema in the cosmopolitan centers they grew up in (Kaduna, Kano and most especially Jos), their approach to video film was simple: watch as many Hindi films as possible and copy them. In most cases of the videos produced by this cluster, the emphasis on female lead characters with non-Negroid features and a striking resemblance to Hindi film stars in facial appearance and in dressing.

Their storylines rarely deviate from love triangle and the struggles youth face about which girl to marry, or how to avoid *auren dole* (forced marriage) or *soyayyar dole* (forced love). *Mujadala* (dir. T. Ibrahim, 2001), was a typical example of the exuberance of commercial Hausa video film at the height of its ascendancy. With a tagline of *'A Musical Love Story'*, it spared no punches in faithfully copying the Hindi film, *Dillagi* (dir. Sunny Deol, 1999) and interlacing it with a strong dose of Hausa singing and dancing. The overall effect was a bubble-gum feel of Hausa youth cinema. The original Hindi film, tells the story of two brothers who thought so differently till then, are suddenly in love with the same girl though unknown to each other. In the Hausa version the brothers were shattered when they discovered they were in love with the same girl. After a lot of singing and dancing (in which the rivalry was acted out) the problem was somehow resolved. The jealousies and struggles were indeed the subject matter of an entire song in the video.

The popularity of the stars who appeared in *Mujadala* was such that a Hausa video without any of them is guaranteed to be an instant flop from 2000 to 2005, when they were at the height of their appeal.

The video films made by this cluster are also the most commercially popular, capturing a significant portion of youth viewer attention. Replete with young starlets, some barely out of high school (and others who did not want to complete high school and therefore dropped out to become video stars – few with full permission and co-operation of their parents) the video films produced by the Young Turks capture the imagination of the youth they represent. The youth therefore see them as icons on a social desktop, rebels giving them scripts to read to their own parents when faced with the painful decision about having to produce a husband, or having to choose the girl to marry from the bevy that surround the equally well-groomed star.

In an interesting casting template, on occasions of video co-operation between the 'art' and the 'commercial' Hausa video film, the 'art' crowd always appear as parents, while the 'commercial' crowd portray the sullen and petulant offspring. They needed each other, because even rebels have parents, and it is difficult for a squeaky-clean fresh-faced 23 year old star to convince audience that he is capable of giving elderly or fatherly advice about marriage. Thus the need for the 'art' crowd, even if in cameos. The 'art' crowd also need the 'commercial' because it enhances the story (or at least improve sales) if it includes a petulant daughter who needs some convincing to marry the son of a fathers' friend! So despite the intense chicanery and rivalry in the Hausa video film industry, the two clusters of production manage to form an uneasy working relationship, with each preferring to strut on their turf.

In-between these two conglomerates is a legion of independents who align along one axis or other, although predominantly leaning to the commercial cluster. They have to, since they do not have the financial muscle to experiment and produce videos that will not sell. Indeed it is out of this legion of independents that the first attempt to present Hausa video film to the international market was made. These included young producers such as 'Sir' Hafizu Bello whose first film, *Dijengala* is a appropriated from an Hindi film, *Khoon Bhari Maang* (dir. Rakesh Roshan, 1988), but whose later films, such as *Ruhi*, reflect non-commercial slant by becoming the first commercially available Hausa video to enter the 18th *Panafrican film and television festival of Ouagadougou* (FESPACO) held 22nd

February to 1st March 2003, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. *Ruhi* deals with the usual love triangle of the Hausa video film, but broke the mold from a young producer by refusing to use song and dance routines. The video won the award for the Best Film in a Yahoo! Groups discussion forum on Hausa video films in 2003.

It is thus significant that despite the artistic bent of the art group of Hausa video film producers, none of the videos was ever entered for any international competition. Tragically, Hafizu Bello's historic move was seen as a foolhardy and no further attempts were made by any member of the Kanywood industry to enter internationally recognized competitions with their films.

16.3.3 **Cheap and Cheerful – Chamama**

The third cluster of the Hausa video film producers are the *chamama* artistes revolving around □an Ibro, a character who usually lives in a village, is a sort of jester, and gets up to various slapstick comedy antics. Rabilu Musa, the character actor for □an Ibro usually takes on a person, a sub-culture or a theme and a whole video is shot around that. Three of his fairly typical films are *Ibro Saddam* (dir. Kabeer Umar, 2003) on Saddam Hussain (1937–2006), who was the fifth President of Iraq; *Ibro Usama* (dir. Malam Auwalu Dare, 2002), *Ibro Usama* on Osama bin Laden (1957-2011), leader of the Al-Qaeda Islamist movement; and *Ibro Saddam* (on Saddam Hussain's ouster from power in 2003) and *Ibro □an Daudu* (dir. Munzali 'Yoko' Muhammad, 2001).

