2021

The Apprentice Africa TV Format: Local Culture, Global Model, and Informalized Production Practices in the Nigerian Media Industry

Kosidichimma Anyanwu
Technological University Dublin, kosidichimma@gmail.com

Recommended Citation

Technological University Dublin

The Apprentice Africa TV Format: Local Culture, Global Model, and Informalized Production Practices in the Nigerian Media Industry

Kosidichimma Anyanwu, B.Eng., M.Sc.

D13122626

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Media, Technology University Dublin (City Campus)

Supervisor: **Dr. Edward Brennan**

October 2021

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I express my highest praises and thanks to God, the Almighty, for His enduring help and providence throughout my research work until its successful completion.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my research supervisor, Dr Edward Brennan, School of Media, Technological University Dublin, and author of A Post-Nationalist History of Television in Ireland, for supervising my research and diligently providing guidance and detailed feedback. His rare eye for detail has been very instructive in shaping my research. I would also like to thank him for his empathy and ability to offer simple solutions to diverse administrative situations. I am indeed extending my heartfelt thanks to his wife and family for their patience during the hours he sacrificed to attend to my thesis.

I would also like to thank Dr Kenneth Murphy, who started with me on this PhD journey, as my first supervisor. I am grateful for the feedback I received from him during the few months we worked together. Furthermore, I am thankful for the time he spared to sit in during my confirmation examination. His experience and ease of managing tension contributed to the success of the exam.

I am extending my sincere thanks to the staff of the School of Media and my former lecturers, Hugh McAtamney, Head of School of Media, Dr Brian Vaughan. Immensely to Dr Charlie Cullen for encouraging me to pursue a PhD degree. My experience at TU Dublin, School of Media was better because he always believed in me during the most critical days of study under his tutelage. In his words, "Kosi, the question is not what you can do, but what you want to do… I wish you the best of luck, but I don't think you will need it." His sound counsel and drive for excellence will always remain a motivation.

I am incredibly grateful to my family and strongest support engine for their love and sacrifices throughout my educational journey, from bachelor to masters and a doctoral degree.

Contents

Tables and Figures

Tables

Figures

Declaration

I hereby certify:

That this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of PhD is entirely my own work, that ideas not my own have been acknowledged through appropriate citation and referencing, that material (i.e., phrases, sentences, paragraphs or whole sections) borrowed directly from other sources has been duly recognised using quotation marks and acknowledged through appropriate citation and referencing, and that material from other sources that is paraphrased or summarised in my own words has been acknowledged through appropriate citation and referencing.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Technological University Dublin (TU Dublin) and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any Institute or University.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of TU Dublin's guidelines for ethics in research. The University has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Signed: Date: 22 October 2021

Abstract

In 2008, the hugely popular American global television format programme, *The Apprentice*, debuted its Africa wide version, *The Apprentice Africa*, in the African market. This became the first entrepreneurship format programme to be produced in Nigeria and Africa. First, the show was broadcast on three Nigerian channels, then moved to broadcasters in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show is a strategic research site for investigating the conditions of television format production in Nigeria, considering the programme's interaction with multiple economic sectors of the country.

This study is set against the backdrop of the organizational conditions of the Nigerian media industry and how they potentially relate to the historical dynamics of nation-building. Thus, it navigates the development of the entertainment industry amid a history of interactions of political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. Its literature opens with an appraisal of globalisation, broadly explaining how chains of global and local activities converge and interact to result in international trade and adaptation. The literature then tapers into informalization, exposing how local and global media industries function within shadow economies. Accordingly, the literature introduces television (TV) formats. TV formats exemplify and validate the potential for cultural formations or adaptations to be, on the one hand, 'streamlined or standardized in nature', as in global media industries, and on the other hand, partly standardized, as in the Nigerian national media industry.

The Apprentice Africa TV format represents an example of a good product of a system that production practices embedded in a culture of informality accomplished. In analysing this adapted format, I argue that cultural innovation benefits an informalized production ecosystem. Bourdieu's conceptual model of cultural forms describes and explores how television format adaptation is affected by these broader Nigerian media cultures and dynamics. A methodology involving an Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) which features observation and documentary analysis provides a fundamental examination and interpretation method in examining the production and dissemination of this case study format. Furthermore, ECA offers the opportunity to uncover new patterns, emphasis and themes in the documents conceptualised as field work.

In its contribution to knowledge, the study first reveals informal practices as overlooked opportunities for innovation of culture in media fields such as adaptation and production of TV formats. Second, it reveals that the Nigerian media's structural flexibility increases innovative possibilities. Thus, evidence shows a thriving intersection of the country's film and television industry's agents and agencies. Consequently, perfectly licit commodities such as television formats may originate from either irregular or unregulated production arrangements where there are significant cultural influences and changes. Third, the study also showed that Nigeria's socio-political and organizational history has implications for informalization of its media. Finally, an underlying factor both influenced by informalized culture and partly contributing to it is the country's hustle culture – in Nigeria, you must hustle to succeed in the business scenes. The implication is that the culture of informalization prevalent in the media industry influences global format adaptation in the country, differentiating its production processes from globally understood and standard processes.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Introduction

This research examines, *The Apprentice Africa Television Format: Local Culture, Global Model, and Production Practices in the Nigerian Media Industry*. It first considers the history of the media industry as a gateway into understanding the nature and structures of television formats in the country and the reasons and roots of the interactions between film and television sectors of the media. The term television format refers to any detailed organizational framework of episodic and seasonal television genres, for example, talent shows or in-house entrepreneurship competitions. These frameworks serve as blueprints for international, cultural, and economic exchanges but also for local and intra-organizational programme production. The background of this study is closely followed by the reviews of the relevant literatures on globalisation, informalizations and media industries. The study employs The Apprentice Africa format production, first broadcast in the country in 2008 and shown once a week for 18 episodes, as case study.

The study further explores the broader historical antecedents to informalization, first, in the country's geopolitical formations, and second, in the media industry's film sector popularly known as Nollywood. Deeply embedded in informalized production and distribution structures, this film industry is unlike the streamlined setup of mainstream media organizations. For example, the production and distribution of films through use of cassettes and compact discs uniquely represent what is identified as small screen cinemas or home videos. It, therefore, argues that informalization should not be seen as aberration but rather as opportunities for cultural innovation.

The field of formats is considered from the perspective of the media system as a product of the Nigerian national governance structures. The political, organizational, and cultural factors that shape national governance structures also affect the media system and in turn impact the production and distribution of television formats. This is intended to reveal what the history of the media industry in the country tells us about television formats, and which are relevant to changes in culture. The field of formats also observes key concepts and legislation issues in their production. Since this approach necessitates application of a conceptual model that can suitably explain the connections between aforementioned research areas, Bourdieu's theoretical model is employed. Thus, Bourdieu's sociological concepts provide pertinent explanations for the social conditions affecting global format and informalized cultural influences in Nigeria.

The choice and features of The Apprentice Africa are critically analyzed as keys central to the evaluation of informalizations and interactions between the television and film sectors of the media industry in the country. Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) methodological design approach is also utilized to carry out the analysis of this format data. It is seen that one of this format's production features of close interactions with the society rather than the conventional practices of isolation from the society is unique.

In the next section a background of study which explores the Nigerian media in history to create context and explanation to this industry's present-day nature and modes of operation opens the chapter. The history and advent of satellite television and video film production, from the analogue method of video recording on tape known as Video Home System (VHS) to its digital counterpart known as Digital Versatile Disk (DVD) follows. This evolution contextualizes the role of private broadcasting and entertainment in positioning the Nigerian media in the African continent. The Nigerian media shows the critical interconnectedness between media and informalized economic activities. The film industry is especially pertinent

for this revelation. Furthermore, sections in this chapter describe the emergence of television formats, the research's problem statement, and the study's objective.

Background – The Media Landscape of Nigeria and The Apprentice Africa

The informal sector's activities have long described the media landscape of Nigeria (Barrot, 2011; Jedlowski, 2012; Lobato and Thomas, 2012). These activities have been an important feature, considering that the industry has consistently thrived, since its emergence, to be reckoned as one of the world's largest and notable media economies. Thus, despite its wholly and partially unregulated modes of operations, there are identifiable levels of cross-pollination between the informal and formal sectors. The volume of video film production is quite large, estimated in thousands of films coming out from the industry each year. This impressive output is achieved even with limited access to state funding, robust infrastructure, or support from film organizations (Lobato, 2012, p. 380). In this video film economy, local marketers firmly control the production of movies shot on direct-to-video systems and their distributions. Hence, the marketers distribute these direct-to-video systems through electronic street markets and other informal outlets (a mode of distribution more feasible and palatable for these marketers). The resulting analogue video recording on tape, also known as Video Home System (VHS) and Digital Versatile Disk (DVD) combination, are readily available for sale in most local and major markets across the country just like any other commodities which these merchants also market. Also, the VHS/DVD could be easily purchased and viewed using domestic television sets. A shift in distribution would begin to arise with the advent of digital satellite television such as digital satellite television, DSTV.

DSTV is a Sub-Saharan African direct broadcast satellite service, launched in 1995 and owned by MultiChoice, a multinational corporation of South Africa. Eight years into its launch,

the broadcaster provided a dedicated television channel known as Africa Magic for showing Nigerian Nollywood movies. Thus, Nollywood became a name used to identify the Nigerian film industry. Its earliest use was attributed to New York Times journalist Norimitsu Onishi in 2002, partly pointing to a seemingly impossible production environment where producers make movies in volatile and uncertain conditions. Its productions often have terse turnaround times, improvising with available tools, thus referring to "nothing wood". It also relates partly to the mirroring of 'two of the most famous areas of film production: Hollywood in the US, and Bollywood in India's Bomba' (Igwe, 2015; Ezepue, 2020). The Africa Magic channel further expanded to become a collection of seven Pay TV entertainment channels focusing on African programming mostly, Nigerian series and movies. These gradual shifts also meant a change, albeit a gradual one, in the control of primarily informalized local marketers over media content production and distribution, to the control of formalized broadcast companies such as DSTV. In this model, production could be targeted towards distribution on satellite television, while cassette and DVD versions of the films are also somewhat available for purchase in the local markets. Therefore, the onset of satellite television broadcast does not necessarily imply a change in the varied types of people who could produce films for the Nigerian market. Thus, with evolution in platforms – from cassette to television – the film producers could also shift to the newer types of content that audiences had access to and the means to consume. This situation paved the way to commencing the production of television formats in the country rather than importing cultural global television format for adaptations.

The first global format to be aired in Nigeria was Big Brother Africa in 2003. However, the first Nigerian only television format was an indigenous stunt game show, *Gulder Ultimate Search* which debuted in 2004. The *Gulder Ultimate Search* was a reality television programme designed to test its participants' physical and mental abilities, usually in a very challenging environment. The programme featured young adult male and female contestants. These

contestants were given daily tasks for 21 days, leading to the discovery of a hidden treasure. Contestants got evicted over the 21 days leaving only about 3 to the final day. The contestant that discovered the hidden treasure became the 'Gulder Ultimate Man' for the year (Agenmonmen, 2016). The Nigerian Breweries PLC, a beverage company, produced and sponsored this show in 2004 to promote the Gulder Lager Beer brand. The Executive Producer, Nigerian Breweries, through its marketing manager, Tony Agenmonmen, partnered with Oluseyi Siwoku, owner of Jungle films, and with professional film and television Producer Olakunle Oyeneye, founder/CEO of Six Sense Entertainment, to bring Gulder Ultimate Search to subscribers of DSTV's Africa Magic channels and the National television broadcaster, NTA. It attracted an estimated fifteen thousand applicants. However, out of this number, only fifteen were selected to participate and compete for a grand prize of three million Naira (an estimated twelve to fifteen thousand USD at the time of the show). The popularity of the reality television programme in its first season signaled a broad acceptance of this type of entertainment as not merely an alternative to film, but as a prop or reinforcement to entertainment aired on DSTV and NTA.

By 2008, amid the slow but sustained changes in film distribution (from video cassettes to satellite and terrestrial television channels) and growth in entertainment television on the same or similar channels, *The Apprentice Africa*, a global television format, was imported into the country by a diversified team of directors and producers in terms of professional background. *The Apprentice Africa* in Nigeria represents a typical example of cultural cross-fertilisation (of individual agents such as producers and resulting content) in the industry in Nigeria. *The Apprentice Africa* television format[1] adaptation is a reality show used in this study

---

[1] By the term television format, I refer to any detailed organizational framework of episodic and seasonal television programme genres, for example, talent shows or in-house entrepreneurship competitions. These frameworks serve as blueprint for international, cultural, and economic exchange, but also for local and intra-organizational programme production.

to represent the complex cultural nature of global television formats. It also appeals to the study of how industry players cross-function between Nigerian television and film sectors because of the industry's informalized culture. The show was an eighteen-week job interview programme in Lagos, Nigeria. During these weeks, it required contestants to compete in a series of rigorous tasks/projects, some of which incorporated formal and informal businesses. Its tasks require real-life African street smarts and corporate business intelligence to determine 'The Apprentice' to a businessman in an elimination-style competition. The winner gets a lucrative corporate job with an annual salary of US$200,000.00, a luxury car and other accompanying perks. *The Apprentice Africa* was modelled after the hugely popular and successful worldwide American reality TV format, *The Apprentice*, hosted by Donald John Trump. The original format was licenced to its Nigerian producers by A US-based British company, Mark Burnett Productions. This company was also the creators of other major reality series such as *Survivor* and *The Contender*. Twenty-three countries around the world replicated the format. A co-production of the Executive Group (TEG), a US-based business investment firm and Storm Vision Limited, one of Nigeria's leading TV programme production companies, brought the show to the African market. These companies sought to create a world-class, top-rated business reality show across the African continent and the diaspora that has unequalled educational, leadership, management, entertainment, and marketing values.

TEG owns the proprietary rights to *The Apprentice Africa* format. The title sponsor of this pioneering programme, Bank PHB, in conjunction with the co-production groups, chose Mr Biodun Shobanjo, Chairman Troyka group and co-founder of Nigeria's largest and most successful advertising agency, Insight Grey, as the pioneer host and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of their reality show. Selection of contestants commenced with interviews involving initial audition of shortlisted applicants from Nigeria at Abuja, Enugu, and Lagos, and Kenya entries at Nairobi, and diaspora entries at Bloomsbury, United Kingdom. The audition format

is the same for all the above locations, namely the interactive group session in the morning and the individual, one-on-one interview session in the afternoon. These activities yielded eighteen intelligent and successful young professionals/businessmen and women of equal gender numbers from across six African countries: Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Cameroon, and Guinea for the final contest for *The Apprentice Africa*, which began February 2008 and ended June 2008 (Scaro, 2017). Thus, it is possible to view the show's success from two different perspectives of the contestants and audiences, respectively. First, it provided a platform for the contestants to interact meaningfully with society to emerge successfully and acquire first-hand experience in how things operate in Nigeria's business and socioeconomic environments. Secondly, it provided television viewers across Africa the opportunity to watch contestants compete virtually in various business tasks requiring corporate intelligence and/or real-Africa informal practices of street smarts, from the beginning of the show to the emergence of The Apprentice Africa.

This research explains that global formats are, on the one hand, 'streamlined in nature'. On the other hand, they are easily malleable. Their adaptation creates an opportunity for embedding indigenous or national cultural assets. Therefore, in some cases, such as in the Nigerian context, localisation may occur in relation to the cast, format content, and informalized nature of their production practices. These features result in television programmes formats with local flavours. Such locally produced television programmes formats, adapted or not, are more likely to attract higher indigenous audience patronage than television programme formats wholly produced abroad. Also, as Moran (2004, p. 6) rightly notes, local broadcasters will prefer a format adapted programme over an original concept because an original concept is precisely that: untried, untested, and therefore offering a broadcaster little in the way of insurance against possible rating failure. This opens room for studying the interplay between the local cultures within the Nigerian media system and global

models of television formats and the resulting potential for cultural innovation in the production processes. *The Apprentice Africa* format programme encountered the dynamics of the national culture of media practices and the specific challenges relating to the informal media environment in the country.

The film economy displays intersections between multiple players from diverse industries such as individuals, marketers, and sponsors. Informalities in its value chain structures characterize these intersections. However, there is an urgent need to carefully revisit the definition of informality within the context of the video industry's economy. This need aims to avoid misrepresenting it into what is perceived as one which disqualifies and excludes the industry from being understood – as one which remains to a large extent, globally relevant (Jedlowski, 2012). In other words, the media industry's nature of informalities may instead be a model determined to function for those who use it and who understand the cultures and the broader systems at work within the local environment. Therefore, it is imperative to look at the Nigerian media industry's history to understand these systems. The following section of media history in the country discusses the journey from state to private television broadcasting and the entrance of the video film production sector. These developments up to the arrival of television formats provide useful explanatory tools for the nature and structures of the present modes of operations in the media industry. They also provide relevant insights into the unavoidable interactions between the film and television sectors of the media. Setting the stage with a brief history lesson about the country and terrain in question will introduce the Nigerian Media and Film Industry Economy in subsequent sections.

The Nigerian Media in History

The events of the early geopolitical formations of the country birthed the media industry. Hence this section opens by briefly revisiting these formations. Nigeria is an amalgam of ancient Kingdoms, Caliphates, Empires and City-states with a long history of organised societies. Trade (from slavery to pepper or ivory) and overseas territorial ambitions of Western European powers in the 19th century resulted in drawing the country's boundaries. As a result, the name "Nigeria" was adopted in 1898 to designate the British Protectorates on the River Niger. Fig. 1. below shows the map of Nigeria with its present thirty-six states. Fig. 2. below shows the map of Nigeria with its present key regions popularly known as the six geopolitical zones.

Figure 1. Administrative Map of Nigeria with the Thirty-Six States and the Federal Capital Territory. Source: (NationsOnlineProject, 2021)
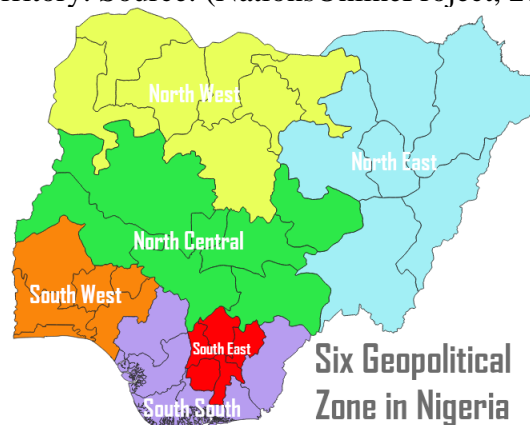
Figure 2. The Map of Nigeria with its Present Day Six Geopolitical Zones
Source: (SunNewsOnline, 2021)

Since May 29, 1999, to date, Nigeria has operated a representative democratic system of government. Nigeria is a Federal Republic with (1963-1966) as the period of the First Republic, (1979-1983) as that of the Second Republic and (1992-1993) as the Third Republic, which was an unsuccessful attempt to restore the country to democracy from military rule. The third era is listed because civilian state governors and national and state legislatures emerged through elections, but the presidential election of 1993 was subsequently annulled. The current democracy represents the country's Fourth Republic under a constitution that requires the President to appoint at least one Minister of the Federal government from each of the existing 36 state structures plus the Federal Capital Territory, thus presenting challenges of multiple ministries. These assortments of ministries are supposed to satisfy inclusion in governance of the constituents in a representative capacity of the geopolitical zones and states and the federal capital territory of the country. Yet, it makes it more unwieldy and difficult to implement policy formulations. The fourth republic strongly resembles the second republic, which ran a unitary style of government. As stipulated in the 1999 constitution, the system of governance is structured such that the federal, state, and local tiers of government maintain hierarchical control from top to bottom. With an executive President of the Federal Republic assisted by a Vice President and Ministers at the federal level, the country operates a presidential democratic government overlooking 36 states, including an administrative Federal Capital Territory. These states, in turn, contain 774 Local Governments Areas altogether, overseen at the federal level. State Governors then control the state governments, assisted by Deputy Governors and Commissioners, while a Chairman and Councillors manage respective Local Government Areas. The 1999 Constitution spells out the roles of the Federal, State and Local tiers of government in the federation (Nigeria, 1999). In other words, the country practices a federal system of government also known as federalism, which has been notoriously criticized for its

federal government's attitude as towering overlords, much to the disenchantment of its constituent states (Oni, 1990; Inegbedion and Omoregie, 2006).

The practice of Nigerian federalism dates to the pre-independence Constitution of 1954 before being updated in the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions. These latter changes saw 'profound' declines in the federal government's responsibility for central issues such as power-sharing arrangement, revenue allocation, maintenance of public order, and fiscal federalism (Inegbedion and Omoregie, 2006). At the same time, the power to take responsibility for these issues could not be relegated to state governments, thus, creating an impenetrable state of neglect across the board and threatening the stability of the federation. This contradictory nature of federalism began with military rule, which took off in 1966, shortly after independence. In its early stages, it bred administrative rivalries among the constituent units and created numerous bureaucratic obstacles for business. The people expect the tenets of federalism to cater to power-sharing and dispersal of opportunities.

But on the contrary, "decision-making under the successive military juntas was highly centralised and, by nature, undemocratic" (ICG, 2006). Hence, by the early 1970s military regime, there had become apparent tight control of the federal government and heavy dependency on the federal by the states. For this reason, administrative effectiveness and economic viability became ranked as largely inconsequential in the fragmenting institutions (ICG, 2006). Eventually, the overdependence of the states on the federal government for up to 80 per cent of their revenues created what has been described as "a cancerous growth of state structures", engendering a high level of national fragmentation and administrative inefficiency (Suberu, 2001). Though "a six-zone model of geographical state clusters" arising in the 1990s managed to supersede the existing federal structure as a more pertinent political reference, the states still find it difficult to deliver independent services. Thus, the six geographical designations have become useful "as surrogates for cultural groupings" rather than solve the

concentration of power. Therefore, a significant consequence of the fragmented system of governance is "a perpetually faltering state" where policymaking in institutions suffer increasing pressures from economic and functional interest groups (ICG, 2006).

National Television Begins

With only three regional governments in the 1950s – the Western Region, Eastern Region, and Northern Region and a federal government at the center – television transmission in Nigeria would eventually begin on October 31, 1959. This start of transmission happened in Ibadan, the capital of former Western Nigeria (Umeh, 1989; Nwulu *et al.*, 2010), relatively a year before Nigeria's independence of 1960. Pre-independence, and at the onset of television, the regions were led by Nigerians while the federal government was British led. Radio was the only broadcast organ of the colonialists. It was then known as the Empire Service of the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC), and broadcasts were federal government (British) controlled. In 1956 a Western Region (Western Nigeria) policy was criticized on Radio by an official of the British federal government. In return, the premier of the Western region Chief Obafemi Awolowo sought to use the same medium to counter the criticism but was refused. This exchange sowed the seed for the eventual launching of the television service (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010). With the support of Western Nigeria's politicians, Chief Obafemi Awolowo pursued a proposal to control their own broadcasting affairs at a series of London conferences where they drew Nigeria's constitution between 1957 and 1958 (Esan, 2009 in Nwulu et al., 2010). This proposal led to the constitutional establishment of Western Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC), which is a twin broadcasting product, namely: Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) and Western Nigeria Television (WNTV). The WNBC had immediately allied with Overseas Re-Diffusion Limited, which offered radio and television services. With its

establishment, WNTV became the first operational television station on the continent of Africa, with the slogan "First in Africa" (Adegbokun, 1983; Umeh, 1989; Nwulu *et al.*, 2010; Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012). According to Egbon (1982), it is possible to tag the birth of television in Nigeria as purely accidental since political disagreement gave rise to it. However, it remains the oldest in the continent to date. This launch was a big feat, and newspaper covers across the continent carried it. Figure 3 below shows how *Daily Times* newspaper news presented it.

Figure 1. The Daily Times of Monday 2, November 1959 reporting the launch of WNTS the previous Saturday with a picture of the unveiling of the WNTS plaque by top government officials. Clearly seen in the picture is Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Western Region Premier) and Sir James Robertson (Governor General) [1]

Figure 3. Print Coverage of the Launch of Africa's First TV Service, on Monday 2, November 1959.

Source: (Esan, 2009)

By April 1962, the Federal Government and the two other regional governments had established three more television broadcasting service stations. These include the Eastern Nigeria Television Service (ENTV), Radio Television Kaduna (RTVK), and Nigerian Television Service (NTS). Eastern Nigerian Government, on October 1, 1960, the same day

Nigeria gained independence, established ENTV. It functioned as an arm of Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Company (ENBC) and was also in alliance with Overseas Re-Diffusion Limited, the same company that collabourated with WNTV. Re-Diffusion Limited, based in Britain, provided the technical/engineering expertise for the new television stations and operated the news and programmes department. However, the alliance of this company with both stations was short-lived as they both paid off the foreign company and sought independent control of the stations (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010; Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012). Likewise, RTVK was established in March 1962. The Northern regional government of Sir Ahmadu Bello engaged the services of Grand Group Limited (now known as ITV PLC), which set up radio and television broadcasting systems in the region. The station operated as an arm of the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010; Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012). Accordingly, during the regional governments' era, the Federal Government established the NTS under the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), in April 1962, in Lagos (Umeh, 1989; Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012). 'The NBC-Television was specifically designed to provide adequate services in education, social and economic development as well as transmit Nigerian and African cultures, tradition, politics, drama, literature and entertainment, of course, these were the overriding aims of modern television broadcasting in Nigeria' (Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012, p. 72). 'The situation was the same until the beginning of the Nigerian Civil War in 1967 when additional states were created by the wartime Military Head of State, Yakubu Gowon' (Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012, p. 69).

At this point, the advent of television would begin to receive backlash as the people saw it as an unnecessary project and a waste of government's recourses.

> The people of Western Nigeria, at the time, had to be shown why Western Region had to embark upon what was described as a "wasteful" and "prestigious" project. This kind of thinking at the time was strongly countered by the argument that television was being established to satisfy the educational aspirations of the people of the Western Region (Umeh, 1989, p. 56).

Hence, during the inauguration of WNTV, the then Head of the Western Region government, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, emphasized in his speech that the establishment of television was part of his plan to provide free education and information. On October 24, 2009, the Vanguard newspaper published an interview with Nigerian veteran journalists Dr Yemi Farounbi and Ambassador Segun Olusola in commemoration of fifty years of television in Nigeria. Reflecting on Awolowo's Mission, Farounbi recounts:

> On the 31st of October 1959, Chief Awolowo said television should be used as a teacher and an educator and then for the information of the people. In which case, he said television in Nigeria should be used for information and education. And that was well thought out for a developing country. He wanted to use television as part of his free education programme. If you recall what was primary in his time was educational television (Ajayi and Njoku, 2009).

> He said that it was the aim of his government to bring information about development in Nigeria and in the outside world into the people's homes so that they might benefit from that knowledge. He declared that 'television will serve as teacher and entertainer, and as a stimulus to us all to transform Nigeria into a modern and prosperous nation'. This educational task might be performed through formal educational programmes for schools and less formal programmes for adults (Umeh, 1989, pp. 56–57)

WNTS showed programmes that cut across the gamut of conventional broadcasting conventions of the time. 'Programmes included sports, theatre performances/dramas, news, women programmes etc.'. The programmes also laid a strong emphasis on education with a focus on the sciences because this was in line with the philosophy of the Western Region government who was keen on educating a large portion of the populace (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010). However, the dominant tone of the Nigerian Regional Television Stations in the First Republic (post-independence period) was arguably very much sectional and essentially partisan in federal politics. The accent was on regionalism and strengthening the power base accordingly to the needs of the government in power. As Egbon (1982) notes, the programming was simply divisive and propagandistic. This division was because the coverage traced a sectional pattern reflecting the nation's political ideologies and diversities. The programming sectioning was

despite the proclaimed national goals of facilitating education and international information. Furthermore, there was a notion among observers at the time that even when these television stations were welcome and valuable in many respects, they still served partisan political purposes for their various governments. 'This political and sectionalistic heritage was to be passed over to future television establishments in Nigeria' (Umeh, 1989, p. 57).

By 1966, the Military took over the government in Nigeria, leading to a three-year civil war that began in 1967. The end of the Nigerian Civil war by 1970 heralded a new era in the broadcasting industry. The military's take-over of government in 1966 came with peculiar changes in the country's political, social, and economic structure. As such, with the army ruling for 13 years between 1966 and 1979, the nation witnessed historical events including the Nigerian civil war, the sudden explosion in oil revenue, also known as the 'oil boom', the changing of the Nigerian constitution and the splitting of the country into a 12-state structure in 1967, and later to a 19-state structure in 1975. This creation of more new states stirred a new wave of 'sectional consciousness' referred to as '*statism*'. Therefore, individual states wanted their own facilities such as a university, a polytechnic, a college of education, a teaching hospital, and indeed, their radio and television stations, and so on (Umeh, 1989, p. 58). Unarguably, statism and the 'effectiveness and importance of television broadcasting' demonstrated by the older stations facilitated such creations. Hence, the creation of states brought about the establishment of state-owned television stations (Adegbokun, 1983). By the mid-1970s, two new stations included Mid-Western TV in 1973 and Benue Plateau BP-TV in 1975. Subsequently, there were more states created in the new republic. These states all rushed to establish their own television stations. As many as ten stations had already concluded plans to establish television stations (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010).

Eventually, the military government saw a need for a central television body to foster national unity amongst the various regional units (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010). However, it was the

need to provide adequate and coordinated coverage of the second All-Africa Games hosted by Nigeria in 1973 that led to another era of broadcasting – merging all ten existing state-owned television services into one Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) (Umeh, 1989). This unity led to the pooling of all broadcasting agencies in the country to form the Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria (BON). The new body, BON, was better coordinated than flood sports arenas with tons of crew members from multiple radio and television stations around the country. All broadcasting activities were done by the central station and fed to other units across the states. The success of this outing led to the decision by the military government to permanently unite all the various state-owned television stations in the country under one body – the Nigerian Television Authority. To this effect, 'a decree (No. 24 of 1977) was promulgated (effective from April 1976) establishing the Nigerian Television Authority' (Umeh, 1989, p. 60). In addition, NTA set up nine additional stations in the capitals of the remaining nine states of the Federation without television stations. NTA provided a far more organized approach to television expansion and utilization in Nigeria through its functions which the decree carefully mapped out. The organization upgraded the television stations from black and white to coloured and made plans to lace the entire system into one national grid, with a network of transmitters, microwave links and satellite transmission facilities. However, it was not until the emergence of private broadcasting that satellite television was actualized (Umeh, 1989; Nwulu et al., 2010), as will be discussed in the following section.

A peaceful handover of the government from military to civilian lasted from 1979 to 1983. This transition brought about another phase of significant amendment of the military decrees as enactments of acts of parliament. The civilian administration introduced an amendment to the NTA decree during the period, renamed 'the NTA Act'. This act allowed state governments, organizations, and individuals to operate television stations, reverting to the previous situations in the regions and initial states structures. 'The immediate outcome was

predictable; many state governments rushed into establishing their own state-owned television stations to compete side by side with the 22 NTA station' (Umeh, 1989). This scramble gave Nigeria the fourth most prominent television network in the world. There were thirty-four television stations over 25 years. This proliferation occurred at a rate of 1.5 stations per year, outstripping general economic growth. The programming was also affected. 'From 90 per cent imported programmes between 1959 and 1962, the figure had dropped to 20 per cent. With a staff strength of 4,000 in 1979, we grew to 10,000 in 1983' (Adichie, 1984, p. 5). Umeh captures other developmental strides of the television industry of the time as:

> One remarkable feature of the rapid growth in the number of television stations in Nigeria is the corresponding rapid growth in the number of both trained and untrained manpower for the industry. The Federal and State governments recruited a large number of indigenous television staff and many of these were sent to the United Kingdom, United States and other developed countries for professional television training. The resultant rapid increase in the number of trained television personnel in the country helped to bring about a remarkable increase in the number of locally made television programmes (Umeh, 1989, p. 59)

However, although one advantage of the two bouts of the speedy proliferation of television stations was the rapid increase in the use of the television medium by Nigerians – many individuals, establishments and homes procured television sets because of the oil wealth of the 60s and 70s. There was also a resultant abuse of the television system. This abuse was due to 'widespread disharmony caused by politicians and their agent's unprecedented misuse of these two media facilities. There was a high level of disorganization in the civilian administration that followed to the detriment of initiation of development ventures. There was open competition among the five political parties to show what they could achieve for the states they controlled. 'State government-owned universities, polytechnics, colleges, hospitals, schools, radio, and television stations sprang up everywhere with little rational planning. They were able to do this because they revoked the charter of the NTA' (Umeh, 1989, p. 59).

Moreover, by the time the army came back to power in Nigeria in 1984, they immediately directed attention to correcting some of the politically motivated developmental disparities of the civilian administration. The returning military government had in its plan to rationalise radio and television broadcasting by pruning down their numbers. However, this proved largely unsuccessful because of the challenging political climate (Umeh, 1989). Consequently, more television stations kept springing up as the government created more states in 1987, 1991, and 1996 (Nwulu et al., 2010). Today, NTA has at least 94 stations and serves the Nigerian diaspora through international TV stations such as Britain's Bright Entertainment Network (BEN) (Nwulu et al., 2010). Clearly, there had been three key factors that worked side-by-side to motivate television development in Nigeria. They include politics and education (also known as the twin factors) and the provision of information. Since education has been designated as a vote catcher, the twin factors remained inextricably linked (Umeh, 1989, p. 56). Thus, the educational factor was what leaders used to bait the masses when there was a need to gain approval and support for the introduction or expansion of television during its heydays.

A recap on the history of television in this section provided a deep-rooted political and socioeconomic context, backing the ensuing struggles in the development of the media industry. It highlighted the birth of the media industry resulting from events of early geopolitical formations of the country. The present-day democracy suffers challenges like multiple ministries, owing to the numerous instabilities and complications in preceding modes of governance. Even the constitutional changes from previous methods of governance to the present-day democratic constitution could not easily foster the desired betterment or unity in administration. Instead, it yielded more pitfalls in the way the federal government responded to central issues. With television transmission in Nigeria kicking off in 1959 during the era of three regional governments (as opposed to the present day six geopolitical zones), there were backlashes against its institution, claiming that it was an unwarranted and needless project. The

second era of television came by 1970, after the civil war. As detailed earlier in this section, the order of events led to creating a unified television body, BON, and later, a unified Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). This rapid proliferation, in turn, led to a rapid increase in using television by Nigerians to seek primarily educational and entertainment, and then informational values.

Private Broadcasting

Development of Satellite Television in the Nigerian Media System

Private television broadcasting started in Nigeria in 1993. However, by 1992 the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) empowered to regulate all kinds of broadcasting in the country had put a new decree – the Decree No. 38 of 1992. This legislation led to the revocation of the exclusive rights to own and run a television station by the government. As a result, new private stations emerged by the year 1993. These included Minaj Systems Television (MST) Obosi, Anambra State; African Independent Television (AIT) Lagos, owned by Raymond Dokpesi; Channels Television, Clapper Board Television, Murhi International Television, Galaxy Television, DBN Television, Independent Television, and so on (Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012).

Satellite television relays television programming directly to the recipients from a communications satellite orbiting the earth. According to Lawal, Chatwin and Hasan (2018, p.33), the satellite's inherent strengths as broadcast media make its networks ideal for the distribution of bandwidth-intensive information-- data, video, or audio – to large numbers of remote locations. It is, therefore, the most suitable choice of information and communications technology (ICT) infrastructure for countries, like Nigeria, with vast expanses of remote rural communities with largely inaccessible terrains' routes to the villages and hamlets. Recognizing

this peculiar Nigerian landscape and the positive attributes of communications satellites such as easy internet access at all locations, broadband data communications, rural telephony services, among numerous others, Nigerian government in April 2006, established the Nigerian Communications Satellite known as NIGCOMSAT. Lawal, Chatwin and Hasan capture vividly this development of Nigeria communications satellite as:

> Nigerian Communications Satellite (NIGCOMSAT) Limited was incorporated as a limited liability company in April 2006 and is responsible for the operation and management of Nigerian communication satellites starting with NIGCOMSAT-1 which was launched in May 2007 and de-orbited after18 months. An insurance replacement satellite, NIGCOMSAT-1R, which has the same features as NIGCOMSAT-1, albeit with a few modifications, was launched in December 2011, with optimized performance based on design inputs related to weather and climatic conditions of the African environment and lessons learned from operations and marketing experience of the de-orbited satellite. It has an expected service life of more than 15 years (Lawal, Chatwin and Hasan, 2018, p. 32)

The NIGCOMSAT Direct-to-Home (DTH) system was designed to offer viewers hundreds of channels of Standard Definition (SD) television programmings on both the free-to-air (FTA) and pay as you go service delivery models and thus an opportunity for a market share of the multi-billion dollars broadcasting industry. The system is designed to support and transmit High Definition (HD) channels on demand (Lawal and Chatwin, 2015)

By October 1995, the first commercial satellite television broadcaster in Africa, South-African owned Multichoice, launched its Digital Satellite Television (DSTV), covering Nigeria among its pioneering countries. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, DSTV is Sub-Saharan Africa's biggest satellite service provider. It covers nearly fifty countries in the whole continent. Some of its other contemporaries in Africa include Canal Horizons (popular in French-speaking countries) and Egypt owned Nilesat (which also broadcasts on the Mediterranean, Turkey, and Iran). DSTV has a wide variety of both audio and video channels

on its services. It also has the capacity for multi-languages enabling users to self-select their languages (Multichoice, no date; Nwulu *et al.*, 2010).

Furthermore, as mentioned above, in December 2003, Multichoice created a channel on its satellite television service (DSTV) called *Africa Magic* dedicated to showing African movies comprising mainly of Nollywood films. It was so successful that in March 2010, Multichoice added two new channels devoted to showing Nigerian films in Hausa and Yoruba. Although DSTV became arguably the biggest Nollywood film distributor across Africa, especially for their most expansive international reach and pay-tv services, NTA and other private television stations began showing Nollywood on terrestrial television. Some of these remote stations included African Independent Television (AIT) and Minaj Broadcasting International (MBI) (Nwulu et al., 2010, p.6). However, the South African company Multichoice (linked to the subscription channel M-Net and owner of the satellite network DSTV) was the first to recognize the commercial potential of Nigerian films.

On the other hand, the emergence of Nollywood occurred following two television-related events in Nigeria. These were recorded as – 'the need to include indigenous content in television programming and the massive expansion of NTA' (Nwulu et al., 2010, p.6). According to the authors of *Television Broadcasting in Africa: Pioneering Milestones*, Nollywood's history may be traced back to the advent of cinema in Nigeria. The British introduced Cinema Film Units (CFU), which 'by and large showed films extolling the British empire', consequently spurred indigenous theatre groups. Television broadcasting in Nigeria struggled with a lack of recording equipment. It was thus constrained to live programmes; usually, transmissions, entertainment programmes consisted of dramas that often depended on the theatre groups for performances. The theatre groups had to adapt to television performance increase in their sophistication in response to these needs (Hill and Allen, 2004). A period of

recording of these performances soon arrived using analogue Video Home System cassettes, and later, Digital Video Discs.

> With a Betacam camcorder, producers could record performances and save on Betacam video cassettes or Video Home System (VHS) cassettes. These videos began to be marketed and soon gained popular acceptance. Since they were saved on VHS cassettes and were usually watched in homes they began to be popularly called "home videos". Nollywood was born… Nollywood movies are typically patronized by Africans (both at home and in the Diaspora) (Nwulu et al., 2010, p.6).

Scholars agree that 'the advent of television brought in its wake a new dimension in broadcasting in Africa. For instance, within the first decade of its arrival, no fewer than 22 African countries established their own television stations' (Onuoha and Onwubere, 2012, p. 72). However, (Nwulu et al., 2010) note that 'Egypt had plans to commence television broadcasting in the early 1950s. Having gained independence earlier than most African countries (The Egyptian Republic was declared on June 18, 1953), it was only logical that they consider delving into television broadcasting …' Thus, political events such as British–French Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal from October 29, 1956, to March 1957 delayed this progress. Likewise, South Africa, which was far more developed than most other African countries, could not begin television stations due to the reluctance of the apartheid government. The government gave the excuse of heavy financial obligations. According to Nwulu et al.:

> Moreover, the government expressed reservations about the benefits of television broadcasting and its effects on society. They, therefore, felt that it was an investment they could not go into as they lacked the pre-requisite manpower… The South African government also claimed that they would wait till TV technology (specifically colour TV) broadcasting was fully developed in order to avoid a situation where they began with black and white systems and had to switch to colour TV systems (Nwulu et al., 2010, p.3).

The event narrations of this section affirmed that the emergence of new private stations led to the flourishing of the internationally owned private broadcaster, DSTV, in the Nigerian market, ahead of all other African countries. These events resulted from the revocation of the

government's exclusive rights to own and run a television station. Also, the onset of television broadcasting in Nigeria paved the way for the rest of African countries to begin their respective national broadcasting. Hence, they would be able to see content from their homelands and tap into the proliferation of content of diverse cultural values (education, entertainment, and information) from the Nigerian television industry. These narrations reveal the centrality of the Nigerian media in the African media landscape. The following section takes a socioeconomic x-ray of the present-day Nigerian media and film industry.

The Film Industry Economy within the Nigerian Media System

Together with its film sector, the Nigerian media is known as one of the liveliest in the African continent (Hanson, 2007; BBC, 2017). The number of films produced per year has grown from virtually none in 1992 to an estimated figure of over 2000 movies in 2006. International News sources further suggest an exponential growth of this figure to an estimated 14,000 as of 2009 (*The Economist*, 29 July 2006; Mba, 2007; Naseer, 2020). However, The National Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) shows that a total of 124 Nigerian feature films were approved in February 2020, with 100 others approved between the quiet production months of November 2019, December 2019, and January 2020. These numbers do not include films denied registration or filmmakers who failed to apply. They are rather indicative of the magnitude of production presently happening in this industry (NFVCB, 2020). However, the media and film industry have their share of problems considering that political, organizational, and cultural environments continue to affect their operations. For instance, the poor record of accountability amongst public officers between 1986 and 1993 highlights a period that has been described as the bane of Nigeria's corporate life (Okoosi-Simbine, 2011, p. 114). In addition, television in Nigeria has been faced with challenges like press freedom, military decrees, government interference and other acts that hinder the free flow of information (Obono and Madu, 2010,

p.76). In other words, in the past, creativity and production has been hampered by fear of government sanctions and censorships. Such conditions have arguably tricked down to today's patterns of repeating the same stories and narratives perceived to be safe from government interferences, as well as easier to market because of their recurring popularity.

According to its history (narrated in greater detail in the previous sections), the federal and state levels of government had influences on business institutions such as the media. Hence, the national and its federating units from the earliest establishment of the broadcast industry to date joined the efforts to own and operate media stations. A dependence on government which has affected different national institutions for several decades, also continues to plague the industry. Irrespective of returning to democracy since 1999, the nation remains deeply entrenched in a fragile federalist system and pervasive ethnic and religious tensions across its core institutions, including the media (Hanson, 2007). The exclusive control of the early Nigerian media by the then central government led to the creation of regional television stations. The efforts to break the monopoly yielded fruits when Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) laid the pioneering foundation of television broadcasting in the country and African continent in 1959. The immediate reason for a regional government initiating and establishing this service can be easily gleaned from the observations of Egbon (1982, p. 7). Thus, the birth was an accidental result of a political dispute. Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his party had walked out of parliament in protest against a constitutional debate on the eve of Nigeria's independence. The ruling government condemned this action over the Federal Radio Broadcasting Service, but access was denied to the opposition leader to reply to the accusations. Instead of establishing a Radio Station alone, the Western Region also commenced television transmission to offer repressed 'voice' in national affairs. Thus, while the aims of this expensive venture as delineated by the government may not seriously be in dispute, yet the real motives may be more of 'regional pride' and 'prestige'. Perhaps the real action was calculated

to spite political opponents. It is seen that the ruling government used the only available federal government-controlled broadcasting medium, radio, to criticize a regional government policy and denied the opposition leader a right of reply with the same tool. This imbalance in the use of the media became a catalyst for conceiving and eventually birthing television stations in the country. Implicit in this was the recognition of the enormous potentials of the media in governance. The media would become strategic to political, and other forms of national development, including education as well as transmitting cultures and traditions, and entertainments (Nwulu *et al.*, 2010)

Alongside the media system's development amid national politics was the development of the film sector through a chain of regional economic activities occurring between local entrepreneurs. That is, local producers and distributors. It is possible to link its growth to the home video production activities, such as the event of 1992 during Okechukwu Ogunjiofor's production of one of the earliest known Nollywood movies, *Living in Bondage*. The movie was a straight-to-video drama thriller film directed by Chris Obi Rapu and screenwriters Kenneth Nnebue and Okechukwu Ogunjiofor. *Living in Bondage* tells the story of a man who kills his wife in ritual sacrifice to advance in wealth and power, yet his gains are short-lived, as his wife's ghost subsequently haunted him (Jagoe, 2016). Nnabue, an electrical equipment salesman in Lagos, needed to dispose of thousands of blank VHS tapes unsold in his store. Armed with a cheap digital camera and several good-hearted friends, he shot a movie along with the tradition of the Yoruba travelling theatre. He dubbed all the unsold tapes with the film, with the hope of making his tapes more acceptable to customers. The film became an instant hit, giving birth to the modern film industry known as Nollywood (Onishi, 2002). It has remained the benchmark with its attributes as the paradigmatic qualities that have marked Nollywood movies to date. It is also the movie that launched Nigeria's film industry to

prominence within the African continent and consequently influenced the country's international image.

Further developments in the film industry led to local entrepreneurs contributing to a boom of informal markets, which for the most part, successfully eluded government interventions. This government evasion was possible as local entrepreneurs operated in informal structures, sustained by the most prominent local markets in different country regions, sometimes dubbed International Markets. There are two similar large-scale markets in different regions of the country. They include the Alaba International Market in the West and the Onitsha Main Market in the East. These markets attract traders and visitors from within the country and other countries in the West African sub-region and beyond, including Asian countries. This cross-border attraction, perhaps, underpins the commonly held view of the markets by the local operators as being international. The popularity and acceptability of these informal film markets continue to increase, despite being run outside strict regulations.

Alaba international market is a multi-business activities market located in Ojo, Lagos State, Western Nigeria. It has the largest concentration of electronic products for sales in the country, including a vast area exclusively for computer products and accessories popularly known as computer village. On the other hand, Onitsha international market located in Anambra State, South-Eastern Nigeria, provides the largest clusters of importers and dealers on consumer and industrial goods in Africa. It is home to GSM products and accessories sales. Apart from buying and selling consumer and industrial goods, these markets also deal in repairing electronic products and services. The markets are also operational areas for numerous unauthorised and unregistered informal businesses in shanty accommodations involved in piracy of a wide range of media productions, particularly Nollywood home videos. These markets are gradually emerging as powerful economic tools, assisting uneducated, unemployed, and underemployed youths in acquiring the necessary skills to survive and thrive

in businesses (Tade and Akinleye, 2012; Awoniyi, 2016; Tade and Mmahi, 2018). Both Alaba and Onitsha markets share similar characteristics of informally structured but highly successful trading models.

Described as "the chaotic metropolis of Lagos", Alaba market in Lagos is the biggest hub for buying and selling movies in Nigeria (Foroohar, 2014). It was in this market that the country's film industry was born over two decades ago. Nollywood, which Foroohar describes as a "high-volume, low-budget, straight-to-video industry" began in another traditionally Nigerian way – through trade. At some point in the 1980s, a group of traders from Alaba market travelled to Europe to find any discarded goods they could pick up and hawk back home. These marketers returned home with "a bunch of discarded VHS tapes, which they soon figured out would sell for more if they put a bit of cheap local content on them" (Foroohar, 2014). Considering the lack of stand-alone cinemas in Nigeria, (or mass-market content geared at locals), the tapes quickly became gold, leading to the birth of Nollywood's Alaba market-controlled industry.

The consumer-electronics market is located at Lagos Mainland, which is a three-hour drive from Victoria Island, where many stars and producers live. At the market vicinity, it takes another two hours' walk into the DVD section. According to TIME Magazine writer, Foroohar, "Once inside, different layers of the Nollywood economy unfold, layers that mirror the complexity, corruption and entrepreneurial energy of Nigeria as a whole".

> There's a young man, one of many, who has traveled 80 minutes from his part of the city to buy locally made movies, sold on DVDs for 50 to 85 naira (about 30¢ to 50¢). He will sell them in a stall at home for 100 naira (about 60¢). But what's striking is that the pirated versions of foreign films, like 12 Years a Slave, sell for just 35 naira (20¢). That's considerably less than the local stuff (Foroohar, 2014).

In Alaba market, distributors, are not left out of the piracy business. In fact, many of the distributors are local thugs themselves or the filmmakers themselves. These distributors/local

thugs take the movies and make both legitimate and pirated copies. They then sell from warehouses behind the market stalls to buyers both big and small from different parts of the word including Ghana, Kenya, the Caribbean, the U.K., the U.S., everywhere.

> To call Alaba a sharp-elbowed place is an understatement. (A few years ago, armed distributors chased out military police and filmmakers who'd come to complain about pirating.) But it's a place where an ambitious person can rise quickly—like 22-year-old Tochukwu James, who sits wrapping DVDs in cellophane in a market stall. James had no money for college, so after secondary school, he took a series of odd jobs before ending up here, in Alaba. "I'm going to save my money, and one day I'll open my own stall and eventually make films like this," he says, pointing to the DVD he is wrapping, which features a low-budget drama about a family-inheritance squabble. "You have to be tough here. But I'm going to make it. I'm going to be a Nollywood boss." (Foroohar, 2014)

Following the first Nollywood movie, *Living in Bondage* in 1992, made by a small-time electronics trader named Kenneth Nnebue, other merchants, overwhelmingly members of his ethnic group, the Igbo, joined the business. They were motivated by profit, rather than the artistry of movie making. Therefore, they focused on shooting movies as quickly as possible in just a few days while "literally making things up as they went" and "based on vague scenarios instead of scripts". These group of Igbo businessmen; an insular guild sometimes called the Alaba cartel or Idumota Marketers tightly controlled the movie industry (Rice, 2012).

In 2009, a newer age producer, Kunle Afolayan produced the movie, *The Figurine*, which heralded the emergent movement of New Nollywood. Afoloyan envisioned a strategy to circumvent and bypass Alaba cartel noting that they are just businesspeople who could care less about content. His plan was to depend on theatres. However, after his estimated investment of $350,000 which is a massive steep compared to the average cost of making an Alaba controlled movie, it grossed only around $200,000 in its initial release. Afoloyan wanted to maximize revenues since his initial target had not been met, so he made a deal with an independent entertainment company in China to encrypt DVDs of "The Figurine" ship into

Nigeria for mass distribution. The distribution was meant to be executed by simultaneously releasing a huge number of copies across the country, so as not to create scarcity, which encourages piracy. However, it was difficult to circumvent the unyielding force of the Alaba cartel (Rice, 2012).

Larkin notes that the growth in the Nigerian video industry "could not exist without the infrastructure created by the illegitimate double, pirate media." (Larkin, 2004, p. 292). Tade and Mmahi (2018) identified three categories of pirates. The first category are registered retailers who deceitfully display original copies of films for sale but concealed the pirated copies in their shops. This group claim to be retailers of original Nigerian films in the market; however, they use the original copies which were purchased legally to reproduce pirated copies en-masse for sale to multiply profit. The second category are marketers who were appointed by the copyright owners to distribute their films. Since they are strategically positioned in the distribution chain, they engage in secret business deals with the dubbing companies to dub excess copies without the legal permission of copyright owners. Interviewing a male copyright owner, Tade and Mmahi gather the following:

> There have been several situations whereby a copyright owner has appointed a marketer to market his film and he has dubbed excess than he agreed with the copyright owner. I don't want to mention names, but I know all of them. (A male copyright owner, key informant interview [KII], Alaba) (Tade and Mmahi, 2018, p. 278)

Interestingly, the same market spaces in Alaba are shared between antipiracy groups and pirates themselves. Nonetheless, pirates still cooperate with associates (legal stakeholders in the film industry) to carry out their business and transacting piracy business in secretly to avoid strangers. The involvement of these legal stakeholders makes it difficult, if not impossible to fight piracy in this market. This is because marketers sometimes provide the major finances for films in the Nigerian industry, and in so doing, sign sponsorship contracts with producers (Tade

and Aliyu, 2011; Tade and Mmahi, 2018). These marketers distribute thousands of movies produced by the film industry emerge annually from these markets worldwide.

Anthony Bourdain (Bourdain, 2018) visited the historic site of the so-called *Alaba International Market* in his exploration of Lagos, Nigeria, to prepare a documentary for CNN's TV segment, *"Parts Unknown"*. Alaba International market is also known as "Computer Village" among the locals. The unique characteristic of this computer village, described as the 'beehive of computer hardware' (Abiola, 2006), accounting for 'the highest employment level of any ICT agglomeration in the subregion and in the country' (Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, 2015), is what he described as follows:

> There is an area there, it's—I believe it's hundreds of millions of dollars going through this one area, neighbourhood of Lagos called computer village. It's just—a bunch of people started selling for cell phone covers, cell phone cases, then electronic equipment. Kids started coming from the provinces without even a high school education, learned from repetition how to fix iPhones in the streets with their own tools, start their own electronic stores, were legit. But the difference between legitimate tax paying business and a street business is completely permeable. But this is a huge, huge generator of untapped revenue, all self-built (Bourdain, 2018).

Also, describing the scene as one of 'wild entrepreneurial positive thinking' which he had never seen anywhere before, Bourdain writes:

> [SIC] "…A go, go, unrestrained capitalism. Completely out of the purview or control of the -- of the government. Everybody under -- particularly in the capital city of Lagos, 20 million people, these people understand the government is not going to provide them with anything. So everyone -- somehow provides themselves with power, water, all basic services. You've got to hustle in Nigeria, and they do. And the positive attitude is unlike anything I've ever seen" (Bourdain, 2018).

Furthermore, American journalist Robert Neuwirth also observed and documented these unusual characteristics of the *Alaba International Market*. In his TED talk titled '*The age-old*

sharing economies of Africa', Neuwirth dubs the model governing the market as '*the Igbo Apprentice System*'. This system highlights the influence of entrepreneurs originally from the Eastern region but who migrated to the Western region with their local trading customs and norms. The Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria are commonly described as the most successful entrepreneurs of the country. The people link their entrepreneurial capability to inherent survival instincts and industry based on a history of marginalization and civil war food and financial cuts. Thus, as Ihejirika (2014, p. 2) recounts, the Igbos were able to achieve their current economic feat of reclaiming the commanding heights of Nigerian commerce, despite the deliberate state policy after the Civil War in 1970. In the then post-civil war state policy, the Nigerian state dispossessed millions of Igbos of all but twenty pounds each, irrespective of whatever amounts they had in their bank accounts. Neuwirth claims thus, "I can say with utmost certainty, that the *Igbo Apprentice System* that governs *Alaba International Market* is the largest business incubator platform in the world" (Neuwirth, 2018). These unconventional arrangements and market structures continue to have a notable impact on the Nigerian film industry. An earlier study by Awoniyi (2016) shows that 82% of the entrepreneurs made up of small and medium enterprises of the market are from the Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria. It also shows that understanding how culture and environment influence technological innovation and marketing was related to the Igbos' understanding of consumer behaviour and their innovative style of imitation of products and services. In marketing, new products can be described or considered products with minor or significant innovation, and the Igbo traders are fully aware of process innovation. Process innovation in this context entails changes in the manner of making a product. Hence, Igbo traders applied the understanding of consumer behaviour, therefore, imitating products that appealed to the market in production.

Therefore, it is pertinent to describe the film industry as 'one of the greatest success stories in the global cinema today,' which 'has a unique distribution set-up, one which takes

full advantage of the efficiencies of street-level trade. It operates almost entirely off the books'
(Lobato, 2012, p. 5). Also, both production and distribution of the "media merchandise" have,
for the most part, fallen outside the control of global, regional or even national institutions
(Adejunmobi, 2011, p. 72). The development of the Nigerian film enterprises thrives through
its unusual features and exhibits strong resistance to regulation on several levels. Often, the
operators consider government interventions to make things messier and difficult for business.
However, the local entrepreneurs operating within these markets have devised mechanisms that
have proven effective for business growth over the years.

Moreover, they fill the gaps created by the formal education sector and other skill-
building institutions that turn out unemployable graduates because of the questionable quality
of the graduates or severely limited available employment opportunities. However, controlling
such businesses is difficult. This difficulty arises because these markets significantly alleviate
the high unemployment and underemployment in informal enterprises, particularly among the
youthful population. The largely informal nature of this burgeoning industry operating
primarily in non-descript make-shift locations coupled with rampant copyright infringements
constitutes huge impediments to effective government control. Oh (2014) reports that the
industry relies on cash transactions and oral agreements (rather than written contracts) between
local filmmakers, producers and marketers, who finance and sell their products. These
problems have also impacted international co-productions and closed the doors on potentially
lucrative investments and distribution opportunities in foreign markets. Instead, a "chain of
title" (the bundle of documents that prove ownership of the right in a film) is necessary. A
significant consequence of this is the snail speed pace to put the film industry on the global
map. However, these mechanisms have been slow to put them on the global maps due to the
reasons.

Push for Government Policy in the Nigerian Film Industry
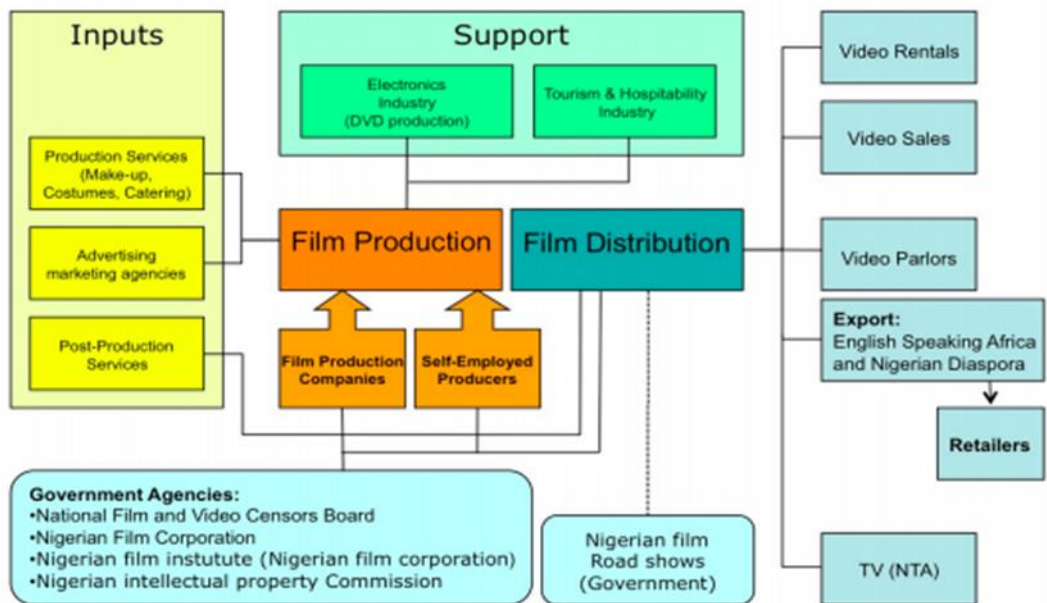
Figure 4. Agencies and Initiatives to get Nollywood films on the global map

(Mba, 2007)

As the chart (Figure 4) above indicates, the government has variously tried to intervene in Nollywood through many agencies and initiatives with alternate results, like the National Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) and the Nigerian Film Corporation (NFC) (Mba, 2007).

It should be noted here that the difficulty generally observed in the regulation of informal businesses in the country, which in turn affects the film industry, stems from the absence of reliable data and the lack of an enabling environment. To create a more enabling environment, the government of Nigeria still has much to do. These include introducing tax breaks for filmmakers, providing incentives for co-productions with Nigerian and international partners, fast-tracking the revision of the copyright laws, and executing co-production treaties. They are necessary for supporting the Nigerian Film Corporation, established in 1979, to fulfil its mission and purpose, creating an enabling environment for Nigeria's film industry. Also included are policies for setting up robust and vibrant units to fight piracy and copyright

infringements and directing focus on improving security (Oyewole, 2014). However, on the other hand, it can be argued that the autonomy of Nollywood producers and directors could be partly or substantially undermined in the coming years, as regional media corporations would be responsible for this shift rather than global media corporations. As such, there may be tendencies in the near future for regional media corporations to move toward commodifying and standardizing the most financially profitable forms of local diversity available (Adejunmobi, 2011).

