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Photography and politics of representation: Nigerian Experience

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Abstract: Following the evolution of photography dated from Joseph Niepce fixing of the image in 1820s to the announcement by the Frenchman Lewis Daguerre in 1839 called Daguerre type, the medium became the world's most popular picture making engagement. Its rapid transition dating back to Fox Talbot's crude salt prints of the 1840's routed through Nigeria's own Da Costa and Milton Macaulay to today's digital marvel positions photography on the fast lane. As a visual art form that permeates various disciplines, scholars, professionals, amateurs and practitioners alike rightly contend that photography has always been bound up with many ways to making images both for appreciation and information dissemination. Photographic images over the years in Nigeria's developing economy are laden with meanings and values within which we have seen ourselves and understood our world. The medium along the line assumed broader intervention in documentary, marketing, scientific, artistic, technical and aesthetic foci given the current global developmental economy; photography, to some people is a factual representation of reality. But, some critics point out its parody of truthful representation. Since 1950s when political activities began in Nigeria as a result of party formations, though print media development to date, cases of parody are revealed at the marketplace. Lessons of history are drawn from experiences of developed nations to arrive at conclusions and to move modern Nigerian art history along the global highway.

Keywords: Political activities, cases of parody, and the marketplace.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Photographic images over the years in Nigeria's developing economy are laden with meanings and values within which we have seen ourselves and understood our world. The medium along the line assumed broader intervention in marketing, politics, scientific, artistic, technical and aesthetic foci given the current global development. Consequently, the trend now demands more cognitive functions for photography both as an art form and utilitarian medium. Nigeria as part of the current global market dictates require repositioning photographic fringe given the transformation process from developing to developed economy as the government's visionary objectives toward Vision 20-20,20. Lessons of history are drawn from experiences of developed nations to arrive at conclusions and to move modern Nigerian art history along the global highway.

The age of the medium compared with painting or any other art form is quite a recent phenomenon. In spite of that, its phenomenal growth endeared it to social engineering because of its heterogeneous complex codes and means by which it impacts meaning. Photography was alien to many Nigerians when the country attained amalgamation status in 1914. Though recent information by Fiofori reveals that one Jonathan Adagogo Green in a well researched work by Anderson and Aronson practiced photography before the amalgamation of Nigeria. Both scholars contend that "Green's work showed him to be familiar with conventions of European photography, but he could have learned them from another African photographer, as well as one of the many Europeans plying their trade along the coast". From the image fixing process by the trade Frenchman, Joseph Niepce (1705-1835) the announcement on August 19, 1839, in Paris "that Louis Daguerre had discovered a way to capture the image in the camera obscura by action of the light; photography became defined as drawing with light as Langford acknowledges it as "a way of reproducing landscapes, portraits and other objects without using drawing skills"

As earlier noted since 1839 when Daguerre, a talented landscape painter improved on the work of Niepce and received a vote of congratulations from the Chamber de 'D'pute' for his Daguerre type, artists were reputed to have lost interest in the painted portraits owing to the popularity of photography. Further was the recorded improvement and refinement in crude salt prints credited to the English man Fox Talbort in 1840s which enabled the medium to gradually grow in importance; and spread to different parts of the world including Nigeria in the 19th centuries; By such achievement, Talbort's discovery of negative was reputed to have introduced multiple prints which subsequently solved the limitations associated with daguerreotype³.

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Efforts of these ancestors of photography, through the 20th century industrializing, scientific, and technological milestones and on to today's digital marvel clearly enabled the medium to achieve tremendous feat unparalled by any art form in history. Curiously, during the Industrializing Age in Europe, the mediums developmental feat was most fervent as it captured various upheavals witnessed in both Europe and the United States of America. The Alliances leading to various agreements and disagreements that led to both peace and wars were recorded. Such shenanigans as First World War; Fascism, Communism, Nazism, Wall Street Crash of 1929, Depression effect in USA and significantly the Second World War were photographers preoccupation. The upheavals provided store house of subject matter and burning desire for documentary photography.

