CENSORSHIP, IDENTITY, CULTURAL NEGOTIATION AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA'S FILM INDUSTRY

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Abstract

This paper examines how Muslim identity is negotiated in Kannywood films under the regulatory authority of the Kano State Censorship Board. Drawing on Ibrahim Musa's (2022) concept of "being Muslim" as a discursive strategy and Foucault's 1991 concept of governmentality, the paper argues that Muslim identity is not fixed but is continuously co-produced through three negotiation strategies: gendered self-presentation, linguistic calibration, and narrative closure. Through a qualitative systematic review and thematic synthesis of select studies on Kannywood (2013-2026), the analysis shows that actors and filmmakers anticipate censorship by performing piety, calibrating language between Hausa and English, and resolving narratives with Islamic moral closure. The findings demonstrate that censorship operates less as prohibition and more as cultural governance that shapes creative decisions at script, production, and editing stages. The study contributes to a mechanism-based model of identity negotiation under faith-based regulation, with implications for media policy and scholarship on religiously governed cultural industries.

Keywords: *Censorship, Kannywood, Muslim identity, Kano Censorship Board, Hausa cinema*

Introduction

The Hausa-language film industry, known as Kannywood, based in Kano, Northern Nigeria, produces over 200 films annually and employs more than 20,000 people, making it a significant cultural and economic force in West Africa (Ibrahim, Ibrahim, & Ibrahim 204). Unlike Nollywood's English-language, secular orientation, Kannywood is distinguished by its explicit engagement with Hausa-Muslim cultural values, Islamic morality, and linguistic authenticity (Uba 483). This cultural positioning has made Kannywood both a vehicle for projecting Hausa identity as "soft power" and a site of intense contestation over what constitutes acceptable Muslim representation (Ibrahim et al. 204; Ibrahim Musa 205).

Central to this contestation is the Kano State Censorship Board, established to regulate film content according to Islamic moral codes. McCain Carmen (223) documents how the Board emerged from a political discourse that mobilised "Muslim identity to both suppress and defend the creative arts," creating a regulatory environment where filmmakers must constantly anticipate censorship during scripting, production, and distribution. The Board's mandate to protect "public morality" means that representations of gender, language, dress, and religious practice are subject to scrutiny and potential bans (Umar & Muhammad 75). As Ibrahim et al. (204) note, balancing "regulation and artistic freedom" remains an imperative challenge for Kannywood, particularly in an era of digital distribution and transnational circulation.

Scholarship on Kannywood has established that Muslim identity is a core organising principle of the industry. Ibrahim Musa (205) introduces the concept of "being Muslim" as a

discursive strategy that positions characters as moral authorities and arbiters of right behaviour. Unlike Western cinema, where religion is often peripheral, Kannywood makes Muslim piety central to character legitimacy and narrative resolution. Zukogi (1) extends this by arguing that Kannywood representation is always in production, shaped by the tension between cultural preservation and modern influences, and this is empirically demonstrated through an analysis of *Hafeez*, *Alhaki Kwikwiyo*, and *Dan Gaske*, showing "incongruities" between Islamic filmmaking ideals and actual film practices, particularly in song, dance, and costume.

Within this censored and identity-conscious environment, Kannywood actors and filmmakers develop specific strategies to navigate regulatory constraints while maintaining audience appeal and career viability. Ibrahim Musa (209) identifies gendered negotiation strategies through case studies of Rahama Sadau and Ali Nuhu. Sadau responds to controversy by emphasising "Muslim identity through dress and public statements of wholesomeness," while Nuhu secures legitimacy by embodying the roles of scholar and imam that align with the Board's expectations of male moral authority. Bello and Mustapha (1) show that language choice becomes another negotiation tool, with actors using selective code-switching between Hausa and English to signal cultural authenticity to censors while retaining cosmopolitan appeal for youth audiences. Ibrahim and Alatu (28) reveal that even when films explore gender fluidity through transvestite characters, narrative closure always restores normative gender binaries to satisfy censorship mandates.

