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The Creative City in Namibia: Development Potential for Windhoek?

An Analysis of the Fashion Design and Filmmaking Industry in
Windhoek

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Content

- LIST OF FIGURES4**
- LIST OF TABLES4**
- 1 INTRODUCTION6**
- 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND8**
 - 2.1 The Creative City8**
 - 2.1.1 Origins of the Concept8**
 - 2.1.2 Models9**
 - 2.1.3 Definition and Characteristics of the Cultural Industries13**
 - 2.2 African Urbanism18**
 - 2.2.1 The Potential of Growth18**
 - 2.2.2 Challenges to Overcome20**
 - 2.3 Synopsis: The Creative City in Africa22**
- 3 FIELD STUDY WINDHOEK26**
 - 3.1 Thesis26**
 - 3.2 Methods29**
 - 3.2.1 Analysis of policy documents and other textual sources29**
 - 3.2.2 Problem-Centred Interviews30**
 - 3.3 Selection of Interview Partners31**
 - 3.4 Transcription and Evaluation32**
 - 3.5 The City of Windhoek - Overview33**
 - 3.5.1 General Overview33**
 - 3.5.2 Overview - Economy37**
 - 3.6 Creative Industries in Windhoek39**
 - 3.6.1 General Market and Labour Market40**
 - 3.6.2 Production Chains and Networks of Producers52**
 - 3.6.3 Networks and the Creative Field58**

3.6.4 Government Policies and Support Structures	64
4 CONCLUSION	70
REFERENCE LIST	74

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: UNCTAD Classification of the Creative Industries	15
Figure 2: Income Distribution in Windhoek per Township.....	36

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Projected Population for Namibia, Urban and Rural, 2015-40.....	34
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank Group
COA	Council of the Arts
COTA	College of the Arts
CRAN	Communications Regulatory Authority of Namibia
DOA	Department of Arts
FAN	Filmmakers Association of Namibia
FCN	Fashion Council of Namibia
FNCC	Franco-Namibia Cultural Centre
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
MICT	Ministry for Information, Communication and Technology
MIT	Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and SME Development (former

	Ministry of Trade and Industries)
MOE	Ministry of Education, Art and Culture
MTI	Ministry of Trade and Industries
NBC	Namibian Broadcaster Company
NDP	National Development Plan
NFC	Namibian Film Commission
NIMT	Namibian Institute for Mining and Technology
NSA	Namibian Statistics Agency
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
UNAM	University of Namibia

1 INTRODUCTION

When the heavy rain drops hit the vast sand fields of the Australian desert and turned it into a blooming ocean of flowers, even people in distant Namibia were happy about it. Yet, not because they knew of the thirst for rain in such barren landscapes but for a different reason. The rain in Australia swept the production of last year's winner of six Academy Awards into the desert of Namibia: *Mad Max 4 – Fury Road* (Daily Telegraph, 08.11.2011). With the story set in an apocalyptic landscape of a vast sea of sand, the Namib Desert seemed to be the perfect substitute for this Hollywood action sequel equipped with a budget of US\$ 150 million, of which US\$ 38 million were to stay in that small country (Mendelsohn, 2015).

The immense economic value of such productions is just one reason among many why policy makers and urban planners around the world are increasingly including concepts of the creative city or creative industries into the vision statements and policy papers of their cities: from San Francisco and Boston via Dortmund and Genoa to Bandung and Cape Town – a steadily growing number of urban planners around the globe put their hope in this urban development strategy (Cunningham, 2009: 11-12). Through a promotion of cultural and artistic activities, these planners hope that their city will turn into a bustling place, full of cafés, bars, theatres, concert halls, galleries and, most importantly, young and creative people. It is these people – young, flexible, highly skilled – that the urban planners seek to attract – and with them, their knowledge and their skills (Florida, 2002: 754; James et al., 2007: 2). Supposed to lay the foundations of a modern urban economy that is able to face the challenges of a post-fordist and globalized world, the competition for these talents has spread over vast parts of the world (Gibson & Klocker, 2004: 431).

Yet, even if the academic interest in this concept has steadily grown in places like America, Europe or Asia, the African continent has been widely ignored by research and remains a dark spot in relation to the concept of the creative city (Mbaye, 2014). Yet, it should be the African context in which the concept of a creative city is to be explored – at least, African urban agglomerations will require them most urgently as their population and economy is forecasted to exhibit the fastest growth rates worldwide (KPMG, 2012: 5).

It is thus that this work attempts to explore the concept of the creative city in an African context. Based on a field study and interviews conducted in the city of Windhoek, Namibia's relatively small and quiet capital, this paper seeks to identify and analyse local peculiarities and opportunities that the creative industries have to face in these small, highly unequal and isolated towns and cities in southern Africa. Combing two strands of academia, African urbanism and the creative city, it has been attempted to explore the potentials and problems such a concept, developed in the Global North for cities of the Global North, eventually holds

for African cities like Windhoek, cities that seem to be so different from the northern counterparts without an industrial base, without the infrastructure, but instead with this extreme poverty and inequality.

In order to do so, it is however required to briefly introduce the concept of the creative city and of the creative industries. Highlighting their origin helps to understand the four characteristic aspects of the creative city that will be outlined afterwards. Subsequently, the general development of African cities will be examined in order to emphasize the specific problems cities like Windhoek are encountering. Consequently, both strands are brought together, setting the context in which the creative industries of Windhoek are to be explored. Due to the wide dearth of research and data on the creative city in Windhoek, this study has had to assume a relatively explorative character to ensure a high inclusiveness and flexibility during the research. Based on the interviews conducted, an analysis of two creative industries, the fashion and the film industry, will ultimately help to understand how the creative industry in Windhoek has adapted to the specific local context and what potentials and challenges may arise from it.

Although the study initially set out to explore more than two sectors, time constraints have cut this endeavour short. Despite a large number of interviews conducted with members from other sectors, only data gathered from the fashion and film industry has been used for the analysis. This is not to say, however, that insights from other industries have not impacted on the knowledge gained during the research project.

Part of the research has also been an attempt to provide an overview for the creative city in Windhoek that helps to grasp the size and significance of the sector. A diagram has thus been designed that includes the main stakeholders of the creative industries in Windhoek. Yet, this is not to say that the list is complete. Instead, the diagram is meant to be open to expansion, change, and removal by those who can make use of it and have a better insight in the industry. Unfortunately, however, the size of the diagram has prevented an inclusion in this document, thus it has been added to the attachment (attachment 1).

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 The Creative City

2.1.1 Origins of the Concept

The popularity of the concept of the Creative City has experienced an immense surge among urban planners and policymakers in recent years. On all continents, from Europe and North America to Asia and South America, decision makers have embraced the vision to develop the cultural and economic sphere of their urban spaces by strengthening the creative industries (Cunningham, 2009: 11-12; Grodach, 2013: 1747). Originating in the offices of North American and European universities, ministries and urban development agencies in the early 2000s, the concept has since acquired a powerful appeal for urban planners from the Global North as South alike, spreading into the vision statements and urban development plans of cities in South America, Asia and Africa (cf. Wenz, 2009; Rabady, 2012; Gunay & Dokmeci, 2011). However, critical scholars increasingly highlight the specific context from which this concept has emerged: Primarily developed in the cities of the Global North as an attempt to respond to the social, economic and cultural impacts of globalisation and the post-industrial structural transformation of the urban economy (Gibson & Klocker, 2004: 431; Evans, 2009: 1004), an unmodified adaptation of the concept in many cities of the Global South has been more and more subject to criticism and its potential for the specific challenges of urban spaces of the Global South has increasingly been doubted (Gibson & Kong, 2005; Pratt, 2008; Pratt, 2011).

In order to understand this criticism in relation to urban spaces of the Global South, it is however required to briefly outline the origins of the concept and de-pathologize to a certain degree the different nuances in the understanding of the creative city. Fundamental to the concept of the Creative City has been the 'cultural turn' within the Humanities in the early 1990s as well as the 'discovery' of the creative industries towards the end of the millennium.

Challenging the strong conceptual dichotomy between the economic and the cultural sphere that dominated much of the academic thinking of the early 1990s, the 'cultural turn' contributed widely to the conceptual conflation of both epistemological categories (Amin & Thrift, 2007: 145). Previously distinctive attributes like rationality, profitability and a lack of moral on the one side and irrationality, emotionality and the claim for a higher truth on the other side have been challenged and increasingly been blurred (James, Martin & Sunley, 2007: 1). A widely accepted understanding – coming in many nuances, of course – has emerged, acknowledging that neither do economic practices prove to be free of cultural norms and aspirations, nor does an opening of the arts towards economic principles such as supply and demand necessarily mean a suffocation of all creative and culturally valuable

aspects of the artist's work (Gibson & Kong, 2005: 542; James et al., 2007: 6-7). Rather do studies suggest a vital interdependence and growth potential of culture and business: while local innovation systems highlight the crucial role of cultural norms, trust and creativity for the innovation of products and services, case studies of Hollywood and other film industries prove the enormous economic potential of cultural products (see, for example, UNESCO, 2013: 19-20).

Rooted in this development to reconcile both spheres, an increasing number of academics and urban planners began to 'discover' the cultural and creative industries. Understood as cross-sectoral accumulation of branches which are in the broadest sense engaging in the production, distribution and provision of goods and services with symbolic, cultural and creative content (Schlickewei, Schröter & Waldmüller, 2011: 17), the creative industries have entered many economic strategy papers and urban development plans across the world. Not only have branches like the film or new media industry shown a solid growth (UNESCO, 2013: 20), but the companies seem to match the organization and employment characteristics of a post-industrial economy to a large degree, in which flexible, service-oriented and knowledge-based business structures gain more and more centrality (Rogerson, 2006: 153; Evans, 2009: 1004-05).

2.1.2 Models

These developments created the context in which the concept of the creative city has gradually been developed by academics and urban planners. Although the creative city is usually associated with the urban geographers Richard Florida and Charles Landry and their understanding of the interplay between economic and cultural dynamics within the urban space (Gibson & Klocker, 2004), it is the concept's shortcomings that require a widening of their understanding of the creative city (cf. Gibson & Kong, 2005; Pratt, 2008). Not only do the frequently criticized conceptual flaws of an allegedly neoliberal concept render it necessary to add to and adjust the understanding of the creative city, but Florida's (2002; 2003) general assumptions about urbanisation and modernity do not necessarily apply to the context of urban Africa. It is for this reason that – based on Florida's model – two additional conceptual developments within the creative city are introduced, the Cultural Industries and the Cultural Planning model, to be finally able to define and outline an understanding of the creative city that could fit an African context. In order to do so, it is however required to briefly outline general considerations about conventional cultural development models as well as Richard Florida's (2003) concept of the Creative Class.

2.1.2.1 Conventional Model

Conventionally, local economy developers seek to create a business atmosphere that is potentially attractive to firms from outside places to re-settle in their respective administrative area. In a world that is increasingly globalized and mobile, typical instrument and incentives range from tax rebates to direct financial support and a low degree of regulation in order to lure investments and service-oriented companies to their urban spaces (Scott, 2006: 12). Place marketing has thus become one of the most important tools in the urban planner's repertoire, typically highlighting globally appealing amenities and landscapes to attract tourists and build a reputation that helps the city to stick out in this fierce competition (Grodach, 2013: 1748-49). Within this development, local culture and arts have increasingly served merely as a marketing instrument that is supposed to brand the city's name and attract foreign visitors (Pratt, 2011: 127). Consequently, the focus of public support frequently lies on those cultural and artistic projects and initiatives that are globally marketable and that seek to meet the demand of foreign tourists rather than being for the benefit of the entire local population. Accompanied by a huge marketing campaign, old waterfronts are exclusively revamped, expensive flagship museums erected and whole suburbs transformed into historic or cultural quarters – projects that have frequently been criticized for prioritizing private investors, international tourists and wealthy shoppers over the public good, gradually excluding and expelling 'unsuitable' parts of the population from the public life of their quarters (Grodach, 2013: 1749; Pratt, 2011: 127; Rabady, 2012: 290).

2.1.2.2 Creative City Model

Building on the basic assumptions of conventional models, the geographers Charles Landry and Richard Florida have developed new models which are commonly termed the Creative City model. Known for their successful self-marketing strategies, both authors have to a large extent shaped the current understanding of a creative city far beyond the borders of the Global North (Gibson & Klocker, 2004: 424). In a global economy which is increasingly service-oriented and knowledge-based, both authors consider knowledge, innovation and creativity as the key to local economic development (Grodach, 2013: 1750). Instead of traditional locational factors like production costs, highly specialized skills and extensive knowledge become the main determinants of economic growth (Evans, 2009: 1004). Underlying this assumption is Florida's thesis that in an era of post-industrial economies the globally ubiquitous 'hard' factors such as access to the global transport or telecommunication networks move to the rear while a highly skilled labour pool becomes the primary factor of economic growth that is based on innovation (Florida, 2002: 754). Consequently, in this global competition urban planners should attempt to attract the most intelligent, skilled and innovative talents or what Florida coined the 'creative class' (Florida, 2003: 6). This class of

highly educated and mobile people consist of a super-creative core (artists, designers, professors, actors, etc.) and a group that is professionally required to meet challenges with creativity (engineers, software developers, doctors, etc.) (Florida, 2003: 8). Turning around the conventional assumption of a labour pool emerging around a local industry, Florida assumes that once a highly skilled and educated labour pool exist, companies will re-settle and emerge to be close to the pool of creative and educated talents (Florida, 2002: 754).

As most cities of the Global North can however combine most of the traditional factors such as sufficient housing to live in and a good public transport system to get around, urban planners are required to promote 'soft' factors like cultural diversity, tolerance towards different life-styles or a vibrant scene of bars, theatres and galleries to lure talent from outside to the city (Florida, 2002: 744; Florida, 2003: 4-7). Many cities have thus shifted their focus accordingly, promoting entertainment and cultural amenities on the one side and marketing a globally appealing narrative of the local culture on the other (Cunningham, 2009: 12). Yet, this has not come without strong criticism. Besides well-documented impacts such as gentrification caused by revamped cultural precincts or the insecure labour conditions within these branches (cf. McRobbie, 2002; Gill, 2010; Wenz, 2012), it is this dominating top-down approach by government officials that aroused criticism, trying to super-impose an internationally more marketable narrative of local culture while the real needs and desires of the local population are neither represented nor included (Pratt, 2011: 127). Not surprisingly, the concept has been criticized for its implementation being frequently led by interests of a few, not seldom originating in the neo-liberal discourse (Grodach, 2013: 1762). With this understanding, local culture and arts are transformed into a mere attractor for economically necessitated skills in a worldwide competition while they are bereft of any value for themselves.

2.1.2.3 Cultural Industries Model

As a response to the centrality of cultural consumption within the Creative City model, the Cultural Industries model has placed its focus primarily on the functional characteristics of the cultural industries (Grodach, 2013: 1749). Understood as a cross-sectoral industry, the cultural industries are defined as the sum of enterprises that produce, trade or offer services and products having cultural, symbolic or entertaining content (Schlickewei et al., 2011: 17;), and "transmitting non-utilitarian aesthetics and semiotic signals" (Scott, 2010: 116). Typically, the joining link of these enterprises is that they consider culture as the primary resource for their business and define intellectual capital as their most significant driver (Booyesen, Molotja & Phiri, 2013: 2). However, this model has been modified to include what has been termed the creative industries. These differ from the cultural industries in that they do not necessarily engage with symbolic or entertaining content but whose products and services demand a

certain level of creativity in order to generate innovative ideas and designs (UNESCO, 2013: 20). Defined as such, the cultural industries go beyond the classic fields such as film, music and art, and include all kinds of software development or R&D. Within this work, the terms of cultural and creative industries will be used indifferently and comprise the firms of both definitions in order to ensure an inclusive analysis. In addition, a creative city is not necessarily related to Florida's concept but should be understood as an urban cluster of firms belonging to one or more creative sectors.

Usually, the companies involved in the cultural industries are micro to small firms, frequently only a single person free-lancing, which need to be highly flexible to keep up with the trends and developments of the dynamic industry. Typically, these small firms are connected through informal and formal networks through which they cooperate on a project-basis with members of the industry (Scott, 2006: 5). In order to minimize the risk involved in their value-chain organisation, these companies are often dependent on geographical proximity to each other in order to be close to information sources, suppliers or networking platforms (Hadjimichalis, 2011: 265). The concentration of these companies in a confined geographical space like a city or urban quarter is considered a creative cluster.

