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Community Responses to Kannywood Hausa Films in Northern Nigeria: A Cultural and Societal Perspective

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ABSTRACT

“Kannywood”, a term referring to the Hausa-language film industry rooted in Kano, Nigeria, plays a significant role in shaping cultural, social, and economic narratives among the Hausa community. This study explores the diverse reactions of the Hausa audience toward Kannywood films, based on content gathered from social media platforms and previous research. In addition, the exclusively qualitative data were gathered from interviews and participant observations. A purposive sampling procedure was adopted to secure the right audience for good data. The findings reveal differentiated responses among demographic groups, such as youth, elders, and religious audiences, based on religious and cultural expectations as well as personal preferences from other audiences. It is noted that these groups’ reactions are not unconnected to the perceptions informed by culture, religion, and the special interests of the audience. Recommendations are offered to filmmakers on how to align production values with community norms while maintaining artistic expression. Government and censorship boards were also encouraged to improve on their duties to boost production quality among the filmmakers and allow productions that go in tandem with norms, values and thoughts of the Hausa people. The actors were also called to improve their performance through strict guidance from their directors.

Keywords: Hausa Films; Northern Nigeria; Community; Reactions; Kannywood

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ARTICLE INFO

Received: 11 July 2025 | Revised: 22 April 2026 | Accepted: 29 April 2026 | Published Online: 7 May 2026
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63385/cvca.v2i1.152>

CITATION

Lamido, I., 2026. Community Responses to Kannywood Hausa Films in Northern Nigeria: A Cultural and Societal Perspective. *Contemporary Visual Culture and Art*. 2(1): 26–35. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63385/cvca.v2i1.152>

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1. Introduction: Hausa Films as a Cultural Nexus

The Hausa films are a relatively new phenomenon to the Hausa people and the Nigerian media. Despite the unquestioned role the films play in entertainment, they create new topics and situations. Since its emergence, the Hausa film is characterised by a fusion of both Hausa and foreign cultures, attributable to foreign films that strongly echoed in the Hausa films, especially Indian films. Since 1960, there has been a transcultural media flow into Africa, bringing along cultures that are alien and which succeeded in the infiltration of the Hausa drama^[1].

According to theorists, this development in films carries and attracts audience reactions to messages that differ significantly based on numerous factors, including cultural background, time period, and communication methods. This variability in reception underscores the complexities of communication, as each individual's interpretation is influenced by their unique experiences and social context. Studies reveal mixed reactions among the Hausa audience across northern Nigerian communities. Some groups accept the film message as intended, others partially agree with some messages and contents, while maintaining some skepticism on others, or outright rejecting it in its entirety.

According to Ibrahim and Isma'il^[2]. The transcultural flow in Hausa films, which cannot be ignored as constituting forms and styles in the films, remains a subject of debate among social groups in society, with each voicing its reactions to the films. It is in the light of this that this paper seeks to gather and discuss the various reactions of the Hausa community towards the films.

2. Demographic and Cultural Overview of the Hausa People

As Ibrahim and Isma'il^[2] argued, the Hausa language requires no introduction as a rich West African language. It expands due to the growth in the number of its users in terms of either first or second language speakers. In addition, language contact, mass media, science and technology, economic needs, and cultural domination are the principal agents of this growth. Since this paper is much more confined to the speakers, it will not be out of place to discuss briefly the land and its people.

The Hausa land covers much of Northern Nigeria outside the Middle Belt region and Borno. The land extends north of Kano and Katsina provinces, and considerably into the west of Sokoto and the Republic of Niger. Speakers of the language can be found in southwestern Nigeria and into the hinterland of Benin, Togo, Ghana, Congo, Cameroon, Equatorial and Central Africa, among others^[3]. Northern Nigeria undoubtedly remains the strongest centre of the Hausa/Hausa people. It comprises approximately 300,000 square miles. From its border with the Republic of Benin in the west to the Cameroon Republic in the east, Northern Nigeria is about 720 miles wide. From its northern neighbours, the Republic of Niger, to the east of Nigeria in the south, is a distance of approximately 410 miles^[3].

Hausa has several million speakers in Africa, most of them coming from Nigeria and Niger. The present emirates of Northern Nigeria are almost entirely Hausas-speaking and comprise millions of Hausa speakers. In the Republic of Niger, approximately 85% of the total population speaks Hausa. Additional areas where Hausa speakers can be found include regions along the Mediterranean Coast, particularly Tripoli in Libya, and regions along the Red Sea coast, which include Jeddah. The total of speakers from Northern States of Nigeria, and those found in the Niger Republic, to those dispersed in other parts of Nigeria and Africa, is about one-fourth of the total population of the entire African continent.