Ibro □an Daudu is a hilarious take on the Hausa transvestite community (*'yan daudu*) and chronicles the unlikely union of a 'normal' boy to the daughter of a leader of a community of closely-knit 'transvestites'. The boy had started out as a regular youth, but in the process of interacting with the transvestite community, he also became one. Naturally his parents opposed the union, while the girl's mother (and wife of the leader of the transvestites) also opposed giving her daughter to a fresh transvestite. It provided an illuminative insight into how a sub-culture functions and mirrors the reaction of the larger society to the sub-culture.

Ibro Usama and *Ibro Saddam* show how Hausa video film producers interpret international events. To date they remain the only Hausa video films to focus on global politics. Even though they were cast in the comedy mold, they were accurate hilarious takes on both American president, George Bush, Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussain, and the Afghan war in 2002, following the September 11, 2001, attacks on US soil by Al-Qaeda militants which led to the declaration of 'War on Terror' by the US armed forces against targeted countries allegedly harboring Al-Qaeda militants. *Ibro Usama* in particular drew a lot of criticism from the religious establishment throughout northern Nigeria which did not see anything funny about Osama Bin Laden's crusade. Thus the video was condemned at Friday sermons in Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri and Sokoto. This was all *before* the video was officially released. The Kano State Censorships Board, however, gave it a clean bill of health, despite strong urgings to ban the video by the *Hisbah Committee* – Islamic vigilante group established to enforce the Shari'a in the State. The Censorship Board, however, requested the producers to remove the song and dance sequences as they belie the gravity of the subject matter.

The *chamama* category of Hausa video film is often treated with contempt by the mainstream producers, particularly the 'Yan Sentimental, who refuse to appear in such video, even as cameo scenes. In particular, the commercial video producers were certainly disdainful of these films, and while they can freely use □an Ibro in cases requiring a jester in their videos, they rarely appear in his videos. This does not bother him, since he has a retinue of arties to play any role required. Further, this category of videos was sponsored mainly by independent producers who commission Rabilu Musa to put the video together, often using a theme that takes their fancy. By 2004 more than 30 *Ibro* videos had been made, and these included character studies such as *Ibro Shata* (on late Mamman Shata, famous Hausa folk singer), *Ibro Bob Marley*, *Ibro Awilo* (on Awilo Longomba, a Congolese musician, and which has a strong anti-drug message) *Ibro Michael Jackson*, and occupational studies such as *Ibro □an Hayes*, (on commuter bus drivers) *Ibro Mai Shayi* (on roadside tea cafes) etc.

16.3.4 Non-Hausa in the Hausa Video Film Industry

Finally, a fourth category of Hausa video film was the involvement of non-ethnic Hausa in the industry, although this was in the halcyon days of the industry (from 1997-2002). Thus far the video film industry in Nigeria has clearly defined turf and territory. Both the northern and southern parts of the country (covering the three major languages) were actively engaged. However, they were mutually non-legible to each other. This was essentially because they operate on virtually opposing cultural mindsets – making the emergence of a truly 'Nigerian cultural film' almost impossible. While the Hausa video film can be stereotyped as essentially a love triangle tied together by a religious theme of acceptance of *□addara* (fate), the southern Nigerian video film has a more eclectic focus. According to Haynes and Okome (1997),

> the videos' sub-plot filled, sprawling, rhizomatic plot structures have affinities with oral narrative patterns and with indigenous conceptions of fate and destiny (Haynes and Okome 1997: 26).

Further, both Hausa and 'Nigerian film' producers rarely had collaborative efforts with each other, essentially because of differing mindsets when it comes to film production and the use of the film media in cultural preservation. In cases where northern Nigerian Muslim Hausa appeared in 'Nigerian films', it was claimed they were portrayed negatively – either as violent, subservient, stark illiterate or military dictators, or playing the roles of *maigadi* – security guard. Examples of claimed Hausa-stereotyping in Nigerian films are shown in videos such as *The Senator*, *The Stubborn Grasshopper*, *The World is Mine*, *Osama Bin La* (sic), *Across the Border*, and *The Police Officer*. Rarely were Hausa artistes given significant roles in such films; although this is more of astute and realistic marketing than ethnicity because it would be risky to give an unknown Hausa actor a significant role in a video aimed at southern Nigerians or at least portraying the southern Nigerian mindset.