However, the question who to be included as members of the cultural industries, is far from being uncontested. The debate around the creative industries has presented many nuances and definitions of the model. While some scholars (cf. UNESCO, 2013: 22) argue the definition should lean more towards the non-commercial cultural sector and include the relevant state institutions, others focus on the more commercial creative industries, including advertising agencies or software developers (cf. Booyesen et al., 2013: 2). Some define the cultural industries through their functional characteristics (Scott, 2006: 5-8; Schlickewei et al., 2001: 18), others use the kind of product or service to distinguish between creative and non-creative businesses (Kunzmann, 2011: 163). Additionally, since it is hard to distinguish between a non-creative and creative job in a particular branch – in the film-industry, the director's job entails much creative work, but what about the cable puller at the set? – some have favoured an occupation model over a sectoral approach in order to rather focus on the individual work process than on the actual product or service (Grodach, 2013: 1750). Despite this number of statistical problems and the broad array of definitions, the Cultural Industries model in general is a very useful concept as – in contrast to the Creative City model – it shifts the focus from the consumption of products and services by creative workers to the local production of these. As such, this model allows for a thoroughly analysis of the needs of the cultural industries, consequently enabling urban planners to identify bottlenecks as well as opportunities within the industry to be enhanced or tackled by the urban administration.

2.1.2.4 Cultural Planning Model

Although the two models described above provide the conceptual tools to outline a definition for this work, the Cultural Planning model will be shortly introduced for it is very well summing up much of the criticism that the other models have to face. In addition, some of its core-ideas should be included or at least kept in mind for any working definition as they provide the basis on which a creative city model for urban agglomerations in Africa can be developed.

In contrast to the Cultural Industries model, the Cultural Planning model shifts away from the focus on the industry side and their organizational characteristics. Instead of considering art and culture as a merely profitable product, this model goes beyond a purely economic dimension and highlights the social and cultural value of art and culture expression for the local population (Pratt, 2011: 129). As such, cultural programs seek to enhance the social community bonding and quality of life on a neighbour-hood level through an inclusive approach bound to local needs and strengths (Grodach, 2013: 1750). In this understanding, cultural and artistic programs are supported to generate a socio-cultural atmosphere within quarters of the city that is conducive to creativity and the development of innovative ideas. Underlying this assumption is the idea that innovation is a product of existing knowledge being combined in new and creative ways, while the capacity to come up with new ways is not bound to the creativity of individuals, but rather determined by the norms and patterns, the space and taboos that a society attaches to certain forms of thinking (Scott, 2010: 119-21).

Although this rather grass-roots model seems to be more complex to be fostered and supported by urban planners and does not seem to promise the same job-creation potential as the Cultural Industries approach, it nevertheless serves well as a warning against costly and ineffective flagship-approaches and as a reminder that the arts and culture should not serve the interests of the private sector or tourists exclusively, but that it should ultimately be to the benefit of the local population, no matter how creative and wealthy they might be.

2.1.3 Definition and Characteristics of the Creative Industries

The concept employed in this work to approach the creative city in Windhoek will mainly follow the Cultural Industries model for its focus on the local economic potential as well as for the feasibility of its policy recommendations, advantages which might be of a very vital role for many cities of the Global South. Yet, the core ideas of the other models should remain part of the understanding. Both, the suggestion to globally attract talented people on the one hand and the reminder to ultimately serve the local population on the other, are two aspects that cannot be omitted in a strategy for cities of the Global South. Without a focus on the

local population the concept is likely to exacerbate the typically rampant inequality of these cities, while creative and cultural products on the other side usually present a chance to all cities, irrespective of their classic position in global production chains, as they do not only compete for costs but also on qualitative attributes and geographical particularities (Scott, 2006: 3; UNESCO, 2013: 21).

Accordingly, this section serves to briefly define the cultural industries as a cross-sectoral approach according to the UNCTAD (2010: 8) classification scheme and to outline some characteristics of the involved industries that will eventually help to assess the conditions which are necessary for a creative city concept in Africa.

For a definition of the cultural industries in an African context, it should be remembered that the cultural industries and the related concepts are far from being unanimously defined. For the purpose of this work, the UNCTAD classification (see figure 1) of the creative industries will be employed. In the light of a rather unexplored concept for the Namibian context, the definition is required to be as inclusive as possible in order to identify the relevant sectors for Windhoek in a rather large amalgam of fluid definitions. The UNCTAD classification serves this purpose as it combines the cultural industries – the production of goods and services that have at their core a symbolic or expressive element – and the creative industries – the production of goods and services that include cultural products but focuses on products and services that demand innovation (UNESCO, 2013: 20). Accordingly, the classification ranges widely, from the traditional cultural industries such as music, film, art, design or the media to those which rely more on innovation than on culture per se, such as R&D or software programmers. Concurrently, this classification allows for a relatively open consideration of related industries as it pre-structures them according to the cores without defining them too narrowly. Additionally, it includes the frequently state-funded heritage and cultural sector such as museum or galleries, institutions which do play a vital role for many creative industries in the Global South (UNESCO, 2013: 25-26). Combined with the ideas of the Cultural Planning model, the cultural and creative industries therefore comprise all activities that include cultural creativity and innovation, or in other words, “are trailblazers, nurturing overarching societal dispositions which stimulate creativity and innovation, working to the benefit of all” (UNESCO, 2013: 21).

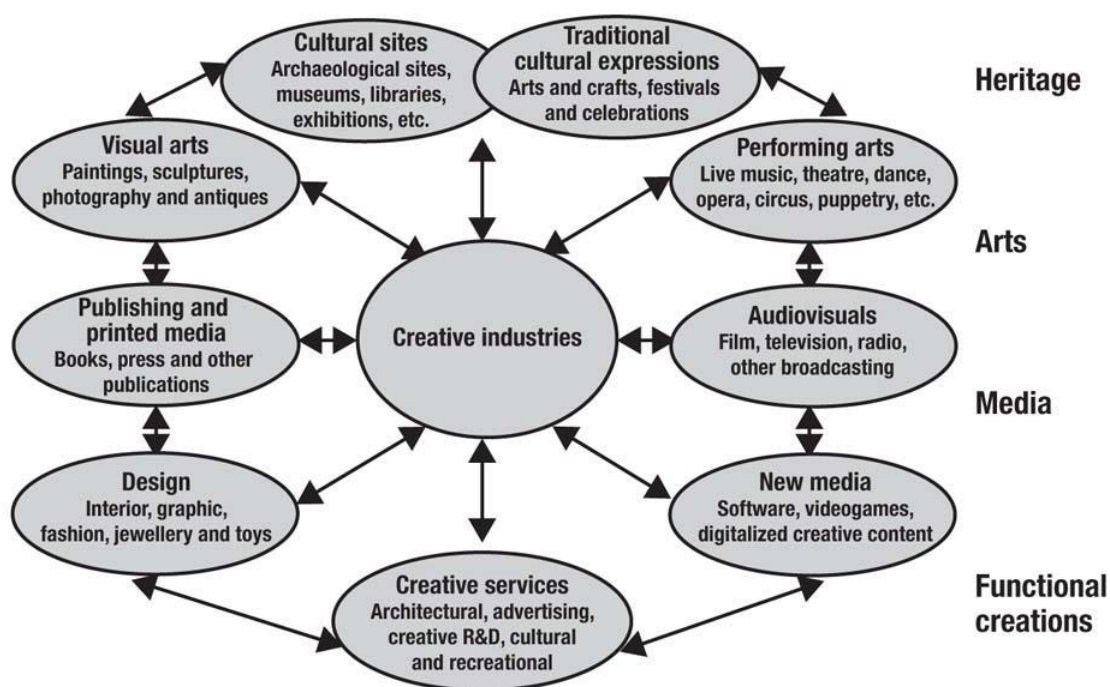


Figure 1: UNCTAD Classification of the Creative Industries

(Source: UNCTAD, 2010: 8)

Based on the Cultural Industries model, scholars have identified specific functional characteristics related to companies that are involved in the creative industries (cf. Scott, 2006; Scott, 2010; Gibson & Kong, 2005; Schlickewei et al., 2011). However, it should be noted that these findings are primarily based on cities of the Global North, and thus must not necessarily correspond to the characteristics of creative cities of the Global South. Nevertheless, examining these features will help to outline the industry's usual organisational composition and the peculiarities for an African context.

2.1.3.1 Organisation in Networks

Due to the high volatility of seasonal trends and tastes, companies involved in sectors like film, music, advertising or fashion often need to be more flexible and dynamic than their counterparts from other sectors. In order to be able to flexibly respond to this steadily changing demand, production typically occurs in extended networks of companies. Dominated by large firms, networks connect a large range of small firms that employ a flexible specialization, allowing them to focus on a single product like handbags whose final design specification however continuously changes in order to keep up with the latest trends and tastes (Gibson & Kong, 2005: 543; Scott, 2006: 6). The producers usually form a cluster which is comprised by "vertically disintegrated networks of production units tied together in relations of specialization and complementarity" (Scott, 2006: 5). On a project-basis, these

firms or individuals pool their skills and cooperate temporarily to meet the project's target. Through these continuously shifting constellations, a steady exchange of information and knowledge is strengthened (Allen, James & Gamlen, 2007: 182). This network based organisation allows the involved businesses to possess enough flexibility in order to respond to the risky and dynamic market that is reflected in the fierce competition, the seasonal trends, the need for product differentiation and individual consumer demands usually accompanying the production or delivery of creative products and services (Scott, 2006: 6).

2.1.3.2 Labour Market

Typically, the creative industries require a broad and diverse labour pool, ranging from highly educated and skilled individuals doing most of the creative, managerial or high-technology work to rather low-skilled workers further downstream who ensure the production and distribution of the products. Considered very competitive, the creative industries are usually very fluid and dependent on an influx of skills from outside (Scott, 2006: 6).

Part-time, free-lance, temporary projects are some of the attributes frequently used to describe the labour situation of the creative individuals. Pooling their skills for a single project, freelancers usually collaborate temporarily and then move on to the next project for which a new team will be assembled. This temporary fusion of diverse skills contributes to set free a specific synergy helping to ultimately create a unique product (Booyesen et al., 2013: 3-4). Additionally, these continually changing constellations cater for a steady exchange of information and knowledge among the individuals involved in the upstream area of the production chain (Scott, 2010: 118).

Yet, this project-based labour organisation requires a disciplined self-management, entrepreneurial spirit and extensive formal and informal 'networking' to obtain new orders and establish new project-based collaborations, aspects that regularly impact on the individual's well-being and feeling of security (Rogerson, 2006: 152; McRobbie, 2002). In general, the networking usually transcends the borders of private and professional life (cf. Gill, 2010). As creative professions regularly raise the claim to include aesthetic ideals and aspects of self-fulfilment, the basis for new a cooperation is not only laid at work but also when visiting a bar or café to meet friends who are engaged in similar activities. Although the first impression might seem positive, studies have shown that the dissolution of the private and professional life might be experienced by individuals as a heavy burden to their social life (cf. McRobbie, 2002; Gill, 2010). Additionally, the volatile income security linked to project-based work, the weak social security and pension funds of freelancers and the underdeveloped representation in trade unions are some of the typical peculiarities experienced by creative workers in the Global North (Pratt, 2008: 111).

2.1.3.3 Creative Cluster

The cluster approach assumes that a geographical concentration of interconnected firms, suppliers and institutions is caused by the benefits generated by spatial and conceptual proximity (Schlickewei et al., 2011: 42). Proximity offers a more effective networking, mutual learning and inspiration, a faster movement of information and knowledge and can boost creative competition (Porter, 2000: 21-23). Specialized and complementary firms thus form a cluster when they concentrate in a geographical area and concurrently cooperate with each other, form networks and exchange information reciprocally. Spatial proximity can especially help the creative industries as it ensures to a certain degree a frequent 'face-to-face' contact which is required for the crucial informal networking (Schlickewei et al., 2011: 44).

The close networking and information exchange seems especially important for firms of the creative industries. Latest developments and trends, new opportunities or contacts need to be quickly circulated and reciprocally shared as these firms depend on an incremental development of their products or on a constant creative change of their final output design in order to differentiate one's product in a market that does not necessitate exorbitant financial capital or high-technology (Scott, 2006: 6). These innovations are often just minimal changes in the final design, not recorded or protected by a copyright but they provide a firm with a competitive edge (Scott, 2010: 119). Hence for most firms, a well-connected network and access to information are crucial factors of success, influencing whether a firm can generate innovative products or if it fails to keep up with the dynamism of the creative industries.

However, in this understanding, creativity alone is not sufficient to generate innovative products, even if these are just incremental changes (Booyesen et al., 2013: 3-4). Creative individuals need to draw on existing knowledge to come up with new ideas and designs, and only the implementation of them will ensure an innovative product (Scott, 2010: 119). Creativity thus does not suffice but needs capacities to ultimately implement these.

A cluster does by definition comprise a high level of networking and 'face-to-face' contact and thus enables an extensive exchange of knowledge and information between its members (Porter, 2000: 21). This constant exposure, be it active or passive, to information and knowledge will help individuals to learn – even unconsciously – about the latest products, designs and technology and the information might be incorporated into their next product, even if it is only an unconscious and marginal improvement (Scott, 2006: 8). Over time the diverse relationships in a cluster help to spread locally specific norms and sensibilities of which and how information is exchanged. They "acquire a patina of place-specific color" (Scott, 2006: 7) which eventually manifests in the final products and provides a cluster with a unique competitive advantage.

Extensive networks consequently provide firms with capacity to access information and knowledge on the one side, and on the other, constantly changing collaborations with diverse individuals help to unleash creative potential. It must be clear, however, that networks do not merely confine to formal structures between firms in a cluster. Studies have shown that formal networks are frequently inefficient in sharing knowledge and sometimes even hamper information flow (Allen et al., 2007: 182). Instead, informal networks, the relationship one shares with his friends and colleagues, usually maintained through private meetings or the random encounters with colleagues in the canteen, serve as a crucial channel for the distribution of knowledge. In general, however, social networks differ in the ability to convey information according to certain characteristics of the relationship, including the integration into other networks or the cohesion between the members (Haythornthwaite, 1996: 332-335).

This section has attempted to set a theoretical context in which to explore the concept of the creative city in an African context. It has been established how the creative industries should be understood in this work, highlighting the need for an inclusive definition to account for the explorative character of this study. Typical characteristics of creative industries of the Global North have been identified, relating to their production organization in networks, to the labour market and to the significance of knowledge transmission and networks. Ultimately, these characteristics will help to explore the creative city in Windhoek, providing a baseline for the identification of local characteristics and challenges. In order to do so, it is however required to first understand some of the dynamics and particular challenges that African cities like Windhoek have to face, and how an African version of the concept would need to look like.

2.2 African Urbanism

2.2.1 The Potential of Growth

The African continent seems to be at the crossroads. While some observers (cf. KPMG, 2012: 5; McKinsey, 2010: 2; McKinsey, 2012: 7) predict Africa to be among the next economic 'hotspots', possibly becoming the next China, others have pointed at the grim social and economic conditions within African cities that could finally explode and undo all the social and economic achievements of the past decades (cf. Hove, Ngwerume & Muchemwa, 2013: 5; Pieterse, 2010: 8; Davies, 2006). Even though the pessimistic images might be exaggerated, the massive economic and social problems endanger the development potential which the projected demographic change holds for Africa. Yet, it is important to note that the development paths of African cities can significantly differ, and it is not always helpful to confine such a diverse pool to one category. Nevertheless, the most important prospects and challenges that are typically found in urban areas in Africa will be shortly summarized to draw the context in which Windhoek is situated.

Along with the gradual political stabilization in many countries, the demographic prospects for the African continent were mainly responsible for the proclamation of an African boom or renaissance (Rowden, 2015). If the predictions are right, the African population will double within the next 25 years to a number of two billion inhabitants, the fastest population growth rate of all regions of the world (UN-Habitat, 2014: 17). Although the majority of the African continent still lives in rural areas and Africa exhibits the lowest urbanization rate worldwide, this will quickly change. Predictions forecast that by the year 2030, more people will live in urban areas than in rural regions. In 2050, African cities will then be home to more than 1.2 billion people (UN Habitat, 2014: 23-24).