The waves of interest in Nigerian films stemmed from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report on Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics (UNESCO, 2009, p. 3). It documented that Nollywood was the second-largest film industry in the world, a feat it achieved from the bottom up, without the benefit of state assistance (Jedlowski, 2010, p. 2). Nollywood movies are recreations of indigenous stories in movie formats. They invoke passions of Nigeria's cultural diversity, produced and packaged by Nigerians for Nigerian and African consumers, including their diaspora populations. The country's vast diversity in cultures, traditions, and lifestyles from about 370 tribes and 525 native languages provides nearly unlimited resources base for stories that appeal to Nigerian and African audiences, including the Diaspora with similar cultural heritage (Nelly, 2005).

The Emergence of Television Formats Production

The popularity and massive success of reality/entertainment cultural global television formats of the 1990s made them very attractive to television producers and broadcasters worldwide to seek to be part of it. This attraction is partly because cultural global programme formats are already successful shows in their native and other cross-border nationalities and, therefore, should recreate the success in any new territory. Another important consideration is that global

entertainment formats were hot properties as broadcasters loved the economics of these shows characterized by high volume, low-cost programming consumed by audiences in their masses, all on primetime TV. The rapid growth of cultural global format business may also be attributable to the inherent provisions for embedding local cultural assets in otherwise foreign formats. Thus, global format business is a means of cultural exchange through international trade and a vehicle for technology transfer that offers the benefits of the original format concept and project for local version production. As the largest population in Africa with about 212 million inhabitants as of July 2021 (WPR, 2021), Nigeria has the status of a significant market that makes it difficult to ignore the country in the global format business. This significance is perhaps why local television networks started showing new global television formats adaptations around the turn of the millennium. Typical cultural global formats adaptations that hit Nigeria's television networks airwaves include '*Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*', '*Big Brother*', '*The Apprentice*', among many others. This research case study, *The Apprentice Africa*, is a cultural global format adaptation of 'The Apprentice' that incorporates indigenous cultural elements, including informal elements, for an audience-participation reality show and all the technical know-how of the popular television programme production.

According to the 6th national broadcasting code, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) issued a directive that prohibited broadcasters from airing foreign programmes during prime time. A 70 per cent minimum local programming clause, which was then introduced, meant no more than 30 per cent foreign programming in its schedule (National Broadcasting Commission, 2016). This move aimed to prioritise and promote local content instead of content that previously originated mainly from the United States, England, and Mexico. Predictably also, this directive increased the demand for local content production across 150 television stations nationwide. By 2010, empirical research showed that about 85 per cent of programmes are locally produced, which pointed to an indigenizing content in

Nigerian television. This observation also indicated that media operators did not remain passive but active in creating, choosing, and determining the type of programmes transmitted to their audiences. A programme is foreign if it is extracted from one of the foreign stations or has foreign content that Nigerians did not package in Nigeria. A local programme, on the other hand, is packaged by Nigerians and has Nigerians within it. It is interesting to note that the Nigerian broadcast media are more inclined to local programming. This inclination to local programming suggests a drastic shift from media imperialism to indigenization (Obono and Madu, 2010, p. 82).

Local versions of global television formats have their major production base for sub-Saharan Africa, in Nigeria. International and local companies such as MNet, Endemol, Rapid Blue, and Ultima Studios typically produce these local versions. While entertainment television in Africa is changing the traditional business model for broadcast, Nigerian television manages to achieve a balance in entertaining and informing its audiences through the industry's deregulation. Obono and Madu's research show that a focus on one over the other, for example, STV's favour on entertainment over information, poses a limitation for the station's demographic composition. The Nigerian media's ownership, structure, distribution, and content are not subject to substantial external pressures. Thus, western nations do not control the television in Nigeria but indigenous experts. However, influence from ownership leads to disparities in types and sources of programme. Where private stations are involved, they become more susceptible to foreign content (Obono and Madu, 2010, p. 88). Table 1 below shows television broadcast categories from terrestrial to satellite, community, and protocol broadcasting upheld by the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) sixth edition code.

Categories	Sub-categories	
Terrestrial Coverage	A. National, B. Regional, C. State, D. City	
Terrestrial Mode	A. Open digital broadcast	(i) Digital Video Broadcast-Terrestrial (DVB-T/DVB-T2) (ii) Digital Video Broadcast-Cable (DVB-C/DVB- C2) (iii) Digital Video Broadcast-Mobile (Technology Neutral) (iv) And any other digital format
	B. Subscription pay television	(i) Multipoint Multimedia Distribution System (MMDS) (ii) Digital Video Broadcast-Cable (DVB-C/DVB- C2) (iii) Digital Video Broadcast-Terrestrial (DVB-T2) (iv) Digital Video Broadcast-Mobile (Technology Neutral) (v) And any other digital format
Satellite Mode	A. Free to Air B. Subscription C. Temporary uplink	2. Digital Satellite Broadcast (DSB) 3. Direct-to-Home (DTH)
Community Broadcasting (Free-to-Air)	A. Community Television B. Community Wired Service	
Protocol Broadcasting	A. Internet Protocol Television	

Table 1. Category and sub-category Terrestrial/Satellite TV coverages

Source: (National Broadcasting Commission, 2016, pp. 27–28)

Statement of problem

Recent cultural global format studies tend to downplay the staggering quantity of official and unofficial cultural and industrial practices in current and historical formal exchanges. There is ample evidence in the literature to illustrate this. In this regard, there has been a broad range of formal and unofficial modes of such exchanges like cloning, copying, borrowing, or even mere influences which have become entrenched in media businesses. These have shaped the development of television in different ways (Oren and Shahaf, 2012). In this case, we look at these unofficial cultural practices that accompany formal exchanges of global format adaptation in the Nigerian media industry using *The Apprentice Africa* case study.

The Nigerian media industry is known to be entrenched in the cross-fertilization of informal and formal socioeconomic formations. This mode of operation is culturally embedded, and at the same time, owes its practices to a complex of historical nation-building events. However, credit is not often given to the industry's mode of operation as one with known merits in the arena of global media production standards. Moreover, the political, organizational, and cultural factors that shape national governance structures have affected the media system and impacted the production and distribution of television formats. Thus, the rise of video film to prominence in the country resulted from several internal and external factors that triggered demands for alternative sources of entertainment.

The media industry in Nigeria evolved from the need to educate, inform, and enlighten the populace. Alongside the fulfilment of these purposes, the government used the media as a tool for propaganda. The major transitions of these administrative activities in the country span from missionary journalism through the colonial to the post-colonial eras. Ogunsiji (1989) identified four distinct evolution classifications of the Nigerian media industry development as the era of missionary journalism (1846-1863); the period of the alien-dominated press (1863-

1924); the era of the emergence of the indigenous press (1914-1960), and the new era (1960-date). In all these eras, media played and continues to play the role of the agent of information dissemination, change and transmission of cultures, tradition, politics, and entertainment. Media also inculcates ethical values and behaviours in their audiences through corporate social responsibility announcements and advertisements. For example, radio and television programmes broadcast on the dangers of cigarette smoking, drug abuse, child abuse, alcoholism, etc., fall in this category.

Nigeria's colonial authority controlled her initial media development according to their economic and political interests, which explains why most of its early press targeted British investors and colonists. Kintz (2021) rightly observed that France tended to suppress the development of the indigenous press in its colonies and emphasized assimilation of the native population to French culture. Nyamnjoh (2005) informs that the British were more tolerant of native cultural contents in indigenous publications in comparison to other colonial authorities in the West Africa sub-region but certainly did not encourage a critical press. However, an overview of current media practices and trends in West Africa with Ghana and Nigeria as a case study by Kintz (2021) found a new era has emerged. This emergence is one of global communications controlled by transnational media corporations in league with local government affiliates whose primary interests are commercial.

There are obvious opportunities for new knowledge in the field of television programmes formats, firstly, by reflecting on the informalization of the media system (in which a format is adapted) due to national governance structures. Secondly, by considering the unique characteristics of the media system (such as informalization of cultures and practices), which influence the adaptation of television programmes formats, as opportunities for innovation of culture. For example, the homegrown production and distribution of films through cassettes and compact discs uniquely represent what is identified as small-screen cinema. Thus, it should

also depend on cable television and satellite television for distribution. The implication is that films in their large production numbers share an audience for format programmes. Film producers are, therefore, taking this opportunity to cross-produce between film and television format content. For example, executive and main producers of films may fluidly transition into the production of a global television format using their existing network as a take-off ground. This is becoming more urgent as audience distractions from traditional cultural global television programmes formats of entertainment shows by the new media (social media, OTT TV, etc.) that are easily available and accessible with mobile phones are increasingly real.

Objective of the study.

This research first considers the history of the Nigerian media industry to understand the Nigerian media as a gateway into understanding formats in the country. Important insights can be found on the present-day nature and structures of operation, together with the reasons and roots of interactions between film and television media sectors. Furthermore, the media industry's role towards national development – from national to regional politics, education, entertainment, and economic institutions – is a means of understanding the production and dissemination of formats in Nigeria at various points in time.

Bourdieu's sociological concepts are an excellent tool for explaining these social conditions whereby television format adaptation is affected by broader Nigerian media cultures and dynamics. Alongside, Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), which entails the observation and analysis of documents, are strategic for examining and interpreting conditions of production and dissemination in the media industry using a case study format.

The Apprentice Africa is used as a case study to represent a specific example of a good product of the media system whose production shows a culture of informalized practices

prevalent in the country. Its analysis aims to help conclude that informalized production ecosystem is a potential environment for cultural innovation.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is an account of the on-going research within the School of Media to investigate global formats and their roles in cultural innovation. The Apprentice Africa format production and broadcast within the broadcasting environments of Africa is employed as case study. It comprises seven chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 examines the background of media landscape of Nigeria from the historical perspectives of the media industry with a view to understanding the nature and structures of television formats, film industry and possible relationship between film and television sectors. It is explained that political, organizational, and cultural factors that shape the country's governance also impact print and electronic media and film industry and consequently affect the production and distribution of television formats. The diagrammatic representation of the study area is presented together with the governance structures over the years and their consequences for media industry. This chapter also documents the research statement of problem and objectives.

Chapter 2 focuses on understanding globalisation and informalization of media industries. It provides reviews of pertinent literatures on this subject matter and shows that there has been a lack of attention to the working of media systems operating within cultural and historical contexts outside of the recognition of Western spheres of influence and practices. This chapter also presents the roles of television programmings, global value chain (GVC), informal media practices and transnational cultural formats production on cultural globalisation. Informalizations in Nigeria's film industry are extensively covered

Chapter 3 presents the field of global television formats, including establishment of definitions of television format and genre associated with this research. Literature reviews covering historical development of television formats together with the key concepts of trade, adaptation, copyright, and legislations for protection are detailed. Understanding these concepts is necessary in the subsequent establishment of boundaries and models involved in the traditional processes of global television formats exchanges and the existing legal issues regarding practices in informal global formats production.

Chapter 4 presents a conceptual model necessary to explain routine global format production within the broadcasting environments of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. To this end, the study employs Bourdieu's sociological concepts of habitus, fields, and forms of capital in understanding the relationship between society and television formats production in Nigeria. It is also shown how the national media's habitus, fields and forms of capital may be used to explain the interactions between informalized media production practices and change and/or innovation. This chapter also details the methodological design of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) for the research data evaluation.

Chapter 5 gives a comprehensive discussion of the choice and features of the research case study of *The Apprentice Africa* global television format as a key format central to the analysis on informalizations and interactions between television and film sectors of the media industry. Its unique feature of contestants interacting with society rather than isolated from the society during the format programme production is highlighted. *The Apprentice Africa* format production technique, including the production crew and description of the premier episode are also discussed.

Chapter 6 discusses issues of media landscape indigenous to Nigeria that provide fresh/new insights on informal cultures and practices identified in the preceding chapter. It

considers the interactions between the local cultures and global format as strategic in the production of *The Apprentice Africa* television format. The chapter also documents pertinent imperative lessons from Nigeria's unique film industry. Other emerging aspects of Nigeria's media industry highlighted include economic rationale for local content, ethnoreligious influence on media content, indigenous languages, and Nigerian Pidgin English in media content.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusion of the research work undertaken, including the contributions of the research to body of knowledge in the subject matter. Some recommendations of potential areas for future studies in the field of media cultural practices in Nigeria are proffered.

Conclusion

Chapter one considered the interplay between national politics/nation-building and the media industry. Thus, it presented explanations that political, organizational, socioeconomic, and cultural factors that influence governance also impact the media industry and consequently affect the production and distribution of television format. Then, it introduced *The Apprentice Africa*, the local version (adaptation) of the hugely successful and popular American global television format franchise, The Apprentice, as a case study. The show's production is an opportunity for evaluating informalization, cross-pollination of the film and television industry, and cultural innovation from globalisation in Nigeria. Finally, the chapter also provided the study's problem statement, objectives, and scope of work.

Chapter 2 – Understanding Globalisation and Informalization of Media Industries

Introduction

The emergence of cultural global television formats has become a prominent feature and indeed hallmark of media globalisation in the last decades. Characteristics of global formats such as licensing, co-production, and adaptation have facilitated globalisation through cultural exchanges across national televisual spaces (Keane, 2004a). Hence media globalisation studies now combine the areas of formats and globalisation (Oren and Shahaf, 2012) as a new way to understand how television influences cultures. However, focus on globalisation within these twin areas of studies revolves around 'more recent trends in media globalisation, namely the "communication revolution" of the 1990s'. This label is used to describe the industrial, economic, cultural, and ideological transformations that swept the globe, together with innovations in media transmission and reception technologies such as satellite, cable, and digital media (Oren and Shahaf, 2012). Thus, studies show a lack of attention to the working of media systems that operate within cultural and historical perspectives outside of the recognition of western spheres of influence and practices. For example, there is a significant silence in studies of media systems in developing countries and their informal sectors that make up a substantial part of their production practices.

As Mazumdar (2015, p. 26) notes about informal media industry workers, 'there is another critical dimension that has not yet received adequate attention: the social, economic, and cultural context of the lowest rung of the workforce in the world's biggest media Industries'. Such a lower-end workforce of the entertainment industry is sizable, with its members constituting a major part of the economy's informal sector. Acknowledging the workforce, for example, the stunt artists, body doubles, dancers, junior artists, makeup artists,

lower-end technicians, and spot boys that constitute the informal economy, Mazumdar identifies them as 'the backbone of our media Industries' (p. 26). Also, there are few documentaries and some journal articles available on these film workers, to date, and more so, limited academic writing exists on this vast body of industry personnel highlighting their lives, social context and working conditions. Therefore, there is an urgent need for an approach to production as a form of culture that recognizes that various kinds of personnel present themselves as workers in a modern mediatized society, making media outputs (Mazumdar, 2015). Accordingly, it is not surprising that the contributions of these identified workforces, whose activities belong to the informal economy, are also critical in media production and, by extension, globalisation of the media. The following section reviews current media globalisation discourses, including the role of informal processes in the globalisation of media industries and its implications for the field of global formats. This is necessary to explain the impact of informalization of global formats on media globalisation.

Globalisation - Opportunities and Challenges for Cultural Globalisation in Media Industries and the Role of Informal Processes

Globalisation has no commonly adopted definitions. However, it is widely accepted as a worldview based upon the interdependence of nations, economies, cultures, and populations due to cross-country trades in goods and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information. It can also be studied in different dimensions such as economic, political, cultural, and environmental (Mariadoss, 2018). Although globalisation is marked mainly by economic activities, alongside politics, its focus is on its cultural dimensions. Globalisation thus creates opportunities as well as challenges for cultural exchanges which take place during cross-border activities.

Today's heavily globalized world had its origins soon after the end of the second world war. From factories to the high streets, goods taking distant journeys across country borders became one of the signatures of globalisation. The allied nations had created a rules-based system for international commerce and finance to permit companies, products, science, and technology to move across borders. The world would enter into an era known as hyper-globalisation by the 1990s, making it more interconnected than it ever was before. This era was when China became the big new player on the scene by joining the world trade organization. Alongside the initial player, the United States, China grew to dominate global trade. China attracted expansions from multinational companies into its shores, where these companies would begin to spread worldwide. The years 1990 to 2008 marked an increase in the total trade in goods and services from 39% to 61% of world GDP. This great globalisation boom allegedly created opportunities for billions of people to lift themselves out of poverty. As far as the west was concerned, consumers began to enjoy cheaper and more accessible travel and goods (*The Economist*, 30 September 2020). Thus, globalisation presents huge potentials of narrowing down the existing imbalances of the control over capital, technology, and media and communication industries between developed and developing countries over time.

Globalisation birthed the world's interconnectedness from cross-country integration in political, economic, cultural, social, and technological dimensions. Economically, firms in less industrialised countries could now tap into more and larger markets worldwide to become part of international production networks and supply chains that form central conduits of trade (Mariadoss, 2018). The political dimension involved the enablement of free trade among countries. For instance, international governance institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) stepped in to begin regulating trade practices by countries to avoid trade barriers to open market entry. The results were availability of goods and services, improvement of national competitiveness and attraction of direct foreign investment. In addition,

multinational corporations easily expanded to other countries by either establishing outpost operations, outsourcing functions, or both. This expansion, in turn, facilitated the creation of employment opportunities and made it easier and less cumbersome in initial costs for countries to enter global markets. The spinoff is poverty reduction globally (which is considered absolute, rather than relative poverty reduction), availability of more access to capital flows, technology, human capital, cheaper imports, and larger export markets, and consumers enjoyed more affordable products. Economic outcomes of these expansions included outsourcing functions that spread capital and risks of doing business, promoting foreign investment, and providing a basis to mitigate the migration of skilled labour to industrialized countries to seek employment. Other outcomes included integration and international standardization of products and services and practices among countries of their operations.

Globalisation has also yielded great significance for communication. For instance, forces of globalisation and "informatization", which have great importance for communication, have already caused changes in some industries, policies, cultures and societies and societies and communities have no choice but to take part in this new global communication (Soporoni and Horga, 2008). Informatization is the process by which information technologies such as the internet or other communication means transfer economic and social relations so that the cultural and economic barriers are reduced to a minimum (Kluver, 2000). Informatization is thus a spreading instrument for these changes in globalisation. The globalisation of communication also follows economic and military globalisation: the ideas, information and people are following the economic and military fluxes transforming societies and markets, and at the same time, affecting their knowledge and behaviours, as well as their attitudes towards culture, society, and politics. However, globalisation based on communication is also arguably generating exclusion rather than incorporating the whole world because it is not equally accessible to everyone. 'The numbers are more than enough for revealing it: 90% of internet

users are Westerners; in 2004, in the USA, there were 195 million internet servers, in Europe 22 million, whereas in Africa only 300,000; the city of New York alone has more phone channels than the entire continent of Africa' (Soporoni and Horga, 2008, p. 270). Therefore, for a country to participate in the globalisation process, it must gather a minimum level of the required means and infrastructure to be connected to the rest of the world.

Today, the trading system relies strongly on advances in transportation, and most importantly, on media and communication industries in lengthy and complex supply chains. Thus, flows of communication have been identified as crucial drivers of globalisation. The direction of such flows remains at the center of globalisation discourses (Georgiou and Silverstone, 2007; Thussu, 2007; Boyd-barrett *et al.*, 2009). With flows of communication predominantly originating from the west, globalisation has increased Western cultural influence in other parts of the world. Yet, it is similarly responsible for making alternative models based on cultural, institutional, and historical backgrounds. Hence, the possibilities of increasing these alternative models have arguably created more diversity than uniformity (UNESCO, 1998). Thussu (2007, p. 10) argues that cultural influences need to be propagated from multiple directions – that is, from other parts of the world to the West and the west to the rest. A more comprehensive flow of media needs to include the global, transnational, and geo-cultural flow of media to capture broader realities of societies being mediated. Thus, the proposition of "dominant flows" and contra-flows, also termed "subaltern flows", captures the need for more global attention towards industries like the Nigerian media. As described later, dominant flows primarily emanate from the global North, with the United States at its core, then Britain, and Japan in that order. Conversely, contra-flows originate from the erstwhile peripheries of global media industries, including transnational and geo-cultural regions. Transnational and geo-cultural regions [subaltern flows] such as Southern urban creative hubs as Cairo, Hong Kong and Mumbai, trading in cultural goods (Curtin, 2003) show media traffic

is not just one way. Therefore, cultural globalisation may suffer from partial global representation.

Despite the technical possibility of more direct means of communication and/or interaction with different cultural contexts, individuals still most frequently engage with "the global" not simply through communication technology but, more specifically, through mass-mediated texts. This means that the most influential global cultural producers/distributors still hold the greatest power to shape the global imagination even though people may create and distribute their own alternative cultural products (Darling-Wolf, 2018, p. 126). Furthermore, appreciation for the U.S.- produced texts and the recognition that "America" still maintains a privileged symbolic position in the global imagination does not necessarily translate into an upbeat assessment of the United States or into a desire to adopt values and/or practices associated with its society or culture. For instance, commenting that "the United States, it's magical, there's a magical side. Before it was El Dorado," a French woman in her 20s nevertheless noted that she had an "extremely bad image" of the United States and "hated their politics" (Darling-Wolf, 2018, p. 129).

Darling-Wolf (2018) presents how the historical omnipresence of the United States' cultural products shaped the French and Japanese media consumers' global imaginations their respective cultural landscapes. Darling-Wolf also speaks to a relative lack of exposure to "non-native" cultures on the part of United States audiences influences their global imagination. Hence individuals' experience of "the global" remains largely imagined (Lule, 2012, p. 55), and the product of their engagement with various transnationally distributed commodities or cultural texts rather than a sustained relationship with individuals living in different places under different conditions. For example, media consumers in France, Japan, and the United States provide a broader reflection on how the global imagination takes shape in individuals' daily lives and different contexts. According to a French consumer, "we are always more or

less influenced by something, some images" … A Japanese consumer states, "the only information we can get comes from the media, television, newspaper, or the internet". A consumer in the United States also says, "I think my interest in looking beyond my immediate (surroundings) was really through TV and film and books… I think it's interesting in the US because I think media can keep you insular, but I think there is also opportunity anywhere you are to expand your horizon" (Darling-Wolf, 2018, p. 125). These responses are in complete agreement with their global imagination, which comes from transnational media. In addition, the historical significance of globally distributed cultural forms adds a significant dimension to their continuing influence.

However, the premier position of complete economic domination of global cultural industries held by the United States has experienced threats. This is due to the entry of other major players such as Japanese animation companies, Bollywood, Endemol, etc., into the competition for a piece of the world mass media market. Endemol, for instance, a major European competitor of America's dominance has formed significant global presence with operations in over 30 countries and over 300 broadcasters. These include a branch in the USA based in Los Angeles, California which produces popular global formats such as *Fear Factor, Deal or No Deal, Extreme Makeover* and much more. Endemol also has a long-standing presence in UK, India, Australia, as well as Africa, with original formats running consecutively over many years (Reference For Business, n.d). Despite such threats, "America" still holds a central position in the global imagination of the French and Japanese media. Indeed, the historical dominance of US popular cultural texts has resulted in consumers around the globe being familiar with Disney, Hollywood, and US television series. In addition, it has also resulted in a relative lack of reciprocal exposure to "non-native" culture on the part of US audiences, at least when compared to the other cultural contexts of this work. Darling-Wolf observes that the different histories of transnational influences in the three countries have

resulted in US media consumers having a different relationship to "global" texts than their French and Japanese counterparts. Therefore, there is a need to decentralise the US cultural experience in our analyses of global processes.

The media and communication industries play indispensable roles in facilitating globalisation by enhancing information dissemination and exchanges between parent multinational corporations and their outposts. Their telecommunications and the internet are central to these roles, especially in sustaining the dismantling of economic, social, and cultural boundaries both within and among countries of the world. In this manner, the benefits, and opportunities inherent in globalisation far outweigh the losses and challenges. Siochru (2004) argues that content (or "copyright") industries, such as television, music, video, film, and the internet, are at the forefront of cultural preparation for consumerism. Such cultural preparation is an essential precondition and accompaniment to opening new markets for various products and breaking down cultural and other barriers. This positioning of content industries is first, directly, through advertising. Second, it is through indirectly promoting consumerist and individualistic lifestyles.

Media industries rely on various forms of culture – which they trade and disseminate – for globalisation to happen within the industry. Informalized practices in media production in some more prominent but less celebrated media industries continue to have significance for globalisation, particularly the media. While largely ignored in scholarship, these practices should not be seen as ones that only necessarily create more diversity than uniformity, but as cultural forms that have been ignored in the scheme of globalisation of the media. The various ways in which aspects of the media industry are significant in globalisation are presented in the following subsections.

Role of Television in Globalisation

Since media industries play essential roles in globalisation, it is imperative to see how television increases globalisation. Since its inception, television has aided globalisation mainly by driving the flows of information from the west to the rest of the world and vice versa. The relevance of television in global media flows is revealed by studies showing that 'despite the growth of the internet in the late 1990s to early 2000s, it was being used only by about 15 per cent of the world's population in 2006, while television and film had a much larger audience base (Thussu, 2007, p. 10). Thus, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, television and satellite facilitated flows that were, by nature, multivocal, multimedia, and multidirectional. This facilitation happened through their contribution to a global media landscape which represents a complex terrain of these natures of flows. However, in addition to television and satellite, these flows were also made possible by 'digital technology, and the growing use of online communication, partly because of the deregulation and privatisation of broadcasting and telecommunication networks' (Thussu, 2007, p.11).

However, television's consumers and cross-border interests have also been an important consideration in increasing media flows. As Thussu (2007) notes, the shift from a state-centric and national view of media to one defined by consumer interest and transnational markets has been a critical factor in the expansion and acceleration of media flows: from North to South, from East to West, and from South to South, their volume varies according to the size and value of the market. For example, the transnational global media flows, with the Indian film industry and the Latin American telenovelas as significant examples, have a robust regional presence but are also aimed at audiences outside their primary constituencies. Parts of a UNESCO (2005, p. 44) report on 'International Flows of Selected Goods and Services' illustrate growth strategy as 'expansion to non-traditional countries, both industrialised and emerging, such as Japan and China', thereby supporting the above view. This also implies that

transcending linguistic and geographical boundaries is a crucial ability of transnational television, making it particularly important in relation to media flows. This notion agrees with Hall's argument that television is central to a 'global mass culture', dominated 'by the image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising' (Hall, 1991, p. 27).

Television replaced print media in bringing about imagined communities within nations. However, the boundaries of the nation-state defined its diffusion until the rise of satellite television transmission, the internet, and DVD. It is noteworthy that cross-border trade in finished programmes characterized even the earliest television. As Thussu states, nationality scarcely matters in this market-oriented media ecology, as producers view the audience principally as consumers and not as citizens (2007, p. 11). Accordingly, control of television by the government and few public and private channels have not been able to stop "the whole world" from entering people's homes. Such entrances occurred through means like the importation of programmes, news, formats, and practices, and thus standards and genres, styles, and tastes. In other words, television enabled a move from national broadcasting into global television trade and production. Therefore, 'television is simultaneously very national and very international' (Kuipers, 2011, p. 542).

Television, as a purveyor of global culture, is paramount in transnational media. It has caused events in one part of the world to affect peoples and societies far away. However, this does not indicate that the traditional ways of a society can be ignored due to globalisation. This is what Kuipers (2011) attempts to explain in the study comparing the globalisation of television fields in European Countries of France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Poland. The analysis is done by comparing the "opening up" of national cultural fields and the formation of a transnational field with its own standards, practices, and cultural geography. This analysis can also be considered by integrating Bourdieu's concept of a field of cultural production with globalisation theory. Cultural production here is the struggle for recognition and the power to

decide what counts as worthy of recognition. In contrast, globalisation theory represents the cultural globalisation of opening of national fields to international markets and standards.

The following section provides further insights into globalisation of the media by looking at its global value chain. This further enhances an understanding of a combination of processes, including informalized activities, constituting a vibrant global media trade system.

Global Value Chain (GVC) of Globalisation

The Global Value Chain (GVC) framework helps evaluate the economic and cultural importance of the trail of activities involved in global trade. Hopkins and Wallerstein (1986, p. 159) introduce the Global Value Chain through their "commodity chain" concept within a world system theory. Their commodity chain concept was used to establish the potential and extent to which a capitalist world economy had been an organising force and a structural reality from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Hopkins and Wallerstein identified the concept of "commodity chain" as a network of labour and production processes whose result is a finished commodity (Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986, p. 159). According to Feenstra (1998), the GVC perspective is useful as a unique tool to comprehend the global economy characterized by a twin process of international fragmentation of production, and at the same time, integration through trade. Gereffi (1994, p. 97) describes a chain as one consisting of 'a sequence of value adding activities' resulting in a finished commodity. Chalaby (2016) then demonstrates that television content production is increasingly being coordinated on a global scale by a newly emergent television content value chain. This value chain comprises of content production, distribution, and aggregation.

Further, Chalaby (2016, p.38) notes that the old television production model was disassembled through "a combination of factors, including economic growth, rising industrial complexity, deregulation measures, trade liberalisation and new technology, consumer demand

and preferences" (p.38). Therefore, media firms progressively concentrated on those activities in which they retained a competitive advantage resulting from this process. Production segments that would gradually form a chain through which TV content began to travel from inception to consumption became the result of the strategy. As broadcasters stepped up foreign outsourcing in search of the best programmes and formats, together with the period when their own suppliers expanded across borders, this chain began to gain international scope.

Chalaby's analysis revealed that 'the formation of the TV content value chain has given an opportunity to many new businesses to flourish and remain independent' (p.52). Also, 'globalisation is at once a structural reality – television is globalizing because value-adding sequences have become international and a structuring reality – firms' decisions and strategies are coordinated by a value chain that is global in scope' (p.54). Again, whereas international fragmentation remains prevalent in the TV industry, alternating reintegration through trade is happening, explaining the GVC model's relevance to globalisation. An instance of this is the cultural television format, whose advent deepened global media flows. However, such formats are operated as Intellectual Property (IP) with know-how that falls within television shows and travelling alongside ready-made tapes.

Role of Informal Practices in Cultural Globalisation of the Media

As earlier suggested, informal markets make up a significant part of media industries, hence also contributing to the cultural globalisation of the media. Mattelart (2012) provides informed analysis of the nature of the more or less informal networks through which pirated audiovisual products circulate, the modes through which they are appropriated, and the changes occurring with the rise of the internet. Mattleart's analysis represented different experiences of Latin America, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe Societies. It presented a deviation from discourses criminalising piracy put forward by organizations defending the interests of their main global copyright-based industries to a basic understanding of the social, economic,

cultural, and political factors influencing piracy in the countries surveyed. Although media product piracy involves illegal copying, utilization, and distribution of the product in any manner other than that stipulated in the license agreement, its cultural significance remains of great necessity. Therefore, it is possible to understand piracy from the perspectives of transnational pressures exerted in the field of copyright and infringement of national copyright laws and regulations.

According to Mattelart, piracy practices are inscribed mainly in the history of consumer habits. In other words, these practices are far from being the mere result of digital developments. Examples pooled from the different countries studied are illustrative: informal economies in communications have a strong presence in urban environments in sub-Saharan Africa. Hence, rather than being 'a declining marginal or underground economy,' it represents 'a growing powerful sector with which the state and formal industries have to deal' (Chéneau-Loquay, 2011, p. 160). Moreover, around the world: in South Korea, 'underground consumption practices' (Thevenet, 2011, p. 224); in Tunisia, 'escape from the cultural and political hegemony of the state television' (Ferjani, 2011, p. 79); in Algeria, 'the pirate access to the images of foreign Lands is not only sought for the entertainment it provides, but it is also a means of "getting away" from a daily life made of economic difficulties and democratic insufficiencies' (Labandji, 2011, p. 127); in Russia and Bulgaria, 'clandestine cultural practices' of the Soviet Union era by the population to access forbidden western products, mainly through audio and video cassettes (Dimitrova, 2011; Kiriya, 2011, p. 243), abound. The above illustrations reveal that piracy problems are also 'intimately interwoven into the social, cultural and political structures' (Mattelart, 2012, p. 738). They also show the existence of underground routes of communications operated through the informal economy. In turn, cultural globalisation is achieved via these routes. These lend credence to Lobato's assertion that 'informal production and exchange are spread in rich and poor nations, in the global north

and south, on the streets and on the internet' (2013, p. 81). It is also easily deducible that piracy possesses the 'ability to be responsive to the transformations of economic and technological contexts' (Mattelart, 2012, p. 740). Accordingly, the informal economy of communications is arguably not less diverse than the formal, but rather 'present as well, and sometimes unnoticed – in the most mundane and everyday media experiences' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 13).

Clearly, the informal economy contributes to globalisation from communication flows through activities commonly seen as parallel media marketing and non-professional media production and distribution systems. As an example, Thomas and Kumar's (2004a) exploration of high profile licensed television programme format adaptations or copycatting and unlicenced adaptations or cloning in India examined clones of local adaptations of foreign format programmes and clones of other locally originated formats. For this, they contended that any investigation of 'copycat' television in India, as in many other developing countries, needs to be done considering its rich cultural and economic contexts. Knowing the contexts is critical to understanding both the apparent divergence and convergence of the television industry's practices and the reception by audiences, as compared with the developed world. They traced television development in India, initially from a tool for economic development and as aid to national integration, until the emergence of transnational satellite television in the 1990s. StarTV, the pioneer satellite broadcasters in Asia via AsiaSat1, ZeeTV launched by local and foreign Indian investors and local programming production companies Doordarshan (DD) and United Television (UTV), competed for a share of the higher socio-economic segments of Indian audiences. India's size (geographically, politically, economically, and culturally, and especially as the second-most populous country in the world) presents a huge potential market for trade in a television programme format, which is one of the critical ingredients of the entire globalisation cultures.

The emergence of transnational satellite television led to unprecedented growth of TV channels in the 1990s that there has been a boom in Indian programme production, original, cloned or copycatted. Arguably, these developments, together with the runaway success of its copycat programme, *Who Wants to Be A Millionaire?,* symbolise the competition of StarTV's transformation from a global, pan-Asian up-market broadcaster to a quasi-domestic one dominating the Indian mass-market. They conclude that the lack of stringent copyright laws, the immense difficulty of copyright owners enforcing them, or the high costs involved in collecting copyright revenue. In contrast with the potentially low-income stream, these are all factors that add to the attractiveness of cloning rather than copycatting by programme producers in India and other developing countries. Copycatting is multifaceted, including 'borrowing, inserting and modifying other cultural texts to augment local production' (Fung, 2004, p. 74). There is usually a copycatting of television format, programme content or indeed the entire television programme. It involves reproduction or replicating the original cultural context in another version without the inherent financial risks to new products to reap profit. Cloning, on the other hand, is the practice of imitating or mimicking the entire original television format model, with either little or no innovation, to satisfy the tastes of local audiences. It involves 'copying of the entire format', 'no licensing and often opportunistic' (Yu-Li and Yi-Hsiang, 2004, p. 57). However, the jury may be still out among producers and audiences on when precisely a programme is an unlicensed copy, licensed clone, or inspired use of a genre and whether it is relevant in an increasingly globalized television market of hybridised cultural products. Legal perspectives of formats acquisition are discussed extensively in a section of the following chapter.

The travel of Global Television Formats from global media industries to local media industries and markets exposed different countries and regions to the same content with possibilities for culturally specific ways of adapting them. These cultural specificities also

implied practices deviating from global standards, which are norms in their local industries, becoming crucial parts of adaptation processes.

Role of Transnational Cultural Production in Cultural Globalisation

Cultural production ultimately emerges into cultural globalisation as national fields are prone to open to international markets and standards. This can be explained, starting with the notion that cultural production yields power struggles. These struggles occurring between actors competing to get recognised by institutions, persons who want to have the capacity to grant recognition, and actors who eventually have the power to grant these recognitions constitute Bourdieu's conceptual 'field of cultural production'. Furthermore, as this field crystallizes, the actors that have gained control then determine 'the tastes of consumers and producers, setting aesthetic standards inside the field and in society at large'. In turn, the outcome of these struggles leads to "cultural consecration and legitimation" that extend beyond the field itself into global arenas (Kuipers, 2011, p. 542). Explaining further, Kuipers posits that:

> Cultural production always entails a struggle over standards even when these standards are thoroughly popular: what constitutes a good quiz show, telenovela, sitcom, or video clip? Such issues of quality and legitimacy, at times, superseded moneymaking, and market shares. Even a field with as little autonomy as television is characterized by a tension between the short-term logic of the market and more long-term striving for quality and artistic innovation. This tension between culture and economy increasingly plays out on the transnational level (Kuipers, 2011, p. 543).

By comparing the internationalization of television in France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Poland, Kuipers observed that they respectively followed different trajectories into this transnational arena. 'These trajectories depended on the power dynamics and institutional relations in the national field and the position of the TV field vis-à-vis other fields, particularly, the government. Government policies directly influence incorporation in the transnational field' (p.554). When considering a (formerly) protectionist France and Poland, buyers are more

hesitant to buy imports. This differs from buyers from "transnationalized" Italy and the Netherlands, who are less reluctant, therefore more receptive to imports. All four countries are still currently incorporated in a transnational TV field. Hence, 'this field is transnational but not exactly global: It has the United States as its main center, with secondary centers in Europe (United Kingdom, Germany) and some Japanese and Latin American connections' (p.554).

Kuipers (2011) answers the question of how national fields influence or moderate the process by which national cultural fields "open up" to transnational cultural exchange. In turn, the author also answers how the globalisation of television affects national cultural production. This suggests that the global cultural field simply disperses to the transnational cultural fields and vice versa. Neither global cultural fields nor transnational fields disappear in the exchange. It is noteworthy that successful cultural production is the one that fits the socio-cultural and institutional contexts of its new territory. Kuipers also derives that 'this process of incorporation in the transnational cultural field is mediated by market structure, government interventions, and particularly, cultural policies, such as regulation of imports and stimulation of national production' (p.549). Also, that – 'transnational cultural trade implies the creation of transnational standards, professional habitus, and organizational forms as well as economic value' (p.554-555). And that – 'national institutions do not disappear. Rather, national and transnational fields increasingly intersect, and national fields maintain their own dynamics and relative autonomy even when incorporated into a transnational arena' (p.555).

Local Media Advantage for Globalisation

The importance of transnational cultural production for globalisation has been discussed in the preceding section. Such importance also extends to local media [apart from regional media] within which such productions occur. There has been expanding influence of regional media and its interface with global media corporations operating across the African continent. Hence, Adejunmobi (2011) identified the following issues as summarily expressed. Firstly, the

regional media corporations represent a greater threat to local media production than global media production. Secondly is that the threat often consists in seeking to co-opt rather than suppress local media production. Thirdly, the likelihood of being co-opted, accompanied by a gradual loss of autonomy, is greatest where local media have achieved a high level of success at attracting relatively large audiences, independently of both regional and global media networks. However, the expanding reach of regional media corporations working in tandem with global corporations across the African continent and in other parts of the developing world does not inhibit the growth of many forms of local media production.

Adejunmobi contends that the scale of piracy in Nigeria means that both global and regional media corporations have minimal incentives for becoming involved in local film production and distribution in that site beyond what Pay TV offers. Also, most individual copies of Nigerian film sales occur outside the distribution networks controlled by regional or global corporations. However, 'widespread piracy also means that these producers will continue to favour smaller, rather than larger investments in the productions that they fund' (p.73). The immediate consequence of continued lower levels of funding is that operating 'profitably on a scale of production that is unsustainable for highly capitalized regional and global media corporations' (p. 73) strengthens rather than diminishes piracy operations.

Another factor that has worked to the advantage of small-time marketers, as the study highlights, is that 'in a region of the world where well-equipped cinema theatres are rare, or expensive, or considered sites of vice' (Adejunmobi, 2011). This is corroborated by Larkin (2008), 'film viewing is more frequently associated with small rather than big screen' (p.73). In keeping with this, unwillingness to subscribe to satellite television by fans of locally produced films in Africa due to their past film viewing practices may lead to more preferences for buying individual films in the open market than watching them on satellite television channels. Thus, the dominant regional media corporation, DSTV, must continue to dedicate

specific channels to Nollywood and fragment the Nigerian films' audience along linguistics lines to remain relevant. However, it is common knowledge that domestic production of media necessarily incorporates local cultural effects and where local audiences have a choice, they usually prefer locally originated and produced television programme contents, especially in the local language. These are underlying issues that strongly favour mass production in the hugely popular small-scale Nigerian Nollywood films industry, which relies on direct-to-video distribution.

Effects of Media and Communication Policies on Globalisation

Global media governance was already in place well before the pressures of globalisation of communications and media policy. However, shifts in global communications policy began to result in the nation-state's regulatory power undergoing reconfigurations from the post-Second World war era to the era of globalisation of communications and media policy. Historically, shifts in global governance have resulted in the rise and decline of the so-called Fordist mode of regulation which, in terms of communication policy, reinforced a sense of national cohesion (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 74). Nevertheless, the bipolar ideological division of the world as defined through the Cold War remains central to the current definition of 'free' media and information flow. Meanwhile, the brutal legacy of colonialism continues to shape the problems and solutions in the field of global media and communication policy. Hence, for most post-colonial political leaders, nationalising communications infrastructure and using mass media to integrate fractured colonial nation-states was high on their agenda. Also, multilateral institutions and bilateral agreements that set the normative framework for the terms of domestic "development" mediated their national policy objectives (Chakravartty and Sarikakis, 2006).

However, the continuation of the Cold War in the 1960s compelled nation-states to split into adopting two models of media governance, namely state-owned media reflecting the Soviet model and privately owned commercial media reflecting the US model. The multilateral

institutions focused on communication, promoting modernization and Westernisation based on the already 'developed' experiences of Western Europe and the US (Schram, 1964; Tunstall, 1977). As a result, the rise of the Fordist mode (greater state intervention in markets and welfare provisions) became inevitable. This is reflected in the formerly colonized nations reconfigured as the Third World becoming the physical site of "hot wars" and the political battles over competing systems of governance. With the failures of the efforts of most post-colonial nation-states at modernization and development, neoliberal policy reforms focusing on the transformation of the state in shaping national policy began to emerge. Chakravartty and Sarikakis (2006) contend that the profound changes that take place in the field of global communication and media policy should be seen as a kind of 'reregulation' of neoliberal governance; meaning that the nation-state loses autonomy in relation to supranational regimes (WTO, World Bank, IMF, etc) and regional and local governance bodies. It has also meant the reorganization of the functions of the state to include 'partnership' with parastatal, non-governmental bodies as well as private capital. Finally, reregulation also includes the 'internationalisation of policy regimes' in effect blurring the distinction between domestic and foreign policy. Therefore, there is need to rethink the normative claims about public interest and social justice in a transnational, if not post-national, the era of policy practice. In Nigeria, the national broadcast stations replicate global broadcast structures and facilities, including media management and policy bequeathed by the colonial administration. Also, the pattern of establishing the first television in the country as an act of protesting the colonial administration produced a model of using television stations as political propaganda tools. The above issues 'conceived later years' paradigm of undue bureaucratisation and political domination of state media' (Betiang, 2013, p. 2). These imply that government policies together with the broadcasters, strongly influence television programme formats and their national adaptations production in the country.

Relative Importance of Colonialism and Postcolonialism in the Development of Nigerian Media Structures

Nigeria's media landscape has been dynamic since inception; changing periods of dominance from print, radio, television, and digital media in that order. The development of these media structures has brought in their wake some local responses to global sociocultural, economic, and political environments. They have also been affected by Nigerian social and political structures. The print medium first emerged during colonialism in 1859 when the Christian missionaries published the newspaper, Iwe Irohin, which served their primary purpose of evangelization and as well influencing indigenous people's education, socioeconomic and cultural well-being.

According to Egbon (1975) broadcasting in Nigeria was established during its colonial era in 1935, when Great Britain directed the Nigerian Posts and Telegraphs Department to develop a wired-wireless system for the country. Nwuneli (1985, p. 240) notes that the BBC radio distribution service (RDS) was designed, at that time, to "provide communication link between the colonial officer with the imperial home". Thus, while the Christian missionaries established the first print media structures in rural Nigeria, the colonial administration laid the structural foundations for radio broadcasting media in the cities of the country. These legacies of print and radio media structures of colonialism became the precursors to the development of other media structures for establishing television broadcasting and the film industry in the country.

By April 1951, the colonial administration established the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS), modelled after the BBC, and further created five radio broadcasting structures in the three regional capital cities of Enugu, Ibadan, Kaduna: northern commercial city of Kano, and the Federal capital city of Lagos. This NBS was, six years after, in April 1,1957

redesignated Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) by an act of parliament. Inwang documents what can describe the importance of the colonial administration's development of these media structures in the statement below as:

> The NBC provided on-the-job training opportunities for Nigerians, some of whom received management training by the BBC in Great Britain. Also a few indigenous Nigerian were broadcast so that Nigerians would not think that the British controlled government was too heavily involved in the country's broadcasting activities. Still, Nigerians were not satisfied with these changes for fear of government censorship and continued to insist on regional autonomy. The result was the establishment of three regional networks, one for each region, in addition to the federal network, with each representing its own interests, a power struggle began between the regional stations and the NBC as the date for British withdrawal drew near (Inwang, 1981, p. 2)

According to Egbon (1975) these regional power struggles led, first, to individual ownership of the broadcast and print media, and finally, to a 90 percent federal government acquisition of Nigeria's mass media, as at present. From the twenty years period between independence in 1960 and the beginning of second civilian democracy in 1979, the country moved from teething times of the first civilian democracy, 13 years of military interregnum, transition from regional government through 12 states structure in 1967 to 19 states structure in 1975. During these milestones, media structures increased considerably to situations where each state government either established or already concluded plans to establish own radio and television broadcasting structures. Thereafter, up to the current era, the importance of Postcolonialism in the development of media structures were seen as follows:

Rapid growth

Structures establishing radio and television broadcasting grew rapidly across the length and breadth of the country by both private and government agencies. The television stations increased from only 5, for only governments' (Federal and regional) ownership and management at independence in 1960 to be combined 92 stations, currently owned by Federal, State, and private commercial agencies.

Improved Broadcast Technologies

There was significantly improved television broadcasting technology transmission infrastructure. Apart from the conventional broadcast television known as over-the-air transmission via terrestrial radio waves bequeathed by colonialism, television is also now delivered to households in the country in several different ways, including over-coaxial-cables, called cable television, direct broadcast satellite (DBS) known as satellite television, streaming over the internet, and recorded optically on DVDs.

Emergence of the Film Industry

Postcolonialism era of media also led to the emergence of Nollywood film industry that makes significant contributions to the country's economy. Nosa Igbinadolor reports the emergence of the Nollywood film industry noting that:

> Okechukwu Ogunjiofor, a creative artist had developed a wonderful story fit for production but was without funding, so he partnered Kenneth Nnebue, a businessman, who imported VHS tapes from Taiwan. Making films with VHS camcorders was an inferior format to that which was obtainable in Hollywood, but it was an alternative method that would change the course of filmmaking in Nigeria. It was a partnership between creativity and the market that catalysed innovation, initiated a massive revolution in filmmaking and became phenomenal and a turning point for the Nigerian movie industry (Igbinadolor, 2022)

He further notes that in 2021 Nigeria's film industry contributed 2.3 percent and about 239 billion Naira ($660 million) to GDP and further projects that the industry will increase its export revenue earnings to over $1.0 billion.

Growth of Global Awareness for Nollywood

Nigeria's film industry, particularly the Nollywood sector, has created a global awareness of the existence and operations of informal media economy whereby creative industries policy seeks to formalize these networks, incorporating them into established circuits of international commerce, but cautions that "it also needs to acknowledge that informal economies have their

own logics and their own potential". He also notes that "it may well be that policymakers in the West can learn as much from developing nations about creative industries as 'they' can from 'us'" (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 338).

Business and Employment Opportunities

There was a massive creation of business and employment opportunities due to the growth of the media industry in this era. Akaniro (2020) notes that Nigeria's media and entertainment industry " is currently the second largest film producer in the world in terms of number of movies". She further reports that the Nollywood industry is articulated around a few major production centers like Lagos, Onitsha, Enugu, Asaba and Abuja. The distribution of the films also hinges on these same production centers as well as other major distribution points in Nigeria such as Aba. Akaniro also points out that other 'business opportunities include opening of cinemas in underserved cities, use of technological platforms to enhance distribution, for example Iroko TV and Netflix, training and capacity building for cinematography, scriptwriting and directing, and movies production equipment.

Grassroots Integration

Media structures have, since postcolonialism, been integral to government social grassroots mobilization and development programmes. Thus, all successive governments in the country have leveraged on the information dissemination characteristic of media for creating awareness of their programmes, including political campaigns, ethical reorientation, and revolution, War Against Indiscipline, Green Revolution among many others. Betiang (2013, p. 8)notes that "the popular programme formats that these government propaganda programmes engender have remained some kind of contribution to the programming history of television in Nigeria".

Emergence of Media's Regulatory Bodies

Establishment of media practitioners' regulatory body like the Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON) in 1972, which according to Maduka (1998) facilitated subsequent networking, which improved programming quality, sharing of management, and professional techniques.

The eras of colonialism and post colonialism were certainly of great importance to the development of the media in Nigeria as outlined above. These significances contribute to opportunities to further explore the Nigerian media in future studies.

Consequences of Global/ National/ Local Intersection Due to Globalisation

Darling-Wolf (2018) argues that global, national, and local are mutually constitutive parts of the same negotiation process of socio-cultural and national identities under the condition of globalisation. They use the fact that the genre of reality television is predicated on the local adaptation of highly global formats. For example, such negotiation took place in the adaptation of the reality television format, *Star Academy*, to the French national television market. Apparently, the show's construction of local, national, and global identities intersected with its narrative about race and culture to illustrate how these different dynamics are mutually constitutive and often contentious elements of contemporary cultural forms. Arguably, the rise of format as a preferred form of transnational exchange has inserted important new dynamics into global processes of transnational influence and their local negotiation. Hence, there is a subtle shift in global power relations to the extreme success of reality television starting in the first decade of the 21st century.

Furthermore, the move from selling "finished" and, consequently, significantly culturally marked media products to selling more "culturally neutral" formats has eroded the relative economic advantage of powerful countries. Such countries typically had the capital to develop extensive production facilities supported by a vast national market (Darling-Wolf,

2018, p. 23). The rise of the small Dutch company Endemol to the status of reality TV giant is illustrative of this shift. According to Andrejevic (2003, pp. 11–12), it has 'forced Hollywood producers to take an increasing interest in imported programming formats'.

Reality TV has had features highlighting its entanglement with the global/ national/local nexus. One of those features was the continuing relationship of the genre's global context of production and distribution. Another feature was the active engagement with the contemporary hypermediated environment. And the next feature was the creation of "translocal" relationships that may become more culturally significant than the "local" text's connection to its original format (Kraidy and Murphy, 2008). The pertinent highlights of the French version of *Star Academy* illustrating the process of localisation that global reality TV formats undergo when adapted to local cultural environments include: Participants' daily life steeped in references to what the audience was encouraged to interpret as "traditional" aspects of French culture; Modelling the organization of the school (Academy) after French education system; Offering the image of a reconciled French cultural context constructed across regional and generational barriers; References to various French customs to reinvigorate the otherwise rather dull reality of daily life at the Academy; Selection of Academy candidates and professors to reflect the diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural makeup of the French population (Darling-Wolf, 2018).

Furthermore, beyond localization, Darling-Wolf contends that the French version of Star Academy sketched an idealised version of France. This ideal placed France as a nation in touch with its traditions yet open to new forms of cultural production (even ones arising as expressions of racial or ethnic differences) if these were safely integrated within an acceptable vision of French national unity. Therefore, the case study points to the need for considering how the negotiation of the global/national/local nexus intersects with the construction of race, ethnicity, and trans-cultural relations in a contemporary era more assertively. Such an era may

be characterized by increased virtual interactions and permeated with a heightened awareness of processes of globalisation – how these dynamics shape, in other words, the imagination of the global. Similarly, this research case study, *The Apprentice Africa*, is illustrative of the global/transnational/national (local) nexus. It serves as the general framework within which nationally (locally) specific cultural tasks and business models are the new elements introduced as variations in the adaptation production. Cultural tasks may include informal street trading like 'selling skipping ropes, footballs, 'drink it, buy it', etc. Professional business models may include creating television advertisements for a Nigerian oil company, designing new uniforms for school children, etc.

Decline of Globalisation and Implications for Informalized Economies

Recent global developments have tremendously escalated the relevance of informal economies of the world. With the most recent critical global developments stirred up by a global pandemic, the coronavirus disease leading to total lockdowns and economic downslides, nations have refocused attention on local trade. This implies the rise of a new world, less global and more local. This also means a further absence of globalisation which had already begun to weather challenges of pre-covid. Globalisation (discussed broadly in the previous section), which saw its boom throughout the 1990s until the late 2000s, started to slow down due to the 2008 financial crisis leading to the shrinking of cross border investment, trade, bank loans and supply chains. The rise of populist leaders elected across the globe also felt the retreat of globalisation, championing nationalist policies, attacking immigration, and the existing global economy, igniting eventual trade wars (*The Economist*, 30 September 2020). It has also been argued that further deglobalisation of a post Covid-19 world is one that may hit developing countries most.

Between the 1980s and up to the mid-2000s, a panel of OECD country-level data revealed that labour flexibility, which is influenced by market deregulation, was positively

related to accounting surpluses on average. However, by the millennium, 'labour market rigidities were thought to be harmful in the face of international competition, and financial market development was seen to be the appropriate way to reconcile economic and social objectives' (Prete, 2015). For many reasons, therefore, the new world, post-Covid-19, will be politically, economically, and even technologically more local and less global.

> What we saw for 20-30 years with unfettered global trade, with unfettered global travel, with sourcing from China serving the world, I think we'll never go back to that. What we are likely to see is a messier world in future – one with elements of globalisation continuing, but with many other counter trends that lead to either regionalization, nationalization, localization – some form of degloblalisation. And so, we are going to a spiking world. We are going to see much more disruption" – (Warren, 2020)

As the slowing down of globalisation may affect global trade and drastically shorten supply chains, it may not all be bad news for informal economies, considering that their activities remain outside the control of the state and formal institutions. Indeed, metrics that have been used for formal economic analysis would not hold for informal economies if the latter was better understood. An example is the issue of 'labour flexibility', which entails the speed at which labour markets adapt to fluctuations and changes in society, the economy or production (Maira, 2020). This phenomenon enables workers to adjust working life and working hours towards their own preferences and to other activities, and have arguably become 'increasingly important, given the rapid changes in the world economy and the intensification of global competition' (Amadeo and Horton, 1997, p. 1; Jespen and Klammer, 2004). However, for formal economies, labour flexibility could mean 'a euphemism for pushing wages down and workers out' (World Bank, 1995).

On the other hand, for informal economies, labour flexibility could mean less or free from regulation, and market friendliness, permitting an unfettered thriving of underestimated markets and workforce. But in situations where wage rate is influenced more by supply and demand, labour flexibility impacts negatively on the economic and social security of the

workforce. This could also mean exposure to more consumption risk, particularly for low-wealth individuals.

The Global Covid-19 Effects on the Nigerian Media:

Apart from the monumental proportions of the accompanying human tragedy, the resulting disruptions in our globalized and interconnected world due to worldwide applications of lockdowns and restrictions in movements of people, goods and services as containment measures have changed the world as we know it. Data on global merchandise trade and trade in services contained in a recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) study corroborate this view in stating that:

> Growth in trade in goods and services declined in the first quarter of 2020, as the early effects of the pandemic began to be felt. An UNCTAD nowcast for trade in both goods and services detected a much more dramatic decline in second quarter compared with first quarter. The value of year-on-year merchandise trade is estimated to have declined by 18percent in the second quarter and trade in services by 21percent in the same period… While the value of total trade in services fell by 7.6percent in the first quarter of 2020, travel services were particularly hard hit, falling by more than 24percent (UNCTAD, 2020, p. 15)

It is seen that the Covid-19 pandemic has had negative impacts on the landscapes of global merchandise trade and trade in services. It also affected global production, including formal and informal media economies, and the livelihood of the vulnerable daily-paid workforces. These consequences are unlikely to end soon as the virus continues to mutate to other variants and their vaccines containment measures are grossly inadequate for worldwide application.

Although all sectors of the Nigerian economy are affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the media and communication industries appear resilient to adapting to changes following continually changing consumers' demand patterns. They are witnessing increasing demand for information, entertainment, and education of consumers locked down and strictly restricted to their homes. This is in addition to the need for schools at all levels and businesses to adopt online education and working-from-home models. As these activities are transformed from

conventional face-to-face interactions to virtual/digital operations that require a shift to cloud IT, the service providers have increased their capacity to host. *Ulesson*, a new start-up mobile service provider involved in mobile learning applications reported over 400,000 new installs over the four-week lockdown period (Ogunfuwa, 2020).

According to a Nigerian member firm of the international KPMG network, in May 2020, the Nigeria Communication Commission (NCC) alluded to the increase in the volume of voice and data traffic over the past few weeks, which has necessitated the installation of more fibre-optic cables in the country to boost capacity. They reported that one of Nigeria's large telecom services providers, MTN Nigeria, recently released its unaudited financial report for the first quarter of 2020, showing increased data revenue by 32.4%, Fintech revenue by 22.9%; voice revenue by 12.7% and service revenue by 13.4%. This implies an average growth in revenue during the early COVID-19 pandemic period of about 20.3%. The media software sub-sector could be a complete game-changer for players in the technology industry, as the social restrictions have revolutionised the way consumers and businesses interact, learn, work, and play. Teleconferencing tools like Zoom, Microsoft Teams, and Skype have reported a skyrocket in the daily and monthly average usage. Users have had to look to technology to stay in touch for business, educational and social needs. This may imply an increase in revenues, share value and investor confidence.

However, Covid-19 struck a devastating blow to live media events and studio products in the country for reasons of movement restrictions and social distancing. The pandemic has suddenly become a catalyst for digital transformations as schools, businesses, and governments scramble to seek means to continue operating and maintaining relevance by online delivery of goods and services. Also, widespread digital payments for transactions have become the new norm as the government, through the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), strictly enforce regulatory measures for all banks to operate mobile banking and more cashless transactions.

For example, a cashier in the bank is no longer permitted all cash withdrawals below a threshold of fifty thousand naira. Financial Technology, FinTech mobile money, a variant of digital financial transactions, has bridged the financial inclusion gap by bringing financial services closer to the rural majority. These populations do not require a bank account to transfer money, save, borrow or even pay for goods and services. These alternative mobile payment solution providers recorded a significant increase in patronage, especially from the unbanked rural communities, due to movement restrictions and lockdown during the Covid-19 pandemic period. It is worth noting, therefore, that due to the unregulated nature of informal activities affecting industries such as the media in this study, the pandemic has played a role in highlighting that this sector may be difficult to be accounted for yet have such a strong impact on the production economy due to sudden crisis outside the immediate control of the government. Industries concerned with cultural production, such as global television format production, suffer the consequences in terms of the informal workforces' economic footprints from the effects of Covid-19 pandemic.

Moreover, the observation of Schwettmann (2020, p. 5) that 'Covid-19 pandemic affects all African countries and populations, but it will have the most negative impact on informal economy workers and enterprises in urban areas' remains relevant to the conditions of informal media and communication industries operators in Nigeria. This is because the pandemic mitigation measures imposed by the government suddenly introduced strains in their economic well-being since they were unable to make the personal contacts upon which such enterprises thrive.

Informal Economies of Global Media Industries

Informal economies are typically characterized as unsystematic in nature, making them seem to be outliers in global practices and difficult to understand fully. Thus, activities that occur within informal economies have been difficult to determine, measure, or control since they wholesomely appear behind the scenes. Lobato attributes informal economies as ones existing in "shadows" (Ferjani, 2011; Lobato, 2012; See Lobato and Thomas, 2015). That is, informal economies, here represented by the informal media productions, are not only unregulated, unregistered, and unofficial but also extensively rely on the use of non-professional media production and marketing systems. Such production infrastructure and personnel remain primarily in the background and outside the mainstream media industry and government control all through. For example, Lobato and Thomas argue that 'a great deal of the technological innovation behind Apple products, and commercial media software in general, has an unofficial (shadowy) pre-history of bedroom tinkering and experimentation' (2015, pp. 14–15).

Sassen-Koob (1989) argues that there is a tendency in literature on developing countries to focus on informal sectors. However, informal economies are also embedded within advanced societies, contrary to the assumption that as societies become more industrialized, they become more formalized (Castells and Portes, 1989). Moreover, available evidence shows that the 'informal economy is universal' (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 15). Thus, it is found that there are 'similar arrangements in countries and regions at very different levels of economic development' (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 15). In addition, Castells and Portes also identify that 'this sector is heterogeneous, as the forms adopted by unregulated production and distribution vary widely even within single societies' (p.15).