The most amazing truth was that in spite of power struggles for economic supremacy and the sporadic disturbances experienced between England, France, Italy, Russia and above all, the German obsession for power⁴, photography was at its most truthful fecund. It provided the world with documentary evidence based on concrete perception for those that witnessed the events and abstract perceptions for those obtaining information today on the events. The shenanigans associated hegemonic revolutionary essence of modern western history as well as folly of man came to fore during the World War I which devastated Europe's economy, political engineering, moral attainment as well as intellectual and scientific resources. As a historical medium, it recorded everything similar to Nigerian's folly which resulted in civil war, 1967-1970 as (Plate1) illustrates. Photography clearly revealed the theatre of absurd experienced in Europe which Fleming summed up as either "liberalism or conservatism, internationalism, socialism or capitalism, individualism or collectivism, parliamentarianism or totalitarianism"⁵ All the "isms" in the wake of World War 1 had installed Bolshevism and Communism in USSR, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and ETA – the separatist movement in Spain. These shenanigans did not end until the World War II was fought and won by the Allied forces. The theatre of absurd provided undaunted ideological revolutionary artists and photographers with enough subject matter as well as advanced training on war reportage which comparatively reduced Roger Fenton experience during the Crimean war to child's play. Indeed, experiences of the West influenced Nigerian photographers early exposure to the medium's functions as Nigerian returnee soldiers from the World Wars became indulged in amateur photography.

There was the Art Photography initiated by Laszlo Maholy Nagay (1895-1946). He assisted Walter Gropius in Bauhaus Experimentation grounded on cross-fertilization between different art forms. The result of their experiment was recorded in photogram, photomontage as well as multiple printing compositions, including the use of text. Again it was the ideological spirit, just as Surrealism equally found accomplishment in Man Ray's Rayogram that mattered. Consequently, the experimental effort of both Man Ray and Nagay changed the status of photography from minor to high art referencing given consideration for aesthetic sensibility. The influences of these two photographers even today remain the main focus of photography study in Nigeria's art schools. Reasonably, with the aid of Photoshop, intensified effort is being made at repositioning it as creative photography in our local parlance. The third leg of the tripod is located in Reportage photography, an evolution that gained prominence in 1925s as well as 1930s in Europe when the 35mm roll film became sufficiently improved, to give high quality enlargement". Development in camera technology through the effort of Oscar Barnack of Leica fame as well as the Ermanox 6 x 9cm brought revolution to photojournalism as such its historical epoch. This development was a significant breakthrough as cameras came with very fast lenses. The situation "enabled the user to take pictures unobtrusively and under low light conditions. People were recorded to have been caught off guard, no longer posing for the camera but acting naturally – doing awkward, funny, dangerous, real things" Candid photography was born. One could recall vividly Nigeria's famous Peter Obe walking all over Lagos street with 35mm camera hung on his neck in search of subject matter while growing up in the early 1960s and 1970s.

The new technology established events leading to the development of various picture magazines, first in Germany where the "first true exploitation of the potential that existed in the photo essay started" In addition, the new development enabled photographers achieve spontaneous imaging as well as freedom of movement recorded in pictures of the decisive moment, marriage of working relationship between editors who now assumed position of importance with photographers and artists which later spread to Africa was inaugurated In 1960 when Nigeria attained independence picture stories were appearing. This was when the magazine "African Film" featured Lance Spearman and the societal misfit Rabon Zolo in apparent photographic narrative, an attempted imitation of the famed James Bond Agent 007.

Before 1960, photography played a considerable role in information dissemination through the famous "Drum" magazine published in South Africa but circulated in the West Africa coastal region. Contents of its run-on-page covered considerable news from West African countries. Part of its African coverage was the Sharpeville shooting in South Africa which apparently brought to fore the struggle by Africans against the apartheid policy of the minority white rule. Equally informative was the pictures of captured Patrice Lumumba and his associates displayed by protesters in Tokunboh Street, Lagos in early 1960s. One's consternation of that scene was recently recapped by Okunnu who situates that "Another occasion when the youths of the country showed their collective power was the death of the Prime Minister of Congo". Patrice Lumumba was a very

progressive and radical politician and a Pan Africanist. Okunnu recounts that "The world powers assassinated him", further "we went to the streets en mass, professionals and members of the Labour movement joined us in protest". Also, "one saw the pictures on the posters depicted the Congolese first prime minister and those of his associates with their hands tied behind them and seated on the field guarded by the Katangese soldiers; such a gory sight witnessed by one as an eight year old kid represents in part the tragedy of Africa's attempt at self government" 10. Another magazine that externalized photographic importance at dissemination of information in 1970 the between 1967 and was Flamingo. On Nigeria as it circulated, it captured starving women and children in the Biafran enclave during the Nigeria Civil war. Since the inception of higher education in Nigeria there has been oversight at discerning seriously the relevance of photography to industrialisation. Consequently, the establishment of a photography department comparatively with the western experiences is inconsequential therefore ignored by art education planners, as such not beneficial to industrial growth. It is noteworthy that Koets, an international photography educationist of repute correctly assessed the level of photographic fringe in Nigeria's media space. In his words "If Nigerian photojournalist want to compete they should be creative". Koet's statement stands as an arbiter of judgment in a field most Nigerians considered as developed since famed Peter Obe and Mathew Faii both of Daily Times and Drum. But in reality it is far behind its functions in some developing economy. Koet simply cautions that Nigerian photo-journalists working for the local press work within the confined journalistic environment. "Visually I would dare say that 90 percent of all the pictures published except for sports pictures are portraits."12. (Plate 1) show visible truth in Koet's remarks. A boxing shot that displays the skill of the photographer at sharp focusing as well as cropping on the spot.