Discussing the history of the Hausa people is not devoid of one fundamental problem, which rests on the fact that the Hausas are not a definite ethnic or tribal group like the Yoruba and Igbo, as described by Palmer^[4]. The Hausa people are rather a community of people of various origins, according to this source. It is in the light of this description that Bello^[3] arrives at the following hypotheses that the Hausa people are a mixture of aboriginal Negro and Berber immigrants who came from more northerly regions. Scholars such as Johnston (1967)^[5] and Smith (1970)^[6] had earlier taken the same view of the Hausa people, although with very little evidence to support the argument.

3. The Genesis and Development of Kannywood

The Hausa film which started as home video later developed into a full-fledged film industry popularly known as

Kannywood, is an offshoot of the distinct cultural diversity in Nigeria^[7]. Unlike the Nollywood film industry in the southern Nigeria which has been in existence for a very long time, Kannywood film production can be traced to the 1950s, when Baban Larai was launched by the Northern Region Authority to enlighten farmers on modern mechanized farming. Since then, up to 1989, most of the films produced were government-sponsored^[8]. The first commercial film was *Turmin Danya*, produced by Tumbin Giwa Club, released in 1990. Since then, production has continued in various cities of Northern Nigeria especially Kano, Kaduna, and Jos. The Hausa film industry is located in Kano for its popularity and gained the name ‘Kannywood’ representing a regional film industry. Today, Kannywood with over one thousand registered film companies is thriving alongside its southern counterpart—Nollywood.

Kannywood has become a vibrant cultural force since the late 1990s. As a localized sector within the broader Nigerian film ecosystem, Kannywood produces films that reflect Islamic values, northern Nigerian customs, and the socio-cultural dynamics of Hausa-speaking communities. While scholars have examined its historical evolution, cultural content, and industry challenges, fewer studies focus specifically on community reactions to Kannywood films. Adamu^[1] describes Kannywood’s beginnings amid increased access to video technology and interest in local storytelling. Films served as tools for cultural expression, blending traditional narratives with modern production values.

Furniss^[9] holds the view that the rise of Kannywood attracts broader changes, such as commercialization and audience diversification. It establishes the context of audience engagement in Hausa movies and places the industry within Nigeria’s cultural economy.

3.1. Community Perceptions and Reception Studies

A central theme in the literature is how religious and cultural values shape community reactions: Adamu^[10] shows that religious leaders and conservative audiences often critique Kannywood for perceived moral laxity in themes like romance, gender interactions, and music. These community members interpret films through Islamic lenses, reflecting northern values. Adamu^[11] provides survey-based evidence suggesting that rural viewers are more skeptical of Kannywood content than urban youth. The traditions associated

with viewers in rural areas made them see films as threats to their revered tradition. These works underscore the tension between creative expression and religious/cultural expectations in northern Nigeria.

3.2. Youth Audiences and Popular Engagement

Several studies focus on youth perspectives: Adamu^[12] reveals that many youth audiences enjoy Kannywood films for entertainment and identity affirmation. Hausa-language cinema helps youth articulate local experiences often neglected by mainstream Nollywood. Larkin^[13] suggests that young viewers are more receptive to modern themes (love stories, urban lifestyles), showing divergent reactions within communities. This research highlights generational differences in film reception.

3.3. Gender Representation and Public Discourse

Gender-related debates constitute a significant part of community reactions: Johnson^[14] analyzes female characters in Kannywood, noting that some community members criticize portrayals deemed immodest or contrary to Islamic norms. Garritano^[15] observes that women audiences often appreciate stories that depict their lived experiences, but still negotiate between entertainment and cultural propriety. These studies show that reactions are not monolithic—especially among women viewers.

3.4. Media Influence and Social Commentary

Kannywood films also shape and reflect broader social discourses: Larkin^[16] argue that films function as platforms for community dialogue on issues like corruption, education, and family values. Aliyu^[17] connects Kannywood narratives to broader debates about northern identity and cultural modernity. This body of work suggests that audience reactions are influenced by the social relevance of film content.