Despite this growing body of research, a critical gap persists in Kannywood scholarship. Existing studies tend to treat censorship and identity as separate domains: McCain (223) focuses on the Board's institutional mechanisms, Ibrahim Musa (205) develops theoretical frameworks for Muslim subjectivity, and Uba (483) examines cultural preservation. What remains under-explored is the process through which Muslim identity is actively negotiated under regulatory threat in real-time production decisions. Few studies integrate censorship mechanics with actor agency to explain how filmmakers translate abstract Board mandates into concrete on-screen choices - which lines are cut, which costumes modified, how endings rewritten.

The study addresses that gap by examining Muslim identity negotiation in Kannywood as a dynamic, processual phenomenon rather than a static representational outcome. Drawing on a qualitative review of select studies spanning censorship history, identity theory, gender performance, language use, and digital adaptation, the paper argues that Muslim identity in Kannywood is constructed through three interrelated negotiation strategies: gendered self-presentation, linguistic calibration, and narrative closure. By analysing how actors and filmmakers navigate the Kano Board's "public morality" mandate, this research contributes a mechanism-based understanding of identity construction under religious censorship. The findings extend beyond Kannywood to inform scholarship on media production in other faith-based regulatory contexts where cultural authenticity and state authority intersect.

Problem Statement

Despite the Kano State Censorship Board's explicit mandate to regulate Kannywood films according to Islamic moral codes, there remains a limited empirical understanding of how Muslim identity is actually negotiated during film production and performance. Existing literature has documented the Board's institutional mechanisms (McCain 223), catalogued representations of Muslim characters (Ibrahim 205), and analysed audience reception (Ibrahim Muhsin 1). However, these studies largely treat censorship and identity as separate phenomena, failing to explain the micro-processes through which filmmakers and actors translate abstract regulatory demands into concrete creative decisions.

This creates three critical problems. First, without understanding the negotiation process, scholarship cannot explain why certain films pass censorship while others are banned, despite similar content. Second, the lack of a mechanism-based framework limits our ability to predict how Kannywood will adapt to evolving censorship pressures, especially with digital platforms expanding regulatory complexity (Gar 399). Third, current accounts provide insufficient guidance for policymakers seeking to balance cultural authenticity with artistic freedom - the "imperative challenge" identified by Ibrahim et al. (216). The core problem, therefore, is that Kannywood scholarship has described what Muslim identity looks like on screen, but has not adequately theorised how it is negotiated under censorship in real-time. This study addresses that gap by examining the specific strategies through which actors and filmmakers navigate the Kano Board's "public morality" mandate.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to investigate the process of Muslim identity negotiation in Kannywood films under censorship. The specific objectives are to:

1. Identify and analyse the gendered self-presentation strategies used by male and female actors to signal Muslim piety and avoid censorship sanctions.
2. Examine how selective code-switching between Hausa and English operates as a linguistic negotiation tool for balancing cultural authenticity and modernity.
3. Investigate the role of narrative closure in restoring normative Islamic values and enabling films to pass censorship review.

Research Questions

To address the problem stated above, this study is guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: What gendered strategies do actors employ to perform Muslim piety while maintaining career viability and audience appeal?

RQ2: How do selective language use and code-switching function as a tool for negotiating cultural authenticity with censors and marketability with audiences?

RQ3: In what ways do narrative structures employ closure and resolution to restore normative Muslim values and satisfy censorship requirements?

Literature Review

Censorship, Regulation, and the Kano State Censorship Board

`Kannywood operates under one of Africa's most institutionalised film censorship regimes. The Kano State Censorship Board, established to enforce Islamic moral codes, functions as the primary gatekeeper determining what constitutes "acceptable Hausa culture." McCain Carmen demonstrates in a decade-long study that official censorship of Hausa films from 2001-2011 emerged from a political discourse where "Muslim identity is employed to both suppress and defend the creative arts" (223). This created a regulatory environment where filmmakers must constantly negotiate between artistic expression and religious authority. Ibrahim, Ibrahim, and Ibrahim (204) frame this as the "imperative challenge" of balancing regulation and artistic freedom, noting that censorship remains a core constraint alongside piracy and marginalisation (216).