Moreover, 'there has been an apparent increase of these activities during the last several years' (p.16). Thus, more than just a social type built around economic limitation, informal sectors in a variety of contexts cut across different markets, and in many cases drive the integral functioning of bigger international markets. Castells and Porte succinctly address these issues as:

> The proliferation of informal economies within different social and economic context exemplified by the eighties in the West, saw new models of efficient organizations beginning with rapid growth of self-employment than salaried employment. Such models enabled the slowing down of processes of institutionalization of economic activities; increase in horizontal networks rather than vertical bureaucracies; prevalent subcontracting in place of union contracts; expansion of cash economy in the microeconomic realm and the advancement of 'trade by' barter in international exchange. This eighties wave of informal economy arguably conceived a new breed of entrepreneurship emanating from the upsurge in numbers of casual labour market entrants (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 11)

Wide-ranging explorations of informal economies of the world in various contexts show that the informalization of a particular sector is not relevant to its internationalization. For example, Castells and Portes (1989) argue that informal enterprises have the potentials to increase in world markets through networks of other small businesses. Yet, such prospects to reach big markets may not be overlooked merely based on the informalized ways in which activities are coordinated. They highlight the tendency for the informal economy to rely predominantly on networks that provide a connection with the formal economy through activities like subcontracting. Thus, they note that informal sectors, often brought about by networks of economic activities, networks of firms, and coordinated clusters of workers, contribute to beneficial decentralized models of organization. Castells and Portes describe the creation of decentralized models through cross-participation of informal and formal structures as successful models for production and distribution activities.

To better understand the informal economy of production and its relation to finished products in the context of media such as format programmes, we begin by describing and defining the informal economy's central meanings. According to Lobato and Thomas (2012, p. 379) an informal economy is otherwise known as 'hidden, irregular, shadow, parallel, or secondary economy'. This facet of economic activities has been studied widely since the seventies beginning with less developed countries in Africa and South America to more advanced countries in Europe and North America. The seventies research into informal economies defined it simply as 'activities, institutions and markets outside the regular industry and beyond the purview of the state' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 28). It was through the work of British anthropologist, Keith Hart, where he studied grassroots exchange and production in West African cities, that 'the notion of the informal economy as a substratum of unregistered but productive economic activities' came to public acknowledgement among development economists in the 1970s (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 29). Castells and Portes (1989, p. 11) later defined the concept as 'a common-sense notion whose moving social boundaries cannot be captured by a strict definition without closing the debate prematurely'. These variable social boundaries – i.e., elusive commonsense notions – are what Lobato and Thomas (2015) refer to as visible 'through the range of normative claims made about the informal economy'.

Furthermore, this concept has been critiqued and counter-critiqued by opposing schools of thought. On one side, informality is seen as a threat to modern governance and state regulation, and on the other hand, it is viewed to have a 'utopian character' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 27). This second point of view highlights its qualities of a 'pre-modern, face-to-face, trust-based society free from over-regulation, or what the authors describe as a laissez-faire dream of unfettered individual entrepreneurialism' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 27). However, the former point of view interpolates or identifies informality with social vices like

tax evasion, corruption, organized crime, under-the-table employment, unsafe workplaces, and exploitation. Describing informal economies in single linear merger of the different views, it may then be seen as one which 'simultaneously encompasses flexibility and exploitation, productivity and abuse, aggressive entrepreneurs and defenseless workers, libertarianism and greediness' (Portes, Castells and Benton, 1989, p. 11).

Interdependent informal and formal media economies have deeply integrated existence all over the world. This includes both new and old media's global industries beginning with iTunes software, a more user-friendly system, morphed from an MP3 player system called SoundJam MP into a music store offering music for sale and TV shows and programmes. This reflects a divergence through history from the usual visionary innovations to "less familiar narratives of how the media industry works" (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 14). For example, this can be seen on 'Apple's deep reliance on – and exceptional application of – non-professional systems of media production and distribution'. In fact, the authors categorically state that the popularity of Apple was premised on unauthorized sharing. Hence, behind the media giant's technological innovation strongly lie the crux of 'unofficial pre-history of bedroom tinkering and experimentation' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, pp. 14–15).

Similarly, media and technology giants such as Facebook and YouTube are driven mainly by user-generated content that simply does not follow specific content development regulations. As noted by the authors, the interdependency factor is not peculiar to new media as older media in the forms of broadcasting, publishing, and telecommunications exhibit clear configurations of informal and formal patterns. However, these mainstream media companies have also sought to manage the 'scope of informal activity through proprietary media formats, licensed protocols, closed media environments, and digital rights management technologies'. The public often criticizes these companies for this reason (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 16).

Early structuralists created a fundamental separation between formal and informal economies. As a result, they often equated these formal and informal economies with developed and peasant economies (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 32). However, contrary to this notion, studies like Castells and Portes (1989) argue that there is 'no clear-cut duality between a formal and an informal sector, but a series of complex interactions that establish distinct relationships between the economy and the state.' Thus, the authors emphasize that there is a problem with linking the notion of a "marginal society" to the informal economy as a distinct entity in both advanced and peripheral countries (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 31). This becomes evident within the Nigerian media context, where Jedlowski (2012) underlines the fact that 'the line that divides formal and informal sectors within the Nigerian context is anything but rigid. On the contrary, the fluid, informal sector, as previously defined, is constantly interacting with segments of Nigeria's formal economy, and the occasional funding of films by private banks and corporations is a clear example of this dynamic' (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 435).

Castells and Portes further explain that 'the basic distinction between formal and informal activities proper does not hinge on the character of the final product, but on the way, it is produced and exchanged. Thus, articles of clothing, restaurant food, or automobile parts— all perfectly licit commodities—may have their origins in legally regulated or unregulated production arrangements' (1989, p. 15). Perhaps what makes informal structures of the Nigerian media industry an interesting study is a combination of factors, including the extent of informal activities, the complexities brought about by national, regional structures and the quality of products. More so, understanding that a lack of regulation in production may or may not have intersections with the legitimacy of products and services serves as a take-off point in analyzing actual informal processes and the final products.

Informalization in Television Formats

In their contribution to contemporary television format studies, Oren and Shahaf (Oren and Shahaf, 2012, p. 4), express that 'Global Television Formats are often described as a new phenomenon, an innovative form of televisual formal exchange which represents a break from established or traditional processes of television globalisation.' They further highlight the underlying tendency to over-emphasize practices of official formatting and trade. In other words, the focus turns mainly towards industrial practices and the legal arrangements that have emerged in franchising. This approach is common despite a general acknowledgement of a broad range of both formal and unofficial exchanges, in the form of "cloning," borrowing, or influence that have all but shaped television development in virtually every case. And thus, another intriguing paradox is formed in the contemporary attention to global format flows (Oren and Shahaf, 2012).

This section further presents viewpoints that consider the current interpretation of formats as an evolution from conventional practices of formula-based adaptation and domestication of programmes. I also highlight suggestions that informalized formats manifest at different levels, i.e., programme and productions levels, respectively, of current format business operations across several territories.

While defining formats in the earlier section, it was presented that television formats may be derived from programmes that must have been regulated by rules and licenses. Such programmes would also have been internationally commodified through formalized exchanges. However, studies suggest that formats have been around since inception of television even before formalized practices (such as commodification), and their exchanges may have been done successfully in the past through informalized manners. Thus, formalization or regulated cross-border exchange only became linked to television formats in more recent times in the

process of promoting its global popularity and expansion. It is therefore important to critique the modern interpretation of television format. As Bourdon suggests, a history of formats "has to start with the search for similar practices of copying and reproducing ideas for shows, even without the term" (2012, p. 113). Apparently, the current reincarnation of format interpretation is a most recent stage of an ancient history. Such ancient history similarly practiced the purchase, faithful copying or borrowing, adaptation and domestication of "formulas" for programmes, print media and other kinds of media content – albeit without a conventional framework now interpreted as formats.

Also, although the term/idea of format(s) has been commonly identified in relation to its ties with formalization in terms of licensing agreement and formal cross-border exchange, Moran highlights a broad range of cultural effects on its travel across borders (2009b, p. 13). Thus, noting that different territories tend to either adapt, remake, copy, imitate, mimic, translate, customize, indigenize, and domesticate to enhance their appeal in that specific territory. Such travelling of television formats around the world through various means have therefore highlighted its significance as a tool for cultural exchange. This foreshadows and contributes to the question about the notion of 'informalized' formats, a predictably contrary notion to the central understanding of formats in globalized, streamlined forms. Informalized formats do, in fact, manifest at different levels of the format business in several national and international territories. Transnational account of media industries reveals how the interactions between formal and informal media systems are features of all nations- rich and poor; large and small (Lobato and Thomas, 2015). Nigeria's case, however, seems to have introduced a new normal of informalized formats due principally to their twin non-professional modes of production and distribution networks. In the next section, I discuss the Nigerian film industry's informal sector as a significant component of the country's format production.

Informalization in Nigeria's Film Industry

Nigeria's video entertainment/film Industry which started in 1992, has since grown to be one of the largest informal media economies of the world. The informalized practices of the Nigerian film industry has presented as a crucial feature in African media studies. Studies like (Barrot, 2011; Jedlowski, 2012; Lobato and Thomas, 2012) describe Nigeria's video industry (Nollywood) as one of the world's largest and notable informal media economies. It is also widely acknowledged for its volume of production estimated in thousands of films a year. Lobato and Thomas refer to this production capacity as one 'without the benefit of state funding, studio infrastructure, or festival support' (2012, p.380). Informalized structures of film industry have been mostly reflected through small scale production and distribution run by local marketers. This system of circulation [which, by the way, was at its peak in the early 2000s] mostly favours movies based on direct-video distribution. The marketers, for the most part 'fund and manage the distribution chains' and even go beyond to influence the films' themes, the actors to be chosen, and the sales targets to be achieved' (Barrot, 2011, p. 239) since they are known to be essential players in determining the success of a film. This is similar to the structure of the Nigerian film industry, which is popularly known for a 'high degree of informality in its chain value structures and operates mainly within the spheres of an informal or "shadow" film economy' (Ndlela, 2017, p. 48). Although, as argued earlier (see Chapter 1, p. 13), it is important to view the informal economy of the video industry from a perspective that acknowledges it as a system that 'works for its filmmakers' (Oyewole, 2014).

Nollywood's uniqueness is being driven by practitioners with limited expertise who learn on the job operating without standard film studios and government assistance in funding and providing basic infrastructures such as power supply and road. Nigeria produces around 2500 films a year, a huge figure that makes it the second-biggest global production hub behind

India. The local Industry is estimated to employ more than one million people and to generate more than 7 billion USD for the national economy (Osinubi, 2017, p. 8). According to an IMF report in the summer of 2016, the industry now accounts for 1.4% of GDP. It is a media system that is "accessible, interstitial and informal in its modes of production, portable in its materiality, communal in its modes of exhibition, difficult to regulate and thus accidentally political in its circulation" (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, pp. 380–381). Therefore, the informal sector of the Nigerian media industry provides a frame of reference for understudying and understanding television format practices in this research.

Jedlowski's article identifying and defining specificities of the Nigerian video industry, Nollywood, considers the informality of its video production and distribution as one that has participated in creating an original product. However, Jedlowski argues that this specificity has not been recognized for what it is. The film industry has been constricted as more interesting for its sociological and anthropological features and defined as a "second-class" industry. However, it is essential to emphasize that the technology innovations and changes of the late 1980s to early 1990s, which gave rise to direct-to-video recording devices, permitted very rapid and cheap movies production and distribution. For example, estimates claim that Nollywood produces around 300 new films each month, and despite its many issues, it has flourished (Effiong and Iseyen, 2017). Also, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that producing a movie in Nigeria costs, on average, USD 25,000.00 to USD70,000.00 compared to USD250 million for a top Hollywood film. Nigeria's films are generally profitable within two to three weeks of release (Oh, 2014). This speedy return on investment may be attributable to the distribution and marketing strategies relying on different informal structures of street hustle sales and distribution networks. This may be, perhaps, why Jedlowski (2012, p.439) refers to the movies as "small screen cinemas" – "heretical" recombination of cinema and television. This reflects the idea that Nollywood produces 'something that is located in-between

cinema and television' compared to the production of other film industries around the world (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 432). Furthermore, the author considers the arrangement as having had a "determinant role" in the success of Nollywood.

The film industry possesses a sort of unpopular 'hybridity' that arguably heightens complexities and difficulties identifying and defining its production features. This hybridity presents itself through factors like the 'informality of video production and distribution networks' and the 'specific format of the videos themselves'. At the same time, these factors are responsible for its 'success and transnational mobility' (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 432). Moreover, Nigeria's film industry may not wholly satisfy the categorization as a formal or conventional creative industry. This is because it does not apply mass scale and efficient use of new media technologies for citizen-consumers (Hartley, 2005). Thus, its UNESCO characterization easily confers informality trademark on the industry in the country by a typically low production budget, lower-quality production technology, and a high level of piracy (Kalu, 2017).

Meanwhile, the industry serves as a reference point for growing studies of format adaptation in Africa. For example, while investigating TV formats in anglophone Africa, Ndlela (2017) observed the structural difference in the film governance in Nigeria in relation to the country's format industry. This is in opposition to the global television format business of highly streamlined and standardized structures. It also contended with the definition of television format using the Global Value Chains (GVCs) approach drawn from the works of Bair (2009) and Chalaby (2015, 2016). It presented as – 'a television format is seen as a commodity flowing through value chain production stages where different inputs are added into the product in order to enhance its quality and customize it to the requirements of the local markets' (Ndlela, 2017, p.48). Hence, describing the Nigerian film and television industry by its decentralized production and distribution nature, the author noted its contrast with South

Africa, which was notably organized based on the US model since the early 1900s. The author also highlighted the threats in the industry's potential to fit into global television format structures. Adejunmobi (2011, p.72) explains this relatively little involvement of Nigerian based actors in the global television format business as 'the unusual features in the development of the Nigerian Film enterprises is that both production and distribution of this "media merchandise" have for the most part fallen outside the control of global, regional or even national institutions.'

Furthermore, an informal system of governance upon which the industry is built makes it difficult to share expenses and revenues between producers, studios, and marketers due to a lack of access to extensive data gathering and monitoring at all stages (Ndlela, 2017). The Nigerian Film distribution system is dominated by a large population of small-scale distributors or marketers who specialize in a segment or sub-segment of the film value chain, whether financing, production or distribution (Ogunleye, 2008). This mode of operation has been identified as informal. It makes it difficult, if not impossible, to monitor all the stages of the value chain for the effective gathering of operational data. It is structurally deep-rooted in the informal exchange economy rather than the formal global media format business structures.

Characteristic of an informal setup, the Nigerian film industry is organized at its core by small-scale networks that exhibit enormous power. These networks comprising of small-scale entrepreneurs, marketers, and pirates alike are neither congealed into major studios and corporations similar to the global models nor are they part of any formal structure for international distribution. On the one hand, this structural separation from global business has challenged the international awareness of the industry and militated against its international reach. However, on the other hand, the industry has remained highly relevant, maintaining its place as a solid hub of the visual space in West Africa in the last twenty years. Apparently, this booming film industry rarely appears in discussions of global cinema because it exists almost

entirely in the informal realm (Onookome, 2007; Lobato, 2012). Nonetheless, 'analysis of its structure reveals an alternative distribution template of considerable potential' (Lobato, 2012, p. 56), irrespective of its structural separation from global media's more formalized setup.

Within the spheres of an informal economy, Nigeria's film industry operations reveal pertinent distinctions between the production and distribution networks. While informal production represents one side of the informal economy debate that highlights its meaningful contribution to media economies, informal distribution tends to take the side of illicit and pirate activities. This is seen in the unfolding of a crisis leading to a partial failure and standstill of the industry in production activities. The crisis came during the Nigerian Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) attempt to regulate local and international video circulation through a new distribution framework (Jedlowski, 2012). The new framework which was meant to impose license on all distributors, including national and local levels and wholesale and video club marketers, became a remarkably failed attempt.

Nonetheless, it was intended to monitor video circulation and curb illicit monetization (NFVCB, 2007), which will protect producers. However, in unusual self-contradiction, these distributions, while plagued by piracy and illicit circulation, have been responsible for driving more content production. For instance, NFVCB holds that informal and often illicit circulation causes a downturn in production budgets (Jedlowski, 2012), thereby promoting a multiplicity of quickly spun out low-budget films. The reasons for this state of affairs are obvious: Independent indigenous Nollywood movie producers prefer cash transactions to debt financing and equity as the only funding source available for film production. Also, the absence of contracting and a very high rate of piracy and copyright infringements severely limit the involvement of corporate filmmakers within and outside Nigeria. Funding is done by individuals whose entrepreneurial skills guide their aspirations in continuously producing movies despite the acute financial shortfall. The implication, which rubs off on the kind of

movies made, squarely depends on a film budget (Ojieson, 2017). In a study of "The Pecking Order Theory and SME Financing: Insight into "The Mediterranean Areas and Study in The Moroccan Context", Alabi vividly captures financing challenges for the SMEs in general as:

> these enterprises often run away from formal mechanisms and operate in the informal economy, riskily evading taxes, and regulations. Besides acute asymmetries of information, lack of reliable track records, reliance on collaterals and lack of equity, etc. continue to impede the access to finances and particularly to debt financing. Today, most companies are facing a clear downturn in demand for goods and services on one hand and shortage of credit on the other, due to the tightening up of the credit financing institutions. And, as all companies, SMEs need financial resources for their functioning and survival (Alabi, 2014, p. 190)

From the previous, it is seen that these challenges are also applicable to Nigeria's Nollywood film industry coupled with poor infrastructures such as mostly unavailable grid electricity supply and inaccessible roads to movie production locations. These contribute significantly to the increase of the time and cost to create movie content. Furthermore, the uncertainty and unavailability of government regulations constitute hindrances to opening filmmaking to corporate operators. For example, the National Broadcasting Commission regulation of early June 2020, which makes exclusivity illegal, compelling sub-licensing of content and regulation of pricing are reducing the attractiveness of the industry for big-time players that thrive on exclusive content. More still, this partial failure in regulation led to a media transformation described by Jedlowski as a reversal to the pre-Nollywood era of Television and cinema as stated:

> The incompatibility between the formal system proposed by the new framework and the informal one that regulated the industry's economy since its early days made the two of them become ineffective, practically bringing the Nigerian video economy to a standstill. Within this context, pre-existing media formats such as television and cinema came back to the limelight (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 440).

As Barrot (2011) noted, the Nigerian film industry exhibits considerable resistance to any kind of structuring, consolidation, or standardization. They were citing a remarkable 2004 scenario

when video distributors boycotted the best-paid stars videos to press for stoppage of inflation of movies production budgets and prevention of treatment of the entry of investors more capable of dominating the market as threats. However, Barrot also notes that this type of small-scale, fractured, and amateurish production has managed to maintain spontaneity and closeness to its viewers ahead of other televised productions or African cinema.

> Its fragmented, if not chaotic nature likewise evades all attempts by the authorities to regulate the industry. This is what sets it apart from, say, Latin American telenovelas, which are also very popular in Africa. These are produced by giant television networks, and, according to some commentators, constitute a tool for social conditioning. (Barrot, 2011, p. xi)

Again, while "Nigerian producers do not set out to produce films for television or movie theatres", these films nearly always end up showing on television (Barrot, 2011, p. 239). This suggests that even though these films are produced with barely any compliance to broadcasting standards – such as high-quality technical production – the more formalized television broadcasters, when scheduling movie entertainment, are primarily reliant on the informal economy of the film industry. Perhaps, the broadcasters key into the local knowledge that 'Nigerian audience is not used to movie theatres' to attract viewership to their channels by airing these 'unstandardized' films, as long as they are to be consumed within households. In fact, Barrot observes that the self-contained and informalized film production industry are not willing to embrace any form of structuring even as much as the system's fragmented nature makes such attempts futile. Small scale producers remain relevant to television production even as film models are now mimicking television productions and shifting from full-length films to multiple-part movies, sometimes dubbed 'episodes' and sometimes extending up to 5th and 6th episodes. In addition to its un-streamlined production and distribution system (or process), and its technically challenged films' quality, Barrot expresses that 'these films are an incomparable emblem of national identity and pride (2011, p. XIII).

A gradual return to television and cinema has yielded a situation whereby small-scale producers produce films, which by one way or another, become content for television broadcast. It has even more distinctively created a gap where the process of "mimicking TV productions" in terms of movie episodes and movie seasons resemble genre production or programme-level format production. Hence, with regards to products of this informalized structure, it is obvious then that the idea of producing the same storyline in various parts, and released gradually, is a more profitable venture for informally structured producers. Also, in terms of processes of informal structure, Jedlowski's work has examined this return to TV and cinema, especially with reference to the flow from small screen cinema to satellite television. Hence the author highlights the roles of two main streams of new-age distribution – the African Magic Channel of M-NET's *Multichoice* and Nigeria's biggest cinema chain, *Silverbird Cinemas*. However, Africa Magic, whilst a media giant pays for the services of the informal sector. For instance, by paying deficient fees to acquire screening rights from small scale producers, Africa Magic patronizes Nigeria's informalized media industry. These fees average US$1,000 for unlimited but not exclusive rights (Njoku, 2009).

The informal sector forms a crucial part of formal production chains. Yet, the sector still faces a series of challenges in terms of achieving common strategies to protect its interests. This dynamism, and motivated resistance of the informal sector, together with its intersection with the formal sector, are useful characteristics that will inform further inquiries into television format adaptation in Nigeria.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the overtones and meaning of globalisation for media industries, with a particular interest in local and informal economies. Media are central to globalisation. Therefore, the characteristics of various media industries have implications for

cultural globalisation. Since format adaptation results in a 'hybrid production in which imported elements, genres, and formats are adapted into national media systems and given national spins or interpretations. The outcome is neither national autonomy nor cultural imperialism' (Straubhaar, 2007, pp. 167–168). The role of informalized practices has become more relevant than ever before. Informal media economy was also understood as an umbrella term describing the multifaceted phenomenon of flows of communication, informalization, and entertainment in unregulated spaces. It comprises different, unrelated phenomena activities in the different phases of financing, production, distribution, exhibition, and consumption outside the existing regulatory frameworks. Such regulatory frameworks may range from illegal/criminal enterprises operating globally to fan participation with media content (Sigismondi, 2018, p. 253). The Nigerian media system interweaves its film and television sectors. Hence informalized practices of the film have consequences for the television sector with reference to format adaption. The following chapter provides in-depth insights into the concept of television formats.

Chapter 3 – The Field of Television Formats

Introduction

Television formats present distinctive models of cultural production and distribution systems. Practically, the idea is that format display within media industries is a complex entity that is not straightforward to define accurately. Thus, Moran (2004, p. 6) suggests that it may be more appropriate to ask what formats do instead. This complex nature of the format makes it prone to different forms of adaptations, identified later in this chapter either as: loose/open or closed adaptations. The possibility of loose/open adaptations creates room for questioning the place of informal practices in producing, albeit legitimate, adaptations of Global Television Formats (GTFs) and how the final content is affected, given specific media environments. Lose/open adaptations propose that formats maybe neither one hundred per cent original nor a hundred per cent copied considering extraneous influences brought to bear on the original format, which may be cultural (pertaining to respective industries), as will be analysed using *The Apprentice Africa* in later aspects of this study. This chapter further highlights works of literature, including the historical development of formats, key concepts, and definitions that establish the meaning of formats. These all work together as fundamental tools in this study of television formats. Concepts such as trade and adaptation, together with legislation of formats, will introduce relevant aspects that help to highlight the complex nature of formats and establish boundaries and models involved in traditional exchange processes. Understanding some existing legal issues in various forms of format adaptation is also discussed to enhance the distinctions between legitimacy and validity of products of informal practices.

Definition of Television Formats

In television studies, the term *format* may be defined as 'a loose term that covers a range of items that may be included in a format licensing agreement' (Moran and Keane, 2004, p. 6). According to Moran, television format is arguably meaningless as a standalone, that is, without the story, content, or narrative elements. However, a format can be used as the basis of a new programme, the programme manifesting as a series of episodes that are sufficiently similar, to seem like instalments of the same programme and sufficiently distinct to register as new and different (p. 5). Hence, it is fundamentally 'a set of invariable rules or regulations' that act as reference points for variable programme ideas (Moran and Keane, 2004, p. 6). Formats may be derived from a variety of traditional, serial, programme ideas. Such programmes may be based on real life events or unscripted activities provided that the regulations and production principles have been legally articulated, and perhaps, further standardized for commercial purposes. In contrast with a traditional television programme, a format is 'an easily-replicated and adaptable framework licensed through the international television market for local adaptation. In its most basic, legally sanctioned form, it is a programme concept: a list of "rules" or conventions that make up each programme's fixed and distinct aspects (Oren and Shahaf, 2012). Therefore, a television format is distinguished from a traditional programme by implementing specific combinations of different rules and incorporating specific elements around a central idea of a show or programme.

Hence, it is to be noted that formats are typically embedded throughout a series of overlapping but separate forms of production-to-distribution processes. The typical separate forms include the paper format, the bible, the script, and other forms of packaged printed information. Accordingly, the paper format is usually a brief written summary of all key aspects of the programme such as lighting, music, set design details etc., together with their explanations. The bible format is the documentation used to extend the paper format in

elaborate details. A package of printed information is often used to accompany the bible format. In addition to the bible, such package details distribution information such as scheduling, target audience, ratings, and audience demographics are based on broadcast history in other television markets. Also, scripts from earlier productions of the programme may be included to facilitate its adaptation. Other sources which may be part and parcel of format's separate forms include 'off-air tapes of previous versions of the programme, inserts of film footage, computer software and graphics', and indeed, in a human form via the provision of consultancy services by the format's copyright owners (Moran, 2004, p. 6).

Distinctions between Macro and Micro Level of Formats

There are two main positions in the definition of formats – the macro and micro levels of formats. The macro-level is also identified as the international trade level. It suggests that a format is not clearly distinguished from a traditional television programme until it has travelled to at least one other country. At a macro level, it is an 'an economic or cultural technology of exchange which has meaning not so much because of what it is but because of what it permits or facilitates' (Moran, 2004, p.6). This view is explained using the following instance: 'A show in which people are introduced from behind a curtain to renew acquaintances with a guest is a format if the show is replicated by other television stations with obvious sequential similarities' (Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p. 60). Also, proponents of this view consider format as essentially industrial, first and foremost, as well as being a tool of influence for cultural exchange. In which case, similar television programmes may only be characterized as programme *genres* until their distinct qualities have been, by and large, licensed for adaptation. A true industrial format status is only acquired when a programme must have been 'licensed, sold, or copied by another production company or network'(Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p.

60). This license includes specific items like programme titles, graphics, music, gameplay devices and so on.

Whereas the first position of formats on a macro level, that is, as a cultural technology of exchange, forms the basis for most recent theorizations, they have also been considered to exist on a micro level. In Moran's (1998, p. 13) earlier study, the industry identified them with the concept of the "crust" of a pie. In other words, they were referred to as static containers 'from week to week', whereby dynamic contents – or fillings – change. Hence the term "format" was also understood as 'a means of ordering individual episodes of a programme' (Moran and Malbon, 2006, p. 20). In such a case, governing external exchange under license was not a primary consideration. It mainly emphasized governing the making of an original programme within an internal or local organizational level. The stress here fell on the provision of an organizing framework whose purpose is served within a single programme. However, in a definition combining the two central views, Keinonen (2016, p. 2) considers most of the current television formats to state that 'the television format provides an organizing framework both for the programme as a whole and for the individual episodes.' Formats, such as *Big Brother*, offered television viewers the opportunity to watch the activities of a small group of young people who had deliberately made themselves available to the constant surveillance of a battery of cameras and microphones (Moran, 2004, p.1). This observation holds for all reality television formats. The success of the hugely popular American TV reality show format, *The Apprentice*, prompted its programme and individual episodes replication in twenty-three different national settings and cultures around the world. *The Apprentice Africa* format programme is also a consequence of the remaking of the American TV format, *The Apprentice*, as an organizing framework both for the programme as a whole and for the individual episodes. The major consequence of format as an organizing framework both for the programme as a whole and individual episodes may be regarded as format hybridization resulting from partial

indigenization of international products (formats). At the same time, it also allows the national audience to watch cross-cultural (foreign and indigenous or national cultures) shows in national audiovisual systems. Such hybrids have proven to be not only successful but also popular in their new locations as bandwagon effects of the successes and popularity of their international products as exemplified by the American format, *The Apprentice*. Typically, reality TV show formats give meaning to Keinonen's (2016) view and as well the view of Moran (2004, p.6) that "format" is a loose term that covers a range of items that may be included in its licensing agreement since it 'is an economic and cultural technology of change' that 'permits or facilitates' change.

Are Television Formats Therefore Distinct from Genres?

Recent studies have also grappled with attaining a unifying view, or explicit definition of the term format which in turn has made it commonly misunderstood in conflation with genres. Keane, Fung and Moran's (2007) work describe this in more details, noting that formats are commonly constructed as hybrid genres, including docusoaps and genres. Hence, it is sometimes the case to exemplify formats using clones or generic variations on successful programmes. In differentiating between genre imitation and adaptation of a successful format, the authors highlighted the late-night variety show made famous by Jonny Carson during the 1950s and 1960s. This was said to have spawned several imitators, consequent to its standardized order of events and constantly changing content. However, while the late-night show had "common" elements such as a funny-man host, interviews with celebrities, 'the imitators added to a genre – rather than simply re-version a format', considering that this type of imitation does not constitute format appropriation in its purest sense (Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p. 65).

To simply consider a definition of format as replication of a show under license, 'a genre is not produced under license in the same manner as a television format' (Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p. 65). A genre is a more qualitative, descriptive concept created to re-create value in different incarnations. In other words, considering commodification as a distinctive attribute of formats; the difference lies in the idea that genre, unlike formats, may be replicated without formal contracts or breach of contracts. Also, considering the definition of formats at a programme level, the differences lie in the idea that genre is 'directly associated with narrative structure and types of programming'. In contrast, format deals with more specific production framework. The genre represents a categorization process marked by conventions, features, and norms' (Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p. 64). Therefore, it is portrayed by the summative characteristics of individual episodes of a programme. These characteristics are not typically unique to individual programmes. Meanwhile, a format determines the unique organization and combination of such characteristics in replicating programmes with obvious sequential similarities.

Furthermore, genres have generally implied imitation at its core, making it a more loosely qualifying and descriptive concept. Formats on the other hand involve concrete systematization of individual episodes as exemplified in *The Apprentice Africa*. Such systematization is also a way of using field experiences of the individual episodes as sources of knowledge of the sociocultural underpinnings of the format programme's past and current environments. The emphasis is on the improvement of the episodes based on lessons obtained in practice. It also helps to deepen the horizon of ideas about what format episode is and strengthens its structures.

To further drive home the specific characteristics of a format which differentiate it from a genre, Choi (2019) applied two metaphors of cooking recipe and vehicle driving. These metaphors respectively describe the roles and distinctions between the creation phase

(represented as a cooking recipe) of a format and its distribution or travel phase (represented as a vehicle driving). The recipe metaphor highlights the process stage of the adaption and its reproduction within local markets. At this stage, the recipe represents the set of know-hows in form of a written document that can be repeated multiple times. Unlike genres, where programme ideas may be replicated without the need for licensing and documentation, under the premise that the programme is merely similar in subject or field without explicit specific elements of another programme, a format requires this document for reference. The document, also known as the format bible, tells local producers how the programme is to be structured, according to its original version. Although local producers often have the freedom to apply local context in the reproduction of audiovisual elements and narrative structures of original formats.

On the other hand, the vehicle metaphor emphasises the argument that formats are products of commodification, unlike genres. That is, "a format can exist only as a format once it travels outside its country of origin" (Choi, 2019, p.11). Hence, using the metaphor, Choi asserts what scholars have long argued that a format which stays in its country of origin is merely a television programme idea, not a format (See. Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007, p. 60). In other words, "the particularity of the format is its international movement" (p.12). As Chalaby (2011, p.295) highlights, "a format is a vehicle whose raison d'être is the international market". Again, unlike genres, traveling outside its country of origin through international trade is what gives it a status of a format. Television formats are specifically different from genre as they are essentially commodities for sale. Thus, they are also characterized by a greater potential for transferability, and saleability internationally (Waisbord, 2004). They typically begin life as "a ratings success within their home territory, and this often helps drive subsequent international sales" (Moran and Aveyard, 2014).

Whereas genres are adapted across borders in terms of style and narrative structure, mostly without the need for acquisition of copyrights or resulting infringements of copyrights, with formats, on the other hand, there is a need to buy and sell copyrights for international use. What is on-sold is the template for the format programme's reproduction rather than a show ready for transmission. The template, also known as a set of franchised knowledge and services, distils the experiences and skills of the programme's original creators. It therefore allows the programme to be adapted and produced for broadcast in other territories (Moran 1998; Moran and Malbon 2006). Moreover, while it is important to highlight that television formats possess the characteristic to be pre-designed or pre-formulated by original owners for sale to other buyers, they also have the capacity to be legally flexible templates. This means that unlike genres, they are strategically positioned to play distinctive culturally relevant and innovative roles in that they can be moulded to the cultural taste and specific social inflexion of its remaking territory (Esser, 2010).

History of Television Formats

The term "formats" moved from French to English by the mid-nineteenth century as a term from printing, referring to the size of the page. As an English word, the term travelled from a technical use such as in computers to the use in media (Bourdon, 2012, p. 112). In media, the history of formats was traced to the printing industry before it arrived in television. Hence, Moran (2004, p. 5) notes that 'the term "format" had its earliest origins in the printing industry where it specified a particular page size'[2]. Following the inception of printing mechanisms in Europe, the first book to be printed, the Latin Bible, may be referred to as early precedence to format adaptation. This is because the population of the time had a limited understanding of

---

[2] Though, Moran (1998) writes that the earliest references to the adaptation of format – similar to its current television practice – could have been in the printing industry as far back as the fifteenth century.

Latin. Therefore, the Bible needed to be translated into several other languages. Such translations led to significantly higher sales and distribution to more parts of Europe (Moran, 1998). This origin of format from the print media suggests its ties to the emergence of culture industries themselves following the development of early systems of mechanical reproduction in the book trade (Moran and Malbon, 2006). Bourdon also describes the origin of formats in three stages:

> The first of the three periods here is that of discrete adaptations; until the early 1980s, while British broadcasting borrowed the use of "format" from American English languages had their own terms for referring to "ideas" or "formulas" for programmes. Such formulas were borrowed and adapted from country to country, primarily from the U.S.A. to Europe, especially in the game show genre, and often without monetary transaction.… The second period is that of open replications of mostly American formats, starting from the 1980s, when the term "format" and its derivatives entered professional parlance… The third period, that of Euro-American convergence, started in the late 1990s with the rapid success of new formats, which now came partly from Europe and added a new genre, that of reality television… (Bourdon, 2012, pp. 111–112)

Thus, in audiovisual media, formats began to emerge first in radio, then in television. Examples of the numerous format adaptations beginning in early radio broadcasting and early television include the 1930s Australian radio adaptation of its own versions of US-originating radio series such as *Lux Radio Theatre* and *Big Sister* and the comedy panel show called *It Pays to Be Ignorant*. The show debuted on WOR radio station, licensed to New York City, in June 1942, and later owned by iHeartMedia. It then moved to the CBS network before BBC later adapted it by July 1946, where it was retitled *Ignorance is Bliss*. It became officially known as the world's first format to air (Chalaby, 2011, p. 296). However, there had been no cross-border adaptation of television format yet until the 50s. Cross-border television was heralded by *What's My line*, a BBC radio adaptation of an original US radio panel show. The show that began with CBS in February 1950 would become the world's first format to cross borders as a television show after the BBC adapted and debuted it as a television show on 16 July 1951.

Meanwhile, the 1950s represented a period of transitioning from radio to television in western countries, during which radio's format programmes began to be recycled for television viewers and to cross borders, using the same 'formatted' principles (Buxton and Owen, 1972; Brunt, 1987, p. 20; Schwartz, Ryan and Wostbrock, 1999; Moran and Malbon, 2006, p. 22; Chalaby, 2015b; Chalaby, 2016)

In fact, before its use in media, the idea of formats arguably already began to exist in other businesses such as the food industry. The 'idea' of formats here represents the fundamental practice of 'franchising' which confers the status of a format to an original programme. Thus, Dicke's (1982) exposition of the distribution arrangements, starting in the 1950s, found in fast food restaurants' franchising such as with Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken and MacDonald's exemplifies other cultural forms from where franchising began. Television's programme creators would later adapt the practice of franchising. A franchise is the right or licence which a company (also known as the franchisor) grants to another individual (franchisee) permitting them to market and/or trade products and services in a specified territory. Rubin (1978) explains a franchise agreement as "a contract between two (legal) firms, the franchisor, and the franchisee. The franchisor is a parent company that has developed some product or service for sale; the franchisee is a firm that is set up to market this product or service in a particular location. The franchisee pays a certain sum of money for the right to market this product" (p.224). Purchasing a franchise requires strict compliance with guidelines and rules regarding the business to maintain brand consistency. Thus, the contracts signed to grant a franchise typically impose on franchisees guidelines and specifications such as "retail quality standards, common hours of business, price controls, and nonlinear payment schedules" (Mathewson and Winter, 1985, p. 503). Alongside, franchisors also typically provide services such as national advertising and training programmes, monitoring and inspecting of the

franchisees' performance (with varying intensity across industries), and hold the residual power to terminate the franchise agreement (Mathewson and Winter, 1985).

A format is typically traded as a franchise – between the originator (franchisor), and the adaptor (franchisee). In fact, based on the argument that a format is only an ordinary programme until it has been sold to one or more countries outside its original territory (See. Chalaby 2011, p.295), formats typically get their global value from franchising. It is no wonder these terms are sometimes used interchangeably when describing television format programmes. Therefore, while a format is technically different from a franchise, it is franchising that makes attaining the status of a format possible.

In accordance, franchising a specific television programme which is accompanied by rules precedes the remaking process in a new territory. Thus, Moran and Aveyard (2014) notes that a key characteristic of the franchising and remaking process is often a modification of programme in such a way as to seem familiar or domestic in origin. Franchisees shape the content to fit the specific world of its target audience. In other words, "the new programme's performers and participants will, for the most part, be ethnically familiar; speak one or the other dominant territorial languages; be visually and culturally anchored in recurring, everyday locations; deal with recognizable situations and issues and behave in customary and familiar ways" (Moran and Aveyard, 2014, p. 20). This goes to indicate that while franchising contract specifies set rules and boundaries of a television programme format adaptation, they maintain "the capacity to take root and nativize themselves in a myriad of different audience contexts for different broadcasters and geographic territories" (p.20).

Thus, the first television formats, licensed programmes for adaptation to local audiences, began to cross borders in the early 1950s. However, this trade developed slowly in the following decades. For instance, the 1950s Baltimore version of *Romper Room* programme

became successful such that CBN made an offer to its creators to buy off the programme. However, the creators turned down the offer opting instead to license or franchise the programme to a string of local TV stations across the country. This process of licensing or franchising entailed that the creators would retain a certain amount of regulatory control over the show. For instance, the licensees who wanted to make their own versions also received the merchandise and specific materials representing the programme in addition to obtaining the rights to gaining their own hostess. She was also to be groomed by the original creators (Moran and Malbon, 2006, p. 22).

Following the entrance of the term into professional parlance from the 1980s, when open replication of most American formats began (Bourdon, 2012), appearances in tradeshow events enhanced its global popularity. In 1985, the world's largest tradeshow of television programmes and formats commenced in the French town of Cannes. To date, the tradeshow known as Marché International des Programmes de Communication[3] (MIPCOM) has been organized annually each October by a company known as Reed MIDEM. While the event is geared primarily towards the television industry, it played a significant role in developing formats as a platform where television studios and broadcasters bought and sold new programmes and formats for international distribution. Also, by the year 2000, meeting at Cannes in France eventually yielded the initiative to create an international industry combatting the growing problem of television format piracy.

Consequently, a group of professionals from around the world established the Format Recognition and Protection Association (FRAPA) to ensure 'that television formats are respected by the industry and protected by law as intellectual property' (FRAPA, 2017). This association also provides alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, such as mediation services

---

[3] Translated in English as "International Market of Communications Programmes"

as platforms for dialogue between formats originators and format copycats. Arguably, FRAPA's influence on the format industry since the 2000s led to the clearer global positioning of format trades. This is reinforced by Chalaby's finding (2015b, p. 460) that formats became formal global trading system in the early 2000s. However, he also describes the system as a singular transnational space, structured by networks of interdependent economic agents, firms, institutions, and places.

The European devised hits, *'Who Wants to Be a Millionaire', 'Survivor',* and *'Big Brother'*, between 1999 and 2000, heralded the global popularity of formats. The production of local renditions of proven, "pre-packaged" format shows offered the convenience of small production budgets and local production quotas. In media content, a quota is a government-imposed restriction for the protection of domestic content in film, radio, and television programmes during a broadcasting period. It has been observed that a tendency has been developed in bilateral and regional free trade agreements to make room for reservations concerning quotas in the audiovisual sector (Bernier, 2003). Many countries and regions have local content requirements based on their perception of it as cultural policy or protection of economic and/or industrial interests. For example, France introduced it for French works in cinemas back in 1946 as part of their bilateral trade negotiation with the USA (Cocq and Messerlin, 2003). It has also been established to avoid cultural imperialism. The document of Audiovisual Media Services Directives, AVMS directives, clearly stated that:

> European independent production quotas will stimulate new sources of television production, especially, the creation of small and medium sized enterprises; whereas it will offer new opportunities and outlets to the marketing of creative talents of employment of cultural professions and employees in the cultural fields (Council of European Communities CEC, 2007).

Other countries like Kenya, South Africa, and Australia also operate local content quotas in their media practices. In Kenya, Sigei (2021) contends that the current 40 per cent local content

quota is low. Sigei proposes a threshold of 60 per cent for the foreseeable future since the key objective is to protect local culture. By extension, this threshold also protects the national identity from being swept aside by a flood of cheap foreign workers. He further argues that an increased quota is meant to enhance the opportunities and economic value for local artists and entrepreneurs. This increase also portrays the expectation that in time, local content producers would improve in quantity and quality of their productions. It also means that use of more foreign content amounts to a denial of copyright royalties to local artistes and payment of same to foreign artistes. It is, therefore, seen that economic protectionism and fear of cultural imperialism and/or dominance of the audiovisual production industry are the underlying reasons for establishing local content quotas.

The European television industry had already begun taking advantage of this 'lucrative loophole', even before the U.S.A could widely acknowledge format's presence in the TV schedule (Waisbord, 2004; Keane and Moran, 2008; Oren and Shahaf, 2012). Paradoxically, until the format explosion of the late 1990s to a multi-billion-dollar industry, most formats were US game shows such as "*The Price is Right*" and "*The Wheel of Fortune*", which travelled across the developed world – mostly from the US to Western Europe. These formats received a limited audience as barely a handful of companies would distribute them. The trade of formats remained confined to a minor daytime genre (Moran, 1998; Chalaby, 2012, 2015a).

The number of formats in circulation grew exponentially, as did the number of countries they travelled to and the number of companies distributing and producing them. This revolution had multiple determinants. In developed television markets, the competition was becoming intense, with a rash of cable and satellite channels on pay-tv platforms. As a result, executives opened to the idea of buying into a concept with a proven track record that allowed them to offer local and original programming while managing risk. In the emerging markets, fledgling

broadcasters were seeking local content but lacked the expertise to produce it. Formats offered solutions with a tried and tested recipe to follow (Chalaby, 2015a, p. 461).

By 2009, FRAPA reported on fourteen countries as either 'traditional players in the format business with a correspondingly large impact on global format export' or as countries with 'above average' growth during the mid-2000s [2006-2008]. These included countries such as Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Spain, UK, USA and three Nordic or Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden (FRAPA, 2009, p. 7).

The period of transitioning – from an era of vulnerability to an era of loose and spontaneous remaking, copying, or imitation of cultural products – into systematic facilitation of adaptation brought about the necessity to ensure the sustainability of future products. It also created opportunities for programme creators to learn potential business principles that would kick off the television format business. Such professional development meant that it became pertinent to consider the recognition and protection of format as intellectual properties by the 2000s. This was also motivated by the global popularity of formats in the early 2000s. FRAPA's selection of countries with a focus on export and conventionality of players, in one way, sheds light on the absence of the African continent, based on, for instance, measurable consolidation of entities involved in format trade. Today's formats originate in a particular country's TV market and are sold the world over, usually keeping the programme's core the same but reproducing or recreating various aspects to localize according to local tastes and sensibilities (Kretschmer, Singh and Wardle, 2009).

Television Formats in Nigeria

There is a dearth of literature on the history of television broadcasting and development in Nigeria and other countries of Africa (Nwuneli, 1985; Umeh, 1989; Nwulu *et al.*, 2010; See. Betiang, 2013). As discussed earlier, the first over-the-airwaves transmission television broadcasting in Nigeria occurred on the eve of her independence in 1960 – that is on October 31, 1959, from the Western Nigeria Television Service (WNTS). This milestone made WNTS not only the first Television Service in Nigeria but also in Africa (See. Chapter 1, pp. 13 - 19). At this stage, WNTS was limited to promoting education, exposure of audience to external environment, and dissemination of government ideas to Western Nigerians. This landmark event, however, at the same time signalled the earliest possibility of television format programmes to be broadcast anywhere in Africa. While television broadcasting during its inception was essential to achieving the broader objective of promoting education, and information dissemination, reality television formats was pertinent for promoting the provision of entertainment as well serve as cultural exchange tool. Adaptation of *television formats* such as defined and discussed in this thesis first began in 2003, with Big Brother Africa (BBA). Although, prior to this time, television programmes have begun airing using similar *genres* which were also available globally. For instance, the different genres of programmes aired included news broadcasts, cartoon programmes, sports programmes, drama programmes, soap operas, interviews, talk shows and religious programmes. These programmes were largely genres which did not require licensing – in the same manner as formats – from any known or acknowledged originators.

Since the early days of television broadcasting in Nigeria to date, only government and multinational television stations have been capable of broadcasting all the available programme genres. Television news was the first and foremost programme genre aired on the Nigerian national networks. They were designed for provision and dissemination of timely information

about happenings within and outside the environment of the station and its region. Therefore, news programmes were standard for every broadcasting station in the country. News programming satisfied one of the primary objectives of creating WNTS and others after it, that is as "the voice of the opposition who needed to broadcast its own ideas to Western Nigerians" (Nwulu et al, 2010, p.2). The Nigerian Television Authority, NTA, in collabouration with UNESCO also created educational television programming formats for schools. Furthermore, news programming played a globally standard role of reporting on almost all types of messages, be it conflicts such as war and ethnoreligious, politics, culture, sports, etc, covering simultaneously both their audio and visual details.

Another television programme genre which began airing on national stations alongside the news was music. This included a blend of hip-hop, rap, rhythms and blues, reggae, gospel, etc and traditional Nigerian music such as folk, highlife, popular music and so on (Akaniro, 2020). Folk music relates to the country's diverse cultures and ethnicity, each with own songs, playing instruments and techniques. While all the television stations in the country broadcast music, a significant majority of them did so primarily as interludes to their other programmes. It is only Sound City television channel from the stables of Consolidated Mass Media Associates Limited based in Lagos, Nigeria that have since broadcast 24-hour Nigerian lifestyles and music. Sound City television is a Pan-African urban music TV channel launched in March 2009 (Samuel, 2022). Its programming contents include music videos, live performances, news, and interviews with act, in addition to organising, supporting, and airing national, regional, and international concerts.

Television format programmes, otherwise construed as reality television shows were the latest category of content to hit African television broadcasting airwaves. The first television format to be aired, the Dutch programme BBA, offered television viewers the opportunity to watch the activities of a small group of young people who had deliberately made

themselves available to the constant surveillance of a battery of cameras and microphones (Moran 2004, p.1). The success and popular acceptability of a version of this show in Nigeria stems from its intrinsic characteristics of providing contestants, particularly the youthful population of the society, opportunities to showcase their real-life activities and lifestyles. The opportunities largely concern their involvement in media programming contents, including the excitement of audience participation in the evaluation of their performances.

Usua and Azubuike (2008, p. 221) agree that Nigerian airwaves continue to be increasingly inundated with several versions of global reality television programming formats and indigenously produced reality television programming formats. Typical examples of available global reality television shows include *'The Apprentice Africa', 'Big Brother Naija' (BBN), 'Nigerian Idol', 'Who Wants To Be A Millionaire' (WWTBAM),* among others. Examples of indigenously produced reality television shows include *'Peak Talent Hunt', 'Gulder Ultimate Search', 'Africa Diva', 'Nigeria's Got Ideas',* etc. A broad categorization of the reality shows or television formats available in the country range from game and quiz shows to surveillance and adventure and talent hunting shows. Keane and Moran (2006, p. 3) rightly note that global television formats "are consciously devised, developed and distributed with the deliberate intention of achieving near simultaneous International adaptation". This illustrates that global television formats are also global commodity trading products ready-made for transformations to various local cultural versions. Thus, heralding cross country trade in television formats around the world. It also reveals exchanges of cultures across national, regional, and continental boundaries.

The following sections narrate details of some local adaptations of global television formats such as BBN and WWTBAM. The indigenous reality show Gulder Ultimate Search (GUS) is also presented. These satisfy definition of television formats firstly, on a macro level where they are essentially commodities for international trade, having travelled to at least one

other country. Secondly, on a micro level where they are invariable containers used for variable content or static containers whereby dynamic contents change on a weekly basis (See. Pp, 95-96). Thus, these shows see contestants cohabiting in a closed/isolated location and showcasing their talents in open location until the winner emerges; all monitored closely by cameras and microphones. In addition, these selections of shows are interesting because similar to each other, they dominated the airwaves at some point before breaking and returning with innovations, better audience viewership and popularity.

Big Brother Nigeria (BBN)

Big Brother Nigeria, rebranded to Big Brother Naija after the premier season, is an adaptation of the original global Big Brother reality television franchise. A wholly indigenous format production company, Storm Vision Nigeria Limited, in collabouration with Endemol Nigeria, owned by Endemol South Africa, produced this maiden indigenous reality show. The programme was aired live for 20 hours a day with 68 microphones and 27 cameras to capture the activities of contestants (Lwahas, 2017, p. 10). This show, with 14 contestants first aired on the television network channels of M-Net and DStv, during 5th of March until 4th of June 2006. This was distantly followed, after 11 years by the second season subtitled 'Gobbe'. The second season also featured 14 contestants and aired during 22nd of January until 9th of April 2017. The subsequent seasons up to the last one in 2021 aired on Africa Magic, DStv and Gotv network channels, back- to- back annually. Accordingly, the third season during 28th of January until 22nd of April 2018 featured twenty contestants and was subtitled 'Double Wahala'. Following this was the fourth season from 30th of June until 6th of October 2019 subtitled 'Pepper Dem' and featuring twenty-one contestants. By 2020, BBN was airing its fifth season from 19th of July until 28th of September, subtitled 'Lockdown'. This season also featured twenty contestants. The most recent season of BBN was the 2021 show from 24th of July until

3rd of October, subtitled 'Shine Ya Eye'. Over the several seasons, the days of contests have varied from 71 to 92 days. Below are some photos from the show:

Figure 5. The iconic Big Brother's seat. Photo culled from dstv.com

Figure 6. In-house contestants participating in an exercise. Photo culled from Google Images

Figure 7. Contestants reacting on the show. Photo culled from Google Images

The forerunner of BBN in Africa is the Big Brother Africa, which according to Nwafor and

Ezike (2015, p. 2) recorded an estimated viewership of more than forty million across Africa.

In one interesting news report on "Big Brother Naija: Why Nigerians are Obsessed with the

Reality TV Show", Umueri (2021) examines BBN's attraction to audience from two different

perspectives:

> …first, attraction is from people who are interested in becoming housemates in the reality show. This makes people, especially young Nigerians, seek out an audition when there is an opportunity to participate. The second attraction is from viewers and fans of the programme. The cultural element of BBN is a major pull factor. This allows participants to promote their cultural identity through dress, work habits and through the way they speak and the language they speak in. Production techniques are another major attraction. A good example is the use of cliff-hangers, or suspense, when the producer creates heightened interest in the programme on the part of the viewers. The production technique of keeping the housemates and viewers in suspense has been a hallmark feature of the show from inception (Umuerri, 2021).

It is also worth noting that the diversity of the contestants in their socioeconomic and cultural

backgrounds makes BBN the most watched reality television show in the country and Africa.

112

This observation is supported by Nobantu Shabangu, who posits that "the reality show has received more viewership on Showmax across Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa such that the collective hours streamed for this season (fifth) of 'Big Brother Naija' alone add up to almost 30 years' worth of viewings" (Shabangu, 2020).

In all these local versions, the programme formats differ only in the nature and number of contestants, and the location of the media content production. In the 2021 BBN season, the twenty-six (26) contestants selected for the show were confined in an isolated house accommodation in Lagos, Nigeria to compete in a live television streaming to escape eviction to eventually emerge winner. The contestants, also called housemates, determine the one that leaves the show every week of a particular season. This choice, however, is either confirmed or rejected by the viewers' votes for such eviction. If rejected, the voting results, checked by the auditing company of Alexander-Forbes, provide the basis for the weekly eviction of a contestant. The last contestant in the house at the end of any season becomes the winner. The reward worth of prizes varies from one season to the other. For example, season 2 had prize money of twenty-five (25) million naira plus SUV car while seasons 4, 5, and 6 got total prize money of sixty (60), eighty-five (85), and ninety (90) million Naira respectively. The winners of these star prizes for the six seasons of BBN reality show series are Katung Aduwak, Michael Efe Ejeba, Miracle Igbokwe, Mercy Eke, Olamilekun "Laycon" Agbeleshe, and Hazel Oyeye "White Money" Onou for 2006, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020 and 2021 respectively.

Despite its wide acceptance and popularity, every season of BBN like its other similar local adaption (BBA) continues to attract critical comments on the in-house activities of the contestants bothering on erosion of societal norms and standards. Issues relating to unconventional approach to open smooching, sex, infidelity, violence, etc. are common occurrences during the various episodes among the housemates. According to Laitto (2005) cited in Nwafor and Ezike (2015, p. 3), "the level of immortality being celebrated by the Big

Brother Africa reality show is adjudged short of programmes intended for education". Nwafor and Ezike (2015) further argue that despite these outcries and the moral panics, the reality show has neither improved in moral tone nor viewership level reduced; and number of viewers has rather increased from forty million in 2012 to seventy million in 2014. This is also the situation for BBN as one of the most popular indigenous reality television formats in the country.

Who Wants to Be A Millionaire (WWTBAM)?

This is a quiz show adapted from the original United Kingdom global format of "Who wants To Be A Millionaire". Its first debut in the UK was in 1998 and has been licensed to 105 countries worldwide, Lwahas (2017, p. 4) This indicates that the global television format is more widely franchised than the Big Brother global format with franchises in about 70 countries worldwide. In Nigeria, this global television format was first seen on the screens on October 08, 2004. Subsequently, it continued every year until June 25, 2017. By the end of 2017, the show ceased when its pioneer sponsor, MTN Nigeria, a co-producer with an indigenous company Ultima Limited withdrew from the show.

Ultima Limited bought the exclusive franchise for Nigeria from Celador International (now known as 2Way Traffic, UK) and invested heavily to replicate the design, construction, and development of the purpose-built studio in line with the format handed by the franchise owners (Akinlabi, 2009, p. 1). During this period, a total of 13 seasons premiered with some episodes annually ranging from the minimum of 12 in the first season to the maximum of 52 in most of the other seasons. The goal of this quiz show aired on NTA and Silverbird TV is to covet the top prize money of 10 million Naira by providing correct solutions to a maximum of 15 multiple choice questions to be asked by the host of the programme during any episode. The host of the show throughout the 13 seasons was Mr Frank Edoho. Below are typical images from the show:

Figure 8. A young contestant on the hot seat of *WWTBAM*. Photo Culled from Google Images

Figure 9. A contestant and the host with cheering audience. Photo Culled from Punch Newspaper (Oluwagbemi, 2017)

The processes for the selection of contestants during seasons 1 – 13 includes two methods to enlist for audition. These are either through interactive voice response on dialling 132 from MTN line or sending a text message: ("name" "space" "telephone number" "space" "Location") to 132 from MTN line. For the audition using the first method, a four options

multiple choice question is posed to which an answer is required to be supplied by pressing either of the numbers 1,2,3 or 4 after the tone. A wrong answer immediately elicits the voice message: "Sorry, you are wrong this time, but you can try again. Remember, you can try as many times as you want. Thank you for calling and good luck" On the other hand, the correct answer elicits the voice message: "Yes! You made it! Congratulations! Please say your name and telephone number after the beep. Press 1 when you are done". The potential contestant is also informed: "Please Note that You Will be Charged 200.00 Naira Per Call".

For audition through a text message, a four options multiple choice question is forwarded to which answer is required to be supplied by texting back any of the alphabets, A, B, C or D. A wrong answer soon after receives the message: "Sorry, you are wrong this time. Please try again. Remember, you can enter as many times as you want. Thanks, and good luck". Alternatively, a correct answer yields the message: "Correct, you have entered our list of possible contestants and will be called if shortlisted. The more you play, the better your chances of being selected. Good luck".

This potential contestant also receives a text: "Please note that you will be charged 200 Naira (an equivalent of 50 cents) for the two text messages". However, if the time given to answer the question lapses, the text to be received is: "Sorry, you have exceeded your allotted time to answer your question. Please try again. Goodbye." The names of the contestants who answered the questions from both methods correctly are stored in a database. Qualified contestants are then selected by shortlisting 100 contestants using a computerised selection process. If selected, the contestant will be contacted and requested to answer a follow-up qualifying question. The question is typically not a multiple-choice type, but one which requires the contestant to give the nearest answer to the question. The computer then ranks the answers which the contestants provided, leaving the top 9 with answers closest to the correct answer to be invited to play the game (Talentshowsite, 2015).

The rules of playing WWTBAM game require the 9 contestants, so randomly selected by the computer, and invited to play in any episode, to further play a preliminary game called "Fastest Finger First". Here the contestants are given a four options multiple choice question to be arranged in a particular order required by the host of the show. The contestant that correctly provides this order in the shortest and fastest time gets the opportunity to play the main game. This is because the game programme format requires one contestant to play at any time if the questions are answered correctly up to the top prize money of 10 million Naira. The game follows in a manner where the host asks the contestant increasingly difficult questions each time. These questions feature four possible correct answers, and the contestant must choose the right one to progress (Augoye, 2021).

There are, however, milestones with guaranteed winning prize money. For example, 20,000 Naira for correctly providing answers to question numbers 1to 5. Then 250,000 Naira for consecutively answering question numbers 1to10 correctly and 10 million Naira jackpot prize for correctly answering all the multiple-choice questions asked in the episode. The game ends for a contestant who is unable to answer any question number correctly, even after exploiting the game's stipulated three "lifelines" and decides to walk away with only guaranteed prize money last won. These lifelines are called "50/50", "phone a friend" and "ask the audience". In the 50/50 lifeline, the computer deletes two wrong answers randomly thereby leaving one correct and one wrong option outstanding. In "phone a friend" lifeline, the contestant is given only 30 seconds to call his/her friend, read the question as well as the possible answers options. Thereafter, this friend has just the remaining time of the 30 seconds to help with an answer. For the "Ask the Audience" lifeline, members of the studio audience use provided touchpads to help with their correct answer. The computer tallies the various answers to display the percentage of audience that chose each answer option for attention of the contestant. Since the debut of this mentally engaging educational show, only a contestant,

Chimuanya Aroma Ufodike from Nnewi, Anambra state of Nigeria was able to win the top/jackpot prize money of 10 million Naira on September 11, 2009. Many others have won prize money ranging from 20,000 Naira to 5 million Naira in the various seasons' episodes. The studio and home audiences have benefited from winning prizes during the episodes.

Apparently, this format programme show is not only interactive but also participatory in nature, involving even the home audiences. Lwahas captures it clearly as follows:

> The programme provides opportunities for the studio audience to win a cash prize of 20,000.00 Naira (equivalent of $40) for correctly answering a general question given by the host. The fastest among the audience to text in his/her number within 60 seconds is announced and rewarded with a cash prize of 20,000.00 Naira. In most cases, more than one member of the audience who texts in the right answer within the time limit get 20,000.00 Naira each. Similarly, audiences at home are equally given an opportunity to answer a question correctly and text in their answers before the next edition of the programme. The first ten to do so each receive a cash prize of 20,000.00 Naira each. Their names are announced at the beginning of the next edition of the programme (Lwahas, 2017, p. 5).