The few Hausa-speaking video actors who appeared in 'Nigerian films' were Hindatu Bashir (*Showdown*, *Eleventh Hour*), Sani Danja (*Eleventh Hour*), and Kabiru Mohammed Suleja (*Battle for Princes*). *Sharia: Holy Law* drew such a barrage of criticism among Hausa Muslims due to its portrayal of Shari'a laws then being implemented in northern Nigeria that it caused credibility problems for the two northern Nigerian Muslim actors. And although 'Nigerian films' were sold in northern markets, they were almost exclusively distributed by southerners; few northern marketers accept them, simply because they were aimed more at southern Diaspora in the north. When the video film culture in southern Nigeria reached its peak in 2001, leading to a decision to halt production for two months in March 2002, many of its tentacles reached out to the north.

Thus the involvement of Igbo and Yoruba business men in the Hausa video film represents the first type of non-ethnic Hausa involvement in the industry. Despite the ethnic and religious differences and flashpoints of conflict, northern Nigeria is for long, a host to millions of people of southern Nigerian extraction, many of whom where actually born in the north, and had no other home but the North. Although living in closeted communities (in *Sabon Gari* non-ethnic settler urban arrangements and segregated – more by choice than policy – from the predominant Muslim host community), they speak the Hausa language passably and had excellent commercial links with the Hausa host communities. However, while some had a working knowledge of the Hausa language, many could not speak the language and see the Hausa video film as merely another investment opportunity. Some of these businessmen had already been involved in the Nigerian video film processes in Lagos and Onitsha.

When they realize that money could be made out of the Hausa video film industry, a few of the 'Nigerian film' producers used their capital, expertise and superior technical skills and equipment to start producing Hausa language video films, using as many Hausa actors as they could. Interestingly, they seem to prefer to feature the non-ethnic Hausa acculturated Hausa artistes in their video films.

Table 16.2 shows *some* of the Hausa video films produced by non-Hausa, from 1999 to 2002.

Table 16.2: Non-Hausa Produced Hausa video films, 1998-2002.

S/N	**Video film**	**Producer**	**Year**
1.	Zuwaira	Matt Dadzie	1999
2.	□an Adam Butulu	Oskar Baker	1999
3.	Halin Kishiya	Tunji Agesin	1999
4.	Kowa Ya Sami Rana	Aminu Dele	1999
5.	Ma□iyi	Yemi Laniyan	1999
6.	Yaudara	T. Agesin	1999
7.	Jamila	O.R. Anoruo	2000
8.	Har Abada	James Ajik	2000
9.	Mai Arziki	Yemi Laniyan	2000
10.	Makuji	Yemi Laniyan	2000
11.	Uwar Gida	Yemi Laniyan	2000
12.	Janwuya	E.Umeasai (Ghanaian)	2001
13.	AbdulMalik	Oskar Baker	2001
14.	Albarka	Yemi Laniyan	2001
15.	Almara	I. Nwankwo	2001
16.	Alwashi	G. Harynd	2001
17.	Azaba	Prince Daniel	2001
18.	Kwankiro	Alhaji Y. Ouna	2001
19.	Macijiya	I. Nwankwo	2001
20.	Matsatsi	Taye Ukubardejo	2001
21.	Jan Kunne	USAID/Sani Danja	2002

Source: National Film and Video Censors Board, 2002, Abuja, Nigeria.

The year in which there more non-ethnic Hausa, specifically southern Nigerian elements, in the Hausa video film industry was 2001, when 11 video films were produced, as against 6 each in 1999 and 2000. By 2002 interest had waned, with only USAID being the non-ethnic Hausa outfit producing a HIV/AID awareness video, *Jan Kunne*. It was clear, therefore that these producers found the industry worth taking a closer look at, but they backed out when there were insufficient returns on investment.

