ENTERTAINING THE GLOBAL CONSUMER:
THE ROLE OF THE FESTIVALS IN MARKETING WEST AFRICAN FILM AND MUSIC

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By

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ENTERTAINING THE GLOBAL CONSUMER: THE ROLE OF THE FESTIVALS IN MARKETING WEST AFRICAN FILM AND MUSIC

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ABSTRACT

This work looks at the relationship between networks and global consumption of entertainment products from the developing world by analyzing three cases to reveal how different types of support, either government sponsored or market driven, influences the ability of entertainment goods and services to circulate on a global scale. The hypothesis of this research is when networks focus on practices which are market driven circulation of entertainment goods and services from the developing world is more efficient than those networks which rely on government sponsored networks.

To create a more focused study the author looks specifically at the festival as a type of network and at its role in circulating film and music from the region of West Africa. The first case considers the French government sponsored Festival de Cannes where West African directors are given a marginalized space to show their work, but the emphasis remains on glamour and spectacle of mainstream cinema. The second case is that of FESPACO, a pan-African film festival that occurs in Burkina Faso every two years. In this instance the African directors are in the spotlight; however the lack of proper distribution mechanisms halts the ability to circulate this work to a larger audience post-festival. The third case is the World of Music, Art and Dance a festival that takes place in several countries each year. In this instance, musicians are given the opportunity to build a relationship with the consumer through workshops and other more intimate interactions. The
musicians are supported via a festival which is structured around market driven practices. Evidence from journals, reviews and literature on economics and culture is considered in the investigation.
I gratefully acknowledge the intellectual passions and generous spirits of Dr. JP Singh, Dr. Cynthia Schneider, Sarah Anne-Elizabeth Thompson, Sean O’Connor and Andrew MacDowell who have inspired my own passions and spirit to create this work.
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Chapter 1

The importance of global distribution and consumption in fully actualizing the creative voice: an analysis of the entertainment goods and services of West Africa

A work of art is a multifaceted entity. No matter what the medium, art is imbued not only with the identity of its creator, but also with a market value. In the vernacular of trade policy, works of art – opera, dance, music, theater, film and visual art – are known as “creative goods and services.” The goods and services within this category possess the remarkable ability to function both as symbols of a collective past full of heritage and meaning, and as commodities that can be marketed, sold and acquired. This dual nature lies at the heart of the discourse of the treatment of creative goods and services in the global marketplace, and how to best position these unique products for global consumption.

This work looks at the relationship between the global networks that circulate entertainment goods and services to the consumer and the creative producers from the developing world that are attempting to find access to these networks. The unique nature of these goods as both a tool of communication and a tool for economic development for the developing world deserves more inquiry. By engaging in a discussion of how circulation for these goods is being supported through various practices I aim to illustrate that the system of dependence on patronage networks is not sufficient for creative artists of the developing world who are seeking to gain access to
global consumption networks, and that global networks with market driven practices are the more efficient option. Further discussion of this relationship is important because creative products can work to strengthen developing nations economically and socially.

The interaction between entertainment goods and the consumer within the global market has expanded in the past few decades due in part to easier transmission from an increased number of communication platforms. In the film industry, the betamax cassette gave way to the VHS tape, which in turn has been replaced by the DVD, which now competes with Internet video. A similar evolution can be tracked in the music industry from the wax cylinder to the LP record, to the mp3. One might conclude that the increased capacity to consume entertainment goods from all over the globe would lead to a greater circulation of products from all over the globe, including the developing world. However, most of the creative goods circulating in the market are commodities produced and distributed by large multinational corporations based in Europe and the United States. These corporations control the networks that make up the entertainment industry and control information flows by allowing goods and services to be created, marketed and distributed to the consumer; this structure often stifles access to the network for creative producers from the developing world. Entertainment products created in the developing world, more often than not, without a global network because they do not have access to the distribution and marketing mechanisms facilitated by the controlling large multinational corporations. The result is that the creative producers of the developing world have a vastly reduced opportunity to interact in the international market that global networks make possible.
The purpose of my research is to investigate the degree to which global networks are providing opportunities for the production and distribution of entertainment products from the developing world. There are several scholars whose work I draw upon to gain a greater understanding of this relationship, most predominantly J.P. Singh whose research looks at the concepts of patronage networks and market-driven networks and how creative goods circulate in each of these spaces. 1 This work takes a closer look at how creative producers are granted access to festivals, a specific type of global networks to gain a better understanding of how networks that are supported by market mechanisms and investment from performance or product sales offer the most efficient processes for producing and distributing entertainment goods and services. The literature on circulation of entertainment products from the developing world reveals that support for these goods and services in the past has come in large part from international governmental support in the shape of various forms of funding. Such support leads creative producers from the developing world to take their focus away from the need to cultivate consumer interest. The result tends to be an end product that has little if any consumption either domestically or internationally. When creative producers construct work with the end goal of driving consumption this creates a focus on two important components of circulation. First, creating with

the consumer in mind means the work is more likely to be commercially viable, and thus have a
greater likelihood of global consumption. Second, the creation of products around consumer
driven practices also makes the cultivation of a stable entertainment industry, which is currently
non-existent in many developing nations, necessary.

Globalization in cinematic consumption leads to individual governments having less of a
communal claim on the cultural product of their citizens. David Throsby points to three trends
from the post-World War II period, which led to this paradigm shift. First, he observes that there
is an extremely diverse group of actors placing cultural products in front of consumers.
Individual nations are joined by international corporations which contain various arms of the film
and music world. Secondly, Throsby discusses the possibility that public-sector dominance over
cultural policy has slipped due to shrinking budgets for arts funding. This movement has lead to
dominance of private-sector production of cultural products. Throsby shows that cultural
industries have followed along with the same trends of deregulation, privatization and general
market liberalization.\(^2\) The third shift away from full government support in the arts can be linked
to the trends of globalization: increased mobility of capital, an increase in the number of
platforms on which to communicate and the growing interdependence of economies due to the
power of the world market. This move away from funding arts projects has negatively affected
certain sectors of the entertainment industry because such funding is the only way to produce
work in the many of these countries.

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In the developing world, the practice of reliance on governmental funding has come into being via the support of the ministries of culture of the former colonizing states, which grant aid packages to artists. This practice gradually established a relationship of dependence wherein artists are reliant on external financing for support instead of product revenues. The relationship between global networks and the support they give to entertainment products being created in the developing world determines the degree of access these products have to the consumer. If global networks are supported by market mechanisms, then the practices they foster are more efficient for global consumption than practices fostered by global networks that are structured around governmental support. On a practical level, this means the most efficient way of increasing these goods is to get them in front of the paying customer.

Finding a method for more efficient global consumption is important because around the world, groups of people derive their sense of unity and identity from the creative goods produced in their community. The larger the audience is, the stronger the feeling of global acceptance becomes. In this fashion the circulation of entertainment products provides a greater economic integration and increased social identity. By studying the relationship between global networks and their role in the circulation of entertainment goods and services of the developing world, my goal is to identify weaknesses in the practices which cause a breakdown in the production, distribution and
consumption cycle, as well as points of access that should be fostered in order to produce increased circulation of the entertainment products of the developing world.

When access to circulation in global markets is possible there is opportunity for increased economic growth from interaction on the international level. This interaction leads to increased exposure to the consumer. The more time that passes without efficient modes of access for these entertainment products, the greater the divide between the developed and developing world becomes. The creative producers of the developing world are in danger of being left behind in this era of increasingly globalized practices due to the lack of access to global markets. Diana Barrowclough and Zeljka Kozul-Wright explain the importance of this in the simplest of phrases: “being left out matters.”3 They elaborate on this basic premise by highlighting the importance of the creative industry in the larger, global, knowledge-networked economy. Participation in the creative economy gives rise to increased skills that can be translated into a variety of other industries. For example, an electrician who sets up the sound for a musical performance can in turn get a job preparing the audio visual set up for a visiting dignitary. This same skill can translate into a job assisting a news crew in reporting a story. These transferable skills are important in sustaining a flourishing economy. However, they must first be learned. The opportunity to learn new skills is lacking in most developing nations. These linkages reveal the importance of gaining stable access for entertainment goods and services in the market; it is the

first step in gaining greater economic stability. The creative goods and services of the developing world require infrastructure, such as recording studios and editing facilities that will provide a stronger foundation for distribution and circulation in these global knowledge networks. Further mechanisms such as developed marketing campaigns and knowledgeable, connected producers are also necessary if creative producers are to establish a presence in these global networks and remain competitive in the global marketplace.

Table 1.1 Trade Exports by level of income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recorded Media</td>
<td>Low-income</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>127.3</td>
<td>149.8</td>
<td>208.4</td>
<td>215.4</td>
<td>205.8</td>
<td>330.2</td>
<td>180.2</td>
<td>193.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower-middle-income</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>201.1</td>
<td>302.8</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>342.6</td>
<td>366.2</td>
<td>503.4</td>
<td>444.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper-middle-income</td>
<td>230.2</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>459.9</td>
<td>285.8</td>
<td>336.5</td>
<td>355.2</td>
<td>343.6</td>
<td>384.5</td>
<td>447.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High-income</td>
<td>12158.7</td>
<td>13453.3</td>
<td>14496.3</td>
<td>14950.9</td>
<td>14547.8</td>
<td>17610</td>
<td>18068</td>
<td>16869</td>
<td>17424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio-visual Media</td>
<td>Low-income</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower-middle-income</td>
<td>194.5</td>
<td>437.3</td>
<td>399.1</td>
<td>189.1</td>
<td>239.1</td>
<td>327.8</td>
<td>460.3</td>
<td>700.7</td>
<td>2295.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper-middle-income</td>
<td>126.9</td>
<td>227.6</td>
<td>304.3</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>201.7</td>
<td>161.8</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>532.9</td>
<td>1469.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High-income</td>
<td>1260.2</td>
<td>2306.7</td>
<td>2866.4</td>
<td>3547.2</td>
<td>3718.7</td>
<td>4819</td>
<td>2956</td>
<td>2961</td>
<td>3436.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 illustrates the increased importance of entertainment industries on various economies through data gathered by UNESCO on entertainment exports. The numbers reveal the large

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discrepancy between the abilities of the developed and the developing world to export their products. For the purposes of analysis this work focuses on a specific region of the developing world, West Africa, because the countries of this region are rich in entertainment goods and services that are trying to find a place within global networks in an effort to reach the market. The nations that make up this region include: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, & Togo.  

Table 1.2 gives a breakdown of music and film products being produced by this region. The figures are very low, but considered with the data set in Table 1.1 this table serves to illustrate the growth potential in the entertainment industry. According to a UNESCO report on international flows of cultural goods and services from 2005, Africa’s exports of cultural goods and services in 2002 was 0.4%. In the organization’s calculations this adds up to $206.2 million USD. This statistic reveals that there are creative producers working to find access via global networks. The same report shows that the share of recorded media from Africa being consumed is 19.8 million while the share of audiovisual (predominantly film) is 1.1 million. Here we see a disparity between mediums in finding access to global distribution mechanisms. The music industry is, in relative terms, thriving and the film industry is not. It is necessary to engage in further analysis.

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7 Ibid, 64.
of how global networks are and are not succeeding in getting entertainment goods to the global market in order to understand the disparity revealed in these figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exports in thousands of US $</th>
<th>Recorded media</th>
<th>Audiovisual media</th>
<th>Total core cultural goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>304.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>906.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1611.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>725.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>725.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>209.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Film and music will serve as our empirical examples within the entertainment industry. There is a large variety of creative goods coming out of the developing world including visual art, theater, dance, opera, ceramics, and crafts. Film and music are the most easily circulated thanks to the prolific nature of Information Communication Technologies. UNCTAD defines such goods as “downstream activities,” for they derive their value from low reproduction costs and easy transfer to other market platforms.\(^9\) These qualities make film and music products easily transmittable into global networks via current digital technology, which allows entertainment forms increased likelihood of placement in the global market. However such technology provides only one piece

\(^8\) Ibid, 57-59.
of the equation, for once these products find their way into the global market via the web they must still catch the eye of the consumer amongst the many choices that are available.

The rest of this chapter engages in the themes of the literature surrounding the relationship between global networks and entertainment products of the developing world. I begin with a discussion of the characteristics that make entertainment products unique as a tool for communication and economic development in the developing world. The second section looks at what the creative economy consists of and the developing world’s place in it. Section three and four elaborate on the global markets and the importance of entertainment products circulation within these markets for West African economic integration.

I. The Dual Nature of Entertainment Products

Entertainment goods and services possess unique characteristics that must be elucidated for proper understanding of how they function within global networks. Such goods are unusual because they are created by individuals; they represent the thoughts and ideas of their creator.10 The initial product is not the result of codified practices in mechanized production facilities. Instead, entertainment goods, as described by economist David Throsby, are “an extreme case of a non-homogenous commodity,” as their production requires human knowledge and creativity. This production process leads to a non-severable proprietary intellectual linkage between the final product and its creator.11 The intrinsic personal characteristics of these products make them a

10 Throsby, 123.
11 UNCTAD, 10.
viable vehicle for circulation of the thoughts and ideals of citizens within the communities of the developing world.

Throsby describes the dual nature of entertainment products by showing that they operate as both a narrative of a given heritage and as a commodity worthy of trade. Take a film as an example. The story can educate the viewer, but it is still a product that needs to be able to circulate through the cycle of production, distribution and consumption. A creative good is a durable private good, purchased and consumed by the individual consumer; however, the value of a creative good does go beyond the individual creator and consumer. Entertainment goods are also considered public because they speak of the society in which it was created. There are various categories of products and services that can be defined as an entertainment good or service: performing arts, films, video games. As a whole these goods and services function in a section of the economy that is referred to as the creative industries, which Barrowclough and Kozul-Wright describe as, “a set of interlocking sectors that produce symbolic goods and services which rely on creativity and knowledge more than other activities.” Creativity and knowledge are strictly human inputs; these inputs create the fundamental difference between the goods and services produced by the entertainment industries and those created in other industry. This role of the representation of creativity and knowledge is what makes entertainment goods and services such a powerful tool

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12 Throsby, 23.
13 Barrowclough and Kozul-Wright, 4.
for the developing world; they can function as both a mode of communication and as product to allow for economic development.

The emphasis on the importance of creativity and knowledge of entertainment products presents a problem with regard to their role in a commercial environment. The duality of creative goods has led to debate on how such goods should be treated in the global market. As Craig VanGrasstek observes, the inherent differences between the cultural and commercial perspectives on how art should be treated in the market are sociological and are based on questions of philosophy and aesthetics. While this is an important aspect of the debates on how creative goods ought to exist in global markets, for the purposes of this study, I will focus specifically on the economic life of an entertainment product within a larger discussion of the creative industry.

II. The Creative Economy

In 2002 Richard Florida asserted that, “today’s economy is fundamentally a creative economy.” His scholarship looks at the uses of knowledge driven sectors and their influence on the stability of the U.S. economy. Florida sees creativity as the driver of economic development, and his study of the flourishing creative economy in the U.S. gives some key indicators for how creativity can be used as a tool for economic development in the developing world. Florida identifies the

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new practices and institutions in place to support the creative economy. He terms these institutions as a whole the social structure of creativity: new systems of technology and entrepreneurship, new and more efficient models of production, a broad social cultural and geographical milieu conducive to all creativity. Florida cites Schumpeter’s scholarship on entrepreneurship when he discusses the significance of capital in the process of artistic creation. Capital flows to places that have a “well developed social structure of creativity.” The scholarship is helpful to this study as Florida explains that these centers of the creative economy attract practices of cross pollination, “by supporting lifestyle and cultural institutions it helps attract and stimulate those who create business and technology.” Another important aspect of strong creative centers is that they allow information to move through networks quickly, a practice that is helpful in sustaining thriving sectors of any industry. This point from Florida’s scholarship could be applied to the efforts of developing a creative economy within West Africa, a region that must reassess how policy practices have gotten them to the point where they are and how to move forward.

It is important that the government of these nations assess their relationship with more global networks in order to participate in practices of information sharing. It is the flow of information that concerns the study of the relationship between global networks and entertainment products from the developing world. The foundation of the research for this thesis draws extensively

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16 Florida, 48.
17 Ibid, 55.
upon data analysis from The United Nations Council on Trade and Development’s (UNCTAD’s) *Creative Economy Report* published in 2008. UNCTAD’s mission is to study the interaction of knowledge-based economies, in order to understand how they can affect the developing world.\(^{18}\)

According to UNCTAD, the *Creative Economy Report* is the first report that reflects the effort of multiple agencies: UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, WIPO and ITC. The goal of this “Multi-Agency Informal Dialogue Group” is threefold. First, the agency intends to explore the synergistic opportunities that arise from the trade of creative goods and services. By finding areas where cultural agencies can partner with one another, UNCTAD assists with greater access to various informational networks. Second, they seek to create greater policy coherence. This is an especially important goal in light of the debate over how creative goods and services ought to be treated in the global economy. UNCTAD’s third goal, which relates most directly to this thesis, is to enhance the impact of the creative economy and the resultant creative industries.\(^{19}\)

The *Creative Economy Report* presents the fact that the creative goods and services coming out of the developing world are an important economic variable that may be harnessed to produce greater economic prosperity.

UNCTAD identifies the creative economy as a possible tool for both economic prosperity through job creation and export earnings, and as a tool to represent a group’s social identity. The *Creative Economy Report* puts an emphasis on the importance of strong creative industries in the

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\(^{19}\) UNCTAD, *Creative Economy 3*. 
continued economic and social growth of the developing world. Within the creative industries there are a network of products, producers and locations which allow for flows of capital, knowledge and understanding.\textsuperscript{20} The actors in the industry run the gamut from individual artists to large multinational corporations, and make up a network within which knowledge is produced, marketed and consumed. It is this network that supports the circulation of entertainment goods and services, and it is with these actors and the practices they inspire that this thesis is concerned.