3.5. The Role of Censorship and Policy

Government and religious bodies influence both production and reception: Banjo^[18] documents how censorship boards restrict content deemed inappropriate, shaping community expectations and reactions. The Premium Times^[19]

notes that regulatory pressures sometimes reflect community moral standards and can moderate film content to align with conservative views. Policy studies thus intersect with audience perceptions, illustrating how external governance affects reception.

3.6. Gaps in Existing Literature

Despite growing interest, several gaps remain: limited empirical research on audience reception.

Most studies are qualitative or anecdotal; few employ large-scale quantitative data on community reactions. Focus on Urban Audiences. Many studies emphasize urban Kano or major cities, leaving rural reactions underexplored. Evolving Digital Context with digital distribution and social media commentary, community reactions have expanded beyond local screenings—but few studies examine online discussions and mobile viewership.

4. Research Methodology: Observing Audience Reactions in Digital and Traditional Media

The research design used in this study is a phenomenological design, which helps explore the lived experiences of community members regarding Hausa films. In addition ethnographic research design was also incorporated as scholars are of the view that the only way to really “know” the audience was through ethnographic research which would enable the observation, analysis and understanding of the way audiences themselves frame their media experiences and activities, and how these are socially and discursively situated^[20]. Since Northern Nigeria is a society shaped by Islamic moral frameworks, traditional Hausa cultural norms, gender expectations, and community leadership structures, Hall’s^[21] reception theory was deemed fit and applicable in analyzing how the audience interprets media messages based on their social background, religion, education, and cultural values. This helps in understanding the audience’s dominant, negotiated and oppositional readings of the film messages.

4.1. Methods of Data Collection

The study is a qualitative type of research that employs a mixed qualitative method to strengthen data credibility.

Semi-structured interviews and observations are therefore used as primary methods of data collection. The interview allows participants to express personal reactions, discuss cultural concerns, and explain moral evaluations. As for the observation, it allows the researcher to study comments on social media regarding the films. This method allows the researcher to capture first-hand information on individual reactions to films. However, research combines an analysis of the content of media with a study of how audiences use and interpret this content. It relates to the notion of “decoding” in the encoding/decoding model of Stuart Hall, which postulates that audiences actively interpret specific features of media text to make their own meanings, and are not passive recipients of the meanings put in media text by media producers^[21].

4.2. Sample and Sampling Procedure

The study selected 30 people from the immediate communities using a purposive sampling technique. The sample comprises 20 men and ten women who are between the ages of 25 and 55. All of them are very much exposed to Hausa films by watching and following comments from the larger audience in the community. Equally integrated is a collection of 15 films, short comedies on YouTube, watched with audience comments read and synthesised.

4.3. Data Analysis

As against the use of tables and figures, the data collected was analysed in a descriptive form, which allows the admission of the large volume of data gathered into the analysis. This way, the first-hand information collected from the sample interviewed, coupled with the secondary data obtained from the media source were synthesised and analysed descriptively.

5. Cultural and Religious Factors Shaping Audience Reactions

There are factors that gave rise to the emergence of multiple reactions of the community towards the Hausa films. It is worthy to advance the major ones to be able to establish the background for these reactions. The first is the rich Hausa traditional culture, which the Hausa people since the

inception of the films felt will be eroded by foreign culture that came with the films. The Hausa see the films as a new form of drama whose contents totally deviate from their traditional drama, which promotes and preserves the Hausa culture. Secondly, the Islamic culture, which is now seen as part of the Hausa traditions, owing to the coming of Islam, which gained acceptance all over the Hausa communities. The Muslims in this regard see the films as capable of adulterating the Islamic culture among the youth. These two arguments are substantiated by Ibrahim^[22] in the following excerpt:

“Several ethnographic surveys, audiences and critics of Kannywood accuse the struggling cinema of copying, appropriating, even plagiarizing the Indian Bollywood films’ motifs and practices such as song and dance sequences, forced marriage, love triangle, and so on.”

Another factor influencing the reactions of the audience to Hausa films is purely judged from individual feelings and perspectives of the films. The themes, style, forms, and contents of a film constitute indices that lead to different feelings and perceptions of the individual audience. This is going to be discussed in the paper in relation to filmmaking, resource utilization, and characters’ expertise.