The second non-ethnic Hausa involvement in the Hausa video film was by acculturated Hausanized Muslim and non-Muslim non-ethnic Hausa. They were mainly originally Yoruba, Igbira, Beni, Nigeriène, Tuareg, Yemeni, Kanuri, and other 'minor' northern Nigerian tribes whose parents settled in large urban Hausa centers. They were born among the Hausa and most can speak the language fluently with only a little trace of accent. They also attended all their schools among the Hausa and perhaps except for linguistic and often dress codes, would not be distinguished from the Hausa. According to Hausa video film industry insiders, these elements constituted as much as 60% of the Hausa video film industry. As an investigation by *Mumtaz* magazine, Kano, reveals:

> Whenever you mention Hausa video film it is assumed these are videos made by true ethnic Hausa. Surprisingly and annoyingly, in an investigation, we discovered this was not true, only few of those involved in production of Hausa video film are true ethnic Hausa. The ethnic tribes that overrun the Hausa video film industry include Kanuri, Igbos and most significant of all, the Yoruba. In a table we drew, about 42% of the Hausa video film producers and artistes were of Yoruba extraction, 10% were Kanuri, 8% were Igbos. Thus only about 40% are true ethnic Hausa, and yet these videos are called *Hausa* videos. 'Hausawa sun yi k'aranci a shirin fim' (There is a dearth of true ethnic Hausa in Hausa video films), *Mumtaz*, April 2001, p. 12.

Indeed it was argued by many of the insiders that most of the 'experimental' and bold video films (especially the dance routines) had to be necessarily made by non-ethnic Hausa because they are not restricted by the Hausa cultural and religious mindset that often frowns at such displays of exuberance, particularly in alien format. These non-ethnic Hausa elements strive vary hard to hide their actual ethnic identities and invariably accept roles of modernized Hausa urban youth in the video films, rather than appearing in traditional Hausa or religious character portrayals. Even their dialogs were restricted to urban Hausa lexicon, devoid of any references to classical Hausa vocabulary typical of rural dwellers that might cause problems in pronunciation.

16.4 Defining Characteristics of Hausa Video Film

Thus what eventually emerged as Kanywood therefore was centrally an African youth urban cinema with three distinct characteristics that cut across these typologies of Hausa filmmaking. However, at the center of the commercial Hausa film is Hindi film template – replete with similar storylines and choreographed song-and-dance routine routines, with male and female playback singers often in a call-and-response fashion typical of Hindi film playback songs. These three characteristics are forced marriage, love rivalry and song-and-dance routines.

16.4.1 *The Auren Dole/Soyayyar Dole (Forced Marriage/Forced Love) Theme*

The first theater of Hausa youth cinema was an inevitable rebellion against *auren dole*, the romanticized forced marriage scenario. This is a theme well played-out in thousands of Hindi films.

The first Hausa video film that laid the foundation to this theme was Gidan Dabino's *In Da So Da □auna* (dir. Aminu Hassan Yakasai, 1997), where a boy from a poor home fell in love with a girl from a rich family who has been promised to a boy from a similarly rich family. She threw herself in a well in order to kill herself and thus avoid marrying the boy she does not love.

This echoes similar themes in Hausa video films such as *Mutu Ka Raba*, *Sai Bayan Raina*, and *Daren Farko* among others. Incidentally, *Titanic: Masoyiyata* offers a unique departure from the Hindi film template, in that it drew its inspiration of *auren dole* from James Cameron's best selling romantic historical epic, *Titanic* (1998), – emphasizing that inspiration for *auren dole* as a video film template can also come from Hollywood studios, instead of Hindi films.

In a thematic twist, *Madadi* (dir. Ibrahim Maishunku, 2004), shows how the boy, rather than girl, is placed in the forced marriage situation. Forced marriage has been a factor in Hausa cultural setting for years. Its appearance in a visual media of Hindi cinema provided Hausa video film makers with a template to also re-create such drama in Hausa societies. Table 16.3 shows some of the Hausa video films in which *auren dole* was the predominant theme — although this could fairly describe virtually all the video films produced by the vast majority of young producers after 2000.

Table 16.3: Forced Love in Hausa video films.