Once a cultural good has been produced, transmission is a vital component in the realization of market access. \textit{The Creative Economy Report} points out that the transmission of traditional knowledge from one generation to the next is what keeps each country’s forms of expression distinct. In his work studying international trade of cultural products, JP Singh speaks to the shift occurring in the developing world from modernity to globalization.\textsuperscript{21} He emphasizes the importance of technology and information networks in assisting artists from the developing world in transmission of their ideas onto a larger market. If developing nations were to enjoy greater ease of access to the global networks, then transmission would become not just locally but globally possible.\textsuperscript{22} If allowing the people of the developing world to continue in their tradition of story-telling through music and film is the goal, then the obstacles to efficient circulation in global networks must be addressed.

\textsuperscript{20} Throsby, 111.
\textsuperscript{22} UNCTAD, \textit{Creative Economy} 38.
The literature reveals, in developing nations, the industrial cycle of production, distribution and consumption tends to be riddled with debilitating gaps. An example of this would be the musician in Senegal who creates an album’s worth of songs, but is hindered by the reality that he has no means of producing a recording within his homeland because there are no recording facilities, engineers or editors. If he is lucky, he might gather enough funding to go to Europe and record in a studio there. The end result would be a product that assists the economy of the country where it was created. None of the linkages which go along with circulating this music such as increased revenue and job stability filter back to the artist’s homeland. This type of creative flight is detrimental to the developing world, as these economies lose the opportunity to take part in the cycle of the creative economy that would increase economic stability.

The UNCTAD research pinpoints several reasons for the continued existence of this obstacle to market access for entertainment products into the global marketplace: a lack of the skills needed to move products from creation to distribution; a lack of investment due to low interest levels and poverty on the national level; and an inadequate infrastructure to support growth of the creative industry. These endemic problems within regional industry networks prevent entertainment products from winning access to the general market. The lack of opportunity to compete means that only those creators who have the ability to travel to the developed world benefit from the

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23 UNCTAD, Creative Economy, 40.
larger knowledge network, and this practice leaves developing nations with one less opportunity for economic growth.

III. The Role of Government Support in the Growth of Entertainment Products from the Developing World

Governments get involved in cultural policy as a means of either establishing or securing some notion of national identity. Policies and practices are put into place in order to foster a sense of unity amongst communities and citizens. Examples of common practices include parades and concerts. I have already touched upon the idea that cultural products are a part of a larger communal identity of a society. Entertainment products are infused with the symbols of identity: the traditions, heritage and mores of a given group. In the past foreign aid has been granted in order to sustain the creative producer’s ability to produce these important mediums of self-expression and shared identity. Tyler Cowen has pointed out in his scholarship that such government patronage networks are not necessarily bad; however problems do arise when as an artist’s livelihood becomes too contingent on one patron. This is what has tended to happen in the case of West African creative producers and patron networks.

Under the right conditions, governmental involvement can foster an increased production of entertainment goods. The difficulty with such government assistance is that it often comes in the form of anti-competitive measures, such as grant subsidies and quotas. Too often, when countries

24 Throsby, 142.
of the developed world deploy their power through financial assistance to artists in the developing world it has created bottlenecks within these nations. An entertainment industry does not have a chance to develop when only one aspect of its framework is supported. Additionally, when creative producers are able to receive governmental subsidy without being required to produce a marketable good then innovation is stifled. Once the desire to innovate is dis-incentivized, there is no driving force to create an efficient system of production and distribution within the economies of the developing world. There is a very different audience when a producer is supported by governmental assistance, for in this instance the consumer is a nation-state which embodies certain ideals and concepts that affect the knowledge and creativity imbued in the work of art.

Since independence from colonial rule, many developing nations have struggled with how to enact functioning cultural policies. In his research on the evolution of cultural policy in the developing world, JP Singh reveals that these states’ continual lack of resources to assist artists in their creations has resulted in a stagnation of their cultural growth.26 Singh’s research describes the state’s attitude toward culture as that of an indigenous tradition, an area of society that would continue to create without the need for policy to support its production. Such framing caused creative industries to be marginalized in lieu of greater support in agriculture and industry. In the government’s focus on modernization policies in the areas of science and technology, culture was

26 Singh, 44.
There has been a shift on this policy stance in more recent years due to what Singh terms societal and international pressures. He cites market-driven measures, such as tax incentives in Argentina, Mexico and Korea’s film industries that were implemented after the failure of other policy initiatives in other sectors to increase economic growth. In his final analysis of the domestic policy of these nations, Singh points out that much work still needs to be done to further these policies, and he points to the need for consultation with cultural industry organizations for continued growth. Here he hits on a very subtle policy nuance. In order for governmental policy to be effective it must be drafted in conjunction with practitioners within the industry. International aid is ineffective and causes stagnation when it solely facilitates aid and does not take into consideration the entirety of the entertainment industry.

The French government has been one of the most active in its mission to fund entertainment products in the hope that such funding will bolster French identity. It has focused efforts on the implementation of subsidies for the entertainment industry in the hope of providing for the continued existence of French language cinema. Subsidies such as Automatic Support were meant to support the creation of films created by reputable directors while the Advance-on-Receipt system was designed to assist burgeoning film makers. Both of these policy measures

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27 Ibid, 45.
28 Singh, 48.
were set-up to assist in production, but in the long term, the policy stifled innovation and created a system in which artists could be rewarded for delivering bland, derivative products.

Teresa Hoefort de Turégano’s analysis of the French government’s provision of funds to assist in the creation of film in Burkina Faso reveals the ineffectual nature of this practice. Foreign assistance did not alleviate the lack of capital in the entire industry, nor did it address the lack of job training in necessary technical fields, nor support infrastructure development. In his deliberations on cultural policy, David Throsby posits that government intervention would only be valid under the condition that the “social benefits gained from the intervention would outweigh the direct costs involved, in comparison to alternative means of achieving the same ends.”30 In the developing world, continual governmental support from countries like France and later the EU has not assisted in alleviating any of the endemic economic issues that plague the entertainment industry. Entertainment goods and services from the developing world are continuing to suffer from a lack of industry, which would allow for placement into the global market and a consumer base.

IV. The Role of Global Markets in the Flow of Entertainment Goods

For the purposes of the thesis we are grounding much of the theory in the work on Tyler Cowen who has utilized his expertise in economics to draw conclusions about the production of entertainment goods and services. He defines the term market to denote the area of voluntary

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30 Throsby, 140.
exchange. In his work In Praise of Commercial Culture he gives us an excellent example of a market supported network, the theater system in Elizabethan England where the work of Shakespeare was performed in a for profit theater funded by ticket receipts. Markets are the mechanisms which allow for an efficient flow of goods from producer to consumer. A market structure addresses the economic concerns brought up by both Throsby and de Turégano. When functioning properly a market keeps capital flowing through the nodes of an industry. As capital increases, the skilled labor force increases and the infrastructure of an industry is fortified. All of these components are necessary to increase the capacity for the production, distribution and consumption of more goods and services. The market system allows the most targeted competitive and interesting goods and services to be consumed. When a producer is focused on the market for support he or she must constantly be thinking of their audience, the consumer.

In Creative Destruction, Tyler Cowen is interested in what freedom the market allows for the circulation of creative goods. In setting out to understand how and where such freedom exists, he pursues the question, “are market exchanges and aesthetic qualities allies or enemies?” The task of codifying a mode of exchange for someone’s creative thoughts and identity is problematic, but as the trends of globalization increasingly drive the evolution of cultural identities, and thus creative products, it is increasingly necessary for an open market system to exist for efficient circulation. The open market provides an unbiased platform on which to place

31 Cowen, In Praise 3.
32 Ibid, 19.
33 Cowen, Creative Destruction 5.
these unique products, allowing them to be consumed by the largest number of people. Increased market access will allow the creators of entertainment goods more opportunity for contact with the network of industry professionals within the creative economy who are participating in the circulation of knowledge. Such interaction means increased dialogue, which tends to lead to increased knowledge of the processes of efficient creation, increased technical skills, and innovation all resulting in a more productive entertainment industry.

According to Cowen, open international markets are good because trade under such conditions makes countries richer in both material and cultural terms. He posits that global markets can only gain from the addition of entertainment goods of the developing world, or what he calls, “broad menu choice.” He sees open market trading as an opportunity to increase diversity on a global scale, thus bringing about the necessary acceleration of society along the path to a changed global environment. Cowen establishes a causal link between mass marketing and the growth of niche markets by showing how the former creates a space for the latter to flourish.34 If his hypothesis is valid, then increased flows of entertainment products from an increasing number of developing markets will lay the foundation for a greater niche market for entertainment products from the developing world. Cowen also points out that the market system forces the creative producers to be in dialogue with the consumer in a process of want refinement. Such a practice allows both sides of the voluntary exchange to participate.35

34 Cowen, Creative Destruction 16.
David Throsby explores the relationship between how artists from the developing world gain access to global markets? He situates his answer in the power of niche markets such as the “world music” category. Throsby agrees with Cowen’s notion that the open market system provides more choice, and allows for a greater opportunity for the cultural differentiation of entertainment products.\(^\text{36}\) In addition to the power of niche markets, Throsby emphasizes the need for creators of entertainment goods from the developing world to establish relationships with transnational corporation, which hold a large part of the power in the industry.\(^\text{37}\) By establishing linkages with these corporations individual creators are able to gain some access to distribution and production on a global level.

Throsby presents the transnational corporations’ dominance of the market as the individual artist’s greatest barrier to entry.\(^\text{38}\) There is a high level of difficulty for an individual producing work in Africa to gain notice from these transnational corporations. When an artist of the developing world finds him or herself stuck without a strong entertainment industry at home, with no means for the efficient circulation of his or her entertainment product at home or abroad, the circulation chain is broken. Establishing a relationship with a producer already working within the structure of the global network is a first step toward market access. A transnational corporation is the most important producer in the global network of the entertainment industry;

\(^{36}\) Throsby, 147.
\(^{37}\) Throsby, 127.
\(^{38}\) Ibid, 128.
these organizations rule the informational flows within the industry and throughout a variety of secondary industries. As such, they dictate much of what is available to the consumer for purchase. The small number of very powerful international corporations interacts with a large pool of micro-enterprises and individual artists. This network of actors allows for information to be disseminated through knowledge networks, but it also establishes a highly competitive market where much of the power is concentrated in the hands of a few organizations.39

The behavior of the entertainment market produces a few patterns which may provide greater market access to artists of the developing world. The first pattern of note, as observed by Allan Scott and reiterated in the UNCTAD report, is that the organizational and operational particularities of competing in the market lead to creative “clustering”. In the trend of clustering, there is a point of possible access for entertainment products from the developing world to be distributed and consumed.40 The Creative Economy Report discusses the trend of creative industry communities being formed in various locations around the globe. Actors within the same network are now more easily accessible to one another, which allows for a more efficient exchange of knowledge and skills. UNCTAD’s research posits that proximity drives standards and increases the likelihood that a film or album will be completed, as small independent producers come together in temporary alliances. The clustering trend also encourages the collaboration and diffusion of best practices, and increases the chance for inflows of outside

39 UNCTAD, Creative Economy 62.
40 UNCTAD, Creative Economy 65.
The concept of clustering addresses many of the issues concerning the stunted business cycle that now plagues the entertainment industry in the developing world.

The second trend that may assist in access is the increased availability of Internet Communications Technologies (ICTs). The UNCTAD report sees ICTs as the purest means for artists to access global markets, as this technology provides a means of communication and transmission without the need for intermediaries. The constant changing of the media landscape, which ICTs facilitate, allows consumers to find new products in a convenient manner. As the number of distribution channels and platforms grow, the global marketplace can allow a larger amount of supply to circulate which under ideal circumstances generate an increasing demand for creative content from all over the globe. The barrier to the implementation of the practice of using technology for circulation of entertainment goods and services is that it does not guarantee that consumers will pay for the work which they view and download from the Internet.

In this research I place myself near the work of Cowen and Throsby. As Cowen aptly states, “Rather than comparing the market for art to a Platonic alternative, I seek to uncover the social mechanisms that encourage and discourage creative artistic achievement and therefore shed light

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41 Ibid, 67.
42 Ibid, 6.
43 UNCTAD Creative Economy, 22.
It is within the space set up by these two economists that I will explore the relationship between the global networks and the creative producers of West Africa.

V. Methodology

The treatment of cultural products in the global market creates a problem for scholars searching for opportunities for the developing world within a commercial context. In his literature on the subject, Craig VanGrasstek refers to an open market for cultural products as a double-edged sword, because while such markets do allow for an increased opportunity to export products they also crowd local markets with products from overseas. The next two chapters of this research study will look at cases where various types of support have provided film and music from Western Africa with access to open markets, thus creating an opportunity for creative voices to be heard in the global arena. The research study will focus on the countries of West Africa and their continual struggle to find a place for entertainment products that are not only lacking access to global consumption networks, but are not supported through an entertainment industry at home. The ultimate goal is for this industry to be established within these nations to allow entertainment goods and services an opportunity to be consistently consumed within the countries of West Africa and abroad, thus allowing the thoughts and ideas of artists in the developing world to be heard.

44 Cowen, In Praise.
This work sets out to analyze the relationships between global networks, which facilitate the flow of goods and services onto the market, and the access of entertainment goods and services of the developing world, products that are in search of a consumer. Global entertainment industries function within these networks to provide the structure for distribution of information, goods and services between creator and consumer; they vary according to what producers and consumers within each network. This work focuses on how these global networks function under varying types of support. In some instances the networks are supported by market mechanisms while others are supported by government subsidy.

The dependent variable being examined in this research is the global consumption of entertainment goods and services from the developing world; specifically the film and music of West Africa. Through empirical analysis, I will attempt to present a description of those conditions under which proper access to global markets provide entertainment goods and services with greater opportunity than simple governmental support systems provide. Through the method of structured focused comparison, this thesis endeavors to show the variation on the independent variable, global networks and their relationship to global consumption. The creation of a reliable consumer base will increase demand. An increase in demand will create an opportunity to increase the supply of these goods and services, which will in turn present an opportunity to create institutions within developing nations to support entertainment industries. These market-driven flows of supply and demand allow for greater opportunity for creative producers from the
developing world to gain access to efficient distribution and consumption mechanisms than governmental support can provide. When an entertainment good relies on practices of governmental support, the opportunity for the creator to become ambivalent toward the consumer arises. With subsidies, the government becomes the proxy consumer. In the long run such subsidy does not bring about creativity or innovation and it does not cultivate the entertainment industry within the developing world. Due to the intellectual property characteristic mentioned in section two, entertainment goods and services vary, in content and in quality. This means that no matter which mechanisms assist in the circulation of entertainment goods in the global market (be they governmental support or the market mechanisms) some products will be more successful at finding an audience than others. Entertainment products created under the auspices of governmental subsidy are influenced by the creator and the funders while entertainment products created with the global market in mind are informed by contemporary tastes and trends.

There are a variety of methods that could be employed in pursuing my research question of why market focused networks allow for greater opportunities of global distribution for entertainment goods and services from the developing world than governmental funding allows. In order to determine the proper method, I look to Harry Eckstein’s literature on political science research design, describing several options for the pursuit of a social science experiment.
According to Eckstein, there are experimental studies and clinical studies.\textsuperscript{45} In an experimental study, a political scientist has a tightly constructed research design with a set number of cases which are intended to reveal a relationship between two separate entities. The end goal of experimental studies is increased generalized knowledge on the area being examined. In my research, these two entities are global networks and increasing production and distribution of entertainment products from the developing world. The focus of this research is to examine how these two entities are interacting through specific cases, allowing us to determine the strengths and weaknesses of governmental supported market focused networks.

The other type of study that Eckstein puts forth is the clinical study, which is much more open-ended due to its goal of attempting to capture a whole entity and not just generalized knowledge. The purpose of a clinical study is to be diagnostic.\textsuperscript{46} A clinical study looks to fix a particular issue; or as Eckstein explains, its goal is to capture the whole individual. As this research study is experimental, it makes no claims to find an ultimate solution for efficient access of entertainment goods and services from the developing world onto the open market. There are too many intervening variables to seek an ultimate prescriptive goal. This analysis focuses on describing the variation of the independent variable, the global network, to develop a keener understanding of their relationship with circulation of entertainment products.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 82.
Within an experimental study there are a variety of methods a political scientist can employ to bring about increased understanding of the relationship between two variables. Alexander George takes Eckstein’s work and elaborates on it by stating that, “many political scientists believe that a variety of methods, qualitative as well as quantitative must be employed in developing knowledge and theory.” George adds to Eckstein’s list of possible studies with the single case study and the controlled comparison methods. In the single case study the researcher focuses on one case in order to validate his or her hypothesis. This method is difficult to apply to the hypothesis of my research project because singular case which will not completely illustrate the posited hypothesis. This research design employs the method of controlled comparison which takes a small, limited number of cases in which the researcher can apply his or her hypothesis to reveal how the relationship between the two variables plays out. The advantages of this method, as George points out, are the opportunity to work intensely instead of getting overwhelmed in attempting to control copious amounts of data that comes with a large number of cases, and the method allows the researcher to be “less dependent on data that the researcher does not understand.”

47 Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett “Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused, Comparison” Case studies and theory development in the social sciences (Boston: MIT Press, 2005) 44.
48 Ibid, 49.
49 George, 50.
The structured, focused comparison which this thesis employs holds the dependent variable, global consumption constant and looks at instances of variations in the independent variable, networks. This method looks at the variation in the explanatory factor in this case global networks supported by patronage versus global networks supported by markets. This is the chosen method because it provides certain guiding principles which allow me to illustrate measureable and observable evidence to validate my hypothesis. According to George, the method of structured focused comparison is an instance, “where features of the historian’s methodology for intensive, detailed explanation of the single case are combined with aspects of the political scientist’s conception of the requirements for theory and his procedures for scientific inquiry.”\(^{50}\) As such the method requires the practitioner a number of cases in which the dependent variable remains fixed while the independent variable varies. This will allow the researcher to develop a frame of inquiry. In this work the frame is structures of support within global networks. The research is determined to be focused because it only looks at the support of a small group of cases selected by the researcher. In each case I have developed a specific set of questions which are intended to provide the structure of inquiry within each case.\(^{51}\)

Chapters 2 and 3 will present three cases, each of which will show how various global networks, those with governmental support and those with market practices, allow for differing levels of success in the consumption of entertainment goods and services from the developing world. This structured, focused comparison will test my hypothesis that entertainment goods and services

\(^{50}\) Ibid, 61.