Nigeria's version of WWTBAM programme format also has variations incorporating special groups and occasions called "Special Editions". These special editions include "Valentine Special", "Children Special", and "Who Deserves To Be A Millionaire". The valentine special features couples on the hot seat to answer questions for the prize money during yearly valentine's Day. Children special edition is used to feature children of 8 to14 years old from diverse backgrounds for playing to win prize money in scholarship. "*Who Deserves To Be A Millionaire*" was designed to celebrate Nigerians who made significant contributions to the society but are inadequately rewarded and therefore currently live in abject poverty unacknowledged.

It is worth noting that after about 5 years break in transmission of this programme format on Nigeria's television airwaves, its return as "*Who Wants To Be A Millionaire? Series 2: The Rebirth*" whose production is under license from Sony Pictures television has been

announced. This version will introduce a 4th lifeline to be known as "Ask the Host" that gives the contestant additional opportunity to ask the host of the show answer to the question. The new version will also come with doubled top prize money of 20 million Naira with Mr Frank Edoho also returning as the host (Augoye, 2022).

Gulder Ultimate Search (GUS)

This is a 100 percent Nigerian reality television format, developed and implemented by Nigerian Breweries Plc. The company designed it to create awareness of and promote Gulder Lager Beer in various parts of the country. As an adventure series, GUS also promotes the tourism potentials of the country as its integral media content requires staging the show in different locations suitable for treasure hunting. Fortunately, Nigeria is richly blessed with such locations in different parts of the country as can be seen from the already aired shows' locations. Published literature on selection of the contestants for seasons 1-11 is scarce, only season 12 has such information. For this season in 2021, potential contestants who satisfied the initially set eligibility criteria are required to file their applications online. Such criteria included an age limit of 21-35 years, Nigerian nationalities, one minute video clip showing the necessary personal information, including fitness level for participation among others. The online portal for this exercise provided terms and conditions, personal details, five registration questions, brain teaser of three questions each lasting 30 seconds for all applicants to respond to. Thereafter, those shortlisted proceed to regional screening in Abuja and Enugu and the successful ones then proceed to the final selection process in Nigeria's commercial city of Lagos from where 18 contestants emerged for season 12. The show remains popular among young Nigerians and millions of Africans. Hence there were approximately 20,000 entries for the 12th season of the survival reality show (Vanguard, 2022). This programme revealed that

youths enjoy struggles for survival against themselves and nature in frantic efforts to find a

hidden treasure which brings the ultimate searcher instant fame and fortune. Below are some

photos from the show:

Figure 10. Promotional banner for the GUS show. Photo culled from Google Images

Figure 11. The Anchor/Presenter for the GUS out in the wild with the contestants. Photo
culled from Google Images

Figure 12. Some contestants of the GUS searching for their treasure in the forest. Photo culled from Google Images

GUS debuted in 2004 and aired for 11 seasons before breaking in 2014. It was relaunched on October 16, 2021, to commence season 12 called "The Age of Craftsmanship", which ended on December 26, 2021, and won by a sports enthusiast Odudu Otu. Season 1 of 2004 called "The Legend of Captain Kush", staged at Snake Island, Lagos with prize of 3 million Naira plus a car was won by Ezeugo Egwuagwu. Season 2 aired in 2005 and was called "The Lost Helmet of General Maximilian". This season was staged in Obudu Hills, Calabar with star prize money of 5 million Naira, which was won by Lucan Chambilis. Season 3 aired in 2006 and was called "The Brew Master's Secret". It held at the Nigerian Institute of Oil Palm Research, Benin with top prize of 5 million Naira plus a Ford Explorer which was won by Hector Joberteh. Season 4 of 2007 was called "The Search for the Golden Age" and held in Shere Hills, Jos, Plateau state. The start prize for this season was 5 million Naira plus an SUV car which was won by Dominic Mudabai, a certified fitness trainer. Season 5, aired in 2008) was called "The Chronicle". The season held in the Stormy Hills of Mmakwu-Awgu, Enugu state

with top prize money of 5 million Naira plus an SUV car, which was won by Michael Nwachukwu. Season 6 of 2009 was called "The Horn of Valour" and was held in the Omodo Forest, Aagba, Osun state. A top prize of 5 million Naira plus an SUV was won by Uche Nwaezeapu.

By 2010, the show produced two seasons in the same year. The first was a special edition known as "Celebrity Showdown" and called "The Golden Goblet". It was staged at the La Campaigne Tropicana, Epe, Lagos state with cash prize of 7 million Naira. This prize was won by a Nollywood actor Mr. Emeka Ike. Continuing with its regular shows afterwards, Season 7 in 2010 was called "The Ultimate Hero" and held in Omo Forest, Ogun state with cash prize of 5 million plus an SUV. This prize was won by Mr. Oyekunle Oluwaremi. Season 8 of 2011 was called "The Contest of Champions" and held at the Kukuruku Hills, Egbetua Quarters in Ososo Akoko Edo, Edo state. A top prize of 5 million Naira plus an SUV car was won by Chris Okagbue. Season 9 went on to air in 2012, and accordingly, was called "Gatekeepers Fortune". It held at Usaka, Obot-Akara, Akwa Ibom state with an almost doubled top prize of 9 million Naira plus a 2012 SUV car, and an additional 500,000.00 Naira swagger allowance. This prize was won by Pascal Eronmose Ojezele. In 2013, season 10 continued to show, called "The Tenth Symbol" and held at the Forest of Usaka, Akwa Ibom state. The top prize became doubled up to10 million Naira plus a new Mitsubishi Pajero, which was won by Dennis Okike. Season 11 still went on to air in 2014, called "The General's Helmet". It was held at Aguleri Forest, Anambra state with a top prize of 10 million Naira plus a new Ford Explorer which was won by Chinedu Ubachukwu. After eleven consecutive seasons since inception, the show went on a production break for six years before returning in its season 12 by 2021. The season was called "The Age of Craftsmanship" and was held in Uyo, Akwa Ibom state. Six years on from its last appearance on screens, it returned with a whooping top prize of

50 million Naira (equivalent of approximately 120,000 dollars), including an SUV as well as a return ticket to Dubai. This prize was won by Odudu Ime Otu.

The Apprentice Africa Season One as a Critical Example

Evidence abounds in the experiences of popular global reality television shows aired in Nigeria so far to suggest that there appears to be a pattern of breaks in transmission after one or more seasons. Some reasons adduced for discontinuation range from withdrawal of sponsors to rebranding and introduction of innovations for improving viewership. For example, it took BBN 11years after the debut season to return to the television screens. Also, WWTBAM ceased airing June 25, 2017, after 13 seasons due to the withdrawal of its pioneer sponsor, MTN. Similarly, the 100% indigenous GUS aired for 11 seasons before breaking in 2014 without the producers' providing reasons for their break in transmission. *The Apprentice Africa* appears to have followed the same pattern of break in transmission after a very exciting and generally acclaimed debut season. Neither the producers nor the sponsors have so far given any reason(s) for this discontinuation. However, it is pertinent to point out that Bank PHB who talked big like a typical big-budget sponsor during the maiden production and airing of The Apprentice Africa, started having insolvency issues after the end of the premier season in June 2008. Subsequently, in August 2011, the Federal Government of Nigeria through its central bank announced the revocation of their operating license. It is, therefore, not entirely out of the ordinary to speculate that this predicament of the pioneer sponsor largely contributed to the discontinuation. It is predictable that *The Apprentice Africa* will rebound soon considering the established trend.

In keeping with the above, doing business in unstructured economy such as Nigeria's necessarily exposes the operation to informalized practices. For *The Apprentice Africa*,

episode's tasks strongly depended on inputs from the various related artisans, who are the bedrocks of informalized practices, to succeed. Furthermore, selling of products within the time constraints of this reality show must necessarily adopt informalized practices embedded in street marketing.

Dynamics of Television Formats – Trade, Adaptation, Circulation

Following the understanding of formats as an economic or cultural technology of exchange, Moran (2009b, p. 80) defines the international format trade as 'selling and purchasing licenses for TV formats between an exporting licensor and an importing licensee.' The trading exchange grants the importing licensee or buyer the opportunity to adapt the format to the needs of the domestic TV market. Licensing format reinforces the foundation of its formalized trading since 'it gives complete access to the format's previous success in another national territory' (Moran, 2004, p.7). In doing so, a producer is allowed a good deal of flexibility so far as the choice and arrangement of elements in the adaptation are concerned. Moran further argues that under standard format licensing agreements, the variations to a television format developed through adaptation become a further part of the format, with ownership vested in the original owner. The trade agreement also establishes grounds upon which the licensee may become able to negotiate between the options included or excluded. These options may range from cost-efficient standardization services which the licensor may offer to cultural differentiation negotiations.

Meanwhile, Lantzsch, Altmeppen and Will (2009) express that 'global TV format trade belongs to the field of worldwide acquisition and production of entertainment programmes in TV'. Trade also involves a more holistic organizational perspective involving three broad stages in their core processes – production, acquisition, and reproduction stages. That is, trade

is not limited to acquisition. It involves the development and production stage in the country of origin; the takeover of a successful format; and the adaptation stage where the format is reproduced and tailored to national or cultural requirements (Lantzsch, Altmeppen and Will, 2009). Format plagiarism remains intractable in the TV industry due to its legal protection difficulty as intellectual property. For example, elements of the format may be modified for an idea to effectively not be considered a copy, indicating that plagiarism with minimal changes can succeed. This is perhaps why despite the emergence of a regular formats licensing system under various local copyright laws and international formalization of formats trade through FRAPA, there continues to be adverse reports (TVBIZZ, 2020) on television format piracy in some national territories, especially in their remote locations. TVBIZZ lists possible actions that can be taken during the development, filming, and implementation to protect against format piracy and copyright infringements as: Each material related to the format must contain the date of creation and the name of the author, or the name of the company; when negotiating with potential buyers, it is always better to conclude a non-disclosure agreement and; create the format Bible, film the pilot episodes of the programme, and conclude a licensing agreement as the main steps to maximizing the format protection.

Significance of Format Adaptation

In relation to the three stages of trade, adaptation is considered an essential process or a vital part of successful format programmes. Keane et al. (2007, p. 59) describe the process of adaptation as 'a mechanism of flexible, leaner production and response to evolving industry practices,' while television formats serve as the 'templates for adaptation'. This means that in the trade process, adaptation facilitates variation of original format to suit its new, specific audiences or other variable units such as local production resources, broadcast regulations, channel image, and local culture (Moran, 1998; Beeden, 2010). As Moran (2009a) suggests,

adaptation is crucial to triggering cross-cultural exchange that cuts through technical, bureaucratic, regulatory and cultural processes in different territories. This supports the view of Keane (2004b, p. 11) that television formats are ostensibly about imitation; that is, licensed formats reward imitation and provide an exchange of economic rents between agents. The format, in this sense, creates a chain of value that can be modified and extended across national boundaries as well as within national media systems. These views underpin the strategic importance of adaptation in cross-cultural exchanges among the nations of the world.

Further highlighting the significance of adaptation, Beeden (2010) notes that global format trade promotes the articulation of national identity by allowing for the creation of original texts. Also, Beeden considers that 'successful format adaptations appear to be those that are an interpretation of the original rather than simply a copy, and are able to fit the social, cultural, and institutional context of the new country' (2010, p. 17). This view simply demonstrates that the origins of the formats are less important given that successful format adaptations are the ones that can fit the social, cultural, and institutional context of the destination country. Rather than this, adaptation promotes an outward acknowledgement of the origin and destination countries' differences. It also promotes an inward nationalization of the programme, which are the necessary ingredients when targeting a different audience. Hence, the process of adapting television formats to appeal to local sensibilities and culture is important for national identity preservation and sustainability, despite its tendencies as a form of cultural colonization.

Exemplifying the point that format adaptations have greater potentials to succeed when national identity is clearly articulated (embedded), Beeden (2010) points to the American adaptation of British TV format, "*The Office*". The show illustrates the significance of national identity as a vital organ of global format trade by the way in which the programme was effectively adapted to suit the institutional context, culture, and humor of the United States.

Contrary to the globalisation thesis, where format adaptations are typically seen to contribute to an increasingly homogenized contemporary world, Beeden's study demonstrated the impact of television format adaptations in articulations of national identity and cultural belonging. Thus, the sitcom's success in America was intimately linked to an articulation of national identity through its ability to adjust and become characteristic of the American culture.

In another study of a German copycat programme (entitled Stromberg) and a US remake of the British sitcom, The Office, Larkey (2009) suggests another precept interconnected with such remakes known as the 'cultural proximity' principle. This principle was first identified by Straubhaar (2007, p. 26) and highlights the significance of adaptation where preserving national belonging is at the center of format trade. It is also used to explain a situation where "audiences are attracted to cultural products 'that are close in cultural content and style to the audience's own culture(s)". Expounding the theory of "cultural proximity" between the programme and the national audience, Straubhaar notes that 'audiences seem to prefer television programmes that are as close to them as possible in the language, ethnic appearance, dress, style, humor, historical reference, and shared topical knowledge'. Tunstall (2008: xiv) also corroborates the idea of cultural proximity in noting that 'most people around the world prefer to be entertained by people who look the same, talk the same, joke the same, behave the same, play the same games, and have the same beliefs (and worldview) as themselves'. More so, Tunstall highlights the overwhelming preference of audiences to their own national news, politics, weather, and football and other sports. In line with this argument, Singh's (2010, p. 20) study noted that 'the growing understanding amongst television broadcasters that audiences prefer to watch local content with local themes over foreign subtitled or dubbed content' is one of the fundamental changes which have precipitated this increase in business. This may open conversations on the flexibility of formats (that is, the idea that formats should be flexible for remaking and localization for a specific audience). However,

it does not automatically equate to, or approve of copycatting, since it can be argued that licensed formats (such as the US remake mentioned above) also fit the cultural proximity narrative.

Meanwhile, Esser's (2016, p. 30) study recognizes complexity in audience engagement with global television formats over time. As such, Esser observed that language, localization in geographical respect, or familiarity, in terms of ethnic appearance, dress, shared topical knowledge, or other significant cultural traditions, have appeal. However, it is a mistaken assumption "that audiences can easily and justifiably be classified as national audiences". The study suggests that the way people view programmes has changed over time and is also more personalized alongside a sense of national belonging. Hence, a "number of people do not see themselves in what is offered domestically or do not like what they see there for multiple reasons. Different people watch programmes for different reasons, and they interpret them differently; even for individuals viewing motives and pleasures change, across genres, across individual programmes, and even concerning the same programme." Therefore, there is no concrete preference of domestic and/or national content from an audience perspective over imported ones. However, it should be observed that while impressive in terms of its value, international trade in television programmes is nevertheless dwarfed by the overall volume of television programmes that receive domestic circulation (Moran 2004, p.4). Moran also argues that most of the world's television programmes are produced and broadcast in national television systems and do not receive an international distribution. Independently, some early authors found that where national audiences have a choice, they usually prefer television programmes produced nationally or in the national language as against imported programmes (Katz and Wedell, 1977; Moran, 1985; Larson, 1990; Ferguson, 1993; De La Garde, 1994). These views support enculturation among local television audiences within various national boundaries since national television programmes inevitably have embedded national cultural

effects. Also, format adaptations provide platforms for the global and national television programmes to merge, and in most cases, the global becomes partially indigenized with local cultural contents. For example, the global format, the American 'The Apprentice', was partially indigenized to *The Apprentice Africa* containing programme produced by local production artists with contestants that compete in a series of local business tasks, many of which include major companies requiring street smarts and corporate intelligence to conquer to convince the indigenous CEO that they are the best to be *The Apprentice Africa.*

Open and Closed Adaptation

While studying the Trade and Adaptation of formats, another level of categorization has been distinguished between models of exchange in licensing agreements. The first category deals with formats that explicitly permit flexible or open adaptation (Waisbord, 2004; Moran, 2009a). The second category, on the other hand, deals with closed adaptation. These kinds of formats do not permit flexible adaptations in a new territory (Moran, 2009a). An open or free adaptation may reflect the degree to which a format can be tailored at the programme level. That is, lesser structured formats tend to offer broader localization/nationalization options when compared to highly streamlined ones in the process of adaptation. At the production level, Open adaptations also reflect the ease of creativity and authorship in the process of adaptation (Keinonen, 2016).

Apparently, The Apprentice global format falls within the flexible formats which permit tailoring at programme level to suit the local cultures where it is being adapted. Therefore, *The Apprentice Africa* was able to adapt the programme to suit cultural tastes. For instance, some rewards for winning teams involved cultural tourism such as visiting an Oba's palace, local arts centers etc. It also featured tasks which explicitly required the contestants to cater to business tourists visiting Africa. The flexibility of *The Apprentice* to be tailored to local needs may also be construed as one which overlooks new local format programmes whose

structure and episodic patters mimic those of the global format. For example, Nigeria's indigenous entrepreneurship show, *The Next Titan*, which has run consecutively for 8 seasons from 2013 to 2021 is otherwise a local version of *The Apprentice*. This indigenous show was created "to assist young Nigerian entrepreneurs by identifying the best business minds and supporting their entrepreneurial acumen through logistical assistance, informal training, knowledge and other requisite services needed to propel them into successful personalities" (Business Post Contributor, 2021, 15 September).

In most cases, format adaptations are relatively unbounded and universal because they mostly appear as "flexible templates or empty molds" expected to be shaped to the forms of different television territories in ways that appeal to various local audiences. Typical examples are the various localized versions of licensed programme formats adaptations such as the reality shows like the American reality the TV, *The Apprentice*, or *The Bachelor*, or *Big Brother*; the quiz and game shows like *Who wants to be a Millionaire?* or *Wheel of Fortune*, etc. Also, a study by Thomas and Kumar (2004a, p. 128) presents a situation in which of the fifty-two episodes of a programme called C. A. T. S which was clearly an adaptation of the US 'female' detective serial Charlie's Angels, shot in India, not many of the narratives were taken from the original series. Moreover, there was no training of the production team abroad or consultants on the set from the original programme, only a regime of watching all the US programme. This suggests potential evidence of an emerging global television system (Moran, 2009a, p. 117). That is, the idea that formats may be flexible does not necessarily create the cultural specificity, but a situation of replication of containers with intense similarities in contents. Waisbord (2004, p. 368) highlights a possible resultant 'pasteurized, transnational product detached from national cultures,' because the flexibility of formats espouses the global television system while endangering traces of national belonging. Yet, such popularity of formats seen from the open or flexible point is becoming 'a giant cultural vacuum cleaner that constantly sucks in ideas

from around the world and turns them into commodities' (Waisbord, 2004, p. 379). This suggests private profit as the overriding interest and motivation rather than mere open or flexible format adaptation to benefit the articulation of national cultures.

Unlike open formats, closed adaptations are less practiced and less discussed. In the case of closed formats, adaptations are expected to follow a highly standardized formula. Hence, each new programme adaptation is expected to bear a close resemblance to the original version (Moran, 2009d). Format adaptations should reflect the merging of the global and local at the three levels of the television culture, namely production, content/text, and reception. But the factors majorly applied in format adaptations production include indigenous producers, hosts, artistes and sometimes use of national or local language. However, Keinonen (2016) observes that the problem is that studies on format adaptations are usually limited to the analysis of the final product, television text, thus ignoring other levels like production and reception. He, therefore, suggests that the notion of cultural negotiation should be applied to analyze various levels of television culture and format Industry in particular.

Navarro (2012) also notes that highlighting the process through which the format circulates is arguably a useful tool to see formatted shows for what they really are – instances of cultural negotiation in which a formula designed for global consumption is adapted to a local context. According to Navarro, even when a licensing agreement regulates the adaptation process, the resulting programme may not only refer to the originating source – the "idea" being exchanged. That is, the process of adaptation may result in a final programme with some changes outside of the original ideas exchanged. As such, Navarro argues that words such as "translation", "negotiation", and "exchange" common with existing TV formats literature tend to promote a conservative expectation of formats where the autonomy of the original formula is preserved. Navarro suggests that the fluidity of a format's identity, and the way it circulates

– that is, ease and freedom of circulation – are central towards distinguishing it from other cultural artefacts.

Case in point of the practice of closed format is the *Celador, UK* versus *Star TV, India's* quiz format deal. Celador, a UK-based company and original licence holders for the TV format *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* upon selling the show to India's *Star TV* as *Kaun Banega Crorepati*, had strict regulations. The regulations stipulated that it was mandatory to train Indian staff in the UK to be equipped to thoroughly execute the quiz format back in India. In turn, Celador also had their own staff train in India to boost business relationships and efficiency in executing the format show to the highest standards (Thomas and Kumar, 2004b; Moran, 2009d). While this involved a great deal of resources from the business point of view, Moran (2009d, p. 44) also suggests that such closed formats involving literal translation may have "fairly immediate and unwelcome consequences". They may also make "little concession to the interest and taste of new audiences". Moran further claims that such instances of closed adaptations where standardization of models disallows room for "local sensibility or sensitivity" are not the norm in format adaptation, but rather the exception.

However, while flexible or open formats seem to be contributing to a globalized television system, they do not entirely constrain local input and inflexion, like closed adaptations. Closed adaptations mean that cultural boundaries will be less likely articulated as canned programming crosses borders (Waisbord, 2004, p. 372; Moran, 2009a, p. 119). As we shall see in a subsequent section, the adaptations of open rather than closed television programmes have proven track records of boosting local TV programming. These open formats possess international markets successes and contain cultural elements that appeal to local audiences and diaspora nostalgia. For example, quiz shows like *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* are easily adaptable to localization and hence popular with the Nigerian audience judging by the uproar in most neighborhoods during the airing of the programme whenever the

132

national electric power supply suddenly goes off. As will be understood in later chapters of this study, this is arguably the case with *The Apprentice Africa* television format adaptation of the American TV reality show format *The Apprentice*. Its episode one containing essentially, the local cultural task of "street hustle", attracted a highly favorable social media audience and the first contestant evictee comments as detailed elsewhere in this work. Thomas and Kumar (2004, p136) agree that the influence of foreign cultures may be more insidious when cloaked in a veneer of local culture. It is made to seem progressive, not foreign but a modernized local culture. Therefore, it is obvious that these conditions are not achievable with closed format adaptations since only ready-made such cultural products cross entirely different cultural boundaries/territories. The closed format adaptations make a mockery of cross-cultural globalisation, and international trade in formats as producers and receivers retreat behind their national cultural boundaries. It is more likely to reinforce the erroneous belief that closed format adaptations are trying to crush the inherent difficulties in copyright protection of open format adaptations. In essence, closed formats not only make specific cultural representations impossible or complicated, but they also tend to contradict the significance of formats as tools for the exchange of culture. On the other hand, open formats allow the necessary flexibility for the infusion of national cultures, without boundaries that otherwise, when crossed in the process of adaptation, may lead to conditions of piracy.

The discussion on open and closed adaptations highlighted above is useful in providing background information about the legal ramifications of acquisitions and productions. The following section explores insights on global legislation of formats with regards to the boundaries between informal forms of adaptation, unlicensed, copycat, and cloned formats.

Format Legislation Issues

While considering the term "format" earlier, it was seen largely as a business transaction between the licensee and licensor. Esser (2013) extends that perception of formats from a contractual angle embodies an understanding of formats as intellectual property. Therefore, noting an absence of the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) approach in law, Esser further echoes the Format Recognition and Protection Association (FRAPA). Thus, most judges have remained reluctant to recognize formats beyond generic programme ideas lacking in upholding copyright infringement claims. This follows the observation that regulation differs widely across countries. Consequently, Esser (2013, p. 144) notes that 'copycatting without acknowledgment and remuneration of format developers and owners still occurs, to varying degrees and especially in countries where legal protection is lacking.' Although, as expressed in (Winslow, 2003) FRAPA's copyright law expert, Christoph Fey, highlights that the lack or very little existing copyright protection for format right holders is also the case with developed markets. Similarly, Zeal Television's Director of International Television, Andrea Jackson, agrees that the lack of legal protection is a real concern in the industry at large. This means that the issue of format protection transcends any single nation or region based on local resources and is a global issue. In fact, Malbon (2006) argues that format rights, as a legal category, is not recognized in any country. Though in certain cases attempts towards its recognition is tied to complicated legal processes. Esser, however, argues that 'despite the fact that legal protection is precarious, the format business has continued to grow and there is anecdotal evidence that, now that the format trade is firmly established globally and 'unlicensed copying is decreasing' (2013, p. 144). This decrease in unlicensed copying can be easily attributed to the more recent emergence of regular formats licensing system under various national/local copyright laws in addition to global formats registration with FRAPA.

Furthermore, according to Coad (2012), the wind is very much blowing in favour of format protection worldwide, with important decisions in 2011 in Brazil and France. In Brazil the Court of Appeal upheld the 2003 decision, which accorded copyright status to Big Brother. A Brazilian court also allowed a claim by Fremantle Media, its "*Got Talent*" format and a Paris court upheld another *Big Brother* claim on behalf of Endemol. Therefore, Coad concludes that this also teaches the market that the 'key to format protection is in sending out signals that you will take seriously the business of protecting your Intellectual Property (IP); not only for your sake, but also for the sake of your licensees' (Coad, 2012).

Chalaby also observes that 'despite these obstacles, evidence shows that TV formats are increasingly granted legal protection against copyright infringement.' For example, after years of fruitless attempts, a Spanish court agreed for the first time that a TV format could be subject to copyright protection (Chalaby, 2015b, p. 472). Yet, the widespread global uncertainty in an official legal protection framework for formats highlight the complexity of measuring and appropriately distinguishing among copied, cloned, unlicensed, and other forms of adaptation that may not be included in the standardized GTF's indices of formalized programmes.

In a brief historical reference, studies on copycat programming in Western Europe can be traced back to the 1980s and 1990s, predating the advent of the term "format" among scholars and broadcasters in media industries. The collection edited by Alesandro Silj that appeared in English in 1998 was outlined as a 'paradigmatic moment for such studies', in noting that: 'Entitled *East of Dallas*, the collection was intended as a critical contribution to the "Dallasization" (or "Americanization") debate. This occurred among European media researchers following the opening of private television channels in Western Europe and the importation of US prime-time soap opera series such as Dallas as programmers sought to fill their expanded broadcast hours' (Moran, 2009b, p. 16). Through an examination of the generic

programme response to *Dallas* by several European broadcasters, Moran notes that the study of 'various new soap operas in television systems such as those of France and Germany were examined as generic spinoffs of the US programme' (p.16). However, Moran added that they (remakes or adaptations of the original shows) were *loosely* based on these predecessors and *therefore* did not require any kind of format licensing for their development.

Television programme adaptation and remaking began to receive increasing recognition as one which was far from occasional and accidental by the 1990s. Several television genres cropped up, for example, game shows like US *Wheel of Fortune.* This era saw an 'increasing recognition that television programme adaptation and remaking were far from occasional or accidental' (Moran, 2009c, p. 16). As Moran notes, such an increase was documented in relation to several television genres. Around this time, the term "syndicated", such as used in Skovmand (1992), referred to formats in an analysis of multiple licensed adaptations of the US *Wheel of Fortune* by various Nordic broadcasters. Another example was Cooper-Chen (1994), who tracked a significant number of similar formats from the United States and elsewhere across 50 different television markets across the world in one of the pioneering examinations? of present-day TV formats.

Since television programme adaptation and remaking became recognized in the 1990s, several scholars and broadcasters have increasingly discussed the issue of copycat and unlicensed formats in the media and entertainment industries around the world. Meanwhile, as cited by Zwaan and Joost De Bruin (2012, p. 14) 'the format industry is not necessarily reliant on legal protection. It certainly helps that there is a degree of perceived legal protection, but the industry at large is aware of how dubious that legal protection is,' says the Senior Manager at Fremantle Media (FremantleMedia, 2009). Moreover, 'subjecting the circulation of formats to an original source might not be a simple task' (Navarro, 2012, p. 26). This is because, as Navarro observes, violators tend to change the formula slightly before claiming ownership over

the new version, a practice embedded in the concept of formatting itself. It thus makes format theft more difficult to punish given the assumption that a formula will be adapted to specific television cultures. Also, quoting the media giant's Executive Vice President (EVP) of Commercial and Business Affairs:

> What drives the format industry is not what is legally protectable or the rights – it is traced back to what is the initial impulse for a television commissioning editor or buyer to buy someone else's TV format – because that impulse is as simple as 'since it worked over there, therefore it has a fairly decent chance that it is going to work here as well', i.e. there must be some chemistry in the show that works with the audiences. Therefore, *Idols* is a shining example which goes around the world and achieves very similar results almost everywhere, despite uncertain legal protection (Zwaan and Joost De Bruin, 2012, p. 16)

Existing copyright laws do not provide sufficient legal protection for television formats in terms of enforceable legal actions. Therefore, this loophole often forces companies to seek other legal grounds elsewhere due to its lack of copyright laws (Winslow, 2003). Such alternatives, Winslow cites the head of media and entertainment practices in *Haldanes*, John McLehan, may include anti-competition laws or breach of confidentiality laws. For instance, notes the industry's John McLehan, the use of breach of confidence law proved successful in 2013 in a court in India, where a local channel received an injunction based on a producer's claim that the channel used information gathered during meetings to produce pirated versions of a proposed show. In another Danish instance, Winslow explains how the entertainment company *Celador* won a lawsuit pertaining to a pirated version of the global format, *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* This had been achieved under anti-competition laws, which prohibits unfair competition in business. Malbon (2006) also describes other forms of legal rights that can be eligible to support limited copyright laws in format right protection such as confidentiality rights, passing off laws, trademarks and design protection.

As stated by *European Broadcasting Union* (EBU, 2005), in order to have a television format benefit from copyright laws, it 'requires that the format (1) has found expression in a

certain perceptible form and (2) that originality is expressed'. Also, as stated in (FRAPA, 2011, pp. 10–11), 'a TV show is made of several copyright works (literary, artistic, musical, etc.), and when "these elements or other features are combined" they form a "dramatic work"'. For instance, *Big Brother* has not been deemed an infringing copy of *Survive!* in a Dutch supreme court. This exoneration was due to the claim that the combination of 12 elements within *Survive!* when taken together, was considered a 'copyright work', which could be 'sufficiently unique and specific to be original'. This means that *Big Brother* was not found to have copied *Survive!* within the premise of a wholistic copyright work (FRAPA, 2011, p. 17).

Another example is the *Opportunity Knocks* case in New Zealand in the 1980s. According to FRAPA, format rights discussion usually starts from this point. The producer and presenter of the popular British television show "Opportunity Knocks" between 1956 and 1978 on ITV, Hughie Green, objected to the unauthorized adaptation of his talent show under the same title. The Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand ("BCNZ") had created a similar programme from 1975 to 1978 in New Zealand. Hughie Green claimed that he wrote the scripts of the shows. He found various similarities between the shows including the same form of introduction for each competitor, same stock or catchphrases, and using a "clapometer" to measure audience reactions. Nonetheless, after a second appeal to the Privy Council in the UK, the ruling found that precise evidence was absent as to what the scripts contained. Consequently, the ideas inferred from the scripts were not the subject of copyright. Therefore:

> The Court's decision, in that case, not to protect a few elements of a talent show (including a "clapometer"), is cited as the reason why copyright fails to protect formats. However, copyright law around the world has developed in the 22 years since that case and Courts in countries such as Belgium, Brazil, Canada, the Netherlands and Spain have protected formats through copyright law. Germany and the UK, on the other hand, continue to be difficult countries for format creators to pursue copyright claims. (FRAPA, 2011, p. 13)

As Chalaby (2015a) observes, while the industry's favourite line of defense has traditionally been copyright laws, the outcome of copyright laws are most likely uncertain following a number of reasons. These reasons conclude that not all formats are equal before the law. For instance, scripted formats that come with characters and storylines are easier to protect than quiz shows, themselves easier to protect than variety and reality programmes (FRAPA, 2011). Also, considerations according to (EBU, 2005, p. 70) that 'inspiration is allowed' as well as weighing 'the competing benefits of protecting IP rights against the right of free access to information' increase the prevalent uncertainty of legal outcomes.

Format rights are harder to impose [or less certain] in the absence of legal protection or in countries where legal processes are convoluted (Keane, 2004a; Esser, 2013). In fact, Malbon (2006) argues that format rights, as a legal category, are not recognized, perhaps, with or without the presence of uncomplicated and functional legal processes in any country. Therefore, Malbon suggests that the format industry merely devised this term with reference to game shows and "reality shows". This is suggestive of an effort to fend off copycats from the most susceptible format genres. However, he states, 'although the law does not protect a format in itself, a degree of legal protection is gained by deploying a range of legal rights, including copyright, confidentiality, passing off, trademarks and design protection.' In consensus with this as an efficient strategy, Malbon suggests a practice of enlisting these rights by savvy format creators and producers as part of their format's bible or format's documentation. A few other explanations of copyright law applications in the media industry are as follows:

Copyright

Copyright law does not protect a genre, type, and style because their scope is too broad, and providing them protection would greatly hamper creativity. As to precisely what elements of

storytelling, music and format shows constitute a genre is a moot point. Some elements are obviously a genre: there is no copyright in a 'game show', 'quiz show' or 'reality show' in itself. That is, even if, you were transported back in time and became the first person to come up with the idea of a game show and proceeded to produce one, you will not have copyright in something as general as the idea of having a game show on TV. Just as the creators of *Survivor*, who believed they had developed a new concept in reality shows, [which they probably did], could not gain copyright in something as broad as a reality show (Malbon, 2006, p. 112).

In the above presentation, the limitations of use of copyright laws in format protection are given. Hence, while copyright laws may be used to protect format right, there are underlying distinctions pertaining to what constitutes an original and unique format. By this, it can also be argued that certain global formats, with their early market entry, may have built their formats on general ideas to attract more remakes than other types of formats. As an instance mentioned above, *Survivor* failed to 'gain copyright in something as broad as a reality show'. The following summarizes parameters that easily govern the adoption of copyright as a form of the legal protection of format rights:

Copyright can only be granted in a format material that exists in a tangible form. In other words, materials must be typed into a computer, written on a page, or recorded into a playback device to be recognized as a tangible product. Copyright by acquiring tangible form may suffice. Hence, there is no requirement to register the copyright. In copyrighting, genres are like abstract or basic ideas which cannot be copyrighted. (For instance, trying to copyright a genre such as games, or reality TV, or quiz genre is like trying to obtain a patent for mobile devices, transport systems and so on. It is only possible to copyright a very specific constituent of a genre, i.e., America's Got Talent, The X-Factor, just like it is only possible to gain patent for the specific mobile device invented, i.e., iPhone, Nokia, etc.)

Particular problems arise with format shows regarding copyright because they invariably make heavy use of genre elements and lack detailed scripts with plot lines and characters as normally understood in terms of comedies and dramas. There are a number of legal cases, particularly in the United Kingdom and Germany, that illustrate the courts' reluctance to find there is copyright in a format - even if the format exists as a completed TV series (Malbon, 2006, p. 116).

Although copyright is made tangible by writing down or recording, it also covers a core concept that may otherwise be communicated by other means. That is, copyright governs more than literally written texts. Therefore, it is not possible to evade copyright laws by simply paraphrasing a script or tangible 'treatment' while maintaining the originator's core concept. The distinctions as to what constitutes copyright infringement remain unclear, and the decisions depend on the court's investigation approach (Malbon, 2006).

Trademarks and Design Protection

Format originators may also choose to protect their formats comprehensively by registering a trademark over the title to the show. They can also protect their ideas by creating original theme music and other musical and other sound motifs during the show that help provide it with a unique look and feel (and which have copyright) and registering the design over aspects of the set.

One disadvantage of designs and trademarks is that they ultimately need to be registered in each country in which you seek protection. This can be time consuming and expensive. The advantage of copyright is that once you gain copyright in the country in which the work is created, it automatically gains recognition in most countries throughout the world without any need for registration (Malbon, 2006, p. 125).

Passing Off

In terms of passing off, a format originator "can sue an alleged copycat if their format is a 'direct appropriation of achievement' - that is, if the copycat show is appropriating the brand

recognition and achievements of the original format." This is the case in Germany, for instance, where "the original format owners must prove that the alleged copycat has taken a free ride on the back of the original format owner's achievements." However, the author notes that format originators or owners must have developed sufficient recognition in the marketplace to succeed in the case. This requires that the original format have sufficiently unique qualities of originality and quality. Concurrently, in a French scenario, passing off is determined when an alleged copycat is said to have "made an extensive or exact imitation of the original format to such a degree that it causes the public to confuse one format with another. The 'public' must be the same public, that is to say, the product or format must appeal to essentially the same audience." (Malbon, 2006, p. 123). The other legal perspectives, as highlighted in Moran's extensive study of format laws, from which a format originator may take actions for alleged infringement, include breach of contract, unjust enrichment, and unfair competition.

These discussions on copyright laws and trademarks are valuable to help ascertain how informalized practices infringe a format's rights within legal frameworks. As the analysis of *The Apprentice Africa* will show in Chapter 5, although production processes may differ due to the cultural environment. As such, slightly altering the global expressions of the format during its local adaptation may result in a potential cultural innovation instead of infringement of licensing agreements or breach of contracts.

Copycat and unlicensed format adaptation in international media industries

As will be seen below, some of the studies suggest factors that influence format imitation occurrences in different industries. However, these factors arguably transcend their specific cultural demographics to other demographics that look alike in terms of cultural content and style. It must also be noted that the idea of cultural similarities is identified as one of the factors

influencing format imitation and has been studied in format adaptation as 'cultural proximity' principle. The other factors noted below include informalized media markets; and attitude of people towards knock-off cultural products.

Format imitation (or copycatting, as the industry prefers to call it) has emerged as a by-product of the growing international trade in formats. As there are relatively low barriers to disseminating information in the digital world, imitators routinely scan the international TV scene for format solutions that they can recreate without paying any license fee. Copycats change elements of the original format and localize it without the involvement of the originator. This, according to the original producer, is theft of their format rights – treated by the originator as 'intellectual property' – leading to accusations of format plagiarism or format copycatting. However, there are no specific laws anywhere in the world which govern formats as intellectual property rights (Zwaan and Joost De Bruin, 2012, p. 14).

Similarly, in Nigeria, format protection is not explicitly known primarily because the available copyright laws are yet to be tested in any court of competent jurisdiction over it. This is despite the claim that, in practice, many creators of original television formats are seeking protection using copyright and trademark registration (Aroture, 2016). However, Aroture advised that 'since copyright only protects the expression of an idea and not the idea itself, I encourage creators of television format in Nigeria to remember to record the exact details of their format on paper' (2016, p. 1). Then, they can take it a step further and register the document with the Nigerian Copyright Commission, NCC, through the Nigerian Copyright e-Registration System (NCeRS) as literary work. Next, creators should take advantage of the protection afforded from registration in Nigeria and register titles of their television format with the Trademark Registry in Abuja, Nigeria.

However, there are still pertinent legal frameworks governing intellectual property (IP) rights, potentially covering protection for television format concerns. These include the copyright act (as amended), Cap. C28, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004 and the trademarks act, Cap. T13, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004. Also, some media-specific institutions and regulatory bodies established to govern IP in the country include the NCC, under the Copyright Act, to regulate creative works such as artistic and literary works, music, cinematography, and publishing. It also consists of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission Act (Cap. NII LFN 2004) and is vested with regulating and controlling Broadcasting rights, licensing, and assignment.

According to Fung (1998), the copycat phenomenon includes borrowing, inserting, and modifying other cultural texts to augment local production. Unlicensed programming, and its resulting intellectual property infringement, is invariably a product of copycat phenomenon or copycatting. While this occurrence has been identified as a common phenomenon in various media and entertainment industries around the world, a quick snapshot of common underlying factors may provide a better understanding for future studies of the phenomenon. For example, in 2012, BBC terminated one of its shows, *Something for The Weekend*, hosted by Tim Lovejoy and Simon Rimmer. Instead, the TV show hosts went to replicate the same format with Channel 4, under a different name, *Sunday Brunch*.

Another example was the show, *Top Gear*. During its last season to be aired on BBC, the presenters Tiff Needell, Quentin Wilson, and Vicki Butler-Henderson decided to reproduce the show for Channel 5, using a similar name *Fifth Gear* and embodying the exact same features of *Top Gear*. Yahoo News said 'they even wanted to use the Top Gear name, but the BBC wouldn't allow it'(Arnold, 2016). There was also the case of the exact copy (an almost shot-for-shot) of the TV show, *Big Bang Theory*, titled, *The Theorists*. The copycat show, The Theorists, was made for Belarusian TV under the Belarussian government. The different

production countries made it impossible for the original show owners, Warner Bros, to sue for copyright infringement. Again, there was the case of the mindless copying of *The Great British Bakeoff* by a new show titled *The Big Allotment Challenge* and numerous other examples (Arnold, 2016).

Moran and Keane's work, *Television across Asia* (2004), provide extensive insights into copycatting, within Asia's largely creative and cultural production hubs, including China, Hong Kong, India, and the Philippines. These studies suggest that copycatting is more likely to occur in lesser developed, lesser formalized and[or] lesser organized media markets. For instance, while studying the incidence of format copycatting and cloning in the Indian media industry, Thomas and Kumar (2004b, p. 125) observed the 'lack of a comprehensive television guide of all channels available in the Indian market and in any Indian city', since 'many guides that were published [in the past] did not survive financially'. It should be noted that broadcasting stations have statutorily recognized responsibility to let out information about their programmes to the audience in advance of airing. Television guides provide this platform to inform and assist their audience to evaluate not only the possible differences in the highlights of their programmes but also to empower them to make informed choices of the ones to watch at their discretion and convenience. They also noted limitations to information access such as 'a limited programme schedule' being only available in a daily newspaper in Bombay, Mumbai. In addition, they noted that the appearance of only a select few channels in such programme schedule did not reflect existing scores of channels.

Again, in a similar study of format cloning and copying in Hong Kong, Fung and Ma (2002) suggest an interconnection of people's attitude with the state of copying practices in their media and entertainment industry, as is the case with Hong Kong. The researchers note for instance, that, from a cultural perspective, Hong Kong people are 'intrinsically predisposed to consume modernity from Japan, New York, London, and other modern cities deemed to

145

have a higher place in the cultural hierarchy. Therefore, this is thought to influence their normalization and acceptance of copying' (Fung and Ma, 2002; Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007).

The studies above represent a fraction of the massive and growing body of research on this subject. However, they point to some of the critical factors of interest within the scope of this work. Hence, with Nigeria at the center of observation, factors such as informalized media markets, an attitude of people towards imitation, and cultural proximity principle are significant in analyzing copycatting, cloning, and unlicensed format practices embedded within the Nigerian media and entertainment sector.

Television broadcasting in Nigeria and worldwide aims to inform society and educate and entertain it through their programming. The available programmes can be classified into different categories such as: News, Music, Documentary, Reality TV, Cartoon, Sports, Drama, Soap Opera, Discussion, Interviews and Religion. Some television stations in the country, like the NTA, broadcast all these programme categories at various times. In contrast, others, like the privately-owned stations such as African Independent Television (AIT), restrict their programme formats to some of them. However, reality TV and Soap Opera shows are the most recent to be broadcast on the country's television stations. Local versions of their global television programme formats such as *The Apprentice Africa*, W*ho wants to be a Millionaire? Strictly Come Dancing*, *Big Brother Naija*, *MTN Project Fame*, and many others have been variously produced and aired in the country.

Programme format is one of the many tools for conveying information on television, and it is usually selected based on the target audience, their preferences, and the content of the message. However, global programme formats have fluid characteristics. Firstly, as traded commodities, they easily cross international boundaries, thus making global television

programme formats the foremost media product without borders. Secondly, as social and cultural artefacts, they quickly assume sociocultural identities different from those of their originating country on adaptations. Moran and Aveyard (2014, pp. 21–22) argue that global formats are templates for the programme's reproduction rather than shows ready for transmission and that while pre-formulation is part of the appeal of formats, these templates are also flexible. The above characteristics of global formats cannot be used to effectively describe informalized formats available in Nigeria because they inherently do not have franchising and remaking qualities in their structures. Nevertheless, these aspects of informalized formats present us with interesting features worth closer scrutiny. The next chapter focuses on this and specifically on the concepts through which researchers and the media industry have attempted to explain and understand informalized television programme formats.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the term "format" has been defined and described while considering its relationship with another commonly used term ", genre". Significant aspects such as adaptation and trade and legislation that help to highlight the intricate nature of the concept of formats have also been highlighted. Defining formats provided a demonstration that there are two key conceptualizations, and a possibility of achieving uniformity was highlighted. These key concepts were first cultural products of exchange on a macro scale, i.e., production level, and second as invariable containers for variable content on a micro-scale, i.e., programme level. The relationship of formats on both production and programme levels with the term 'genre'

was also discussed. Examples of television formats in Nigeria with their brief histories were given. Further, discussions on trade, adaptation, and models of circulation, were used to establish boundaries and models involved in traditional processes of exchange.

The chapter also presented the idea that format trade goes beyond the agreement between licensor and licensee occurring at the acquisition stage. Hence, a discussion on trade as a combination of both licensing processes seen as acquisition and production processes seen as adaptation ensued. This enables both traders to legally sign off the exchange of formats and include all the activities involved in its remaking in a new territory. This idea of trade has therefore associated a comprehensive know-how transfer with the format license agreement. The significance of adaptation in propounding national identity has also been discussed. The reproduction stage, which forms the third level of trade, is often largely embedded in the adaptation process. Factors influencing format imitation occurrences in different industries were finally covered in discussing the prevalence of copycat and unlicensed format adaptations as seen in international scenes.

Chapter 4 – Bourdieu's Sociology, Cultural Innovation, and Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)

Introduction

This study captures the operation and culture of format production in Nigeria by broad critical examination of media systems. Interpretation is derived from a cultural perspective and historical background. The researcher also reflects on own views and ideas by turning to shared experiences with the culture in question. Together, all the above help convey the realities of Nigerian society within the context of this study. While Bourdieu's concepts help construct the meaning of the society, Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is relied upon to examine the case study format.

Therefore, this chapter is set to highlight the relevance of Bourdieu's sociological concepts of *habitus, fields,* and *forms of capital* in understanding the relationships between society and television format production in Nigeria. This is done with regards to the social structures of the Nigerian media to reveal the changes and/or possible innovations happening within them. Thus, the key purpose here is to establish a conceptual framework to understand the following chapters. It also describes how the national media's *habitus, fields*, and *forms of capital* may be used to explain the interactions between informalized media production practices with change and/or innovation.

In the previous chapters, historical assessments of the media helped provide 'information regarding long-term patterns and trends', in agreement with the view of (O'Brien and Shennan, 2010, p. 188). The historical media assessment of this research which has been primarily grounded in theory, involved informed selection and discussion of descriptive

materials with references to the origins of television media operation in Nigeria. This perspective was necessary in opening the research for the following reasons.

Firstly, the media industry practices, with its pertinent culture, have political and economic antecedents throughout its history. The study establishes that several historic events provide insights into the current state of media practices. In the explanation provided, economic chain-reactions of regulatory setbacks due to the government's involvement with the national media sector is understood to have led to the boom in the informal media economy. The era of dictatorial government is observed to be relevant to understanding the challenges that the private sector faces in providing entertainment for the masses. That is the reason why coalitions of small-scale independent entrepreneurs preferred largely unstructured, self-regulated practices. These early structures are also relevant to understanding the currently entrenched informalized television format production and distribution structures.

Secondly, Nigeria has been a regional stronghold in terms of film and media production and marketing in the African continent since the early days of television and continues to do so at present. The study establishes Nigeria television role in producing most of the biggest format shows in the continent, rivalled only by South Africa. Thus, at the media industry level, Nigeria has been an active and dynamic power player when compared to any individual country in the continent and the rest of the world. As noted in the literature review, for example, the country's film industry, Nollywood, represents the second-largest film industry in the world in terms of film output, right after Bollywood and followed by Hollywood (Witt, 2017) [See section on Informal Sector of Nigerian Film Industry]. However, it also represents many eras of film and entertainment production in the continent. Similarly, its television format industry is lucrative at the regional level, with interesting trends in patronage over time, to some of the most popular Global Television Format (GTF) adaptations, alongside original local productions. For example, as of 2018, *Big Brother Naija*, the Nigerian version of the *Big*

Brother franchise, accumulated a total of 170 million votes across the country (Adeyemo, 2018).

Thirdly, there is the crucial issue of the expansion of informal economies over time. These highlight the relevance of scrutinising the country's specific, most often unconventional production, distribution, and adaptation practices. For example, the film industry, *Nollywood*, which was later linked to the format industry, originated from the local distribution of movies through pirate markets. Witt (2017) notes that 'Nollywood began in the market - here, in *Alaba.*' *As we have seen,* Alaba is the largest electronics market, located in an area of Lagos State, where people can access pirated foreign or domestic movies and electronic wares, including mobile phones imported from Asia. It all started with no satellite cable networks or digital subscription platforms: 'It created its vast audience by an effective market-based distribution system first of VHS tapes and later of digital discs' (ibid.)

Highlighting the historical aspect of the Nigerian media revealed a series of radical restructuring in order to find the meaning of their pervasive influences on the lives and practices of the society, as explained in (Fairclough, 2003). The nature and consequences of these restructurings revealed the impact of the history of the Nigerian media system on the current hybrid of informal and formal natures of television format adaptations. The historical background of the film sector was also relevant for comparing some organizational and cultural factors, for example, modes of production and media of distribution. These provide more opportunities to apply a sociological framework such as Bourdieu's in assessing how norms, regulations, and production values have evolved in the production of cultural forms such as television formats. These can also be used to discover how informalized patterns in the film industry have implications for the television format industry practices, particularly in relation to innovation.

Bourdieu's sociology as a tool for conceptualizing Nigerian media social structures

This research also draws upon Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework. Bourdieu, a French sociologist, spent much of his career concerned with society's power dynamics, intending to bridge traditional and sociological dichotomies. For example, dichotomies between object and subjects, agency and structure, and symbolic representation. To achieve this purpose, he developed four key concepts known as *species of capital, field, habitus, and symbolic violence* (Bourdieu, 1993).

The first concept, *species of capital,* is further broken down into four sub-species. These include *economic capital*, *cultural capital*, *social capital*, and *symbolic capital*. Economic capital is simply seen as the command over economic resources such as cash or assets. As noted elsewhere in the literature and will be seen in the analysis of formats in Nigeria, economic capital is controlled by individuals in any field of business or entrepreneurship, often not limited to the media industry. This means that the nature of content produced and those involved can be to a significant extent controlled by the individuals who fund productions. This is the case with Nigeria's informal video distribution networks controlled by independent marketers who fund its production.

On the other hand, cultural capital consists of any knowledge experiences or connections that one has acquired through the course of their life, which enables the individual to succeed more than someone with a different set of knowledge experiences. Cultural capital can exist in three forms: its embodied state, its objectified state, and its institutionalised state. First, the embodied state represents the form of long-lasting disposition of the mind and body. Second, the objectified state represents the form of cultural goods such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc. Third, the institutional state represents a form of objectification that must be set apart, conferring entirely original properties on the cultural

capital it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Hence, cultural capital allows one to be familiar with and have ease using the institutionalised and valued cultural forms. Through its mode of production and "format", *The Apprentice Africa* is strategic for assessing the value of cultural capital in media production, considering that it bridged the gap between industry and society in real-time. In other words, the production of the format permitted practical interaction between the show and the outside world as the key mode of competition by participants. This also meant that crew members took production outside the studio into the different parts of the society where activities were taking place, for example, at the bank, printer's shop, roadsides, restaurant, gallery, etc.

Social capital consists of resources based on group membership relationships and networks of influence and support. And lastly, symbolic capital is comprised of resources available to an individual based on honour, prestige, or recognition. According to Bourdieu, these are resources used by 'agents' occupying positions in a specific *field* (Kari, 2008). Simply put, *capital* is used 'to describe the specific forms of agency and prestige within a given *field* (Sterne, 2003, p. 375).

> Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17)

Secondly, Bourdieu's concept of fields can help to understand conditions of production within the field of formats. A *field* is conceived as a network of historical and current relations between objective positions that are anchored in capital. The term *field* is used in Bourdieu's concepts 'to describe groups of interrelated social actors' (Sterne, 2003, p.375). A *field*, is also identified

in relation to capital by other scholars like Thomson as 'a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or "capital"' (Thompson, 1991, p. 14). In their work, Lindell, Jakobsson, and Stiernstedt (2019, p.2) identify fields as 'semi-autonomous social settings wherein agents are invested in a particular struggle for recognition'. The objective positions within a field are taken by agents who have a stake in the operation of the field. The positions of agents in the field are determined by the amount and weight of the capital they have. A field is simultaneously the space of conflict and competition as agents compete to gain a monopoly in the species of capital that is most effective in a particular field. There are many fields, but the most important is the field of power (which is a composite of the economic and political fields) because the hierarchy of power relationships within the political field serves the structure of all the other fields. Other fields include the educational field; the intellectual field; and various cultural fields, including the literary field, the artistic field, the scientific field and the religious field' (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 212). 'Although there are an unspecified number of such fields, the economic field, the political field, and the field of cultural production are among the most important' (Riley, 2017, p. 111). These relations of power and forms of agency are in constant flux and are themselves struggles over: the relations in a field change over time, as does the specific form of capital in that field. Fields and forms of capital are not once and forever fixed (as they would be in a classic structuralist model). Society, therefore, is an ensemble of relatively autonomous spheres of play that cannot be collapsed under any overall societal logic such as capitalism, modernity, or post-modernity (Kari, 2008). Kari also notes that fields, therefore, have a historical dynamism about them. Such dynamism creates a malleability that avoids the determinism of classical structuralism.

Fields are endowed with 'a particular *doxa* (common sense) and *illusio* (investment and belief in the struggle of the field) upon which participants tacitly agree…Fields thus constitute social environments wherein practice takes place within a set of self-evident and unquestioned rules. Fields are populated by individuals that participate in its struggles from different bases'. (Lindell, Jakobsson and Stiernstedt, 2019, p. 2).

For instance, in the Nigerian media environment, there is a struggle between individuals participating from diverse ethnic fields or regional-local cultures. Conceptually, the habitus sits between these poles, as a set of social dispositions, a kind of 'generative principle' of spontaneous and creative social action based on one's position in a field and one's access to and possession of certain kinds of capital resources (Sterne, 2003, p. 375).

The third concept, *habitus,* is responsible for providing the pattern for the field. Riley (2017, p. 111) explains habitus as 'a set of preconscious dispositions, including tastes, a sense of the self, bodily stances, and, crucially, skills or "practical mastery"'. '*Habitus* is a concept that mediates between relatively structured social relations and relatively 'objectified' forms of economic or social agency or interests (Sterne, 2003, p. 375). This concept is simply understood as either mental or cognitive system of structures. It is also an internalised embodiment of external social structures that an individual has acquired through the course of a lifetime. Through the mental structure, conceptualised as habitus, an individual's thoughts and actions are produced. In turn, this creates our external social structures. Thus, the habitus structures the social world and is in turn structured by the social world. The notion of a habitus can be even more simplified as the reproduction of a collective culture which is then expressed uniquely based on the individual's biological representation of their own lived experience. Therefore, when similar people share a common habitus, it can be seen as a collective phenomenon.

Bourdieu's habitus is distinct from others because it acknowledges that people are not fools and will not act blindly according to habitus but based on practical sense. Generally,

people will react reasonably in any given situation, guided by a shared sense of what is required. Thus, the habitus constrains, but does not necessarily determine an individual's thoughts and actions. Thoughts and actions are constrained because the habitus only suggests what a person should think or how a person should act (Kari, 2008). In the production of television formats in Nigeria, the concept of habitus can explain conditions surrounding the recruitment of the right candidates for the show. These conditions consider their ability to integrate and understand the environment in which they operate would be immense for approximately eight weeks to increase potentials for succeeding in the show.

The concept of *symbolic violence* was developed to explain 'how social hierarchies and inequalities are maintained less by physical force than by forms of symbolic domination' (Thapar-Björkert, Samelius and Sanghera, 2016, p. 147). It is the basis for Bourdieu's theory of dominance, that is, dominant and dominated classes. Thus, 'for Bourdieu the field of cultural production is the site of a proxy war between the dominant and dominated fractions of the dominant class. The dominant fraction, generally, produces wealth while the dominated fraction chiefly produces culture.' Albeit, there is a tendency for class frictions whereby cultural producers undermine the dominant fraction of their class, claiming that the virtues of culture 'in which they abound' trumps wealth, 'which they lack' (Brennan, 2004b, p. 138).

While relevant in many areas of television production studies such as in this work, Bourdieu's concepts do not go without pitfalls and scholarly criticisms. Opponents of Bourdieu's sociology, such as Riley (2017), claim that in each of the three defining areas of sociology: stratification, reproduction, and social change, Bourdieu has little to offer. Riley argues that class is related to behaviour through the mediation of habitus, itself inculcated through processes of class socialization. Furthermore, Burawoy (2018) acknowledges a thriving body of literature on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, reiterating on the obscure nature of this concept:

There is a burgeoning literature on the concept of habitus, an obscure but key concept in Bourdieu's oeuvre. Because it cannot be identified as such it can be used to explain any behaviour. It raises the question of how much of action is conscious/reflexive, how much is unconscious/pre-reflexive, and then what the relation is between the two. Bourdieu does not help here so others have had to help themselves. Perhaps the most interesting advances have been made by proponents of a 'dual process' model borrowed from cognitive psychology. (Burawoy, 2018).

Whereas, researching television production requires a conceptual model that can explain everyday production work and decisions within a media environment (Brennan, 2004b), the work of Bourdieu can be used as a substructure in understanding the social conditions of media production in various societies. For example, Brennan adopted the Bourdieuian approach as a middle-range theory which facilitated research on *Fair City*, the flagship of *Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ)* drama production. It aims to entertain and reflect Irish society, to be understood as the emergent product of numerous struggles to define the show's form and content. The *Fair City* television show is the product of a complex negation of many influences from inside and outside its broadcaster *RTÉ* (Brennan, 2004b, p.3).

The concepts of Bourdieu's framework make it possible to understand better a range of structures and individuals involved in Nigerian television format production. In other words, "a Bourdieusian model can accommodate the work of individuals within organizational and social structures while recognising the dynamic and emergent nature of the relationship between the two" (Brennan, 2004a, p. 3). Also, a Bourdieusian framework may be used to account for the ways by which a programme is shaped over a sustained period of processes at organizational, national, and international levels (Brennan, 2004a). Finally, Bourdieu's framework is also useful in facilitating studies of production systems. For instance, Brennan's work findings showed that the main limits on what Fair City could and could not say is determined by the show's production system rather than the ideas of its creators (Brennan, 2004a, p. 2).

Hesmondhalgh shows that Bourdieu's analysis of cultural production can be evaluated in terms of its effectiveness for understanding contemporary media production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 211). Hesmondhalgh explains that Bourdieu's appreciation of 'cultural production' is intended for "a very broad understanding of culture, in line with the tradition of classical sociology, including science (which in turn includes social science), law and religion, as well as expressive-aesthetic activities such as art, literature and music" (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 212). By referring to Bourdieu's concepts, we can identify key fields within a particular social space, enabling us to 'theorize interconnections between different areas of endeavour, and the degree to which they are autonomous of each other' (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 212). This means that it is possible for each of the different Bourdieusian concepts to work together with others and, at the same time, independently to make meaning of society. In effect, the framework of Bourdieu "has much to offer the study of contemporary television, although this is not yet apparent from field theory's existing work on the subject" (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 221). Like the framework's other applications, Hesmondhalgh highlights that 'it is very important that field theory does not operate in isolation from the formidable body of media research on the subject (there are very few references in French field theory to such work). But the application of Bourdieusian analysis to television and other media can also help to reveal some of its limitations' (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 221).