The unprecedentedly rapid growth prospects for African cities are fed by two concurrent developments. Not only will these urban areas grow through a natural increase in urban inhabitants, but especially the rural to urban migration will accelerate Africa's urbanisation rate (Parnell & Walawege, 2011: 17). In 2050, 60% of all Africans are predicted to live in urban areas, up from 35% in 1950, comprising then the second largest urban population after Asia (Parnell & Walawege, 2011: 17). Due to the international and intra-regional migration patterns in Africa, this large population will not only be impressive through its sheer size, but will provide a huge pool of social and cultural diversity – a highly valuable resource for a society, but one which needs careful and prudent management. Additionally, the demographic structure of African societies forecasts a very young population, presumably going to be the largest working age population (15 to 64 years) worldwide with a number of 1.1 billion people in 2040 (McKinsey, 2014; UN-Habitat, 2014: 19).

These demographic developments will however not only affect the population structure but will profoundly transform the African economy, too. Concurrently to the doubling of the population number, the African middle class will triple in size over the next 50 years to a forecasted number of 1.1 billion, exceeding that of China today (UN-Habitat, 2014: 19). By 2030, the 18 top African cities are predicted to reach a purchasing power of US\$ 1.3 trillion, and by 2020 60% of all households are going to have a discretionary spending power of more than US\$ 5000 per annum (McKinsey, 2010: 4). Accordingly, the real GDP growth over the past 15 years reached 4.7% per annum, and is expected to increase to 5% for the next ten years, providing for the second highest growth rate of all world regions (McKinsey, 2014). This immense rise in absolute numbers of people with a dispensable income will increase especially the demand for consumer products, presenting an enormous potential for the African industry and economy. Accordingly, the consumer-facing sector, including banking, telecommunication and consumer goods, is expected to cater by far for the largest proportion of Africa's growth, ahead of agriculture and natural resources (McKinsey, 2014).

Contrary to many assumptions, Africa's recent and prospected economic growth is not simply caused by a resource boom. Certainly, some states will mainly benefit from their oil or natural gas extraction, possibly even becoming a rentier state, yet many other African countries seem to follow different economic growth paths. Focusing on manufacturing and service sectors such as banking, telecommunication, construction or retail, these economies show a considerable diversification of their industries, gradually shifting towards a service-oriented economy (McKinsey, 2010: 7). Namibia has in this respect a small, but one of the most diversified economies in Africa with a GDP per capita above African average and an export value of approximately US\$ 1000 per person (McKinsey, 2010: 5).

However, it is not going to be the huge metropolitan areas of Lagos, Cairo or Kinshasa that will bear most of the urban population growth. Instead, small and medium cities (below one million inhabitants) will absorb up to 75% of the growth (UN Habitat, 2014: 23). Concurrently, their economic significance will increase as by 2025 58% of the continent's GDP are predicted to be generated by cities with less than one million people (McKinsey, 2014). Small and medium sized cities in Africa will thus – if the predictions hold true – be one of the main engines for Africa's emerging economic boom. Despite their forecasted significance, these smaller cities have enjoyed much less attention by researchers and policy makers in proportion to the continent's mega-cities, leaving a void that still needs to be filled with appropriate studies.

2.2.2 Challenges to Overcome

In stark contrast to this immense economic and social development potential of African cities, a broad array of complex challenges and problems has emerged, requiring a prudent and holistic approach by policy makers (Hove, Ngwerume & Muchemwa, 2013: 5). The rapid urban growth – if not appropriately channelled – might enlarge the existing and rampant problems of urban agglomerations of the Global South even further.

Yet, urban governments are often unable to face these challenges. A massive investment backlog in the basic infrastructure, partly historically inherited, frequently outweighs the resources and capacities of urban governments (McKinsey, 2012: 33-34; Pieterse, 2006: 17). In many cities the absence of a significant industry, the rampant unemployment and the lack of social security have produced a vivid informal sector in which a large part of urban households earns a living. Yet it is difficult for governments to regulate and tap this volatile sector without suffocating it with regulations (Adams, 2008: 18). Sometimes coupled with ostensible mismanagement and corruption, the lack of infrastructure, investment and capacities within the government leaves large parts of the population vulnerable to the rampant urban problems (McKinsey, 2010: 54). Additionally, the government structures are

frequently very centralized in many African states, equipping – if ever existing – urban governments with only a minimum of rights to administer themselves (Parnell & Robinson, 2012; Parnell & Simon, 2010: 49). Under-resourced or unwilling, many governments do not even acknowledge the rapid urbanisation and the challenges that come with it, ultimately depriving the much needed urban planning of a vision to overcome these challenges (Pieterse, 2010: 8; Parnell & Simon, 2010: 49).

The most menacing problem for African urban agglomerations is the widespread poverty. Despite the economic growth of the past years, almost a quarter of the population still lives below the destitution-line (McKinsey, 2010: 4), and the mechanisation of the agricultural sector will continue to push the young and unemployed to the cities. This is just adding to the problem as many African cities already struggle to provide basic services and infrastructure to their citizens. Sanitation, water supply, adequate housing, basic education – public services which frequently lack at least in some parts of the city, usually in the slums, townships, informal settlements, bidonvilles, shanty towns, and all the other names of the places where the poor reside under partly appalling conditions (Hove et al., 2013: 5; Davies, 2006: 14; UN-Habitat, 2014: 31).

In many African cities, the suburbs with townhouses and mansions are often not far from the townships. Especially in southern Africa, a region with some of the most unequal societies, the contrast between rich and poor has widened to a dire extent (UN-Habitat, 2014: 42). The un-coupling of the continuous influx of people and the concurrent industrialization process in cities absorbing the migrants has produced highly fragmented cities, segregated by class and ethnicity, in which the poor are forced to reside in the underserved, environmentally dangerous and economically weak outskirts (Parnell & Simon, 2010: 42; Parnell & Walawege, 2011: 15). If not decisively counteracted, these problems might intensify, generating not only a large group of township dwellers who are not only geographically disintegrated but who are increasingly excluded from the city in terms of infrastructure, political participation or social life. African urban policy makers are thus urgently required to develop and implement appropriate policies, tackling the most pressing issues and finding the right balance between fighting the rampant social inequality and generating economic growth (Robinson, 2008: 77; Pieterse, 2010: 21-23). Besides a (post-industrial) economic growth strategy, sustainable urban development plans in African cities thus have to increasingly focus on social, cultural and ecological goals: poverty reduction, employment creation, economic diversification, as well as social inequality reduction should be the primary aims of development plans for urban agglomerations in Africa (Booyesen, 2012: 44).

2.3 Synopsis: The Creative City in Africa

Within this section it is attempted to combine both theoretical strands that have been outlined above. Keeping the peculiarities as well as opportunities of African cities in mind, a rough idea of an African creative city is outlined. Specific characteristics of African cities are incorporated into the concept and ultimately provide a framework to assess the usefulness of the concept for an African city.

New urban development strategies can be observed in several African cities (Parnell & Robinson, 2006: 338-341; Parnell & Simon, 2010: 51). Although many cities lack a controlled, coherent and sustainable development strategy, some urban agglomerations try to enter the global and regional market by developing a post-industrial service sector such as the IT-sector in Nairobi, the financial services in Lagos or the cultural and creative industries in Cape Town (cf. Rosenberg, 2013; Wenz, 2009). The latter sector is of special interest to urban planners of the Global South, for its relatively low capital and high-technology requirements allow the strained financial departments of urban administrations to adopt such approach (Cunningham, 2009: 11-12).

Potentially, the creative industries concept is highly attractive to African urban policy makers. In relation to cities like Windhoek, this approach theoretically promises to not only be less capital- and technology-intensive than its counterparts in the IT- or financial-services industry, but to meet the organizational characteristics of a post-industrial industry with its flexibility, service-orientation and networking structure (Grodach, 2013: 1750). Moreover, the labour market holds the promise to decrease inequality, as it is relatively accessible to usually disadvantaged groups who do not need much capital or expensive training to start a business (UNESCO, 2013: 30). In addition, the creative industries ideally build on existing cultural and societal structures, and thus offer more than economic benefits to the cities. Usually referred to as cultural regeneration, a culturally and creatively revived urban quarter can exhibit improved social cohesion, empowerment of local culture and revamping of the physical structures, improving the quality of life in general (Kunzmann, 2011: 162-63; UNESCO, 2013: 40). Being able to contribute to the solution of some of urban Africa's specific challenges and to the widening of its economic base while decreasing the social inequality, renders the creative city concept potentially highly valuable for Africa's urban planners.

The question remains however, if Jamie Lerner's assertion really holds true that the creative city is "an endeavour that can be attained by every city, large or small" (Lerner, 2009: 32). Although the understanding of the iconic mayor of Curitiba of a creative city leans rather towards a sustainable city that is administered creatively, the essential question is, whether

the creative city is a feasible urban development strategy for all cities, including small and globally isolated African cities like Windhoek.

Although some African cities have already adopted a creative city strategy, the creative city in an African context remains widely underrepresented in academic research (Mbaye, 2014; Rosenberg, 2013: 22). Even if there are individual case studies for African metropolises like Cape Town, Nairobi, or Johannesburg (Wenz, 2009; Rosenberg, 2013; Rogerson, 2006), a systematic research of the concept in relation to the specific situation of urban Africa lacks widely. Although the South African scholar Avril Joffe (2013) has tried to give an overview over the creative industries in Africa, this report unfortunately lacks a coherent in-depth analysis but rather merely allows for a glimpse into some African examples.

The closely related concept of cultural and creative industries, usually being implemented on a national level, is however slightly more researched. Besides studies by UNCTAD on individual countries like Zambia and Mozambique (UNCTAD, 2011a; UNCTAD, 2011b), there is a number of independent research papers and government studies on the South African context (cf. Joffe & Newton, 2007; Van Graan, 2007). The academic interest in the creative industries seems to increase in Africa as well as a growing number of scientific panels and conferences proves (Joffe, 2013: 3).

What the individual case studies and reports on the creative industries show for Africa, is however promising and cautionary at the same time. Currently, the creative industries in Africa comprise only a minimal proportion of the global production. According to UN data, only one percent of the global exports in cultural products is from Africa (UNESCO, 2013: 54). Yet, the small figure is mainly interpreted to be the result of the huge significance of the informal market for the African creative city, ostensibly being the vibrant engine of the local industry (Joffe, 2013: 5). But even with only a limited number of urban agglomerations in Africa holding enough administrative power to design urban development plans on a municipality level (Parnell & Walawege, 2010: 49), more and more urban administrations do include the creative industries in their city visions, even if it is mainly the craft or cultural tourism sector (UNESCO, 2013: 54).

In general, African creative cities are confronted with a range of challenges that include the lack of skilled people, the lack of technical facilities, a severe lack of funds, the absence of distribution networks, and especially a limited size of their local markets (UNESCO, 2013: 54). Faced with these problems, urban planners increasingly realize the need to integrate the private sector and civil society into the development efforts, yet up until today there exists scarcely any effective partnership between the government and private sector to build a production or distribution network (UNESCO, 2013: 54). Instead, a variety of international

non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and local private organizations are increasingly establishing their own cultural programs in African cities. Even though it might be necessary for the sustainability of the creative city to grow organically from a grass-roots level, there is an urgent need for urban administrations to connect with the processes in order to reap its full potentials.

Yet, it should be clear that the creative city does not only comprise firms and companies but a wide array of stakeholders plays a vital role within these industries: from cultural associations and private-public partnerships to local government bodies and lobby groups – a creative city is usually governed by many societal groups with different policy instruments and potentially diverging interests (Lange, 2011: 183). It needs to be remembered, however, that in cities of the Global South in general and in Windhoek in particular, the creative city is not comprised by the formal market and formal stakeholders solely, but informal firms and members of these industries play a crucial role within the governance structures of a creative city. The informal sector can thus not be ignored, especially as it is estimated that in some African countries, the informal market contributes up to 55% to the economy (African Development Bank (AfDB), 2013). Even if no data is available for the informal market of cultural industries, the significance for these industries can be assumed when considering the size of the typically informally organized craft production and trade (cf. Joffe & Newton, 2007: 106). The informal market, however, is not regarded as a closed and separate economic sphere but rather as a densely interwoven space that is closely interlinked with formal businesses and institutions through mutual networks and cooperation (AfDB, 2013).

Many interpretations of the creative city are arguably neither implementable nor of any use for urban agglomerations like Windhoek: A capital intensive flagship-project that serves primarily the place-marketing on the global market, frequently failing to represent local cultures, is due to its size and isolated position in the global market hardly imaginable for Windhoek. The absence of traditional pull-factors, often taken for granted for the cities of the Global North by authors like Florida (2003: 9), renders it very improbable that Windhoek will have good chances in the global competition for the best skilled and educated talents. In addition, case-studies of creative interventions in some cities of the Global South have shown that they often do not contribute to the reduction of the partly extreme social and economic problems, but instead foster social exclusion and economic disparity (cf. Wenz, 2009: 16; Gunay & Dokmeci, 2011: 220; Rabady, 2012: 293-295). It has to be understood that the conditions found in the urban spaces of the south are not the same as these found by developers in the cities of the north when designing the creative city concept.

While the urban agglomeration of the Global North already went through a period of industrialization, leaving behind industrial complexes, amenities for the workers and an intact

infrastructure, cities of the global South often lack these characteristics (Rosenberg, 2013: 25). Surely, this comparison is not meant to draw up modernist assumptions about development, but hints at the investment in urban infrastructure and general quality of place that used to accompany these processes in European and American cities. It thus seems as certain conditions, taken for granted by Florida for the cities of the north, along which the quality of place is assessed, do not necessarily feature in urban spaces of the Global South. Yet, power blackouts, insufficient housing or inefficient transport infrastructure do coexist with a growing group of creative entrepreneurs in cities like Lagos, Accra or Cape Town. This puts into question whether certain criteria as assumed by authors like Florida are equally applicable to African cities. Maybe one should look beyond these pre-defined categories and move beyond the strife to conquer the best positions in quality of life indexes measured by the standards of the Global North. Instead, African urban planners should rather refocus on local opportunities and particularities, strengthening a vibrant culture and art scene from the grass-roots level whose diversity and non-conformity is not seen as a peril to global marketing but as a large resource pool and competitive edge (Scott, 2010: 119-21). To be successful in an African urban context, a creative city strategy needs thus to address the local problems and embrace the specific culture. It must include the everyday life of the people on the streets, their visits at the spaza-shops, the local music they listen to during the long taxi rides, or the movies they watch in the evening, in order not to impose a simplistic and external narrative of development and urbanisation onto African cities, or as Robinson calls it, “imposing a regulating catch-up fiction of modernisation on the poorest” (Robinson, as cited in Rosenberg, 2013: 27).

3 FIELD STUDY WINDHOEK

In light of the rapid urban growth in Africa and the dearth of appropriate urban development strategies, this research has focused on the emerging debate about the suitability of a creative city approach for African cities (Mbaye, 2014). For small and medium cities with less than one million citizens are expected to bear a large part of the growth, it is especially interesting to explore the concept in the context of a less populated and vibrant city in southern Africa as the little existing research has almost exclusively focused African metropolises. Considering this void, this research is based on a field study and on interviews gathered in Windhoek.

Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, one of the youngest sovereign states worldwide, resembles many urban spaces in southern Africa: A relatively small but rapidly growing population (Windhoek is expected to grow from 400.000 to 800.000 citizens within the next 15 years (GIZ, 2013: 50)), a relatively peripheral position in the global market, the lack of a substantial industrial base, and a staggeringly high socio-economic disparity running along racial lines render Windhoek illustrative of many smaller cities in southern Africa (Melber, 2002: 127-128; GIZ, 2013: 26-29). Windhoek has thus been selected to explore the potential as well as the challenges of the creative city approach in the context of a small southern African city.