\(^{51}\) Ibid, 62.
supported by mechanisms focused upon the market have better access to global networks by
examining cases where the independent variable, global networks varies according to support.
This research design is guided by Eckstein’s understanding that, “comparative study is simply the
study of numerous cases along the same lines, with a view to reporting and interpreting numerous
measures on the same variables of different ‘individuals.’”52

The argument, set forth in this chapter, is that global networks sustained by governmental support
do not tend to produce the most efficient processes for the production and distribution of
entertainment goods and services from the developing world. To elucidate this argument, I will
deploy the structured focused comparison method in which my cases will be various types of
global networks that each interact with my dependent variable, global consumption of
entertainment products from the developing world. The aim is to illustrate the measurable
outputs and observable instances in which entertainment goods are supported through
governmental policy and other instances where these goods are supported through mechanisms of
the open market.

The festival, a microcosm of the entertainment industry, represents an instance of a global
network; these events create a temporal space which brings together creators, producers, and
consumers. At a festival, the consumer does not consume a singular entertainment good or
service; instead they are given access to twenty or more. The goods and services being presented

52 Eckstein, 85.
within the festival environment are able to function in the dual capacity as both object of thought and identity and as commodity. Festivals have been codified over time to function in a specific manner within the entertainment industry. Each serves a different audience, and as such they function as a niche market for a given medium in the creative industry. The art world has Basel, the theater world has Edinburgh, the Opera world Spoletto; however the basic point is the same, to showcase work that will allow the art form to continue to be important. Such a platform provides an excellent opportunity to expose consumers to new artistic voices from the developing world.

How do these festivals make reliable consumers out of the festival goers? What happens to the circulation of these entertainment goods and services once they are shown in this context? Chapter 2 analyzes the film festivals, le Festival de Cannes and le Festival Panafricain du Cinéma et de la Télévision de Ouagadougou (Fespaco). These festivals represent cases of global networks supported by the French government. In Chapter 3, the World of Music Art and Dance (Womad) is examined to see how market support is at play in the increased consumption of music from the developing world. Womad is a festival focused on the cultivation of a relationship between the artists of the developing world and the consumer.

By engaging in the structured focused comparison method, this thesis study will elucidate further details in the relationship between global networks and the entertainment products of the
developing world. Through an analysis of measurable outputs of each case, I intend to identify a positive relationship between global networks supported by market driven mechanisms and the increased circulation of entertainment products from the developing world. The goal is to show how open markets are providing the most efficient means of access to international cultural goods and services. The cases set forth in the following two chapters will provide detail as to the dynamics at play in this vital and varying relationship.

Festivals are only one example of a market where entertainment goods and services are circulated. As Cohen suggests, “different types of markets have shaped the arts in radically different ways.”\(^{53}\) Markets are constructions of consumers’ demands for certain products; if a good or service was not in demand then there is no necessity for the market. Since it is not possible for one market to properly circulate all goods and services, niche markets are developed that allow different varieties of goods and services to be grouped together for consumers to consume as efficiently as possible. Tyler Cowen establishes a causal link between mass marketing and the growth of niche markets by showing how the former creates a space for the latter to flourish.\(^{54}\) Mass marketing of pop music via large stadium concerts has fed the consuming public’s appetite to find other alternatives. As globalization brings a normative “pop” music to the market there is also a place created for more unique sound, or as Cowen puts it, “growing diversity brings us more of many different things, which includes more mass culture as

\(^{53}\) Cowen, *In Praise* 3.

\(^{54}\) Cowen, *Creative Destruction* 16.
well.” If Cowen’s hypothesis is valid, then increased flows of entertainment products from the developing world creates diversity; a trend that works in conjunction with the homogenization of the entertainment market. It is the festival that creates market heterogenization by bringing together a variety of artistic products and creating a space for their display. The festival is a microcosm of the market place; it showcases creation, distribution and consumption within one space.

Each type of marketplace develops unique conditions and characteristics. In the case of the festival, uniqueness comes from the various forms of creative goods and services available for consumption within a set time frame. This temporal construct creates a scarcity that adds an increased buzz to the marketing campaign. Another unique characteristic is that the festival allows the consumer to choose his or her level of involvement within the festival environment. He or she could buy a ticket for one day, or multiple days. Other points of consumption available run the gamut from goods to take home in the form of t-shirts, recordings and various memorabilia to items consumed within the festival environment namely food and beverages. There are many sets, plays or films taken in; a consumer could view one or twenty. The practice of having several stages of work happening at one time means that a festivalgoer will inevitably stumble onto a new artist. This structure allows for the most important aspect of how festivals can assist for circulation of creative goods from the developing world. The festival allows for chance encounters. Additionally, the festival functions as a space where merely showing up
constitutes an act of support. People attend these markets to be part of a larger fan culture that is interested in supporting the art being created.

VI. Conclusion

An individual’s personal creative agency is not sufficient to generate momentum of movement for his or her creative goods into the marketplace. The individual needs to find points of access within the existing network to allow for proper distribution of his or her creative energy. At this stage, entertainment goods and service are among the most expressive and powerful tools available to the citizens of the developing world in their quest to increase the strength of their respective nation-states through economic and social reform. ICTs have allowed for some access to the global market for these goods and services, but as of yet there is no consistency to the presence of these goods and services on the global market. Further analysis of the government funded arts production and creative goods circulation in market-oriented global networks will reveal that both have positive influences on creative industries which allow opportunities for creative voice to be heard and both systems have draw backs that restrict access of cultural voice in the global arena. In the final analysis, global consumption is a better option for these goods and services because it allows for two very important development practices to occur. First it forces creative producers to remain innovative and engaged in his or her field in order to sustain a relationship with the consumer base. Secondly, consumer consumption allows for increased capital which leads to increased economic stability.
Chapter 2:

The Influence of Governmental Support in Global Networks:
The cases of le Festival du Cannes and FESPACO

The trends in globalization are providing an expanding population of the globe with opportunities to communicate via the Internet and a variety of digital media devices. People conduct business, take courses and even date via services available online. However, it is still the case that the best way to foster understanding and increased learning is through personal contact. The experiential nature of entertainment products follows the same logic; the best way to create increased interest in consumption is through direct consumer interaction. Film festivals provide an opportunity for an experiential encounter between product and consumer. This chapter looks at these particular instances of global networks through the lens of outside governmental support in an effort to gain further understanding of how festivals allow for increased global circulation of products from the developing world. It is my argument that networks that are supported through foreign aid are more constraining than those which function using market-oriented practices.

The question guiding this research project is, how are global networks providing opportunities for the production and distribution of entertainment products from the developing world? In order to gain a greater understanding of this relationship I am using a method of structured focused comparison to observe two instances of global networks: le Festival de Cannes and FESPACO. These instances of global networks constrain global consumption by not providing efficient distribution mechanisms for films from the developing world. In each case the festival provides a
place to display the work, but does not assist in the distribution or marketing of the product. This results in an insufficient consumer base and thus non-existent revenue to reinvest in the industry. Both le Festival de Cannes and FESPACO are financed by governmental support, mainly coming from France. The chapter begins with a review of the history of cinema in West Africa that discusses the evolution of film in the region. This historical overview illustrates the struggle that the countries of the region have in their attempts to establish circulation mechanisms. The second section will engage in a discussion of how the influence of foreign aid has affected the ability to distribute the work. The chapter then moves on to discuss the two case studies in turn, starting with Cannes, an international festival that provides an opportunity for global exposure, and then moving on to FESPACO, an instance of a network created to showcase the film of a specific region. Each section touches upon the main theme of this chapter: that governmental support has hindered the ability for an entire film industry to be established in Western Africa. In order for this region to effectively circulate its films both regionally and internationally the role of governmental aid must be repositioned.

Messerlin and Cocq provide a potentially relevant indicator: they suppose that quality cinema rests on the postulate that it should be appreciated according to the virtues of a transnational recognition system, by professionals and critics of all nationalities. According to this standard, a good indicator of the quality of a film would be its capacity to stand out in the list of prize-
This chapter will show that international recognition at festivals does not provide for the access necessary to increase awareness of African cinema. The films of West Africa have been recognized by international festivals for several decades now, but this recognition does not create stronger systems of production on the national level. Thus, the barriers to entry remain in place. The film festival is more of a celebration than a marketplace. These types of global networks do not create practices which are tailored to attracting consumers; they are rather a celebration of the creative producers. As such, these global networks fall short of creating a space where film products from West Africa can find increased circulation.

This chapter attempts to illustrate the relationship between the governmentally supported networks that circulate these films, and the lack of distribution mechanisms within the region. Within this context I hope to illustrate that due to the presence of foreign aid to subsidize production the creative producers are making products without a consumer in mind. Due to the existence of outside support and ignore the lack of infrastructure, local governments are not putting their policy focus on creating a producing industry within West Africa. Instead they allow much of the work to be outsourced to foreign nations. This has lead to market failure for the film industry within West Africa. There are few cinemas left in Africa; those that do exist tend to show films from America and Hong Kong. Additionally, the ticket prices are too high for

many Africans. Video is a much more popular form of entertainment; but most of that content is from overseas as well. There is little consumer base within Western Africa to purchase the films being created by West African directors.

The directors are shooting for an audience that understands this region’s aesthetic. All of these characteristics mean that the end product is less marketable; for there is very little demand either at home or abroad. The directors use film as a vehicle for showing African identity, including social structures and rituals that are foreign to the eye of the international consumer. The use of myth, storytelling and mysticism are common tropes. The international circulation of the product is mainly in art house cinemas, film festivals, and amongst West Africans living abroad. Foreign aid subsidy does not address any of these issues causing inefficiency in the entertainment products.

I. Beyond Ethnography: the History of West African Film

“African film-making is in a way a child of African political independence. It was born in the era of heady nationalism and nationalist anti-colonial struggle, and it has been undergoing a process of painful growth and development in the postcolonial context of general socio-economic decay and decline, devaluation.” Mbye Cham, 1996

The art of the cinema is dying in West African because of the lack of a consumer base. There are few cinemas. Where they do exist, there are very few people interested in watching a screening

of an African film. Imports from the US, Japan, India and China are much more popular. Unlike film producing countries like the US and those in the European Union, African governments do not have the ability to imposed film import quotas on their trade partners; the blockbusters from Hollywood are very stiff competition57. There are several socio-economic factors at play in this region, which make the circulation of work from local directors difficult. Pierre Suavé discusses this in his introduction to a UNESCO report on audio visual diffusion in the South. He cites low to non-existent income levels for consumption, coupled with low literacy rates, irregular streams of electricity, and lack of functional equipment and facilities as factors that have lead to a stagnant industry.58 However, West Africa is also the home of FESPACO, the biggest film festival in Africa, an event that is highly anticipated and grandly celebrated. This section reviews the tension between the African film industry and the consumers of West Africa to garner a better understanding of the role foreign aid plays in the continuation of this dysfunctional relationship.

The history of West African cinema begins with the end of colonial rule. Prior to the late 1950s, there was little evidence of African directors working in the medium; instead film in Africa was a European construction. Documentary filmmakers traveled to these nations to capture a visual ethnography of the people. Meanwhile, aspiring African directors traveled to Europe (mainly Paris) to study film and the practice of film creation. During the colonial period, the French government protected their role in the film sector with the creation of the Laval Decree of 1934, which required anyone shooting a film in the French-occupied nations of Africa to get script

approval from the French government prior to production.\textsuperscript{59} The prominent director Jean Rouch noted that the rule, “served as a pretext to deny young Africans, judged to be too turbulent by the colonial administration, the right to film their own countries.”\textsuperscript{60} One African filmmaker who applied for such permission and was rejected was Paulin Vieyra the first African graduate of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinématographiques (IDHEC), a film academy in Paris.\textsuperscript{61} After being denied the opportunity to work in his homeland, Vieyra created his film \textit{Afrique-sur-Seine} in Paris using French crews, actors and production facilities. Here one can see the beginning of a trend of control between the French government and the creative producers of West Africa. The French government was willing to support the creative producers’ growth as directors, but it was to be on the terms and conditions set up by the French government.

According to David Murphy, films that tend to be classified as “African cinema” grew out of the anti-colonial sentiments of the struggle after the end of occupation. Burkina Faso is the “de facto” leader of cinema in the region because of its ownership of FESPACO. The country nationalized the film industry in the 1970s in an attempt to reign in control from Europe. First, legislation called the Société Nationale Voltaïque du Cinéma (SONAVOCI) was enacted to organize theaters is support of national production.\textsuperscript{62} The state created a film company called the Société nationale de cinéma du Burkina (SONACIM) which was supposed to transfer 15\% of its

\textsuperscript{59} Murphy and Williams, 12.
\textsuperscript{60} Diawara, 22.
\textsuperscript{61} Murphy and Williams, 12.
\textsuperscript{62} Diawara, 69.
box office receipts to the “Fund for the Promotion and Extension of Cinematographic Activity, a
fund that supported production of films and equipment for the film division. The fund worked
in its efforts to sustain a small film industry; however, in the late 1990s SONACIB was not able
to support the Fund any longer due to declining ticket sales. According to the UNESCO study on
the audio visual sector of the region, between 1992-2002, seventeen films were created in
Burkina Faso. This is noteworthy when you consider the country’s placement on the UN’s
Least Developed list. Olivier Barlet reveals that, “up until 2003, most cinemas in Burkina Faso
were managed by state-owned company, SONACIB” which hit its peak in 1995 with 3.5
million tickets sold to a population of 10 million. Liquidation happened in 2003 after the
company created a 3 million euro deficit. Barlet blames the increased circulation of pirated video
on the decline of cinema attendance and the subsequent demise of SONACIB.

The Burkina government has entered into several bilateral film agreements in order to continue
working in the medium of film. In 1991 there was an agreement drawn up with France to allow
Burkina directors to apply for French aid in the form of advance on receipts. Additionally,
Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and Belgium give aid specifically targeted to support Fespaco.

63 Olivier Barlet, “Trends in Audiovisual Markets: Perspectives from Africa. Burkina Faso, Nigeria and
64 Cocq, 65.
65 UN Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries 10 Feb 2009, The United
66 Barlet, 251.
67 Ibid, 262
68 Ibid, 262
This aid has assisted in the creation of work that should make the citizens of Burkina Faso proud. Directors of note from the country include Gaston Kaboré, Idrissa Ouedraogo and Pierre Yameogo. According to scholarship by Denise Brahimi, there is a definitive aesthetic that shapes the Burkinabè School in that they share a common vision and portray common themes such as origin myths, village life and exclusion.69

According to Lieve Spaas’ study on the role of film in francophone Africa, Senegal was the first country in the region to gain international attention for producing films. The most prolific director from the country is Ousmane Sembene, whose 1963 film Borom Sarret won an award at the International Film Festival in Tours.70 Spaas points out that Sembene uses the medium of film to expose power struggles between the government, dominated by the West, and the African people. In 1988, Sembene was able to get enough financing within Senegal, Tunisia and Algeria to create a work outside of the French government’s influence. The work was called Camp de Thiaroye. It served as a commentary on France’s oppressive presence in the nation. Other Senegalese directors of note who have participated in either le Festival de Cannes or FESPACO include Paulin Vieyra, Safi Faye, Djibril Diop Mambety, Moussa Touré. In Senegal there is the “Media Centre de Dakar”, which trains six men and six women each year, financed by the Norwegian NGO Forut. Professionals working in Senegal are organized into associations: Associated Film Makers (CINESEAS), National Union of Senegal’s Cinema Exhibitors

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70 Spaas, 172.
(UNECS), both are under the Directorate for Cinematography which is under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture.\textsuperscript{71}

The trade of developing and distributing home grown films on cassette has begun to develop in Senegal. According to Olivier Barlet, the, “domestic video is the latest brainwave of Senegalese consumers and it sells well at the national level.”\textsuperscript{72} The distribution structure of cinema has been taken over by private entities within Senegal, which, according to Barlet lack the ability to pay staff and maintain the facilities. The African Cinemas program financed by the AIF, EU and French CNC have attempted to aid in the resurrection of cinemas in Dakar, yet there is little internal production to speak of and most of the films made in Africa are owned by European and American distribution companies. In order for cinema owners to show African films they must buy them as part of a bundle. This practice of block booking was outlawed as an unfair business practice in the US decades ago, but still persists in Africa. If cinema owners wanted to display more African film they could not because they are forced to show all the films in a purchased block, all of varying quality. In Senegal the number of cinemas has dropped from 75 in 1970s to approximately 15 in 2005.\textsuperscript{73} Poor quality and high ticket costs have led the public’s interest in cinema to dissipate.

\textsuperscript{71} Barlet, 237.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, 238.
\textsuperscript{73} Barlet, 238.
The country of Mali served as the location for the early documentaries on Africa shot by well
known European directors such as Jean Rouch, Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen. Malian
film-makers are currently supported by Centre National de la Production Cinématographique au
Mali. Malian directors who have participated in Cannes or FESPACO include Souleymane
Cissé, Chieck Oumar Sissoko, and Adamo Drabo. All are working in the medium of film as a
form of identity formation. In the work of these directors one can see the striving to create a
cohesive portrait of African life. Cissé confirms this statement when he declares that, “all
African film-makers have the duty to transfer on to the screen the African way of life which has
practically been banned from the international screen.”

Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes (FEPACI) created, in 1969, as a non-governmental
organization to bring African film-makers from around the continent together. The mission was
to unite and use film as a tool for the liberation of the colonized countries. Manthia Diawara
credits the organization with the creation of national film centers in West Africa, as well as
setting up the African film distribution network (CIDIC) and the production company
(CIPROFILM) and the creation of FESPACO.

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74 Spaas, 191.
75 Ibid, 192.
76 Ibid, 130.
Until the late 1990s, Francophone Africa was the dominant presence in African film making largely due to the influence of French culture ministries.\(^{77}\) In a 2008 UNCTAD study, Teresa Hoefert de Turégano speaks about the relationship between the French government and the film industry in West Africa. Her work demonstrates that the French intervention in the Burkinabe entertainment industry created some prosperous ventures such as independent production studios and the FESPACO film festival, but that the funding also caused the Burkinabe economy to remain reliant on French subsidy. The use of French film crews and editing suits did nothing to improve the stagnant film industry in Burkina Faso. An example of this foreign aid intervention is the Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie, (AIF) which has developed a guarantee fund to make bank funding more accessible to private companies working in the entertainment industries.\(^{78}\) AIF also supports films through “Fonds francophone audiovisual production audiovisuelle du Sud”\(^{79}\) which also works to support African film through subsidy. The European Union as a whole gives money through the European Development Fund, ACP Film Production Support Program.\(^{80}\) Barlet’s scholarship states that the predominant supporter of both the AIF and EDF is the French state.\(^{81}\)

Teresa Hoefert de Turégano’s 2008 UNCTAD study of the film industry in Burkina Faso reveals that many of the films shot in West Africa are sent to France for post-production, enriching the

\(^{77}\) Murphy & Williams, 6.
\(^{78}\) Barlet, 260.
\(^{79}\) Ibid, 261.
\(^{80}\) Ibid, 261.
\(^{81}\) Ibid, 262.
French economy and draining jobs away from the Africa. Hoefert de Turégano reports that the overall yearly budget from 1991 for funding to all the developing countries was on average 3.5 million euro. This money was intended to go toward production, distribution, training and festival support.\textsuperscript{82} Support of this kind creates an imbalance in the entertainment industry because it only provides for the creation of the product, the actual filming. Post-production is done elsewhere; this trend led to what Hoefert de Turégano terms “the creation of an elite category of film-makers.”\textsuperscript{83} The West African film makers were properly subsidized, but the infrastructure required to market and distribute the films to a wider audience was left in the hands of outside interests. In this structure of patronage, the filmmakers are supported while the rest of the industry cycle within the region is ignored.

Hoefert de Turégano concludes her analysis of the relationship between outside investors and the Burkinabe film industry on a positive note by adding that international support assists in the development of local industry and that the money is used to create work that would not be visible otherwise. These are both valuable points, but it remains clear that international support as in the example of French patronage is creating a static entertainment industry within francophone West Africa.

\textsuperscript{82} Teresa Hoefert de Turégano “Film Culture and industry in Burkina Faso.” Creative Industries and Developing Countries: Voice, choice and economic growth, eds. Barrowclough, D & Kozul-Wright, Z. (Oxon: Routledge, 2008) 16.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid, 16.
In 2003, Emmanuel Cocq contributed to a study for UNESCO focused on the growth of the audiovisual sector (film, music and television) in several developing nations including Burkina Faso and Senegal. His aims were to identify the strengths and weaknesses that exist within various components of each industry and to determine how governmental support and regulations affected efficiency in these industries. Cocq provides a useful definition of what types of support exist by breaking them down into categories: subsidies, financial aid with counterparts (such as: advance on receipts), loan guarantee, and tax measures.\(^{84}\)

In developing countries, the production segment remains the prerogative of domestic companies, which according to Cocq continues to be highly fragmented and small in scale. Meanwhile, the distribution segment remains highly internationalized leading him to term the film industries of Senegal & Burkina Faso empty “shells.”\(^{85}\) In Burkina Faso, the national support fund is no longer supplied, now the most concrete example of public contribution consists in facilitating film equipment from the state film department equipment that is becoming outmoded with each passing year. Similarly in Senegal, the means made available from national investment are so meager that their existence might as well be symbolic.\(^{86}\) The financing of West African production relies entirely on the support funds set up by European countries (European Union, Agence Intergouvernementale de le Francophonie, Fonds Sud, Aid au Developpement des Cinematographies du Sud). In his report, Cocq points to the effects of continual outside financing

\(^{84}\) Cocq, 34.
\(^{85}\) Ibid, 60.
\(^{86}\) Ibid, 61.
of film: administrative cumbersomeness, deter the development of African production companies, risk of having dominant tastes in Northern countries prevail, risk of homogenizing production in view of meeting granting criteria.\textsuperscript{87}

There are two major issues that must be faced in order for the industry to thrive. The first is mentioned by Murphy and William in their discussion of ten African filmmakers. “The primary problems of African cinema remain those of distribution and exhibition, for many films are still not screened on the continent itself, as they are viewed as commercial risks, with distributors and cinema owners preferring to provide audiences with the tried and trusted formula of Kung Fu and Bollywood melodrama.”\textsuperscript{88} The second major obstacle is getting West Africa interested in West Africa cinema all the time, not just during FESPACO. As, Pierre Sauvé notes disinterest in the cinema to rise because, “Many consumers are priced out of the cultural product market and lack the necessary equipment to consume audiovisual products.”\textsuperscript{89} Until the people are re-engaged in this entertainment product, it will continue to decay.

II. The festival: a forum for economic and social interaction

\textsuperscript{87} Cocq, 63.
\textsuperscript{88} Murphy & Williams, 6.
\textsuperscript{89} Sauvé, 10.
Prior to entering the gates of the festivals in Cannes and Ouagadougou, we should first take a brief look at festivals in general. Cultural industries scholar, J.D. Snowball stresses the importance of festivals in promotion of common goals such as fostering a central identity among a group, continuation of shared histories and increased cultural voice. In a co-authored essay with K.G. Willis, Snowball notes that, “the festival in its role as an arena for public expression provides a crucial meeting point for cross-cultural communication.”\(^90\) It is this idea of a festival as a space that allows for the easy flow of ideas that makes it a unique market to analyze the capacity for increased global consumption of new goods and services. The circuit of festivals creates an important piece of a larger global network for circulation of films. As Thomas Elsaesser points out, this circuit creates a global platform that allows for, “a marketplace, a cultural showcase, a competitive venue and a world body.”\(^91\) The festival is a complex platform that when functioning properly allows creative producers to interact amongst one another as well as with the consumer.

The circuit allows information about the industry to travel from one event to the next and outside the network as well. Elsaesser discusses the role of the European film festival at length in his work and notes the importance of “the network effects that film festivals realize for the global media markets.”\(^92\) These markets constrain competition by creating a codified schedule of screenings and award presentations; however, as Elsaesser notes, within this structure there is a


\(^{92}\) Ibid, 86.
lot of room for innovation and chance encounters. It is these informal meetings that allow the most opportunity for the creative producers of the developing world. By finding a place within the film festival, products are positioned for potential consumers and distributors to inadvertently stumble upon them, and possibly interact with the product. Being placed in a film festival has an added advantage: when a film premieres under the umbrella of a film festival, it automatically gains the cache of being exclusive in the film industry regardless of the quality of the product. This gives the film and its creators advanced cultural capital before being placed in the open market. The air of exclusivity is the best weapon of the film festival. As Owen Evans posits in his essay on European film festivals, these markets, “act as an opportunity to bathe in an ephemeral glory.” This attitude can be seen at both Cannes with its important walk up the red carpeted stairs and FESPACO with its stadium filled opening ceremonies.

In the final analysis, festivals as they are currently configured are not sufficient providing circulation opportunities for film products from West Africa. There are several reasons for this. The first issue is volume. The average film festival participant sees two to three movies per day. At this high consumption rate the level of differentiation between one film and the next is very low. Secondly, African directors and producers are marginalized in these spaces. As the following two cases will reveal, Africa is allowed to be present at these events; but it has yet to be accounted for. This can be seen in the low level of circulation in cinemas after the festivals

93 Elsaesser, 87.
conclude. Festivals may provide a momentary platform for the films of West Africa, but they do not provide a structure that assists in the strong circulation of the product, nor in the cultivation of the creative producer beyond the temporal space of the event.

III. Festival de Cannes

“Le Festival de Cannes reflects the dual nature of cinema at the crossroads of art and industry, and favors both cinema revelations and professional encounters. For, if the Festival principally evokes the surprise of the Selection and the expectation of the final awards, it is equally the privileged rendezvous of all motion-picture industry professionals.”94

This remark from le Festival de Cannes promotional website provides a sense of the high-minded ideals upon which the event was founded. In 1939, the fear of Mussolini’s control over the Venice film festival, led the French government to promote an alternative industry-wide gathering. The outbreak of World War II postponed this idea from coming to fruition until 1945, when the French government tasked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Education and the National Cinema Centre (CNC) to create an international film festival. Through the French Ministry of Culture, the French Association of the International Film Festival groups together the elements that make up the festival: le Festival de Cannes, the Cinéfondation and the Marché du Film.95 Le Festival de Cannes is the most well-known with a week and a half long event of films, screening both in and out of competition. The Cinéfondation is a program that promotes the work of young filmmakers.96 The Marché du Film takes place within the

96 Ibid.
festival; it is a global film market that creates a space for various entities within the industry to expose producers to new goods and service. Through an examination of these various aspects of the French government’s support of the film festival, we can gain a greater understanding of the government’s efficiency in facilitating institutions which, as the publicity for the festival claims to focus on, “serving the cinema in all its dimensions.”

The films screened at Cannes are broken up into various categories. The Official selection for the festival contains two designations: “In Competition” and “Un Certain Regard.” Films “In Competition” are those that the committee deems the most highly regarded cinema of that year. At the conclusion of the festival, these are the films that get recognized with the coveted Palme d’Or, Grand Prix, Best Actor and Actress, Best Director, Best Script Awards and the Jury Prize. Another category is “Un Certain Regard” which is supposed to highlight films that propel cinema forward with their groundbreaking vision. Table 2.1 below gives a list of the West African films that have received recognition in these two categories. It also gives figures from the European Audiovisual Observatory agency’s Lumiere database on how many tickets were purchased for these films in Europe. As the figures reveal, placement within the festival does not guarantee increased circulation for these films.
Table 2.1 West African Films in Competition at Cannes Film Festival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>EU Admissions since 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>S.Pierre Yameogo</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Delwende*</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>2,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Ousmane Sembene</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Moolaade</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>120,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Abderrahmane Sissako</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Heremakono</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>51,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Cheick Oumar Sissko</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>La Genese</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>12,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Idrissa Ouedraogo</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Kini and Adams</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>9,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Flora Gomes</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Po Di Sangui</td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>5,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Safi Faye</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Mossane</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>12,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Drissa Toure</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Haramuya</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>3,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Souleymane Cisse</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Waati</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>S.Pierre Yameogo</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Wendemi L'Enfant du Bon Dieu</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Djibril Diop Mambetz</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Hyenes</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Flora Gomes</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Udju Azul Di Yonta</td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Drissa Toure</td>
<td>Un Certain Regard</td>
<td>Laada</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>2,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Idrissa Ouedraogo</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Tilai*</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Souleymane Cisse</td>
<td>In Competition</td>
<td>Yeelen*</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data from Le Festival de Cannes Website and Lumiere Database. *denotes award winner

* European Audiovisual Observatory. Lumiere Database. 15 Feb 2009
<http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/search/>.
At the center of the festival’s governance structure is the General Delegate who, along with the President, begins the curatorial process of deciding which films will be shown. As Thomas Elsaesser points out, the power of the festival curator is that he or she supports the various events and connections of the event, by adding value to the films being presented while at the same time, functioning as a gatekeeper for cinematic excellence. Both the General Delegate and President are employees of the French government; it is therefore in their interest to select work that is in keeping the French ideals of cinema. These gatekeepers hold to traditional French practices of allowing francophone African films into the program, while excluding other African films that do not propel the francophone identity. An example of this is the exclusion of the South African film *Tsotsi*, which has been hailed as one of the strongest film products from the region in the past decade. This opinion was supported by the film’s entry into other well-known festivals including Toronto and Edinburgh as well as its win of the 2006 Academy Award for best foreign film. This is an instance of the French government supporting African film, but only those directors that work within the constructs of the French system. Sharing in the gatekeeper roll are various juries, each selected by the Cannes organization and comprising actors, directors and other well established members of the film industry. These groups make the decisions on which films in the festival deserve special recognition, through award designation.

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98 Elsaesser, 96.
99 *Le Festival de Cannes*, “History of”.

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Finally there are screenings of films outside of competition. This is where films from Western Africa are most often placed. During the 2008 festival there was an “Africa Day” of programming in acknowledgement of FESPACO’s fortieth anniversary. This included panel discussions and screenings of various films. The event was sponsored by Cinema du Sud, which is an initiative of AIF.

The Marché du Film, originating in 1959, takes the work off of the pedestal of cultural artifact and asserts the product in the realization as a commercial venture. The market allows various nodes in the network to meet, exchange information and promote their projects. To promote circulation year round the Marché du Film created a website, Cinando.com, to function as a communication portal for various aspects of the film industry. Within this structure is the International Francophonie Organization (OIF) whose mission is to act on behalf of film production of the South. Here we see one instance of an attempt to allow for circulation of films from West Africa. However, this is also an example of the difficulty for West African creative producers in establishing an identity that is separate from their colonial past. The OIF represents an organization that is still using France as a marker of identity. This relationship makes it difficult for the films of West Africa to stand on their own, separate from their French support structure. Aspects of the Marché du Film can work as points of marginal access for West African film makers; however this does not necessarily lead to increased flows of these films because the reliance on French support structures is still necessary to plug into these networks.
In 2000, the Marché du Film began the International Village initiative, in recognition of the expanding global scale of the film industry. Any country that produces motion pictures is given access to a “national pavilion” with the idea that cross cultural dialogue among the various institutions will lead to a stronger global film industry. Within the International Village there is a theater that screens films from all over the world under the title “Tous le Cinema du Monde.”

The African countries that were present in the 2008 International Village include Morocco, Nigeria and South Africa. Nigeria has a very large DVD market circulating within its borders while South Africa is positioning itself as the Hollywood of the Southern Hemisphere. The Cinemas du Sud has a pavilion in the International Village to represent all of the countries of ‘the South.’ Here one will find screenings of directors from Mali, Malaysia, Ethiopia, Chad and various other developing nations. The pavilion also has lectures and classes from directors of the developing world in an effort to showcase their interest and skill in the medium. When considered in the context of the glamour of Cannes, this placement is still very much at the margins; the directors are given the access to exist and dialogue but are rarely given the opportunity to show in the main events. Table 2.2 lists the films from West Africa that have been screened under the designation of Parallel Selection. Here you can see existence of West African cinema at Cannes; however it is important to point out that these screenings take place in the International Village and not in the main competition theaters. The exposure is therefore minimal.
Table 2.2 West African Films shown outside of Competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>EU Admissions since 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Abderrahmane Sissako</td>
<td>Bamako</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>211,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Assane Kouyate</td>
<td>Kabala</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Abderrahmane Sissako</td>
<td>La Vie sur Terre</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>29,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Abdoulaye Ascofare</td>
<td>Faraw !</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Adamo Drabo</td>
<td>Taafe Fanga</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>1,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Gaston Kabore</td>
<td>Buud-Yam</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>9,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Mohamed Camara</td>
<td>Dakan</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>1,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Ousmane Sembene</td>
<td>Ceddo</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>S.Pierre Yameogo</td>
<td>Laafi, Tout va Bien</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Jean Claude Bande</td>
<td>Sibidou</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Idrissa Ouedraogo</td>
<td>Yaaba</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>35,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Idrissa Ouedraogo</td>
<td>Yam Daabo</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Desire Ecare</td>
<td>Visages de Femmes</td>
<td>Cote D'Ivoire</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Abadacar Samb Makharam</td>
<td>Jom</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Abib Med Hondo</td>
<td>Nous Aurons Toute la Mort Pour Dormir</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Mahama Johnson Traore</td>
<td>Njangaan</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Djibril Diop Mambetz</td>
<td>Badou Boy</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Ousmane Sembene</td>
<td>Emitai</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Djibril Diop Mambetz</td>
<td>Touki Bouki</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Abib Med Hondo</td>
<td>Soleil O</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Desire Ecare</td>
<td>A Nous Deux, France</td>
<td>Cote D'Ivoire</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Oumarou Ganda</td>
<td>Cabascabo</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled from information on Le Festival de Cannes Website and Lumiere Database
The Cinéfondation selection is used to highlight student films that show promise as the future voice of cinema. Films by these budding auteurs are shown during the festival itself. Each year, twenty director and producer teams are brought to the Festival in order to give them access to the network of industry contacts that may be able to assist in financing the young professionals’ endeavors. In Cinéfondation, one can see the Ministry of Culture’s efforts to educate the next generation of film artists in the aesthetic structure of French cinema. This is a place of opportunity that should be examined for future festivals. The Cinéfondation could be used as a collaboration structure by bringing industry professionals to the various countries of West Africa on consultation missions. This would aid in the dialogue of how to create a more efficient industry within the countries instead of the current system where directors must look outside of their homelands to produce a film.

According to the Festival’s website, the budget for the 2008 event was approximately 20 million Euros. Half of this money comes from the French government through the CNC. The other half comes from corporate sponsorship and what the Festival organizers term, “professional and institutional groups.” The French government invests heavily in this event because Festival de Cannes is an important spectacle, showing off all the positive aspects of France from the beautiful Rivera locale to the country’s high-minded focus on culture and the art of film. In France’s continual battle against the homogenization of Hollywood tastes, le Festival du Cannes is its best defense, thus the government invests a great deal of capital into the event.
In addition to the various support coming from French cultural agencies there is corporate and private support for the festival. Many corporations pay high advertising costs to be a part of the culture and glamour that surrounds the event. Hollywood companies spend money to gain proper access for stars that are in the process of promoting other films. Even some of the more affluent non-governmental organizations travel to Cannes to gain exposure for various causes. This reinforces Owen Evans point that le Festival de Cannes acts as “a transnational space”, allowing for glitz, glamour and spectacle.100 The shiny veneer of this event leaves little room for participants to take notice of the small films coming out of the developing world. The structure allows for their entrance but only under the stipulations dictated by the French gatekeepers, in this way le Festival de Cannes acts as a contemporary Laval Decree, granting access only when it deems the power-sharing agreement to be in its favor.