The demand for regulation is not purely top-down. Umar and Muhammad (75) argue from within Kannywood scholarship that a "well-organised board which would ensure quality of the screenplay before giving approval for production" is necessary to maintain standards (77). This internal legitimisation gives the Board authority to police identity boundaries, reinforcing the fact that Kannywood films are sites of religio-cultural and linguistic contestations where the presentation of "acceptable Hausa culture" is constantly contested, particularly through analysis of *Hafeez, Alhaki Kwikwiyo, and Dan Gaske* (142). What emerges is a censorship ecology: the Board enforces codes, scholars legitimise the need for codes, and filmmakers must anticipate both when constructing narratives. Naisa and Kofar (40) extend this by analysing the political economy of Kannywood, showing how regulatory power intersects with economic interests to shape production decisions.

Identity Construction and Muslim Identity in Kannywood

Central to Kannywood scholarship is how Hausa-Muslim identity is constructed, performed, and contested on screen. Ibrahim (205) provides the foundational theoretical framework through his concept of "being Muslim," which positions Muslim characters as moral authorities and arbiters of right behaviour. Unlike Western secular cinema, where religion is peripheral, Kannywood makes Muslim identity the primary lens through which characters gain legitimacy. Zukogi (1) extends this by arguing that Kannywood representation is never static but always "in production," shaped by the tension between cultural preservation and modern influences. Identity is therefore not reflected but actively produced through filmic choices.

Uba (483) adds that Kannywood serves as a "potent tool for linguistic and cultural diversification" by preserving Hausa language and traditions against globalisation, thereby reinforcing cultural identity and pride among Hausa-speaking audiences (483). However, this preservation is selective - what the Board and audience accept as "authentic" becomes the boundary of representable identity. Thus, Kannywood identity construction is tripartite: actors perform Muslim piety, filmmakers select which cultural elements to represent, and the Board censors what violates perceived authenticity.

Negotiation Strategies: Gender, Language, and Performance Under Censorship

Within this censored space, Kannywood actors develop specific negotiation strategies to maintain careers while adhering to, or subtly challenging, moral codes. Ibrahim (205) identifies gendered strategies through case studies of Rahama Sadau and Ali Nuhu. Sadau negotiates by "emphasising her Muslim identity through dress and public statements of wholesomeness" after controversies, turning hijab into both religious observance and career strategy (12). Ali Nuhu negotiates by embodying "scholar/imam" roles that align with Board expectations of male moral authority (15). This is not passive compliance but active identity work - actors strategically foreground aspects of Muslim identity to avoid bans while retaining audience appeal.

Language is another negotiation tool. Bello and Mustapha (1) show that code-switching between Hausa and English marks generational and status identities, with English functioning as "language of status". At the same time, Hausa serves as "language of narration and assertion" (12). Crucially, code-switching "hardly appears when a young person talks to his parents or to elders," revealing internalised censorship (12). Filmmakers extend this logic by reducing English in religious scenes to signal piety to the Board, while using it in urban youth scenes to maintain marketability. This is a linguistic negotiation of Muslim authenticity.

Gender performance itself is policed and negotiated. Ibrahim and Alatu (28) analyse transvestite characters in *Ibro Kawajo*, *Uwar Mata*, and *Adon Gari*, finding that Kannywood films "often remind the audience of gender normativity and yet showcase that the boundaries…are permeable" (19). However, the denouement always forces trans characters to "switch and adhere to the gender they were assigned at birth" (39). This narrative closure reveals censorship's mechanism: films may test boundaries for entertainment, but must restore normativity to pass Board review. The "incongruities" function similarly - filmmakers include song/dance or moral ambiguity to attract audiences, then resolve them through Islamic punishment or moral restoration. Cultural values like *kishi* (possessiveness/jealousy) also become sites of negotiation. Hashim (222) argues that Kannywood frames women as "possessive and jealous," representing Hausa cultural values while reinforcing stereotypes. These representations must navigate Board standards on "decency" and "morality." The result is strategic essentialism: filmmakers exaggerate cultural traits that signal authenticity to local audiences and censors, while moderating those that risk bans.

Adaptation, Digitalisation, and New Negotiation Spaces

The shift to digital platforms has transformed but not eliminated censorship pressures. Gar (399) documents how Kannywood filmmakers adapted to digitalisation through online distribution, yet face new challenges of content moderation and audience fragmentation. Ibrahim et al. (204) note that digital media amplifies transnational circulation, enriching cross-border cultural dialogue but also complicating the Board's regulatory reach (217). This creates a dual negotiation space. On one hand, filmmakers gain flexibility online to bypass some Board restrictions. On the other hand, they must still maintain "Hausa cultural authenticity" to retain legitimacy with core audiences and avoid reputational damage that could trigger offline

censorship. Uba Aliyu recommends "strategic investments, professional development, government support, and collaboration with academic institutions" to strengthen Kannywood's potential, implying that adaptation requires working with, not against, regulatory structures (498). Thus, digitalisation adds negotiation layers that actors must perform Muslim identity for both the Board and for global YouTube audiences with different moral expectations.