The quality of production and the inexperience of the Hausa filmmakers from production to direction to characterization and shooting was a major concern among cross sections of the Hausa audience. It was such a matter of concern that some Hausa people prefer to watch foreign films and/or Nollywood than watch Hausa films. Barau^[23] outlines the problems associated with filmmaking as follows:

- Apparent lack of professionalism;
- General insensitivity to the societal moral values;
- Poor funding and investment;
- Domination of the industry by amateur performers;
- Poor knowledge of the ethics of writing, film production and marketing, etc.;
- Exploitation of the young and amateur artists by the more established ones;
- Lack of awareness of the state and national laws and policies governing the production of sundry works of arts;
- Poor operational environment for the development of

literary, film and other creative works;

- General abuse of the patent rights of film producers, writers, and advert makers by pirates and others;
- Engagement of underage persons in the movie industry and their admission into places like cinemas, viewing centres, etc.

This was another factor that militated against the reactions of the community (See **Appendix A.3**).

6. Typology of Hausa Audience Reactions

Theorists such as Robert Jauss and Stuart Hall argued that Reception theory holds that audience members may accept, partly accept, or reject messages and that audience reactions may vary drastically based on countless factors, including culture, time period, and methods of communication. Hereunder is an analysis of how these influencing factors stir reactions of the audience towards Hausa films.

6.1. Community Reactions Derived from Culture

Hereunder, the community reactions to be discussed centred on Hausa cultural practices. They comprise reactions from an Islamic and traditional perspective.

6.1.1. Reaction from Islamic Perspective

This group of Hausa people constitutes the Muslims who resent some cultures and performances in the Hausa films. From the opinions and comments gathered, this group constitutes those who resent the Hausa film in its entirety. To this group, everything about film (Kannywood or Bollywood) is unacceptable, as it only succeeds in eroding the revered Islamic culture among the youth. The group based its argument on Islamic injunctions that see the characters, the intermingling of both sexes, the songs and dance routine, and some discourses as anti-Islamic. The little that can be condoned religiously in the film is so trivial and negligible as to warrant legalizing the films among the Hausa Muslim community. This resonates with Umar et al.^[24], who argue that a Hausa film or movie is expected to portray the culture of the Hausa people in terms of cultural norms and values. Like the storyline should be strictly based on the Hausa set-

tings, the mode of dressing, the use of language, settings and props, etc. The audience in this group is mostly religious scholars aged 25 and above (See **Appendix A.2** and **A.3**).

The other group is less strict; it constitutes an audience who attained both Western and moderate Islamic education and accepts films with storylines that teach morality to the audience, although they have some reservations, but still think some films teach good values capable of improving morality/tarbiyya among the people. In this regard, films such as *Ashabul Khafi*, *Hijira*, and *Mugun Ice* are but a few of the Hausa films accepted by the group (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.1.2. Reaction from Traditional Perspective

This is a group of audience mostly aged 30 to 65 that react to anything that does not conform to Hausa traditional practice. To this group, any film that promotes non-Hausa traditions is resentful, particularly traditions that are totally alien to the Hausa people. They view such films as capable of eroding the core Hausa norms and values. Although they bow to modern technology for the advancement of their lives, they resist any action from film, found alien to Hausa traditions. Films like *Jarida*, *Uwata ce*, *Gwaska* are deemed as having nothing useful to offer the audience from their perspective of Hausa films. On the other hand, they accept films like *Sangaya*, *Gidan Sarauta*, and *Sartse* because of their story lines, which promote Hausa culture and traditions. The storyline of the *Sangaya* movie is mainly characterized by typical Hausa culture, including setting, food, room decoration, outfits, and so on (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.2. Community Reactions Derived from Feelings

These reactions are not cultural; they are reactions derived from individual feelings and perceptions of Hausa films. As Hall in Davis^[25] argued, the person who receives the message may not feel the same way the communicator felt about it or respond in the way the communicator had intended. An audience of fifty people may have fifty distinctly different reactions to the same message. The audience in this category love Hausa films but differ in their special interests, generated from what they perceive as a good storyline, according to their feelings. Anything in the film's storyline that disagrees with their feeling and/or perception is resentful.