The structure of the event is based on a hierarchy of access where Thomas Elsaesser notes “badges with various color coded systems ensure architecture of privilege and exclusion.”101 This leads one to wonder just who the customers are in this marketplace. The first clue is found in the large media presence that flocks to Cannes to cover the event. The average consumer cannot purchase a ticket to this festival. To maintain the glamour of the event access is only granted to

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100 Owen Evans, "Border Exchanges: The Role of the European Film Festival" Journal of Contemporary European Studies 15.1 (2007).
101 Elsaesser, 95.
those that will further the French governments aims. Within the festival itself the consumers are
the studios: French, American and otherwise; they are shopping for the next actor or director to
engage in a project. The films of West Africa are not being placed in a way that would allow the
consumer, to take note of their products; the opportunity to experience the products on display is
denied them. In this global network all of the traffic is diverted to the most highly publicized
products, the films that are In Competition and the stars participating in the event. This structure
does not allow effective access to flows of West African film because it does not put a high value
on the average consumer. This is the relationship that needs to be cultivated in order to increase
the flow of film from the developing world into global circulation. Le Festival de Cannes is not
set-up for this transaction; it is possible, however the priorities remain on fostering the spectacle
of the event in lieu of creation of substantive practices to promote global consumption.

IV. FESPACO: the Olympics of African Film

“Cinema is not a mineral resource: gold will run out one day but
the creativity which fuels our films will never finish. It is
infinite.” Gaston Kabore

Thanks to the popularity of the FESPACO festival, cinema has become an important showcase
for West African culture. The medium of film allows African artists to take the tradition of
story-telling into a more dynamic medium. The film experience can be a communal one, shared
by the educated and the uneducated alike. The visual nature of film allows citizens the
opportunity to interact in a form of communication and recognition with one another. As

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Manthia Diawara recognizes in his literature on African cinema, creative producers took to the medium quickly, for they saw an opportunity to show off national identities and use the medium for politically centered expression. His statement underscores the power of the moving image.

Since 1969 the FESPACO festival, held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, has functioned as an outlet for the display of African creativity and identity. The entire city comes to life with merchants selling souvenirs and aid organizations handing out literature.\textsuperscript{104} By all accounts, the festival comes off as a true celebration of African cinema with the opening and closing ceremonies held in a stadium. In this global network, directors are not flanked by security details and public relations people, but are instead accessible to their audiences.\textsuperscript{105} Inflatable screens are arranged in amphitheaters to accommodate the public’s desire to be part of various screenings throughout the festival.

In 2007, an estimated 40,000 people gathered in Ouagadougou to consume over 200 films, in this biennial celebration of African cinema.\textsuperscript{106} The festival symbolizes a moment of unity as the various countries of Africa come together in celebration of the African community’s cinematic accomplishments. The city’s theaters, many of which lay dormant throughout the year, are

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, 44-46.
packed with the African elite and European cinephiles. To visit Burkina Faso during FESPACO might indeed give a tourist the impression that the film industry is alive and flourishing in this poor African nation; but FESPACO is a mirage, a fleeting moment of cinematic clarity in a vast drought of celluloid.

FESPACO is a construct, modeled after the film festivals of Europe. As in Cannes, a committee chooses the films to be displayed during the festival, and various juries acknowledge excellence with awards such as the Palme d’Or equivalent called the Yennenga Stallion\textsuperscript{107}, Second Prize, Third Prize, Oumarou Ganda Prize, Paul Robeson Prize, Best Documentary, Short Film, Actor, Actress, Screenplay, Cinematography, Editing, Original Score, Sound Editing. In addition to the official award ceremonies, there are awards given out by various UN organizations, such as UNICEF and UNDP; these awards from development agencies hint at the external financing influence behind the FESPACO event, one of development and recognition of groups that tend to be marginalized in larger multilateral governance structures. By all accounts the celebration is huge, but a look at the numbers reveals that the event does not increase the circulation of the films. Table 2.3 shows the festival’s Yennenga Stallion winners with data on the products’ circulation in Europe to illustrate the lack of consumer interest in these products outside of the festival.

\textsuperscript{107} Turan, 4.
Table 2.3 Winners of the Yennenga Stallion award at FESPACO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>EU Admissions since 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Newton Aduaka</td>
<td>Ezra</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Zola Maseko</td>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Abderrahmane Sissako</td>
<td>Heremakono</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>51,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Nabil Ayouch</td>
<td>Ali Zaoua</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>156,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Mweze Ngangura</td>
<td>Pieces d'identités</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
<td>1,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Gaston Kabore</td>
<td>Buud Yam</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>9,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Cheick Oumar Sissoko</td>
<td>Guimba</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Roger Gnoan 'Bala'</td>
<td>Au Nom du Christ</td>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Idrissa Ouedraogo</td>
<td>Tilai</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Kwaw Ansah</td>
<td>Heritage Africa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Med Hondo</td>
<td>Sarraounia</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Brahim Tsaki</td>
<td>Histoire d'une rencontre</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Souleymane Cisse</td>
<td>Finye</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Kramo Lancine Fadika</td>
<td>Djeli</td>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Souleymane Cisse</td>
<td>Baara</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Dikongue Pipa</td>
<td>Muna Moto</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Souheil Ben Barka</td>
<td>Les mille et une mains</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Oumarou Ganda</td>
<td>Le Wazzou polygame</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled from the Lumiere database.¹⁰⁸

Funding for FESPACO comes from AIF, the Cultural Ministry of France, the Dutch government, French cable television networks and the government of Burkina Faso.¹⁰⁹ These subsidies lead to

¹⁰⁸ European Audiovisual Observatory. Lumiere Database. <http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/search/>
a quid pro quo arrangement with the agencies in the form of employment of French actors, crews, post-production. In his reporting on the FESPACO festival Matt Steinglass comments that, “the aid-based relationship has created the French film system as a practical and conceptual model. France has little to gain from an efficient system of distribution in Africa.” The influence of French support leads to market failure because such focus is only assisting one aspect of the cycle, while neglecting distribution and marketing.110 Countries like Ghana and Nigeria (where English is the more predominant language in film) have not been privy to the same level of foreign aid subsidy, and have instead trended toward an all video economy. The video industry in these countries is turning more of a profit than those films introduced via the FESPACO system as these low budget creations are easily reproduced and do not need to be screened in a movie theater.111

FESPACO remains an important part of the socio-political fabric of West Africa. As Lydia Polgreen, describes the event as, “a biennial reminder that even in place racked by death, famine, war and disease, culture remains as essential as air.”112 The issues of decay cannot be romanticized. Burkina Faso, like all countries in West Africa, does not have the equipment to allow film to be shown on a consistent basis. The entire region lacks the infrastructure to fix the countless problems with projectors and decaying facilities. Several of the frames that Western

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110 deTuregano, 127.
111 Steinglass, 4.
journalists impose are similar to that of Ms. Polgreen. Such romantic views tend to obscure another important theme of the FESPACO festival: the system is slowly falling apart as more creators become complicit with outside funding sources, and thus neglectful of the need to foster a structure of film circulation within West Africa. As James Fontenella reports, “the world renowned FESPACO festival in Ouagadougou has been the spiritual home of West African film for nearly 40 years. But scant investment and the absence of a privately-funded and commercially viable film industry is putting the future of Burkina Faso’s cinema at risk.”

Too many Africans are staying away from African film because the ticket price is too high, the cinemas are run down, and the content is not as appealing as that which can be found on video for less. On the international level, consumers are not consuming African film because the aesthetics are too different from what the Western sensibility is accustomed to viewing. Thus, once the festival closes, there are very few venues in which to show these products. If these works find a home at all it is within the festival circuit or the art house cinemas of Europe and the US.

Who is the consumer of African cinema? In her work on the cinema of West Africa, Teresa Hoefert deTuregano correlates the lack of re-investment into distribution networks with the lack of a film industry in the region. After a film is shot the rest of production and distribution takes place outside of Africa; there is no system to support the circulation of the product inside the home nation where it was created. Continual assistance from outside aid has left West African

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113 Fontanella, 6.
114 Bell, 45.
filmmakers beholden to the distribution process of other agencies and other nations. The fortieth anniversary of FESPACO concluded on March 7\textsuperscript{th} with the typical fanfare associated with the event: music, speeches and acrobatics. Awards were given out with top honors going to directors from Algeria, South Africa, Morocco and Ethiopia. As BBC reporter James Copnall pointed out in his coverage of the week’s events Morocco had a very strong showing at this year’s festival.\textsuperscript{115} This trend is due in large part to the increased efforts on the Moroccan government to further their national cinema through a policy of Advance on Receipts, in which the government gives a director funding to support production of the film within Morocco. If a director’s efforts do not yield a successful film, he or she is not responsible for returning the funding. Such a system is not in place within any of the governments of West Africa because it is so expensive. The structure of this funding system certainly puts a strain on the Moroccan budget, one that could not be supported in the context of any of the poorer West African nations.

The 2009 Yennenga Stallion was awarded to Ethiopian director Haile Gerima for his biopic \textit{Teza} based on the life of the Ethiopian dictator Haile Mariam Mengistu. Gerima did not attend FESPACO because of his frustration over the continued state of disorder in the film distribution network that exists. He made his sentiments known in a post win interview conducted by the BBC radio’s Audrey Brown.


“When it comes to African cinema, I’ve always been, since I left film school, going to festivals, winning prizes in my young age. Still we don’t have distribution opportunities. There are many films from other countries that don’t have to win a prize, but would always be with a distribution arrangement. The way the world of cinema is organized it doesn’t have Africa in mind.”

Haile Gerima

The creative producers of West Africa are not in a position to distribute their work, and even if they could, many countries do not have movie theaters to screen the work. Meanwhile an economy of pirated video has taken a large section of the entertainment consumption base. Low-tech entertainment products are generating their own demand because they are priced at a level where the average African consumer can purchase them. The way African films find their way to audiences in Africa is problematic. Distributors in Africa usually rent the movies back from European companies that have bought the rights to the movies from the original French distributor. Films are bought in packages. As deTuregano points out, this system blocks the efforts of any small distribution firm attempting to get into the market of selling films. Pirated discs put several films on one DVD or cassette for $1.35 where the original DVD costs $11.50.

With the increased success of “Nollywood,” the term used for the budding Nigerian film industry, there is a large competing market for DVDs. The lack of consumer base at home means that

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117 deTuregano 119.
119 deTuregano, 125.
many African directors focus on shooting for an international audience instead of their home customer base.\textsuperscript{120}

Attempts to grow the distribution side have not flourished, an example being Africa Cinemas a venture which flopped in 2003 due to lack of strategy of how to solve the distribution issues.\textsuperscript{121} Toussaint Tiendrebeogo, former director of Africa Cinemas, explains that his aim was for, “the main donors to take a more active role in the distribution process, rather than just giving money without really knowing to whom and where it went.” Mr. Tiendrebeogo hits on a very important point in West Africa’s struggle to secure circulation of its film product. If the creators are not responsible for engaging the market via creating for consumption and the creators are not accountable to the funders then there is no cycle of consumption and increased circulation cannot be achieved.

V. Conclusion

“African cinema has to really reposition itself. We need to think to confront our government. We should take it out of the celebration idea.”\textsuperscript{122} Director Haile Gerima places blame for the lack of strong distribution mechanisms upon the leaders of West Africa. The award-winning director goes on to say that, “we have a government, politicians that are really not interested in a culture

\textsuperscript{120} Steinglass 2.
\textsuperscript{121} Fontanella 6.
that brings about a self-reliant population that is historically accountable.” Gerima sees the
government’s lack of focus on the mechanisms of a functioning film industry, technical crews,
production facilities, distribution channels, has caused a lack of policy support. Additionally,
creative producers have become accustomed to receiving funding from outside governments. The
lack of a consumer has lead to stifled innovation and less critical thinking.

Olivier Barlet, in his UNESCO report on the audiovisual industry in West Africa calls for an
active public policy to put African film back on track toward growth and development. His
suggestions include a dual approach of both implementation of regulatory policy and a
contribution to cinema funding including application of zero rate Value Added Tax to cinemas
and other video projection venues to offset operating charges. He goes on to support foreign
investment in movie houses with up-to-date projection equipment and establishment of a training
process for the press to critique film, allowing for the promotion of quality cinema through
increased dialogue. These measure need to be included in crafting new policy that has less
reliance on foreign aid and more emphasis on product circulation to a consumer.

The two case studies detailed in this chapter discuss how foreign aid, mainly in the form of
French governmental support, has affected the circulation of West African cinema through global
consumption networks. In both festivals the product is given a placement, but this alone does

123 Barlet, 232.
little to propel the films to their final goal, engaging the consumer. In both cases placement
within the festival structure does allow for an increase in dialogue and understanding. There is,
however, no final evidence of increased global consumption due to a given film’s presence in the
festival environment. This could be attributed to the lack of any structure for circulating the films
after the festivals have ended.

Financial support from outside of West Africa is allowing the continued marginalization of
creative producers from the region. There is little incentive for the creative producers within the
West African film industry to take full ownership of their product. The external funding sources
continue to propagate the same bad habits of creators from this region, namely the creation of a
product that has no demand. In the next chapter I will examine a global network that makes use
of market mechanisms to support the circulation of entertainment products to see how such a
variation changes the level of access those products have to the consumer.
Chapter 3

Getting them to clap their hands:
How consumer focused practices allow for increased consumer engagement,
the case of Womad Ltd.

The hypothesis that drives this thesis study is that market practices provide more opportunities for increased global consumption than governmental support is able to facilitate. In chapter 2, festivals supported by governmental policy mechanisms analyzed through the cases of Festival de Cannes and FESPACO, the emphasis was on the art form, consumption of the product via monetary transactions is not a consideration. This second empirical chapter is the next component to the larger argument of how entertainment goods from the developing world are circulated in order to increase global consumption of these cultural products. Chapter 3 supplements the prior discussion by illustrating how the implementation of market practices allows for a more efficient increase in the circulation of entertainment goods and services from the developing world. In order to attain a better understanding of the structure of these market-driven festivals we will look at the organization, World of Music, Art and Dance Limited (Womad). In his work on the relationship between culture and networks JP Singh speaks specifically of how commercial networks are creating increased circulation of world music in markets. The case of the Womad festivals presents an instance of a global network where goods and services being circulated due to the support of open market mechanisms. In this system consumers purchase tickets for

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124 Singh, Culture or Commerce 50.
admission to the festival, merchants display goods for purchase and in the most optimal
circumstances artists sell CDs to consumers. Each practice is consumer driven; the purpose of
each performance, demonstration and display is to drive up consumer demand. This is achieved
by giving the consumer a more intimate understanding of the creative producers. It is these
consumer focused practices which assist in creating not just one time consumers, but repeat
customers.

My method of inquiry for this study is one of structured focused comparison. The work looks at
the way different types of global networks affect the circulation of entertainment products from
West Africa. It is a comparison of patronage support and market support within the global
network. Womad’s mission is the continued circulation of diverse musical genres, but its means
for cultivating this behavior are focused on the consumer. The question driving the research is:
how do festivals that are constructed with a support structure of market practices allow for
increased circulation of entertainment goods and services from the developing world? Womad
illustrates how dual purposed practices, the display of entertainment goods and services and
consumer engagement with these products, within the festival environment can be created and
sustained. The end result is that the artist is able to create his or her entertainment good and the
consumer is able to interact with that creative product.
As explained in Chapter 1, it is not possible for one market to properly circulate all goods and services, it is necessary for niche markets to create spaces where different varieties of goods and services are grouped together for consumers to purchase as efficiently as possible. Mass marketing of pop music via huge stadium concerts has fed the consuming public’s appetite to find alternatives. One example is the small club spaces where new music can be discovered. As globalization brings normative “pop” music to the market there is also a place created for more unique sounds, or as Cowen puts it, “growing diversity brings us more of many different things, which includes more mass culture.”

Womad presents an opportunity for consumers to have more intimate interaction with artists. If Cowen’s hypothesis is valid, then increased flows of entertainment products from the developing world creates diversity; a trend that works in conjunction with the homogenization of the entertainment market. It is a festival structure like that seen at Womad that creates market heterogenization by bringing together a variety of artistic products and creating a space for their display. This type of festival is a microcosm of a market place; it shows creation, distribution and consumption within one space.

In his work, David Throsby notes that, “music from the Third World has been brought to wider attention through the activities of independent record producers, standing somewhat apart from the major transnational companies, and through the development of the specific category known as World Music representing a range of specific musical genres or styles originating in various

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125 Cowen, Creative Destruction 16.
parts of the world.” In the next section I will discuss the cycle of production, distribution and consumption among the actors that compose the music industry, and how they function to develop categories like “World Music.” The section that follows illustrates the way in which musical trends are being expressed within West Africa. I then direct my attention to Womad, its artists and their ability to find a reliable consumer base beyond the festival events.

I. Production, Distribution and Consumption in the Music Industry

The successful circulation of West African entertainment products relies on efficient informational flows; creative producers must navigate a system of production, marketing and distribution in order to see his or her product on the market. High barriers to entry exist for any creative producer seeking to bring a product to market in the music industry. This section looks at how the music industry is structured to illustrate where the barriers to entry exist and how information flows within the music industry open up access to the network of production, marketing and distribution. Robert Burnett’s work on the international music industry was informative concerning the various actors involved in the information flows of the music industry. The production system encompasses creators (the musicians and technicians), and the marketers who take the raw expressions and make a consumable product (agents, producers, managers and executives). This last group functions as gatekeeper for the artists’ creations. In the case of West Africa, the number of gatekeepers circulating within the region is minimal.