S/N	Girl Forced	Boy Forced
1.	In Da So Da □auna	Badali
2.	Cinnaka	Khusufi
3.	Kowa Da Ranarsa	Yakanah
4.	Mujadala	Tubali
5.	Kaso	…Ta Bayyana
6.	Girma	Sangaya
7.	Burin Zuciya	Akasi
8.	Kainuwa	Furuci
9.	Titanic:Masoyiyata	Samodara
10.	Musabbabi	Ka Da Mage
11.	Hawajen Zuci	Zubaida
12.	Shara□i	Allura Da Zare
13.	Qaya	Aniya
14.	Riyadh	Zuma
15.	Nagari	Madadi
16.	Gyle	Sar□a□□iya

16.4.2 *The Love Triangle*

The second formulaic structure of the Hausa video film is a refinement of the *auren dole* theme — a love triangle where either two girls love the same boy, or two boys love the same girl, with parents or guardians opposing. Both these formulaic patterns, are of course, adopted from Hindi cinema, which is why Hausa video film makers latch on them due to what they perceive as cultural similarities.

Reflecting innate conflicts of repressed sexuality in a traditional society, they use the film medium to bring out their innate desires and communicate to elders their pre-occupation with sexual, rather than marital concerns. They rapidly constituted themselves into a large pool of unmarried marriage guidance counselors through the exploration of pre-marital relationships in a traditional society. Rarely were the films of the commercial Kanywood films a reflection of life and its mysteries such as schooling, jobs, inner struggles, or moral dilemmas. The theme and message were exclusively on romance. The video medium provided a canvas to paint a massive tapestry of rebellion and free out suppressed sexuality.

16.4.3 *Song and Dance*

The third defining characteristic of the Hausa video film is the song and dance, especially from 2000 to 2008. This became a necessary vehicle for the expression of the love, conflict (and often violence as a means of conflict resolution or enforcement of turf territoriality, with the turf often always being a girl as an object of desire). It has become so embedded in the media that it is often considered commercial suicide to produce a video *without* at least a song and dance, a process which the filmmakers themselves label 'entertainment' – as if the film itself is not entertainment!

Indeed the most commercially successful Hausa video films up to 2008, (e.g. *Sangaya, Taskar Rayuwa, Salsala, Wasila, Kansakali, Ibro Awilo, Mujadala*), succeeded precisely because of their song and dance routines, rather than the strength of their storylines or their messages. Two videos seen by industry insiders and marketers as definitive in this direction were *Sangaya* and *Wasila* (both 2000). The all-star cast made the two videos definitive anthems in commercial Hausa video film culture and benchmarks for popularity of the genre.

In the process of intense sexual rivalry and the struggle to gain an upper hand, all protagonists in the formulaic Hausa video film sing and dance, often in dreamscape surrealistic flashbacks or forwarded wishful thinking. Thus mothers and fathers sing to their daughters (e.g. *Tubali*), husbands sing to their wives (e.g. *□abi'a*), children sing to their parents (e.g. *Yarfe*), sons sing to their mothers (e.g. *Madadi*) and of course lovers sing to each other (e.g. *Aliyu* and almost every other Hausa video film). In the end one gives up for the other, and everyone lives happily ever after. Thus the central focus is the song and dance, not the storylines — indeed, the songs often become mini-dramas themselves and almost operatic. Again this echoes the Hindi cinema that the Hausa video dramatists copy. As shown by Ganti (2002) in discussing the role of the song and dance routines in Hindi films:

> Rather than being an extraneous feature, music and song in popular cinema define and propel plot development, and many films would lose their narrative coherence if their songs were removed. Hindi filmmakers spend a great deal of time and energy crafting the song sequences, which play a variety of functions within a film's narrative and provide the main element of cinematic spectacle. As

> one filmmaker states, "where an emotion becomes intense, usually a song helps to underline it. It also cuts away the need for verbalization through dialogue and creates a mood that cues the viewer into the state of mind of the characters or the narrator."

In Hausa videos, the song and dance are also central to the story, not the plot elements, as for instance shown by *Soyayya* and *Gyale* which virtually dispensed with the storyline by producing about four songs each in the video. In Hausa videos, as in Hindi films, songs are:

> part of an elaborate system of allusions to, rather than explicit portrayals of, sexuality and physical intimacy in Hindi films as filmmakers navigate the perceived moral conservatism of their audiences, as well as the representational boundaries set by the Indian state through its censorship codes. Songs are the primary vehicles for representing fantasy, desire, and passion, so any form of sexual activity in a Hollywood film would most likely be transformed into a song sequence in Hindi film (Ganti 2002: 294).