Based on the data gathered from observations, this category can further be divided into sub-groups:

6.2.1. The Action-Packed Audience

This is a group that reacts positively to action-packed films. Any film whose storyline is characterized by war, fighting, vengeance, and/or retribution against the wicked is loved by the group audience. The most exciting and thrilling thing about film for this group is to produce protagonists and antagonists whose ordeals will constitute fighting scenes and exchange of invectives. Films such as *Sanda*, *Madugu*, *Lokaci*, and *A Duniya* are examples of the most exciting films, because of the way their story lines move the audience with action and fight for vengeance. The storyline of *Sanda* is a story of Umar Sanda, who seeks vengeance on the hooligans who kidnapped his father and tortured him. The manner in which Umar Sanda fought his way to rescue his father brings a lot of excitement to the audience (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.2.2. The Romantic Audience

Audience in this group reacts in frenzy to films whose storylines are characterized by love and passion for one another among the characters in the film. The audience in the group, who are mostly young people aged 18 to 30, are moved with ecstasy by the love story a film carries. They resent fighting and any act that is not driven. However, their interest is limited to platonic love. It does not extend to intimacy, at least no such positive reactions were found in the data gathered. This is not unconnected to the fact that the Hausa society itself, with respect to its norms and values, does not encourage such films. The likes of *Labarina*, *Ciwon So*, and *Watarana* are but a few examples of films the group finds entertaining. The audience finds the series' love story of *Labarina* touching and emotional (See **Appendix A.1** and **A.2**).

6.2.3. Songs and Dance Audience

This group restricts their feelings to songs and dance in films. Since inception, the Hausa film producers have drawn their films' forms and contents from Indian film story lines^[26]. The songs and dance play a vital role in attracting patronage and promoting film story lines, so much so that it is considered suicidal for a producer to make a movie devoid of songs and dance. In 2001 alone, the number of films with

songs exceeded films without songs by a margin of 199 (231 and 32 respectively)^[1, 24]. The song and dance routine is composed of male and female singers who sing in turn and dance to the tune of the music. Most of the time, the singers are accompanied by a group of dancers who are males and females giving a chorus to the songs. Members of this group are commonly women and youth within the age of 18 to 45. They react to the lyrical power of the song, its philosophy, its structure and the costumes the singers (especially the girls) wear. Thus, in Hausa videos, the song and dance are also central to the story, not the plot elements^[1]. According to a survey conducted, the group constitutes a high number of Hausa film patrons in comparison to other groups (See **Appendix A.3**).

6.2.4. The Tragic Lovers

This group is moved by anything tragic in the films. Individuals in the group are so transported by tragic activities affecting their loved characters, and the way the storyline provides a solution and restores the victim. Hausa films with subthemes characterized by oppression, subjugation, natural disaster occurrence, loss, and death of loved ones attract the attention of the group. Examples are Hindu, Hijira and so on. The audience in this group is aged 35–65 (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.2.5. Discourse Lovers

According to Chamo^[8], film discourse includes dialogue characterized by phraseology, use of proverbs, grammatical forms (imperatives) and strategies used by characters to show politeness. These constituents are so relevant in marking the Hausa cultural values in films. Among the Hausa film audience, there are those whose special interest lies in film language. To this group, nothing is more exciting and cherished than good discourse in film. A film with a storyline that is characterised by rhetoric, figurative expression and word choice is deemed the best. In sharp contrast with the aforementioned groups, this group reacts to discourse in their choice of interest in film. Films such as Ruwan Bagaja, Basaja, Adabiyya, Abin Alfahari, etc., are some of the best loved by this group audience. The flagrant and vibrating speech used by Jabir in Basaja film helped him to win the hearts of his female victims. He was able to convince women through words of eloquence, sugar coating and deceiving them^[27]. (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.2.6. Quality Promoters

This group appreciates everything loved by all the sub-groups above, but frowns at the low quality of film no matter the good storyline it provides. Umar et al.^[24] established certain quality deficiencies associated with Hausa films, among which include:

- a. **Uneducational Films:** The films are no longer educational like in the past, when Hausa films centered on entertaining and educating the audience on current issues. Presently, the majority of the producers who are responsible for the production of educational films mainly concentrate on love stories and the profit aspect of the film.
- b. **Lack of funds:** the industry suffers from an inadequacy of funding for purchasing good and qualitative equipment, i.e., (cameras, lights, boom microphones, etc.) for the production of qualitative films.
- c. **Inadequate Professionals:** The Kannywood industry lacks adequate professionals in almost every field of the profession. The areas that are lacking professionals are directing, script writing, make-up, editing, cameras and lighting, etc. This is one of the reasons why most Kannywood films are below standard compared to their counterpart, Nollywood (See **Appendix A.1** and **A.3**).