The reviewed literature establishes three key foundations: First: That Kano Board actively polices Muslim identity through institutional censorship (Banjo 1); Second: that Kannywood constructs identity as an ongoing process of cultural negotiation (Ibrahim 205; Uba 483), and third – that Actors employ gendered, linguistic, and performative strategies to navigate these constraints (Ibrahim 205; Bello and Mustapha 1; Ibrahim and Alatu, 28). However, a critical gap remains: existing studies either describe censorship mechanics or catalogue representation patterns, but few integrate them to show the process by which Muslim identity is negotiated under regulatory threat in real-time. Most scholarship treats censorship and identity as separate domains. McCain (223) focuses on Board policy, Ibrahim (205) on theoretical "being Muslim," and Uba (483) on cultural preservation. Missing is an integrated analysis of how filmmakers and actors translate Board mandates into specific on-screen choices - what lines get cut, which costumes change, how endings are rewritten. Ibrahim and Alatu (28) come closest by showing forced narrative closure for trans characters, but do not extend this to mainstream Muslim identity performance.

This study fills that gap by examining Kannywood Muslim identity negotiation as a dynamic process rather than a static outcome. Building on Ibrahim Musa's (205) "being Muslim" framework and McCain's (223) censorship history, it analyses how contemporary actors navigate post-2016 censorship intensification through strategic self-presentation, selective code-switching, and calibrated cultural performance. Where previous studies document what is represented, this research explains how negotiation occurs at the intersection of Board power, audience expectation, and actor agency. By focusing on this process, the study contributes a mechanism-based understanding of identity construction under censorship that extends beyond Kannywood to other religiously regulated media industries.

Theoretical Framework

The study is guided by two complementary theories: Ibrahim's "Being Muslim" (205) as Discursive Subjectivation, and Foucault's Governmentality (Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller 1). Being Muslim as Discursive Strategy argues that Muslim identity in Kannywood is performed through specific markers: hijab, prayer scenes, moral dialogue, and narrative punishment of "sin." Identity is something done in film, not something shown. This explains actor agency: why Sadau foregrounds hijab and why Nuhu takes scholar roles. Governmentality, on the other hand, explains how power works through self-regulation. The state does not need to ban every film if filmmakers internalise rules and censor themselves. McCain (223) shows the Board uses Muslim identity to "both suppress and defend" cinema. Governmentality explains this co-production: the Board sets norms, but filmmakers become their

own censors. Together, the theories explain what Muslim identity looks like and why it is performed that way under censorship.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative systematic literature review with thematic synthesis (Thomas and Harden 45). The design is appropriate for examining processes and mechanisms where access to production sites is restricted (McCain, 223; Ibrahim, 205). Data were gathered from peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and dissertations (2013–2026) addressing Kannywood, censorship, Muslim identity, and Hausa cultural representation, and were analysed using line-by-line coding to generate descriptive themes, which were synthesised into three analytical themes: gendered self-presentation, linguistic calibration, and narrative closure. Data were triangulated across multiple sources for validity. However, reliance on secondary data and interpretive synthesis poses a limitation to the study.

Results

The thematic synthesis of select studies reveals that Muslim identity in Kannywood is negotiated through three interrelated strategies: gendered self-presentation, linguistic calibration, and narrative closure. These strategies operate as practical mechanisms through which actors and filmmakers translate the Kano State Censorship Board's "public morality" mandate into on-screen choices. Each strategy represents a distinct but overlapping site of negotiation between regulatory authority, audience expectation, and creative agency.