3.1 THESIS

The wide lack of research and reliable data has required this research to adopt a flexible and open approach. There is not only no research on the creative city in Windhoek, but data and research on Windhoek in general are scarce. While the academic interest has decreased after a post-independence boom, Namibia's statistical data gathering has been very poor. Scoring a meagre 47 out of 100 on the World Bank's statistical capacity index, Namibia has one of the least developed databases on economic or demographic issues, falling even behind countries like Afghanistan (World Bank, 2015). Sectoral data beyond a three-digit level is not collected, the last census has focused on health and basic government services rather than on the professional situation of individuals, and statistics are hardly accessible (cf. Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA), 2015). In light of this yawning dearth of both research and statistical data, this work has primarily assumed an explorative character that has continuously been responsive to the insights and ideas of local interviewees. The conceptually and methodologically flexible approach serves also to acknowledge the insights that have been gained on the traditional subject-object relationship between the researcher and the researched (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 115).

In order to be responsive to the developments during the field study, four leading questions or fields of interest, each with a further subset of questions, have been formulated instead of following a pre-defined and rigid hypothesis. During the course of the research, these subsets have been amended, changed and rewritten to adapt to new insights gained. The four fields of interest are based on the characteristics of creative cities as described above, but are not confined to them in order to be able to meet local particularities. These four fields provoked several questions, initially directed more at an “inventory”, but analytical questions were added as new particularities appeared. They mainly sought to establish a causality of experienced problems and concurrently tried to ask for solutions.

1. General Market Situation and Labour Market

This field is mainly concerned with an establishment of an “inventory”. It pays tribute to the wide absence of reliable data, and seeks to gather kinds of base-line data for the cultural or creative industries in Windhoek. The questions are targeted at identifying relevant and dynamic creative sectors within Windhoek, at the identification of relevant stakeholders, a characterization of firms and the labour market, an assessment of the role of the informal market, as well as at potential geographical concentrations.

- How big is the industry? Who produces, who consumes?
- Who is a stakeholder? What interests do they have?
- What are the characteristics of the local labour market? Do they differ from the labour market of the Global North? Where are potentials, where are challenges?
- What role does the informal market play? Does it inhibit the formal sector?

2. Production Chain of Namibian Cultural Products

Within this thematic aspect, it is looked at how cultural products or services are produced in Namibia. Analysing the production chains of different creative products, the focus is laid on the organization and integration of local producer networks, as well as on a potential integration into an international production chain. This set of questions targets to explore the value of the local industries for the economy and looks at possibilities to expand them.

- How are the production chains and networks in the different creative sectors organized? Who is involved and how are they linked? Are there bottlenecks?
- Presuming a risky and unstable market, how has the industry adapted? Are adaptations different from the Global North? In what form do local differences benefit local firms?

- How does globalization affect the production chain? What position do local industries have in a global or regional network? Does it present a chance to Namibia?

3. Networking, Cooperation and Learning

This bloc of questions tries to assess how information is circulated among the creative entrepreneurs in Windhoek. It specifically focuses on the formal and informal networking of individuals as a way to access information and other resources. It is interested in how local networks facilitate mutual learning and cooperation. During the research, the finding of a relatively low level of cooperation among the creative individuals has added the question of possible reasons as well as which role trust does play in local networks.

- How are national and international networks built? Are networks rather informal or formal? What role does spatial proximity play?
- Are networks used to access information or other resources? Do networks facilitate cooperation and information exchange?
- Why is there apparently a low level of cooperation among the creative entrepreneurs? What role does trust between the stakeholders play?

4. Government policies and support

This field has been targeted at urban planners and decision makers and provides to a certain extent a practicability of this study as it seeks to establish areas of possible intervention. Accordingly, the questions explore the policies and support of the government towards the creative industries, and try to identify areas which need special attention by policy makers. Furthermore, it attempts to explore how a public-private partnership could be enhanced.

- How do government policies and support structures for the creative industry look like? What effect do government policies have on the creative industries? How could support be improved?
- What are the reasons for the apparent low level of cooperation between government and the private sector? How could trust be established between both sides?

Taken together, these sets of questions are based on the assumption that a creative city, as outlined in the theoretical considerations, is existing in Windhoek. As shown, this does not require an official development strategy, nor does it mean that Windhoek needs to have a world-class creative industry sector which attracts foreign talent. Instead, the creative city is understood to comprise local cultural and creative industries which are interconnected through different networks and could potentially build a vibrant cluster. The four sets of questions have thus been embedded in the theoretical considerations mentioned above. On

the one hand, the sets use the identified characteristics as a point of reference for a comparison between Windhoek and the creative cities of the Global North. On the other hand, these questions have been formulated in a way that allows to include the potential particularities of an African city. As such, these sets attempt to outline a characterisation of Windhoek's creative industries, focusing on the ways how local industries have adapted to the local conditions. Ultimately, this will allow for an assessment of the local potentials and challenges that a creative city has to face, and for an identification of potential areas for government intervention.

3.2 METHODS

This research has been based on a set of mainly qualitative research methods for three reasons. First, the lack of supportive baseline data renders a specific quantitative analysis hardly feasible as a more detailed database would have to be established first. Qualitative methods however support this 'pioneering' character as its methodological and conceptual flexibility allow for an adaption to developments within the research process (Mayer, 2013: 36; Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 35). Second, given Windhoek's relatively small size, it might be assumed that individual creative sectors only include a small number of members at their core. This questions the sense of a statistical analysis, and rather calls for a qualitative analysis of their particular needs and resources. Third, qualitative methods are typically openly structured and flexible, allowing for a constant adaption during the research process. This is deliberately chosen to include certain constructivist ideas on the methodology and the subject-object role. Maintaining a certain responsiveness to the local interviewees allows to consider them as partners in the process to understand the conditions of their locality and how they relate to it, rather than an object to be researched by an outside researcher (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 114-115).

3.2.1 Analysis of policy documents and other textual sources

Before and especially during the field research, relevant policy documents as well as other text sources such as newspaper articles have been searched and analysed for their relevance to the creative industries. Initial work had been done online, yet the bulk of documents was only found after conversations with local experts. These have included, but are not confined to, economic development strategy papers on a national level, individual sector development plans, small and medium enterprises support strategies or external studies on individual creative sectors. The data gathered here has primarily been used to draw an impression of the stakeholders as well as the governance and policy structures within the creative industries of Windhoek. The results are presented in a diagram (see attachment 1) which attempts to give an overview of involved stakeholders and relevant

policies. It is deliberately designed in an open and radiating way to indicate the potential size of the creative economy, the reach of its spill-over effects, as well as the interconnection and overlap of a huge number of stakeholders. It has to be noted, however, that the diagram does not claim to be exhaustive. It serves rather as a tool to give a first orientation and overview, and are not based on a systematic data collection.

3.2.2 Problem-Centred Interviews

This research is primarily based on a range of interviews that have been conducted with members of Windhoek's creative industries. In order to incorporate theoretical considerations on the one side and maintain the flexibility desired for the explorative character on the other, a problem-centred interview technique has been chosen, ensuring enough space to be responsive during interviews but concurrently being sufficiently structured to be ultimately compared (Reuben & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 137). A problem-centred technique uses pre-defined guidelines that structure the interview and provide broad questions (Mayer, 2013: 37). For the interviews in Windhoek, a general guideline has been developed that has pre-structured individual guidelines for each creative sector (film, music, fashion or craft). These will be introduced further below.

For the explorative character of this research and the diversity of stakeholders usually encountered in the creative industries, interviewees were treated as 'experts' in their own. Although the definition of 'experts' to either be responsible on a high level of their field or to have privileged access to information (Mayer, 2013: 41), does not necessarily apply to all interviewees of this research project. But as this research seeks to go beyond the individual biographical aspects and gain insights on broader patterns, interview partners have been considered as experts on the sectors they are involved in (Mayer, 2013: 38). This does not mean, however, that their responses have been considered as objective facts but were situationally compared and weighed with different opinions. Ultimately, the data gathered through the interviews should enable to assume the local perspective on the potentials and challenges of the creative city while allowing for a comparison with the characteristics of the creative city in the Global North. This is not to merely describe the differences but due to the flexibility, questions have during the course of the research been adapted to explore the reasons for the difference.

The interviews conducted followed a flexible framework of pre-defined topics and questions which served as guidelines to give orientation and ensure an ultimate comparability (Mayer, 2013: 43). As the interviewees, however, have partly very different professional backgrounds, a set of 'meta' guidelines for the interviews has been developed and are based on the four leading questions and concomitantly on the theoretical considerations on the

characteristics. These four blocs ensure an ultimate comparability and have guided the development of further guidelines for each individual sector (film, music, fashion, craft). These sub-sets include the overarching fields of interest but are more specific to the individual sectors. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that due to circumstances, not all questions were answered in each interview as well as that the focus had been differing, according to the individual field of expertise. Furthermore, to maintain a responsiveness, the questions were not necessarily following a strict order during the interviews, but frequently the different blocs are not neatly separable. Additionally, it should be mentioned that these guidelines are not fixed once defined but have been changed and amended during the course of the research to incorporate emerging insights. Although this might have an effect on the comparability, the need to incorporate the local expertise seemed to outweigh this objection.

3.3 Selection of Interview Partners

Since no research and only little statistical data and international benchmark research exists for the creative city in Windhoek, the selection of interview partners has been problematic in terms of ensuring a certain degree of representativity for the bigger whole (Mayer, 2013: 41). As there is no information on what should be represented in detail, interview partners have mainly been contacted through a snowball-system, an approach that enables the inclusion of informal members as well. Initially, personal contacts in the music, craft and film industry in Windhoek served as gatekeepers for the first interviews. Subsequently, a range of film-makers, fashion-and graphic designers and musicians were asked for interviews via email, including contacts found online. For a higher representativity, relevant government officials have been approached as well. In general, the response rate was very high, only very few declined due to time constraints.

The result is a broad array of interviews conducted with citizens of Windhoek that are either freelancing or leading a small firm in one of the creative sectors (film, music, graphic design, craft, fashion), or are employed in a government or non-profit institution concerned with one of the sectors. Due to the lack of a reference point for representativity, the labour-intensive approach of conducting a large number of interviews and non-recorded conversations has been chosen in order to shift the selection of interviews in relation to their representativity to a later point during the research process. Hence, a total of 21 interviews and 4 non-recorded conversations have been conducted, each around two hours. All contacted persons live mainly in Windhoek and have their offices or workplace within the city's borders. The bulk of the interviewees were either full-time freelancers or heading a small company within the creative industries. A few were employed in other sectors but are involved in the creative industries in their spare-time, while some are working for government or non-profit

organisations involved in the creative industries. They also included university lecturers of the fashion department and a local journalist who heads the cultural part of the newspaper. A strict separation has however been difficult since, as described further below, individuals do frequently have multiple roles within the industry – on the one hand, they are on board of the government body for the sector, on the other they head a firm within this sector. The multiplicity of roles has made it difficult to categorize each individual interview partner neatly. In retrospective, it can however be argued that a large proportion of all film-makers and fashion designers of Windhoek have been approached, at least according to estimations made by interview partners, and a representativity for these sectors can be assumed.

3.4 Transcription and Evaluation

Due to the huge amount of data gathered and also for the question of representativity within individual sectors, not all interviews have been transcribed and used for the analysis. Instead, this research has focused gradually on the film and fashion sector since these were the most accessible, and concurrently among the most developed and vibrant sectors in Windhoek – at least, they include a considerable number of individuals who are able to live off their work in these sectors. The evaluation has therefore focused on these two sectors as the primary areas of interest but has not ignored other sectors, especially when these have been interconnected.

The interviews were recorded and 12 of them were subsequently transcribed. This research project made use of a relatively simple transcription system as the focus laid on content rather than on subjective opinions (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 54). Transcribed interviews were amended with field notes on persons, place and context and subsequently filed. To guarantee the anonymity that was promised before interviews, their names have been omitted and replaced with simple codes. Interviews with fashion designers will thus be labelled D1-D4 and filmmakers F1-F5, and these codes will be used for referencing as well. The omission of some interviews during the transcription owes to time and space constraints. Although it was initially planned to compare more creative sectors of Windhoek with each other, the magnitude of research material has been underestimated. It was thus decided to rather focus on the seemingly most important and vibrant sectors, arguably the film and fashion industry in Windhoek. Although the rest of the data has not been transcribed, impressions of the research within these sectors have of course accompanied the entire research process. The selection of the interviews to transcribe within the fashion and film sector went along practical rather than representative considerations. As time would not allow for an entire coverage of all stakeholders of an individual creative sector, it has been attempted to ensure a level of comparability by selecting from the respective cores of creative entrepreneurs (four filmmakers and four fashion designers; one film expert and

owner of film distribution company), each having a similar company and similar positions within their sectors.

The codification of interviews serves the eventual analysis of the data. Transcribed material is being codified by specific approaches in order to ultimately (attempt to) assume the perspective of the interviewee through a breaking up the text, developing categories and finding patterns (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 162-63). For the codification system depends on the ultimate purpose of the research, this project has adopted a thematic codification system in order to ensure a comparability among the interviews (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 164). A less rigid three-tiered codification system has been used, as proposed by Flick (as cited in Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 164). This includes the analysis of an individual case as starting point, which is amended with comments and a first interpretation. In a second step, an in-depth analysis of these single cases follows and evaluation categories are developed in accordance to the responses. During the third step, a comparison of these cases or groups is made, enabling a comparative analysis from which patterns can be drawn (Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2005: 165).

3.5 The City of Windhoek - Overview

3.5.1 General Overview

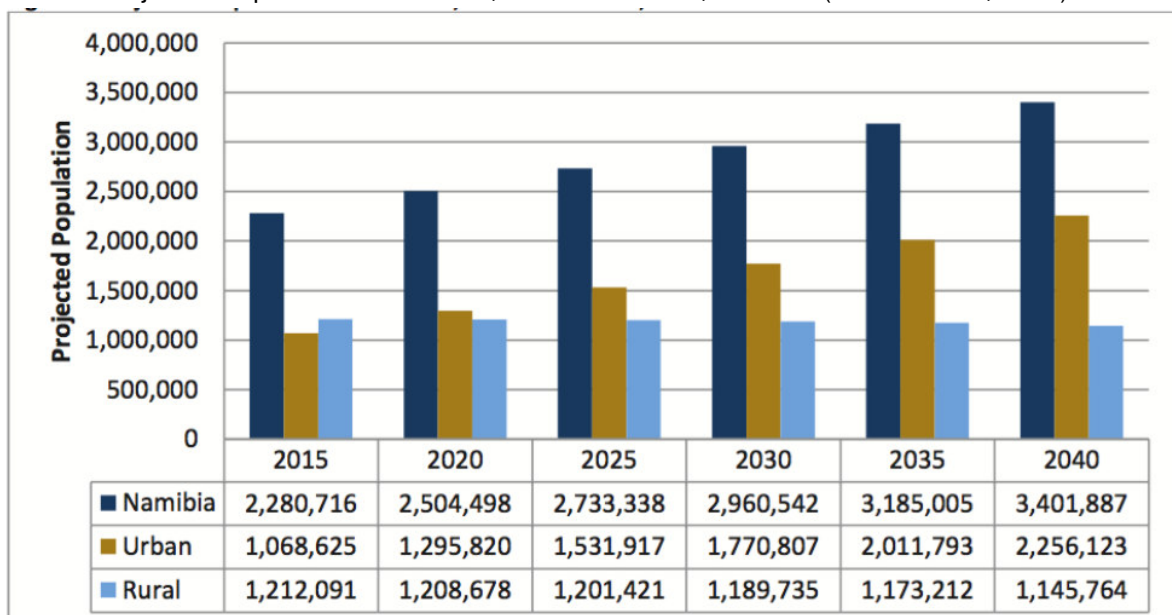
Windhoek is the capital city of Namibia, concurrently its largest urban agglomeration. Situated on the Khomas plateau in central Namibia, Windhoek lies at the feet of the Auas-mountains. Originally a hot-spring used by the indigenous Khoi-San people, Windhoek was established as a fort and later served as the capital city for the German colony in south west Africa (Simon, 1995: 139). As the League of Nations assigned the mandate powers to South Africa after the First World War, Namibia became a quasi-province of South Africa which introduced and implemented the same apartheid laws that were in place in South Africa. After a lengthy liberation struggle and massive international pressure, the South-West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) managed to finally lead Namibia to independence in 1990 (Simon, 1995: 139-40). Similar to the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the SWAPO party has been in power since the first free elections, routinely gathering a great majority of the votes during each election, and has managed to establish a highly centralized but stable and democratic parliamentary system during the past 25 years (Melber, 2002: 128).