What is discernible from Koet's sincere observation and assertion is that the Nigerian photographer is light years behind the western experience, say in creative imaging on the fringe. For example, history reveals how the *New York Daily News* got to photograph Ruth Snyder in the electric chair as she was electrocuted for murdering her husband in Sing Sing prison. The action of the management of *The News* was quite against the custom and the warden's directive, Howard the photographer as recoded went the extra mile to photograph her as she was being killed in gradual process by electricity incorporated into a 2,200-volt circuit; he caught Mrs. Snyder's attitude as the current was applied, cut off and reapplied 13. It was creativity in this type of sneak photography that led to activity of photographic act in modern times known as paparazzi. Creativity is also possible in shots where permission may not be necessarily sought as in candid, concrete perception influenced shots occasioned by immediacy. Such pictures often subvert privacy as such, in the words of a judge "are subject to the privileges which publishers have to satisfy the curiosity of the public as to their leaders, heroes, villains and victims." Currently, the action pictures of the Boko Haram characters are hardly known; earlier those of the Niger Delta militants seemingly are implicated by posed actions. Most of their shots in the media were posted by Bosko Haram and Niger Delta dissidents themselves. Put simply Nigeria photojournalists have not gone beyond the ordinary in creativity.

II. DISCONNECT.

Understanding the outside influences that industrializing eras of the western countries exact on Nigerian situation is imperative this era of Nigeria's developing state. Creativity as Koet solicits could be appreciated also from the outside. Examples abound. The documentary photographs taken when the American west was being explored persuaded that country's authorities to delimit Yellowstone National Park in the United States of American. Also, the photographs shot by Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine evidenced child Labour abuses as well as the wretched habitats in New York slum; these shots brought to fore, poor living conditions of a section of American citizens in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; the information disseminated led to reformation. According to Sandler, "Of the thousands of photographs that Riis took the most haunting and heartrending of all were those of the children of the slums. In their faces could be seen all the ills and evils that Riis so desperately sought to correct" The lesson for Nigerian Lawmakers here is that Hine was hired by the National Child Labour Committee to document these child Labour records shown to the United State congress in 1908. They can use the medium in the same manner to address social issues prevalent today in Nigerian society.

Further the importance of Documentary photography to the health of a growing nation was the concern exhibited by the USA president Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1930s during the great Depression, he was reputed to have taken many options in an attempt to alleviate the sufferings of American citizens. Among such measure was the formation of an agency called Farm Security Administration (FSA) The agency hired photographers to produce thousands of pictures laden with facts and coded messages exposing the devastated plight of mid west farmers. The convincing visual documentary materials effectively stirred public opinions and led to reforms introduced by the government of the United State of America. Again, Langford's assertion noted earlier "that without photography our experience of the world around us would be limited to only what we see with our eyes" rests with multilayered meanings associated with photographic images in different societies. For example pictures of Nigerian civil war that depicted photograph of captured Biafran soldiers in *Flamingo* magazine in 1960s could have established inquiry of ethical behavior on how Nigerian soldiers treated their war

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captives. To Nigerians that was gallantry. But in the developed world such pictures may solicit questioning to ascertain how prisoners of war were treated by both the triumphed Federal troops and the defeated Biafra soldiers. The outcome of such inquiry leads to value judgments and appropriate punishment meted if commanders were found guilty of eliminating prisoners of war unduly. More so as Isama alludes that, Col. Muhammed Shuwa, the Nigerian commander and his troops of "1 Division was just inflicting casualties, by leveling everywhere" This corroborates with Obasi narrative that "Bisalla was close to Gowon and it is to his eternal credit that as war commander he was not as brutal as some of his colleagues in murdering Ibo civilians"