Whereas Bourdieu's approach is a great place to start in analysing the national media production in Nigeria, it also has a known limitation for this field of media in that it is more relevant for small scale productions than large scale. At a larger scale, Hesmondhalgh argues that the approach "might be more differentiated than Bourdieu's work suggests, and the relations of heteronomy and autonomy might sometimes be more fluid and complex than he implies" (2014, p.221). However, it can be argued that the scale of production with reference to informalized environments is relative – that is, it cannot be absolutely determined – given

the typical invisibility of such economies. Thus, at its best, Bourdieu's approach is relevant and sufficient for analysis of informalization in format production in Nigeria even as a fluid scale of production. Gitlin's (1994) study of the production of prime-time television within the US television industry, which analysed the role of the three distribution networks of the early 1980s (CBS, NBC, ABC) in the creative process, is an example of the more fluid and complex nature of larger-scale productions. Gitlin argues that, as a matter of necessity, these networks had planned 'to make programmes which were "safe", unlikely to disturb advertisers, lobbyists and domestic audiences, envisaged by TV executives as undisturbable' (1994, p. 307). Gitlin analysed programmes produced by these networks, particularly, the emergence of a cop show titled *Hill Street Blues*, which he describes as one embodying "the energy of American liberal-middle-class ideology turned in on itself". The programme encountered "difficulty, if not impossibility," in the process of "implementing the ideals of the 1960s in a society presented as riddled by social deprivation, inequality and selfish hedonism" (Gitlin, 1994, p. 307). According to Gitlin's analysis, the emergence and survival of *Hill Street Blues* given its low ratings in its first series suggests that it was necessary for the distribution networks to give autonomy to creative producers to make at least some shows that would gain prestige among the wealthier and more educated demographic groups. In effect, it could be argued *Hill Street Blues*, like similar programmes was television entertainment for the dominated fraction of the dominant class. As explained previously, the dominant and dominated classes are discussed as a part of Bourdieu's fourth concept, *symbolic violence*. Due to the nature of Hill Street Blues' distribution medium, the programme became available for a mass audience. It is also possible to extend such analysis to other popular media, where prestige and popularity are not necessarily in contradiction as in Bourdieu's schema (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 222).

Hesmondhalgh's argument and the example of Gitlin show that Bourdieu's model applies to large scale cultural productions that exhibit fluid and complex nature of activities.

Such activities are, for instance, made manifest by a coexistence of informal with formal practices in format production. This is illustrated by the argument that the reading of any piece of art – even an artist's view of his own – is according to Bourdieu a product of the field (Brennan, 2004b, pp. 130–140). Thus, as Brennan (2004b, p. 140), observes, Bourdieu's illustration with the case of middle-brow cultural products, which are "mass-produced cultural products" suggests application to large scale cultural productions.

Meanwhile, in her study, Bosah (2018) highlighted the often-ignored implications of analysing more complex African markets such as the Nigerian media. Bosah argues that African cultural analysis has been faced with 'uncritical application and deployment of western standards and norms', resulting in researchers sometimes being 'awkwardly out of context and out of touch with reality' (2018, p. 5). However, Bourdieu's model does not claim to offer standards and norms. Yet, since cultural industries existing within these African terrains are rarely expressed for what they are, organizational and social conditions that result in standards and norms (or cultures) over time can be succinctly evaluated by applying Bourdieu's concepts. Therefore, it is possible to investigate the sociological structures involved without losing sight of the industry's locally applicable standards and norms.

Moreover, format programmes provide the opportunity to consider 'form', apart from 'discourse' and 'text', to understand the way media are shaped during production. Organizational and social conditions largely influence this 'form' (see Cottle, 2004, p. 81). Cottle's study of the *Natural History* programme explains the need to use form to inform production conditions. In the process of understanding how media are represented – that is, the ways in which the media portrays specific groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a particular value perspective –, form is also deeply implicated in changing media representations. Apparently, understanding how the production system influences or interferes with the nature of a programme and its organization is necessary in studying individuals and

structures. As such, within Nigeria's specific field of cultural production, there are potentials for higher levels of independent management of programme-makers due to the sparsity of structure. Hence, using Bourdieu's concept, the production culture within the industry may be examined from a mid-range which is neither top-to-bottom nor vice versa. This helps for better understanding the independent nature of small-scale producers (and, to a large extent, distributors), which significantly impacts the overall media production ecosystem.

Bosah (2018) critically applies Bourdieu's concept to journalism in Nigeria. Using Bourdieu's field theory in combination with Howard Becker's social worlds, Bosah analyses the changes in journalistic practice and news production as a result of digital media and the implications thereof. First, Bosah argued that the rise of digital media has significantly changed Nigeria's journalistic profession's roles, practices, and structures. Second, these changes require a practice-centered approach to explore changes in perceptions of identity and journalistic labour, attitude towards multi-skilling, journalists' working conditions, and the commercialisation of news that can compromise the journalistic performance and the news they produce (Bosah, 2008, p.ii). Therefore, an application of Bourdieu's theory in journalism and news genres of television unpacked the degrees of unethical practices in Nigerian journalism resulting from the economic situation. There is a struggle for survival among news organizations, and there are challenges of adequate funding as well as the welfare of employees. Such conditions are attributed to subsidy withdrawals by the government from government-owned media houses following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s (cf. Ekwo, 1996; Ogbuoshi, 2005; Omenugha and Orji 2007) (Bosah, 2018, p. 3). Thus, considering journalism as a conceptual field, it represents a specialised area of activity where journalists compete based on the capital, or the combination of capitals at their disposal. Understanding journalism through this analytical prism has the advantage of laying bare the importance of socioeconomic dynamics between individual

journalists in the overall news production. In other words, it is not possible to understand the field of journalism by only examining external factors, such as the condition of the larger economy or the changing nature of technology (Bosah, 2018, p. 43). Similarly, television format production as a conceptual field represents a specialised area of activity where producers, filmmakers, and agents involved compete based on the capital, or the combination of capitals at their disposal. In addition, the format field provides unique opportunities to look inwards into the internal production factors, such as the media's informal practices, and at the same time, see its interactions with the multiple markets in the economy.

Informal Media Practices as a Site for Cultural Innovation/change

It is useful to discuss the concepts of innovation and change to frame the significance of informalized production of formats for cultural innovation and change. Across various disciplines, the terms innovation and change have multiple meanings and applications. These concepts are used in fields of scholarship, including business, economy, technology, sociology, media and Culture (cf. O'Brien and Shennan, 2010; Storsul and Krumsvik, 2013). O'Brien and Shennan (2010, p. 3) simply put innovation as "something new and different". However, it is also noted that this definition "barely scratches the surface of what in anthropology has turned out to be a complicated concept". For example, they explain that this definition does not tell how to recognize an innovation or say anything about its origin. Clearly, innovation has many different definitions in general. For instance, an element of 'surprise' has been described as a sign of innovation. Thus, industry professional, Drew Boyd defines it as:

> Anything that is new, useful, and surprising. That last criterion, surprising, tends to 'surprise' people because they usually don't hear many people talk about it. For me, a great innovation are the simple ones that make you slap your forehead and say, "Gee, why didn't I think of that?" (Skillicorn, 2016).

This definition is interesting when considering informalized practices as a cultural tool for innovation in the field of format adaptation rather than an anomaly compared to the streamlined nature of format production practices. As discussed above, Bourdieu's concept of habitus, for example, is relevant in this regard. This is because habitus is created through a social process – rather than through an individual process – leading to enduring and transferrable patterns from one context to another, but that also shift in relation to specific contexts and over time. Habitus "is not fixed or permanent and can be changed under unexpected situations or over a long historical period" (Navarro, 2006, p. 16). Informalized media practices can therefore earn their places as agents of culture change over time for being useful, but also surprising by the ways in which they do not mitigate against production but indeed facilitate it and can make it more socially relevant.

Another relevant definition of innovation by another industry professional, Michael Grabber, is "new, organic value creation by applying creativity, in-depth relationships with consumers and customers, and new thinking" (Skillicorn, 2016). Further, in defining innovation, there is an emphasis on originality rather than copying or duplicating. Hence the term *novelty* ideally represents the type of newness (that is, originality) we are referring to, rather than new copies or duplicates. In explaining 'new originals', Barnett (1953) uses a psychological perspective to show that novelty could be based on combinations of the old and existent. His point of view assumes that any innovation is made of pre-existing components and that new combinations entirely arise from mental activities. Thus, he states that the fusion resulting in innovation takes place on a mental plane (in mind) as it is a linkage of 'idea' (representing the concepts produced by the mind) of things. In other words, the visible process and results that happen are different from the intellectualistic process of mental images and a complex commingling of perception, cognition, recall, and effect that constitute an innovative union of ideas. Moreover, this mental plane where the fusion of innovation takes place can be

explained by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. In other words, an individual's thoughts based on their internalized or subconscious knowledge of their environment manifest in the visible social structures – hierarchies, mannerisms, norms, and other peculiarities of a society.

Meanwhile, the idea of new duplicates is in line with Castañer (2014, p. 267), in noting that it is also possible that new products are not innovative products. For example, creating or producing a new piece of work may not differ from the original creator or producer's known style.

> Innovation can also be seen in light of process innovation, that is, novelties in ways by which things are made, as well as changes in what is made. Innovation, then, is a key area of analytical focus in any evolutionary study, especially with respect to the form of the innovation, its composition, and the process that created and maintained it. It is one thing to know how and under what conditions an innovation is transmitted, but it is a different matter to understand where it came from (O'Brien and Shennan, 2010, p. 8).

O'Brien and Shennan suggest that innovation is reached as a result of novel changes in both how a product was made (process) and what was made (the product itself). For example, in formats, innovation may constitute a change in the template for the programme, and/or the way it is produced. However, for example, in *The Apprentice Africa*, it does not imply change when there is a change in contestants of Nigerian origin to suit its adaptation location as opposed to the contestants from the format's country of origin. This sort of change is not typically innovative. Hence the following discussion highlights the notion that innovation is one of the possible results of change, whereas change does not always constitute innovation, but occurs between one point and another. This discussion is useful for identifying and answering questions in this research (with an assumption that informalization represents change) such as - at what point(s) did change occur? What triggered the said change? Did the said change result in novelty within existing practices? In doing so, we may better understand where informalization lies between birthing novel production practices (innovative production

practices) and simple shifts in how processes are carried out (changes in production practices). Furthermore, to fully understand culture changes or possible innovation in the television format industry, Bourdieu's cultural analytical framework is used to examine the Nigerian media industry as the field of study.

In media, innovation is a subject with which researchers have always been concerned. For instance, there are studies of the development of new media, new genres, and new ways of using media. For the public audience, the interest is usually in that which is new or a change or variant of some sort from the practice. The fusion of ideas, practices, and processes can result in innovation. An example is Storsul and Krumsvik's (2013, p. 14) work on television as technology where they observe that 'a key to understanding innovation is that existing knowledge is implemented in new contexts and that this opens up new possibilities'. Hence, they note that innovation in television technology, as is the case, can be based on existing technologies and off-the-shelf products. Likewise, innovation in television as a cultural form can be based on existing cultural forms – that is, how television is used and what kind of content it portrays can evolve based on already existing content. Existing processes can also influence the processes of creating such content in fields related to producing such content. As such, innovation can happen, for example, in the Nigerian media industry, when practices seen in film production apply in the production of new forms of cultural content such as format programmes.

Furthermore, another empirical study of innovation in television as technology by Scriberras (1982) throws light on how innovation can occur. Thus, there can be innovation by refining old knowledge (habitus) using new contexts (format field) to determine product's quality, reliability and use, and process of manufacture in the organization in the media industry. This may also account for a dichotomy between innovation in terms of *novelty*; and change in terms of *shift* in products and processes. As an example, Scriberras explains the

165

process for innovation in television as technology by noting that: when determining the product's quality, innovation can be seen through changes in physical aspects of the product such as screen size, colour, and even more exotic capabilities such as faxing features. These changes can also be seen through changes in componentry aspects such as developments in Cathode Ray Tubes (CRT) in-line guns, convergence CRTs, and circuitry components. Even extensive changes can also be seen through the development or addition of related products such as video games and cassette recorders that change the role of the television set by widening its application. In terms of changes in the processes of manufacture, the changes may include activities in sourcing, assembly, and testing of components, handling and packaging, and other marketing and policymaking activities of firms. For example, the increase in the number of integrated circuits in a typical 20-inch television device between 1970 and 1978, from two to nine, results in changes in the manufacturing process. Also, the decrease in the number of diodes from 130 to around 70 reduced the labour time necessary for assembly. This, in turn, reduced the share of direct labour costs in the value of television sets (Sciberras, 1982). These details elaborate the possibilities of product and process changes, which may happen due to total novelty or due to fusion of old and new, resulting in innovation.

Similarly, when viewed as a cultural technology, formats have been used as potent tools for controlling television production. However, the difficulty in controlling informal production processes appears to disrupt these set ways/rules of adaptation and introduce the new, potentially resulting in cultural innovation. The Nigerian media industry showcases the possibility of new ways of adapting and producing formats, apart from its previously perceived uniform production, demonstrating the importance of local specificity. Global formats may arrive in Nigeria, but as they are adopted and adapted through informal production, they may give rise to quite new cultural products and new ways of doing things. Novelty arises from the global and the national/local merger, the formal and the informal.

Whereas television as technology has been used to exemplify innovation and change as above, technology itself also serves dual purposes in the larger schema of this research. It is both a communication tool [medium] and an aesthetic, social object which affects society and culture. Hence, Newcomb and Hirsch (1983) proposed that a cultural basis for the analysis and criticism of television is the bridge between a concern for television as a communication medium, central to contemporary society and television as an aesthetic object, the expressive medium that, through its storytelling functions unites and examines a culture. Therefore, understanding media change from contexts such as political, cultural, and economic contexts, new formats and new forms of user involvement is valuable to the media research field.

In addition to the following, Castañer (2014, p. 264) used the term "cultural innovation" to refer to 'innovations in the goods or services offered by a cultural organization'. This definition explicitly excluded 'administrative or managerial innovations concerned with how cultural organizations are structured and managed'. The main reason for this definition, which can be identified as product-based, was that the generation of new cultural products and services may not occur within organizational boundaries in most of these cultural industries. Castañer, for instance, argues that the publishing, programming, exhibition, or broadcasting of products or content by cultural industries, including performances, music, visual arts conceived and created by individuals worked outside organizational boundaries. Such individuals may consist of composers, writers/authors, painters, sculptors, photographers, and playwrights who usually come from outside the organization, except for resident content creators. Therefore innovation could hardly be attributed to organizations, whereas innovation of the products could not be denied (Castañer, 2014). However, Castañer also allows that defining cultural innovation by 'product or content' implies that innovation already occurs during the production or creation process, which in many cases happens outside the industry. Nonetheless, there are

exceptions where generation of contents or products occurs within the organization, thus suggesting that in fact, innovation may happen within the organization.

Translating Castañer's (2014) argument to the potentials for innovation in the informal practices of the Nigerian media may suggest that informalized workforce are key players in innovation, considering that they operate outside the organizations. For example, individually run small scale businesses, street vendors, chaperons, hustlers, and all the invisible workers who combine resources off-the-books to make a format production successful can be credited for innovation of culture in the industry, locally, and globally. However, as illustrated in the historical study of Nigerian in Chapter 1, the field, with its general culture of informalization has a significant role to play in enabling cultural innovation.

Furthermore, (Hirsch, 1972; Dimaggio and Powell, 1983) have argued that it is difficult to successfully innovate within organizations given external factors such as pressures from government and more powerful institutions. These external factors thrive on compelling organizations into conformity to the canon or set of conventions about what is appropriate to programme and thus will not programme work that deviate from this canon. However, defining cultural innovation by products alone may overlook the ways by which adoption is happening or circumstances surrounding the process of adoption. However, these difficulties do not imply that innovation does not or is not happening at organizational levels. For example, organizational structures in cultural industries may be formed upon acquisitions from independent cultural producers/production [e.g., Netflix, HBO or similar]. Lorenzen (2009) supports this organizational innovation, who argues that innovation at the organizational level occurs amid the ways (that is, processes) by which firms, labour markets, and industries in the cultural establishments are designed or structured. These structures permit them to utilize raw materials constituted by creatives, i.e., individuals with cultural and technical skills. For instance, the economic [as well as cultural] performances of different clusters of film industries

are related to how these clusters organize to balance concerns for creativity, cost, chance, and collection.

The above discussions shed light on the differences between innovation and change. Various dynamics and examples help explain the innovations that may be found because of cultural changes during *The Apprentice Africa* television format production. Therefore, it is possible for innovation, in terms of novelty, to occur in the informal practices of the Nigerian media industry at both organizational and individual agents' levels. These arguments reveal such practices as potential sites for cultural innovation.

Ethnographic Content Analysis: Methodology

Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is simply defined as the 'reflexive analysis of documents'(Altheide, 1987, p. 65). David Altheide was the first scholar to develop and apply this method in his 1979 to 1981 study of the Iran hostage crisis. He proposed the relevance of ECA in extracting further important messages in greater detail often neglected or overlooked in traditional qualitative content analysis. Hence, he suggested that the same data used for qualitative analysis can repeatedly and extensively be analysed, applying ECA's design. ECA design consists of a reflexive approach to theory development, purposive and theoretical sampling, numbers and narrative data types, textual and statistical analysis. ECA permits deepened conversations by letting 'new patterns, emphasis, and themes' (p.65) be seen throughout the analysis cycle.

> ECA consists of reflexive movement between concept development, sampling, data collection, data coding, data analysis, and interpretation. The aim is to be systematic and analytic, but not rigid. Although categories and 'variables' initially guide the study, others are allowed and expected to emerge throughout the study. Thus, ECA is embedded in constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances (Altheide, 1987, p. 68)

While ECA is based on qualitative data collection and analysis principles, information is not simply organised by categories and sub-categories as with conventional content analysis. "ECA is on the methodological spectrum somewhere between quantitative content analysis and participant observation. It has been used in the past as a digital scholarship method, to analyse online content quantitatively but within its respective context" (Lemke and Chala, 2016, p. 172). ECA can therefore be applied as a plausible systematic and analytic approach to the study of media content. As Lemke and Chala (2016) observe, the goal may be to understand not just stand-alone media content but how it was produced.

The two main aspects of inquiry – which include firstly, the contextual exploration of media's history and secondly, Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) of television format adaptations, achieve this research's goal. The role of ECA is to explore the potentials for cultural innovation in the informalized practices embedded within television format production in Nigeria. For this purpose, the key television format of analysis chosen is *The Apprentice Africa*. Informalized practices may result in unusual patterns in global western media industries, such as the cross-fertilization of film and television sectors in the Nigerian media industry. These practices may also result in inevitable intersections between the street or shadow economies of the society and formalised aspects of television format production such as its international trade or licensing procedures, white labelling, auditioning and so on. ECA provides an ethnographic model of analysis whereby documented evidence of these atypical occurrences may be conceptualised as real-time live field experience to cross-examine the implications of these intersecting media sectors.

Literature on television formats provides an understanding of the difference between the nature and process of programme adaptation in the global television industry, on the one hand, and what occurs in a specific local context such as Nigeria. It is the norm for adaptations to follow standardised procedures in Western media outlets, whereas the Nigerian context is

characterised by informalization. This has implications for format adaptation. Formats have also been clearly identified and defined as invariable containers for variable content. Such understanding provides a basis for an exploration of informalization in the adaptation of Nigerian formats. A combination of contextual historical exploration of the industry and Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is relied upon to achieve the research goal.

Contextual media history is initially used to attempt tracking and explaining the organizational conditions in connection with nation-building from economic to educational and entertainment institutional development. The term contextual media history has been coined within this research to refer to a specific trajectory of the broad and diverse history of the Nigerian media applied herein. Key aspects of the media history within context have been adequately selected and highlighted in contribution to this research. An exploration of the media system's contextual history provides novel insights into the question – how do the media system's political, cultural, and organizational factors *impact television format production?* The role of the media in political formations, education, entertainment, economic empowerment, and present specific conditions remain vital for the explanation of format adaptation in Nigeria. Of course, there may also be questions here about how funding, taxation, regulation, and so on affect media systems in Nigeria. Furthermore, there is the macro question of how global media affect production in Nigeria.

Justification of the Use of ECA

An ECA provides a key examination and interpretation method for the production and dissemination of the case study programme whilst applying a reflexive observational approach. Reflexive observation helps researchers become aware of their own biases and assumptions during data collection, manage emotional involvements in the research setting, and utilize the

personal experience of work to understand the perspectives of the subjects of study (cf. Mao, 2018). The relevance of reflexive observation can be illustrated by an ECA methodological study of network news coverage of the Iranian hostage crisis, which involved 52 Americans who were held for 444 days (November 4, 1979-January 24, 1981; cf. Altheide, 1981, 1982, 1985a, 1987, p. 69). Altheide described the news coverage in a 'theoretically informed manner', which provided data for further conceptual refinement (ibid.). Combining theoretical and saturation sampling, the author viewed 925 news reports to examine the role of formats in TV news coverage of an international crisis. Formats in the study referred to "organizational devices to facilitate coordination of the news process…, rules and procedures for defining, recognizing, selecting, organizing, and presenting information" (Altheide, 1987, p. 69). The aim of Altheide's study – such as in an ECA – was 'to place documents in context just as members do, in order to theoretically relate products to their organizational production' (Altheide, 1987, p. 74). Similarly, this study examines informalization in the TV formats in the Nigerian media industry. Hence, ECA can help in relating format programmes to their organizational production circumstances by using a case study of 12 episodes of programming.

ECA has also been applied in the field of online media studies for the analysis of digital content. Thus, the following case of Lemke & Chala (2016) exemplifies the possibility of applying ECA quantitatively in diverse types of media content. ECA was used to analyse and categorize 60 days of Twitter and Facebook posts for ten major newspapers. It was possible to quantitatively assess number and format of posts, rather than simply analysing the meaning of tweets and posts (Lemke and Chala, 2016). Similarly, ECA will be applied quantitatively during the assessment of formats that existed or still exist in Nigeria. Thereafter, the cross-pollination of TV and film industries will be assessed quantitatively using available data of the industry participants.

Further applications of ECA are also seen in studies from other fields. For example, the following study (Smith, Sells and Clevenger, 1994) bolsters the possibility of using an ECA as a method to refine and increase understanding of theoretical relationships and categories developed within the study. It also showed how ECA could help refine the description of emergent patterns, emphases, and themes. Thus, an ECA was used to examine couple and therapist perspectives about the use and value of reflecting team practice. The study implied the use of post-session ethnographic interviews from both couples and therapists to examine for the frequency of themes in seven categories that emerged from a previous ethnographic study of reflecting teams (Smith, Sells and Clevenger, 1994).

Data Collection and Interpretation

Data gathering for this research began with the tabulation of all format television shows which have either existed or still exist in Nigeria as of 2019. Using saturation sampling, these format shows were initially tailored down to four TV shows in two main genres – Talent and Entrepreneurship. Saturation sampling, a commonly used methodological approach in qualitative research, usually reveals, based on data collected and/or analysed by the researcher, that no new information can be obtained from further data collection/analysis. This so-called saturation sampling provides the data sample size. However, it must be noted that there is no standard sample size indicating the required data for attaining saturation. In an earlier plot for data analysis, these selected formats were to be analysed qualitatively using a textual approach. The textual approach to analysis was intended to be carried out within specified periods or blocks of time over two decades. Each period or block of time was expected to provide a frame of reference for analysing the nature of a format, production circumstances such as organizations involved, the need/relevance/motivation for producing the format, distribution processes and mediums. In other words, the evolution of the format could be observed within

the laid-out blocks of time. This previous method aimed to connect programme formats to the circumstances of production and adaptation. Such circumstances included the institutional, systemic, and personal production levels that shape the content, e.g. (Butsch, 1995).

While this method could have been useful in examining the relationships or significances of informalized or semi-formalised format adaptation processes or products for the innovation of culture, a structural difficulty in the industry made the gathering of extensive documentation for these formats as well as their production circumstances impossible at the time of this research. It is interesting, however, that the research investigates the informalities existing in the format production culture of the country, albeit with their potentials as tools for innovation of culture in mind. Therefore, a new strategy to get the most out of available information was devised. This means that the research focused on the adaptation of a single global format, *The Apprentice Africa*.

Interview Data Limitations – The Problem of Access and Availability of Online Interviews

The interview method is often used in media research to gain insights from industry executives such as programme producers, channel operators, media trade organizations, sponsors, and advertising agencies. Similarly, this study may have benefitted from insights from industry professionals including producers, directors, owners/founders, and operators involved through all stages of format adaptation and format production in Nigeria. However, initial considerations for interview data were aborted during research for some of the following reasons.

Firstly, the documentary data collected was saturated with interviews, either quoted or paraphrased of the same persons of interest as would-be interviewees. Most of the documentary data sources came from newspaper publications, online archives, and materials where reputable

journalists have previously asked pertinent and similar questions. Thus, it was possible to work with documented data considering that "the interviewees are acting merely as informants and the interviews are meant to provide the study with valuable inside information and data impossible to achieve otherwise… As such, interview statements are used to illustrate, qualify, nuance, or contradict especially the program analyses" (Majbritt, 2007, p. 92).

Secondly, the potential interview participants would consist of media professionals who operate at managerial and 'celebrity' level (in terms of the film industry). These people are typically difficult to access in person. Hence, it would become imperative to attempt a challenging feat of reaching them first via social media. Efforts to access some of these via the social media channels first yielded only one response. Considerably, these types of accounts have tens of thousands of followers and are likely to receive several spammy messages in their inboxes to filter through.

Thirdly, the nature of informality in the media system is seen where there are possibilities and the need to access these participants through 'gatekeepers'. Gatekeepers are typically one or more, or chains of locals, who have easier access to these participants and who may be able to connect an outsider to them. The gatekeepers may range from account managers to personal and domestic staff, neighbours, arear boys, relatives, amateurs in the media industry and so on. In some cases, they may require monetary tips of various amounts from small to substantial. Regardless of their level of expertise in the industry or seemingly lesser social status, they can provide a wealth of information and connections (or provide directions) up the ladder to the right participants for this study. Thus, it is expected that gaining access to participants especially in such a multicultural, largely diverse, and buzzing environment as in Nigeria, together with these logistics involved is more challenging than in more organised societies. A similar situation recorded by Thomas and Kumar (2004) in their Indian media research may be used as an analogy:

Identifying informants, gaining access, obtaining appointments and simply the logistics of getting to the interviews is far more of a challenge in metropolitan cities in a developing country like India, especially when one of us is based in another distant country. In other words, this kind of research is far more challenging in India than doing so within a developed country. (Thomas and Kumar, 2004, p. 127)

The above is not a direct comparison between the Nigerian society and the Indian society considering the sufficient cultural differences between both countries. However, there is a lesson in the common grounds which remain the difficulties that surface when dealing with largely informalized economies

Sampling

This study focused on the consequences of informalization in the media together with the cross-fertilisation of film and television industries in the adaptation of television formats. Accordingly, theoretical and saturation sampling have been combined. Thus, the researcher watched and assessed the twelve available episodes of the only *The Apprentice Africa* season and collected all archived data with detailed information about the show and its organization. The emphasis in the selected format has been given to the nature of visible activities which make up the show and production structures and how these translate into thematic explanations. *The Apprentice Africa* was chosen because it portrays close interactivity between the produced, televised content and real-time society. Thus, patterns, emphasis, and themes emerging from the production culture, that is, 'values, norms, and attitudes manifested through symbols which members have adopted' (Altheide, 1987, p. 72) are translated through the show participants' interaction with the real-time society.

Applying ECA to the Data

Nigerian TV Formats Dataset

The Apprentice Africa was selected as case study for this research after rigorous assessment of data collected on television formats adapted and produced in Nigeria. The process typically began with the initial collection of a comprehensive available data of formats in Nigeria, whether they were still being aired or discontinued. This data comprised of both local and global television format programmes. Using Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) method, it was possible to assess these formats continually through different stages of the research. This is because ECA allows for circular and excavatory progression between data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Thus, categorization of data began from separation into various genres down to the choice of genre (or category) and format programme of interest. The genres identified included firstly, Singing Talent Shows – such as *The Voice Nigeria*, *Nigerian idol*, *Project Fame West Africa*, *Techno Own the Stage*. The second category identified was Dance Talent Shows. Format programmes in this genre included *Dance with Peter*, *Maltina Dance All*. The third category identified was Entrepreneurship Shows. Formats in the Entrepreneurship category included *The Leader* reality TV show, *Nigeria's Got Talent, The Next Titan, Nigeria's Got Ideas, The Next Top Model, The Apprentice Africa.* Other categories identified also included Stunt and Game Shows such as *Gulder Ultimate Search*, *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire;* and General In-house Reality TV shows such as *Big Brother Naija* and *Amstel Malta Box Office*. Further classification was also done between local and global formats. See table 4.1 below for data on pre-existing formats gathered.

Television Format	Genre of Formats	Global vs. Indigenous	Sponsorship	Export/Import
MTN Project Fame West Africa	Singing Talent Show	Indigenous	MTN (Telecoms Industry)	Export (West Africa)
Glo X-Factor	General Talent Show	Global	Glo (Telecoms Industry)	Import (Global) Export (Ghana)
Nigeria's Got Talent	General Talent Show	Global	Airtel (Telecoms Industry)	Import (Global)
The Voice Nigeria	Singing Talent Show	Global	Airtel (Telecoms Industry)	Import (Global)
Nigerian Idol	Singing Talent Show	Global	Airtel (Telecoms Industry)	Import (Global)
Maltina Dance All	Family Dance Talent Show	Indigenous	Nigerian Breweries Maltina Malt (Beverage Company)	-
Tecno Own the Stage	Singing Talent Show	Indigenous	Tecno Mobile Company	Export (Kenya, Tanzania)
Peak Talent Hunt	General Talent Show	Indigenous	Peak Milk (Beverage Company)	-
Dance with Peter	Celebrity Dance Talent Competition	Indigenous	Celebrity (Peter Okoye) Glo (Telecoms Industry)	Export (Ghana)
African Diva	Celebrity Reality show/ Competition	Indigenous	Celebrity (Chika Ike)	Export (Ghana, Tanzania)
Next Movie Star	Celebrity Reality show/ Competition	Indigenous	Celebrity (Shola Afolabi)	-
Big Brother Naija	Reality TV show	Global		Import (Global)
Who Wants To Be a Millionaire	Quiz Show	Global	Airoplaycare Formerly MTN (Telecoms Industry)	Import (Global)
Gulder Ultimate Search	Stunt/Game Show	Indigenous	Nigerian Breweries Gulder Larger Beer (Beverage Company)	-
Amstel Malta Box Office	Reality TV show	Indigenous	Nigerian Breweries Amstel Malta (Beverage Company)	-
The leader reality tv show	Business/Entrepreneurship show	Local		-

The next titan	Business/Entrepreneurship show	Local	Heritage Bank Plc	-
Nigeria's Got Ideas	Business/Entrepreneurship show	Local	First ever crowdfunded show, endorsed by SMEDAN (Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency Nigeria)	-
Nigeria's Next Top Designer	Business/Entrepreneurship/Fashion show	Local	Africa Fashion Week	-
Nigeria's Next Top Model	Business/Entrepreneurship/Fashion show	Global	-	Import (Global)
The Apprentice Africa	Business/Entrepreneurship show	Global	Bank PHB	Import (Global)
The Master Baker	Business/Entrepreneurship/Cooking show	Local	-	-
Top Sprinter – Making of Champions	Athletics/Sports show	Local	-	-
Nigeria's Next Super Model (NNSM)	Business/Entrepreneurship/Fashion show	Local	Swarovski Elements. Also supported by media partners including DSTV and SABC, etc.	-

Table 2. Charting Local and Global Formats in Nigeria

As seen from the following chapter's analysis, *The Apprentice Africa* was finally selected as most appropriate for this study on informalized production practices in the media. The following chapter elaborates on the centrality of The Apprentice Africa in discourses such as interactions between production, participation, and informal economies of the society.

Film and TV Industries' Organizations Dataset

This dataset was also necessary for the progression of this study, enabling the discovery of new information using old/recycled data. This is coherent with the ECA research design. As such, this data helped identify important agents such as producers and filmmakers in the industry

who operate concurrently and successfully across film and TV industries. This knowledge helps to establish the normalcy of the fluidity of actors across multiple industries in participating in media production and the implications of such practices for informalization.

The Apprentice Africa Dataset

The crux of the ECA method is its appropriateness for exploring detailed experiences by looking at a product of the system. In this case, *The Apprentice Africa* was adapted from a foreign country, yet production was done locally within the informalized practices of the system. ECA helps to explore the specific experiences of the actors involved such as the producers and contestants, as well as sponsors. ECA makes this exploration possible using documented records which is contextualised as fieldwork. It also permits ethnographic style analysis where the researcher applies knowledge of the culture in question to make critical judgements. Thus, *The Apprentice Africa* adaptation, as a product of the system, provides a case study for analysis that involves narrative description and comments.

Analysis Keys Table

Following a data gathering of formats that existed or still exist in Nigeria and data gathering TV and film industries' cross-pollination, the table below presents analysis keys for the qualitative analysis of *The Apprentice Africa*, based on preliminary study and findings on the Nigerian media industry. This table, on the one hand, presents key arguments initially found throughout the literature. These arguments provide basis for examining the research's problem which seeks potential innovation in informalized production practices of the Nigerian media industry.

Thus, the quotes adapted from several scholars present prior evidence or information available in this field of format research in Africa and within the media system of Nigeria under several categories such as market influence, mode of organization, slowed institutionalisation, etc. On the other hand, it outlines identified key categories to be used as a guide for broad areas of concern when scrutinising the available dataset on *The Apprentice Africa*, using the Ethnographic Content Analysis Method in the next chapter. These key categories focus mainly on important arguments on informal economies and culture. It is important to note that these are only guides for the following case study analysis. Therefore, considering the flexible and reflexive nature of ECA, it permits analysis of case study to take shape using constantly emerging themes and if necessary, departing from earlier identified these and categories.

Analysis table on Informal Economies (in media, formats, film in Nigeria)	
Lit Review	**Dataset** (What evidence/information are there for):
The marketers for the most part 'fund and manage the distribution chains' and even go beyond to influence the films' themes, the actors to be chosen, and the sales targets to be achieved' since they are known to be important players in determining the success of a film (Barrot, 2011, p. 239)	Market Influence
Informal economies in the West in the eighties saw to new models of efficient organizations beginning with rapid growth of self-employment than salaried employment. (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 11)	Efficient Organization
Informal economies enabled the slowing down of processes of institutionalization of economic activities. (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 11)	Slowed institutionalization
A point of view describes informal economies as 'face-to-face, trust-based society free from over-regulation' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 27)	No over-regulation
There is 'no clear-cut duality between a formal and an informal sector, but a series of complex interactions that establish distinct relationships	Interdependence interactions between formal and informal sector

between the economy and the state.' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p.32) Accordingly, 'the line that divides formal and informal sectors within the Nigerian context is anything but rigid. The fluid informal sector, as previously defined, is constantly interacting with segments of Nigeria's formal economy, and the occasional funding of films by private banks and corporations is a clear example of this dynamic' (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 435).	
'The basic distinction between formal and informal activities proper does not hinge on the character of the final product, but on the manner in which it is produced and exchanged.' (Castells and Portes,1989, p. 15).	Manner of production
Informalized formats do in fact, manifest at different levels of the format business in several national and international territories (Moran, 2009b, p. 13).	Informalized production processes leading to formal product.
Nollywood produces 'something that is located in between cinema and television', when compared to the production of other film industries around the world (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 432). However, this hybridity which presents itself through factors such as 'informality of video production and distribution networks' and the 'specific format of the videos themselves' is responsible for its 'success and transnational mobility' (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 432).	Hybridity in character of final product or mixed quality of final product
An informal system of governance upon which the industry is built makes it difficult to share expenses and revenues between producers, studios, and marketers due to a lack of access to extensive data gathering and monitoring at all stages (Ndlela,2017).	Complications of informal system – What effects did it have on the Apprentice Africa?

Table 3. Analysis table on Informal Economies (in media, formats, film in Nigeria), and culture

Analysis table on Culture	
Lit Review	**Dataset**
Applied to this field of format production, 'a Bourdieusian model can accommodate the work of individuals within organizational and social structures while recognising the dynamic and emergent nature of the relationship between the two' (Brennan, 2004a, p. 3)	Relevance of individuals within organization. How they interact to make things work
Format programmes provide the opportunity to consider 'form' as a means to understand the way media is represented and even determined during production. This 'form', is largely influenced by organizational and social conditions (see. Cottle, 2004, p. 81)	Is format certainly helping to understand how the media is represented or determined during production?

Table 4. Analysis table on culture

Conclusion

The discussions above help provide an overview of the key theoretical perspectives, framework, and methods that can best explain the relationships between the global models and local formats in the Nigerian media industry. Bourdieusian concepts have been adopted as a framework to explain the cultural conditions of the media industry in Nigeria. Also, ECA has been determined as a means by which new research data can be interpreted and coded for future use. In the following chapter, a detailed analysis of the selected case study format will further enable an understanding of the practices within the Nigerian media, together with its cultural influences.

Chapter 5 – The Apprentice Africa Produced in Nigeria

Introduction

Arriving at *The Apprentice Africa* as a case study began with preliminary data collection of all the format shows in Nigeria, including those that have either been aired and no longer being aired or the ones currently airing in the country. The data were then pruned down to genres of formats in entrepreneurship and talent/treasure hunting that best reflect the interactions between adapted content and society. *The Apprentice Africa* was derived as a key format central to the analysis on informalization and interactions between the film sector of the media and television sector. In addition to this selection, there was a collection of the country dataset on the film and television organizations from which key individual agents were derived for use in the reflexive observation of cross-pollination culture of production.

Contextualizing The Apprentice in the Reality TV genre

The Apprentice is a global television format franchise within the Entrepreneurship or Business reality shows genre. Its original version first debuted during January 8- April 15, 2004, in the USA as the ʻ*Ultimate Job Interview*ʼ and ʻ*Ultimate Jungle*ʼ show featuring job talent search for a candidate from a field of 14 –18 candidates. The winner heads one of its host, Donald Trump's companies, as his apprentice for a salary of $250,000.00. According to its foremost version:

> The Apprentice is a 15-episode unscripted drama in which 16 candidates from all walks of life, including Ivy League MBA graduates and street entrepreneurs with no college education, will endure rigorous tasks each week while living together in a hip Manhattan loft apartment. The tasks will test their intelligence, chutzpah, and street-smarts. They will face the challenges of living in close quarters and must compete sometimes humorous but

always difficult job assignment and will be forced to think outside the box to outshine each other to get to the top. (IMDB, 2008)

Thus, the candidates showcased their business and physical skills to avoid being eliminated/fired at the end of any episode of the season. It aired for a total of 15 seasons from 2004 to 2017. In the first 14 seasons, Trump was the host, while Arnold Schwarzenegger became the replacement host during the 15th season in 2017.

The commonly observed contents of the show are as follows. Firstly, contestants are divided equally into two according to gender, each as a corporation with name and project manager to lead them in the execution of the episode's assigned task. Secondly, tasks are either sales or marketing oriented. Thirdly, the winning corporation receives a reward for their efforts whilst the losing corporation remains in the boardroom with the host and his associates to determine the evictee. Fourthly, in the boardroom, the host confronts the losing corporation project manager to know what happened and to choose two members considered to be responsible for their loss. Also, at this stage of eviction, others not implicated are permitted to return to their communal accommodation awaiting the next episode, while the project manager and the two continue meeting with the host to determine the contestant to be eliminated. The details of all these features have been vividly explained elsewhere in this thesis case study *The Apprentice Africa,* which is an adaptation of the global format franchise, *The Apprentice*.

Additionally, an important feature of the original *The Apprentice* is the popular catchphrase "you're fired", for which its host, Donald Trump is well known and ever since became associated with. The model of the episodes also slightly changes when only three or four candidates are left. At such stage, they are interviewed rather than being assigned a task. Executives from various companies interview these finalists and report their assessment to the host. It is based on the interview's outcome that a boardroom meeting and firing takes place,

leaving two candidates. The final two candidates are then each assigned a different final task. Each is given a support team of previously fired candidates. Final tasks generally require the finalists to organize (to various degrees) an event such as a party or a fundraiser which has multiple planning elements. In a final boardroom meeting following the final tasks, the host hires one of the two candidates to become his apprentice, winning the show's prize of a one-year $250,000 starting contract to manage a business project offered by the host.

The success of the original release of *The Apprentice* American TV series may be easily evaluated by the numerical strength of its viewership in the United States and its incarnations produced worldwide. The debut season of *The Apprentice* premiered on NBC in 2004, delivering an average weekly viewership of 20.7 million, and was one of the network's most watched series with adults 18-49.... The series franchise has broadened globally with over 20 local versions (Tubi, 2019). In addition, Duignan (2021) notes that "beginning in the mid-2000s Trump enjoyed an enormous financial windfall from the success of The Apprentice, a reality television series in which he starred that directly earned him nearly $200 million over a 16-year period." The Emmy nominated show, in each episode of which Trump 'fired' one or more contestants competing for a lucrative one-year contract as a Trump employee, further enhanced his reputation as a shrewd businessman and self-made billionaire.

Meanwhile, in 2008, the show was revamped as *The Celebrity Apprentice*, which features news makers, entertainers, and known celebrities as contestants. This special edition is a variety of the original series. It was also created by Mark Burnett and produced for 8 seasons by Trump production company and others for 8 seasons. Thus, Mark Burnett production company produced its seasons 1-6, United Artists Media Group produced season 7, and MGM Television produced season 8. Here, the contestants compete to win prizes for charitable organization of their choice. It is, therefore, deducible that *The Apprentice* American TV Show was a huge

success from the outset, even drawing more viewers than most NBC network’s series’ shows. From a commercial perspective, The Apprentice attracted financial windfall to not only the producers but also the contestants who emerged victorious. The numerous incarnations worldwide are also measures of its continued commercial success.

Differences and Similarities Between The Apprentice and Other Shows

The Apprentice is indeed distinct from other format franchises in terms of the key idea of the show which is performing business in real world. For instance, unlike formats such as the global *Idols* franchise performed on a production stage, or the *Big Brother* franchise performed within closed doors, *The Apprentice* is performed mainly on the streets or outside a specific production site. For example, in its adaptation, *The Apprentice Africa*, contestants collabourated with actual businesses outside the premises of the show's production. Thus, they delivered products and services to be sold to ordinary people of the society who were not a part of the show.

Another characteristic of the show differentiating it from other global formats and their adaptations is a strong emphasis on innovative ideas during the execution of the given tasks. Hence, contestants were tasked with projects focused on problem solving, and in turn which required legitimate local know-how. In the process of solving problems within given tasks, the contestants employ social and cultural capitals (explained better through Bourdieu's sociological concepts) which help them acknowledge and navigate through the informalized economy of the country Nigeria.

Again, unlike several other format programs, *The Apprentice* propagates a culture of teamwork throughout all episodes until there were three contestants remaining. This is strongly representative of how a society works together even when personal interests of individuals are end goals. Thus, the different contestants were able to bring their embodiments of the

differences in the society, but still find a way to achieve common grounds using their common understanding of the culture in question.

In terms of similarities with other formats, there are some other shows bearing similarities with *The Apprentice* American TV show also involving job interview with eighteen or more contestants in a series of episodes to convince the host that they are the best for the job. For example, in Nigeria there is *The Next Titan* entrepreneurship show. As in *The Apprentice*, there are rigorous business tasks requiring street smarts, grit, and intelligence to succeed and the loosing team is sent to the boardroom for determining the contestant that contributed significantly for their loss. This contestant is fired and evicted from the show.

The Apprentice also follows an archetypal model of television formats and their adaptations where contestants are eliminated one after another on a weekly/episodic basis until the winner emerges. The emergence of the winner is, similarly, accompanied with a grand prize of any form, also replicating a commonly used winner-takes-all model in television formats. The show is like other formats in broadly structural manner in that contestants begin with an audition, involve judges at every stage to advance contestants, and eventually end with a grand finale ceremony.

A Brief International History of The Apprentice as a Format

This television format franchise has aired in at least one country of each of the continents of the world. Table 3 illustrates the independent international versions of The Apprentice franchise showing the continents, cross-continents, and countries in which the maiden season of *The Apprentice* franchise have aired on their television screens. It is instructive to note that 23 of these international versions stopped airing after at least one season of the series. Only the United Kingdom's version is still airing since 2005 to date, while Brazil and Indonesia's

versions have statuses indicated as upcoming airing. This reveals that *The Apprentice* franchise

continues to remain popular and on demand in many countries of the world.

Area	Name	Host	Channel	Catchphrase	Winners
Multiple Countries	The Apprentice: One Championship Edition	Chatri Sityodtong	Axn Asia	You're Not The "One"!	S1, 2021: Jessica Ramella
Au	The Apprentice Africa	Biodun Shobanjo	Nta Tv3 Ktn Wbs Tbc1		S1, 2008: Isaac Dankyi-Koranteng
Asia	The Apprentice Asia	Tony Fernandes	Axn Asia	You're Fired!	S1, 2013: Jonathan Allen Yabut
Middle East and North Africa	Al Idara Jadara	Mohamed Ali Alabbar	Lbc		S1, 2005: Cancelled
Australia	The Apprentice Australia	Mark Bouris (2009-2015) (Lord) Alan Sugar (2021)	Nine	You're Fired!	S1, 2009: Andrew Morello
	The Celebrity Apprentice Australia				S1, 2011: Julia Morris S2, 2012: Ian "Dicko" Dickson S3, 2013: Stephanie Rice S4, 2015: Sophie Monk S5, 2021: Shaynna Blaze
Belgium	De Topmanager	Rob Heyvaert	Vt4		S1, 2006: Claudia Schiepers
Brazil	O Aprendiz	Roberto Justus	Record Tv	Você Está Demitido!	S1, 2004: Vivianne Ventura S2, 2005: Fabio Porcel S3, 2006: Anselmo Martini S4, 2007: Tiago Aguiar S5, 2008: Clodoaldo Araujo S6, 2009: Marina Erthal S9, 2013: Renata Tolentino
		João Doria Jr.			S7, 2010: Samara Schuch S8, 2011: Janaina Melo
	Aprendiz Celebridades	Roberto Justus			S10, 2014: Ana Moser
	O Aprendiz		Band		S11, 2019: Gabriel Gasparini
Bulgaria	Звездни Стажанти Zvezdni Stajanti	Stefan Sharlopov	Nova Tv	Ти Си Уволнен! Ti Si Uvolnen!	S1, 2016: 100 Kila
Colombia	El Aprendiz	Jean-Claude Bessudo	Canal Caracol	¡Estás Despedido!	S1, 2006: Kees Stapel
Czech Republic Slovakia	Šéfka	Nora Mojsejová	Tv Prima Tv Joj	U Mňa Si Dnes Skončil!	S1, 2011: Michal Pilip
Denmark	Hyret Eller Fyret	Klaus Riskaer Pedersen	Kanal 5	Du Er Fyret	S1, 2005: Louise Holm
Estonia	Mantlipärija	Armin Karu	Tv3		S1, 2007: Sverre Puustusmaa

🇫🇮 Finland	Diili	Jari Sarasvuo	Mtv3	Olet Vapautettu	S1, 2005: Olli Rikala
		Hjallis Harkimo		Sä Saat Potkut!	S2, 2009: Antti Seppinen S3, 2010: Mira Kasslin S4, 2011: Jarno Purtsi[6] S5, 2013: Maria Drockila S6, 2018: Olli-Pekka Villa
🇫🇷 France	The Apprentice: Qui Décrochera Le Job ?	Bruno Bonnell	M6	Vous N'êtes Pas Prêt ![7]	S1, 2015: Séverine Verdot
🇩🇪 Germany	Big Boss	Reiner Calmund	Rtl	Sie Haben Frei	S1, 2004: Carmen Dohmen
🇬🇪 Georgia	Kandidati	Lado Gurgenidze	Rustavi 2		S1, 2004: Luka Lomaia
	Shegidi	Kakha Bendukidze	Imedi		S1, 2011:?
🇬🇷 Greece	Ο Υποψήφιοσ	Petros Kostopoulos	Alpha Tv		S1, 2004: Thanos Marinis
🇮🇩 Indonesia	The Apprentice Indonesia	Peter F. Gontha	Indosiar (2005)	Anda Saya Pecat	S1, 2005: Fendi Gunawan Liem
		Tba	Rcti		S2, 2009: Charles Minin S3, 2010: Nurudin Bin Syarif S4, 2011: Oki Musakti
🇮🇪 Ireland	The Apprentice	Bill Cullen	Tv3	You Are Fired!	S1, 2008: Brenda Shanahan S2, 2009: Steve Rayner S3, 2010: Michelle Massey S4, 2011: Eugene Heary
	Celebrity Apprentice Ireland	Caroline Downey			S1, 2013: Edele Lynch
🇮🇹 Italy	The Apprentice	Flavio Briatore	Cielo Sky Uno	Sei Fuori!	S1, 2012: Francesco Menegazzo S2, 2014: Alice Maffezzoli
🇲🇳 Mongolia	Apprentice Mongolia	Ganhuyag Chuluun Hutagt	Mongol Tv		S1, 2020: Ts. Barkhas[8]
🇳🇱 Netherlands	De Nieuwe Moszkowicz	Bram Moszkowicz	Avro		S1, 2005: Nienke Hoogervorst
	Topmanager Gezocht		Bnn	Met Jou Ga Ik Niet Ondernemen!	S1, 2011: Rogier Berlips
🇳🇿 New Zealand	The Apprentice New Zealand	Terry Serepisos	Tv2		S1, 2010: Thomas Ben
	The Apprentice Aotearoa	Mike Pero	Tvnz 1	You're Fired!	S1, 2021: Vanessa Goodson
🇳🇴 Norway	Kandidaten	Inger Ellen Nicolaisen	Tvnorge	Du Har Sparken	S1, 2005: Jeanette Bretteville[9]
🇵🇹 Portugal	Temos Negócio	Leonor Poeiras	Tvi		S1, 2015–16: Luís & Rodrigo
🇷🇺 Russia	Kandidat	Arkady Novikov	Tnt	Вы Уволены	S1, 2005: Tatyana Burdelova
		Vladimir Potanin			S2, 2006: N/A S3, 2007: N/A
🇿🇦 South Africa	The Apprentice: Sa	Tokyo Sexwale	Sabc3	You're Dismissed!	S1, 2009: Zanele Batyashe & Khomotso Choma
		Magda Wierzycka[11]			
🇪🇸 Spain	El Aprendiz	Lluís Bassat	La Sexta	Estás Despedido	S1, 2009: Juan Ignacio Lanchares
🇨🇭 Switzerland	Traum Job	Jürg Marquar	Sf1	Sie Sind Raus	S1, 2005: Martin Bachofner
🇹🇷 Turkey	Çirak	Tuncay Özilhan	Kanal D	Seninle Çalişmak Istemiyorum!	S1, 2005: Ahmet Isik

🇬🇧United Kingdom	The Apprentice	(Lord) Alan Sugar	Bbc Two (2005–06) Bbc One (2007–Present)	You're Fired!	S1, 2005: Tim Campbell S2, 2006: Michelle Dewberry S3, 2007: Simon Ambrose S4, 2008: Lee Mcqueen S5, 2009: Yasmina Siadatan Junior Apprentice, 2010: Arjun Rajyagor S6, 2010: Stella English S7, 2011: Tom Pellereau Young Apprentice, 2011: Zara Brownless S8, 2012: Ricky Martin Young Apprentice, 2012: Ashleigh Porter-Exley S9, 2013: Dr. Leah Totton S10, 2014: Mark Wright S11, 2015: Joseph Valente S12, 2016: Alana Spencer S13, 2017: Sarah Lynn And James White S14, 2018: Sian Gabbidon S15, 2019: Carina Lepore S16, 2022: Harpreet Kaur
🇺🇸United States	The Apprentice	Donald Trump	Nbc	You're Fired!	S1, 2004: Bill Rancic S2, 2004: Kelly Perdew S3, 2005: Kendra Todd S4, 2005: Randal Pinkett S5, 2006: Sean Yazbeck S6, 2007: Stefanie Schaeffer S10, 2010: Brandy Kuentzel
	The Apprentice: Martha Stewart	Martha Stewart		You Just Don't Fit In!	S1, 2005: Dawna Stone
	The Celebrity Apprentice	Donald Trump		You're Fired!	S7, 2008: Piers Morgan S8, 2009: Joan Rivers S9, 2010: Bret Michaels S11, 2011: John Rich S12, 2012: Arsenio Hall S13, 2013: Trace Adkins S14, 2015: Leeza Gibbons
	The New Celebrity Apprentice	Arnold Schwarzenegger		You're Terminated!	S15, 2017: Matt Iseman
🇻🇳Vietnam	Ước Mơ Của Tôi	Phạm Thu Nga	Vtv3		S1, 2007: N/A

Currently airing ▌ Upcoming airing ▯ Status unknown ▮ No longer airing

Table 5. Independent International Versions of The Apprentice Franchise. Adopted from (Wikipedia, 2022)

About *The Apprentice Africa*

In 2008, *The Apprentice Africa* opened its doors to the African market where it was set to create

"a world-class, top-rated business reality show across the African continent and the diaspora

that has unequalled educational, leadership, management, entertainment and market value"[4].
As described at the start of this dissertation, the show was modelled after its American original,
hosted by Donald Trump. Also, as will be elaborated upon, the show was brought to the African
market through a co-production of the Executive Group (TEG), a US-based business
investment firm and Storm Vision Limited, one of Nigeria's leading TV programme production
companies.

A key feature that makes this show unique in answering the question of this research is
that the contestants must interact meaningfully with society to be successful at proceeding into
the advanced and final stages. This is a stark difference from many other format programmes
where contestants are isolated from society. In this programme, success depends not only on
interaction but on a good understanding of how things work in the Nigerian socio-economic
climate. Hence, one of the contestants noted in the opening montage of Season 1, Episode 1,
"our major challenge is that some of our team members don't know the streets of Lagos very
well. But that won't be too much of a problem because the knowledge that some of us lack is
found in others and so if we work as a team, I think we will do brilliantly" – Zulu Corp leader
on selling skipping ropes on the streets of Lagos.

Another interesting feature about the show is that its participation involved other
African countries while still being physically and culturally situated in Nigeria. It is important
to point this situation out because it is a recurring condition where actors of other African
countries heavily participate in Nigerian productions to gain popularity. The same cannot be
said of Nigerian actors significantly participating in non-Nigerian, African productions. Thus,
despite its considered unconventional nature, adopting a Nigerian culture is appealing to most
Africans, especially in the Sub-Saharan region. Viewers in Nigeria were the first to watch the

---

[4] The Apprentice Africa Dataset (The Apprentice Africa, 2008)

weekly shows on Tuesdays on *Silverbird TV* and on the *NTA network*, only after which it could then be aired in other countries.

Viewers who missed watching the live episodes on TV waited until it was also televised by other countries in the sub-region. These included Nigeria viewers who depended on the show's website for their daily fix. Thus, the show must be shown on TV everywhere before releasing the website versions. In other words, the show's website uploaded episode recaps only, and relevant stories. It was deliberately planned in such a manner to cater for the entirety of the African continent watching the show. Therefore, the show moved from Nigerian television stations touching down in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania in that order. And according to producers, placing recaps and storylines just after Nigeria has seen the shows would serve as spoilers for the rest of Africa who were yet to see that episode. Hence, they only uploaded new stories on the week's Sunday evenings, after the last country, Tanzania, had seen the episode at 10 pm (The Apprentice Africa, 2008).

Furthermore, interviewing the show's pioneers during a Talk Show, a TV anchor asked, "everybody keeps saying Apprentice Africa… Is it going to be Africa wide or Nigeria?" In response to this, the show's local producers categorically stated that "it is an African show being shot in Nigeria". However, more to that fact, the on-air representative expressed:

> Where else really should we shoot? I mean, we are the giant of Africa as it is, so you would think Nigeria is really the first point of call. And of course, the main producer and executive producer being Nigerians. So, you would want to bring something true home. But then at the same time though, for us, as you alluded earlier, when you live abroad, the world really looks at you as Africa. So, you can be Nigerian, but okay, you are African (TAF, 2007).

The role of *The Apprentice Africa* in Nigeria highlights the media industry's dominance in the continent. It also speaks to the continued relevance of the media industry's culturally embedded

informalized nature – as one which retains power to influence and control other media markets – irrespective of its acclaimed unceremoniousness.

In a podcast interview by Dan Hankiewicz featuring one of the oldest and top players in Nigerian media production, and one of the executive producers of *The Apprentice Africa*, Remi Ogunpitan, the interviewer inquired about doing business in Nigeria for foreign investors and businesses who have never done or had clients in Nigeria. The interviewer asked about anything that can be understood about the business climate. For instance, how is the business culture in Nigeria unique to, say, the UK or the US? This question aimed to highlight the need to have specific knowledge about Nigeria to succeed in doing business in the country and finding clients there (Hankiewicz and Ogunpitan, 2020). In a response that looks primarily at Nigeria as a country that exhibits a more off-the-books approach to business, and its social cultures heavily influence that, Ogunpitan explains:

> I think the most important thing is presence. Sustained presence, and people knowing that you are available, that you are there and that they can reach you, and that they can touch you. And that you can get back to them quickly. I think those are the most important things… Nigerians like to deal with people that they feel comfortable with, that they feel they know, that they feel they have a relationship with. And that is often built through the fact that you have constant contact with each other, that you talk to each other. You know Africa we are a very verbal story-led kind of society. We are very close to each other. And in that light, anybody that wants to work in Nigeria has to be ready to build relationships. (Hankiewicz and Ogunpitan, 2020)

Although English is the official language of business in the country, it must be reckoned that Nigeria is a multilingual and multiethnic nation. The business culture is not only subject to these variables but also demands some level of flexibility and ability to improvise. While flexibility is necessary to deal with individuals/citizens who have diverse outlooks, cultures, and approaches, improvisation involves accomplishing tasks outside the business norm.

Executive Producers

The show had two executive producers, namely Aderemi Adewale Ogunpitan, who served as the main executive producer and Chantelle Abdul, who served as co-executive producer. Ogunpitan is described, in the industry, as one who has been technically involved in all things possible in TV production and broadcast technology since he came back to Nigeria in the early 1980s to join its production industry. Having spent more than 18 years studying and working abroad in the UK, he returned to the country in 1983 to delve into Nigerian film and TV productions. He worked with the DBN, Swift Studios, and the United States Information Service (USIS) and was founding director of the legendary production company Solar Productions. In addition, Ogunpitan is the managing director of one of the most technologically driven TV and broadcast support and facility companies in Nigeria called IBST Limited. This company, a division of Storm Media and Entertainment Group, was commissioned to provide broadcast facilities for *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show. He is also the managing director of Storm Vision, the producer of the show in Nigeria.

As a co-executive producer of the show, Chantelle Abdul was assigned the executive producer in charge of business and legal matters for the show. This includes origination, structuring, financing, and managing the project. *The Apprentice Africa* was her debut in television programmes production. Coming from the international power, oil, and gas production sector, she brought a great understanding of both the African and international business terrains in her responsibilities as the show's co-executive producer. She was also critically instrumental in acquiring the rights to produce an Africa-wide version of the USA popular reality TV series, Donald Trump's *The Apprentice*, from Mark Burnett Productions in the USA. Ms Abdul is an alumnus of George Washington University in Washington DC and a partner of The Executive Group (TEG) (the nascent international investment holdings firm) that owns the proprietary rights to *The Apprentice Africa* format. Also, her business partner,

Michael Akindele, who was also one of the show's producers, is an alumnus of George Washington University in Washington DC.

The brief resume of these key players, among others involved in the attraction/origination and/or production of *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show, revealed a fusion of forms of the cultural capital of their knowledge specific to Nigeria as citizens and global education and business experiences acquired from the diaspora, specifically the UK and USA. This agrees with the position of Brennan (2004, p138) that the field of cultural production is loosely divided between those who have high cultural and symbolic capital, specific to the field, with little money and those who enjoy commercial success who lack prestige in the artistic field. It is, therefore, obvious that *The Apprentice Africa* belongs to the former position of Brennan and a high prestige form.

The Chief Executive Officer, CEO

A peculiar component of *The Apprentice* global franchise is the CEO. For this position, Mr Biodun Shobajo (see Figure 5) was chosen by the show's partners, Bank PHB, in conjunction with The Executive Group (TEG) and Storm Vision. Mr Biodun Shobanjo is the Chairman, Troyka Group and co-founder of Insight Grey, Nigeria's largest and most successful advertising agency. He grew the agency from a humble

beginning of 18 members workforce into an advertising behemoth in the continent. Shobanjo started his advertising career with Grant Advertising company and quickly rose through the ranks to Deputy Managing Director of Grant Advertising before 30 years of age. In 1979, he co-founded Insight Communication that metamorphosed into Insight Grey. Currently, the Troyka Group is the parent company for Insight Grey, SKG2, Optimum Exposure, Media Perspective, MediaCom, Quadrant and Halogen, amongst others, with over 7000 workforces. With his choice as the CEO of *The Apprentice Africa*, he joins the elite group of business

moguls such as the USA's Donald Trump, UK's Allan Sugar, South Africa's Tokyo Sexwale, among others worldwide who served as the faces of the reality TV show franchises.

Figure 13. CEO of The Apprentice Africa, Mr Biodun Shobanjo

Posing the question to the producers and show representatives at an interview, the TV host asks, "apart from the live drama which you see which is very important. It is also important who that CEO is… it's not about having all that money; it's about your personality. Why Biodun?" According to the show producers, the choice of the right personality for the position took them combing around the world for the potential African CEO. Thus, it did not matter whether he was domiciled back home or in the diaspora. It was alluded to that being culturally African was enough (TAF, 2007). The emergent CEO from the global hunt, Biodun Shobanjo, describes himself as "a village boy who came to Lagos at a very young age, who had high hopes for himself, having been encouraged by his late father that he could take on the world.