Yet, the centralized political system has further emphasised Windhoek's dominant position in Namibia gained during colonialism. Being the largest city in Namibia, Windhoek is almost the exclusive home to the entire political, economic and (urban-) socio-cultural life of Namibia (Mueller-Friedmann, 2000: 7). The second largest city, Walvis Bay, has only a fifth of

Windhoek’s population, underlying Windhoek’s role of a primate city. Much of its population has however moved from the densely populated but primarily rural north of Namibia, yet these people frequently do not cut ties to their home towns but live in a form of circulatory migration. Thus, it cannot be said that all cultural life is confined to Windhoek, as much of traditional ceremonies and events still take place in these rural areas, even for those usually living in Windhoek.

Namibia’s population density is the second lowest globally, owing to the large territory in relation to the currently number of 2.3 million citizens (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2015). In accordance to the general urban trends of Africa, Namibia’s urban settlements are to grow rapidly, being home to the majority of Namibians by 2020 and doubling its current size by 2035 (see table 1 below). As Namibia’s population is very diverse – there are nine official languages – so is Windhoek’s. Although Windhoek has started off as a colonial settlement, it has grown from 15.000 inhabitants in 1945 (Simon, 1995: 142) to an estimated 400.000 in 2015 (GIZ, 2013: 50), including citizens from all parts of the country. Yet, the inequality among the population is still very high. Inherited from the apartheid era, Namibia is according to the Gini-coefficient one of the most unequal societies in the world (Jauch, 2012). While a huge proportion of Windhoek’s residents still lives under the poverty-line, a slowly growing middle and upper class is wealthy enough to push the GDP per capita to heights of an upper middle income country (World Bank, 2015). Although not as rigid as during apartheid, the inequality still runs primarily along racial lines, giving the minority of the Afrikaans and German speaking community a proportionally large control over the local economy.

Table 1: Projected Population for Namibia, Urban and Rural, 2015-40 (Source: NSA, 2015)



The inequality and poverty is still reflected in the urban layout. Caused by the segregating urban policies of the apartheid regime, Windhoek is still a very fragmented city. Separated by industrial areas, highways or undeveloped land from the city centre and previously 'white' areas, the lower-income residential areas like Katutura or Khomasdal, situated at the outskirts of the city, are still today primarily populated by blacks or coloureds (these terms refer to the officially and widely used categories of black, coloured, Asian or white). The inequality between the poorer north-western townships, where the large majority of Windhoek's population lives, and the wealthier suburbs to the south-east can be easily observed in the map (figure 1) provided below, indicating the income levels among Windhoek's suburbs. In these terms, not much has changed since independence: while suburbs like Klein-Windhoek are still connoting wealth, employment, low-density residential area and white inhabitants, places like Katutura usually have a population density 10 to 100 times higher than the wealthy south-west, a six-time higher unemployment rate and an income level at least 50% lower (GIZ, 2013: 26-30).

As a legacy of apartheid, these locations are still only poorly integrated into the city's life. Public transport to the city is scarce and expensive, yet most institutions, jobs, amenities or shops are situated in the centre, eventually reinforcing the structural inequality between the wealthier centre and the poor outskirts. Yet, it is to be noted that these suburbs have huge differences in income levels themselves, with many people informally squatting at the fringes without connection to the urban service network. Coupled with a more inclusive and mixed land-use oriented urban policy after independence, these suburbs have themselves developed commercial and wealthier centres where much of the urban life is taking place (GIZ, 2013: 24). As a result of the long segregation policy of the apartheid regime, targeting to keep the non-white population out of the city centre if not for work, and the continuous poor public transport network, Windhoek is still today a highly disintegrated, unequal and fragmented city whose public life is rather confined to the suburbs and shopping malls than to a vibrant city centre with a pedestrian precinct flanked by shops and cafés (GIZ, 2013: 24; Mueller-Friedmann, 2000: 1).

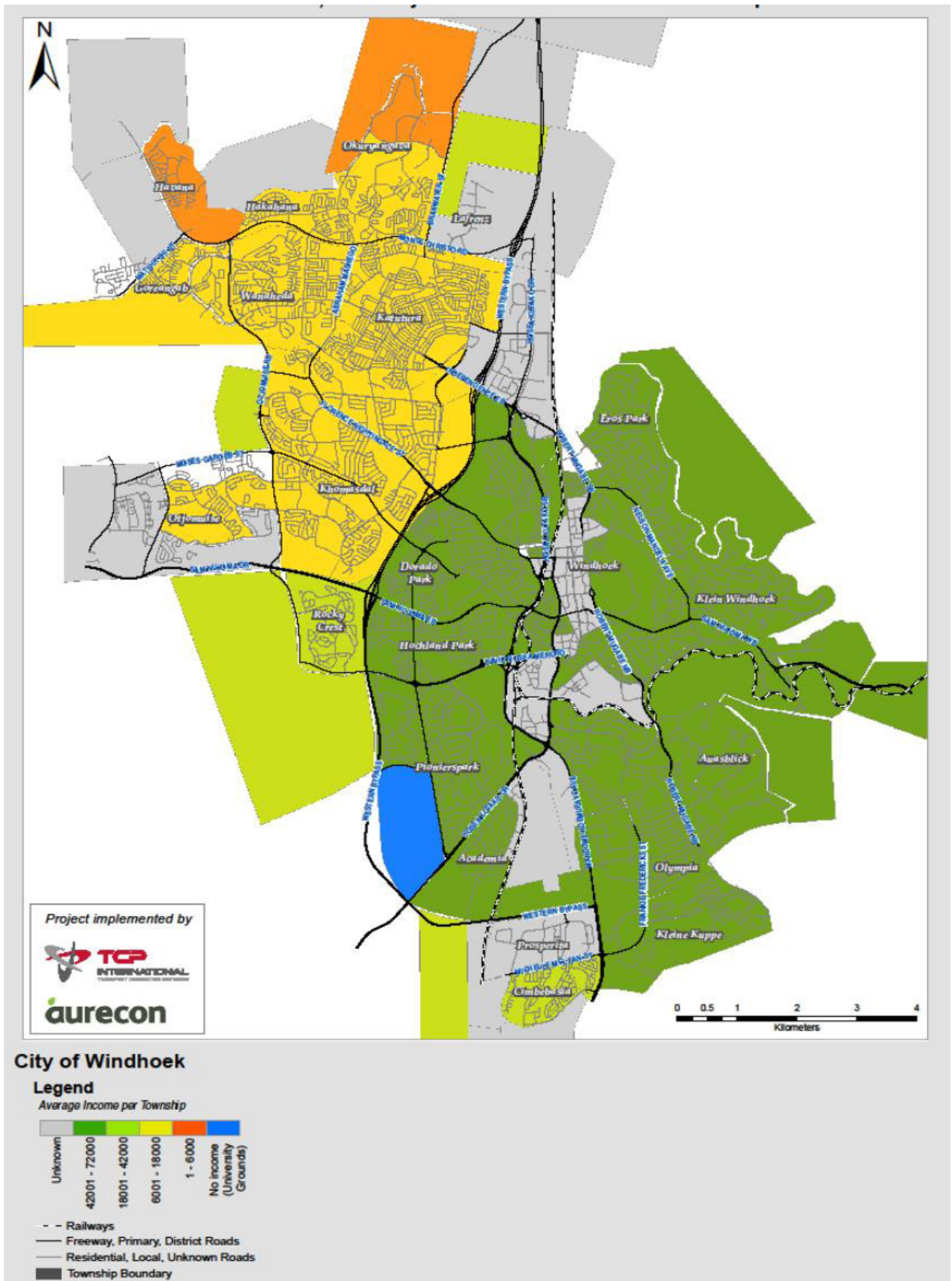


Figure 2: Income Distribution in Windhoek per Township
 (Source: GIZ, 2013: 28)

3.5.2 Overview - Economy

A brief introduction of Namibia's economy is to set the context for the creative industries in Windhoek. This part of the work is primarily based on the data retrieved from official policy documents, databases, and economic studies, mostly commissioned by the government itself or international economic institutions. Although a large part of available data has been analysed, this part does not claim to be based on a systematic analysis but is rather supposed to give an impression of the business context in which creative firms in Windhoek have to operate. In a second step, it is attempted to outline a general picture of the creative industries within Windhoek. Attempting to roughly estimate the significance of the creative industries, policy documents have been analysed in order to assess relevant legal structures and policies. Finally, a diagram will be presented which attempts to present the main stakeholders of the creative industries in Windhoek.

Namibia is considered an upper middle-income country by the World Bank, having a GDP per capita that lied just below US\$ 5500 in 2014 and has experienced a constant growth of the GDP at rates between 5% and 6% between 2010 and 2015 (World Bank, 2015; Phiri, 2015: 3). However, this must not cover the gross inequality and poverty that lies beneath these promising figures. In Namibia, it is estimated that the top 10% of the population owns a staggeringly 70% of the entire wealth (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), 2011: 3), while 28% of all Namibians are considered to live below the national poverty line (Jauch, 2012; if for the 'one US-Dollar a day' line, 62% would be considered poor). Yet, these statistics represent the entire country, urban poverty rates are usually less severe compared to rural areas (Jauch, 2012).

Unemployment is the biggest factor for Namibia's poverty. Although the unemployment rate has decreased from its record high in 2008 (51%) to 27% in 2013, many formal jobs have been lost and forced parts of the labour force into informal occupations (Jauch, 2010: 55). Additionally, studies have shown that a majority of jobs paid less than N\$ 1000 a month (~US\$ 100), workers are attached to a company mostly for not more than two years and most stated that they do their job not by choice but as no other employment has been available, indicating a low 'job-quality' (Jauch, 2010: 56).

Namibia has, compared to an African context, a relatively diversified economy (McKinsey, 2014). Yet, the agricultural and mining sectors are still crucial sectors for Namibia, especially in relation to the export market where these two sectors comprise almost all goods exported from Namibia, rendering the Namibian economy relatively depend on these sectors (Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), 2011: 3). The largest contribution to the GDP, however, is provided by the tertiary sector, amounting to 54% in 2009 (MTI, 2013: 12). Although statistics

are not very detailed in Namibia, the biggest industry within the tertiary sector seemed to be tourism as well as the informal trading sector which accounted for 60.000 to 80.000 jobs in Namibia in 2008. The exact size of Windhoek's informal sector is unknown, yet it can be assumed to have similar proportions (City of Windhoek, 2014b: 20).

In its economic strategy paper "Vision 2030", the Namibian government has emphasized its aim to gradually transform the economy in order to tackle the long-standing problems of high inequality, high unemployment, low export rates of manufactured goods and its low productive capacity (MTI, 2011: 6). Hence, several economic policy strategies have been put in place in order to meet its medium-term targets in 2030, including the growth of a substantial manufacturing base which produces goods for the export market and having a critical mass of knowledge workers that is involved in the trade of services (MTI, 2013: 5).

As anchored in several economic policy programmes, the promotion of small and medium enterprises (SME) has been at centre stage for the Namibian government as well (MTI, 2013: 5; MIT, 2015b). Defined as firms with employees between 1 and 100, these usually flexible and innovative firms employ more than 160.000 (33%) people in Namibia and contribute 12% of the GDP (MIT, 2015b: 8). Typically, firms of the creative sectors tend to be small, employing only a small number of professionals, and are thus considered SMEs. Research has shown that companies tend to be mainly micro firms in Namibia, employing less than 10 people, while the owners tend to be young and not necessarily highly skilled (Ogbokor & Ngeendepi, 2010: 11). Typically, these firms have to encounter a range of challenges, including access to finance, access to R&D, high bureaucracy levels, access to export markets as well as a wide lack of entrepreneurial skills among their owners and employees (MIT, 2015b: 10). In view of these problems, the government has issued a row of policies and laws that seek to support SMEs to overcome their challenges, eventually contributing to the targets set in "Vision 2030" (MIT, 2015b: 5).

The previous chapter has attempted to briefly outline the national economic context in which Windhoek is situated. Although Namibia's growth figures regarding its population and GDP can be assumed for Windhoek as well, these figures must not cover the immense inequality and poverty underlying these developments. Nevertheless, the Namibian government has embarked on economic strategies that seem to be conducive to the creative industries of Namibia. Envisioning an economy that is based on local manufacturing, export-led growth and knowledge-based firms, companies of the creative industries have the potential to meet these requirements. Coupled with a focus on SME development, the government of Namibia has established economic structures that set a potentially supportive context.

3.6 Creative Industries in Windhoek

As mentioned above, research and statistics on the creative city in Windhoek are scarce or even non-existent. While no research has been made on the creative sectors in Windhoek in general, statistics in Namibia are usually not detailed enough to differentiate between the individual industries. Yet, among all the policy documents and recommendation papers by international NGOs, one can find few indicators for a general overview of the creative city in Windhoek. Combined with findings of the field study and interviews, however, it has been possible to draw a general overview over the creative sectors in Windhoek and their respective stakeholders. The results are presented in the diagram attached to this work (attachment 1). Even if it has not been possible to determine exact numbers of employees, companies or business turn-overs, a glimpse at the diagram provides an impression of how many people are ultimately involved in these industries. Based on the UNCTAD model of the creative industries, the diagram has been amended with several spheres in which stakeholders were categorized. Radiating out, each circle represents a stakeholder category. The open and 'spotty' character is deliberately chosen to indicate the 'incompleteness' of this analysis, asking readers to insert the institutions and individuals that are known to them but omitted in this analysis. Ultimately, these include government officials, training institutions, NGOs, annual events, industry bodies, firms of the creative core as well as the multitude of companies in related industries.

In terms of cultural policies, Namibia's approach has been described as conducive to a promotion of these sectors, even if they still fall short in many respects (UNESCO, 2013b: 12). Internationally, most ratifications concerning cultural goods and intellectual property have been implemented and on the national level, a policy on arts and culture has been introduced in 2001, identifying targets of cultural policies and defining sectoral policies. However, these policies have only been implemented in the TV and radio industry, the other sectors are still lacking such regulations (UNESCO, 2013b: 12). Unfortunately, however, culture and arts do not feature in any of the broader economic strategy documents. While culture and arts had featured in the five-year National Development Plan 3 (NDP), the NDP4 omitted these sectors in its economic agenda, apparently ignoring the potential the creative sector could have for an export-led, inclusive and knowledge-based economic growth (UNESCO, 2013b: 13). Due to its highly centralized political system, no local regulations or laws concerning culture and arts could be found.

Even if the creative city in Windhoek has not been researched yet or an official creative city development campaign has been announced, this does not mean that a creative city is not present in Windhoek. Understanding a creative city as an interconnected cluster of certain creative industries, more data and research is needed to assess the entire value of these

industries for the Namibian economy as well as society. Until this void is filled, it has been attempted to draw a brief overview of involved industries as well as stakeholders and results have been presented in a diagram of the creative industries in Windhoek (attachment 1). Although not complete, the diagram intends to indicate an approximate size and significance of these industries. Due to the work's explorative character, research has been done on several sectors in order to get an idea of the dynamics of each sector. Despite the time-intensive research in the craft, music and graphic design sectors, it has been decided to solely focus on the film and fashion design industries due to time and space constraints. In the following section, it is thus attempted to – based on the interviews conducted with several members of these sectors – explore these industries in more detail in order to eventually identify and analyse local peculiarities and opportunities along the characteristics that have been established above.

3.6.1 General Market and Labour Market

The Namibian film industry is probably one of the best researched creative industries in Namibia, yet research is still little, outdated and hardly accessible – two bachelor-theses are known to deal with Namibia's film industry, but only one is accessible, while an expert-study on tax incentives has been rejected for release by the government. For the fashion industry, no such research is known. In a short general introduction, based primarily on the analysis of policy documents and public statistics, as well as on unrecorded and recorded conversations with involved individuals, Windhoek's film and fashion industries are briefly outlined, including their main stakeholders as well as general dynamics. The subsequent analysis of the labour market of both sectors, the production chains, the networking and collaboration among their members, as well as the government policies towards the industries are based on the interviews conducted and seek to describe, analyse and compare Namibian features of the creative city, especially between the film sector and the fashion sector, as well as in relation to the characteristics Global North.