The audience from this group is learned and exposed to international films. Their opinions and comments on Hausa films in the media are summed up as follows:

- a. **Poor quality of characters,** which consists of a lack of efficiency and expertise in the individual role assigned to them, such as lawyers, judges, and doctors. The ability to perform the role to the expectation of the spectators is what counts.
- b. **Poor quality of instruments** such as the camera, lighting, and sound equipment.
- c. **Poor quality of structures** provided according to role, such as houses, vehicles, offices and so on, and how they are able to match the characters they were attached to.
- d. **Poor quality of environment**—most environments used do not agree and conform to the standard of the character. For example, the environment in which a character

playing the role of an emir must provide all the facilities expected of a palace. It must be large, spacious and beautiful, not a cramped place (See **Appendix A.2**).

6.2.7. The Comedy Lovers

This group is confined to entertainment in their interests. To the group, there is nothing more practical and appealing than a film can offer other than entertainment. The audience in this group loves comedy films that entertain and make them forget their worries. It is all the more reason why they are selective of characters in their choice of films. For example, films where late Ibro, Ciroki, Boshu, among others, act are the films watched by this group because of the comedic nature of the actors. Films such as Namamajo, Teburin Mai Shayi, and Karangiya are the typical films watched by the group. The character Ibro is liked by the audience because of his comedic nature. The way he talks, acts, and engages his co-actors brings a lot of entertainment to the spectators (See **Appendix A.1**).

6.2.8. Neutralists

This is a group that reacts neutrally to anything film. They don't watch films and don't blame the audience for watching them. They do not find anything negative or positive about the films. Their disinterest in films is natural and not related to some culture, religion or some feeling about the films. They focus their interest on other different things.

7. Findings and Interpretation

The study reveals the audience reaction to Hausa films in relation to how they decode the encoded message of films. Some reactions identified from the audience are morally driven. While some are basically socially constructed feelings from peer group interest. The former study revealed the influence of Islam and Hausa traditions in the lives of the Hausa people, which adversely made them hostile to most civilizations alien to their spiritual and traditional cultures. These reactions from a moral point of view cannot be divorced from calls and sermons by Islamic preachers calling^[28] on the use of refraining from watching the films. As for audience reaction based on feelings, the study identifies social differentiation in the way the Hausa people interpret films. It reveals the desired feelings of each individual and group towards film, from romance to tragedy, action, and

storyline. Others are inclined towards the quality of productions. This further identifies the level of influence foreign films have on the Hausa people. For example, the feelings for action, romance and quality may be the result of the impact of Indian, Chinese and American films made on the audience. This is taking into account the decades of showing these films all over the cinemas in the north.

8. Conclusions

The study identifies the audience according to their reactions to Hausa films. Those who react to films according to what they promote Islamically and/or traditionally. The other group constitutes subgroups of the audience who are classified based on their feelings and individual perception of the Hausa films. The study revealed how the Hausa community is grouped according to each other's interests in the films. The second group identified comprises an audience with a set of different feelings and perceptions about Hausa films. From those who love fighting, to those who love romance, songs and dance, comedy, discourse, and so on and so forth. The study brings to light the overall reactions of the Hausa people in Hausa films. The Islamic religion and Hausa traditions are identified as major factors influencing the audience's reactions. Likewise, foreign films also impacted positively on the reactions of the audience based on their feelings towards Hausa films. It is recommended that the censorship boards and media associations should intensify their duties in improving film quality and filtering messages embedded in films to subdue these hostilities between films and draw audience attention to Kannywood film production.

Funding

This work received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was sought from all the respondents involved in this study.

Data Availability Statement

The data used in this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

AI Use Statement

The author declares the use of ChatGPT for language editing and clarity. All intellectual content in the research manuscript remains the responsibility of the author.

Appendix A

Appendix A.1. Films Used

1. *Adabiyya*;
2. *A Duniya*;
3. *Basaja*;
4. *Ciwon So*;
5. *Hijira*;
6. *Hindu*;
7. *Jarida*;
8. *Karangiya*;
9. *Labarina*;
10. *Lokaci*;
11. *Madugu*;
12. *Mugun Ice*;
13. *Namamajo*;
14. *Ruwan Bagaja*;
15. *Sanda*;
16. *Sangaya*;
17. *Sartse*;
18. *Teburin Mai Shayi*;
19. *Uwata ce*;
20. *Watarana*.

Appendix A.2. Social Media Outlets

1. Facebook;
2. Instagram;
3. TikTok.

Appendix A.3. Major Media Outlets

1. Freedom Radio Kano.
2. Amana Radio Gombe.
3. Fim Magazine.
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