Gendered Self-Presentation: Performing Piety to Secure Legitimacy

The first negotiation strategy involves actors strategically performing Muslim piety through gendered self-presentation. Ibrahim (205) demonstrates that female actors like Rahama Sadau respond to censorship controversies by "emphasising her Muslim identity through dress and public statements of wholesomeness," turning hijab and modest appearance into both religious observance and career survival tactics. This aligns with what Ibrahim terms "being Muslim" as a discursive strategy of subjectivation, where characters gain narrative authority by embodying moral virtue (Ibrahim 205). Male actors also employ complementary strategies. Ibrahim Musa notes that Ali Nuhu secures legitimacy by consistently embodying scholar, imam, or community elder roles that align with the Board's expectations of male moral authority. By performing these roles, male actors reduce the likelihood of bans while reinforcing patriarchal interpretations of Muslim leadership.

This gendered negotiation extends beyond individual actors to character construction. Ibrahim and Alatu (28) analyse transvestite characters in *Ibro Kawajo*, *Uwar Mata*, and *Adon Gari* and find that while Kannywood films "showcase that the boundaries of femininity and masculinity are permeable" for entertainment value, they always force trans characters to "switch and adhere to the gender they were assigned at birth" in the denouement. The finding suggests that gender performance can test boundaries only if narrative punishment restores normative Muslim gender

binaries, satisfying the Board's regulatory mandate (Ibrahim and Alatu 28). Thus, gendered self-presentation functions as pre-emptive self-censorship: actors anticipate what the Board will reject and foreground pious, normative gender performances to avoid sanctions.

Linguistic Calibration: Code-Switching as Cultural Negotiation

The second strategy involves selective language use, particularly code-switching between Hausa and English, to navigate the tension between cultural authenticity and modern appeal. Bello and Mustapha (1) find that English functions as the "language of status" while Hausa serves as the "language of narration and assertion" in Kannywood films. Critically, code-switching "hardly appears when a young person talks to his parents or to elders," revealing internalised linguistic censorship that mirrors the Board's moral expectations (Bello and Mustapha 1).

Filmmakers extend this logic at the script level. Scenes depicting religious practice, family elders, or rural settings minimise English to signal "authentic Hausa-Muslim culture" to censors. Conversely, urban youth scenes, business settings, and romantic subplots incorporate English to remain relevant to younger, educated audiences and to signal modernity without triggering censorship. Uba Aliyu argues that Kannywood serves as a "potent tool for linguistic and cultural diversification" (483) by preserving Hausa against globalisation, but this preservation is selective - only the version of Hausa deemed "decent" by the Board survives. This linguistic calibration allows filmmakers to speak to two audiences simultaneously: the Board receives sufficient Hausa and moral vocabulary to approve the film, while youth audiences receive enough English and cosmopolitan references to stay engaged. Language thus becomes a regulatory negotiation tool, not just a communication medium.

Narrative Closure: Restoring Normativity to Pass Censorship

The third strategy concerns narrative structure, specifically the use of closure to restore normative Islamic values after plots explore cultural or moral ambiguity. This pattern reflects what McCain (223) describes as the political discourse where "Muslim identity is employed to both suppress and defend the creative arts." Filmmakers can include controversial content to attract audiences, but must resolve it in ways that demonstrate the triumph of Islamic morality to satisfy the Board. Ibrahim and Alatu (28) confirm this mechanism: transvestite characters may appear and even gain sympathy mid-film, but the narrative always closes by returning them to their birth-assigned gender, reinforcing "gender normativity" (39). Hashim (222) shows a parallel process in representations of women and kishi (possessiveness/jealousy). While women may display agency or desire mid-narrative, the closure frames these traits as cultural values to be managed within Islamic marriage, not as challenges to patriarchal order. Narrative closure thus acts as the final censorship checkpoint - the Board evaluates the ending more critically than the middle because it determines the film's moral message.

The Censorship Ecology and Digital Adaptation

The three strategies do not operate in isolation but within what this study terms a "censorship ecology" - a network of Board regulators, filmmakers, actors, and audiences who all anticipate regulatory scrutiny. Ibrahim et al. (204) note that digitalisation and transnational circulation have complicated this ecology by expanding audiences beyond Kano's jurisdiction while intensifying the Board's concern about "soft power" and cultural image. Gar Yusuf Baba (399) documents filmmakers' adaptation through online distribution, yet this shift has not eliminated the need for negotiation - online platforms now add another layer of content moderation that filmmakers must navigate alongside the Board. The finding is that censorship does not simply prohibit content; it actively shapes how Muslim identity is constructed. Actors and filmmakers become skilled negotiators who embed compliance into creative choices from scripting to editing.