3.6.1.1 Stakeholder analysis and overview

As most industries of the tertiary sector, Namibia's film industry is mainly concentrated in Windhoek. There are some major service production companies (companies that mainly focus on assisting foreign productions in Namibia) in Swakopmund, assumingly due to its proximity to the picturesque desert landscapes, and there are some few filmmakers in the northern part of Namibia, producing a cheap and simplistic type of soap operas in local languages. Most other institutions, organizations, firms and individual members of the industry are however concentrated in Windhoek.

Windhoek is home to all training and education institutions related to the film sector, namely the University of Namibia (UNAM), the College of the Arts (COTA), and the Vocational Training Centre. Although none of them offers a specialized film course, students are trained as part of their technical or media studies in TV broadcasting or camera work (National Qualification Authority, 2015).

Their potential employers are not far: both cable TV stations of Namibia are housed in Windhoek. The Namibian Broadcasting Company (NBC) is the public broadcaster, mainly funded by government funds (70%), airing primarily foreign content, or local news and magazine-TV (Karolewski, 2008: 16). OneAfrica is a private broadcaster, and besides NBC the only channel in Namibia. Founded in 2001, it has assumed some popularity among younger people for their foreign series, but except for news and magazines, almost no local content is shown. Far more popular, especially among the wealthier population, is satellite TV from South African or German pay TV-broadcasters (Karolewski, 2008: 18).

Not surprisingly for a highly centralized country, all relevant government bodies are found in the capital. Besides the Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology (MICT), which is responsible for, *inter alia*, film, radio and television, there is the Communications Regulatory Authority of Namibia (CRAN), responsible for the regulation of broadcasting services, as well as the Namibian Film Commission (NFC) whose board is appointed by the MICT and thus considered a government body. Tasked to promote the local film production and promote Namibia as a shooting location, the NFC's focus has for the most time weighted towards the later (NFC, 2015; Namibian Government, 2000; Namibian Government, 2001). Nevertheless, it has proved to be one of the most important funders for local filmmakers.

In turn, the film industry is represented by the Filmmakers Association of Namibia (FAN), an advocacy and lobby body, elected by its members from the industry (FAN, 2010). Although it has served to be a good networking platform for the local industry, a dispute with the NFC over unaccountability and mismanagement of funds has led to resignations and a status that has been described as dormant (F1, interview, 19.01.2016).

Windhoek also houses the offices of international non-profit organizations such as the Goethe-Centre, the Franco-Namibian-Cultural-Centre (FNCC) or AfricAvenir, a NGO concerned with the global distribution of African films. Especially the two cultural centres have played a significant role in the film industry as they organize and provide funds and venues for screenings, talks or workshops on a regular basis.

Most importantly however, most of Namibia's filmmakers are found in Windhoek. In many cases, these are directors who have founded their one-person film production company. During interviews and research, at least two major service production companies and 16

production companies were identified to be based in Windhoek, yet there is an unidentified number of make-shift businesses covering for example wedding ceremonies or music videos. These individuals are not necessarily informal actors as their company might be registered with the municipality and central government but they typically lack the formal training, experience and credentials to be considered a filmmaker by their peers. Of these 16 firms however, only two have a physical office that is separated from their private home and few companies comprise more than one person (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). In addition, there is a handful of directors, a crew agency, a distribution company and very few editing and sound studios based in Windhoek (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). Compared to a figure of 16840 registered companies in Windhoek (City of Windhoek, 2014b: 20), the film sector's size might seem relatively small, yet it should be considered that a high number of these companies might be inactive (only around 5500 have a valid annual licence) and these figures do not portray the employment creation and positive spill-over effects for other sectors that arise from a foreign production team of 100 persons spending three month in Namibia (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Without specific research, the real size of the film industry in terms of employment creation or its GDP proportion is thus difficult to estimate.

Windhoek's filmmakers have however to face a bleak local distribution and consumption structure. SterKinekor, the largest cinema chain of South Africa, has opened two cinemas, both in shopping malls of southern Windhoek, primarily targeting an upper class with exclusively US and South African movies, while distance and prices tend to exclude the majority of people from poorer communities (Karolewski, 2008: 58). Due to Namibia's apartheid history and the size of its sparsely populated territory, the medium film has only four decades ago started to interweave with Namibian culture, a time span that has not allowed for sufficient time to develop a cinema culture, or as one interviewee called it, "a culture of going to the movies" (F1, interview, 19.01.2016).

Yet, the global technological progress did of course not stop short before Namibia's youth, eventually influencing and changing their consumption behaviour in regard to TV and movies. Traditionally bound to TV, the internet widened the access to films especially for a younger generation who now streams and downloads movies the time they want to watch them. Even if the global technological changes arrive a little later than in Europe, one interviewed filmmaker highlights, they are going to change Namibia's film culture as well: "I begin to understand people want to be in control [especially] in places where there was never a cinema culture, and it's their first introduction to this multimedia. People want control, they want to know, they want to participate in when they pause, they rewind when they didn't hear what the guy said. That's where we are going, where most people watch for the first time a movie in an airplane or on a laptop, they don't have a reference to a big screen [...]. If we

want to survive in this, I think we have to deal with it” (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Potentially, these new developments within the film and cinema culture could present an opportunity for Namibian filmmakers in order to overcome the current disconnection between them and the local audience.

Similar to the film industry, Namibia’s fashion industry is primarily concentrated within the capital’s borders, yet not as complete as for the film industry as tailors for traditional dresses or school uniforms exist in almost every town around the country. Associated with informality, these are mostly women with a sewing machine producing on commission or in small quantities school uniforms or traditional dresses for cultural events at home or in a small shop (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Considered to rather ‘fabricate and copy’ than to design or customize, a huge number of these formal and informal enterprises – some employ around 5 to 6 seamstresses while some are individuals working at home after work to make some extra money – exist in Windhoek, mainly confined in the lower income areas (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Yet, it is the more formal industry, as well as related government and non-government institutions that confine Namibia’s fashion industry primarily to the borders of Windhoek.

All of the training institutions offering courses for fashion designers are based in Windhoek. UNAM is offering courses in fashion design with a stronger focus on theory than the fashion courses of COTA. Yet, in contrast to film, fashion design has own departments at both tertiary institutions, even if both institutions do not really work together but parallel to each other. However, the Namibian Institute of Mining and Technology (NIMT) in Arandis has to be quickly pointed out even though it is not based in Windhoek as the skill level of the seamstresses trained there has frequently been empathised. Ramatex, a Malaysian clothing manufacturer which produced in Namibia to benefit from a US-Namibian tariff agreement, used to train many seamstresses, but closed upon the expiration of the agreement (Informanté, 20.08.2015). Additionally, Penduka, a NGO based in Windhoek and concerned with the empowerment of women, trains local women as seamstresses as part of their training in craft production (Penduka, 2015).

In addition, Windhoek used to be the location for all bigger fashion shows and similar events like the music awards whose nominees and guests are traditionally in need of exquisite gala dresses. Moreover, it is home to suppliers and producers related to the wider fashion industry. A handful of fabric and haberdashery shops can be found in Windhoek that exclusively import their goods, as well as some leather manufacturers that make use of the large cattle farming sector in Namibia.

Windhoek is also home to the relevant government and industry bodies. In comparison to film, the institutional structure of the government within the fashion industry is far less developed. Falling under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture (MOE) – at least the education, funding of fashion shows etc. – the government has not established a separate commission to promote and regulate the sector, but the fashion industry is along with many other art sectors managed through the Council of the Arts (COA) on the one hand and the Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and SME Development (MIT) on the other. The industry, in turn, is represented by the Fashion Council of Namibia (FCN), an industry body that has been established in 2014 but – similar to the film industry's FAN – has due to a dispute among the industry members been dormant (D2, interview, 03.02.2016).

MyRepublik, Namibia's first own clothing brand, should be mentioned as well for recent developments and the potential it presents to the fashion industry in Windhoek. Based in Windhoek, this firm has recently opened the first Namibian clothing shops at two shopping malls in Windhoek, targeting the young local middle class. Currently designing, managing and producing in Windhoek, the production is set to move to Witvlei, a small town with high unemployment, where a factory with more than 100 workers is to be opened (Namibian Sun, 24.06.2015).

Why MyRepublik has caught so much attention even beyond the borders of the fashion industry can easily be spotted at each of Windhoek's shopping malls. Except for one or two cafés and perhaps a small store that sells imported gadgets, MyRepublik stores are the first in these malls that are owned by a Namibian firm, almost all are South African and European chain stores. Additionally, it seems to be the first store in these malls to sell products that are made in Namibia, except for some souvenirs and dairy, vegetables and beef products in the supermarkets. This means, however, that Namibians usually buy their clothes, from cheap casual wear and school uniforms to exclusive dresses, at these chain stores. Packed exclusively with imported clothing, these stores are the direct competitors of the individual designers and seamstresses in Windhoek. Although the Namibian middle class reportedly spends a relative big proportion of their income on clothing ("Namibians love shopping" – D4, interview, 27.01.2016), local designers and seamstresses have to compete with these retail giants on prices, as 'locally produced' or 'hand-made' are no labels that are valued by customers (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Quite to the contrary, urban Namibians frequently consider locally produced and hand-made products undesirable as they symbolize backwardness and a pre-industrial era, and the quality of Namibian products is generally mistrusted (D3, interview, 30.01.2016). As a former manager of one of these retail stores in Windhoek reported, the wealthier the customers are, the more they tend to buy international brands. While the lower classes have still to rely on cheap seamstresses for their children's

school uniforms, the middle class buys its clothes in South African stores in Windhoek and the upper classes even travel to South Africa or Europe for their shopping (D4, interview, 27.01.2016).

Namibian fashion does in this respect not differ much from the film industry as both industries are relatively young, having developed only after Namibian independence in 1990. Thus, both industries have had to face a national market that was already fully dominated by foreign stakeholders. Yet, while the film industry has never enjoyed a culture which considered movies as such an important entertaining aspect to pay for, the fashion industry can at least rely on a grown culture among Namibians to spend relatively much on clothes, even if these are almost entirely imported products. Nevertheless, it is estimated by a lecturer of UNAM's fashion department that around 10 to 15 designers can live off their job (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). The amount of seamstresses and tailors is however hardly to estimate, as many of these are little known and frequently produce at home. The large number of seamstresses and tailors on the lists of granted equipment funds of the MIT in the context of a SME development program indicates however that this sector might be of vital importance especially to a large part of the poorer population (MIT, 2015).

Admittedly, both sectors do not seem to be vital parts of the economy, nor do they seem to have an easy growth potential. Faced with highly competitive markets, the estimated number of 15 designers and 20 filmmakers would not justify increased government attention. However, as the diagram of Windhoek's creative industries (attachment 1) attempts to indicate, the core of the creative industries should not be viewed in isolation to its related parts. Spreading towards the outer ring, the creative industries usually involve many stakeholders and individuals, crossing sectoral lines as well as city boundaries, and be it just simple spill-over effects like the use of catering services at fashion shows or accommodation for the film crew. The significance – even though the creative core might be small – of the film and fashion industry for the local economy is thus not to be underestimated.

3.6.1.2 Labour Market Film

In this section, it has been attempted to identify and explore local characteristics of the labour force involved in these industries through interviews with members of these sectors. Comparing local characteristics helps to identify local challenges that potentially inhibit further growth.

In contrast to many other jobs in Namibia, Windhoek's filmmakers seem not to be forced into their profession by unemployment and the lack of other availabilities. Instead, Windhoek's filmmakers seem to have taken up their profession by choice. At least, all of the interviewees reported that they were engaged in other jobs or had promising university degrees before

they started their film career. Accordingly, the local filmmakers attached, similar to the Global North (Scott, 2006: 7), more than monetary values to their profession, highlighting the cultural and societal benefits that accrue from this job. As one respondent (F4, interview, 05.02.2016) remarked: “Filmmaking is an incredibly strong tool in preserving who we are, culturally, and particularly as human beings. I see it every day, it is in my life, you know, how important it is to tell and preserve our stories visually.” This can be observed in the fashion industry as well where almost all who are considered ‘real’ designers by their peers have studied fashion design and consequently attempted to establish themselves in the industry. Due to the hard work and volatile income, “it is not that great of a title to have”, as one fashion designer remarked, but “I am so passionate about designing” (D4, interview, 27.01.2016) and thus she has followed up a career in the fashion industry. It seems as Windhoek’s residents do not differ here from other creative cities for they attach values of self-expression, idealism and moral to their profession as the young artists do in the cities of Europe or the USA.

In general, Windhoek’s filmmakers and fashion designers share many characteristics with their counterparts of the Global North. Young, multiple firms in their *Curriculum Vitae*, a project-oriented work-organization, freelancing and part-time work, a focus on self-management and reputation building, as well as being highly skilled (Scott, 2006: 7). All interviewed filmmakers and fashion designer were under 40 years of age, received either tertiary education (F1, F2, F3, D1, D2, D3, D4) or at least enjoyed substantial vocational training at established companies (F4, F5), and have their own company. Yet, only one interviewee of the film industry, heading a film distribution company and a NGO, has been full-time employed by an external organization and thus works only part-time in the film industry (F3). Significantly, the proportion of women and previously disadvantaged population groups within the industries seems to be comparatively high, given the low proportions among senior posts in the economy (GIZ, 2012: 7), even if they still not reflect the population proportions especially for previously disadvantaged groups. Seven of ten interviewees were women and eight of ten would have been counted as a previously disadvantaged group, while the fashion industry seems to exhibit better proportions than the film industry, potentially because of the absence of a local film school. Even if the numbers of the interviewees might not reflect the correct proportions, many individuals reported that these proportions seem to roughly hold true for the owners of the other film and fashion businesses, indicating the potentially empowering character of these industries in Windhoek (D1, interview, 28.01.2016; F2, interview, 26.01.2016). Compared to traditional sectors like finance, mining or agriculture, the creative sectors thus seem to exhibit a high accessibility as

well as providing an opportunity for social mobility for disadvantaged groups within this heavily unequal society.

Remarkably, all interviewed persons within the film industry have an international background. Either being born or having studied in South Africa, Europe or the USA, all interviewees have been exposed to different cinematic and film cultures as found in Namibia. Yet, their international background does not automatically translate into a network that benefits their businesses in material terms, many international collaborations seem eventually not to materialize: “Because the thing is, [...] I met a lot of people, and all were like, yeah, we will do this stuff. But I think people tend to talk a lot. [...] So you know there is a couple of things you want to do with people [international contacts] but I want to do my thing first, especially my two next projects” (F2, interview, 26.01.2016). The international background, however, provides Windhoek’s filmmakers with an experience, knowledge and perspective on film culture which goes beyond Namibia’s borders. Perhaps, this is required to imagine a creative career in Namibia. Four of five interviewees have mentioned the skewed perception of creative work in Namibia, typically considered as leisure, hobby, laziness, bad payments, but not as career option at all. As one respondent reported: “And I asked them [pupils of primary school], what do you want to become? We did call the film screening ‘Inspiring Young Minds’ to exactly overcome this, that they not consider it as possible, that they never ever even think about thinking to take up a career in the creative field, to consider it a profession” (F3, interview, 02.02.2016). Being exposed to the success stories of filmmakers in Europe and the USA, being confronted with different cultures and norms might have, at least, strengthened Windhoek’s filmmakers in their wish to become a creative entrepreneur.

The international context was among the fashion designers not as present as in the film industry. While three of four designers studied or worked in the USA, Europe or South Africa, two studied and worked exclusively in Namibia, biographies that are hard to find among the filmmakers as a formal film school does not exist in Namibia. Those with international experience, however, consider their background as an asset that helps for travelling, marketing, and potentially for distributing: “So right now I am working on getting my product to the States first, just because I lived there and I have a lot of connections. If you have enough friends there, send your stuff out. I worked for a boutique in Miami, so I am going to start there [...] and if I actually get an order from the States, I’ll be sorted” (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Yet, similar to the film industry, many of the international projects have not been materialized yet, indicating a value of these networks for exchange of information and tacit knowledge rather than for the sale of products. This is also reflected in the harsh and generalizing statement of one person who studied abroad, considering Namibians who never

left the country as “close-minded, happy where they are, complacent” (D3, interview, 30.01.2016). Even if these generalizations are easily disproved by many Namibian biographies, they highlight the wide-spread opinion that an international background helps as it widens the horizon and adds fresh perspectives.