Implicitly, war photojournalism was a mirage. In fact, lack of civic responsibility was exhibited by the government when a simple but important photographic image saved the former governor of Delta State from exconvict case at an Abuja court. The Judge recognized him as the convict, but owing to the absence of a documented photograph, the government lost the case. So far the deduction from the western experience drawn show that various arms of the government at this developing level require the use of photographic library of images extensively for rapid development based on value judgment. Documentary may be located in crime, social injustice and decay, agony and intrigues, despair, determination, anguish, disillusionment and various experiences of life prevalent in the society today. Limitation also borders on creativity and sophistication. Over hundred years, several types of cameras were in use in Nigeria. They range from direct vision (point and shoot) 35mm Single Lens Reflex (SLR), Twin Lens Reflex as well as sheet film camera. Meanwhile, direct vision compact was also available in 35mm and 110' format as well; they were popular among Nigerian amateur photographers. Among some old photographers dating back to the beginning of the 20th century Baseboard camera was popular. It used sheet film and accepted interchangeable lenses; it had focusing screen back "hinged to a folding mental or wooden baseboard and this board had tracks for the lens panel unit Cameras today are located in high technological digital pixels. They come with advantages of superior resolutions against yesterday's analogue.

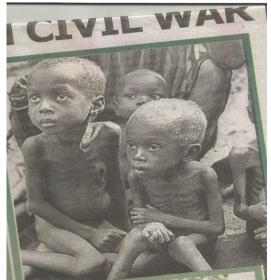


Plate 1. Nigerian- Biafran war scene culled from Flash Back

Political dispensation

As part of postmodern discourse and in similar vein, Hutcheon sees photography "as a visual medium having a long history of being both politically useful and political suspect" as a matter of fact, photographic images have heterogeneous meaning in the media both as information communication and documentary, particularly the family albums in Nigeria and elsewhere. In graphic communication, print medium uses text and image and sometimes could be used simultaneously as text, image, sound and verbal as in electronic media. Over the years in Nigeria, experience shows that sometimes text produces the meaning photographic images infer as such sustains being political suspect. Whatever form photography is applied either as documentary, scientific, education social or in some total, it relates with espouse in most climes and the reason is because:

Media text tell stories, they have narratives. Narratives are about storytelling and story meaning. It may be argued that the narrative and its meaning are in the shaping of text, and then work on the reader. But they are also in the mind of the reader because what the reader does with the text²⁰.



Plate 2. Nigeria's founding fathers, part of 1957 Constitutional Conference – Flash Back

Photographic image is believed by Nigerian to be truthful representation of reality. But in mass communication when combined with text it creates parody and misinformation of opinion often held over the years. Nigerian experience utilizes such irony at the political arena to subvert truthful representation as a result wrong signal inform information consumption pattern, even attitudes in later years.

Basically, ploy on irredentism robbed in ironic blue blood claim anchored on the ground of Islamic Jihad was used to appropriate political space and subsequent domination of Nigeria over the years by politicians of Hausa/Fulani of Nigeria. In similar vein as in the words of Burgin "Commentators as diverse as Annett Kuhn, Susan Sontag, and Roland Barthes have remarked on photography's ambivalences: it is no way innocent of cultural formation (or innocent of forming culture) yet is in a very real sense technically tied to the real, or at least to the visual and the actual" In a sense this submits to subversion and engagement of "Fulaningida" doctrine or "born to rule" positioning of the Caliphate hegemony as leaders of Nigeria. This has its genealogy from 1950s when clamors for Nigeria's independence from Britain took the front burner. The founding fathers of Nigeria often posed for group photographs after each constitutional conference. The middle position was constantly taken by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto in the media. This ensured sublime, but strong massage and signals to his followers in the North. Arguably, he was the leader of the nationalists.

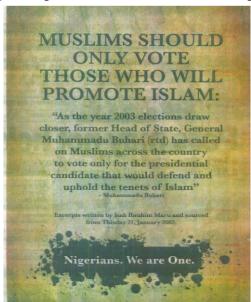


Plate 3. Newspaper Typographical Election

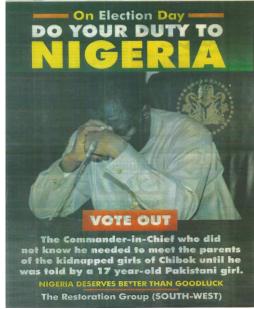


Plate 4. Misplaced photographic image from Campaign another site

Invariably, photography was used to subvert acceptance of any southern politician, particularly Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Pan Africanist with better global and intellectual background from Universities by the Muslim north Hausa/Fulani.