Discussion

The findings of the study demonstrate that censorship in Kannywood functions as a form of governmentality rather than as simple prohibition. On Gendered Self-Presentation: The strategic performance of piety by Sadau and Nuhu reflects Ibrahim's (205) "being Muslim" as subjectivation. Actors do not passively comply; they actively choose discursive markers to claim legitimacy and secure career viability. This also reflects Foucault's governmentality: actors internalise Board norms and reproduce them to avoid sanctions. The forced closure of trans narratives further shows how the Board's power produces self-governing subjects who restore normativity. The study also discovered that code-switching is not neutral. It is a negotiation tool that allows filmmakers to address two audiences: the Board and youth viewers. This aligns with governmentality's "conduct of conduct" — filmmakers regulate their own language to anticipate censorship while maintaining commercial appeal.

It also supports Uba Aliyu's (483) argument that cultural preservation is selective and politically mediated. Also, the pattern of testing boundaries and then restoring Islamic morality confirms that the Board evaluates endings more critically than middles. This is the clearest mechanism of co-production: filmmakers embed compliance into narrative form. As McCain (223) argued, Muslim identity is used to "both suppress and defend" cinema. Filmmakers use narrative to defend creative space while suppressing transgression. The implication of all these is that censorship does not kill creativity; it shapes it. The model of gendered self-presentation, linguistic calibration, and narrative closure offers a framework for understanding media production in other faith-based regulatory contexts.

Conclusion

This study examined how Hausa filmmakers negotiate censorship while producing films under the regulatory authority of the Kano State Censorship Board. Drawing on select studies of Kannywood production practices, the findings reveal that censorship is not merely an external restriction but a constitutive force that shapes narrative, aesthetic, and production choices. Hausa filmmakers engage in three interrelated negotiation strategies: 1) gendered self-presentation

through modest costume, segregated acting, and moralised character arcs; 2) narrative and linguistic calibration through selective code-switching, moralised dialogue, and restorative endings; and 3) anticipatory compliance by scripting and shooting with the Board's guidelines in mind. The study concludes that Muslim identity in Kannywood is produced through a process of negotiated authenticity. Rather than resisting censorship outright, filmmakers internalise regulatory expectations and translate them into creative solutions that maintain both religious legitimacy and commercial viability.

This negotiated authenticity allows Kannywood to function as a culturally specific cinema that asserts Hausa-Muslim values while navigating the commercial pressures of a competitive film industry. The findings support the argument that censorship in postcolonial contexts operates less as outright suppression and more as a mechanism of cultural governance that co-produces identity alongside filmmakers. This research contributes to scholarship by moving beyond binary models of censorship as suppression vs. resistance and instead conceptualising it as a co-productive process. It demonstrates that Muslim identity in Kannywood is not pre-existing but actively negotiated at the intersection of state regulation, religious expectation, and market demand.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study recommends that Kannywood producers should formalise internal compliance units that review scripts and dailies against both Board guidelines and evolving audience expectations. Investing in training for writers and directors on "anticipatory compliance" will reduce costly reshoots and production delays. Filmmakers should also document negotiation outcomes with the Board to build a shared knowledge base on acceptable creative solutions. The Kano Censorship Board should transition from a purely prohibitive model to a collaborative model by issuing clearer, regularly updated guidelines with concrete examples of acceptable vs. unacceptable content. Establishing periodic stakeholder forums with filmmakers, scholars, and religious leaders would improve mutual understanding and reduce adversarial relations. Greater transparency in decision-making will also enhance the Board's legitimacy.

The Federal and Kano State governments should also recognise Kannywood as a cultural industry deserving targeted support. Policies that fund training in scriptwriting, post-production, and distribution will strengthen the industry's capacity to produce high-quality content that meets both religious and commercial standards. Incentives for digital distribution platforms can help Kannywood reach wider audiences without compromising cultural values. Lastly, future research should expand this study through audience reception analysis to determine how viewers interpret negotiated representations of Muslim identity. Longitudinal studies are also needed to track how digitalisation and streaming platforms are reshaping negotiation dynamics between filmmakers and regulators.

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