The predominance of song and dance routines in the early Hausa video films is shown in Table 16.4 which indicates the numbers of Hausa video films with song and dance routines as a main element in officially registered Hausa video films from 1997 to 2001.

Table 16.4: Song and Dance in Hausa Video Films.

Year	Absent	Present	Total
1997	1	-	1
1998	27	12	39
1999	48	77	125
2000	42	145	187
2001	32	231	263
Total	**150**	**465**	**615**

There was a general decline in the number of videos without song and dance. For instance, the figures kept going down over the years from 1998 (27), peaked at 48 in 1999, declined to 42 in 2000 before going down further to 32 in 2001. The number of video titles with song and dance routines, however, showed ascendancy right from the beginning, with 12 titles in 1998 moving to 77 in 1999, 145 in 2000 and 231 in 2001. Clearly to sell a Hausa video film, it must have a song and dance routine. The song and dance routines in Hausa video films were, by and large, directly appropriated from the songs (although due to obvious acrobatic and choreographic limitations, not the dances) of major Hindi films.

Thus, besides providing templates for storylines, Hindi films provide Hausa video film makers with similar templates for the songs they use in their videos. The technique often involves picking up the thematic elements of the main Hindi film song, and then substituting with Hausa lyrics. Consequently, anyone familiar with the Hindi film song element will easily discern the film from the Hausa video film equivalent.

The volume of the Hausa video films produced in the years since establishment also fluctuated – no doubt influenced by increasing critical public reaction to what are seen as de-acculturation by the critical establishment. Figure 16.1 shows the distribution of Hausa video films over the years.

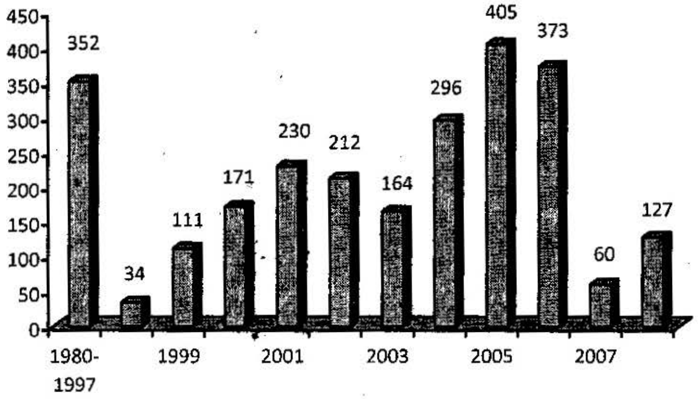

Figure 16.1: Distribution of Hausa Video Films over the Years
Source: Adamu 2007

While many factors can be attributed to the decline in the productions, yet the sharp drop in 2006 can mostly be attributed to a scandal involving a popular Hausa film actress, Maryama "Hiyana" Usman which affected film production, such that in its coverage of the scandal, *Fim* magazine of September 2007 devoted an entire issue to the detailing how "Maryam Hiyana has killed the Hausa video film industry."

By 2010, the Hausa video film had almost reverted back to its less spectacular beginnings in March 1990. Under new tougher and more stringent censorship regime, filmmakers took the option of leaving Kanywood and migrating to other commercial hubs to make more profitable films than bucolic folktales that would not have the same commercial success as in the films involving cutting and pasting transnational influences in their styles to create an urban Hausa film—which the public culture rejected precisely because of its transnational pretensions.

16.5 Discussion

So far the only attempted study of the Hausa home video phenomenon, which links the process with a specific ethnographic matrix, was by Brian Larkin (1997). However, the study was reported in 1997, a period when the Hausa home video has not acquired its commercial and transnational imitative focus. In advocating for a theoretical explanation of media effect on Hausa video dramatists, Larkin creates an alternative framework of *parallel modernities*, which he used to

> …refer to the coexistence in space and time of multiple economic, religious and cultural flows that are often subsumed within the term 'modernity'. This formulation resonates with the term 'alternative modernities' used by Appadurai (1991), but with a key difference. Appadurai links the emergence of alternative modernities with the increased deterritorialisation of the globe and the movement of people, capital and political movements across cultural and national boundaries. While deterritorialisation is important, the experience of parallel modernities is not necessarily linked with the needs of the relocated populations for contact with their homelands. My concern by contrast, is with an Indian film-watching Hausa populace who are not involved in nostalgic imaginings of a partly invented native land but who participate in the

> imagined realities of other cultures as part of their daily lives (Larkin 1997: 407).