In general, the interviewees of both industries mentioned many issues that are considered typical for the labour market of creative industries, especially outlining the blurring of professional and private life, specifically for those who do not have a separate office or studio, as well as the inconsistent income situation that comes with project-based freelancing in the film industry and the seasonal character of the fashion industry (weddings, graduation ceremonies and cultural events are generally held in December and January), putting much pressure particularly on breadwinners of families.

The most remarkable characteristics and pressing needs of the local labour market, however, differ from the typical model, at least in their extents. Firstly, Namibia’s labour pool of the film and fashion industry is considered by all interviewees as widely lacking business and management skills. One person, for example, reports about her colleagues in the film industry: “For many years, I think, you had a lot of people that basically make films and once the film was done, they make the next. But they’re not really thinking about how do people get to see my film, can I sell my film? Maybe they don’t want to deal with that, it’s like they’re creatives and they’re fine with the creative stuff, but if there is nobody else...” (F1, interview 19.01.2016). Reportedly, Windhoek’s filmmakers have for many years considered their job as a purely creative profession, interpreting their job as developing an idea and subsequently implementing it. But basic economic considerations are usually not included. What audience to be targeted, how to sell the film, what marketing strategy to employ, how to budget properly, these are all considerations that are missing in many planning processes. “Don’t I have to think about what the market wants in advance? When I want to survive as a creative person”, one respondent remarked, “then I have to see what niche does fit to me” (F3, interview, 02.02.2016).

In a similar vein, respondents of the fashion industry mentioned the wide lack of general business skills among fashion designers: “There is a lot missing. I think training first of all, because you can be a designer, but how do you make a business work? How do you make it sustainable? Designers open their door, tomorrow they close it again. [...] So I think if there is some training in business science, [...] it would be a great help” (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). During the interviews with members of both industries, it has frequently been highlighted that fashion designers, filmmakers and the respective students need to develop an entrepreneurial spirit, to learn basic business principles as well as to incorporate marketing and distribution considerations into their planning process. The current dearth of

even basic business skills and principles of how to calculate costs exactly or to draft a business plan, has inhibited a sustainable growth and caused many failures, calling for a change of education plans and perhaps mentality. Creative entrepreneurs need to begin to expand their skill level beyond creativity and consider business management as a vital part of their endeavour. As one representative of the film industry remarked: “We have to be smart and we have to treat it like a business. And once this understanding comes which is sometimes a little bit difficult for us as creatives because you think and dream movies, you don’t necessarily think dollars, dollars, so you have to sort of adapt” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016).

Even if the business skills among creative entrepreneurs might not be perfectly developed in the Global North, too, this yawning lack of fundamental business skills among the creative class seems to be of a significant level in Windhoek and is potentially one of the strongest obstacles for further growth. Repeatedly complained about by almost all interviewees, many instances have been reported where projects or businesses failed since simple business principles were not adhered to (see for example, D2, interview, 03.02.2016). According to the opinion of the majority of respondents, business management courses have to be introduced in university courses as well as mentorship programs or workshops offered to those who are already part of the working force. Although the creative and artistic part of the profession must not be neglected, creative entrepreneurs in Windhoek need to shift their focus more onto management aspects and business skills for their jobs to become sustainable.

The second outstanding characteristic in Windhoek’s labour market has been a high fluctuation in positions of the middle strata of both industries. These are usually not un-skilled workers but technically trained persons who are in terms of payment and training below the highly skilled film-directors and producers or fashion designers. In the fashion industry, this is for example observed with many seamstresses. Seamstresses are usually required by Windhoek’s fashion designers for the production of a small quantity of their clothes. Yet, even if they are trained by institution like NIMT, seamstresses usually need to learn some different techniques and are thus frequently trained by designers, either employing them on a part-time basis or returning to their services if required. Despite their employment or regular orders, these seamstresses usually move on as soon as they gained enough knowledge and skills to start their own design business: “I have had a couple of seamstresses [...] so you train them in fashion and you usually have them for about two years because then they will make out and call themselves fashion designers from the experience and the knowledge they gained from you” (D2, interview, 03.02.2016). Consequently, new partners or employees have to be trained on a regular basis, rendering the production capacity of designers very volatile and inflicting additional costs to the production.

Similarly, many workshops and trainings have been offered by the NFC, yet screenplay-writers (individuals who “translate” a story or idea into a text that describes merely what can be seen on the screen) or qualified sound technicians are reported to be lacking. Instead, one “sits every time with new writers who attend the workshop and then have to come on board” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016) as the previous scriptwriters have either given up on their job, or even moved on to directing their own movies in order to earn more money. Naturally, this constant fluctuation among these employees or partners is time consuming and costly. The unattractiveness of these jobs is however not necessarily a surprise, given the small market size and low production numbers which render it very unlikely that high salaries are paid or large incomes generated. Consequently, people use their newly gained skills to take up the financial risk of self-employment, indicating the huge gap between the incomes of both job tiers, as well as the difficulty to find a sufficient number of local customers for their services. While seamstresses usually belong to the first category, highly specialized jobs like screenplay-writers are probably rather facing a shortage in demand and will be hardly financially sustainable as long as other sectors do not create a demand for their services. Yet, the high fluctuation of potential project partners does in turn necessitate creative entrepreneurs to have extensive and reliable networks to source the required skills when they need them. Unnecessary to mention the financial and time related disadvantages that arise, as will be explained further below.

Thirdly, in Windhoek’s labour market it is hard to distinguish between formal and informal entrepreneurs. Not necessarily because of the quality of their work, but legal lines between both are blurred and no regulatory definition exists for any of these industries (Adams, 2008). Yet, among the film-interviewees, a ‘real’ filmmaker is considered to have either studied or been working for a film-related company long enough to have a certain level of experience, a certain standard in their work and a certain set of skills. In contrast, informal filmmakers are considered those whose work exhibits low quality and lacks certain production standards, those who “pick up a camera and point and shoot and say, hey I am a director-producer” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). These people do not necessarily lack a formal training, they might have been shown how to use a camera during a module of their media studies, but their knowledge and skills are usually not developed enough to maintain a certain level of quality. Nevertheless, they frequently advertise themselves as film producers and claim to be a good director. One respondent remarked: “I think there is also still this disease where everybody wants to be a director but people also need to realize that you need certain skills or certain strengths in order to do certain stuff. The other day I realized, I was working with these guys, we were doing short films, and the producer was doing all the work of the director. I don’t

know what the director was, I think he was just unable, and I think he didn't understand his task" (F2, interview, 26.01.2016).

In the fashion industry, too, there is no legal regulation of who may call himself a designer. Nevertheless, the interviewees had a clear common understanding of who to consider a formal or 'real' fashion designer and who not. Seamstresses sewing school uniforms or traditional dresses whose patterns and motifs only differ slightly, are not considered as designers, even if they claim to be one, for they "don't design anything, but you bring them a picture, you tell them what you want and they make it to their best ability" (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Yet, it is not so much the academic degree, a separate studio or a registered business that eventually determines whether a person is considered a 'real' or informal designer. Persons might have studied fashion design and subsequently designed a collection presented at a hastily patched-up fashion show. It is rather the standard of their work and a certain level of experience and understanding of the industry that makes an individual to be considered a fashion designer. In general, these can be seamstresses who have a small, unregistered shop, advertising their ability to design gala dresses or bridal wear. Yet, it is frequently young students without any professional experience, or people from different trades that harm the industry in the eyes of the interviewees with their informal activities: "I think many of them, it is just, my aunt taught me how to sew, I am a designer. [...] That is not a problem but where the issue comes in, is for the business aspect of it or the understanding of the creative process" (D3, interview, 30.01.2016).

Although many of these people quickly disappear again, interviewees of the film and fashion industry have accused them of harming the industry in the long term. Blamed to do it for the fame or money, and not for the 'passion', these people are accused of delivering sub-standard products which in many cases have led to largely disappointed customers: "People call you and say, can you fix this thing for us? [...] We hired these guys to shoot something and it's terrible" (F2, interview, 26.01.2016), reported one respondent of the film industry. Similarly, foreigners to the fashion-industry tried to set up a fashion show, allegedly to make a profit with the tickets but "they throw a fashion show and it is not up to standards. And the next year they won't do the show again because no one is going to come because the show wasn't good. That is the reputation of the industry" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Accumulated, these frequent instances of shoddy work in both industries have increasingly diminished the trust of the private sector in this creative industry, reportedly turning down fund applications due to bad experiences with the film industry (F5, interview, 27.01.2016) or sponsorship as the fashion shows displayed such a low level of quality the previous year (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Although currently very low, investments by the private sector are urgently needed by both industries in their attempt to become financially more profitable

– the indicated loss of trust, however, will further minimize the chances that actors will change their minds in the near future.

As shown, both labour forces, of the fashion sector and of the film industry, exhibit a number of characteristics that are typically found in the Global North and promise a positive impact for such an unequally developed country like Namibia. Not only do these industries seem to provide more than monetary value to their employees, these sectors additionally indicate to be relatively empowering to previously disadvantaged groups. Yet, a certain international background seems to be necessary or at least conducive. This already points to the need of educational reforms, especially in terms of business and management skill that seem to be widely lacking in these industries. The extent of this dearth is greater than in the Global North, while the fluctuation in less skilled jobs is high, adding to the challenges in the production process. Most significantly, however, ‘informal’ actors have contributed to the loss of potential investors, allegedly destroying its trustworthiness through poor business management and products of sub-standard quality.

3.6.2 Production Chains and Networks of Producers

Although scholars like Scott (2006: 5) have pointed out that creative industries frequently do not display traditionally mono-directional chains of production as typically found in more traditional production sectors. Rather, they comprise vertically disintegrated ‘networks of producers’ in which individual companies pool their skills and specialized knowledge for a temporary project (Scott, 2006: 5-6). During interviews with representatives of the film industry, a diagram drawn from the film industry in Potsdam has been presented (see attachment 2) to help to roughly compare Windhoek’s film industry, its organizational patterns, the individual processes and involved businesses to one of the Global North. Along the four categories of pre-production, production, post-production and distribution, the interviewees were supposed to highlight bottlenecks and challenges. Since the fashion industry is less complex in its production processes, the chain has been categorized into pre-production, production and distribution and respondents were asked to report about their experiences with each category. Building on the identification of local particularities in the organization of the production chains, it has been attempted to explore these as strategies of these businesses to adapt to local circumstances.

Usually, in the ‘ideal’ film industry production chain, a producer would have developed an idea about a film and approaches a scriptwriter to ‘translate’ this idea into a text that can be portrayed in moving images. Still in the pre-production phase, the producer subsequently gathers a team of investors, financial administrators, casting agencies, other organizational consultants and a director to plan the shooting of the film. During the production phase, the

director works with a large team of cameramen, lighting- and sound technicians, make-up artists, creative coaches and other assistants to ensure a successful recording of the required sequences. When all parts of the movie have been shot, the recorded film and sound material is finally analysed, edited and cut into a coherent movie by a team of highly skilled technical experts. After the physical printing of DVDs, the film is finally marketed during the distribution phase, advertised and distributed by specialized firms (Krätke, 2002: 31). These processes require a great variety of highly skilled and less skilled persons. These individuals are, however, usually not integrated into one large company, but come together in temporary teams to pool their skills for a single project. This organizational pattern has been described as a vertically disintegrated network of individual production units which allows for a certain level of flexibility in these volatile industries (Scott, 2006: 6).

In Windhoek, however, the chain or network of film production differs remarkably from this diagram for it is much smaller, less specialized and less functionally differentiated. Although at least the film industry relies on the network of production, these networks in Windhoek seem to be less horizontally and vertically integrated than their counterparts of the Global North. The analysis of the interviews has shown that in Namibia's film industry, many production steps do not involve a specialized and separate firm, and some steps are even entirely omitted as either the required skills or funds are unavailable. Instead, the industry seems to be confined to a small number of experts who take on a number of roles within the production process. This does, however, not mean that individual production steps are unknown in Windhoek or that Windhoek's film industry is less complex. Rather, these local particularities in the production process outline how the local industry has adapted and arranged with the specific characteristics evident in this small African country. Interestingly, however, although the fashion industry has to face similar challenges in relation to their market and production process, its companies have exhibited a slightly different strategy to adapt to the local circumstances.

In general, Windhoek's filmmakers have entered the industry for what they called 'passion' or 'love'. Reducing filmmaking not to a mere monetary profession but one that promises societal and cultural benefits as well as a valve for self-expression, the production of own short films and feature films has been the primary motivation of the interviewees to be active in the film industry (F4, interview, 05.02.2016; F2, interview, 26.02.2016). Although finding investors to fund short films and feature films has been difficult in countries like Germany, too, the situation in Windhoek seems very bleak in this regard. Filmmakers have frequently stated that funding is the most severe challenge within the filmmaking process. Several reasons have been stated: Firstly, the most important funder, the publicly financed NFC, is usually awarded a budget to support local filmmakers with the production of some of their movies.

Yet, financial irregularities, in-transparent application procedures, inconsistent budgets and expensive prestige films have led to a volatile funding structure that cannot be reliably tapped by the local filmmakers. While seven short films have been co-funded by the NFC in a single year, funds are entirely held back the next year to invest the entire budget on a single feature film (F5, interview, 27.01.2016). The unreliability has thus been frequently criticized as filmmakers are not able to plan if they can at least apply for funding as they do not know what amount of and according to which criteria funds are distributed (F1, interview, 19.01.2016)

Secondly, other sources of funding are hardly existent in Windhoek. The general problem of short films being an artistic product that requires public funding rather than a commercially viable entertainment product is especially true for Windhoek. A historically grown cinematic culture like in Europe is not present, TV stations are not interested in buying local short films and selling short films on DVD is difficult as the local demand is, if anything, very small, and is probably even smaller for a 13-minute film for the same price as the latest Hollywood blockbuster (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). All these factors make it almost impossible to fund a new film through the profit of the previous movie. Investors from the private sector are scarce, only one foundation of one of the big commercial banks has been reported to have funded a film once. Yet, financial irregularities and sub-standard work in the past have even destroyed the little trust in the film industry that was built during the last years. A filmmaker, for example, reports how his funding application has been turned down by the bank's foundation with regard to the gap between what the previous filmmaker promised and how the film eventually turned out (F5, interview, 27.01.2016). The South African music and film retail chain Musica, being the primary retailer for DVDs in Windhoek, has so far rejected Namibian films on ground of their quality and standards (F2, interview, 26.01.2016).

Consequently, the only funding channels for Namibian filmmakers left is the irregular funding of the NFC as well as personal investments. Although an increasing number of films are self-funded, the small amount of financial capital forces filmmakers to compromise on the length or production standards (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Despite this bleak funding situation, Windhoek's filmmakers have nevertheless produced a range of exciting short films. Adapting to the local circumstances, filmmakers have adjusted organizational structures within the production process as well as their company's portfolio in order to be able to cope with the local shortage and volatility of funding opportunities.

During the interviews, it has frequently been pointed out that for specific steps within the production process, none or no specialized company or sufficiently skilled individual is available in Namibia. For example, there are no specialized costume designers, synchronisation studios or dialogue coaches (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). This, however,

does not necessarily mean that these skills are not required for Namibian films but these tasks are rather taken up by a few individuals, ultimately assuming a multiplicity of roles within the production process. The entire post-production process in Windhoek is for example confined to one editor and two to three audio companies who not only provide the sound and editing services but also cater for special effects, animations, sound effects, soundtrack composition, synchronization and other tasks (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). In the pre-production phase, too, many roles are assumed by a single individual: not seldom, the filmmakers assume the role of a producer, investor, scriptwriter, director, actor and marketing agent concurrently (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). This pattern has been explained by two assumptions. Either, the small budgets available for each film are so tight that filmmakers cannot afford additional professionals and do it themselves (F2, interview, 26.01.2016), or the unavailability of appropriate skills within Namibia has forced them to take up these functions (F3, interview, 02.02.2016).