The reason is not farfetched, Coleman situates that nationalism started late in the North where Islam was linked with authoritarian political structure, strictly monolithic. The structure ensured that the ruled respected only its leaders and were strongly supported by British power²². The seat of power was therefore articulated in Fulanigida which demanded that Hausa/Fulani regard obedience from their superiors and loyalty to their chief as one of the doctrines of Islam.^{23 Photography} was such a strong communication weapon as (Plate 2) indicates and was used indirectly by the Sardauna to create monolithic north. This could be viewed against the backdrop of the feud between Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo, sduring the days of Nigerian Youth Movement, both from southern Nigeria. Further, was the use of religion and ethnicity, illustrated in (Plate 3) which in later years during the 2015 election, text as typographic design was used to corroborate with sublime but powerful earlier message illustrated in (Plate 2). Example abound, from the reaction of Tafawa Balewa to Azikiwe's motion seeking to eradicate ill will among Nigerians and proposal for a united outlook:

"Many (Nigerians) deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one....particularly, some of the press people.... This is wrong. I am sorry to say that this presence of unity is artificial and it ends outside this chamber" When the North responded to party formation by founding the Northern People's Congress (NPC) Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa, the initiators of that Party tied it to the apron of the traditional rulers and chiefs, particularly in tandem with Fulanin gida. Meanwhle, against the southern nationalist, even moderate liberal democrats of northern extraction experienced intensified against them.as well as their. Aptly, the central position often taken by Sardauna symbolically meant power to his supporters.

Significance of religion and ethnicity that worked leads us to another photographic image which was parody of spolitics of representation on (Plate 4). Apparently, it is a recall message tendency from policy as it urged Nigerians to vote out Goodluck Jonathans in 2015 election. As a matter of fact, the conjunction into which this advertisement resonates dates back to 1985 when the regime of General Yakubu Gowon was overthrown by another military coup led by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed. The deceptive photograph arguably was relocated from a different site in time and space. Ironically, the picture depicted Yakubu Gowon when he was praying with head bowed in the church, and it was meant to reflect suggestive mood and worry because he was overthrown. Meanwhile Gowon was not even in the country, but overseas when his overthrow took place.

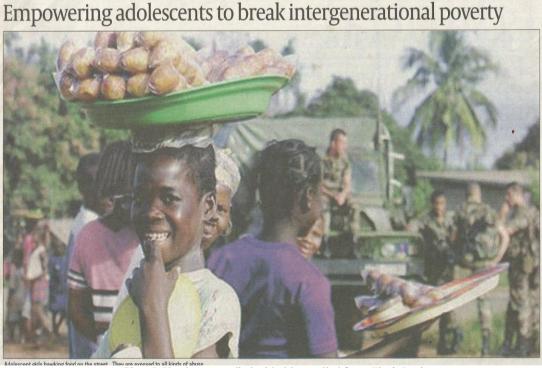


Plate 5. Hawkers, parodied with title – culled from Flash Back





Plate 6.1 Goodluck Jonathan dilemma

Plate 6.2 Sick Yar'Adua

Furthermore, during the second republic 1979-1983, the Imo State Governor, Sam Mbakwe while in the church held handkerchief to clean his face from heat during those days of power outage. The press published the candid shot but misappropriated it and nick named him "weeping Governor". Mbakwe denied and claimed he cried only once as an adult when his father died; he lived and died with that sobriquet.

In 1991 there was the hoax about the imaginary death of the nation's first President Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in the press. *Concord* newspaper's headline was louder than the rest. It, read "Going Going Gone Zik is dead". Ironically, it was an earlier picture that showed Azikiwe boarding an air craft on his way to Canada on health issue which was used mischievously, apparently to symbolize "good radiance for bad rubbish. Meanwhile, Azikiwe was alive, hale and hearty. The editor of *Concord* Newspaper, Mike Awoyinfa never showed remorse for such unethical practice in a populist media. The Tabloid was owned by the late MKO Abiola, a front line politician of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) whose party presidential candidate Shehu Shagari contested against Nnamdi Azikiwe's Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) 1979 and 1983 elections respectively. It was disheartening because Azikiwe used same journalism as effective weapon to battle the British colonial government towards granting independence to Nigeria in 1960.