Larkin's use of parallel modernities as an explanation for the development of the Hausa video film is premised upon the application of theories of media effects, particularly television programming, on Hausa viewers. Thus in seeing the Hausa film maker's imitative absorption of Hindi film cinema technique in Hausa video films, Larkin assumes that the Hausa film makers and their audience "participate in the imagined realities of other cultures as part of their daily lives". In this assumption, we see an attempt to weave a media dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur, 1976), where Hausa audience presumably rely exclusively on the Hausa film maker's programming of their needs ("daily lives") which in turn were based on another theory of media cultivation of an enduring and common consequences of growing up and living with television (Gerbner and Gross, 1976), which has a significant influence on the Hausa film makers by providing them.

I argue, however, that none of the theories of media effects provide a sufficient explanation for the development of the Hausa video film industry. In the first instance, there has never been, so far, any systematic attempt at measuring media effects — particularly television, around which most of the theories center — among Hausa speaking communities of northern Nigeria. Television, the main medium of media effects, while a powerful entertainment medium is suffused with local contents. True enough there used to be a significant slant on foreign films, and of these, Hindi films predominate. I argue, however, they have not been measured to determine the extent of the effects outlined in any media effects theory, including parallel modernities. Indeed parallel modernities, as the first theory to be consciously applied to Hausa video film phenomena suffers from an overt assumption that Hausa fiction writers' obsession with Hindi film motifs was an ipso facto derivative of Hindi film viewing. Both in the theory and Larkin's application of the theory, there was a considerable lack of specific empirical data to support the correlation between film viewing preferences of Hausa novelists thematic treatment of auren *dole* (forced marriage) and *soyayya* (love).

In Larkin's theoretical framework of parallel modernities, the concept was used to argue for the emergence of "imagined realities" of the Other as part of the Observer's daily lives. I argue that these imagined realities of the Other did help in constructing media identity, left in the realm of fantasy, and has not, indeed, been "downloaded" to the realm of daily life, at least in the social setting he applies the concept to.

16.6 Conclusion

It can only be concluded that constructing a theory on "imagined realities of other cultures", as Larkin did, presumes a cultural entertainment vacuum among the Hausa, and this is not the case. Hausa popular culture had always had strong dosage of drama, miming, singing and dancing, long before contact with European culture. Similarly, Hausa society had had to deal with the embedded issues of auren dole, or what one prefer as soyayyar dole (forced love), again long before the intrusion of Hindi cinema in urban northern Nigeria. Hausa film makers merely reproduce counter-flow Western cinematic techniques (in that the flow is from non-Western sources) in telling the same old stories from their communities. Where the "Westernization" came in was the sexualization of the Hausa female—again based on economic theories of increasing market share and "attention-grabbing", rather than a reproduction of sexual liberalization in traditional society. Thus it would appear, at least from the filmmakers' perspectives that in Hausa video films sex sells more than ma'ana (meaningful messages).

It will be a meaningful contribution to the debate if it is by suggested concurrent modernities to explain the behavior of Muslim Hausa video producers in their use of Hindi film motif in their films. Both Hausa and Hindi filmmakers are subject to the same media resources—Hollywood—and therefore partake in the same re-enactment when appropriating cinematic styles and techniques. In this, it is argued that none of these conceptions of modernities—parallel and alternative—as applicable to the cinematic development of young urban Hausa film makers took into consideration the violent intrusion of small media technologies that helped to create media identities—rather than social identities divorced from the religious, political and economic transnational flows both Larkin and Appadurai alluded to. Nor do these suggested modernities took into consideration the extreme reaction from the Islamicate environment that puts a creative limit on the use of the media technologies in cultural transmission.

Notes

[1] Data based on fieldwork for a larger project in Kano, 2004.

[2] Dr. Rashad Khalifa was the founder of a group of Islamic modernists who call themselves *The Submitters*. They are based in Arizona, United States. A

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significant article of their faith was the rejection of the Hadith (sayings) of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), although they believe in the Prophet and his message of Islam. Although Sunusi Shehu was an advocate of this movement, there was no evidence that his advocacy extended to its being embedded in the films he produced or novels he wrote – but such view gave him a license to approach scripting with a totally different perspective than the conventional to Kano mainstream Sunni Muslims.