And who with time looks back and says perhaps he's achieved most of the things he wanted to do". He highlights that he is driven by excellence, professionalism, and a will to win. "Sometimes, people don't understand where I am coming from. I don't want to be number two, I want to be number one," he says. Shobanjo is an advertising magnate, CEO of Troyka Group, a conglomerate of more than seven high-end services companies, including advertising.

The structure of this cultural global format and the practices elsewhere around the world that have been integral to the franchise's huge success is the appointment of a charismatic business magnate with multi-disciplinary industry experiences as the CEO of this reality TV show. For instance, the South African version is a renowned businessman, Tokyo Sexwale. Considering the origin of the global format, this 'winner takes all' paradigm is still expected. However, *The Apprentice Africa* show shifts slightly to an African rather than any one country for the choice of the face of the show as CEO. Together with the global format adaptation content, this face heralds the emergence of a culturally diverse franchise. In a way, it also reveals interdependence between the industrially regulated cultural global format and its format adaptation operated in informal economy with partial or without regulatory oversight. Lobato and Thomas assert that media history is a story of interactions between and across the formal informal zones. In practice, they are in constant cross-fertilisation (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 20).

Contextualizing *The Apprentice Africa* among other African reality TV shows and formats

The Apprentice Africa, an international adaptation of the hugely successful American TV show, *The Apprentice*, is not only entrepreneurial in its media content but also unique in its contestant's recruitment processes explained elsewhere in this work. These inform the choice of 18 professional and business youths-contestants from six African countries (Scaro, 2017).

Countries represented in the African adaptation of the Apprentice produced in Nigeria include Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda. Together, they all featured in the premiere season aired from February 2008 to June 2008. Except BBA which recruits contestants across countries in Africa, other reality television shows have national/regional rather than continental spread. Other African formats and reality shows are specific to country of origin and/or production in their contestants' recruitment.

Moreover, while *The Apprentice Africa* conducted auditions overseas for diaspora Africans, BBA did not go beyond the continent to carry out auditions for recruitment of contestants. Though, according to Okorie's (2020, p. 1) report, scholars agree that BBA is the most watched indigenous reality TV show, with more than 30 million viewers in the African continent. Yet, from the viewpoint of overall viewership of other African formats, statistical data on the strength of viewership of other African formats and reality shows are not available in the literature to support such claims and permit their comparative evaluation

The premiere season of The Apprentice Africa also aired simultaneously on Ghana TV3 channel, Kenya KTN, Tanzania TBC1 and Uganda WBS unlike other African formats and reality shows with their premiere season not airing beyond their countries of origin or production. In the reality game shows like *WWTBAM*, only one contestant at any time occupied the hot seat to answer the multiple-choice questions from the host. The treasure hunting shows like *GUS* and talent hunting shows such as *Nigerian Idol*, *Maltina Dance All*, etc. have different contestant elimination procedure involving the viewers in a voting process without boardroom meetings that characterize *The Apprentice Africa's* elimination stages.

The Apprentice Africa **versus Other International Versions**

Furthermore, differentiating *The Apprentice Africa* from other international versions of the global franchise, it was distinctive that recruiting its candidates was not merely open to participants from different African countries or Africans who were resident outside the continent, but live auditions were extended outside the shores of Africa as well. Thus, there were auditions in the United Kingdom, together with auditions in African countries outside Nigeria. No evidence of this practice, that is audition outside the country of the international versions' production, was reported. Other specific practices that accompanied *The Apprentice Africa* are highlighted as follows:

First, the maiden season aired simultaneously in five different countries, namely Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda. This was imminent given the participation of contestants from these countries, and who were there to somewhat represent their respective countries, even though they were independent participants.

Second, *The Apprentice Africa* was co-produced by Storm Vision Productions and The Executive Group (TEG) and sponsored by Bank PHB. The sponsorship models of television formats in Nigeria typically stands out from global practices. That is, it is common for beverage companies, telecommunication companies, and banks to be the major sponsors to a show. In so doing, it is also commonplace to attach their company's name to the show for the duration of sponsorship. For example, the first indigenous treasure hunting show, Gulder Ultimate Search, got its name in alignment with the sponsor, Gulder beer brand of the Nigerian breweries. Other examples include Glo X-factor, of which Glo Telecommunications Nigeria was the sponsor; Maltina Dance All, sponsored by Maltina beverage drink, Peak Talent Hunt, sponsored by Peak Milk, Amstel Malta Box Office, sponsored by Amstel Malta; MTN Project

Fame West Africa, sponsored by MTN Telecommunication company. In the same vein, but without attaching their name to *The Apprentice Africa*, Bank PHB, the show's major sponsor was embedded throughout promotions, jingles, and interlude montages of the format show. It is obvious that other international versions have different practices in terms of major producers and sponsorship for their format shows.

Finally, as is the bane of this study, there is significant cultural specificity accompanying the production of the Nigerian/African adaptation of *The Apprentice* franchise. The key focus regarding the cultural specificity here is the informalized practices within the economy of such reality television version production which clearly distinguished the show from its international incarnations.

The Apprentice Africa Season One

The show comprised of eighteen episodes, shown over the course of eighteen weeks. Each episode presented the participants or contestants (see the males and females' pictures of Figure 6) with new tasks. Some of the tasks included selling skipping ropes [for the men's team] versus selling footballs [for the women's team]; Bank PHB innovative pitch by both teams; preparing and selling intercontinental dishes at a designated fast food, Chicken Republic; designing a hotel room for important guests; creating television ads for a Nigerian oil company; magazine production for Bank PHB; branding and selling street snacks; painting and selling art pieces; selling Nigerian business and tourism opportunities to potential investors; selling juices on the street; designing new uniforms for school children and so on. The following describes the first episode as an insight into how a pioneer African edition of the global franchise was executed.

Episode one commenced on Tuesday, 26 February 2008, with the CEO's opening sequence involving watching him in a virtual tour of his companies, driven in a convoy of state-

of-the-art Ford SUVs while background music from the popular song "Money, money, money" played. As part of this sequence, the contestants were also driven, from their different locations since arrival in Lagos, in a convoy of eleven Ford SUVs to the garden shows hosting House to await the arrival of the CEO. On prompt arrival to the venue, the CEO introduced himself and his advisers to the contestants and informed them, saying, "if you meet my expectations, you carry on". "But if you do not, you will meet me in the boardroom, where one of you will be fired". This was quickly followed by the first task of the competition of redecorating the garden by appropriately assembling the furniture and other decoration materials scattered earlier on the garden, with the advisers as supervisors. After completing this first task and the advisers' assessment of individual contestants and their fellow contestants' comments on them, the show's first team leaders, Deox Tibeingana and Nancy Kalembe, emerged. They became Project Managers in charge of the males and females' teams created based on contestants' gender and guided the choice of company names for their teams as their corporate identity as directed by the CEO. After a brainstorming session, the males voted for ZULU as their company name while the team females voted for MATRIX as their company identity to conclude the first day of episode one. However, this assignment was preceded by the official distribution of letters from the CEO, welcoming them to their living quarters.

On the second day of episode one, they were taken to Troyka Holdings in two buses, where the teams met with the CEO to introduce their new corporate identity and as well justify their choices. Satisfied with these efforts, the CEO gave his main task of this episode to the teams. The Street Hustle required Zulu Corporation to sell skipping ropes and the Matrix Corporation to sell footballs (see Figure 7) all in the open streets of Lagos, Nigeria. The winners were promised rewards, and the losing team would be facing the board to fire one of its contestants. Subsequently, the teams had brainstorming sessions in-house and in their

respective buses before hitting the roads with their goods to try to convince buyers for patronage.

Figure 14. The Contestants with Matrix Corporation identity going to sell footballs

Figure 15. Zulu Corp team members strategizing sales of packaged skipping ropes

Figure 16. Street selling/hawking of football in Lagos, Nigeria

At first glance, it seemed that it was a rather unfair role reversal to all males, Zulu Corp., to sell skipping rope. This is because females predominantly use skipping ropes as recreation tools. On the other hand, the female team, Martrix Corp., was to sell football (see Figure 9), a predominantly male tool for soccer. The street hustle task was designed for contestants to deal with actual life situations, the uniquely African informalized pathways for socio-economic survival, in real-time on the streets of Lagos, Nigeria. It is expected to reveal how they tackle the challenges such as persuading potential customers on the streets to patronize their merchandise, working together as a team and dealing with the crowd. Its importance is to illustrate how income is generated to meet daily basic needs in the informal economy. Effectiveness in implementing each of the tasks, in which subterfuge and the strength of contestants' character are on display, is the main soul of the reality TV show. By this, entrepreneurship is promoted through assisting the audience make useful decisions of either possibly starting a business and/or avoiding mistakes likely to lead to business failure.

As soon as the task was over, the contestants assembled in the boardroom for a review of the task and individual/collective performances. Zulu sold more of their goods and earned more money than Matrix and, therefore declared the winner by the CEO and rewarded with a beach party at the private *Ikanre Island, Lagos,* for a day of fun. Matrix continued in the boardroom with the CEO, who critiqued the team, noting that they did not have a strategy. Explaining further in disappointment, the CEO says, "my information was that you were more of cheerleaders than anything else". And then he asked the Project Manager, Nancy, to select two members of her team, who in her judgement were not particularly effective, to remain in the boardroom with her to struggle for survival. She chose Blessing Njoku and Hannah Acquah.

Thereafter, the CEO sternly admonished Nancy Kalembe for exhibiting poor leadership abilities and directed her to choose the contestant to fire. Nancy immediately picked Blessing Njoku for reasons of immature behaviour and general unwillingness to be a team player. Utilizing the opportunity offered by the CEO to present her side of what happened, Blessing Njoku blamed Matrix poor performance and failure on Nancy Kalembe's ineffective leadership. Turning to Hannah Acquah, the CEO sought to know how many footballs she sold throughout the period of the street hustle, and she responded none with reasons the CEO considered untenable. The atmosphere of the boardroom became charged while Nancy, Blessing, and Hannah waited with bated breath for the CEO's next reactions, and it came, without pleasantries: "Hannah, you're fired", but... "Nancy, you're very lucky", he sternly warned, "now you may go out". This signalled the end of Episode One of the premiere season of *The Apprentice Africa*, leaving seventeen contestants to continue with the next episode.

Figure 17. Female Contestants Inside the Board Room of Premiere Season of The Apprentice Africa

Figure 18. Male Contestants Inside the Board Room of Premiere Season of The Apprentice Africa

However, episode one showcases eighteen intelligent and successful young professionals/businessmen and women of equal gender from Africa and the diaspora, each with strong determination to become *The Apprentice Africa*. Because of their largely different backgrounds and experiences, it could be easily deduced that they were excited to also add firsthand experiences from Nigeria's socio-cultural environment. For example, soon after arrival, a contestant from Uganda started learning the Nigerian *Pidgin English* from his chaperon. Another who came from the USA enjoyed his first Sunday service at one of the local Pentecostal churches. Yet another contestant from Kenya also decided to know about the various foods in the country after thoroughly enjoying local '*amala* served with vegetable soup plus *pomo* and *jollof* rice' delicacies with her chaperon. Such informal learning experiences reflect the cultural and socio-economic realities of Nigeria's development. Moreover, the producers of *The Apprentice Africa* configured it to possess and maintain the general global outlook that defines it, in addition to some dominant threads from tasks reflecting the African pathways for financial sustenance, cultural and socio-economic development. The street hustling task of episode one is one of such pathways. It falls within the activities, the others being unregistered employment, domestic homework, non-market production and backyard tinkering, that fit the basic definition of the informal economy as something along the lines of 'the sum of economic activities occurring beyond the view of the state' (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p26).

This show's street hustling tasks also serve as a metaphor for the role of gender in the country's production and business conditions. The males were tasked with selling skipping ropes and females with selling footballs. This illuminates the impacts that general perception of what activities males and females are expected to carry out could have on a business. For example, males selling skipping ropes seemed like an unusual activity because females are

more likely to use skipping ropes, even from their childhood. For females, on the other hand, selling football also meant engaging significantly more male customers than females. In some sense, the underlying absurdity of such exchange in roles attracts attention to both the sellers and the products, especially for the male folk stepping into perceived feminine market in this society. Akanle (2011), recognized that gender norms in the African context tend to assign specific roles, responsibilities, tasks, and privileges to both the female and male. Over the years, there has been a dominant trend which assumes male superiority, while considering females as the weaker subordinate, and inferior gender (Olonade *et al.*, 2021). Hence for such exchange of roles, it is easily more culturally admissible for females to be seen selling football items on the streets to their male dominated market than the other way around. In essence, female hustlers must adopt postures of football game experts or enthusiasts at the very least, to market these footballs as best as possible. Such postures are likely to be seen as impressive, whereas for men selling skipping ropes, they are likely to be seen as amusing. These perceptions may be explained by the description of gender construct as a power play. As put Olonade et al., (2021) put it:

> Gender can be seen as a social construct, a socialization product where persons learned societal expectations as either males or females. Although it is seen as defining power relations, it is essential to note that what is valued and allowed in a man or a woman in a particular situation is determined by gender. To further buttress, this is why an individual's sex, which is a natural attribute, determines society's socialization (Olonade *et al.*, 2021, p. 2).

Moreover, they also highlight that "gender role differences worldwide seem to be a natural phenomenon, which has brought about gaps in enjoying specific opportunities by men and women" (Olonade *et al.*, 2021, p. 1). However, African societies tend to have a highly pronounced patriarchy system. Yet, African women display enormous power that binds the

community (Ofisi, 2010). Despite the impacts of cultural perception of gender roles, such swap appeared to be an interesting business marketing strategy given the above significances.

By creating such task which clearly views the role of gender in the society from disruptive lenses, especially in doing business, The Apprentice Africa's producers tend to agree with Kura and Yero (2013) that 'the progress of a nation is being determined by people, both women and men alike to escape poverty and improve their standard of living. Based on that the attainment of gender equality is not only seen as an end, but as a necessary requirement for the achievement of sustainable development' (Kura and Yero, 2013, p. 7).

The exchange of roles may also be figurative for typical unconventional, unplanned circumstances met in the country whilst doing business. These may include power cuts during production, change of location due to interruptions by street gangs, also known as *Area Boys* or *Agberos*, etc. It is uncommon for these circumstances to totally halt serious production or other businesses. However, they create challenges in which, culturally speaking, the people are pre-conditioned with contingency plans and actions. These plans and activities often unravel as informalized practices and hustling to achieve results regardless.

How it was Received: Social Reactions to Episode one

The pertinent social reactions to episode one concerned primarily the attitude of the first contestant evicted from the competition soon after eviction and the next day, Wednesday 27 February 2008, during the press conference. In this evictee, Hannah was quite graceful in defeat, as revealed in her last words in the boardroom, "I saw it coming." However, she also revealed that the first lesson for her, contestants, and the viewers were – "if you want to make it in Nigeria, you have to hustle."

The tension in the atmosphere of the boardroom just before the first evictee was pronounced by the CEO was replaced by humour, adoration and confessions from Hannah Acquah, the Ghanaian contestant based in the UK, during a press conference the next day organized by Bank PHB and *The Apprentice Africa*. Hannah declared, "I'm excited to have been part of the contestants in the premiere season of *The Apprentice Africa*", further announcing cheerfully, "the show has given me the opportunity to discover the true Nigeria, and not the Nigeria as negatively portrayed by the international media." On how she felt about being the first contestant to be evicted from the show, she was disarming with her confessions – "I think my case is the classic example of the diplomatic or corporate girl meeting the real world." "I can't just be reading books and making policies; *The Apprentice Africa* has taught me that I have to experience everything in the real Africa and Nigeria is a perfect example of the real Africa… The Street Hustle task required a lot of aggressiveness, bravado, and a lot of running and chasing vehicles on the street. Ha! it wasn't easy o! In fact, I respect Nigerians. I respect the real street hawker who has to peddle goods on the street every day to earn a living."

The rudimentary lesson of episode one for the contestants, who are already successful professionals in their chosen careers, is the real-time Nigerian experiences of street hustling/selling/hawking, a popular activity of an informal economy. It must have been an exhilarating experience for the audience to watch such quality corporate businessmen and businesswomen engage in real-time street selling/hawking/hustling, a preserve of predominantly poverty-stricken and/or poorly educated citizens. This practice is not peculiar to only Nigeria but also an Africa-wide and emerging economies phenomenon that arose as a stop-gap solution to unemployment, poverty and distribution of merchandise.

Meanwhile, there are existing in some other non-African countries worldwide with similar sociocultural tendencies. For instance, South Korea formulated policies that formally recognize sector businesses, including street hawking/selling/hustling and similar activities.

These countries achieved such recognition by providing platforms that ensure hawkers are recognized through proper signage, thereby modernizing street selling and making it a legally recognized distribution channel (Bhowmik, 2005). Likewise, Nigeria and indeed Africa may well take a cue from South Korea to maximize the benefits of street selling/hawking. They may follow this trail by modernizing and making it a legally recognized activity through putting in place either appropriate policy instruments or legislation or both. In this way, the informal practice would acquire both new and fresh official registration and recognition flavours.

The popular social media news blog, BellaNaija, describing this episode, said, "the contestants seem quite driven and intelligent while the production quality was good and Biodun Shobanjo was stellar" (BellaNaija, 2004). It is seen that this format adaptation is their window to looking beyond the immediate environment. Comments by readers of this social media blogger concentrated majorly on admiring the contestants as revealed:

"Nnamdi is cute."

"Between, Akatu is *hawt* (hot)! All the ladies are so so pretty! I hope Michelle comes tops! But how come Hannah sold no balls? Lol... eyaa... *Naija is not beans* mehn." (Naija is not beans is a colloquial slang used to mean that Nigeria is not easy).

"Lol, how sassy, sexy and smart the ladies look."

"Chei, that Shobanjo guy was good.... hehehehe," etc.

The various comments in the social media suggest that episode one achieved the feat of turning *The Apprentice Africa* into a brand, with all who missed it vowing to be there for other episodes. Yet, the debates generated by episode one of this first season of Apprentice Africa centerd on what could be learned from the first names of its premiere contestants. They argue that the contestants not using/bearing indigenous first names of African origin diminished the cultural influence of the show among the viewing public, especially the rural viewers with limited

211

education. This is an important observation since, according to Darling-Wolf (2018, p. 23), format adaptation results in a hybrid production in which imported elements, genres, and formats are adapted into national media systems and given national spins or interpretations. The outcome is neither national autonomy nor cultural imperialism (Straubhaar, 2007, pp. 167–168).

Despite this issue, episode one of *The Apprentice Africa* shows that cross-fertilisation of the global and local cultures and beneficially constitutive interactions of the formal and informal cultural productions are not only feasible but also easily realizable. However, *The Apprentice Africa* also raised the issue of preponderance of imports of reality TV shows, including *West African idols*, *Dragons' Den*, *Celebrity Take Two*, and so on, with none so far originating from the country.

Significance of *The Apprentice Africa* for the Nigerian media industry

This study has thus far highlighted two main issues in the Nigerian media industry, firstly, being one that is entrenched in informalized practices. The second issue of this study which appears as an implication of an unceremonious and informalized system is the cultural cross-fertilization of film and television industry agents and agencies. The further discussion below sheds light on the significances of this show within the industry in which it operated.

Preliminary literature studies revealed the lack of any clear-cut duality between a formal and an informal sector. Rather, it is argued that formal and informal sectors result in a series of complex interactions that establish distinct relationships between the economy and the state (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 32). It was also noted that the Nigerian context is a clear example of this fluidity or intersection of the formal and informal sectors. 'The fluid informal sector, as previously defined, is constantly interacting with segments of Nigeria's

formal economy, and the occasional funding of films by private banks and corporations is a clear example of this dynamic' (Jedlowski, 2012, p. 435). They manifested this fluidity and duality of nature, also lending credence to the notion that 'the basic distinction between formal and informal activities proper does not hinge on the character of the final product, but on the way, it is produced and exchanged.' Perfectly licit commodities may originate from unregulated production arrangements (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 15).

Interacting with informalization in their manner of production, the show's production tasks involve acquiring skills in marketing, public relations, and quality assurance strategies in actual practice in the Nigerian context. The show revealed the role of experience in the actual practice of business. The confessions of the first evictee (Hanna Acquah, the Ghanaian based in the UK) from the show's premiere episode is very instructive in this regard. She explained her thoughts that hers is a classic example of the diplomatic or corporate girl meeting the real world. In such a world, it is expected to go beyond the formal structures of reading and policymaking. She understood *The Apprentice Africa* as a place where she learned to experience everything in the real Africa, with Nigeria being a perfect example of the real Africa. *The Apprentice Africa* subjected contestants to real-life Nigeria situations, in Nigeria's real time corporate environment, facing actual challenges on the streets and boardrooms of the country.

Consequently, the show posits that street smartness is an essential ingredient of survival in informal sectors within the Nigerian context. It is also an important asset for excelling in the show. This is perhaps why the idea behind including it as a task is "to see the contestants get their hustle on the streets by selling to the public." It also "sees how they interact with the public, how well they work together and how they deal with the crowd." As the title sponsor of *The Apprentice Africa*, Bank PHB Nigeria Ltd is evidence of interaction with segments of Nigeria's formal economy. The production processes of this show commenced with the arrival

of the contestants to their luxurious hotel accommodation, a segment of the formal economy, where the producers electronically recorded their profiles. At the same time, street photographers hustling for their day-pay, who form part of the informal sector, were clicking away to get pictures of the activities.

Furthermore, the "*Street hustle*" and the "*drink it, buy it*" tasks in the selection processes of the show belong to informal economies culture that thrives on unregulated "face-to-face" and trust-based interactions. Such economic activities cannot be easily regulated, let alone being free from over-regulation. Other ways the show engaged with and benefited from the informal economy include its viewership in remote locations without grid-connected electricity. These areas are typically boosted by informal economic activity of community TV viewing centers, as is currently done during football league competitions. Informal viewing activities like illegally downloaded films, football games, and other relevant economic activities also permit the extension of such national and international goods and services to areas that may be impossible or unattractive for the operation of the formal economy.

Simultaneously with the show's accommodation of informal activities and production manner, it relies on a formal internal organization system based on different quality experts. These experts include foreign technical teams of business investment in the production processes. *The Apprentice Africa* thus, strategically avoids the complications of informal system of internal organization upon which the industry is built. Therefore it does not fall within the views arguing that "the informal system of governance upon which the industry is built makes it difficult to share expenses and revenues between producers, studios and marketers due to a lack of access to extensive data gathering and monitoring at all stages" (Ndlela, 2017). This is telling that although a format adaptation is produced within a hybrid involvement of informal and formal practices and media systems, its informalized aspects do not necessarily pose debilitating effects but represents culturally significant inputs.

The Apprentice Africa was co-produced by a US-based business investment firm, The Executive Group (TEG), and Storm Vision Ltd, Nigeria's leading TV production companies. The show's production model depended on different individuals within its state-of-the-art organizational and social structures to create this business reality show. They include the show editors, producers among many others, including the contestants. The Executive Producer, Remi Ogunpitan, comments that "*The Apprentice Africa* being such a high content show required that four edit suites be available for work running concurrently with the media being available on the video servers over the network to all the editors at a click of a mouse". This reinforces the views that 'a Bourdieusian model can accommodate the work of individuals within organizational and social structures while recognizing the dynamic and emergent nature of the relationship between the two' (Brennan, 2004a, p. 3). This view reveals the relevance of individuals within an organization – that is – how they interact to make things work. The show was then edited and post-produced in what will arguably be the most advanced broadcast post-production facility in West Africa. As a result, the character of its final product was distinct and devoid of mixed quality of final product, unlike Nollywood products and "informality of video production and distribution networks." Accordingly, *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show is the first Africa-wide version of the hugely successful *The Apprentice*, the American TV reality franchise that many countries worldwide have adapted.

However, in a more recent interview, when asked about the biggest, most impactful changes in the work that he does or the work he has done over several years and decades, the show's Executive producer highlighted that the biggest change in the industry has happened in technology. This, he says, has hanged immensely in the last couple of years. Those edit suites used in producing *The Apprentice Africa*, which at the time were state-of-the-art equipment in the industry, he notes have quickly become obsolete. "I remember when we brought in our first modern equipment into Nigeria. It came in 180 huge boxes - three machine edit suites with an

edit controller, a vision mixer, a special effects generator, a graphics machine, and everything. All that is in one computer today. So, technology is huge" (Hankiewicz and Ogunpitan, 2020).

The cultural global format has impacted significantly on the social structures of the media production industry, especially the television environment, worldwide, thereby expediting the globalisation of technology innovation and change. For example, USA's *The Apprentice* franchise technology has been replicated in different TV environments around the world, including *The Apprentice Africa* in Nigeria presented to Africa-wide audiences. This technological interaction between media production from formal economy (that is industrially regulated) and its version's production in informal economy of any country (either partially industrially regulated or without regulation) is unlikely to end in the foreseeable future. The role of technology here may be viewed from the prism of Sterne, who considers that 'the choice of a technological object of study is already itself shaped by a socially organized field of choices' and often deal with what Bourdieu describes as 'force of the preconstructed' (Sterne, 2003, p. 368). This means that objects of study of technology must be willfully constructed not to accept "pre-given" objects or "pre-notions", which simply describe them in their own terms to achieve intellectual effectiveness (2003, p. 384). Therefore, to understand how technology becomes a technology through social practice (rather than through logical deduction), we must turn to Bourdieu's approach to practical reason and his widely cited concept of habitus' (Sterne 2003, p. 375).

Format programmes provide the opportunity to consider 'form' as a means to understand the way media is represented and even determined during production. This 'form' is largely influenced by organizational and social conditions (see. Cottle, 2004, p. 81). As the first entrepreneurship format aired in Nigeria and Africa, *The Apprentice Africa* served as the gateway to an appreciation of how media is represented for all stakeholders, including the contestants and viewers. The 'form' of the show afforded the opportunity to virtually see the

contestants compete in the tasks from beginning to selecting the winner. It made it possible to see how the losing team is sent to the boardroom in each episode. The CEO and his associates judge the candidates on their performance, which eventually leads to firing and sending one contestant home.

As opined by Cottle, the format of *The Apprentice* was influenced mainly by organizational and social conditions, as vividly revealed in the quality of both local and international production teams, experienced CEO, among other production personnel (2004, p81). Some of the series of rigorous business tasks for the show's contests require experience and knowledge of the social conditions of Nigeria, as indicated by the confession of one of the evictees stated earlier in this analysis. The need for a lot of aggressiveness and bravery on the streets and in business dealings, especially when faced with informal settings, is a typical social condition in Nigeria that influenced *The Apprentice Africa* format. This is a typical social condition in Nigeria that influences the distribution and popularization of largely local media/cultural productions such as Nollywood films. Such industries are articulated only around hugely populated commercial cities of Abuja, Aba, Enugu, Lagos, etc., as major production centers for these purposes.

Furthermore, as cultural production, television format is unique, however, in that it has an offshoot accompanying the package on offer in trade. Keinonen (2017, p. 997) identifies this as a specific form of television format called 'production formats', which 'are only used to trade production know-how across borders.' They are defined as 'the transfer of production modes and practices from one television culture to another' and consequently studied as cultural technology transfer. Accordingly, global television format does not only involve the transfer of the programme concepts description and its constituent elements but also, involves the transfer of production techniques and procedures between different television cultures, the seller and buyer, in any particular TV format trade. Following this model, *The Apprentice*

217

Africa format, being an adaptation of a production format, can be considered and understood as a technology.

Finally, *The Apprentice Africa* emphasized cultural knowledge exchange because it was designed such that the Chief Executive Officer, CEO, is also supposed to impart his experience and share knowledge. This relevance of the CEO is because a great deal depends on his perceived integrity and credibility, success in the Nigerian business scenes, in addition to the dramatic execution of his role. The choice of Mr Biodun Shobanjo as pioneer CEO of the premiere episode of the show lends credence to this observation. Meanwhile, the show was won by Ghanaian contestant Isaac Dankyi-Koranteng, after the much-touted importance of knowing how things work in Nigeria to succeed in business competitions. This win by a non-Nigerian who, in the end, adopted a significant local culture of work, alludes to high potential for cultural transfer of the country's hybrid informal-formal practices. Perhaps, also owing to a stronger than usual combination of these formal and informalized cultures. Isaac was hired to Bank PHB Plc in Nigeria and assigned special responsibilities, including research and development of products and implementation of the Banks development strategy in new markets.

Cultural Work Ethics Conveyed in The Apprentice Africa – A Combination of Corporate and Street Hustle

The Apprentice Africa, premiered in the country's commercial capital, Lagos, unravelled professional/corporate and street work ethics expected for local business success. Throughout its eighteen episodes, contestants were pitted against themselves in two groups, following the structure that the format has used internationally. The contestants remained traditionally divided into two groups, females on one side and males on the other. The losing team met the CEO with his associates in the boardroom every week to decide which contestant to fire.

Accordingly, the winning team went away on a reward spree that would constitute tourism of interests, including courtesy visits to a traditional ruler and other adventures. A helpful example is the reward of a beach party at the private Ikanre Island, Lagos, Nigeria, for a day of fun for Zulu Corp, winner of episode one task, for its fun experiences on boat rides, and with music and wine and other merriments.

The incorporation of these locally specific rewards also elicited interest in the contestants for immediate wins even whilst the high price was in sight. For this reason, contestants acted as overtly and covertly dramatic and vocal as possible in their ambition to win each episode. Contestants who displayed their weaknesses or admitted to some shortcomings quickly lost to others, regardless of whether they applied the right or wrong approaches to work. The winners never allowed the pressures of accomplishing the tasks to distract them, even when it meant not being nice or when it seemed that they needed to influence the outcome. Since implementing the tasks through proving their mettle is the 'soul' of the show, the struggle for victory is a combination of intrigues and brute-force type, regardless of what other contestants would feel or whose ox is gored. The slower contestants to catch on to this eventually lasted longer in the show. Confidence was also a vital asset. Therefore, even if they were losing, those who maintained fierce, dogged, and at the same time cheerful confidence were not easy eviction targets. This aggressive winning-at-all-cost characteristic is central to the show internationally.

Nonetheless, the local cultural character on display by individual contestants (of which foreign participants on the show must adopt) is often a combination of informal languages (for example Nigerian Pidgin English), local sense (referred elsewhere as street-smarts), and other specific mannerisms. Its peculiarity is that foreign participants who might be successfully 'aggressive' elsewhere still struggled to fit into this different type of struggle. There was also the edge which contestants exuding positive energy had over grumpy, too-serious ones. Lastly,

there was an evident cultural factor of glossing over setbacks with positive outlooks, which affected how they reported back to the CEO and effectively communicated with the board members.

Furthermore, the CEO, in one of his numerous pieces of advice during the start of each episode, reminded them, saying: "Mission statement is a strong part of your business. It tells what your business is really about and why. In advertising, your most important question is 'who is your target group?'" In response to this advice, one of the contestants appeared to have taken things literally by verbally reminding the CEO that she would be his next Apprentice. In other words, at every opportunity, keying in that winning the CEOs recommendation was her most important target. "I want to be your next apprentice sir, this is my mission," she would repeatedly assert in the boardroom.

On the other hand, another contestant, Eunice, would on one occasion stamp her hand on the table in between high tempos and running emotions, asserting that she does not want to be in the board room ever again because she is 'here to win'. Since Eunice was a foreign/international participant, her zeal to win meant a more treacherous journey. She had to not only battle competing contestants but also outdo local participants who were more attuned to doing things locally. While Eunice tugged it out with others to remain on the show until its final laps, Omar, is another example of an international participant who was taken down specifically due to his poor assimilation of the cultural environment.

When Omar Bah was made the team leader for Matrix during the assignment to decorate a hotel room at Eko Hotel and Suites for international business executives, he made several grave mistakes due to his cultural understanding deficiency. These misjudgements led his team to the eviction panel. One of his teammates, Bekeme, a Lagos-based contestant reported him to the CEO saying, "he had definite ideas of what he wanted, and it was pretty

hard talking to him. There were many times I thought we should do something, and I tried to communicate that to him, and he said I have assigned you to that, and I don't want you overlapping." There were instances where his teammates might have seen something wrong, but he was unyielding to superior knowledge. Using his approach, he came up with a room design theme for his team that overcompensated African Culture, creating an environment the judges termed "a bit homely, which actually is not what is expected". Thus, the room was too casual for business. Not knowing where to draw the boundaries between a casualised Nigerian/African culture and a contemporary western appeal was the genesis of his leadership errors. In the Nigerian cultural production or business environment, businesspeople know to apply boundaries between informal and formal practices when crossing international borders.

Also, when the cameraman interrogated Blessing, another locally based contestant on his team, about her satisfaction with their process, she said, "at this point, I have a problem with Omar. He has clearly mapped out schedules of duties for other people. But the difference between a master and a leader is that a leader actually does the job." Then the cameraman turned to Eunice, another contestant on his team. She responded, "everyone had a task. Everyone had a specific responsibility. But unfortunately, Omar excluded himself from taking any responsibility. He was more like a slave driver. Regina, can you go to the store? Eunice, can you do that…?" Eunice, a foreign-based contestant, showed a better grasp of the cultural environment and the need for every individual at any level to get their fingers dirty with *hustle*.

Again, another Lagos-based contestant, Bekeme, narrated to the cameraman that, "at the last minute, the project manager (Omar) noticed we did not have a mirror. This time was about 2 pm. And 4 pm, everyone was due back to the hotel, ready to present the room." Bekeme continued by saying, "Omar has refused to listen that you cannot find a mirror for five thousand naira". Her statements were corroborated when the next local contestant responded to the cameraman saying, "…but he believes strongly that maybe on some roadside somewhere, in

221

Lagos, that there will be some vendor willing to negotiate something lower than four thousand Naira." Bekeme laughed uncontrollably at this additional commentary from her teammate. This laughter was also directed at Omar's delusional expectations.

To defend himself when the camera faced him, he said, "*I do adopt, you know, American business style, and I'm result-oriented… And it's (snaps fingers repeatedly), you know, efficiency. You know, like clockwork.*" Back in the eviction board room, he told the CEO, "*I had to choose the appropriate leadership style to fit their personalities… I run a tight ship. Nobody likes change, but sometimes change is necessary for an organization to move ahead*". According to the judges, Zulu Corporation won the task because their room was up "to the standard" instead of team Matrix's "home away from home" concept. Omar's errors were classic examples of missing the point of cultural assimilation. The all-women team which he led were opposed to his imposing seemingly patriarchal methods. His teammates went as far as using the term "slaves". His methods were a few more actions shy of being offensive to "these young ladies", as he called them. Finally, the CEO agreed with the girls and reminded him that "there's no point to be creative without relevance" while evicting him in that episode.

In another instance, during the assignment to manage a fast-food outlet, the task was to create their combo meals and make sales. This task required a complete business planning cycle from cooking to sales plans. The show's production highlighted team Matrix as the struggling team against the opponents, Zulu Corporation. When the cameraman asked one of the team Matrix contestants about their progress, she spoke about their challenges finding a printer to produce their promotional banner. She said, "we called a few of them and then finally 'bamboozled' one of them into agreeing that he could do it for the night". Another correspondent from the team told the cameraman, "We were not as prepared as we thought we would be. We went there (to the printer) without any pictures of the food that we had selected." Again, the third correspondent from the team told the cameraman, "A lot of unforeseen events

have happened. We were unable to get the promotional advertising for the executive combo meal." Eventually, team Matrix went ahead to win the task by raising a sum of 107,800 Naira, against the losing team, Zulu Corporation. Given the challenges team Matrix had gone through, mostly beyond their control, Zulu Corporation appeared to be in a better position to win. However, team Matrix had strong local-based contestants who understood informal manoeuvres to achieve even better results.

In conclusion aligning with the core values of education, entertainment, and marketing, *The Apprentice Africa* presented opportunities to examine its cultural implications (implied culture) for the Nigerian media system. Moreover, it signalled the integration of format programmes into national airwaves by the NTA's first and only format broadcast. Bourdieu's concept provides a needed framework for understanding the programme's position within the Nigerian media's specific cultural and sociological issues by explaining organizational structures, formations, and micro relationships within the media system. History and politics have created precedence of economic complexities. These resulted from regionalization, ethnoreligious, and language differences. Hence structuring difficulties from the governance level trickled down to organization and social informalities. This situation explored in earlier chapters of the study played a role in shaping television production in Nigeria.

Consequently, the case study programme encountered the dynamics of the national culture of media practices and the specific challenges relating to the informal media environment in the country. Thus*, the Apprentice Africa* reality TV show has been strategic for investigating conditions of television format production in Nigeria. In addition, the programme has allowed us to trace interactions across several economic sectors.

Cross-pollination of TV and Film Agents and Organizations

The tripod purpose of television broadcasting is to inform, educate, and entertain, is usually undertaken through programming. Various programming formats include news, music, documentaries, reality TV shows, cartoons, sports, drama, soap operas, discussion, interviews, and religion. Over time, the production of these programming formats as business ventures for more than 150 television stations has become attractive to entrepreneurs. In addition, the local versions of cultural global programme formats, especially those likely to attract a large audience, are also produced locally. To the extent that their production stage, most often, requires services of undocumented employment of staff as production crew, including artists, drivers for movement of the crew to production site among others, the media production is informal. However, using production studios or organization with in-house directors and requisite production crew and infrastructure is common among practitioners.

Another entertainment media in which some of the key producers in television programming formats are also involved in the filmmaking industry, particularly the popular Nollywood films/videos. Also, the Yoruba film industry, the Kano film industry, also known as Kannywood producing films in Hausa, Igbo language films, and some other indigenous languages films are components of Nigeria's filmmaking industry. Despite its informal nature and near-zero absence in international intellectual property trading, Nollywood is unique in production and distribution operations. The film industry's hallmark is movie production direct-to-video on VHS tapes, VCD and DVD players, thereby reducing, considerably, the cost of production and making it easier for entrepreneurialism to flourish. The audio-visual content distribution to consumers is through the Nigerian film marketers who control the financing, producing, and distributing Nollywood films and the existing trading routes of electrical/electronic hardware and pirated films/videos. These so-called informal trading networks are not burdened by the activities of established film distributors characteristic of

formal economy film distribution. As Lobato and Thomas note, premised on distributive accessibility, on abundance rather than scarcity, Nigerian video circulation has more in common with YouTube than Hollywood. For the first time in Africa, it has created a large scale film distribution system uniquely suited to the specific needs and preferences of its audiences (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 345). Accordingly, the model deserves further examination to determine the elements that make it a popular film culture despite the shortcomings described by Lobato and Thomas (2015, p.4) as a 'non-professional system of media production and distribution'.

The pedigree of the principal producers, including the CEO and the production companies involved in *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show, was presented in the previous sections of this chapter. These resources are seen to be of the highest quality in Nigerian media production and Africa in general. For example, the CEO is a billionaire business mogul. The key producers have over three decades of experience on similar projects, all of them possessing cultural capitals of skills specific to Nigeria, global training, and business experiences. Also, TEG, which owns the show's rights, is the Nigerian subsidiary of a US-based business investment firm that co-produced it with Storm Vision Limited. Storm Vision also has past productions like *Doctor's Quarters, Big Brother Nigeria*, etc. As may easily be seen from the illustrative examples presented below, the demographics of players in local production of global formats have changed to include foreign players. This international involvement made it possible for players with diverse cultural backgrounds. So, the show was not only specific to Nigeria but also the African continent. Thus, while Nigerian cultures are relatively specific within their boundaries, the people enjoy and prefer to adapt to foreign cultures with no underlying limitations. As Edong (2015, p. 112) notes, Nigerian's preference for foreign cultures is progressively influencing local media producers to copy foreign concept and superimpose them on local production. This is the case for all local versions of cultural global

programme formats production in the country. For example, '*Big Brother Nigeria*' is an offshoot of *Big Brother Africa*, which is a local Africa-wide version of *Big Brother UK*.

The following are some key players in the broader Nigerian broadcasting media context, who sit in notable positions cutting across television and film as noted and descriptions of their cross-cutting roles in television and film in the Nigerian media industry:

Remi Ogunpitan, a key player in the production of *The Apprentice Africa* and a 27-year veteran in TV production, having worked on projects like *Big Brother Nigeria, Doctors Quarters, Dragons Den Nigeria* and *Peak Talent Show,* is the Managing Director of a digital production company, *IBST Limited*. The production company serves the West African region, providing a diverse range of digital video productions and technologies. Its clients include local and international clients such as *CNN, ITN, MTN, Nestle, Coca-Cola, Facebook, World Bank, National Geographic, Boomtown Productions, Steeplechase Films, Chevron, Saipem, European Broadcast Union, Acrew4U* and many others. However, for the past 18 years, while IBST Limited facilitates productions such as documentaries, social media content and corporates for leading international brands, they have also been involved in producing feature films (QED, 2017; IBST, 2021).

Clarence Abiodun Peters also known as CAPital, is a filmmaker, music video director and cinematographer. Peters is a popular Afro-Juju legend in the Nigerian music entertainment industry, Sir Shina Peters. Also, his mother, on the other hand, is a renowned actress, Clarion Chukwura of Nollywood movie entertainment. This accounts for his early exposure into different sectors of the entertainment industry. Peters is thus known for his high-end music videos, TV commercials, documentaries, and eventually, "Hex" is his first project as an independent filmmaker (IMDb, 2021).

Duncan Irvine is one key non-Nigerian player in the production of local versions of global TV formats in the country and across the African continent, as the CEO of Rapid Blue company. He initially operated as a contractor for MNet in South Africa engaged in on-air promotions but in 1993 was behind a management buy-out of the company. Irvine has produced many local versions of global formats, including *Got Talent*, *Strictly Come Dancing*, *Who Do You Think You Are? It's A Knockout*, and *So You Think You Can Dance*. He is also involved in the production of entertainment programmes for different broadcasters, the most recent of which is G-Ban (which means cool in Nigeria). This is a weekly entertainment show with live music acts and entertainment news for NTA in Nigeria (Balancing-Act, 2010). Speaking in an interview on the challenges which format producers in Nigeria face, Duncan Irvine, CEO of Rapid Blue, Africa's largest TV format producer explains:

> The beauty about the UK production environment is that you have terms of trade and thanks to the terms of trade, if you create a show, a really great show and you get it commissioned by the BBC for instance, you still get to retain the IP and you then can go off and sell the format. In South Africa that doesn't happen. If a broadcaster commissions you, they own everything, you no longer own the show; it's theirs. So down here I mean we'll develop shows for a broadcaster knowing that we basically are going to lose all the rights to it, so it makes it very, very hard to develop a format that you might be able to sell outside of the country. (Chalaby, 2017, p.15)

Tope Oshin is often referred to as one of Nigeria's most prolific TV directors, having overseen nearly 500 episodes of Africa's biggest drama series. Her programmes include popular hit dramas such as Tinsel, Hotel Majestic, and Hush. Having a huge background in the TV industry, Oshin now makes films for Nollywood "to create a perfect version of the flaws [she] sees in the world around [her]." The Women of Nollywood: Amaka's Kin is a film that sees Oshin paying tribute to one of the doyens of Nollywood, the late Amaka Igwe (Denton, 2016).

Lonzo Nzekwe is a Canadian based filmmaker and TV Network CEO producing content for the Nigerian industry. Described as a key diaspora filmmaker creating transnational

Nigerian content in Canada, His 2010 debut Anchor Baby was met with acclaim and went on to become the first Nollywood film on iTunes. Nzekwe, a self-taught Director, is co-founder of the first black-owned 24-hour television network in Canada, FEVA TV. He is also one of the few filmmakers in the diaspora who have applied themselves to the business of film distribution as much as the creation of content (Denton, 2016).

Kemi Adetiba is another Nigerian filmmaker, television director and music video director. Her works have appeared on Channel O, MTV Base, Soundcity TV, BET and Netflix. As described, "with few TV productions and shows to her name in the background, she took the industry by surprise when she decided to direct and produce her major film, 'King of Boys'. The 2-hours political thriller remained in the cinema for 14 weeks straight before touring the world while grossing N104 million" (Bada, 2019). Adetiba's rise in Nollywood, like her predecessors, also have its roots in TV production in Nigeria.

Due to advances in technology, television has emerged important in reaching out to audiences either within its territory or across territorial boundaries. However, with the acquisition of capacity in the productions of local versions of global TV formats by independent players from the early 1990s till the second decade of the 2000s, entertainment television is changing the traditional business model for broadcasting in Nigeria.

Need for Better Government Regulation of Production Organizations

While there have been more and potentials for growth and evident rapid transformations over recent years, the Nigerian television and film production industry is still saddled by poor infrastructure, incessant power cuts, unprofessional crews, and a potential lack of quality production. At least, these were some of the industry's views peddled as to why 2020's *Big Brother Naija* was produced in South Africa. Proponents of these views highlighted them as "strictly a business decision, based on numbers-crunching that makes a South African

production an easy choice." At the same time, Nigerian media stakeholders and producers such as Ogunpitan and concerned citizens condemned the strategy. Ogunpitan expressed that:

> That position is reaffirmed by the feeling that it's only in South Africa that the house can be sourced, quality crew and technical facilities sourced. There is much to be appreciated in this position. Nigeria is a very hard place to produce anything. Those of us in the industry battle every day to make things work. Unfortunately, we do not have any other country to run to. Our investments are here, and we die or live by our acumen, talent and ability to manage the local environment (QED, 2017).

It could be possible to control such a situation through government regulations. However, as earlier stated in the literature, the paradox of informalized industries lies both in their ability to encourage increased small-scale and faster organization-to-execution processes for projects and their ability to slow down institutionalization drastically (see. Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 11). Hence, integrating the informal economies into the formal economies is a huge challenge for government policymakers because operators of these informal economies avoid government regulation and taxation, a consequence of which is slowing down processes of institutionalization of economic activities. As Ogunpitan in another interview reacts:

> Now here is the issue. Can government and regulators continue to stare at a situation where Nigerians are making investments, despite all the challenges we face in the industry, and not regulate, protect, and provide trade opportunities for those investing in Nigeria, like their citizens? All of us in the industry need to understand the stakes. The media continues to represent one of the most potent forces for employment, taxation, setting an agenda for development, changing paradigms, and bringing a nation together. It is also an economic issue; it's a national issue; it's an issue that goes beyond Big Brother being filmed in South Africa. It is about who sets an agenda for the development of the media, broadcast, and film industry in Nigeria? The fact that we are unable to see the economic issue is galling and represents everything that kills our potential and why we need to keep at it no matter the challenges. Our industry needs guidance urgently. (QED, 2017)

The production veteran explains that the continued demystification of Nigeria, its people and environment is cause for worry. Thus, it spells unnecessary trouble for the country if it is continuously positioned by South African brothers as one where nothing works, as Nigerians can make any situation work, despite a plethora of challenges. Preserving informality is

important as it forms an integral and effective part of doing business. However, there needs to be some form of regulation on an industry level to protect the informal economy, perhaps even with its workforce.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed a Nigerian adaptation of a Global Television Format, The Apprentice, which originated from the United States. The cultural practices which were integral to the show's production revealed interactions between the informal and formal economies of the Nigerian media industry. Production and participation in the show required cultural capital in terms of know-how of how the system and society works. The show is a typical example of the media industry meeting real-time society based on the nature of the format programmes contestants' activities per episode. The following chapters will better illuminate upon underlying cultural issues significant for informalization in media production.

Chapter 6 – Emerging Themes

Introduction

Chapter 5 offered an analysis of the practices involved in the local Nigerian production of the global format adaptation, *The Apprentice Africa*. The study reflected upon the influences of informal economies of the country on the media culture, and consequently, the global television format adaptation production. Also, the intersection of the country's film and television sectors was seen as commonplace in the media industry. This cross-pollination implies an enormous range of structural flexibility and increased possibilities within the media industry where agents from different backgrounds come together and make things happen. In such cases, local knowledge forms a considerable part of their credibility and success in the industry. Part of this refers to their ability to build relationships in the mannerism preferred and embraced by the locals. This chapter offers more subtle aspects that further explain the informal cultures and practices of the media. Therefore, the consequences of cultural, social, and economic trends for media informalization discussed below include local and global models, urban-rural cultural divides, ethnicity and religion, and indigenous languages. Discussions also cover the economic rationale for local content. Finally, this chapter offers some insights into the declining trends of new global television formats production in Nigeria.

Local Culture, Global Models as Strategic on Nigerian Television – Apprentice Africa as Example

The recurring finding of the previous chapter shows that the country exerts strong informal economic influences on the media industry, even at the stages of a formal business formation. Hence, while the formal settings interact with global enterprises, informal activities bridge the

gap between local and global, keeping content locally relatable, influential, culturally relevant, and more susceptible to widespread audience acceptance. For instance, the tenets of the formal economy drove the acquisition of the license to adapt the global Apprentice franchise. However, the production processes of the adaptation, *The Apprentice Africa*, involve informal economic activities of street hawking, the ability to deal with unregulated vendors, and so on. This local content/global TV programme format model is such that the host of the show, production of the episodes, selection of candidates for the final interview, and the tasks such as street hustle have almost a hundred per cent local content. Its episodes had all their tasks uniquely indigenous to Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. The contestants dealt with real-life Nigerian situations in Nigeria's real-time corporate environment, often requiring Nigerian solutions. The cultural specificity, which implies informalized ways of achieving tasks behind the scenes, was not about the end products but the participants' body language and modes of interaction with the invisible local agents. Knowing how to carry out these tasks in the show alone without a solid social and cultural capital translates into the realities of the society. It is a mitigating factor for real-life success in this environment to have limited social and cultural capital. The show's tasks reflected this in multiple scenarios. For example, it was as much of the need for social understanding in redecorating their first meeting venue by assembling scattered furniture and other aesthetic materials on the garden venue as it was for the branding and selling roadside snacks. Designing school uniforms for school children, prepping and selling intercontinental dishes in a formalized fast-food outlet, and designing a hotel room revealed the need for substantial social and cultural capital. Therefore, understanding relationship-building between industry actors is essential. These actors may include visible actors in such a production setting and invisible actors like caterers, chaperons, hairdressers, barbers, and other vital drivers. Such experience results in a successful business

transaction rather than one merely ideal on paper. In other words, business processes may not be locally translatable and realizable.

The Apprentice Africa's production processes ultimately signify tolerance for global models on the one hand, and on the other hand, satisfies the demand for embedded local habits. The show's processes incorporating organization, episode tasks, diversity of participants, and positive audience reception yield these significances. As a result*, The Apprentice Africa* was a hugely successful show. At the same time, the rewards of the fusion of informal and formal practices can still be seen by the intermittent echoes of the show in Nigeria's online media space today. Scaro (2017) caught up with contestants of the only season of the show. In their website article, Scaro writes about meeting one of them on a trip to Lagos, Nigeria:

> I first met him once in Luton, England, when I went shopping. After wondering where I knew him from, I concluded he must have been one of the Nollywood actors I had seen on TV… It finally clicked, and I remembered that Nnamdi is only a familiar face from *The Apprentice Africa* reality TV show, a show I followed and reviewed weekly in my early years as a blogger. So based on this, I decided to revisit the show and see what the big dreamers on the show have become almost a decade after (Scaro, 2017).

Almost all the former contestants did not seem to be slacking on their respective career fronts. Resources Ghana Limited, an IT integration giant in West Africa, appointed Isaac Dankyi-Koranteng as its Managing Director. Hannah Acquah became the Recruitment Manager for the Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI), an initiative launched by the United States Government and implemented by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). CNN named Regina Agyare as one of the 12 inspirational women who rock STEM. Tech in Africa also named her one of the six women making an impact and one of the ten female entrepreneurs to watch in emerging economies. Omar Bah has gone on to work in multiple United States-based television productions, including *The Price Is Right*, *Politically Incorrect* with Bill Maher, *Dennis Miller Live*, and *The Bold and the Beautiful.* Nancy Kalembe

grew into one of Uganda's top female entrepreneurs after multiple cooperate careers. Bekeme Masade evolved into a successful social entrepreneur while working with multinational companies such as Shell Petroleum Nigeria. Joyce Mbaya-Ikiao of Kenya became a published author who worked with various organizations, including being selected as the opening speaker for one of the world's leading coaches, Robin Sharma, in Nairobi. Also, Kenya's Eddie Mbugua and Anthony Migui and Uganda's Oscar Kamukama all became successful businessmen and managing directors/partners. Finalist Blessing Njoku rose in her banking career as Head of Human Resources (HR) strategy. The second finalist, Eunice Omole, founded her own New York-based media, O&M Media, to produce a new Pan-African television series called Africa's Top 100 Entrepreneurs. She later joined EbonyLife TV as Chief Strategy Officer after serving as producer and host of EbonyLife's *HelloAfrica* show (Scaro, 2017).

The budding professional men and women contestants, accustomed to formal business operations, acquired one common lesson from participating in *The Apprentice Africa* shot in Nigeria. This lesson involves first-hand experiences in integrating informal cultural practices into formal business operations to achieve the desired career result of Africa-wide relevance and worldwide generally. This acquired character of fusing the informal with the formal practices is mainly because the show required corporate intelligence and street smarts to conquer all seventeen business tasks of its episodes. Perhaps, this could be why the variously expressed desire of the CEO of the show was the production of an apprentice who possesses a combination of intelligence, character, integrity, and street smartness. It is seen that the first three of these qualities represent the inherent characteristics of the contestants. The fourth, street smartness, remains the only acquired attribute for success in informal economy business operations. This precedence, whereby the show was largely successful, is indicative that it was necessary for the contestants to collectively – rather than merely on individual basis –

understand and assimilate the informal production practices involved in the business tasks of the episodes.

Informalized and Localized Economy – Imperative Lessons from the Nigerian Film Industry

From a film production standpoint in Nigeria, there has always been a strong emphasis on producing the content that the local consumers want to see. Marketers have had a history and reputation for compromising on quality productions. Elements that make a global benchmark for filmmaking, such as storytelling, plot development, etc., are stifled to produce exact types of content that tend to sell in the local markets. This sort of exchange is prone to result in the mediocre quality of productions. For example, in 1999, a prominent filmmaker who is also one of the Nollywood industry's pioneers, Eddie Ugbomah, produced a Nigerian Civil war-themed film titled *Aba Women Riot* (Obiaya, 2011, p. 141). This film did not get a nod from marketers. Instead, the filmmaker revealed, saying, "marketers told me that I needed to revise the plot and add bloody and violent scenes. I refused. This meant that after having spent 1.2 million Naira (around $9,000), I still have the film at home" (Aihe, 2004). This situation is often expected because the marketers are critical stakeholders in the film production chain. They are not merely distributors. They have the power to influence films' themes, the choice of actors, and the achievement of sales targets (Barrot, 2011).

However, in defence of these marketers, people have increasingly subscribed to these unpolished, uncomplicated, or simplistic stories that fall short of the theatrical standard. The target viewers tend to be intrigued by the unambiguous entertainment, quirky humour, and subliminal cultural messages embedding the everyday lives of the people. These viewers are not often looking to get analytical with films; they simply want to unwind with these films above all else. Therefore, the poor quality or manner of making local films is inconsequential. Also, the kind of movies that begin with one storyline and potentially end with another, or

those containing overly dramatic voodoo and domestic wars, tend to receive more popularity. These films are typical ambient sounds in homes, and sometimes even in loungerooms of public/private offices and institutions because it is not as important to follow a narrative as it is to be exhilarated by frequent intensive scenes. In alignment with this notion, Oyewole (2014) describes the type of storytelling found in Nollywood films as "distinctive", which also hold broad appeal, regardless of its low technical quality tendencies. 'Films with predictable storylines have been churned out according to tried and tested formulae' (p.2). Barrot (2011) also entirely agrees with this by noting that, 'although Nollywood films are often mediocre, they are rarely boring. Nollywood consistently selects the most effective scripts and cultivates the most dramatically engaging plots… the aim is to shock, surprise, astound and dumbfound viewers' (p.v).

Don Pedro Obaseki, the first president of the Film-Makers Cooperative of Nigeria, says that 'for many, cinema is not an art; it is more like a series of editing processes' (Barrot, 2005). Most Nigerian distributors only preoccupy themselves with commercial considerations and impose an assembly line rhythm to production. Consequently, most Nigerian filmmakers failed to see themselves as authors of films in response to the market conditions but as 'paid skilled workers or even drudges, whose workaholic attitude attracts producers and enables them to survive the tough market conditions' (Barrot, 2011, p. VII). In 2017, Eddie Ugboma further exposed the realities of production during his interview with *The Guardian* newspaper. When asked about his legacy in the industry, he speaks to how some producers shoddily tell the African story.

> One of the things people do not know is that almost if not everybody in the movie industry is angry. The movie people are self-made; the government has not put anything on ground to further encourage them. There is no level playing ground, and many of them are not trained. They come for the money. They see filmmaking as a profession they can venture into when they have failed in other areas of life. And do not blame them because the industry is so cheap to enter. You do not have to register as lawyers, medical doctors, engineers, and other professionals do. The entertainment world,

especially in Nigeria, is an all-comers world; it is open for every Tom, Dick and Harry (The Guardian, 2017).

However, different guilds and associations that are supposed to control the activities of the marketer still exist. It just does not appear that they are doing enough to regulate activities. So there is no level playing ground.

Filmmakers also must deal with formality issues that may involve 'Area Boys' (also known as '*agberos*'). These are loosely organized gangs of street children and teenagers, composed primarily of males. For instance, when they are shooting a film in Lagos, these Area Boys come to disrupt the process within their rights. They take filmmakers' cameras and shooting equipment. The government agency concerned is often of pale assistance when this happens. It is not uncommon for them to accuse the filmmakers of not fulfilling previously non-existent obligations and registrations. However, as Eddie Ugboma responds, "in the real sense, going to the government to register will only earn you a certificate that would permit you to shoot a film in Lagos; it does not protect you from the Area Boys" (The Guardian, 2017). The parallel reality in the East is that filmmakers need to pay pirates and local government officials, in advance, to shoot a film. After spending all these vast sums, it is still tough to evade the control of marketers and recoup their monies as independent filmmakers. Even at the level of career Actors and Actresses, distributing channels like South Africa's Multichoice company take advantage of these informalities and lack of rules and regulation in the industry. For example, they sponsor the production of up to six different films in the same location at the same time. This way, they use the same props and the same music in all the films under production. They also use one actor to play different roles in all six movies and pay them unrealistic sums of 1 million Naira (approximately 2000 US Dollars) for their job (The Guardian, 2017).

Barrot narrates a dual existence in the industry's underground economy that has resisted structuring, consolidation, or standardization, in preference to its small-scale, fractured, and somewhat amateurish production, making it more spontaneous and closer to its viewers. Thus, for example, in 2004, distributors boycotted the best-paid stars, which put a stop to the inflation of budgets and prevented the entry into the sector of investors capable of dominating the market by eliminating smaller competitors:

> Nigerian video production, both in its production stage and marketing processes, for the most part belongs in the informal economy. It is not unusual to find illiterate or semi-literate Nigerian marketers who initially acquired capital through selling foodstuffs and textiles, contraband, or even more suspicious types of trade. Yet this does not hinder their ability to lead the entire production process because they are the only ones capable of raising the initial funds and managing the distribution chains, which are more akin to the cassava or condiments distribution chains than to those of the formal sector (Barrot, 2011, p. IX).

Despite the disruptive models in the production to distribution chain introduced and practiced by these marketers purely for financial gains, filmmakers almost equally understand and cope with the largely informal structure of the Nigerian film industry. These filmmakers can manage with the often-overbearing influence of the marketers over the films that they produce. This coping attitude, in turn, made the industry thrive on a direct to video model, with revenues almost exclusively derived from home video sales and rentals. Thus, through their network of shops and outlets, these marketers were also responsible for the films' distribution success.

The uniquely homegrown small scales of video production, (that is low-budget, high-volume production) and marketing models make this film industry hugely attractive to locate in several Nigerian commercial cities like Aba, Abuja, Enugu, Lagos, Onitsha, among others. These observations underpin the video industry's famed informal economies of film distribution. Ramon Lobato (2010, p. 338) notes that 'Nigerian video has ushered in a new and innovative film culture, based around cheap and accessible non-theatrical distribution rather

than theatrical release; it has, in effect, solved many of the distribution problems that plague filmmakers across the globe.' Accordingly, global film Industries may well take a cue from Nigeria's Nollywood film release and distribution templates to solve their distribution problems. However, there is need for research work under the auspices of film and media studies to reveal the dynamics of this distribution model which is currently non-existent in the literatures.