Another ironic representation which is constant in the media is located in (Plate 5) showing teenage girl hawkers. The image betrays relocation from another clime to illustrate a situation purportedly Nigerian. It was published in the *Guardian* Newspaper of Wednesday June 8, 2011. A close study of the image revealed shot taken in a country probably hosting the United Nation peace keeping force, as the image depicted mostly white soldiers at the background. The site could have been in Mali, Congo, or even Guinea but definitely not Nigeria. In the media photography is denied its truthful representation in reportage when its learned notion of function such as caption in text form offset meaning. Technology in its infinix flux enables designers retouch pictures with Photoshop and soft wares to enhance visual effects. Sometimes a scene from an unknown site could be imported from another clime into the picture at the marketplace which distances its meaning in time and space.

Recently in Nigeria, text caused consternation when the health status of the head of state were kept in secret from the public, but when the photograph such as (Plate 6) was finally published it was apparent that the health of President Musa Yar'Adua was in terrible shape. The truth was hidden from Nigerians. It was the same "Born to rule" attitude of his "Fulanin gida" that made his cabal cling to power. Obviously, what was discernible from the image in (Plate 6) was truthful representation of his image. He died few days after. His cousin, Zubai Gabai was quoted in reassuring language that "If the President understands that his health will not allow him to continue in office, I am sure he will resign honourably" The publication *Tell* Magazine on its Mail Box column narrative explains the complicity further:

For weeks, members of the National Assembly and the House of Representatives have been dragging their feet over applying the "rules" in respect of Mr. President's absence from the country without a formal letter of notification, Nigerians cried themselves hoarse before the law makers resorted to whipping up the 'doctrine of Necessity to reorganize Vice President Goodluck Jonathan as the Acting President.²⁵

Currently, President Muhammadu Buhari was in similar situation on sick bed in London. However, he returned after 90 days of treatment. Photography at this point shows the President spoke truthfully that he had never been that sick before. A statement that counters the old pictures often featured in the press ironically to deceive Nigerians that he was getting better. However, in both situations of Yar'Adua and Buhari photography denied text the capability to subvert it even as handlers of both experiences held sway with propaganda. In 1966, the first military coup pointed out corruption and nepotism as part of the reason they struck. Subsequent

military coups advanced same reasons. In 2003, the Federal Government created Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in response to pressure from the Financial Action Task Force for Money Laundering (FATF). In fact, Nigeria was one of the 23 countries considered non cooperative in their international effort to fight money laundering.

Since that year, over 26 Governors and Public Officers were arrested, charged to court, released on bail, but none have been convicted so far. Today, most of them are Senators, Their arrests was widely celebrated by the public. But EFCC is assumed used their photographs to celebrate victory on pages of newspapers; as a result, gained judgment from the public domain. Again photography added to text in bold headlines became dispensation for ironic political propaganda. Moreover, only opposition party members were presumed guilty of corruption by EFCC. The system of arrest, detain before investigation applied in the case of eight High Court Judges, Justices Sylvester Nguta, John Okoro, Adeniyi Ademola, Muazu, Pindiga, Kabiru Auta, Innocent Umezulike, Mohammed Tsamiya, Ajumoghobia,s among others; they stormed their homes in Gestapo style at an unholy hour of 2am and claimed they recovered Billions of Dollars in their homes, judgment was obtained at the public domain; as usual photography was implicated.

Finally, politics of representation in this work is not meant to raise issues on topics reminiscent with postmodern narratives, but political misappropriation of photography as an instrument of ironic political engineering that still pervades the Nigerian information space. The allusion is discernible from Burgin in the sense that "Seeing is not an activity divorced from the rest of consciousness; any account of visual art which is adequate to the facts of our actual experience must allow for the imbrication of the visual with other aspects of thought" Therefore, overlapping experiences situates use of text with ulterior motives with photography as ironical as such politics of representation.

III. CONCLUSION

Photography owning to technological innovation has aspired wider interest and activities among Nigerians. The practice of point and shoot, particularly with hand held cameras enhances and share that pervades photographic genre from personal expression to impersonal expression. Meanwhile each expression has wide market and consumer attitude to its shifting grounds. Application to solve problems and position societal values similar to American experience and elsewhere is elusive.

Often text has been used to offset the medium's truthfulness. But it manages to exert its force as the case of Yar Adua and Buhari proved, that which informed value judgments on their health status. Truthful representations in war zones have been elusive in reportage photography even some genre as seen in (Plate4). Finally media judgment using photography to subject suspects to criminal status often obtained by EFCC at the public domain parodies the medium strongly as no Nigerian of substance have been jailed. To some extent photography still manages to be truthful in spite of its ironic representation in information dissemination in some instances.

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