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126 Throsby, 128.
Several musicians who have made a name for themselves in the industry have created tours to showcase the work of West African musicians; examples include Paul Simon, Peter Gabriel, Manu Chao, and most recently, Damon Albarn of Blur and Gorillaz. Few music industry scouts are going through the clubs of West Africa searching for new talent; instead, the usual path to access has been for the musician to travel to Europe to perform in clubs in an attempt to get noticed.

Most gatekeepers work under the auspices of the transnational conglomerates that own the major labels in the music industry: Universal, EMI, Sony BMG, and Warner Music. When a musician finds entry into the network of one of these labels, these organizations have the ability to provide increased informational flows of entertainment products through stronger concert promotion studio production and focused media campaigns, all of which increase the chances of broad consumption. The challenge for any musician comes with gaining notice from these organizations. The big labels have smaller subsidiaries which are meant to work in niche markets such as Classical, Jazz, New Music and the genre discussed in this thesis, World Music. One example of this is Nonesuch Records, a subsidiary of Warner Music, which represents many of the artists from West Africa who have found their way to the global market; artists such as Youssou N'Dour, Amadou and Mariam, Toumani Diabaté, and Chiekh Lô. These organizations provide access to recording studios for CD creations and facilitate marketing campaigns for CD releases including international tours.
Burnett explains that while the producers, artists, and firms are interacting to get the music out to the market, the consumers interact amongst themselves and with mass media. People who love music are compelled to talk about it, read about it, and write about it. One example of the importance of music discourse in our culture can be seen in the continuous strength of *Rolling Stone* magazine over four decades. In today’s culture, the increased level of consumer generated media circulating via the blogosphere also reveals consumers’ desire not only to consume the art but also to interact with it. It is in this space where consumers feel a connection to the artists they enjoy; Burnett notes that interaction occurs, “through the media, concerts and an economic act: the purchase.”

Cowen’s discourse on menu choice in markets comes into play here. Consumers are given a high level of music to listen to; when a new artist is discovered by a music fan, they blog about it. This gives others the opportunity to become exposed to new work. The popularity of the partially user generated music site Pitchfork is an example of the way user generated content creates a marketing buzz in the industry. This is a point of access for West African musicians; it is through the cultivation of loyal fans within these niche networks that they can find an opportunity for more access.

II. History of West African Music

To enhance the general understanding of how West African artists can use Womad as a tool for increased circulation, we must first discuss how these musicians have been allowed to circulate in

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128 Burnett, 75.
global networks up to this point. The network described above has assisted several African musicians to get their albums into efficient distribution networks. Famous friends, such as Peter Gabriel, have acted as advocates for talented musicians by highlighting them on albums. These celebrities act as the gatekeepers by giving artists entry to global networks through prior established notoriety and relationships. An example of the increased circulation of Youssou N’Dour’s music can be seen in his sustained ability to produce records after the success of Peter Gabriel’s “In Your Eyes.” N’Dour carries on the tradition of the Senegalese griot, a social class in the country that is tasked with keeping the oral history and musical traditions alive through performance. He utilizes a style called “mbalax”, a combination of the griot’s process for telling stories through music along with a multitude of influences including American rock music. In 1978, N’Dour began a recording career working with artists in Senegal with his band the Super Etoile. N’Dour was signed to Columbia’s label before moving on to record most recently with Nonesuch records. He has established a recording studio in Dakar named Xippi that hosts many West African musicians. Additionally, N’Dour has created his own label, Jololi (although my research could not find any musicians currently recording on this label). N’Dour is committed to using his recognition to assist with important causes. He has recorded a song for a compilation album on behalf of Karma for Amnesty International campaign to save Darfur and

130 Ibid.
recently released “Wake Up Africa’s Calling”\textsuperscript{131} for IntraHealth OPEN Initiative to fund efforts to get open access technology applications to health care workers in Africa. N’Dour is the most well known musician from West Africa and he is using the circulation of his work internationally to reinvest in his homeland.

There are several artists that should be mentioned in the discussion of West African music’s progress from the local to the global level. Frances Bebey was one of the early musicians who left West Africa to find better opportunities for circulation of his thoughts and ideas in 1956 Paris. His mission was to raise awareness of Black culture and to illustrate that Africans were not to be marginalized as the Other.\textsuperscript{132} Mali’s most famous musician is Salif Keita, who was born into a royal family that can be traced back to a 13th century dynasty, but he held the desire to be a musician. In Mali’s northern areas, to become a musician requires one to be born into a specific caste called jelis. These people are the citizens who are allowed to become professional musicians and singers.\textsuperscript{133} The jelis are responsible for carrying on the traditions and the stories of their ancestors through music and song. Richard Nidel notes that it was Salif Keita’s process of becoming a musician despite this tradition that helped bring Malian music to the world stage.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{133} Ibid, 40.
\end{itemize}
Today, Keita travels the globe with his sound. His albums, produced and distributed by EMI, are recorded partially in studios in Bamako and partially in Paris.

Like Mali, Senegal has a caste system, the aforementioned griots, where one must be born into the place of a musician. In his essay on Senegalese music, Andy Pratt points out specific phases of musical performance and form of this region, which inform why music holds such an important place in the Senegalese tradition.¹³⁴ Most importantly, there is the revered position of the griot, and his or her influence on the medium of expression used in the form, namely handcrafted instruments and local languages, Wolof predominant among them. There are also the traces of the French colonialism as well as Spanish, Latin American and North American rhythms. The third phase was the introduction of electrical instruments- the use of recording devices and cassettes prompted an ease of diffusion. This diffusion led to traditional folk forms being executed with modern instrumentation to create a hybrid sound.¹³⁵ The final phase which Pratt describes is what is going on in contemporary Senegalese music with a local form of rap and hip hop, which has allowed Dakar some exposure as a cluster city in the music industry. Pratt marks this final phase as the impetus for the creation of local recording systems within Senegal where the music of the region is circulated via “European and international touring linked to

¹³⁵ Ibid, 133.
world music festival circuits and Western world music performers, but artists remaining based in Senegal and recording music locally.”

The music of contemporary West Africa is a hybrid of the many cultural influences experienced on the continent over the past one hundred plus years. As Thomas Turino notes in his report on African music, “the organization of sub-Saharan Africa into modern nation-states is primarily a colonial legacy based on the way the continent was divided by the European powers at the end of the nineteenth century.”\(^{136}\) The countries have many overlapping traits from languages and dialects to tonal preferences and instrumentation. The first moves toward hybrid musical forms, according to Turino, were witnessed in the first half of the century when African music incorporated the musical styles from North & Latin America as well as Europe.\(^{137}\) Many of these musical influences can be traced back to Africa, but were now being re-appropriated with additional instrumentation. The cross-pollination of forms and style allowed local musicians to use traditional instruments to create new work that reflected an evolving musical aesthetic.

During the colonial period, European institutions assisted in the emergence of categories known as African music. This power to codify and categorize musical forms was leveraged by West African musicians in the 1950s and ‘60s as a way of revealing a national identity separate from that of the colonizers. In the latter half of the century, the music of this region was brought under

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\(^{137}\) Ibid, 216.  

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the umbrella of “world music” and began to circulate around the globe through the assistance of popular musicians, as described in section 1.\textsuperscript{138} This trend allowed African musicians the opportunity to alter their perspective on music production; their music composition had to attract consumption within Western Africa, but also around the globe. The practices utilized by the musicians of West Africa were standard; they played music in clubs, made a bit of money and then travelled abroad to try and get noticed.

According to Richard Nidel’s study of West African music, the city of Abidjan, in the Cote d’Ivoire functions as one of the centers for the African recording industry drawing musicians like Salif Keita, Amadou and Mariam, Manu Dibango, and Mory Kante.\textsuperscript{139} The existence of a small music industry drew many musicians to make Abidjan their home and to the creation of Radio Cote d’Ivoire, a governmentally sponsored but commercially owned radio station. The film director, Souleymane Coulibaly has a popular morning music show that provides a local artist with the opportunity to circulate the work of other local artists.\textsuperscript{140} Another cluster of music production can be found in Bamako, Mali where there are a large number of clubs to host musicians. The city is home to Salif Keita’s recording studio which he founded after gaining

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{138} Turino, 216. \\
\textsuperscript{139} Nidel, 33. \\
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, 33. 
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financial stability from some international success in record sales and performances.\textsuperscript{141} The addition of these recording studios can strengthen the regional music industry in the future.

Andy Pratt reports that early recording sessions occurred in nightclubs during a group’s set, but that by the 1980s, the recording center for West African music had shifted to Paris where more experienced sound engineers could work with the artists in state of the art recording facilities that were in short supply in West Africa.\textsuperscript{142} In France, musicians from West Africa have two advantages. First, they can still entertain in their native language. Second, they have a built-in audience of emigrants who want to hear any music that reminds them of their African Diasporas. This shift to performing in Paris meant that the creativity and the revenues were taken away from West Africa. Musicians who have reached a level of success that allowed them to travel out of their homelands to Paris did so because the opportunity to circulate their work was much greater than at home.\textsuperscript{143} With the recent increase in recording studios thanks to Salif Keita and Youssou N’Dour’s international success, there could be an opportunity for more artists to record their work.

Andy Pratt discusses the important role that music could play in the development of local communities in Senegal by highlighting how much Senegalese musicians have accomplished in spite of the state of the local music industry in comparison with the developed world. Senegal, he

\textsuperscript{141} BBC Music, “Salif Keita” March 9 2009 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/artists/b29a24ff-2c55-437e-867b-1456c9f3f73e>  
\textsuperscript{142} Pratt, 136.  
\textsuperscript{143} Nidel, 42.
points out, has attempted to sustain a music industry dating back to the 1966 World Festival for Negro Arts. In 1972, a collecting society called le Bureau Sénégalais du Droit d’Auteur (BSDA) was established to support the music industry. As Pratt notes, musicians are paid for live performances, or through the collection of royalties on their recorded music via radio play or private listening. This organization comprised of artists and members of the Ministry of Culture, works to assure fair use and compensation of music products. There are no public support mechanisms in place for the music industry, but there is the existence of The National Festival of Arts and Culture, which allows for the circulation of music goods throughout the region, but does not provide grant support. Another possible point of circulation is the Radiodiffusion Television Senegal (RTS), the national broadcasting organization, but as Pratt describes its structure, its studios can only provide a rudimentary base for recording. Pratt reports that there are reproduction facilities attached to these studios where tapes are created. The wholesale price per cassette varies between 700 and 900 CFA, about $1.82 US. It is difficult to gauge the numbers associated with the cassette trade because of the intermingling with the piracy trade in the country.

The music industry does receive funding from foreign aid. Senegalese music can be linked to the French and Canadian government as well as to the European Union. Radio France International has an annual “Discovered in Africa” competition, which culminates in a concert sponsored by

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144 Pratt, 133.
145 Pratt, 134.
146 Ibid, 137.
various French culture organizations including AIF, CIRTEF and the Alliance Française.¹⁴⁷ The EU has its Programme de Soutien aux Initiatives Culturelles which finances projects in underdeveloped communities. According to Pratt, almost one third of the money goes toward musical projects.¹⁴⁸

This section has covered the many advantages and potential areas for growth available to musicians in West Africa. The presence of an established class for musicians and story tellers means that fertile cultural ground is an intrinsic part of their social system. The griots and the jelis are a revered class that has informed Senegalese and Malian societies by continuing to use music to tell their history and by playing with the musical tones and instruments to create new forms. There are, however, many barriers to growth that must be addressed. As Andy Pratt points out, there are a limited number of night clubs, which means that only a set number of bands can make a living performing and then producing their work. This high level of competition for slots in the performance spaces means that musicians constantly have to produce new music, an exhausting pace which may stretch an artist too this aesthetically.¹⁴⁹ This system of playing the night club circuit to gain access to production and marketing mechanisms reveals the limited market the musicians of the region have access to. The small studio system within the country is encouraging to musicians, but the practical fact is that two studios cannot possibly serve an entire country to record artistic expression. This once static structure shows some

¹⁴⁷ Pratt, 134.
¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 135.
¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 141.
promise if successful musicians follow the examples of Youssou N'Dour and Salif Keita by using their financial gains abroad to reinvest in the local music industry.

The international tour or concert is another way of expanding the market for artists from the developing world. Such events allow musicians to move through larger global information networks to access new consumers. The concert also gives an opportunity for many points of goods consumption; there are tickets, t-shirts, programs and cds. This increases the likelihood of an encounter between the consumer and the musician of the developing world. The festival brings together many concerts and an amalgamated group of fans to consume both the music, and the festival environment. It is a fertile place for new music to be consumed by audiences. The next section details Womad, a case of a festival whose structure is focused on providing the consumer with as many points of access to the artists as possible through various consumption opportunities. The structure of the festival will show how the organization keeps to its mission of creating a space for music lovers to cultivate their passion for world music.

III. The World of Music, Art and Dance: A stand up and dance crowd

In a recent Financial Times article Luke Johnson wrote about the continued economic viability of the concert, in general, stating that, “in spite of the ubiquity of video and music online, audiences still appreciate the experience of being there in person- witnessing an artistic happening in the
flesh- and are willing to pay for the privilege.”\textsuperscript{150} Johnson points to the festival’s role in continuing to keep consumers interested in the music industry by providing them with the necessary spectacle of live performance. These events engage the consumer with the product allowing the consumer to develop a memory of an experience related to an artist. Such experiences are a key component in increasing consumer demand. It is in this space that Womad Limited operates. The World of Music, Art and Dance, is a case study of a festival driven by market mechanisms. In this case we look at how a private company uses the festival atmosphere to increase cultural flows of entertainment products. The organization creates concerts held throughout the year on various continents which bring together musical and dance artists from all over the world. There is an emphasis on programming artists from Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, areas of the world that receive less exposure to the consumer. According to a company press release, Peter Gabriel and some friends, founded the festival in 1980, after they realized that creating a single concert event to showcase a single artist was not a cost effective way of allowing the musical voices from the developing world to circulate. A festival though, would allow many artists to share one stage for multiple day events providing for easier production and consumption.

In the case of Womad, there is an emphasis on the importance in the relationship between the creator of the entertainment good and the consumer. The programming of the festival reflects this

emphasis. There are workshops that allow the consumer to go beyond the action of merely listening to a performance or purchasing a CD, and rather to enter a space where he or she can experience the thoughts and ideas behind the creation from the artists themselves. Another detail which gives a deeper experience to festivalgoers is that in many instances the Womad festival is structured so that participants stay on the grounds for the entire event and camp on the site, giving the event a communal feel. This sense of community helps to create an intimate bond between the consumers and the entertainment they are consuming, a practice which is cultivated to enhance the consumer’s experience and thus increase his or her demand for the entertainment products being showcased. It leads to reason that the holistic experience that the festivalgoer consumes while encountering the music of West African musicians at Womad leads to a feeling of deeper kinship and connection than if his or her first encounter were heard via the radio or in the Virgin megastore.

Womad Limited has an integrated structure which creates multiple levels of circulation for musical expression. The structure is different from that of Cannes or FESPACO in that there is a system in place which allows for the continued flow of the music even after the end of the festival event. First, there is the festival itself. The next step was the creation of Real World Studios in Wiltshire, where West African artists Baaba Mal and Papa Wemba have both recorded. In 1989 Real World Records launched “to provide talented artists from around the world with access to
state-of-the-art recording facilities and audiences beyond their geographic region.”

The Womad website goes on to discuss the importance of collaboration through the vehicle of a record label in order to break away from the codified notion of “world music”. Finally there is the newest addition Real World Remixed. The site plays up the importance of sharing the expressions of artists from the developing world via the enhanced technology practices available on the web. On the site the user is given access to download a “sample pack” which can be manipulated to create remixes of the original tracks. Here again we can see another level of experience for the consumer. In each of these instances we can see an integrated marketing plan that caters to a niche audience, those consumers who are not just looking for music to fill their daily lives, but are instead searching for a music that they can experience. The organization created a multifaceted approach to allow the consumer’s experience of music from the developing world to expand and to be integrated into various aspects of the consumer’s purchasing platforms.

“The Womad Festival experience is not about the familiar, the tried and tested; its essence is in the discovery and enjoyment of a totally unexpected artist or a style of music which would never otherwise have been encountered. It’s a magical, musical melting pot, enriching all who experience it.”

These festivals are known for certain characteristics that include a widely developed palette of music, a family friendly atmosphere, the encouragement of audience participation through in-depth workshop series and programming which caters to multiple senses. As such the

organization is not just selling you an entertainment product, but a comprehensive Womad experience with opportunities to build a relationship with the entertainment products.

Components of this process include the “Tastes of the World” tent and the Global Village Market. The following section details the various Womad festivals that happen throughout the year. None of these events are the same, as programming and structure vary, however each festival offers a unique experience to the consumer, one that will only happen in this space.