It is also worth noting that this very practice model put Nollywood on the world map, beyond local distribution. Despite its debatable nature, this global presence arguably created an international stage for the emergence of filmmakers of today who are beginning to find formal ways to secure funding from public and private sectors (Oyewole, 2014). However, it is rare for filmmakers to receive foreign aid for Nollywood movies, except for few resourceful Directors. These few Directors have managed to break out of the control of the marketers using such international resources (Miller, 2012, p. 123).

With *The Apprentice Africa*, there were similar dynamics in terms of access to funding (as with television formats in Nigeria). The show was sponsored by BankPHB, a bank which ceased to exist, barely 2 years after the show. On August 5th, 2011, BankPHB lost its operating licence to the federal government via the Central Bank of Nigeria who claimed ownership of the bank alongside two other defaulting banks at the time. The trio were unable to show capacity to recapitalise before the deadline of September 20th, 2011(Komolafe and Kolawole, 2011). Since BankPHB was the primary sponsor of *The Apprentice Africa*, the show came to a halt after its first season.

Producers of television format shows often turn to private companies such as Telecoms, Banks, and Beverages for sponsorship. However, the ability of sponsors to fulfil their prize promises in a timely manner is sometimes controversial. Also, it is sometimes the case that

winners claim that prizes were either never presented or that they were different from what was promoted, and therefore significantly less than what was promised during the show. For instance, in 2012, a journalist, Daniel Fayemi, interviewed the winner of the *Nigerian Idol* Season 2, Mercy Chinwo. As part of the interview, he queried: "I understand that part of the reward for winning Nigerian Idol was a N7.5 million recording contract, is it true that you didn't get it?". In her words, she said, "as I speak to you, I'm a one-man standing. I am not in any record label, I am alone. I have to say the truth. I am not or was never tied to any record label. I get a producer do my song and keep the hustle going" (Encomium, 2013). This interview ensued seventeen months after she won the show. There have also been other claims like the above. Moreso, inconsistencies like this have arguably affected renewal of shows since sponsors play a major role in production and adaptation of television formats in Nigeria. They also highlight the informalization embedded within the system, especially where there is hardly anyone to hold responsible. Notwithstanding, sponsors continue to determine the fate of television formats in the country, and for the duration of these shows, sponsors make significant media presence by advertising their names and services across all promotional media possible.

The influence of marketers over financing, producing, and distributing English language films for many years had its spate of downsides, including enabling the outright neglect of Nigeria's copyright law (by the marketers themselves). The law "expressly provides for written contracts to prove ownership of films and chain of title (the bundle of documents that prove ownership of the rights in a film)" (Oyewole, 2014, p. 2). The marketers have both magnified and capitalized upon informalized situations. The situation thus presents through the absence of a plan that elaborates on capturing a return on investment. This situation further deterred other forms of private financing and closed the door on potentially lucrative distribution opportunities in overseas markets where the chain of title is a prerequisite.

A new era of films produced by independent filmmakers now has the required chain of title agreements in place. In addition, Nigerian cinemas are now welcoming more local movie premiers – a shift from the cinemas' previous market for importing Hollywood movies since the local movie markets were not easily formally accessible until recently. The theatrical release means that filmmakers can now derive revenue from ticket sales. This shift means that the industry is now beginning to experience a gradual change in its mode of operation. Therefore, these informalities and difficulty in standardization continue to play a dual role of peculiar advantages and disadvantages. As Oyewole puts it:

> In just 20 years, against all the odds, Nigeria's low-budget film industry has become an increasingly influential multi-million-dollar business. A growing number of quality productions are making their way to international film festivals and enjoying premieres screenings in major film markets and leading Nigerian actors are gaining international prominence. Despite the industry's many ongoing challenges, the resilience, creative ingenuity and entrepreneurialism of Nigerian filmmakers coupled with the industry's unique style and broad popular appeal mean that it is no longer a question of whether a Nollywood film will become an international box office hit, it is simply a matter of when (Oyewole, 2014, p. 5).

Whereas production in Nollywood may not be elaborately global because it is mainly homegrown affairs, borne on Nigerian funds, run by Nigerian producers, and using Nigeria-grown talent, it is not entirely insular. There is some presence of global forces in Nollywood production processes. These international presences come in the form of inputs towards production, mostly one-off and haphazard, except for physical hardware and software. Also, in its distribution phase, these global connections follow the logic of informality. Therefore, they can afford to be unclear about their practices, for example, as mentioned above, overusing professional actors and actresses etc. However, through these informalized networks, Nollywood films find their way to move from Lagos to international markets like Dar-es-Salaam, East London, and St Lucia in the Caribbean. Thus, global distribution tends to "spread

out like a vast web, and mostly an invisible web, due to its informality and opacity" (Miller, 2012, p. 125).

Nollywood production processes rely on storylines based on the people's diverse cultures, traditions, and lifestyles. In this way, it has become an integral component of the cultural scene. Moreover, this cultural instrument supplies the stories that recreate and shape the experiences of its audience. Therefore, it forms a veritable basis for cultural innovation in the informal media production processes in Nigeria. Oyewole describes these cultural implications of the country's video productions as:

> Nigeria's diverse cultural traditions and lifestyles (180 million people, 300 tribes and some 500 languages) offers a wealth of materials from which the country's filmmakers skilfully draw to recount simple stories of daily life that resonate with Nigerians, as well as audiences sharing a similar culture and heritage across Africa and African diaspora. These colourful and entertaining stories capture the imagination of audiences; they echo their life experiences, feature a strong moral theme and yes, juju (black magic). Newer generation of filmmakers, however, are focusing on hard hitting social issues such as rape (Tango with Me), domestic abuse (Ije) and cancer (Living Funeral). Nollywood is recognized as an expression of the depth and breadth of Africa's cultural diversity. It enabling Africans tell their own story (Oyewole, 2014, p. 2).

Nollywood's audience acceptance is phenomenal, judging from its vast demand. By extension, this acceptance is reflected in the steadily increasing growth in production output since emergence despite the movie's technical shortcomings in quality and artistic standards.

Relevance of Nollywood and the Nigerian Film Industry to the Analysis of The Apprentice Africa

The Nigerian film industry, often described as Nollywood, presents an excellent opportunity to explore the informalized practices of the media system through its film production. Its production practices and marketing operations are largely informalized as clearly explained elsewhere in the thesis. Also, as suggested in this study, the video film sector intersects with

television through a combination of factors such as presence of the same production agents and organizations across board, distribution of most films primarily via television channels, DVD/VCDs or direct-to-video on VHS tapes etc. Hence, Nollywood serves as a wider field for contextualising informalized practices embedded within the media system, and effectively, in the production of television formats such as The Apprentice Africa. Furthermore, it is important to explain the cultural implications for these informalized practices by considering what several literatures – which mostly bother on the Nigerian film industry – have attempted to reveal.

Moreover, thousands of films churned out of the film industry, Nollywood, annually, heavily rely on the theme of diverse cultural heritages and practices, as well as socioeconomic realities of the people. Hence, beyond the relevant external influences of informalized practices on the production of films, the films' contents themselves often point to these informal practices as culturally specific and integral parts of the society. In its films, Nigerian cultures are transmitted through accent, lifestyles, dresses, music, dance, etc. Orewere (1992, p. 206) notes that "we are often reminded that film is a powerful medium of entertainment and transmission of cultural values". It is indeed instructive that for a study like this – looking to television formats within an informalized cultural setting, – a systematic recognition of an interconnected film industry such as Nollywood can help explain important cultural values and practices.

Like Onuzulike (2007, p. 239) noted, African originating movies which tell African stories help to bridge continents and the people who live in them. In this sense, such movies provide "critically important points of reference for immigrant people who are struggling to reconcile dual identities as citizens of their countries of origin and the new society in which they are trying to adapt and build new lives" (p.239). While Nollywood films largely illustrate Onuzulike's argument, *The Apprentice Africa* is similarly close to such cultural product depicting lessons for foreign investors and immigrants who must understand and adapt to the

environment to thrive. The case study format neatly sits alongside films produced in Nigeria, both as entertainment and media of cultural exchanges. It was produced in Lagos, Nigeria for African countries' audiences/viewership. Moreso, it aimed to generally entertain and promote entrepreneurship through reinforcing entrepreneurial skills of contestants, assisting viewers to acquire entrepreneurial skills, decision-making and possibly business start-up capacity.

Apparently, informalized practices of the Nigerian media system have quite often been highlighted through its film industry. However, television formats, as an emerging part of the system is also influenced by such practices, and therefore call for better scholastic recognition. These compelling reasons inform the relevance of insights into homegrown Nigerian film industry, Nollywood, for the analysis of *The Apprentice Africa*.

Local Content Act and Economic Rationale for Local Content

Local content requirements are provisions (usually under a specific law or regulation) that commit foreign investors and companies to a minimum threshold of goods and services purchased or procured locally (UNCTAD, 2014). It is also a means of strengthening a weakened or infant industrial base and shifting the economic base away from both consumption and rent-based industries towards creating an indigenous production platform focused on domestic value addition. The other benefits for local content requirements include appropriate provisions on transferring technology and expertise and capacity building. From a media and entertainment industry perspective, local content requirements involve meeting specific sector targets in the generic Nigerian Content Act, 2010 (initially passed for the oil and gas industry). This Act of Parliament provides the template for generating local content requirements applicable to other national economic sectors such as Information Communication Technology (ICT) and Broadcasting and Creative Industries (BCI) on development plans and their

implementation strategies. In addition, it usually addresses how the country can derive maximum benefits from such sector's operations using local resources and services for national development, employment, and poverty alleviation. Accordingly, the Public Procurement Act, 2004 and the Local Content Executive Oder on Public Procurement, 2017 and policies and regulations from government and their media bodies such as the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) specify a minimum share of locally procured/ manufactured goods and services for this sector. In particular, the Executive Order on support for local content in public procurement 2017 reinforces obligations on its Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to spend not less than 40% of their procurement budget on locally manufactured goods and services, including Information Communication Technology (ICT). It is instructive to observe that the cultural global format franchise only serves as a general framework or skeleton. Within this framework, the buyer may introduce their media habits, cultural practices, norms, and values of the target audience. This situation makes it difficult, if not entirely impossible, to subject cultural global formats to local content requirements. Rather adaptations of formats franchise may incorporate possible local cultural practices of the buyer.

Given the local content act, there have been economic rationale for local content. Evidently, since the 1990s, the entertainment and media industries have made increasingly significant contributions to the Nigerian economy. The year on year increases in the inflow of foreign investments in information communications technology (ICT) and broadcast and creative media industries manifests this economy. With an influx of about US$32billion in mostly foreign investments since 2001(Okoriekwe, 2020), it may not be misplaced to refer to this sector as Nigeria's next substantial foreign exchange earner after the oil industry. For example, the film industry continues to snowball with Nollywood as the second largest film producer globally in terms of the number of movies. It is a unifying brand for practitioners in scripting, directing, sound, High Definition (HD) techniques, acting, cinematography, make-

up, editing, etc. (Akaniro, 2020). Following Nigeria's massive market due to its large demographics and popularity of Nollywood filmed entertainment, there are promising prospects of opening cinemas in numerous under-served and yet to be served locations using available technology platforms like subscription television. In addition, one of the online video-on-demand streaming giants, Netflix, is on course to begin local production of Nollywood originals after their successful launch of the Netflix Naija platform in 2020. This Netflix expansion expects to improve film distribution from production cities of Abuja, Asaba, Enugu, Lagos, and Onitsha to other parts of the country and the world.

The data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) revealed that in the second quarter of 2017, the industry accounted for 2.66% of GDP. This data, therefore, implies that there are good prospects for growth. Nigeria produces around 2500 films annually with a projection of US \$22million in 2021 for revenue, rising at an 8.6% compound annual growth rate (CAGR) over the forecast period (Osinubi, 2017, p. 8). Further, he reports that this industry is estimated to employ more than one million people and generate more than 7 billion USD for the national economy (Osinubi, 2017). The scope for improvement is even more expansive with targeted training and capacity building for directing cinematography, scriptwriting, and movies production equipment and leasing. However, the high prevalence of copyright infringements and piracy appears to be a major limitation on the realisation of projected revenues and job creation.

Furthermore, the primitive nature of Nigeria's film industry infrastructures, low-budget and low-technical quality productions, which translate to cheap unit costs of products, are the main attractions and drivers of copyright infringements and piracy in the sector. Oyewole (2014, p. 2) notes that pirates are selling bootleg copies for a fraction of its retail price within hours of a film's release. However, such informal practices provided the initial basis for Nollywood film sales network outlets by the marketers, who monopolized the films' funding,

production, and distribution. These informal trading networks of the bootleggers have grown to become a regional market on their terms (McCall, 2007). As Lobato and Thomas note, the Nigerian video economy offers compelling evidence of the role of informal markets in creating efficient and economically sustainable media Industries:

> Its industrial organization has been shaped by small scale entrepreneurial distributors formerly occupied with bootlegs and electronics equipment. Audiovisual content has always been more of an add-on to an existing trade in electronics hardware and black-market media. There has been comparatively little concentration or consolidation of ownership in these networks, which are intricate yet highly efficient in their distributive power. The industry is structured in such a way that large numbers of films can circulate without the same capacity constraints that plague theatrical releasing (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 345)

It must be emphasized that the above scenarios are unique to the film due to the noted reasons and much quicker return on Investments. Reality television formats, for which this research case study is an example, on African airwaves are more recent developments that require huge resources to produce/acquire and deploy. New format development and deployment are daunting tasks that defy informal copyright infringements and piracy of the same nature as Nollywood movies.

The informal practices also offer significant informal sector employment and income generation potentials and the capacity to meet the needs of the urban and rural poor consumers by providing cheaper products. Nigeria's TV and video market revenue grew by 7.49% to reach 732 million USD in 2018 and is projected to reach 806 million USD by the end of 2020 (Akaniro, 2020). Pay-TV subscription share of the market revenue is substantial, accounting for 72.26% in 2018, with TV advertising as 30.7%. Multi-Choice is the leading operator of subscription television in the country with its DStv and GOtv services via satellite and pay-DTT (Digital Terrestrial Television). Other significant operators of Pay-TV and video-on-demand services include StarTimes, Irokotv, Magic Africa and Netflix.

The music entertainment industry in the country is also experiencing healthy growth with the emergence of new creations all the time. Here the entrepreneurs such as artists, promoters, producers, managers, etc., are predominantly youths. As a result, total music revenue in Nigeria rose from 9.0% in 2016 to reach US$39 million and sets to increase at a 13.4% CAGR to US$73 million in 2021 (Osinubi, 2017).

Despite these glowing reports on substantial financial resources accruals and favourable impact on the country's economy, the fraction available to the few indigenous participants is insignificant. The bulk finds its way overseas to foreign technical expertise, purchase of equipment and materials for production. The immediate consequence is capital flight. This flight is due to overseas manufacturers repatriating the profits from contracts like procurement of production equipment and materials. Its main offshoots are losses in employment opportunities, the development of local movie-making equipment and technology, and a platform for exploitation of content. These problems reinforce the need for the Nigerian government to enforce existing entertainment and media industry local content regulatory measures and provide a policy framework for indigenous participation and patronage.

Various challenges are responsible for the problems of low levels of local content in expertise, equipment, and machinery for production in the industries. They include lack of requisite local skills, technical expertise, human resources and production capacity, and favourable competing capabilities. They also include deficient capitalisation arising from the tendency of Nigeria's entrepreneurs to operate as "one man" businesses; capital and structural deficiencies associated with poor training and low managerial ability; inability to attract funds due to lack of suitable collateral and corporate image (Ihua, 2010; Osinubi, 2017; Akaniro, 2020). Over the past decade, however, successive Nigerian governments have put in place some legislation and strategies to promote local participation in the ICT and broadcast and creative industries. For instance, there has been an executive order to support local content in

public procurement, 2017 (LCEO). There has also been a creation of the office for Nigerian content development in ICT through the National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA) and National ICT Policy 2012. They have specified guidelines for compliance by all government ministries, departments, and agencies (MDA) and the industry participants in procurement. In particular, paragraph 9 of the ICT guidelines defines local content as: "the amount of incremental value added or created in Nigeria through the utilization of Nigeria's human and material resources for the provision of goods and services in the ICT industry within acceptable quality and standard to stimulate the development of indigenous capabilities" (NITDA, 2019, p. 3). Following NBS data indicating significant media industry contribution to the country's economy, it has become necessary to ensure the participation of Nigerians in an industry with much growth potential. Accordingly, the faithful implementation of existing extant laws, policies, and executive order on the growth/development of Nigerian content in ICT and appropriate incentives for compliance guarantee it. It is evident that the absence of a mechanism for evaluating local content compliance necessitated the presidential Executive Order incorporating for the MDAs. It states that MDAs must, within 90 days, "assess the monitoring, enforcement, implementation, and compliance with this Executive Order and local content stipulations in the Public Procurement Act or any other relevant Act within their agencies" (FGN, 2017, p. 2). However, it is not enough to put in place legislation, policies and presidential Executive Order with compliance being a prerequisite for the renewal of broadcasting licenses. Appropriate incentives, such as tax reprieve or rebate, and establishment of ICT local content compliance desk offices in the broadcasting regulatory body, NBC, and MDAs are critical to driving full compliance. The above challenges are also responsible for the poor quality of available indigenous television programming formats and their production environments. By extension, it is difficult to produce original cultural global television format franchises for cross country trade.

The Federal government recently unveiled a new media policy on the broadcast industry, which stipulates that it will enforce 70 per cent of local content in radio and television programmes in the country. This policy is a part of their efforts to reform the country's broadcast industry to promote local content, add value to creative works, encourage innovation and improvements in the sector. It also aims to shatter monopoly and give room for competitiveness. Also, the umbrella media regulatory body, Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC), released a broadcast code to regulate exclusive/original local content on Pay-TV and video-on-demand services in the country. It requires that online broadcasters register with the commission. It mandates Pay-TV and streaming platforms not to make content exclusive and sublicense content at prices the NBC will regulate. It also requires operators to sublicense their content to other broadcasters in Nigeria to create room for competition in the country's movie industry. However, the broadcast code appears to conflict with the provisions of the copyright laws as it would amount to regulating the copyright of others. It is also a disincentive for Pay-TV and online streaming providers to produce original local content in Nigeria.

Urban-rural Cultural Divide's Influence on Media Content Production

The available literature reveals that Nigeria established its first broadcasting station in an urban area of the country. In contrast, the first print media commenced much earlier in the rural area. For example, radio broadcasting came to Nigeria in 1932 with the colonial administration's establishment of a re-broadcaster station of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Lagos. The purpose of this establishment was primarily to keep the expatriates abreast of events in Britain (Akingbulu and Bussiek, 2010, p. 11). In an earlier study, it was noted for this re-broadcaster that 'the content of the programmes had no direct relevance to the basic needs and

lifestyles of the indigenous audiences because the re-broadcasts were meant to fulfil the listening needs of the colonial masters' (Ojebode and Akingbulu, 2009, p. 205). It is quite instructive to observe that this pioneer broadcasting station commenced in the country's then-premier urban capital and commercial headquarters, Lagos. However, Nigeria eventually inherited the re-broadcaster station as the forerunner to the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). She also inherited the British capitalist economic and political ideologies anchored on free-market production and the uses of media to drive their interests. With this initial background, the media industry came under the proprietorship of the federal and regional governments, contrary to standard democratic practices in which governments at all levels do not interfere with the economy but rather concentrate on formulating the policies for regulating it. The military government of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida broke this government monopoly of media ownership in Nigeria through Decree 38 of 1992 that deregulated the industry to permit private sector participation.

For the print media, Franz (1998) notes that in 1859, missionaries published Nigeria's first newspaper, which was also the first African newspaper in an African language. It was called 'Iwe Irohin fun awon ara Egba Yoruba' or 'The Newspaper for Egba and Yoruba People', and it was priced at 30 cowries, roughly the cost of a whole sheep. The motives of an Anglican missionary, Rev. Henry Townsend, for establishing the first newspaper, *Iwe Irohin*, were a combination of religion, education, economic, social, and culture to penetrate and influence the Yoruba speaking community of Nigeria with Christian faith (Owolabi and O'Neill, 2013, p. 246). Consequently, the print media newspapers in Nigeria played an invaluable role as agents of social changes in the protests and political struggles for freedom from colonialism.

In Nigeria, the media broadcasting infrastructures continue to concentrate exclusively in the urban area. This concentration is easily attributable to its vast investment requirement

that restricts the ownership to either government or multinational corporations or wealthy entrepreneurs with financial resources to acquire the technical know-how and expertise. Until the emergence of the ubiquitous internet that requires cellular phone usage, all the other genres of media such as print media (newspapers, magazines, books, etc.) and broadcast media (radio, television, and film production) required prohibitive costs. These costs were far out of the reach of rural dwellers to establish. Even access to the internet presents its own challenge of requisite reception infrastructure within the rural areas. Only peripheral receptions from urban areas close to some rural areas have made media appliances like cell phones become regular features of daily living in the urban and some rural areas of the country. The consequence is continually widening the socio-cultural divide between urban and rural communities. The rural communities continue to depend on the traditional village/town criers to disseminate information in the twenty-first century. Thus, they are denied participation in governance and the opportunity to raise their socio-cultural and political awareness through access to effective communication since the introduction of media broadcasting in Nigeria in the 1950s. Kadiri (2009) reports that one of the crucial problems of the Nigerian media is its urban, elitist-centerd bias and almost cynical neglect of the rural areas and the acquisition of modern technologies by these media houses further increases the gap between the urban and the rural news reportage. Moemeka describes the predicament as:

> The rural and urban poor communities in Nigeria constitute 70-80% of the population of the country, and over 80% of the land area. This rural population suffers from a high rate of illiteracy and absence of social amenities like pipe-borne water, electricity, and good roads. In many of these rural areas there are schools, but school buildings are generally below standard and lack such amenities as libraries, gymnasia, desks and such teaching tools as audio visuals, radio, and television. Majority of the men are farmers, who live on subsistence agriculture; and majority of the women are very small-scale traders (Moemeka, 1990, p33).

Since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 and its successive democratic transitions, the rural poor in the country only get political promises of improvements in their socio-economic conditions during electioneering campaigns for their votes. As a result, they continue to retain nominal existence under successive governments. They have nothing to show for their support for the emergence of each of the governments. The urban poor also suffers similar deprivation of amenities of decent education and living. This deprivation is despite their proximity to the cities populated by wealthy and affluent urban dwellers. Also, poverty constrains this group to minimal and poor education to acquire artisanal skills while living in the urban slums in unsanitary conditions. In these areas, poor technological infrastructure, access only to obsolete education infrastructures and services mean that such citizens are cut-off from developmental processes, including participation in national mass media communication and e-literacy.

Ethnoreligious Influence on Media Content Production

Ethnoreligious diversities are integral components of the country's social reality. These diversities strongly influence economic and geopolitical trends, such as the media production economy. One significant influence is conflict (or tension) occasionally arising from offensive media programme content transmission or conflict of interest from the propensity to dominate any group. For example, religious organizations broadcast from their satellite television channels and digital media communications (Obayi and Onyebuchi, 2014; Obayi and Edogor, 2016). "Even a church like the Deeper Life Bible Church, which originally was opposed to the use of television, has made a volte-face" (Nwankwo, 2017, p. 25). This religious organization airs its programmes on television and has a satellite television network of its own (Oloyede, Oni and Oluwole, 2015). These practices have enormous potentials for triggering either positive or negative consequences in a country of diverse cultures, religions, traditions, and

lifestyles. However, the nation's constitution guarantees freedom of association and religious fellowship and worship.

Nigeria's complex religious landscape is, in several cases, linked to her ethnic diversities. For example, the geopolitical configuration reveals Northern states of the country as majorly Muslims and the Southern states as predominantly Christians. Other comparatively smaller religious groups like Indigenous and Traditional beliefs, Jewish, Hindu, Baha'i, and Buddhist faiths are available and active and linked to geographical/ethnic communities. Together, these distinctive groups propagate and practice an assortment of (often intense) beliefs in the country. Salawu (2009, p. 75) argues that an urban community comprises different ethnic groups, religious persuasion, and social orientations. Such diversities are commonly found in Nigeria's cities as urban communities, and they constitute the critical variables of the causes of conflicts. For example, in 1991, a Christian group invited German evangelist Reinhardt Bonke as a guest speaker in an evangelization convention titled "*Kano for Jesus*". As Ugorji (2016) captures it, being that most Kano residents are Muslims, they protested against the convention and the coming of the German pastor. Also, the protest highlighted the issue whereby the Nigerian government had previously denied a visa to a Muslim preacher from South Africa, who had been invited to Nigeria for a programme. The Muslims cried foul that it is 'injustice' to allow a German Christian evangelist to preach in Kano city. The Muslims did not just see it as a provocation but an attempt to Christianize the Islamic city or present it to the outside world as a Christian city. This conflict led to the death of hundreds of people, internally displaced persons, and the destruction of properties.

Hackett (2009) identifies potential causes of conflicts as inequitable access to the media, defamation, encroachment, and consumerism. Tichenor et al. (1980, p. 17) further note that social conflict is a principal ingredient of much newspaper content since conflict is a central component in community life and social change. Thus, the social institution of the

media also proliferates conflicts in society. This media involvement happens either through championing information, channelling information, or analysing conflicts or as part of the escalation or resolution of the conflicts (Salawu, 2009, p. 75). Over the years, there have been a record number of ethnoreligious conflicts in the country due to media programme content. Reality television shows and format programmes have been affected by such conflicts. For instance, in 2002, a newspaper article about the Miss World Beauty Pageant planned to hold in Nigeria triggered insurgencies. A style writer of a Nigerian newspaper, *This Day*, published a story in its November 16, 2002, issue. The Muslims contended that the article made a mockery of the Prophet Mohammed. The Article opined that "if the Prophet had seen the beauty queens who converged in Nigeria for the pageant, he would have admired them and taken some of them as wives…" (Cowell, 2002; Salawu, 2009, p. 79). The story stirred mayhem from Muslims in some geographically Northern cities of the country. This disagreement led the Muslims to unleash violent attacks on Christians, including killing, maiming, and burning of lives and properties such as churches. These attacks targeted Southerners living in these Northern cities, and especially Igbo ethnic community who represent Christian groups lost their stock and businesses (Salawu, 2009, p. 79). Although political commentators would dispute its religious roots by arguing that it was politically motivated riot, at least 58 churches were attacked, and an estimated 215 people were killed. Thus, Kaduna's governor, Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi, tells the Guardian, "The article was repulsive to Muslims, and there are people here who saw that as an opportunity. They were shouting the slogans of election aspirants, circulating their posters. No, it was not about religion" (Astill, 2002).

There are various other examples of ethnoreligious influence on media content, especially through conflict in the country. Another instance is the 2005 Danish Newspaper Cartoon induced crisis in Nigeria's Northern cities of Kano, Kontagora, Maiduguri, and surroundings. As (Arsenault, Powers and Kirova, 2006, p. 1) note, "Flemming Rose, the

Culture editor for a right-of-center Danish newspaper, commissioned over 30 Danish cartoonists to submit caricatures of the Islamic Prophet Mohammed that he could print in his newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*." The publication of twelve cartoons depicting the Islamic Prophet Mohammed images that are considered blasphemous by followers of Islam triggered fundamentalists into insurrections in Nigeria. Muslims attacked Christian-owned businesses in the Northern cities. This uprising attracted reprisal attacks in the South-eastern cities of Enugu and Onitsha. The situation of a non-Nigerian publication causing havoc in the country also highlights the extent of religious strongholds of the society and its economic and geopolitical impacts.

Meanwhile, the roles of the informal economic activities of the media production and distribution networks as the principal perpetrators of such violence remain significant. Ethnic communities and religious organizations have built networks to produce print and broadcast media content within informalized activities. These activities include the traditional community/village information dissemination modes of propagation and outreach to the rural and urban poor. In this way, community newspapers, radio, religious pamphlets, and tracts become courier platforms for reaching out and sustaining ethnoreligious conflicts. In addition, Marshall-fratani (1998, p. 293) argues that most 'ministries and missions in Nigeria have become producers of some form of print and/or audio and video productions.' Thus, services, rallies, revivals, and assemblies are increasingly videotaped, audiotaped and sold to members. These contents reach the members through distribution to various shops, interdenominational groups or simply passing from hand to hand. Such media content production practices and distribution networks are operated by unregulated and unregistered organizations.

Ethnoreligious beliefs also influence the media by significantly filtering into the production process as habits and unofficial practices. This infiltration means that television content production such as global format adaptation sometimes reflects ethnoreligious beliefs

in their production processes, through individuals or as a collective organization. For example, it is not an uncommon sight to begin, intercept, or end a production activity with prayers of various forms by participants of different hierarchies – from the executive producer to the player at the bottom of the production chain. These are often not integrated into any formal documentation of the process, but they influence how producers and agents perform production activities. Although these practices often appear harmless and merely habitual, Kitause and Achunike (2013) argue that 'adherents of Islam, Christianity, and African Traditional Religions all seem to agree on the potency of the media as tools for propagating their religious beliefs'. Thus, they have submitted to the logic of the media in their religious practices, leading to the so-called "mediatized spirituality" (Nwankwo, 2017, p. 18). In fact, the integral nature of the ethnoreligious culture of the Nigerian society is exemplified by a contemporary widespread turn to media platforms for worship and evangelization, especially in the wake of the coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic.

As mentioned earlier, ethnicity and religion are relatively geographically specific. This specificity also means that production locations based in the Eastern, Southern, Western or Northern regions tend to appeal to the ethnoreligious sensitivities of the locals. For example, in the Christianized areas, Sundays are recognised as days of worship. Media productions such as film and television shooting may consider the timing for churches to close if it must proceed with whole staff on Sundays. In the Muslim regions of the North, Fridays are the recognised days of worship. If production activities must proceed on such days, producers consider the imminent absence of participants of the Islamic faith. Other ethnoreligious influences include how film and television content such as music, dressing, story, etc., influence content. These influences persuasively reflect a production's geographical location and may be intentional but primarily organic. Nollywood predominantly operating in the South-eastern region points to this. Thus, Nollywood movies mainly reflect and represent South-eastern cultures. Likewise,

Kannywood, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, exists to represent the Northern region's ethnic and religious views fully.

Indigenous Languages in Media Programme Content

Nigeria is a multilingual and multicultural country, with Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as the significant indigenous languages and English language as the official communication medium. However, there are many prints (newspapers, magazines, and other literature) and broadcast (radio and television programmes, films, etc.) media productions in these indigenous languages. The Hausa language has '*Gaskiya Tafikwabo*' newspaper. The Igbo language has '*Udoka*' newspaper. The Yoruba language has '*Iwe Irohin*' newspaper. *Iwe Irohin,* observed in the previous section, was first published by Anglican Missionary in 1859 for evangelization purposes, and it is the first African newspaper in an African language. There is also '*Alaroye*' newspaper in the Yoruba language. Quite recently, the Federal government announced the acquisition of a broadcast licence to establish an amplitude modulation (AM) radio station to operate on 720kHz, entirely dedicated to broadcasting media programme content in the Fulfulde language of the Fulani ethnic group. In their editorial comment of June 13, 2019, *The Guardian* editorial board further notes that:

> The Minister of Education, Malam Adamu Adamu, it was who revealed that the Federal government had acquired a broadcast licence for an amplitude modulation (AM) radio station that would broadcast in Fulfulde language "to reach the very hard to reach segment of our target population". He further justified this rather weird – and many would say suspect – step that it "will serve as a vehicle for social mobilization and education... enhance our capacity to address crises between herders and farmers, nomadic schools, and teaching and learning resources" (Guardian, 2019).

Another language variant in common usage in the country, even in media programme contents, emerged from contamination of the official communication standard English language with the

various indigenous languages. Its first version, called "*Broken English*", evolved from the efforts of the locals to communicate with colonialists. This local corruption of the English language led to a more popularly accepted and used version integrated with many linguistic nuances called the "*Nigerian Pidgin English*". It also contains indigenous cultural ingredients added to the standard English language. Thus, language interweaves with culture because language affects culture and vice versa.

In recent times, the use of major indigenous Nigerian languages and Nigerian Pidgin English in the broadcast media to transmit programme contents steadily increased in the country and abroad. This adoption has significantly boosted the media audience to include the barely literate rural and urban poor and positively altered the trend of media production and consumption. Even the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) recognizes the considerable market in indigenous languages and Nigerian Pidgin English broadcasting because of their grassroots nature. It has dedicated some media productions for the Nigerian market. The media production with universal language and appeal is music, a culturally global product as well. This is not true for other culturally global media programme contents like formats. For example, the American Apprentice television format continues to enjoy popular audience acceptance globally in different national cultural settings because of its format adaptation potential. Its adaptation in Nigeria, *The Apprentice Africa,* has programme contents of the premier episode containing activities that are entirely indigenous to Nigeria. The language of *The Apprentice Africa* is standard English since Nigeria's linguistic diversities present the challenge of choosing the appropriate language to use, and the imposition of one will automatically de-market the media production in the other segments. However, using the Nigerian Pidgin English resolves Nigeria's multilingual problem for use in the media programme content of *The Apprentice Africa*. The Pidgin English is popular across audiences of all the indigenous communities in the country and Africa. Fortunately, the Nigerian Pidgin

English is making waves as the media increasingly adopts it to produce news, advertisements, and films.

The Decline of Global Television Formats in Nigeria

The BBC ancestry of television broadcasting in the country theoretically imposed public service function in its operations, that is, operation of non-profit broadcasting services with public funds for general viewing pleasure and the overall good of citizens. In practice, the country's television stations' programming still gets dominated by news, politics, and other controversial matters. There is little attention to Nigerian cultures, values, and indigenous entertainment. Thus, over the years, television has been run "as a free-wheeling medium, without any clear-cut objectives" (Ukoha, 2000, p. 9). Also, the circumstance of establishing the first television station in Nigeria as a tool for political domination and propaganda may explain the current failure of television formats. Television stations modelled the others after their adoption. Hence, the broadcasters' programming continued to fail to adequately accommodate airtime for some of the global television format adaptations after their premier season. Betiang (2013) briefly notes that:

> The development of Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC) Television as first TV in Nigeria (or Africa), in 1959 as an act of protest against the colonial governor, John McPherson, by Obafemi Awolowo, then premier of Western Nigeria, spawned a model for the spiral of new TV stations as a way of managing political propaganda through the airwaves. Both acts conceived later years' paradigm of undue bureaucratization and political domination of state media. (Betiang, 2013, p. 2)

These interventions contribute to the increased cost of running the broadcasting stations, and consequently, adequate airtime may not be provided to broadcast other media production, including formats contents. On the other hand, the broadcasting stations' emphasis on commercialization and market-driven media operations resulting from deregulation did not

seem to affect the failure of some media productions like cultural global television format adaptations to attract airtime after debut. Therefore, it is deducible from these considerations that both the country's private and public broadcasting stations have become more profit-driven, political, and sometimes personal in their interest/choice of programme formats to air.

The elaborate processes and preparations to locally produce global programme formats adaptations all introduce prohibitive local production costs that are incompatible with non-profit public service broadcasting. Thus, contents like gameshows, entertainment, and reality TV shows which sometimes contain exotic cultural activities in their episodes, may result in the unsustainability of the shows after their debut. For example, the recruitment of contestants for *The Apprentice Africa* appears quite cumbersome considering the auditions requirements for shortlisted applicants in various centres in Africa and the United Kingdom. With five different audition locations, each for the same group interactive session in the morning and individual one-on-one interviews in the afternoon comes huge economic and production management implications, just to select contestants.

Indeed, entertainment television is dynamic and continuously changing the traditional business model for broadcasting everywhere. This dynamism is succinctly revealed by (KitPlus, 2021) in providing solutions to the question, "what are the most important opportunities and challenges facing the TV industry today?"

> To answer this question, we need to look more broadly at consumer behaviour and the changing way people are consuming content. Viewers no longer solely want a passive experience with a TV programme in their front room. They want to watch catch-up TV on a laptop, download a phone app on the move, engage with content on a tablet or talk about their experiences on social media sites. They want different experiences on each platform, different flavours of content, and they want it all on their personal schedules! (KitPlus, 2021, April 12)

But in Nigeria, both the public and private television stations only provide airtime for cultural global format adaptation content rather than engage in developing original format content. For example, Rapid Blue, an international format production company with branch based in Lagos, Nigeria, spends around US$100,000.00 to buy airtime to show 13×1 hour episodes from African broadcasters in Nigeria and South Africa (Rapid blue) (BalancingAct, 2012). This is unlike the model in operation in many countries like the UK's BBC where there is a budget and global format programme content can be commissioned for production. Rapid Blue, an independent television production and digital media company, with headquarters in South Africa and branches in Nigeria and Angola, understands that Nigerian and African broadcasters have no budgetary provision for development and deployment of new global formats. Accordingly, this company "produces the local versions of international formats such as "*SA's Got Talent*" and "*Nigeria's Got Talent*", as well as "*Come Dine with Me SA*" (for the BBC), "*So You Think You Can Dance*", animation and game shows. They are also at the forefront of developing new local shows" (Balancing Act, 2012). Because this company has no broadcasting station in the country or anywhere in Africa, they end up purchasing airtimes from the existing local broadcasters for airing their shows.

Another issue is that the design and production stages of *The Apprentice Africa* format adaptation's content only considered some of the consumer's daily living cultural experiences. These everyday experiences include informal tasks like redecorating the garden venue of the contestants' first-ever meeting with the CEO and his advisors and street trading/hawking/hustling of the show's episodes. However, the show's content completely ignored indigenous languages like *Nigerian Pidgin English*, which the more populous, barely literate audiences in the urban poor and rural communities understand.

It is instructive to emphasize that consumers are increasingly exercising their rights to demand different versions of a format in higher quality entertainment from the media industry

as a basis for continued patronage. It is evident that attention to format adaptation programmes is better appreciated if it relates to audiences'/consumers' experiences. The majority of consumers are barely literate audiences within the urban poor and rural communities. These larger populations watch formats to engage with the themes and talk about their experiences, rather than watch as a form of escape from loneliness, stressful situation, etc. The favourite content will be the one with a preponderance of indigenous cultural brand identities and, therefore, relevant to audiences' engagement with their brand. This also means a boost in the quality of the consumer' experience.

In the late 1990s to 2000s, there were significant growths in new global formats productions and their franchises crossing borders into different national territories. For example, FRAPA (2009, p.11) reports that "between 2006 and 2008, 445 formats led to 1262 adaptations in 57 territories". Also, Chalaby (2012, p.37) notes that "the 'format revolution' radically changed the nature of international TV trade flows when, in the late 1990s, concepts adapted from territory to territory began to cross borders in great numbers". Having successful and popular global TV formats crossing different nationalities is one thing but knowing how to sustain new formats developments and adaptations over time, is the real key to success. This, perhaps, may be why global TV entertainment/formats stopped growing soon after the boom of 2000s.

According to an analysis of 20 years of new format development and adoption by Allen (2016), it is clear that the number of new global formats dried up in the last five years. Allen argues that most of these formats rely heavily on the "drama" of following contestants through the journey of a reality competition. This technique and focus provide great storytelling potential and has been a prime factor in global growth and acceptance. But by repeating the method too many times and creating too many manufactured plot twists, audiences have seen through the tricks and manipulations and got tired. Although the emergence of social media

seemed to have provided some of the pleasures of vicarious living, social comparison and so on characterizing entertainment from formats, audiences have become more demanding on quality expectations in all cases. This issue relates to the audience's attitude of desiring a variety of techniques of the format content, that is, different flavours of content and experiences with each media productions. This need for variety is a wake-up call for format content producer/owner to consider integrating aspects that renew consumer experience, thereby attracting today's audience attention to formats. It has become necessary to involve the innovative and entrepreneurial spirit of Jon de Mol, Mark Burnett, and Simon Cowell, the original creators of hugely successful global entertainment formats such as Big Brother, *The Apprentice* and *Pop Idol,* respectively, rather than waiting on profit-driven global format production multinational corporations. Innovation and entrepreneurialism should precede rejigging of global format to help deliver on user experience and even exceed its peak fame and success of the1990s. Such innovation and entrepreneurialism aim to overcome the inherent challenges of creating new cultural global formats that may be subjected to adaptations in informal practices. As a result, cultural innovation will rise in countries like Nigeria to satisfy dynamic consumer demands.

The emergence of social media has reawakened another audience attitude of desiring involvement and participation in entertainment/reality formats. Allen (2016) explains the traditional way to tackle this ever-present human desire and the way forward to accommodate consumers, especially the most influential and ardent fans:

> The solution for generating new entertainment/reality formats lies in harnessing this desire for participation and immersion in a way not previously possible. Many entertainment/reality formats recognized this and were supercharged in the nineties by the promise of audience interaction in the form of voting-- initially by phone and text. For many years viewers at home really thought they were deciding what happened in these shows and voted in their millions. However, it became apparent that audiences weren't really as involved as they thought, as producers and networks couldn't keep their hands off deciding who ended up winning (Allen, 2016, August 24).

There is no doubt that social media has revolutionised the consumer experience with its various digital media products. User involvement and participation are limitless. The standard features include direct involvement with the social media platforms, influencing social media platform content and building own social media profiles. Although these situations have significantly boosted social media generally, global formats have distinct paths involving the target audience's cultural environment, media habits, and so on. This is because they are culture-defining entertainment. However, the entertainment/reality television format failed to sustain a two-way collaborative communication with its audience. Allen (2016) above reports this as one done 'by interaction in the form of voting – initially by phone and text'. It is necessary to challenge ingrained outdated concepts through entrepreneurial creativity to remain relevant. The opportunity of restoring television format to the center of cultural entertainment lies in the fusion of social media with television formats to enable audience involvement and participation across social media platforms.

The emergence of deregulation of broadcasting in Nigeria resulted in the establishment of more television stations, many of which are independent producers with increased AM broadcasting and, therefore, increased local programming capacity. But Salihu (2002, p. 154) notes that "essentially, however, whether privately or government-owned, broadcasting is still largely its master's voice… as the question of true independence is the biggest challenge before Nigerian broadcasting today". Besides, TV screens have continued to pander to Western consumerist values. In contrast, entertainment has 'surrendered more or less to foreign programmes that have little or no redeeming values as far as our culture is concerned' (Uyo, 2000, p. 25). However, through the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Code in 2010, the Nigerian Federation imposed a protective cultural objectives media policy of 60/40 per cent ratio for local/foreign media productions content in the country. This media policy continues

to be challenged by cultural globalisation/imperialism of the new media, including digital television, films, and social media. Cultural global TV formats by design incorporate local cultural contents in any producing country through their adaptations.

Accordingly, there is evidence of the differences between global TV formats and their replications commissioned and produced worldwide. For example, the global television format adaptation, *The Apprentice Africa*, contains some cultural practices unique to Nigeria and Africa in general. Informal activities like "drink it, buy it", which allows contestants to persuade the public to taste their goods and buy from them, tap into culturally informalized practices to persuade and market product to locals. Apparently, various international incarnations of *The Apprentice* franchise feature facets of street hustling in one or more of their episodes. However, hustling on the streets of Lagos present peculiar cultural features emphasised in this study as one which is spectacularly informal and culturally so, in its nature. In the example of "drink it, buy it" above, the element of street hustling merged with a culturally specific practice of drinking the product first for taste before purchasing. It is noteworthy that this cultural marketing practice defies usual trading practices in more formalised settings, especially, where trial before purchase pertains to perishable or consumable goods. Moreover, the product in question holds strong traditional values in this area. The product, called palmwine, is commonly known to have nutritional, sociocultural, and economic values. Palmwine is a fermented beverage produced from the sap of various species of Palms (Mbuagbow and Noorduyn, 2012), and is common in areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America where there is high palm abundance (Tapsoba *et al.*, 2014). It is not traded on the streets but inside local markets in designated line of open stores. Buying and selling of this product, traditionally, thrives on 'taste it, buy it' marketing model. Thus, in general, hustling to sell on the streets of Lagos is not merely about the ability to persuade passers-by on any high street or metropolitan city around the world. Street hustling in this society is accompanied by

with an understanding of local sentiments, cultural beliefs, and attitudes towards both the products and the people selling the products. Also in this society, successful street hustling is silently signalled by an indoctrination, or acceptance of people involved by the locals as a part of them.

With rapid advances in media technology and innovations came digitized satellite, internet, and computer-mediated communications. Betiang (2013, p. 9) argues that in Nigeria, 'new developments in satellite communications technology and media globalisation have also affected TV programming and production'. This phenomenon has made it possible for broadcasting organizations, especially for satellite and cable re-broadcasting stations, to access the stream of programming on global channels. These signals are re-broadcast to subscribers and even on terrestrial channels owned by state/governments.

Implications of Research for Theory

This research provides an excellent basis for improvement of scholarship of African media systems using the help of theoretical concepts such as the Bourdieu's. In studying African media, especially the Nigerian media industry, it is clear from literature that access to data forms a common limitation among ethnographic research scholars who have little to no local connections/contacts. This idea of local connectivity for successful business, as well as all forms of transactions such as academic research, is one of the findings from this research which has also been elaborately explained within this thesis. Hence, the success of this research has been possible through documentary acquisitions and documented evidences.

This study also revealed that there is a dearth of literature on the Nigerian media landscape. Though, the available studies have tendencies to discuss the Nigerian media in ways

that point to a lack of new data and insights. This study implies that newer research can emerge more frequently than is currently the case by looking to available/existing documents for fresher perspectives. A combination of Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and forms of capital, together with Ethnographic Content Analysis provides more potential to continually discover new knowledge in the African media and television format industry. The evidences for these implications to theory have been fully displayed within this thesis theoretical framework and contributions to knowledge. For example, one of the findings of this research is interconnectedness between informal and formal media production practices in the country, which confirms the argument of Lobato and Thomas (2015, p.20) that "media history is a story of interactions between and across the formal and informal zones". In particular, it is revealed that Nollywood film industry, on its own, continues to achieve the objectives of international conventional creative industries and government planning policies of job creation and employment. In this way, the government and international agencies of creative industries can benefit from attention to the informal production and distribution models of the industry. This industry has also grown to be reckoned internationally. The research also found that film and television sectors of the media industry are engaged in constant cross-fertilisation, among other findings that have implications for theory in the field.

Conclusion

This chapter revealed significant undertones to the analysis of the informalization in the Nigerian media and their relevance for format production in Nigeria. The discussions navigated the need to consolidate cultural practices that present as informalization while still engaging with formalization. The revelations in local cultures, and global models, as strategic for television production using *The Apprentice Africa* as an example, explored these practices. In

addition, other emergent themes such as the implications of the urban-rural cultural divide, ethnoreligious influence, and indigenous languages for media production helped explain the broader nuances surrounding informal practices in the media and format production by extension. These themes also serve as potential areas for future studies in media cultural practices in Nigeria.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

Introduction

This work examined "*The Apprentice Africa*: Local Culture, Global Models, and Informalized Production Practices in Nigerian Media". In closing, this chapter recaps the study's contribution to knowledge as well as highlights some limitations of the study and recommendations for future studies. At the beginning, the study set out to understand global format adaptation in Nigeria. The research began with the notion that the media industry is unique because it operates almost entirely under informalized conditions. However, the study found a uniqueness in the media industry – that its informal practices inevitably interconnect with the formal. The study relies on the Nigerian media system, especially its audio-visual/film production sector, to understand better how this interconnectedness. The reliance on the film industry is necessary in further proving the difficulty of separating the practices and practitioners across different media sectors. More so, the conditions of informality saddling the media industry have its strong roots in the historical formation of the nation. Hence, to understand television formats in the Nigerian context, there is a need to intersect between local, national, and global media studies. These specific combinations of media, culture, politics, history, and globalisation to explain the elusive complexities of adapting a format within the Nigerian environment together make this research a vital contribution to the body of knowledge in global television formats.

In addition, applying the Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), which gives the research a 'circular' flexibility to keep excavating new information at any stage of progression between data collection, analysis, and interpretation, is uniquely suitable for this type of research. The following sections present the keynotes highlighting this study's contribution to knowledge. First, there is a review on understanding Nigerian media through local, national,

and global contexts discussed extensively in Chapters one to three. Then, a summary of the application of Bourdieu's conceptual model and the use of ECA discussed in Chapter four follows. Next, it discusses the idea of the cross-fertilization of film and television sectors which this study found in Chapter five and the significance of such intersection for informalization. Finally, it highlights how all these conditions and nuances result in cultural innovation. This discussion on cultural innovation reflects the various cultural, economic, and political influences on Nigeria's media production as shown in Chapter six. The chapter closes by reiterating that work ethics conveyed in *The Apprentice Africa*, which must combine street smarts and corporate knowledge mutually, also serve as a metaphor for understanding the fusion between the informal and formal practices of the media. This inseparable fusion in itself is also an innovation of culture.

Understanding Nigerian Media through Local, National, and Global Contexts

This study of television formats stood upon the organizational conditions of the Nigerian media industry and how they potentially relate to the historical dynamics of nation-building. First, therefore, the study leveraged the development of the entertainment industry amid a history of interactions of the country's political, social, and economic factors. Second, it explained that political, organizational, and cultural factors that shape governance also impact the media and film industry and consequently affect the production and distribution of television formats. Third, it presented the historical political illustration of the study area and the governance structures over the past decades and the consequences these have had for the media and film industry. Finally, the background of television formats from the perspectives of the organizational framework of film and television programme in general was adopted to understand what happens in the industry on a structural level.

A discussion of television history in Nigeria, including the emergence and formations of its television formats, was presented. This also included assessments of the central concept of Global Television Formats. Albert Moran (2004, p.5) considered this concept as that set of invariable elements in a programme out of which the variable elements of an individual episode are produced. Further establishment of definitions of television formats and genres specified this study's type of programmes and context. There was also a brief description of trade and adaptation, together with legislation of formats. Understanding these concepts has been necessary for the subsequent establishment of boundaries and models involved in traditional exchange processes and existing legal cues regarding the practice of (formal, semi-formal, or informal) formats applicable in Nigeria. There was also discussion on content regulations and standardization policies affecting the country's television formats and film industry. These all formed the basis for understanding what goes into the local production of a Global Television Format in Nigeria. They also explain other areas of this study, such as cultural innovation and cross-pollination discussed earlier.

An appraisal of globalisation used for contextualization in this study broadly explains how chains of global and local activities converge and interact to result in international trade and adaptation. Globalisation cannot be overlooked when discussing cultural transfers between nations. This recognition of globalisation is because, in essence, buying and selling and freely transferring goods and services across many countries is globalisation in its most basic form. The impact of globalisation varies between positive and negative, depending on context, industry, and trade. Although this study focuses on the local media industry in Nigeria, it has also contributed new knowledge to the role of informal economies in the globalisation of the media and media industries. Some distinguishing features of *The Apprentice Africa* considered significant factors in its widespread audience acceptance are the use of local artistes as contestants, production crew, etc., local episodes production locations and incorporation of

informalized activities in the production of the television programmes. The programme ultimately attracts the audience with features of 'local flavours', both in contestants and the format contents of the episodes. Hitherto, production and exchange processes of cultural global television format have focused on the activities of multinational corporations and other regulated media industries and ignored the contributions of the so-called completely partially or unregulated sectors of the production cycle. This situation becomes even more apparent with the cultural global format adaptation for production in other national territories. Cultural global television format is usually based on successfully tried and tested foreign content. Therefore, its local version incorporating indigenous cultural practices will likely attract even larger audiences than the original or other imported television format production. Also, the adaptation of a global format to produce the local version provided more jobs for informal workers within the production cycle. Apparently, without these roles, considering the local cultural practices in an environment like Nigeria, producing a local version of global formats would arguably be a difficult, if not impossible, task.

A cursory examination of informalization exposed how local and global media industries function within shadow economies. Accordingly, television formats exemplified and validated the potential for cultural formations or adaptations to be, on the one hand, streamlined or standardized in nature, as in global media industries, while on the other hand, partly standardised, as in the Nigerian national industry. Small undocumented workers drive informal economies in developing countries. For example, in the media industry, some workers such as boom-mic holders, make-up artists, food vendors, drivers, local location guides, and so on are usually recruited on a day-to-day temporary basis in roles that aid production and distribution. The chaperons, who received and welcomed contestants at the airport on arrival, shared hotel accommodation to prevent them from mingling with each other before moving

into *The Apprentice Africa's* in-house. Drivers and transportation services that conveyed them to their different hotels all belong to this category of undocumented workers.

Applying Bourdieu's Conceptual Model and Ethnographic Content Analysis

Bourdieu's conceptual model of cultural forms has been used to describe and explore how television format adaptation is affected by these broader Nigerian media cultures and dynamics. Bourdieu's model was ideal for explaining how television interacts with society, considering Nigeria as a classic case where economics and politics, or business, society, and culture are strongly intertwined. Bourdieu envisioned television as one which rather than record reality, creates it instead. Bourdieu predicted the closeness to a world where "the social world is primarily described and in a sense prescribed by television" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 22). *The Apprentice Africa,* set in Nigeria, showed the relevance of this prediction, which incorporates all the critical local cultural elements/features (local cast, tasks, production location, and so on). It also included the involvement of undocumented workers in the various stages of its production while incorporating a wide range of indigenous producers' participation and all the technologies of the popular reality television format production. Thus, Bourdieu accurately defined television as an instrument of communication that has very little autonomy. Instead, it is subject to a whole series of pressures arising from the characteristic social relations, in this case, between producers and small-scale entrepreneurs. Accordingly, these also include "relations of competition and relations of collusion, derived from objective common interests" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 36). These interests, in turn, are a function of the [producers'] position in the field of symbolic production and their shared cognitive, perceptual, and evaluative structures, which they share by virtue of common social background and training (or lack thereof) (Bourdieu, 1996). Moreover, television can transform its producers and the other

[agents] that compete with it. So, ultimately, through its irresistible fascination for some of them, the ensemble of cultural producers, the importance of television formats in transforming society, when permitted to accommodate local cultural practices in its production, have been underestimated.

On the other hand, an Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) involving observation and documentary analysis has been critical in examining and interpreting the production of the case study format. ECA offers the opportunity to uncover new patterns, emphasis and themes in the documents conceptualised as fieldwork. A rationale for an ethnographic and reflexive approach to documents is like the rationale of ethnographic research in general. "Sampling procedures are informed by theory while constant comparison and discovery are used to delineate specific categories as well as narrative description. Situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances are key topics in the analysis of news documents" (Altheide, 1987, p. 74). The methodological design and approaches for the execution of this research detailed two analytical methods, which include a historical analysis of Nigerian media and, primarily, an Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) of the local adaptation of Global Television Format, The Apprentice. This is combined quantitative analysis of Film and TV industry organizations and a Nigerian television format. This helped determine the significances of informalized or semi-formalized format adaptation processes/products for cultural innovation. Combining historical media system analysis and Ethnographic Content Analysis of television format adaptations makes cultural innovation in non-streamlined ways of format adaptation apparent.

A Cross-Fertilization of Film and Television Sectors of the Media and Relevance for Informalized Culture

Evidence shows a globally 'heretical' cross-fertilization of film and television sectors as an industry norm in Nigeria. This combination is also an indication that informalized or non-

standard cultures are not merely unconventional influences on global format adaptations but also overlooked opportunities for innovation of culture in the country. It is also evident that there is fluidity or an inseparable intersection of Nigeria's formal and informal sectors. In other words, perfectly licit commodities such as television formats and their adaptations, even with cultural manipulations, may originate from unregulated production arrangements and practices.

The film industry provided an opportunity to discuss how media technologies such as DVDs and emerging cinemas shape distribution. In addition, evidence showed that peculiar patterns in the film industry have implications for the television format industry. For instance, the coincidence of the emergence of the informal video industry, the forerunner of Nollywood (Nigeria's innovative and popular cultural film production and distribution industry), and the boom in reality/entertainment television of the 1990s had implications on each other. Cultural global television formats like *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire? The Apprentice*, etc., which attained peaks of replication worldwide, started declining in popularity, especially in the absence of newly developed chart bursting ones. In the past decade, no such new format has been launched globally. The more recent audience distractions from global television format provided by the so-called new media (internet infrastructure, mobile media device, OTT television, etc.) as alternative sources of entertainment have not helped the situation. In particular, the film distribution model was uncommon, being driven by informal markets controlled by independent marketers and unconnected to national or international intellectual property trading networks. The rise of the video economy to prominence in the country resulted from internal and external factors that triggered demand for alternative means of entertainment. The major internal factor is the abandonment of theatrical release culture by the Yoruba theatre performers who took to videotaping their performances for public consumption in the late 1980s (Lobato, 2015, p. 350). The external factors include Nigeria's economic crisis of the 1980s, which significantly increased costs of importation of films and the 1981 boycott by the

Motion Pictures Association of America (MPAA), which led to a drought of Hollywood movies (Larkin, 2004). This film industry described as "shot quickly and cheaply on VHS, with minimal scripting and post-production, video films resembled home movies and eschewed established norms of cinematography in favour of a cheap, televisual aesthetic" (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 340) is also a homegrown alternative source of entertainment. However, it was also observed that the film industry struggles with formalizing due to multitudes of complex factors. These factors include undependable state and individual interest in the industry, discontinuity and inefficiency of policies, and uneven spread of sustained financing within the industry (Igwe, 2018, p. 6). This is despite clamours for formalization, for instance, through a proposal of bills such as the MIPCON bill (See. Igwe, 2018). As identified in earlier chapters, Nollywood has held a stereotypical or single definition in most of the literature. Only in recent times has there been discussions of transformations in the industry. Before this time, Nollywood represented an industry characterised by informally trained, semi-professional filmmakers translating poorly developed scripts into films of low production value. While this is a common tradition, Igwe (2018, p. 129) observed that "it did not constitute the general practice".

A conscious effort, made by both existing industry players and incoming young filmmakers in response to these criticisms, has engendered the characteristic differences in production, distribution and consumption within the industry (Igwe, 2018, p. 129). While some are undoubtedly old and new Nollywood, which brings about unnecessary class divisions, others distinguish between them. Nollywood's major formal distributor of DVD, Gab Okoye of G-Media Distribution, believes that the label represents the practice in addition to class. He says, "if your practice is obsolete, then you are old, and they are new in the sense of brand-new talent – brand new in experience and technical knowhow" (Igwe, 2018, p. 130). On the other hand, Shaka perceives the old Nollywood as a class of video films produced from 1992 until

the inception of high-quality films like *Ije* (2010), *Mr & Mrs* (2012), etc. Scholars have discussed this sectoring from different focal points. Adejunmobi's (2015) engaging attempt at distinguishing the ideologies highlights the new Nollywood simply as an extension of old Nollywood with differing emphasis on content and greater value on aesthetics (Igwe, 2018). In other words, New Nollywood is more westernised than the old through its more formalised production models and connections with global distribution platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and in recent cases, Hollywood production and distribution collabourations.

Cultural Innovation in the Local Adaptation/Nigerian Production of The Apprentice Global Television Format

The Apprentice Africa, an adaptation of the famous cultural global television format programme, provides a focal point for analysing informal culture within the Nigerian media. The country infuses informal cultural production in its formal business and informalized economic activities, while the resultant products remain legitimate. Thus, there is a synthesis between globalized, formal systems and local, informalized practices in the Nigerian media industries in real-time media activities. Television content production such as adapted programmes creates an opportunity to see these dynamics at work, not only in a local context but potentially on a global scale. By exposing the realities and events surrounding the local adaptation and production of this global format programme, cultural cross-pollination is better understood. For example, the case of an internationally formally acquired programme which is still subject to informal production activities and often casualised ways of locally running a business, which nonetheless has proven to be fruitful. In broad terms, Lobato and Thomas capture this scenario as: "we realized that the most important aspect of informal media might not be its exotic, shadowy existence in a parallel world, but its presence sometimes unnoticed in the most mainstream parts of the media industries, and the most mundane and everyday

media experiences" (Lobato and Thomas, 2015, p. 11). This is, to a large extent, true. Informal and formal media interact at various stages and levels, sometimes inadvertently, to yield the desired product.

The fusion of formal and informal economic and creative activities results in cultural innovation. In other words, innovation of culture can benefit from the informal characteristics within a production ecosystem. This highlight on cultural innovation is also essential considering that the cultural dimensions of innovation have "been far less defined than the social aspects accompanying innovations" (Pozzo *et al.*, 2020, p. 425). Although, this research has also gone further to reveal, in line with arguments by several scholars (See. Archibugi, Denni and Filippetti, 2009; Godin, 2009; Ratti, 2015; Bonaccorsi, 2018; OECD, 2019) that there is a lack of a clear conceptualization of cultural innovation, which in turn prevents the development of indicators for measuring it in studies. These measurement indicators when clearly developed would be crucial to planning, monitoring, and evaluating policies (Pozzo *et al.*, 2020). For example, it would be of greater benefit to better expound on the innovative ways in which the culture of informalities may affect future policies and governance planning of the Nigerian media industry. However, Pozzo et al. also, argue and create room for a category of cultural innovation that "results from the processes generating it, namely those related to co-creation" (p.426). In which case, the peculiarities of cross-pollination of different industries and formalised/informalized structures in the local production of a global content regarded as unusual practices in especially major international media industries can be seen as innovation of cultural production.