Womad Charlton Park, UK is set to run from July 24 to 26, 2009. The tickets will cost a patron $180 USD for entry, with children under 13 entering for free. To promote a family atmosphere, the Womad organization also features a teenage price and a local price available at $86 and $108 USD respectively. The various price points reveal the organization’s desire to draw as many different types of consumer into the festival as possible. Here we can see how, unlike Cannes which prides itself on an air of exclusion, the Womad festival develops practices that while market-oriented still aspire to inclusion of many different people. Another point of purchase comes when the organization tries to bundle a subscription to Songlines magazine with your Womad ticket. The Songlines magazine keeps the consumer informed of more opportunities to engage with these entertainment products in the future thus increasing the festival goer’s relationship with the Womad brand. On the line up thus far for the Charlton Park event are West African musicians Oumou Sangare, Rokia Traoré, Etran Finatawa, Ba Cissoko, Victor Démé.
Artists who have performed in the Womad UK festival in prior years include Youssou N’Dour, Amadou & Mariam, and Bassékou Kouyaté

WOMADelaide, Australia wrapped up its annual festival in Adelaide’s Botanic Park on March 8th. The event has been drawing over 70,000 music fans per festival to Adelaide since 1992, first bi-annually and annually since 2003. This seems to be the practice with the Womad organization; they bring the event to a new city on a biannual basis, and if the event flourishes it then becomes an annual event. Prior WOMADelaide festivals have showcased Baaba Maal, Badenya les Fréres Coulibaly, Chiekh Lô, Julien Jacob, Ounou Sangare, Tinariwen Orchestra Baobob, Alpha Blondy and the Solar System and Youssou N’Dour & the Super Etoile de Dakar. The event contained six stages which welcomed thirty-five musical groups from twenty countries. Representing West Africa at the festival were Dimi Mint Abba, Seckou Keita Quartet SKQ, and Rokia Traore. The event in Adelaide is run by a non-profit foundation aptly named the WOMADelaide foundation, which was founded in 2004. The mission of the organization is to “foster and develop long term educational activities and cultural exchange through the festival program.” Womad Limited is one of the major sponsors, along with Events South Australia, a division of the South Australian Tourism Commission and Arts Project Australia, an independent

arts producer. Along with additional corporate sponsors such as local radio stations and grocery store chains. Another source of income from the WOMADelaide festival is the rental fees collected on the stalls in the Global village and sales from compilation CDs and DVDs which chronicle the event and available for purchase for $21 USD.

On March 15th, 2009, the branch Womad New Zealand wrapped up its annual event which takes place in Taranaki. The event website boasted that over 40,000 people turned up for the festival this year. Like the other festivals, this one also included multiple stages, workshops with the artists, the Taste of the World where artists give cooking demonstrations of their local cuisine, and the Global Village. This event is coordinated by Womad NZ a Womad Ltd. Office in New Zealand. The practice is that this event runs after WOMADelaide thus the two venues are able to share in the costs of transporting artists from abroad. The Womad NZ is put on in conjunction with TAFT (Taranaki Arts Festival Trust) with major funding from Shell Oil, Todd Energy. Other funders included local newspapers and radio stations. The West African artists that were selected to participate were Seckou Keita Quartet SKQ, and Rokai Traore. The cost for a three day pass was $120 USD with children under 12 free. There was also the offer of purchasing a day pass for any of the three days at the cost of $52 USD. This event did allow for camping and also created an accommodations option termed Marae style accommodation which was an open-

air stadium set up with mattresses. By offering this communal type of sleeping arrangement, we can see the organization’s attempt to implement practices which foster a sense of community amongst the festival participants.

The Womad organization has had a presence in Spain since 1989; the festival has been to Caceres in Extremadura, Granada, Barcelona, Madrid, Pamplona, and Las Palmas de Gran Canaria in the Canary Islands. Currently Womad has two events scheduled in Spain. The first, Womad Caceres, Extremadura will take place from May 7th to 10th, 2009. West African performers participating in the festival will be Amadou & Mariam, Salif Keita, Seckou Keita Quartet. The second event is Womad Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, the Canary Islands, which was last held in November 2008. The three day concert featured four different stages and 29 acts including: Ba Cissoko, Patrick Bebey, Toumast, Bembeya Jazz from West Africa. Like Womadelaide both of the festivals in Spain are supported by Womad Spain and Portugal, a subsidiary of Womad Ltd. The organization coordinates sponsorship with local government and commercial properties to create festivals that are free of charge to the public. Here is an example of a Womad festival that is the product of private and public concerns collaborating to create a free public good for the community.

Another example of Womad Ltd. partnering with a government organization to create a concert series that is free to the public can be seen in the instance of Womad Sicily, a smaller festival with one stage that produces three acts each evening over two nights. The event, now in its twelfth year, takes place in Taormina and is produces in conjunction with the ministry of Sicilian culture. The festival which took place in December of 2008 showcases the talents of Mauritanian Daby Touré. The event is a much more toned down version of the festival.

Womad Singapore is run by a branch of the Womad Ltd. Organization called Womad Project Singapore.160 In 2007, the event celebrated its tenth anniversary with six stages in Fort Canning Park. This festival had the same structures as the others: workshops, international food offerings, spa offerings. The three day pass cost $89 USD. This Womad outpost fell off the radar after the 2007 concert. There has been no press on the event since then. It is not listed on the official Womad website or archive. Its importance here serves to illustrate the reach of the Womad organization.

The first Womad event in the Middle East region will take place this April. Womad Ltd. is working in conjunction with the Abu Dhabi Authority for culture and heritage to bring music and various art forms to two venues in Abu Dhabi. First, in Corniche, there will be a three day long

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160 Chan Boon, “Womad- 10 and still going strong; the music festival celebrates a decade here but is it feeling the heat from the other outdoor musical events?” The Straits Times, Singapore, 28 Aug, 2007.
free festival with evening performances along with music workshop and the Taste of the World food demonstrations. There will also be a one night ticketed event at the Al Ain Fort which will be the star-studded event featuring West African artists Youssou N’Dour and Etran Finatawa. Here again we see a co-sponsorship agreement with a governmental authority to create a space for the transmission of public goods and services.

The most recent addition to the circuit is Womad at the Tower; in this offshoot of the festival we can see contemporary world music being placed in a historical European environment, the Tower of London. The juxtaposition should make for a memorable concert-going experience. In September 2009 Womad Ltd will collaborate with the Tower Festival in London. The organization joins a group of arts agencies working to strengthen the community support of historical landmarks in the city. Other groups include Sadlers Wells, Carl Rosa Opera, international concert promoter Harvey Goldsmith and AEG live. The Tower Festival is sponsored in large part by Continental Airlines.

Youssou N’Dour is undoubtedly the most well known and highly acclaimed West African artist in the music industry. He has appeared at many Womad festivals however his popularity was on the rise prior to his Womad appearances due to his connection to Womad founder Peter Gabrial. Since appearing at the within the festival N’Dour has gone on to produce over a dozen albums
and consistent participation on compilation albums.\textsuperscript{161} N’Dour has reinvested his profits into a studio and record label in his home of Dakar, Senegal. This section looks at how other West African artists are using their appearances at Womad to create a larger consumer base.

Ali Farka Touré is a very well know blues musician who made a career of blending Malian blues rhythms with American blues; he developed a reputation regionally and internationally as one of the best in his field; even Hollywood director Martin Scorsese has been quoted describing Touré as “the DNA of the blues.”\textsuperscript{162} Before his death in 2006 Touré made a name for himself internationally by creating and circulating a dozen albums. In 2006 he won a Grammy for Savane; this recognition by the mainstream music industry reveals an instance of efficient market-oriented practices resulting in global consumption. Touré earned another Grammy for collaboration with Toumani Diabaté, a celebrated master of the kora, for their album In the Heart of the Moon, which was recorded in a makeshift studio in Mali by the same producer who created Buena Vista Social Club.\textsuperscript{163} Vieux Farka Touré has continued on with his father’s tradition by playing gigs around the globe at venues like Joe’s Pub in New York City. Meanwhile Ali Farka Touré’s collaborator, and fellow Womad artist, Toumani Diabaté has played with Icelandic music star Bjork for her album Vespa, and is about to embark on a tour in the U.S. The tour stops are

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not New York and Los Angeles, but Ridgefield, Tarrytown, Troy, Reading, St. Louis and Kansas City. The programming shows that the increase of world music sound is not only welcome in the metropoles but can also be brought into small cities.

The group receiving the most press attention at present is Amadou and Mariam. The couple met at a Malian school for the blind and began to produce music together. They gained popularity in the U.S., in 2005, when they teamed up with French musician Manu Chao to create “Dimanche a Bamako” which sold over 800,000 albums according to Billboard. This collaboration gave them access to tour venues in the States and to an ever expanding fan base. Again, it is important to point out the circulation of their music in areas of the U.S. with diverse musical tastes. This type of general appeal has given them an opportunity to appear on radio shows like NPR’s World Café and to tour the U.S. as the opening act for pop super group Coldplay.

Another musician from Mali that is making her way onto global music charts is Rokia Traore. The artist claims that her mission is to create something that sounds contemporary using the traditional instrumentation of her native Mali. Traore created a piece which told the story of Mozart being born as a griot in the thirteenth century. Traore first gained international exposure in 1997 when she won Radio France International’s “African Discovery of the Year” an award

mentioned in the prior section.\textsuperscript{166} Her second album, “Bowmboï”, was voted 'World Music Album of 2003' in the BBC Critics' Poll. Traore’s most recent album “Tchamanchtë” is produced and distributed by US label Nonesuch records, a subsidiary of Warner Bros..\textsuperscript{167} In an effort to increase the circulation of her music, she has a show scheduled for the Barbican Theater in London prior to her Womad Charlton Park performance this May.

One of the more intriguing groups to come out of the Womad festival of late is Tinariwen a group of Tuareg people from Mali, who first began playing together as a form of governmental protest. Their presence at another festival, Festival du Desert brought them acclaim outside of Mali and into the Womad space.\textsuperscript{168} From there work at Womad the group gained international notice which has brought them access to venues in Sydney and London. The group recently played Coachella, one of the largest music festivals in the United States and is slated to perform in New York in April 2009.\textsuperscript{169} In addition to increased circulation amongst fans the group has received critical recognition from their peers with Cold Play front man Chris Martin noting Tinariwen’s influence on Cold Play’s most recent album.\textsuperscript{170}

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
The programming shows that the increase of world music sound is not only welcome in the metropoles but can also be brought into small cities. All of these acts, Amadou & Miriam, Rokai Traore and Toumani Diabaté were recently nominated for Songline Awards, a world music publication which is holding its premier awards event in conjunction with Womad. Awards will be announced in June and then a selection of the winners will perform at a Womad Charlton Park in July.\textsuperscript{171}

The above examples illustrate how Womad is an example of an independent producer working with artists from the developing world to enhance the production cycle in the music industry. The organization serves as an advocate for artists and for the importance of presentations of diverse musical expressions. The festival remains the basis for this company’s practices in circulation of entertainment products throughout the global network. An artist is programmed into the festival events allowing enough consumers to interact with the musician and thus creating an increase in consumer demand for the entertainment product. From this point the artist has more opportunities for interaction within the global network because a larger number of consumers are aware of the product. Here we can see how the market practices put in place at Womad create increased circulation.

IV. Conclusion

Music is a unique artistic medium, for listening to the tones and sounds produced by a musician can enliven a visceral response of which no two are alike. The listener is accustomed to certain tones while others seem strident. For a Western listener, hearing the Chinese zheng for the first time may feel strange, but there is a response. The same could be said of hearing the West African kora; however West Africa has shared so many of the same influences, as early American rock and roll that the experience of consumption of this product may be one of unmistakable familiarity. As such West African music is an excellent entertainment good to circulate on a global level. The Womad organization has created a business model that leverages the capacities of the specific niche market of World Music to create a larger synergistic capacity for artists of the developing world. It is certainly not an ideal platform. There are undoubtedly critics of the program who see its curatorial practices as exploitative. However it is undeniable that the Womad organization has assisted in getting more African music circulated outside of Africa. In this instance the festival serves to reveal the ties that bind our various cultures together.

As Peter Aspden remarked about the place of the Womad festival, “the world’s problems are not going to be solved by people playing crazy rhythms, and meaning it, but it is a small indicator that we are traveling in the right direction.”172 The festival does allow for a communal environment to increase the level of participation in world music. However there is a tension in

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creating an attachment to this aesthetic ideal. Aspden discusses the growing tension between the
developed world’s desire to acquire traditional music from the developing world and the
developing world just wanting to create music that has no differentiation between its form and
that of any other. “If western ears are exposed to, and warm to, West African music, the last thing
they want is for that music to become infused with the ubiquities of western pop music. Yet if
you are a West African musician, the last thing you want is to be patronized by foreign markets
that want to be charmed by your “different” sound, but would prefer that it remained in a
comfortable niche.”173 Moving forward it will be difficult to continue using the label of “World
Music” as it is in certain ways marginalizing. The idea behind Womad was constructed in the
early 1980s when music from Africa needed a boost through inclusion into the classification of
“World Music.” This time has passed thanks in large part to the efforts of the Womad brand.

In a Time Out interview last summer Public Theater Director Oscar Eustis claimed that, “we are
living in an increasingly globalized world, whether we like it or not. Capital has figured out how
to be global. Culture has got to figure it out too.” 174 In many ways Womad festivals are an
excellent outlet for allowing culture to go global. The success of artists like Youssou N’Dour and
Amadou & Mariam are testaments to this. The next step is to look back to the communities in
which these artists were first inspired to create. A solid structure for the music industry must be
created on the local level to increase creation, production and distribution. This structure comes

173 Aspden, 46.
from those ideas which were outlined by Andy Pratt in his essay for UNCTAD. The list is long. There is a need for actual infrastructure, i.e. roads, to allow touring, tax incentives for development of facilities for the entertainment industry, education in both creative and technical practices. Then there is a need for more venues to view acts and then better studios to record. It is encouraging to see that some artists are able to break through and gain access to global consumption markets, and that they are inspired to return home. This practice must be multiplied several times over in order to create more efficient modes of supply and infrastructure on the local level must be created.

The medium of music stands a much better chance of finding a global audience. As Tyler Cowen points out there is an ease of consumption of music that lead to its ubiquity. “The auditory nature of music can be enjoyed at a less demanding level of concentration, implying that a good song can be consumed more easily than a good painting or novel.”175 Consumers are confronted with music throughout their day: in the car, while shopping and watching television. This level of saturation means that people are always looking for something new to listen to, and that is where the opportunity of Western African music comes in. The Womad festival provided the opportunity for consumers to hear that “something new” that they are searching for. It has created many practices which are all focused on driving up consumer demand in the entertainment products of the developing world. The organization sets-up massive communal

175 Cowen, In Praise 130.
listening stations in various locations on the planet to be certain to include as many people as possible while still remaining profitable enough to carry on its mission to assist in getting under-represented music out into the market. This is an inclusionary practice that welcomes as many consumers as possible into its gates.
Chapter 4:

Moving entertainment products forward: finding placement in the age of global commerce

Being left out matters.\textsuperscript{176} This thesis study takes this simple assertion, as laid out in Diana Barrowclough and Zeljka Kozul-Wright’s collection of essays on the creative industries in developing countries, and reveals how the inability of certain global networks to provide efficient access for the distribution and circulation of entertainment products from West Africa is causing important expression and thought to be squandered due to lack of proper distribution outlets. Not only are creative producers from the developing world missing the opportunity to place their products in front of the consumer, but the consumer is left unaware of the thoughts and expressions of the creative producer from the developing world. In the final analysis, when these entertainment products are left out of global distribution networks everyone suffers from the lack of innovation and increase understanding. In this era of rapid globalization there is a need to focus on the creation and development of global outlets for voices from the developing world. This thesis looks at one such outlet, the festival, and attempts to find opportunities for access for the creative producers of entertainment products from the developing world.

In Table 4.1, I lay out the basic points discussed. The hypothesis driving the research in this study is that these entertainment goods and services are granted more efficient access to global distribution when they are circulated within festivals that rely on market mechanisms for support.

\textsuperscript{176} Barrowclough and Kozul-Wright
In chapter 2, we looked at empirical evidence of consumption of film within the framework of the festivals of Cannes and FESPACO. Here we saw that the framework was not sufficient for the products to find an increased consumer base at the close of the event. Le Festival de Cannes and Fespaco look at instances of festivals that function due to governmental support. Here we see how films from West Africa are placed into global networks that do not emphasize the consumption of the entertainment product; the display that remains of central importance. There are no marketing mechanisms in place to promote these films outside the festival environment, and their placement within the festival framework does not create the interest needed to generate increased consumption. The distribution of West African films is not supported by the Cannes organization beyond the screenings during those twelve days in May. Fespaco is an example of Africa showing off its film products on its own terms. The structure of the festival allows for a complete display of pomp and spectacle; however this celebratory event seems hollow in the face of a crumbling cinema system. After the events, many of the cinemas in Ouagadougou close down and those that remain open do not show films created by African directors but return to Hollywood fare. This treatment leaves creative producers without any support after the event has ended. In these cases the festival did not serve as the beginning of the circulation of the product; these events mainly serve as the apex for West African film and the pitch from the fall is steep.

In chapter 3, we looked at the WOMAD festival, a touring music venue, which gears its practices within the festival space to cultivate many different types of consumers. In this instance the festival organization provides a structure that creates a space for the consumer to have an
experience around the products. The case of Womad Limited, serves as a juxtaposition of the governmentally supported festival. The Womad network of events is predominantly supported by market mechanisms. The structure is supported through ticket sales, vendor stall rentals, distribution of memorabilia materials such as cds, DVDs and t-shirts. Additionally, Womad ltd. has subsidiaries that include a recording studio and a record label: creative producers find supplementary support from these organizations after being placed within the festival environment. The placement in a Womad festival can mark the beginning of a musician’s career. If they work the Womad system, it can be the beginning of their work’s circulation through the global network of the music industry. By examining these cases together we are able to ascertain the various subtle differentiations which add up to the difference between being a festival artist and being an international artist.
Table 4.1 The Festivals relationship to the circulation of entertainment products from West Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Festival as an example of a market</th>
<th>Support Structure</th>
<th>Placement of West African Entertainment Products within these networks</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Festival de Cannes</td>
<td>The National Cinema Centre (CNC) organizes half of the funding with the other half coming from commercial partners such as Canal+, HP and Kodak.</td>
<td>Films are shown within the parameters of the global village. Only a handful of films have circulated within the competition.</td>
<td>West African films shown in this market are circulated marginally, mainly in art house cinemas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fespaco</td>
<td>Major support from international governmental subsidies. CNC and the European Union assist the Fespaco Foundation in the bi-annual spectacle that celebrates African cinema.</td>
<td>Once the showcase of the festival, West African films are slowly being surpassed by African countries such as South Africa and Morocco, which have stronger national government policy that supports film production.</td>
<td>Films are celebrated during the festival but have little outlet for circulation at the conclusion of the market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World of Music, Art and Dance</td>
<td>Ticket sales are the primary source of funding. Womad ltd. also sells cds and DVDs of the events to generate revenue. Partnerships with local arts agencies and private arts management organizations also provide an additional level of support.</td>
<td>Each festival presents at least one musician from West Africa. He or she is given the opportunity to perform for festival attendees both on the stage and in the more intimate workshop setting.</td>
<td>West African Womad musicians have records that circulate through industry networks. This representation along with concert tours to promote albums has increased circulation of music products.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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I. My Theoretical Contribution

My research therefore shows that development aid is not sufficient for circulation of these entertainment products. Aid in the past has only been able to assist in the creation of these entertainment products. In order to facilitate the most efficient access for these goods and services market oriented practices must be put into place. Examples of these practices include ticket and merchandizing at concerts, marketing campaigns through media outlets, and a trained local labor force that is capable of producing a marketable product.

As mentioned in chapter 1, my research project is grounded in the literature of economists David Throsby and Tyler Cowen. Both scholars have studied the relationship between creative products and their circulation in various global networks. Additionally multilateral organizations have undertaken many studies to investigate how developing nations have navigated the audiovisual industry through policy measures and investment in foreign aid. My theoretical contribution is the comparison of these networks within the particular market of the festival. As we have seen not all festivals are alike in their means for circulating these products. This study of patronage versus market-oriented practices shows where foreign aid has been missing the mark of economic development by providing a counter example in the Womad festival model. With this work I am linking the discussions on the creative economy and the development system to reveal new ways for citizens of the developing world to engage in a capacity to aspire.
Richard Florida’s work posits the idea that there are certain times in the history of society where new systems for harnessing human creativity come to pass.\textsuperscript{177} These new systems often are built into older systems that have ceased to be effective. This work looks at old systems, patronage networks and new, market-oriented practices. Florida’s research led him to assert that these new systems allow shifts in society in the way we work, who we interact with and where we live.

This research takes this idea of formulation of new practices and systems as a tool for reshaping social and economic norms and applies those ideas to the current aid system for West African film and music. In proposing new practices for supporting the production, distribution and consumption of entertainment products I am looking toward a goal of increased economic and social stability within the region of West Africa. This work builds on the information of past scholars like Pratt, Hoefert de Turegano and Diawara who have shown that the French have a vested interest in having the West African film and music industries linked to their economy. They reveal how current systems of aid disbursement to African creative producers allow the French government to maintain control over the content that is produced. This work adds to their contributions by suggesting a new 21\textsuperscript{st} century practice for aid disbursement that may assist in increased consumption of these valuable products.

Conceptually, in order to grow these efficient networks within West Africa the process for distribution and marketing has to evolve within the nations of the region. Development aid is still an absolute necessity in this region as a means of increased capital for economic

\textsuperscript{177} Florida, 56.
development. It is the practices surrounding the implementation of the development aid that need to be reassessed. The practice of exclusively supporting the creative producers and not the distribution channels has created a space where those creative producers are no longer concerned with the consumer. Practices need to be cultivated that increase the likelihood of consumption. In the case of the film industry, this means feasibility studies on the impact of building more cinemas and the facilitation of better equipment. The circulation of pirated video is so rampant in the area that it is uncertain whether the creation of new theaters with better equipment could assist in regional consumption of these products. New ways of getting consumers interested in going to the cinema to pay for a viewing must be explored, as does a system of keeping the ticket prices at a reasonable level for consumer purchase. For the music industry, the practices of circulation are more advanced. This is due in large part to the lower cost of production of the medium compounded by the ease of reproducibility once a master recording has been created.

II. Explication of Method:

There were hundreds of festivals that I could look to for analysis. In the realm of film and music list includes: Berlin, Toronto, Sundance film festivals, Bonnaro, Cochella, SXSW music festival. All would provide some examples of the circulation of entertainment products from the developing world. I chose festivals that were making concerted efforts to program West African work. Festival de Cannes is the biggest and most glamorous celebration of film; it is also a prime example of a government attempting to support an industry as part of its efforts to preserve its cultural identity. In an effort to support the continued presence of French culture in the medium
and French language in the cinema, the French government puts on this huge party each year. West African films are granted a minimum level of access in this festival because most of these films are produced with French funding, use French technicians in the production and have French language. Fespaco was a good compliment to Cannes because it too was a film festival supported by French governmental subsidy. Here is an instance of France attempting to maintain influence on its former colonies. The case of Fespaco also served as a counter-balance as a festival that takes place in the developing world that covers the same medium. Fespaco was a clear choice for like Cannes it claims to celebrate the spirit of film. This case allows one to see how Africans place their film products in relation to the placement of African film products abroad. Womad was a natural choice as the case for a festival supported by market mechanisms because its mission is about making sure that global music is shared with the world. The organization deals with the same themes addressed in this research: entertainment products and cultural voice.

In an effort to not get lost in tangential data, I employed the method of structured focused comparison to by research. The work of Alexander George on the implementation of method in social science research was informative in the practice of this method. I was interested in how networks as the independent variable in my research puzzle were interacting with global consumption, which I held as constant and analyzed instances of various global networks. In each case my independent variables were not identical; each festival, as an instance of a market within the global network of the entertainment industry, had infrastructure in place that dealt with
circulation of the goods and services within the environment in a different manner. By picking cases and going through data recovery in this fashion it precluded the temptation to just pick one case, such as Festival de Cannes, and use that as the standard. Structured, focused comparison allowed me to work through similar concepts over several cases in order to get to some conclusions on how global networks were allowing for the consumption of entertainment products from the developing world.

III. Entertainment Products as a Tool for Increasing Cultural Voice:

Inhabitants of the developing world have little recourse for getting their ideas and perspectives heard. The people of these nations do not possess the power to negotiate within the structures of multilateral governance. However, the one trait that they do own which has proven to be of value to the developed world is their cultural expressions. Increasing the circulation of these entertainment goods and service should be seen not only as being economically prosperous but socially enriching as well. Access to efficient global distribution networks allows for increased cultural voice for the marginalized groups. Circulation of these goods and services can be viewed as a practice which can facilitate greater understanding amongst one another. There are stories to be told and talent to be expressed, but without the proper structures in place, these expressions will never be heard.

In his scholarship on the questions of the implications of culture, Arjun Appadurai looks at how a group of people can situate their culture in order to increase development and combat the social
issues which have been plaguing them. His answer speaks to the themes presented within this work; he sees ideas of the future as equally important in a culture as those shared ideas of the past. To put a finer point on it, the collective future of a group is just as important as the collective past on how their culture is defined. Appadurai comes to the conclusion that by, “strengthening a culture’s capacity to aspire, conceived as a cultural capacity, the future-oriented logic of development could find a natural ally, and the poor could find the resources required to contest and alter the conditions of their own poverty.” I agree with Appadurai’s assertion that by reframing the context in which we discuss culture we can find additional ways in which it can be strengthened. In his essay Appadurai posits that the poor are positioned into norms where their lack (money, dignity, voice) are made worse and that in order to fix this development policy makers must recognize that these marginalized groups have aspirations which are greater than that of basic subsistence. By engaging these marginalized groups with a capacity to aspire development professionals can facilitate bottom up agenda setting. “The poorer members, precisely because of their lack of opportunities to practice the use of navigational capacity have a more brittle horizon of aspirations.” Film and music are a way of extending cultural recognition by allowing creative producers to mold ideas of aspiration and knowledge. These entertainment products could be used as tools for creation of what Appadurai calls, “identifying the cultural map of aspirations.” 179

179 Appadurai, 83.
In the cases discussed in this thesis there was an undercurrent of negotiating a post-colonial discourse. The countries of West Africa contend with two factors when dealing with the creation of their national identity. Scholar Kevin Mulcahy discussed the complex negotiation of this process in his work. He explains that post-coloniality requires constructing both a unique public culture and a distinct political culture if full sovereignty is to be realized.\textsuperscript{180} The increased circulation of film and music can assist these former colonies in their mission to “reclaim a voice in telling their stories; that is, in creating their own cultural distinctiveness rather than being defined as the “other” by another.”\textsuperscript{181} The idea of using cultural policy to create more efficient industries which will support this increased cultural voice must be examined.

Prior to making policy changes there must be a process of data collection. Who is producing this work? How are they supporting their production? Who is consuming these creative expressions? All of this information is unknown or too dispersed to get a handle on. UNESCO has the most optimal infrastructure for handling such a task due to the infrastructure already set up within the organization to handle such gathering. The next step is to work with local governance structures to implement programs that will allow the deployment of new skills in order to get more people employed in the creative sector.


\textsuperscript{181} Ibid, 4.
The work produced in this study adds to the much needed discourse concerning the importance of creative sectors in a stable functioning economy. Fostering a creative sector means increased innovation and creation within a community; factors that will eventually lead to advancement. The products created by the creative sector are gaining a larger segment of the global market. According to the UNESCO article written by Pierre Sauvé, “in 1994 developing countries exported $4.2 billion worth of core cultural goods, by 2002 their exports had grown to $11.6 billion, representing just over a fifth of the global market.¹⁸²” This research furthers the discussion on why there is a need for more data on the circulation of these entertainment goods and services. The authors of the 2005 UNESCO report on trends in the audio visual markets of the developing world discuss this issue at length. There is a scarcity of data which makes an efficient quantitative analysis of the flows of entertainment products to and from the developing world very onerous if not impossible. Further attention needs to be taken with the study of circulation in the audio visual sector. This data will only strengthen the claims made prior about the importance of cultural industries in a thriving economy.

These entertainment products would not exist without the help of government subsidy. It is however essential that funding come with the idea of having consumption be part of the process. In the case of the film industry in Burkina Faso there was so much emphasis on the creation of the product, on the director, that the rest of the cycle was ignored. Governmental policy should focus on training programs that teach skills in sound or video editing and design, animation,

¹⁸² Sauvé, 14.
marketing. These are the skills that need support in order to boost the production cycle. Policy should focus on systems that will allow creative producers to remain in their homeland and still produced internationally viable products. In each case we saw examples where creative producers left their homeland in order to create their creative producer expression in the most efficient manner. Proper governmental policy will bring this efficiency home.

In our current economic climate, many of the developed nations find their financial situations precarious at best. Foreign aid will not be available in the way that it has been over the past decade, and the funds that are available are needed for more pressing issues like food and health supplies. One area where resources have not been depleted by the global financial crisis is the knowledge networks. Information exchange is becoming easier with increased access to ICTs. Such tools could be used to set up tutorials. Hollywood could assist in the process by donating editing suites and camera equipment to educational efforts in these regions. The crux of any policy should not be investment via subsidy but rather an investment in knowledge via skill development. A creative producer will create; he or she will find ways to channel expression onto a medium. Where policy comes in is fostering a space where the creative producer can do this at home and not be forced to move to the developing world to find technicians to assist with the creation of the products.

IV. Limitations & Areas of Further Research
This thesis focuses on the importance of efficient placement of an artist’s expression in a global network in order for it to be consumed. Before concluding this study it is important to point out that there is a place for art outside of the commercial market. I make no claims that a work of art does not have a level of importance that transcends consumption. A musical score can be just as strong and moving if three people hear it as if 300 people hear it. The level of circulation has nothing to do with any aesthetic valuation, and I make no claim to a correlation between the two. This study focuses on access not on aesthetics. There is room for further study of the relationship between global networks and entertainment goods and services from the developing world for an analysis on the level of success of aesthetic construction and authenticity of cultural artifact. It is not within my means in both time and understanding to include this critique currently. There is a place in every community for a creative producer expression to just exist for its own sake. However, these products and services are too powerful as tools of expression to be denied access to proper channels of distribution if the creative producer chooses such a path.

I dealt with certain limitations throughout this research process that should be noted. Due to lack of finances and timing I was not able to get to these festivals in order to fully experience the environment. The research is based exclusively upon second hand accounts. The research into these second hand accounts is thorough, and I made all attempts to capture varying opinions on these events in order to get a full picture of the festival environment taking place in each case.

I chose not to become involved in the discourses surrounding copyright and intellectual property rights within the audio visual sector. The issue of copyright infringement and intellectual
property is a pressing one on a global scale and in Africa in particular. The pirated music and film economy runs parallel to the legitimate economies and strains growth across the continent. I chose to leave this research to someone who is more qualified in the vagaries of intellectual property rights law and issues of how black market economies effect the growth of burgeoning industries. Another limitation is that I do not have a degree in economics thus the details on market failure are not fully fleshed out. The conversation on the history of these events along with the circulation of the goods after the event is my way of speaking to levels of market success or failures without employing the tools of an economist. In lieu of these tools the structured focused comparison method informs my research by drawing out themes and instances of both market success and failure.

Much of the literature that was reviewed on the audio visual sector discussed film, music and one medium not mentioned within this research: television. In many regards television is the most viable media alternative for the circulation of entertainment goods and services being produced in the developing world. As a platform, television is prolific even in poorer countries such as Burkina Faso. The technology is present in people’s daily life patterns and as such is an excellent vehicle for introducing new thoughts, ideas and expressions. I did not include television in this work because my focus was on festivals. Both festivals and television are platforms within the larger global network; I chose to look at festivals; however, I would be remiss if I did not mention the importance of television in the audio visual policy debates. Many scholars believe it is the best tool for increased access to the products being generated in the developing world.
V. My prescription:

Both the film and the music industry could benefit from a more sustainable education system that teaches skills such as editing, mixing, and recording. There must also be increased emphasis on learning how to market products to consumers. All of these skills could be helpful in both these fields and countless others. Acquisition of this knowledge will assist the economies of Western Africa to generate more sustainable economic and social growth. The systems for creation, distribution and marketing must be strengthened within these economies in order for the film and music industries of Western Africa to become less reliant on the aid of foreign nations.

The festival is just one part of these entertainment networks, additional studies can be generated to discuss various nodes within the larger network. I chose to ground my theoretical analysis in the study of the festival because of its unique ability to bring the creative producer and the consumer into the same space. This work focuses on the festival as a unique nexus in the global network, a place where actors have the opportunity to meet in the same space to exchange ideas and consume entertainment products and services. There are many other types of global networks that could be studied to see how entertainment products from the developing world are finding their way to consumers. The most obvious of which would be the Internet, for this platform has the ability to place these products in a person’s home at the click of a mouse. I chose the festival because it is a platform with a long history as a marketplace; it is a place where creator, producer and consumer interact with one another face to face. The festival functions as a
market that relies on a relationship between creative producer and the consumer; as such it
provides an increased likelihood of connection between creator and consumer. Aside from being
a space where ideas and products can be consumed, the festival is also a space that self-designates
its importance in a given field be it music, film, theater, crafts, heritage, etc. People attend
festivals because they are interested in surrounding themselves with others who are passionate
about the same things to exchange thoughts and ideas.

The unique nature of the festival should be leveraged to create increased circulation and thus
increased cultural voice of the developing world. If I were tasked with the job of creating a
festival that would find increased circulation amongst consumers, I would suggest the following
platform: bring together a dozen creative producers working in film and music to create an
evening length event, then find several venues within Western Africa and then several venues
internationally that would present the event. On the regional level, the event would be ticketed at
a cost that would still allow consumers in that economy to gain entrance. The rest of the cost
would be subsidized by foreign aid and any commercial venture that would be interested in the
advertising opportunities. The international tour would be ticketed at the market rate for festival
concerts of this nature and would also be support from corporations looking to be associated with
the goal of increasing the voices of the developing world. For both the regional and international
concerts I would engage with prominent figures in the entertainment industry to act as champions
for these events. In both instances the presence of such figures would provide legitimacy to the
festivals. The festival program would contain three venues: a large stage for big musical acts or
jam sessions, a cinema for film screenings, and a smaller lecture hall for seminars lecture demonstrations or more intimate musical performances.

The model proposed has both a regional and international component because it is necessary for the creative producers and for the economies of these countries that the work be consumed both locally and internationally. Economically, it is important that revenues from the circulation of these goods are reinvested in the local industries instead of those of the patron governments. Socially, this multilevel circulation is necessary for the citizens of the developing world to maintain hope in situations of poverty, war and violence, for these entertainment goods give them a sense of community and possibly hope. The leaders from the developing world do not generally have the negotiating power to speak and defend the identity of their citizens within multilateral governance structures. Film and music are excellent vehicles to allow for this increased hope in awareness of the cultural voice from the developing world.

Two examples of platforms being facilitated to allow for such inspirational sentiments to be expressed are Africa Express and Indaba Music. Africa Express is a concert touring both in West Africa and the UK in promotion of West African musicians. So far the concert has been performed in Bamako, Brixton, Glastonbury, and Liverpool. As the website explains, the idea for the show came as a response to the lack of African artists performing at the Live 8 concerts, an event to raise awareness about Africa. This event provides an opportunity for musicians to share thoughts of identity with the world by touring not just in Europe but in West Africa as well.
IndabaMusic is a company that developed a website, http://www.indabamusic.com/, which allows musicians from all over the world to share musical talents and create new expressions. Dan Zaccagnino, a co-founder of the organization, explained the importance of the platform as, “creating a new opportunity that doesn’t exist.” This platform allows collaboration across borders as well as opportunities for increased circulation.

VI. Conclusion:

In his writing on the rise of the creative class, Richard Florida discusses how markets facilitate merchants, what he terms middlemen, who have a vested interest in circulation. The focus of merchants is to move a good from producer to consumer. Aid systems are focused on fostering, strengthening and continuing culture not on circulation. This work has argued that aid mechanisms are insufficient for getting these products circulated and that networks supported by foreign aid alone simply miss the mark. A more dialogic approach to the relationship between the global networks and the creative producers of the developing world might bring about an evolution in the process of cultivation of increased global consumption, taking music and film products from the creator in the developing world to the local and global consumer. This evolution is the necessary next step pushing the thoughts and ideas of the marginalized voices out of the corner and into the core of the zeitgeist.

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