The idea of mixing different forms of knowledge and perspectives, sometimes from diverse industries outside media, is at the center of cross-pollination between the formal and informal economies that come together during the production of, for example, the case study television format. Regardless of the said practices, the agents involved in the production and

the invisible/shadow workers of the informal economy create value among themselves to suit their context. Such a form of collaboration resulting in unique cultural conditions is what Bourdieu's concept of habitus explains. In this Bourdieusian explanation, social agents adapt to new strategies created by the social worlds they exist. It is the nature of informality to bring together acquaintances and personal networks to create and execute a project or business idea such as the case study. From the Executive producers to the actor occupying the minor rank in the production cycle, it is inherent in the said cultural setting to construct a team and develop strategies off-the-book and run with open expectations for unexpected developments. This model takes it entirely outside the control of structured foreign businesses or investors to participate in business successfully within the country without the involvement of key local players.

This type of cultural innovation fostered by co-creation brings about institutional change by encouraging regulatory changes. In this sense, Pozzo et al. identified and defined outcomes of cultural innovation in terms of the following features: fostering open innovation, improving welfare, transmitting heritage, fostering creativity, and experiencing beauty. In terms of fostering open innovation, culture is understood as shared in society, which makes cultural innovation itself fundamentally open innovation. "Moreover, a cultural innovation should contribute to the character of openness of innovations in other forms, for example, technological innovation or innovation in the public administration" (2000, p.429). The adaptation of a global format given the specific circumstances of local production in Nigeria ultimately fosters open innovation. For example, the innovations in communication that enabled auditions in different African continent countries, including in the United Kingdom for *The Apprentice Africa* Candidates. This unbounded fluidity of production circumstances permits any valuable change that could make the programme better happen. Another example is a predictable yet peculiar contingency plan for private electricity generation within media

shows production sites in Nigeria 'in case' of a sudden power outage and sudden necessities of adjusting shooting locations.

Cultural innovation also results in improving welfare. In this case, the feature of cultural innovation is shared with social innovation. The type of social innovation that works hand in hand with cultural innovation may include improvements of the welfare of individuals or communities, for both are innovations "defined by their (social) objectives to improve the welfare of individuals or communities" (OECD, 2018, p. 20). *The Apprentice Africa* added to the welfare of such local businesses by involving local vendors either on the streets or in their small, unregulated business spaces. For example, the participants' involvement of small scale 'Printers' to produce banners since there were no printing facilities on the production site. Also, chaperons assigned to the contestants from countries like Uganda taught them *Nigerian Pidgin English* because of the show. Again, the United States based diaspora contestant attended Sunday service at one of the local Pentecostal churches. The photographers, who clicked away several times to get contestants' pictures for other products and promotional purposes, also contributed to the production. The innovation of culture in the production practices applicable to *The Apprentice Africa*, also resulted in transmitting heritage. In which case, international participants experienced the content of culture from local agents throughout the production chain of the format programme. The format also elucidated the innovation of culture through fostering creativity. Participants created and shared new experiences since the culture in which some participants needed to immerse themselves was novel. Lastly, cultural innovation in producing this format in Nigeria also resulted in a philosophical condition that Hillman (2006) identified as experiencing beauty. Borrowing from the concept of the politics of beauty, participants appreciated the knowledge of the specific or soulful way of doing things within the local environment as an asset for their present and future engagements with the country.

Limitations of Research

The reliance on documents in contrast to fieldwork for this research could be construed as its main limitation. However, whereas fieldwork such as observation and live interview data gathering would have brought fresher perspectives, saturated sampling of documents such as archived news and web publications, documented interviews, library journals, archive videos and so on repeatedly revealed similar necessary information. This suggested that documented data was sufficient pending the informal nature of information under scrutiny. It has been noted in the thesis that informalities of the media further hinder the possibilities of accessing structured live data. Moreover, the choice of qualitative approach to analysis, ECA, applied as methodology of research permitted and justified the discovery of meaning from cultural activities and examination of relevance and associations as well as definition from social contexts using documents. Even pointing to its exceptional appropriateness for this study, 'ECA was borne from the examination of television newscasts, the methodology can be applied to all forms of recorded cultural expressions; inclusively defined as "documents"' (Hansen, 2013, p. 2). Hence, it serves to overcome the limitation of access to other forms of data gathering such as interviews by expressly allowing descriptions and themes of social situations and meaning, as well as processes surrounding the development of a document to emerge from such document.

Another aspect of this research which may also be construed as a limitation was the breath of information required to draw a concrete reflexive analysis and conclusion within the subject of investigation. Considering the situation of the Nigerian media industry within the Sub Saharan Africa, and Africa at large, it was critical and tricky to maintain a scope of media analysis within the industry but without neglecting broader African media. For this research

also, there was a need to contextualize the Nigerian media industry within the globalisation of media and communications industries. Carefully drawing such context incurred further global media literature, exposing the study to an expansive mass of media research as opposed to merely a niche work on format adaptation in Nigeria, with *The Apprentice Africa* as case study.

Recommendations for Future Work and for Media Policy

There are enormous opportunities to further explore areas of this research. One main area of future concern to researchers is the potential to preserve informality as a culture, while ensuring that production structures and organisations are guided by government regulations. Such regulations must be broad enough to encompass the protection and salvaging of creatives, such as filmmakers' rights, without necessarily interfering with the informalized production economic nests. Duncan Irvine's interview with Chalaby (2017), cited earlier in the research, suggested from a South African broadcasting perspective that it is a necessity to have regulations that protect producers of format shows so that they can retain their IP, even after the show has been commissioned by a broadcaster (Chalaby, 2017). This enables the producer to benefit from the ability to still sell the show internationally. Such scenario and prescription are relevant to the Nigerian media considering that producers and broadcasters of formats aired in Nigeria sometimes intersect between those of South Africa – for instance, DSTV.

Apparently, it is a known difficulty for policymakers to integrate the informal economies into formal economies since informal economic agents and agencies operate through calculated avoidance of government regulations. This situation has consequences such as slowing down processes of institutionalization of economic activities. However, it is imperative that if locally originating formats must compete on global scale, or for more global formats to be imported, government regulators need to negotiate policies that foster trade

opportunities for local and foreign investors. The benefits accruable from such policies are captured in Ogunpitan's views that, 'the media continues to represent one of the most potent forces for employment, taxation, setting an agenda for development, changing paradigms, and bringing a nation together (QED, 2017). Hence, it is imperative for such strategically positioned media industry as Nigeria's to be steered with better understanding of the stakes, and so much so, urgently. Finally, there are available lots of skills, knowledge, and techniques within the informal economy in Nigeria, which are neither easily quantifiable nor harnessed. These resources are often a positive result of Bibles and flying producers arriving the country in the process of importing global shows into the country and continent. Consequently, they are very strategic in format production in that they are transferable to other locally originating shows. It is important to understand how these resources already lying under-utilized may be channelled to boost the economy, more so, in ways that can be measured and reinvented.

Conclusion

This chapter has successfully recapped the key themes found in this research, including its contributions to knowledge. The theories and concept of formats presented in this study visited the field from a unique perspective, as seen in the cultural practices of the most extensive media industry of the African continent, the Nigerian media. *The Apprentice Africa reveals* interdependence of formal and informal economies in executing a trade, adaptation, and production of content in the country. Bourdieu's sociological concepts helped this revelation with explaining the sociocultural conditions affecting the adaptation and production of television formats.

First, evidence from the preceding discussions shows that politics and nation-building had roles to play in the development of the media industry and its current practices and

consequently affect the production and distribution of television format. Secondly, the researcher observed that informal economies of the media have severe significances for globalisation, which have mostly been underestimated and, therefore, under-reported in the literature. Concurrently, the globalisation thesis in this study reiterated the need to deepen format adaptation and trade analysis across transnational borders and within localized contexts. Finally, evidence showed a cross-fertilization of the film and television sectors of the media industry. Therefore, even at so-called formal organizational levels, individuals with cultural and economic capitals exhibit fluid backgrounds and expertise. In other words, these agents, such as the executive producers, producers, filmmakers, and top-level agents in the production process, may come from diverse industries or sectors within the media industry.

Bibliography

Abiola, B. (2006) 'Knowledge, Technology and Growth: The Case Study of Otigba Computer Village Cluster in Nigeria', *Unpublished Paper, Knowledge for Developement Program, World Bank, Washintgon DC*, (April), pp. 1–20.

Adegbokun, D. (1983) 'Nigerian Television Authority', *Television Journal*, 2nd Quarte(April-June), pp. 3–5.

Adejunmobi, M. (2011) 'Nollywood, Globalization, and Regional Media Corporations in Africa', *The International Journal of Media and Culture*, 9(2: Media in Africa), pp. 67–78. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2011.562101.

Adichie, C. (1984) 'TV: The Staggering 25 Years', *The Sunday Concord*, p. pp 5, 8-9.

Agenmonmen, T. (2016) *Excellence is Not By Luck: Taking Charge in Challenging Moments*. Kraft Books Limited.

Aihe, O. (2004) *African Movie Directors in their Own Words*. Jos, Nigeria.

Ajayi, O. and Njoku, B. (2009) '50 years of television in Nigeria: So far, so good?', *Vanguard*. Available at: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2009/10/50-years-of-television-in-nigeria-so-far-so-good/ (Accessed: 29 January 2018).

Akaniro, C. (2020) 'Nigeria Media and Entertainment Industry (Nollywood and Nigerian Music)', in *International Trade Administration, US Commercial Service*. Lagos Nigeria.

Akanle, O. (2011) 'The sociology of gender equality and development, and development in democratising Nigeria', *Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 9, p. pp.22-26.

Akingbulu, A. and Bussiek, H. (2010) *Public Broadcasting in Africa Series*, *Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa*. Johannesburg.

Akinlabi, O. (2009) *Behind the 'Who Wants To Be A Millionaire' Set, The Guardian Life Magazine*, *The Guardian Life Magazine*. Available at: theguardianlifemagazine.blogspot.com (Accessed: 19 March 2022).

Alabi, M. (2014) 'The Pecking Order Theory and SME Financing: Insight Into The Mediterranean Areas and Study in The Moroccan Context', *The International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies,* 7(2), pp. 189–206.

Allen, D. (2016) *Why have global TV entertainment formats stopped growing? (and how to kick-start the new wave...)*, *LinkedIn Article*. Available at: https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/why-have-global-tv-entertainment-formats-stopped-growing-dan-allen/ (Accessed: 19 April 2021).

Altheide, D. (1987) 'Ethnographic Content Analysis', *Qualitative Sociology*, 10(I), pp. 65–77. doi: 10.4135/9781412985536.n2.

Amadeo, E. J. and Horton, S. (1997) 'Labour Flexibility and Productivity: An Overview', in *Labour Flexibility and Productivity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-25977-9_1.

Andrejevic, M. (2003) *Reality TV: The Work of Being Watched*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Archibugi, D., Denni, M. and Filippetti, A. (2009) 'The Technological Capabilities of Nations: The State of Art of Synthetic Indicators', *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 7(6/7), pp. 917–31.

Arnold, B. (2016) *10 shameless copycat TV shows*, *Yahoo Entertainment*. Available

at: https://www.yahoo.com/entertainment/10-shameless-copycat-tv-shows-103045200.html (Accessed: 30 September 2021).

Aroture, B. (2016) *Protecting Intellectual Property in TV Show Formats in Nigeria*.

Arsenault, A., Powers, S. and Kirova, I. (2006) *The Danish Cartoon Crisis: The Import Impact of Public Diplomacy*. Available at: http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/specialreports_detail/20060622_the_danish_cartoon_crisis/.

Astill, J. (2002) *The truth behind the Miss World riots - The unrest in Nigeria was more about old grudges than a beauty contest - and it has left deep wounds*, *The Guaridan*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/nov/30/jamesastill (Accessed: 10 October 2021).

Augoye, J. (2021) 'After 4-year Hiatus, "Who Wants To Be A Millionaire" Returns with Bigger Paychecks', *Premium Times Newspaper*, 29 September. Available at: www.premiumtimesng.com/who-wants-to-be-a-millionaire.

Augoye, J. (2022) 'Frank Edoho Returns as " Who Wants To Be A Millionaire" Anchor', *Premium Times Newspaper*, 21 February. Available at: www.premiumtimesng.com/frank-edoho-returns-as-who-wants-to-be-a-millionaire-anchor.

Awoniyi, M. A. (2016) 'The Emergence of Common Market in West Africa: An Examination of Cross Culture and Ethnographic Marketing System of Alaba International Market, Lagos-Nigeria', *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management*, 06(02), pp. 136–154. doi: 10.4236/ajibm.2016.62014.

Bada, G. (2019) *Top 10 movie directors of the decade (The 2010s)*, *Pulse News*. Available at: https://www.pulse.ng/entertainment/movies/top-10-movie-directors-of-the-

decade-the-2010s/2467q8w (Accessed: 1 June 2021).

Balancing-Act (2010) *Producing global TV formats in Nigeria and South Africa – working to a different business model*, *Balancing Act -Telecoms, Internet and Broadcast in Africa*. Available at: https://www.balancingact-africa.com/news/broadcast-en/18071/producing-global-tv-formats-in-nigeria-and-south-africa-working-to-a-different-business-model (Accessed: 21 February 2018).

BalancingAct (2012) 'African broadcasters : Rapid Blue can help you fund better productions', *Balancing Act*, 6 December, p. Isuue no 144.

Barnett, H. G. (1953) *Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change*. New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Barrot, P. (2005) *Nollywood – le phénomène video au Nigeria.* Edited by P. Barrot. Paris. Available at: L'Harmattan.

Barrot, P. (2011) 'Video Production in Nigeria', *Afrique contemporaine*, 238(2), p. 107. doi: 10.3917/afco.238.0107.

BBC (2017) *Nigeria Profile - Media*. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13949549 (Accessed: 22 January 2019).

Beeden, A. (2010) 'The Office: Articulations of National Identity in Television Format Adaptation', pp. 3–19.

BellaNaija (2004) *The Apprentice Africa*, *Bella Naija*. Available at: https://www.bellanaija.com/2008/03/the-apprentice-africa/ (Accessed: 7 July 2021).

Bernier, I. (2003) *Local Content Requirements for Film, Radio and Television as a Means of Protecting Cultural Diversity: Theory and Reality*. Available at: www.unescodec.chaire.ulaval.ca (Accessed: 25 January 2021).

Betiang, L. (2013) 'Global drums and local masquerades: Fifty years of television broadcasting in Nigeria: 1959-2009', *SAGE Open*, 3(4). doi: 10.1177/2158244013515685.

Bhowmik, S. K. (2005) 'Street Vendors in Asia : A Review', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(22/23 (May 28-Jun. 10)), pp. 2256–2264.

Blair, J. (2009) 'Global Commodity Chains: Genealogy and Review', in Blair, J. (ed.) *Frontiers of Commodity Chain Research*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1–34.

Bonaccorsi, A. (2018) 'Towards an Epistemic Approach to Evaluation in SSH', in Bonaccorsi, A. (ed.) *The Evaluation of Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Lessons from the Italian Experience*. Berlin: Springer, pp. 1–9.

Bourdain, A. (2018) *CNN Parts Unknown - Bourdain visits mad, bad, delicious, confusing, Lagos*. Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria: CNN. Available at: http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1710/13/cg.02.html (Accessed: 20 February 2019).

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, pp. 241–58.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) *The Field of Cutural Production*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1996) *On Television*, *European Review*. Edited by P. P. Ferguson. New York: The New York Press. doi: 10.1017/S1062798701000230.

Bourdon, J. (2012) 'From Discrete Adaptations to Hard Copies - The Rise of Formats in European Television', in Oren, T. and Shahaf, S. (eds) *Global Television formats - Understanding Television across Borders*. Routledge, pp. 111–127.

Boyd-barrett, O. *et al.* (2009) *Internationalizing media studies*. Edited by D. K. Thussu. New York: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203877388.

Brennan, E. (2004a) 'Fair City : a Case Study in the Proletarianisation of Cultural Production', pp. 0–26.

Brennan, E. (2004b) *The Fair City Production Line : An Examination of Soap Opera ' s potential contribution to the Public Sphere*. Dublin Institute of Technology.

Brunt, R. (1987) '"What's My Line"', in *Television Mythologies*. Londo: Routledge, pp. 20–26.

Buxton, F. and Owen, B. (1972) *The Big Broadcast, 1920 - 1950*. New York: Viking Press.

Castañer, X. (2014) 'Cultural Innovation by Cultural Organizations', in *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*. University of Lausanne, Switzerland: Elsevier B.V., pp. 236–273. doi: 10.1016/B978-0-444-53776-8.00011-8.

Castells, M. and Portes, A. (1989) 'World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, and Effects of the Informal Economy', in *The Informal Economies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*.

CEC (2007) 'Directive 2007/65/EC. Audiovisual Media Services Directive, Brussels', *Official Journal of the European Communities*.

Chakravartty, P. and Sarikakis, K. (2006) *Media Policy and Globalization*, *Media Policy and Globalization*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. doi: 10.3366/edinburgh/9780748618491.001.0001.

Chalaby, J. K. (2011) 'The making of an entertainment revolution: How the TV format trade became a global industry', *European Journal of Communication*, 26(4), pp. 293–309. doi: 10.1177/0267323111423414.

Chalaby, J. K. (2012) 'At the origin of a global industry: The TV format trade as an

Anglo-American invention', *Media, Culture & Society*, 34(1), pp. 36–52. doi: 10.1177/0163443711427198.

Chalaby, J. K. (2015a) 'The advent of the transnational TV format trading system: a global commodity chain analysis', *Media, Culture & Society*, 37(3), pp. 460–478. doi: 10.1177/0163443714567017.

Chalaby, J. K. (2015b) *The Format Age: Television's Entertainment Revolution*. Polity.

Chalaby, Jean K (2016) 'Drama without Drama: The Late Rise of Scripted TV Formats', *Television & New Media*, 17(1), pp. 3–20. doi: 10.1177/1527476414561089.

Chalaby, Jean K. (2016) 'Television and Globalization: The TV Content Global Value Chain', *Journal of Communication*, 66(1), pp. 35–59. doi: 10.1111/jcom.12203.

Chéneau-Loquay, A. (2011) 'Is the "informal" economy of communication in Africa an "underground economy"?', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Paris: Ina-De Boeck, pp. 139–162.

Choi, J. (2019) *The Commodification of Television Formats: The role of Distribution in the Emergence of the Commodity Form*. The University of Iowa. Available at: https://media.proquest.com/media/hms/PFT/2/eChBB?_s=wNgiTgU%2FuVePPRvyodbp6L mmZZw%3D.

Coad, J. (2012) *How To Protect a TV Format From Being Copied, Televisual Magazine*, *Televisual Magazine*. Available at: https://www.televisual.com/news (Accessed: 4 January 2021).

Cocq, E. and Messerlin, P. (2003) 'The French Audiovisual Policy: Impact and Compatibility with Trade Negotiations', *Hamburg Institute of International Economics*.

Contributor (2021) 'The Next Titan Holds Hybrid Auditions for Season 8', *Bisiness Post*, 15 September. Available at: https://businesspost.ng/showbiz/the-next-titan-holds-hybrid-auditions-for-season-8/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).

Cooper-Chen, A. (1994) *Games in the Global Village: A 50-Nation Study*. Bowling Green University Popular Press.

Cottle, S. (2004) 'Producing nature (s): on the changing production ecology of natural history TV', 26(1), pp. 81–101. doi: 10.1177/0163443704039494.

Cowell, A. (2002) *Religious Violence in Nigeria Drives Out Miss World Event*, *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2002/11/23/world/religious-violence-in-nigeria-drives-out-miss-world-event.html (Accessed: 10 October 2021).

Darling-Wolf, F. (2018) *Imagining the Global - Transnational Media and Popular Culture Beyond East and West*. Edited by J. Turrow. Michigan: University of Michigan Press. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/nmw.12748915.0001.001.

Denton, N. (2016) *7 Nigerian filmmakers pushing boundaries beyond Nollywood*, *CNN*. Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/18/africa/beyond-nollywood-nigerian-filmmakers/index.html (Accessed: 20 January 2021).

Dicke, T. S. (1982) *Franchising in America, 1840–1980: The Development of a Business Method*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carollina Press.

Dimaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1983) 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields', *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), pp. 147–160.

Dimitrova, M. (2011) 'Audiovisual piracy in Bulgaria in the digital era', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual Piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Ina-De

Boeck, pp. 257–272.

Duignan, B. (2021) *"Donald Trump" Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Available at: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump (Accessed: 15 March 2022).

EBU (2005) *Trading TV Formats: The EBU Guide to the International Television Format Trade*. Geneva.

Effiong, C. and Iseyen, L. M. (2017) 'Nollywood, Popular Culture and Nigerian National Identity', *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, 4(2), p. pp 75-86.

Egbon, M. (1982) 'Origin and Development of Television Broadcasting in Nigeria', *Television Journal*.

Egbon, M. I. (1975) *The Roles of Radio Broadcasting in the National Integration of Nigeria*. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Encomium (2013) *I Didn't Get Any Recording Contract From Nigerian Idol*, *Encomium*. Available at: https://encomium.ng/i-didnt-get-any-recording-contract-from-nigerian-idol/ (Accessed: 9 April 2022).

Endong, F. P. (2015) 'Indigenization of Media in Nigeria and Cultural Globalization: Mutual Bedfellows or Implacable Foes?', *Journal of Globalization Studies*, 6(2), pp. 106–108.

Esan, O. (2009) *Nigerian Television: Fifty Years of Television in Africa*. Barnes & Noble.

Esser, A. (2013) 'The format business: Franchising television content', *International Journal of Digital Televison*, 4(2), pp. 141–158. doi: 10.1386/jdtv.4.2.141_1.

Esser, A., Bernal-merino, M. Á. and Smith, I. R. (eds) (2016) *Media Across Borders: Localising TV, Film, and Video Games*. New York: Routledge. Available at: http://mediaacrossborders.com/?page_id=789.

Ezepue, E. M. (2020) 'The New Nollywood: Professionalization or Gentrification of Cultural Industry', *SAGE Open*, 10(3). doi: 10.1177/2158244020940994.

Fairclough, N. (2003) *Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Feenstra, R. C. (1998) 'Integration of trade and disintegration of production in the global economy', *Journal of Economic Perpestives*, 12(4), pp. 31–50.

Ferguson, M. (1993) 'The Mythology about Globalization', *European Journal of Communication*, 7(1), p. pp 69-93.

Ferjani, R. (2011) 'The informal economy of communication in Tunisia: From resistance to commodification', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Paris: Ina-De Boeck.

FGN (2017) 'Executive Order On Support for Local Content in Public Procurement by the Federal Government—May 18, 2017', *Government of Nigeria*. Available at: https://www.osgf.gov.ng/storage/app/media/pdf/FGN Executive Order on Public Procurement of local products.pdf.

Foroohar, R. (2014) *Hooray for Nollywood*, TIME MAGAZINE. Available at: https://time.com/3153912/hooray-for-nollywood/ (Accessed: 4 February 2022).

Franz, V. der P. (1998) 'Media and the Preservation of Culture in Africa', *Cultural Survival Magazine*. Available at: https://www.culturalsurvival.org.

FRAPA (2009) 'The FRAPA Report 2009: TV Formats to the World', (January). Available at: http://www.frapa.org/wp-

content/uploads/2010/12/extract_frapa_report_2009.pdf.

FRAPA (2011) *The Frapa Report 2011: Protecting Format Rights*. Cologne. Available at: https://frapa.org/wp-content/uploads/Report/FINAL FRAPA_Report_2011.pdf.

FRAPA (2017) *History of Frapa*. Available at: https://www.frapa.org/about/history/ (Accessed: 27 March 2018).

FremantleMedia (2009) *Idols: The Global Phenomena Internal presentation*.

Fung, A. Y. H. (1998) 'Local popular culture: the same old stuff?', *Media Digest*, pp. 2–3.

Fung, A. Y. H. and Ma, E. (2002) '"Satellite modernity": four modes of televisual imagi- nation in the disjunctive socio-mediascape of Guangzhou', in Kean, M. and Yin, H. (eds) *Media Futures in China: consumption, context and crisis*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Garde, R. D. la (1994) 'Cultural Development: State of the Question and Prospects for Quebec', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 19, p. pp 447-475.

Georgiou, M. and Silverstone, R. (2007) 'Diasporas and Contra-Flow Beyond Nation-Centrism', in Thussu, D. K. (ed.) *Media on the Move*. London: Routledge, pp. 30–43.

Gereffi, G. (1994) 'The organization of buyer-driven global commodity chains: How US retailers shape overseas production networks', in Gereffi, G. and Korzenniewicz, M. (eds) *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*. Westort CT: Praeger, pp. 95–122.

Gitlin, T. (1994) *Inside Prime Time*. 3rd Ed. Edited by J. Curran. London: Routledge.

Godin, B. (2009) *The Making of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy: Conceptual Frameworks and Narratives*. Montreal: QC: Centre Urbanisation Culture Societe.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001) *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructure, Technological Motilities and the Urban Condition*. New York: Routledge.

Guardian (2017) *At 77, Ugboma Still Restless for More*, *Press Reader*. Available at: https://www.pressreader.com/nigeria/the-guardian-nigeria/20171224/282316795406016 (Accessed: 11 October 2021).

Guardian (2019) *Fulani Radio Station, Another Gaffe*, *The Guardian newspaper June editorial*. Available at: https://guardian.ng/opinion/fulani-radio-station-another-gaffe/ (Accessed: 4 July 2021).

Hackett, R. I. J. (2009) 'Examining the Nexus of Religion, Media and Conflict in Africa', *African Communication Research*, 2(1), p. pp, 117-129.

Hall, S. (1991) 'The local and the global: Globalization and Ethnicity', in King, A. (ed.) *Culture, globalization and the world system- Contemporary conditions for representation of identy*. Macmillian.

Hankiewicz, D. and Ogunpitan, R. (2020) *Episode 16 - Remi Ogunpitan (Digital Media and Video Production in the Nigerian Market)*, *You Are Hearing Voices*. Available at: https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/youre-hearing-voices/episode-16-remi-ogunpitan-pIho8yHKOrb/#community (Accessed: 1 June 2020).

Hanson, S. (2007) *Nigeria's Creaky Political System*, *Council on Foreign Regulations*. Available at: https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/nigerias-creaky-political-system (Accessed: 22 February 2019).

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2006) 'Bourdieu, the media and cultural production', *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), pp. 211–231. doi: 10.1177/0163443706061682.

Hill, A. and Allen, M. (eds) (2004) *The television studies reader*. New York:

Routledge.

Hillman, J. (2006) *City and Soul*. Berlin: Springer.

Hirsch, P. M. (1972) 'Processing fads and fashions: An organization-set analysis of cultural industry systems', *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, 77(4), pp. 105–116. doi: 10.4324/9780203993026.

Hopkins, T. K. and Wallerstein, I. (1986) 'Commodity Chains in The World Economy', *Review*, 10(1), pp. 157–170.

IBST (2021) *IBST Media - Who We Are*. Available at: https://ibstmedia.com/ (Accessed: 1 June 2021).

ICG, I. C. G. (2006) 'Nigeria: Want in the Midst of Plenty', 113(19 July).

Igbinadolor, N. (2022) *Nollywood and its Glittering Returns for Nigeria's Economy*, *Business Day*. Available at: https://businessday.ng/amp/business-economy/article/nollywood-and-its-glittering-returns-for-nigerias-economy/.

Igwe, C. (2015) 'How Nollywood became the second largest film industry', *British Council*, 6 November. Available at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/nollywood-second-largest-film-industry.

Igwe, E. (2018) *Formalizing Nollywood: Gentrification in the Contemporary Nigerian Film Industry*. Birmingham City University.

Ihejirika, C. (2014) *Ndiigbo in Nigeria: A Quest for Survival and Prosperity*, *Lincoln University*.

Ihua, U. B. (2010) 'Local Content Policy and SMEs Sector Promotion: The Nigerian Oil Industry Experience', *International Journal of Business and Management*, 5(5), pp. pp3-

12.

IMDb (2021) *Biography - Clarence Abiodun Peters*. Available at:

https://www.imdb.com/name/nm4256618/bio?ref_=nm_ov_bio_sm (Accessed: 20 January

2006).

IMDB (2008) *The Apprentice USA*, *IMDB*. Available at:

https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0364782/ (Accessed: 13 March 2022).

Inegbedion, N. A. and Omoregie, E. (2006) 'Federalism in Nigeria: A re-Appraisal',

Journal of Commonwealth Law and Legal Education. doi:

doi.org/10.1080/03050710600800111.

Inwang, M. J. (1981) *Twenty Years of Nigerian Television: 1959-179*. North Texas

State University, USA.

Jagoe, R. (2016) *From Living in Bondage to the Global Stage: The Success of

Nollywood*, *The Culture Trip*. Available at: https://theculturetrip.com (Accessed: 2 March

2021).

Jedlowski, A. (2010) 'Beyond the Video Boom: New Tendencies in the Nigerian

Video Industry', *Paper presented at the ASAUK Writing Workshop, Birmingham, April

16,2010*.

Jedlowski, A. (2012) 'Small screen cinema: Informality and remediation in

Nollywood', *Television and New Media*, 13(5), pp. 431–446. doi:

10.1177/1527476412443089.

Jespen, M. and Klammer, U. (2004) 'Editorial', *TRANSFER – European Review of

Labour and Research*, 10(2), pp. 157–159.

Kadiri, K. (2009) 'Constraints and Challenges of Reporting Development News in the

Nigerian Press', *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, 2, p. pp, 125-146.

Kalu, K. (2017) 'From Commodity to Creativity: Exploring the Economic Potentials of the Nigerian Film Industry', *International Journal of Business & Economic Perspectives*, 12(1), p. pp 1-16.

Kari, A. (2008) *An Introduction to Pierre Bourdieu*.

Katz, E. and Wedell, G. (1977) *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance*. MA, USA: Harvard University Press.

Keane, M. (2004a) 'A revolution in television and a great leap forward for innovation?', in Moran, A. and Keane, M. (eds) *Television Across Asia: Television Industries Programme Formats and Globalization*. Routledge.

Keane, M. (2004b) 'Asia - New Growth Areas', in Moran, A. and Kean, M. (eds) *Television Across Asia: Television Industries Programme Formats and Globalization*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Keane, M., Fung, A. Y. H. and Moran, A. (2007) 'New Television, Globalisation, and the East Asian Cultural Imagination', in. Hong Kong University Press.

Keane, M. and Moran, A. (2008) 'Television's New Engines', in *Television and New Media*. 9th edn, pp. 155–169.

Keinonen, H. (2016) 'Television format as cultural negotiation: Studying format appropriation through a synthesizing approach', *VIEW Journal of European Television History and Culture*, 5(9), pp. 1–12.

Kiriya, I. (2011) 'Audiovisual piracy in post-Soviet Russia, between economic and cultural logics', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Paris: Ina-De Boeck, pp. 239–255.

Kitause, R. H. and Achunike, H. C. (2013) 'Religion in Nigeria from 1900-2013', *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(18), p. pp, 45-56.

KitPlus (2021) *KitPlusTV summarise the Broadcast and Pro Video News, Media and Entertainment Technology News Magazine*, *KitPlusTV*. Available at: https://www.kitplus.com/live/KitPlusTV_summarise_the_Broadcast_and_Pro_Video_News_12th_April_2021/275.html (Accessed: 19 April 2021).

Klint, L. F. (2021) 'Overview of Current Media Practices and Trends in West Africa', *Global Media Journal*. doi: ISSN:1550-7521.

Kluver, R. (2000) 'Globalization, Informatization and Intercultural Communication', *American Communication Journal*, 3(3).

Komolafe, B. and Kolawole, Y. (2011) *FG takes over Afribank, Bank PHB, Spring Bank*, *Vanguard*. Available at: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/08/government-takes-over-three-rescued-banks/ (Accessed: 9 April 2022).

Kraidy, M. M. and Murphy, P. D. (2008) 'Shifting Geertz: Toward a Theory of Translocalism in Global Communication Studies', *Communication Theory*, 18(3), pp. 335–55.

Kretschmer, M., Singh, S. and Wardle, J. (2009) 'The Exploitation of Television Formats', *ESRC Digital Resource,Bournemouth University*. Available at: https://tvformats.bournemouth.ac.uk.

Kuipers, G. (2011) 'Cultural Globalization as the Emergence of a Transnational Cultural Field : Transnational Television and National Media Landscapes in Four European Countries', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 55(5), pp. 541–557. doi: 10.1177/0002764211398078.

Kura, S. M. and Yero, B. U. (2013) 'An analysis of Gender inequality and National Gender Policy in Nigeria', *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research Volume 4, Issue 1, January-2013 1*, 4(1), pp. 1–23.

Labandji, L. (2011) 'Pirated cultural goods in Algeria: a window on the outside world', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Paris: Ina-De Boeck, pp. 123–137.

Laitto (2005) *Influence of reality TV show on brand image (A case study of MTN project fame)*.

Lantzsch, K., Altmeppen, K.-D. and Will, A. (2009) 'Trading in Entertainment: An Analysis', in Moran, A. (ed.) *TV Formats Worldwide - Localizing Global Programs*. Bristol, Uk/Chicago,US, Uk/Chicago,US: Intellect Ltd.

Larkey, E. (2009) 'Transcultural Localization Strategies of Global TV Formats: and Stromber', in Moran, A. (ed.) *TV Formats Worldwide - Localizing Global Programs*. Bristol, Uk/Chicago,US: Intellect Ltd.

Larkin, B. (2004) 'Degraded Images, Distorted Sounds: Nigerian Video and the Infrastructure of Piracy', 16(2), pp. 289–314.

Larkin, B. (2008) *Signal and Noise Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria*. Duke University Press.

Larson, P. (1990) 'Import/Export: International Flow of Television Fiction', *UNESCO*.

Lawal, L. S. and Chatwin, C. R. (2015) *African Rural Financial and Digital Inclusion Exploiting Nigerian Communications Satellite*. Darkar, Senegal. Available at: http://research.adamicrofinance.lu/index.php/amw/2014/paper/view/20.

Lawal, L. S., Chatwin, C. R. and Hasan, R. (2018) 'The Communications Satellite Industry as an Element in Nigeria's Attempt to Modernise Its Economy and Society', *International Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 51. doi: ISSN 2409-6938.

Lemke, J. and Chala, E. (2016) 'Tweeting democracy: An ethnographic content analysis of social media use in the differing politics of Senegal and Ethiopia's newspapers', *Journal of African Media Studies*, 8(2), pp. 167–185. doi: 10.1386/jams.8.2.167_1.

Lindell, J., Jakobsson, P. and Stiernstedt, F. (2019) 'The field of television production : Genesis , structure and position- takings', *Poetics*, pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1016/j.poetic.2019.101432.

Lobato, R. (2012) *Shadow economies of cinema: Mapping informal film distribution*, *Sight and Sound*. London, England: Palgrave Macmillian.

Lobato, R. (2013) 'Informal Economies in International Communications : Connecting Parallel Debates', 33(1), pp. 81–90. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/27000922.

Lobato, R. and Thomas, J. (2012) 'An introduction to informal media economies', *Television and New Media*, 13(5), pp. 379–382. doi: 10.1177/1527476412443565.

Lobato, R. and Thomas, J. (2015) *The informal media economy*. Polity Press.

Lule, J. (2012) *Globalization and Media: Global Village of Babel*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lwahas, S. (2017) 'Adaptations of The Reality Television Programmes: "The Big Brother Africa" Reality Show', *Research's Journal of Media Studies*, 3(4), pp. 1–13.

Maduka, V. (1998) 'The Development of Nigerian Television (1959-1985)', in Ekeh, P. P. and Ashiwaju, G. (eds) *Nigeria Since Independence: Culture the First 25 Years, Vol.2*.

Ibadan, Nigeria: Heinemann, pp. 107–138.

Maira, A. (2020) *The Informal Sector Isn't Well-understood*, *The Hindu Business Line*. Available at: https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/the-informal-sector-isnt-well-understood/article32214284.ece (Accessed: 1 July 2021).

Malbon, J. (2006) 'The Law Regarding TV Formats', in Moran, A. and Malbon, J. (eds) *Understanding the Global TV Formats*. Bristol, Uk/Portland/USA, Uk/Portland/USA: Intellect Ltd.

Mao, J. (2018) 'Reflexivity in active participant observation: an ethnographic study of fast food work [online]', *SAGE Research Methods Cases*. doi: 10.4135/9781526428264.

Mariadoss, B. J. (2018) *Core Principles of International Marketing*. Washington State University.

Marshall-fratani, R. (1998) 'Mediating the Global and Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28, pp. 278–315. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581572.

Mathewson, F. and Winter, R. A. (1985) 'The economics of franchise contracts', *Journal of Law and Economics*, 28(3), pp. 503–526. doi: 10.1016/0929-1199(95)00003-Q.

Mattelart, T. (2012) 'Audiovisual piracy, informal economy, and cultural globalization', *International Journal of Communication*, 6(1), pp. 735–750.

Mazumdar, R. (2015) 'Invisible Work" in the Indian Media Industries', *Media Industries Journal*, 1(3). doi: doi.org/10.3998/mij.15031809.0001.306.

Mba, E. (2007) *Setting the Scene: The Nigerian film industry – Yesterday, Today and a Glimpse of Tomorrow!*

Mbuagbow, L. and Noorduyn, S. G. (2012) 'The Palmwine Trade: Occupational and Health Hazards', *West African Journal of Biotechnology*, 5, p. pp.13-20.

McCall, J. C. (2007) 'The Pan-Africanism We Have: Nollywood's Invention of Africa', *Film International*, 28, pp. 92–99.

Miller, J. (2012) 'Global Nollywood: The Nigerian movie industry and alternative global networks in production and distribution', *Global Media and Communication*, 8(2), pp. 117–133. doi: 10.1177/1742766512444340.

Moran, A. (1985) *Image and Industry: Australian Television Drama Production*. Sydney: Currency Press.

Moran, A. (1998) *Copycat Television: Globalisation, Program Formats and Cultural Identity*. Luton: University of Luton Press.

Moran, A. (2004) 'Television Formats in the World/ the world of television formats', in *Television Across Asia: Television Industries Programme Formats and Globalization*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Moran, A. (2009a) 'Global franchising, local customizing: The cultural economy of TV program formats', *Continuum*, 23(2), pp. 115–125. doi: 10.1080/10304310802706932.

Moran, A. (ed.) (2009b) *TV Formats Worldwide: Localizing Global Programs*. Bristol, Uk/Chicago,US: Intellect Ltd.

Moran, A. (2009c) *TV Formats Worldwide Localizing Global Programs*. Bristol/Chicago: Intellect.

Moran, A. (2009d) 'When TV Formats are Translated', in Moran, A. (ed.) *TV Formats Worldwide - Localizing Global Programs*. Bistol, UK and Chicago, US: Intellect Ltd.

Moran, A. and Aveyard, K. (2014) 'The Place of Television Programme Formats', *Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 28(1), p. pp 18-27. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2014.870869.

Moran, A. and Keane, M. (eds) (2004) *Television across Asia: Television industries, programme formats and globalization*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Moran, A. and Malbon, J. (2006) *Understanding the Global TV Format*. First Ed. Bristol, Uk/Portland/USA: Intellect Ltd.

Multichoice (no date) *DSTV: Company History*. Available at: https://www.dstv.com/en-za/topic/multichoice-africa-company-history-20150721 (Accessed: 5 February 2018).

Naseer, S. (2020) *The Rise of Nigerian Cinema*. Available at: https://www.broadcastprome.com/case-studies/the-ascent-of-nigerian-cinema/ (Accessed: 8 August 2020).

National Broadcasting Commission (2016) *Nigeria broadcasting code-6th edition*.

NationsOnlineProject (2021) 'Administrative Map of Nigeria'. Available at: https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/nigeria-administrative-map.htm.

Navarro, V. (2012) 'More than Copycat Television - Format Adaptation as Performance', in Oren, T. and Shahaf, S. (eds) *Global Television formats - Understanding Television across Borders*. Routledge, pp. 24–38.

Navarro, Z. (2006) 'In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power : The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu', *Institute of Development Studies*, 37(6), pp. 11–22.

Ndlela, M. (2017) 'TV formats in anglophone Africa: The hegemonic role of South Africa in the TV Value Chain', *International Journal of Digital Television*, 8(1), pp. 47–64.

doi: 10.1386/jdtv.8.1.47_1.

Nelly, T. (2005) *Nollywood, In a Starring Role*, *The Washington Post*.

Neuwirth, R. (2018) *The age-old sharing economies of Africa -- and why we should scale them | Robert Neuwirth*, *TED*. Available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/robert_neuwirth_the_age_old_sharing_economies_of_africa_and_ why_we_should_scale_them?language=en (Accessed: 27 February 2019).

Newcomb, H. and Hirsch, P. M. (1983) 'Television as a Cultural Forum', *Contemporary Sociology*, 6(5), pp. 561–573. doi: 10.2307/2065332.

NFVCB (2007) *Comprehensive policy on the distribution, exhi- bition and marketing of films and video works in Nigeria*.

NFVCB (2020) *Full List : Approved movies for the Month of February 2020 by NFVCB*. Available at: https://www.nfvcb.gov.ng/2020/03/07/full-list-approved-movies-for-the-month-of-february-2020-by-nfvcb/ (Accessed: 8 August 2020).

Nigeria (1999) *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999*. Available at: https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ng/ng014en.pdf.

NITDA (2019) 'Guidelines for Nigerian Content Development in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) - (as amended, August 2019)', *Issued By The National Information Technology Development Agency (Nitda)*.

Njoku, B. (2009) '"We are not responsible for Nollywood's woes" - Interview With M-NET MD Biola Alabi', *Vanguard*, 15 August, p. 26.

Nwafor, K. A. and Ezike, M. O. (2015) 'Viewership of Big Brother Africa Reality TV Show and Its Influence on The Moral Conduct of Undergraduate Students in Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, Nigeria', 3(5), p. pp.1-15.

Nwankwo, A. O. (2017) 'Mediatized Spirituality: A Critical Appraisal of the Media-Religion Nexus in Nigeria', *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, 19(3(42)), p. pp, 17-31.

Nwulu, N. I. *et al.* (2010) 'Television broadcasting in Africa: Pioneering milestones', *2nd Region 8 IEEE Conference on the History of Telecommunications: A Century of Broadcasting, HISTELCON 2010 - Conference Proceedings*. doi: 10.1109/HISTELCON.2010.5735315.

Nwuneli, O. (1985) 'Development News and Broadcasting in Nigeria: An Overview', in Nwuneli, O. (ed.) *Mass Communication in Nigeria: A Book of Readings*. Enugu, Nigeri: Fourth Dimensions, p. pp 225-240.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2005) *Africa's Media: Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*. New York USA: Zed Books.

O'Brien, M. J. and Shennan, S. J. (eds) (2010) *Innovation of Cultural Systems*. MIT Press.

Obayi, P. . and Edogor, I. O. (2016) 'Nigerian Audiences' Perception of Pentecostal Churches Ownership of Satellite TV Channels', *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(3), pp. 12–28.

Obayi, P. M. and Onyebuchi, C. A. (2014) 'Audience Perception and the Use of the New Media in Christian Pastoral Communication in Southern Nigeria', *New Media and Mass communication*, 26, pp. 1–3.

Obiaya, I. (2011) 'A Break with the Past: The Nigerian Video-film Industry in the Context of Colonial Filmmaking', in *Film History*. Indiana University Press, pp. 129–146. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/filmhistory.23.2.129.

Obono, K. and Madu, O. (2010) 'Programming Content of Nigerian Broadcast Media: Towards an Indigenizing Paradigm', (July), pp. 75–91.

OECD (2018) *Oslo Manual: The Measurement of Scientific and Technological Activities*, *Proposed Guidelines for Collecting and Interpreting Innovation Data 4th Edition*. Paris.

OECD (2019) 'Reference Framework for Assessing the Scientific and Socio-Economic Impact of Research Infrastructures', *OECD Science and Technology Policy Papers,* 65. doi: doi: 10.1787/3ffee43b-en.

Ofisi, T. O. (2010) 'Power of womanhood in Africa: an introductory evaluation', *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(6), p. pp.229-238.

Ogunfuwa, I. (2020) 'Boom, loss for telecom, tech firms as COVID-19 rages', *Punch Newspaper*, 10 April. Available at: https://punchng.com/boom-loss-for-telecom-tech-firms-as-covid-19-rages/ (Accessed: 1 May 2020).

Ogunleye, F. (ed.) (2008) *Africa through the Eye of the Video Camera*. Academic.

Ogunsiji, O. (1989) *Introduction to Print Journalism*. Lagos Nigeria: Nelson Publishers Ltd.

Oh, E. (2014) *Nigeria's Film Industry: Nollywood Looks To Expand Globally, United States International Trade Commission (USITC)*.

Ojebode, A. and Akingbulu, A. (2009) 'Community Radio Advocacy in Democratic Nigeria: Lessons for Theory and Practice', *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 30(2), pp. 204–218. doi: DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02560054.2009.9653402.

Ojieson, S. A. (2017) 'Interrogating Nollywood and Its Sources of Funding: The Case of Invasion 1897', *Ekpoma Journal of Theatre And Media Arts, EJOTMAS*, 6(1–2), pp. 237–

261. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ejotmas.v6i1-2.14.

Okoosi-Simbine, A. T. (2011) 'Corruption in Nigeria', in Adejumobi, S. (ed.) *State, Economy, and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. pp 157-180. doi: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230117594_7.

Okorie, N. (2020) 'Reality Television, African Identities and the Big Brother Africa Show: An Experiential Inquest', *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 10(3), p. pp 1-7.

Okoriekwe, C. (2020) *Multisectoral Local Content Development in Nigeria: Sailing Through Stormy Waters? Part II - ICT, Broadcast and Creative Industries*.

Olonade, O. Y. *et al.* (2021) 'Understanding gender issues in Nigeria: the imperative for sustainable development', *Heliyon*, 7(7). doi: 10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07622.

Oloyede, B. I., Oni, B. O. and Oluwole, A. V. (2015) *Religion and Media in Plural Society: The Nigerian Experience*, *Retrieved Online*. Available at: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/religion-and-media-in-a-plural-society-the-nigerian-experience (Accessed: 13 October 2021).

Oluwagbemi, A. (2017) *TV game show, Who Wants to be a Millionaire, suspended indefinitely*, *Punch Newspaper*.

Oni, J. A. (1990) *Federalism in Nigeria—Principles and Practice: A Select Bibliography*. Baywood Publishing Inc. doi: doi.org/10.1177/001132559002200201.

Onishi, N. (2002) *Step Aside, L.A. and Bombay, for Nollywood*, *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/16/world/step-aside-la-and-bombay-for-nollywood.html (Accessed: 8 August 2020).

Onookome, O. (2007) 'Nollywood: Africa at the Movies', *Film International*, 5(4), p.

4,5.

Onuoha, P. and Onwubere, C. H. (eds) (2012) *History of Nigerian Mass Media*. National Open University of Nigeria - NOUN.

Oren, T. and Shahaf, S. (2012) *Global Television Formats: Understanding Television Accross Borders*. Routledge.

Osinubi, F. (2017) *The Business of Entertainment: Harnessing Growth Opportunities in Entertainment, Media, Arts and Lifestyle*, *National Branding Conference, Lagos, Nigeria*. Available at: Available at www.pwc.com/ng (Accessed: 15 June 2020).

Owolabi, T. O. S. and O'Neill, E. (2013) 'Recapitalising the Mass Media Industry in Nigeria: The Implications for National Development.', *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 14, p. pp, 245-255. Available at: https://www.bjournal.co.uk/BJASS.aspx.

Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, O. (2015) 'Informal Sector Employment, Industrial Clusters, and Urban Poverty in Africa: A Lagos Case Study', *Urban Opprotunities: Perspectives on Climate Change, Resilience, Inclusion, and Informal Economy*.

Oyewole, S. (2014) 'A Peek Inside Nigeria's Film Industry', *WIPO Magazine*, 2(April), pp. 2–5. Available at: https://www.wipo.int.

Portes, A., Castells, M. and Benton, L. A. (1989) *The Informal Economy Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*.

Pozzo, R. *et al.* (2020) 'What does cultural innovation stand for? Dimensions , processes, outcomes of a new innovation category', 47(May), pp. 425–433. doi: 10.1093/scipol/scaa023.

Prete, A. Lo (2015) *What happens when labour markets are deregulated?*, *World Economic Forum*. Available at: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/03/what-happens-

when-labour-markets-are-deregulated/ (Accessed: 1 July 2021).

QED (2017) *No justification for filming Big Brother Naija in South Africa – Remi Ogunpitan*, *QED*. Available at: https://www.qed.ng/no-justification-filming-big-brother-naija-south-africa-remi-ogunpitan/ (Accessed: 1 June 2021).

Ratti, M. (2015) 'Outcome Indicators for the Cultural Sector', *Economia della Cultura*, 25(1), pp. 23–46.

ReferenceForBusiness (no date) *Endemol Entertainment Holding NV - Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information on Endemol Entertainment Holding NV*, *Reference for Business*. Available at: https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/48/Endemol-Entertainment-Holding-NV.html (Accessed: 15 April 2022).

Rice, A. (2012) *A Scorsese in Lagos: The Making of Nigeria's Film Indistry*, *New York Times*.

Rubin, P. H. (1978) 'The theory of the firm and the structure of the franchise contract', *Journal of Law and Economics*, 21(1), pp. 223–233. doi: 10.1086/466918.

Salawu, A. (2009) 'Media Narrative Construction of Ethno-religious Conflicts in Nigeria.', *Estudos em Comunicaçào*, 5, p. pp, 75-95.

Salihu, I. (2002) 'The Impact of Foreign Broadcasting Media on Broadcasting in Nigeria', in Bako, N. D. (ed.) *Broadcasting Regulations in Nigeria*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Broadcasting Commission, p. pp, 159-172.

Samuel, A. (2022) *Owner of Soundcity TV and Other Information*. Available at: https://www.schooldrillers.com/owner-of-soundcity-tv-and-other-information/ (Accessed: 12 March 2022).

Sassen-koob, S. (1989) 'New York's Informal Economy', in Portes, A., Castells, M., and Benton, L. A. (eds) *The Informal Economies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*.

Scaro, V. J. (2017) *Remember them? This is What the Contestants of 'The Apprentice Africa' Have Been up to Almost a Decade*. Available at: https://www.ameyadebrah.com (Accessed: 4 December 2020).

Schram, W. (1964) *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Schwartz, D., Ryan, S. and Wostbrock, F. (1999) *The Encyclopedia of TV Game Shows*. Third Edit. New York: Checkmark Books.

Schwettmann, J. (2020) 'COVID-19 and the Informal Economy: Impact and Response Strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Economy and Finance*.

Sciberras, E. (1982) 'Technical innovation and international competitiveness in the television industry', *Omega*, 10(6), pp. 585–596. doi: 10.1016/0305-0483(82)90062-7.

Shabangu, N. (2020) *Big Brother Naija' Becomes the Most Watched Live Entertainment on Showmax*, *Okayafrica*. Available at: https://www.okayafrica.com/nigerian-television-big-brother-naija-becomes-most-watched-show-on-showmax/ (Accessed: 12 March 2022).

Sigei, E. (2021) *Why Local Content Quotas Should Be Raised To 60%*, *Business Daily*.

Sigismondi, P. (2018) 'Book Review on Ramon Lobato and Julian Thomas, The Informal Media Economy', *International Journal of Communication*, 12, pp. 253–255.

Singh, S. (2010) *The Protection of Television Formats : Intellectual Property and Market Based Strategies*. Bournemouth University UK.

Skillicorn, N. (2016) *What is innovation? 15 experts share their innovation definition*, *Idea to Value: The Community for Creativity and Innovation*. Available at: https://www.ideatovalue.com/inno/nickskillicorn/2016/03/innovation-15-experts-share-innovation-definition/#anal (Accessed: 26 October 2019).

Skovmand, M. (1992) 'Barbarous TV International: Syndicated Wheel of Fortune', in Scovmand, M. and Shroeder, K. C. (eds) *Media Cultures: Reappraising Transnational Media*. London: Routledge.

Smith, T. E., Sells, S. P. and Clevenger, T. (1994) 'Ethnographic Content Analysis of Couple and Therapist Perceptions in a Reflecting Team Setting', *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 20(3), pp. 267–286. doi: 10.1111/j.1752-0606.1994.tb00115.x.

Soporoni, L. and Horga, L. (2008) 'Global communication as a result of globalization and informatization', in Bargaoanu, A. and Pricopie, R. (eds) *Munich Personal RePEc Archive*.

Sterne, J. (2003) 'Bourdieu, Technique and Technology', *Cultural Studies*, 17(3/4), pp. 367–389. doi: 10.1080/0950238032000083863.

Storsul, T. and Krumsvik, A. (2013) 'What is media innovation?', *Media Innovations - A Multidisciplinary Study of Change*, pp. 13–26. doi: 10.13140/2.1.2082.5929.

Straubhaar, J. (2007) *World Television: From Global to Local*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Suberu, R. (2001) 'Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria', *United Nations Institute of Peace, Washington*.

SunNewsOnline (2021) 'University don wants justice for South-South, South-East'. Available at: https://www.sunnewsonline.com/university-don-wants-justice-for-south-south-

south-east/.

Tade, O. and Akinleye, B. (2012) '"We are Promoters not Pirates": A qualitative analysis of artistes and pirates on music piracy in Nigeria', *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 6(2), pp. 1014–1029.

Tade, O. and Aliyu, B. (2011) 'Social organisation of music piracy at Alaba International Market', *International Journal of Cybercriminology*, 5, pp. 860–875.

Tade, O. and Mmahi, O. P. (2018) 'Movie Piracy Networks at Alaba International Market, Lagos, Nigeria', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(1), pp. 274–285. doi: 10.1177/0306624X17692208.

TAF, T. (2007) *The Apprentice Africa reps on women panel*, *Interview WIth Funmi Iyanda*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gk33BCm-2A4&t=265s (Accessed: 2 February 2020).

Talentshowsite (2015) *How To Enter Who Wants to be a Millionaire Quiz Show With MTN*. Available at: https://www.talentshowsite.com/how-to-enter-who-wants-to-be-a-millionaire-with-mtn/ (Accessed: 12 March 2022).

Tapsoba, F. *et al.* (2014) 'Impact of Technological Diagram on Biochemical and Microbiological Quality of Borassus Akeassil Wine Produced Traditionally in Burkina Faso', *American Journal of Food Science and Technology*, 2, p. pp.179-186.

Thapar-Björkert, S., Samelius, L. and Sanghera, G. S. (2016) 'Exploring symbolic violence in the everyday: misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity', *Feminist Review*, 112.

The Apprentice Africa (2008) *The Apprentice Africa*, *The Internet Archive*. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20080724163149/http://www.theapprenticeafrica.com/

(Accessed: 1 May 2018).

The Economist (2006) 'Nollywood Dreams', *The Economist Business*, 29 July. Available at: https://www.economist.com/business/2006/07/27/nollywood-dreams (Accessed: 8 August 2020).

The Economist (2020) 'Will Covid Kill Globalisation?', *The Economist*, 30 September. Available at: https://films.economist.com/thebriefing:globalisation/#what-will-people-wear-in-the-future (Accessed: 5 January 2021).

Thevenet, A. (2011) 'Audiovisual piracy in South Korea: The repressive turn of a new cultural power', in Mattelart, T. (ed.) *Audiovisual piracy: The underground networks of cultural globalization*. Paris: Ina-De Boeck, pp. 223–238.

Thomas, A. O. and Kumar, K. J. (2004a) 'Copied From Without and Cloned From Within: India in the Global Television Format Business', in Moran, A. and Kean, M. (eds) *Television Across Asia: Television Industries, Programme Formats and Globalization*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Thomas, A. O. and Kumar, K. J. (2004b) 'Copied from Without and Cloned from Within - India in the Global Television Format Business', in Moran, A. and Kean, M. (eds) *Television Across Asia: Television Industries Programme Formats and Globalization*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Thompson, J. B. (1991) 'Editor's Introduction', in Thompson, J. B. (ed.) *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 1–31.

Thussu, D. K. (2007) *Media on the Move: Global Flow and Contra-Flow*. Edited by D. K. Thussu. Routledge.

Tichenor, P. J., Donohue, G. A. and Olien, C. N. (1980) *Community Conflict and the*

Press. London: SAGE Publications.

Tubi (2019) *Tubi Becomes Exclusive Home to All Fifteen Seasons of the Apprentice in Unprecedented Content Deal with MGM Television*, *Tubi TV*. Available at: https://blog.tubi.tv/2019/05/06/tubi-becomes-exclusive-home-to-all-15-seasons-of-the-apprentice-franchise-in-unprecedented-content-deal-with-mgm-television/ (Accessed: 15 March 2022).

Tunstall, J. (1977) *The Media Are American*. New York: Columbia University Press.

TVBIZZ (2020) *Format Rights: Plagiarism and Protection*, *TVBIZZ Magazine*. Available at: https://www.tvbizzmagazine.com/format (Accessed: 4 January 2021).

Ugorji, B. (2016) 'Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria.', *International Center for Ethno-Religious Mediation, New York city, USA*. Available at: Retrieved online at www.icermediation.org.

Ukoha, N. (2000) 'The Majic of Television: It Caught On!', *December/January TV Guide*, VII(3), p. p, 6-9.

Umeh, C. C. (1989) 'The advent and growth of television broadcasting in Nigeria: its political and educational overtones.', *Africa media review*, 3(2), pp. 54–66.

Umuerri, A. E. (2021) *Big Brother Naija: Why Nigerians are obsessed with the reality TV show*, *Global Upfront Newspapers*. Available at: https://globalupfront.com/2021/08/20/big-brother-naija-why-nigerians-are-obsessed-with-the-reality-tv-show/ (Accessed: 12 March 2022).

UNCTAD (2014) 'Local Content Requirements and The Green Economy', in *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Publication*. Geneva.

UNCTAD (2020) *Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Trade and Development:*

Transitioning to a New Normal. New York: United Nations Publications Issued by

UNCTAD. This publication has not been formally edited. Available at:

https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/osg2020d1_en.pdf.

UNESCO (2005) *International Flows of Selected Cultural Goods and Servvices 1994-2003, UNESCO Institute of Statistics*. Paris.

UNESCO (2009) *Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics*.

Usua, N. and Azubuike, C. (2008) 'Reality Television Show and Youth Development in Nigeria', *International Journal of Communication*, 9, pp. 218–229.

Uyo, A. (2000) 'It's Bigger, But is it Better?', *December/January TV Guide*, VII(3), p. p, 24-25.

Vanguard (2022) *Nigerian Breweries Organizes Party for Gulder Ultimate Search Winners*, *Vanguard Newspaper*. Available at:
https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/01/nigerian-breweries-organises-party-for-gulder-ultimate-search-winners/ (Accessed: 19 March 2022).

Waisbord, S. (2004) 'McTV: Understanding the global popularity of television formats', *Television & New Media*, 5(4), pp. 359–383. doi: 10.1177/1527476404268922.

Warren, V. J. (2020) 'Interview', in *Will Covid Kill Globalization? - The Economist*. Available at: https://films.economist.com/thebriefing:globalisation/#what-will-people-wear-in-the-future.

Wikipedia (2022) *The Apprentice*. Available at:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Apprentice (Accessed: 4 April 2022).

Winslow, G. (2003) 'The Weakest Link : Copyright Protection', pp. 1–6.

Witt, E. (2017) *Nollywood: The Making of a Film Empire*. Columbia Global Reports.

WorldBank (1995) *World Development Report 1995*, *World Bank Report*. Washinton DC.

WPR (2021) 'World Population Review', pp. 26–31. Available at: www.worldpopulationreview.com.

Yu-Li, L. and Yi-Hsiang, C. (2004) 'Cloning, Adaptation, Import and Originality: Taiwan in the Global Television Format Business', in Moran, A. and Keane, M. (eds) *Television Across Asia: Television Industries, Programme and Globalization*. London: Routledge Curzon of Taylor and Francis Group, p. pp 54-73.

Zwaan, K. and Joost De Bruin (eds) (2012) *Adapting Idols: Authenticity, Identity and Performance in a Global Television Format*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.