Yet, this multiplicity of roles is not only recognizable for multi-talented individuals but as well for a firm level. The diversification and specialization encountered in the film industries of the Global North is not necessarily evident in Windhoek. Rather, the small local firms and individuals seem to have adapted to the local shortage of funds by two strategies that can be summed up as the diversification of products and the diversification of services, or as a horizontally and vertically more integrated than the Global North. Ultimately, these newly developed sources of income eventually help to cross-finance the artistic and non-commercial movies.

Firstly, in contrast to the industries of the Global North, Namibian filmmakers have not specialized on a single product but diversified their range. All interviewed filmmakers have reported that they not merely produce short or feature films but receive a major part of their income through the production of advertising clips for local companies, of corporate videos for jubilees and events, as well as commissioned educational videos for NGOs and government institutions (F1, interview, 19.01.2016; F4, interview, 05.02.2016). Others have besides their production of short films focused on the commissioned production of German TV films and series in Namibia (F5, interview, 27.01.2016), while others have established a separate company to service a wider market, including the coverage of weddings or business events. These jobs have however been frequently described as scarce, tiring and un-creative for almost all filmmakers compete for a small number of lucrative jobs in the advertising and corporate video sector (see for example, F4, interview, 05.02.2016). This is especially difficult as the private sector is only slowly gaining trust in the industry's quality and Namibian companies traditionally outsourced their jobs to South African firms (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). A growing number of high quality and locally produced advertisements shown

on Namibian TV screens, however, shows that this niche is one possibility to cross-fund the filmmakers' other activities: "Commercials, social documentaries, corporate films for companies, that pays the bill. [...] Being in these markets is helping to create financial stability" (F4, interview, 05.02.2016).

Secondly, Windhoek's filmmakers have not only diversified their product range but also increased the number of services. In order to financially survive, most local firms assume a multiplicity of roles within the industry. Almost all interviewed filmmakers stated that they have sought to find a niche within the film industry that has not yet been occupied by any competitors, thus diversifying their services in order to reduce the financial risk involved in this volatile industry. Therefore, many firms and individuals do not only offer to produce and direct films, but have either opened a casting agency, a crew hub, financial administration services, or the duplication of movies. It thus seems that Windhoek's filmmakers, given the bleak funding situation for films, have diversified not only their product range of films to reach a broader customer base in terms of NGOs and private firms but also diversified their services within the industry in terms to generate enough income to survive and possibly cross-finance their artistic and creative movies. Although perceived as tiring and un-creative, the interviewees have frequently pointed out the necessity to find the right balance between both aspects in order to financially survive: "You just need to find kind of niches, a niche within the industry because I also don't want to be too far removed. [...] I started the casting agency right after I left the production company I was working for, because I knew I had to be smart. [...] This is the money making thing that I do" (F2, interview, 26.01.2016).

Remarkably, however, Windhoek's filmmakers have despite their immense shortage of funds so far not specifically focused on a diversification and expansion of existing distribution channels. As mentioned above, many filmmakers have frequently disregarded the distribution part of the production chain. Instead, they felt merely responsible for the creative production part, and frequently did not include the distribution or marketing of their films in their planning process (F3, interview, 02.02.2016). Consequently, once the films have been produced, they are possibly send to some specific film festivals around the globe, but are otherwise only scarcely consumed. It is thus quite surprising that local filmmakers have only minimally explored new distribution channels or targeted an expansion of the local market for short and feature films. Only recently, a small part-time company has been established which seeks to find new distribution channels for Namibian films, exploring especially regional and international networks (F3, interview, 02.02.2016).

Similar strategies can be observed for the fashion industry in Windhoek which has to face similar challenges as the film industry in terms of financial sustainability. Due to South African retail giants dominating the mass market, fashion designers in Windhoek have also

diversified their portfolio in terms of providing different services for the industry. They benefit in this regard from the absence of specialized skills for which not enough demand exists to make a specialized company financially viable. Consequently, fashion designers in Windhoek concurrently write fashion blogs, consult other fashion firms, organize fashion shows, cast models, write newspaper columns, offer paid mentorship programs for young designers, or lecture at the university in order to cross-finance their 'passion' of designing and producing own collections for fashion shows. In contrast to the film industry, Windhoek's fashion designers have not been able to diversify their product range for their production capacity is too small to expand their product range. They are only able to produce one type of garments, e.g. exclusive dinner dresses but won't have the capacity to concurrently produce a ready-to-wear line for young children. Only recently, a private garment factory opened its doors, potentially enhancing the local capacity, yet it is still unclear whether it will also serve small orders by local designers (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Until now, Namibia's designer usually made use of the huge number of seamstresses scattered around the city, employing them on a project-basis for the production of a small amount of dresses (D1, interview, 28.01.2016).

Therefore, some fashion designer in Windhoek have not diversified their product range but rather specialized on certain niches, such as the production of wedding dresses, exclusive evening wear or traditional dresses, niches that are either traditionally served by independent designers or are not covered by chain stores. More importantly however, fashion designers have increasingly focused on a diversification of their distribution channels in order to expand their reach into the local market. In this aspect, the fashion industry is differing from the film industry as there is local base of customers that regularly spend a certain proportion of their income on fashion while this is not necessarily given for Namibian films. Hence, local fashion designers have multiplied the ways in which they attempt to reach the local market without straining their budget too much. For rent is very high in Windhoek, designers are traditionally confronted with the problem of lacking a shop or outlet to sell pre-fabricated clothes, especially since boutiques frequently charge high commission for the sale of their clothes (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Hence, making use of the high social media use among young Namibians, designers have especially focused on promotion via Facebook, Twitter and Instagram and spreading their company's reputation by word-from-mouth (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Besides occasional small markets and fairs, fashion designers have in this way managed to reach a local customer base without having a costly physical presence within the inner city.

As illustrated, both industries have to struggle with a similar problem: the size of their market. While for film, there is no traditional cinema culture and thus no fixed customer base, the

fashion industry is widely dominated by the huge South African chain stores. Yet, in order to maintain the ability to pursue their 'passion' of either making art films or designing for fashion shows, the local designers and filmmakers have come up with different strategies. While the film industry has rather focused on the diversification of their services and products to generate enough income – a sort of horizontally (products) and vertically (services) integration – the diversification of distribution channels has widely been neglected. Fashion designers, in turn, have also diversified their services, less their products, within the industry but primarily have attempted to increase the distribution channels to raise their local sales. These include especially online opportunities. Even if the local customer bases are different for both industries, the film industry might learn from the adaption strategies of local designers, and begin to increasingly incorporate the demand of the local market into their films.

3.6.3 Networks and the Creative Field

As the previous chapter has shown, creative industries in general and in Windhoek to a lesser extent, typically rely on networks that link more or less vertically disintegrated units of the production process. Yet, networks are considered vital to creative industries as they enable the exchange of information, (tacit) knowledge and mutual inspiration among their members and might – if the networks are interconnected strongly enough – contribute to local learning and innovation processes (Porter, 2000: 21-23). Spatial proximity can thus help to create networks among local producers that are sufficiently interconnected and efficient in the transmission of knowledge and information that these networks become an invaluable asset for their members (Schlickewei et al., 2011: 44). Information exchange is however not only confined to formally established networks as done on business meetings or industry meetings. As studies indicate, informal networks among acquaintances, friends or colleagues might even be more efficient in the transmission of relevant information and knowledge (Allen et al., 2007: 191).

This significance of formal and informal networks for their respective sectors has also been noted by the majority of interviewees in Windhoek. Although not all examples were directly referred to networks, a variety of statements indicates how important members of both sectors value international and local networks for the exchange of advice, business opportunities or transmission of knowledge. As one fashion designer remarked about working with other designers in one studio space: "And it was awesome, the energy, you had all this big designers, they would say, 'okay you fix this here and this is how you fix it'. [...] We would work in the same space, so we would always give each other this support, or advice [...]. And I think working in a group this is what makes you more equipped, you don't have to struggle there by yourself" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016).

Within the fashion industry as well as film industry, local networks have been considered crucial in many aspects. Fashion designers, for example, have to rely on their informal networks in order to find appropriate seamstresses when they receive a larger order for a collection. As no formal quality standards or regulations exist for seamstresses, designers have to rely strongly on their informal networks to find sufficiently qualified partners who can produce their collections. Responding to the question, how one finds the right seamstresses or tailors, many responded along the lines of: “You just know them. The fashion is quite small actually, so what you do sometimes [if you need more tailors at once], you just ask one of the tailors, ‘Do you know somebody?’, because the other tailor knows the quality you need” (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Accordingly, it seems as designers need to have a trusted relationship to at least one ‘gatekeeper’ who is able to re-connect the fashion designers with sufficiently qualified tailors. Being able to trust the assessment of the ‘gatekeeper’ is thus so important since the fluctuation among members of informal sectors is quite high – issues like absence of a fixed business space, high mobility between rural and urban areas as well swapped cell-phone numbers have been reported to render networks with seamstresses highly unstable and unreliable (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). How these informal networks are also used to exchange relevant information and knowledge has been highlighted during an interview with a part-time fashion design lecturer who concurrently runs her own fashion business. The interview has been interrupted by a lecturer colleague of her who entered the room for a quick coffee and chat. During the conversation however, the question came up where to find a company that prints the small labels for the inner side of clothing in Windhoek. Consequently, she was given a name who recently had the same issue and was advised to go to a certain business hub which could connect her to one of the required companies. Though so short and with such informal character, this conversation has highlighted how important such relationships among members of the industry are to access relevant information.

In the film sector, too, such informal and formal networks are valued by the interviewees for their contributions to the exchange of information and pooling of required skills. One respondent, for example, explained how important it is for her to be connected to the other local filmmakers in order to access information or to get advice: “Richard [Pakleppa, Namibian filmmaker of first generation] has been around for a very long time and he understands the international markets, [...] he is an incredible source of wisdom and encouragement and he is not afraid to share it because he really treasures the talent we have in this country. And it is the same with Joe [Haikali, filmmaker] and Sophie [Kabongo, filmmaker] and Tim Huebschle [filmmaker], who makes suggestions to help you enter your film at this festival, okay I’ll send you the link, I’ll do this, I’ll do that, I’ll hook you up” (F4,

interview, 05.02.2016). The significance of informal networks is also observed in the processes of pooling the required skills for a project. As formal networking platforms have been dormant (FAN) or under-developed (NFC database) and the absence of quality regulations renders a highly trusted inter-personal relationship crucial, informal networks have – similarly to the fashion sector – played a vital role in interlinking the individual production units. They get even more important given the context of Windhoek in which scarce funds frequently necessitate a reciprocal and ‘voluntary’ collaboration between members of the industry: “I am so happy we’re able to do something creative what we really wanted to do last year and for me it was a perfect example of collaboration because all that people came and helped us. And then they brought in their cars, who does that? Just filled up our tanks and feed us” (F1, interview, 19.01.2016).

Remarkably, however, it seems as local networks in Windhoek have rather served an exchange of information and knowledge than of resources. Of course, reports were given that highlighted, for example, the role of family networks for financial security, or the importance of personal relationships to borrow, for example, a camera for free. Yet, on a broader level, interviewees of both sectors have frequently reported about networks within their sector but only very rarely these networks transcended into the business or even the financial sector: “I think there is collaboration but the stronger one is solidarity. I mean people are really sharing ideas together, but in terms of really working together [investing in same project] there are still so many challenges” (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Given the wide absence of business skills and funding, it should thus be sought to integrate external local networks more efficiently, trying to open new funding channels through the integration of relevant ‘gatekeepers’ of different networks.

International networks have been also described by the interviewees as important resources of information and knowledge. As mentioned above, here too, these have not really ‘materialized’, as one respondent called it, in terms of the exchange of resources. Nevertheless, the establishment of an international network is regarded by many as vital, even if only theoretically since required resources have been missing to actually implement it. Among other benefits, these networks, established through international film festivals, business visits to garment factories in China or international fashion shows, have been considered especially helpful to gather information about other markets, to get useful contacts or just be inspired for a solution to a specific problem: “[International Networks] are very important. [...] I am stuck with something and then I ask them, ‘Do you know someone where I can do this, or a company?’ [...] and they really give you those contacts. Also to just know how the arts are going through the struggles in other countries, gives you encouragement. [...] For me, networks from outside Namibia have actually made me realize,

there is hope” (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Similarly, international networks are also in the film industry regarded as vehicles of not only explicit knowledge and information but also for the transmission of tacit knowledge. The traditional link of many Namibian students to Cape Town, a very cosmopolitan city, is regarded by some as a crucial driver in the development of Namibian culture and arts (F3, interview, 02.02.2016).

Additionally, the international networks have also been described as pivotal in order to get access to export markets for either their fashion collections or new films. As one fashion designer reported: “So networks outside the country are definitely very fortunate because this is the one way you get your stuff out. [...] Especially when you want to sell overseas or across borders, then you need to understand production and how it works there” (D3, interview, 30.01.2016). Networks thus help not only through potential contacts within the export country but they ultimately provide tacit knowledge about what norms, trends and other aspects have to be taken into consideration before an export to these countries becomes possible.

Even if Windhoek’s creative industries do not comprise as many single production units as their counterparts of the Global North, the importance of networks for their businesses is not less important. Although Windhoek’s companies of the film and fashion industry are not able to access many financial resources through their local and international networks, these interrelationships have proven to be crucial for the exchange of information, to keep up to the latest global trends, to plan the export of products or to link to new networks. Yet, as described below, these networks are frequently comprised by informal relationships between individual members rather than formal and institutionalized networks between businesses, thus not spreading evenly over the entire sector but connecting certain parts while excluding others.

Despite the general awareness about the significance of networks for their work, interviews with representatives of both sectors have revealed that among many members of the industries as well as among the government a lack of interpersonal or institutional trust has been widely lacking. Yet, trust is a crucial condition for networks to function efficiently. Without trusting a person, it will be hard to rely on his advice or information. On the other hand, people will not accept to pay fees for a government body that has repeatedly proven a mismanagement of funds.

Notwithstanding this vital role of trust for effective networks, interviewees frequently reported about incidents in which the lack of trust within a network has hampered collaboration. There have been instances where members of the fashion industries mistrusted parts of their distribution network as long as these have not been in a friendship relation with her: “And

very few, I know there is one designer who is friends with the boutique owner who has her stuff in there but I don't know what their agreement is. Is it on consignment? So is the designer really making money? Or is it just that all my stuff is there, but do they sell my things? And do they sell them like you want them to be sold?" (D4, interview, 27.01.2016).

Yet, there is not only mistrust between members of the creative sectors and other business networks. Even more hampering for the establishment of inclusive and efficient networks is the perceived mistrust that governs many relationships among the members of the creative industry as well as towards the government. It has been reported by all interviewees of the fashion industry that their sector is not so much soaked with an atmosphere of collaboration, mutual help and sharing but rather been described with attributes like "everyone against everyone" (D2, interview, 03.02.2016) or "everyone fights for themselves" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). In some instances, advices have thus been rejected by colleagues, accusing the advisor of attempting to harm him as a competitor (D2, interview, 03.02.2016); collaborations have not worked out as one has been afraid his partner will steal his ideas (D3, interview, 30.01.2016); or even telephone numbers of a seamstress were not given to a colleague as she was reluctant to share it with a colleague (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Instances like these indicate that especially in the fashion industry a rather general mistrust exist between members as long as they do not share a more personal relationship. Naturally, this reluctance to share, collaborate and trust someone with whom one has not spend much time is hampering the effectiveness of networks within the sector to transmit knowledge, information and resources as people are rather the dead-end for information than a gatekeeper who spreads the information to the rest of the community.

This general mistrust is also observable in the film sector, although not to such an extent like in the fashion industry. Although members frequently mistrust the government or certain individual filmmakers, it has become evident that at least the interviewees are well connected with each other, willing to support and advise other members. An array of common projects and films highlights the close network of one part of the filmmaking community. Nevertheless, in the film industry, too, a certain level of mistrust among the interviewees and other parts of the sector has been reported: "The people are now divided [...], so it messed up with the whole structure. And it also consistently damaging the trust and the relying on the government" (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). In this incident, it is referred to a case of the perceived mismanagement of public funds that involved parts of the government as well members of the industry (F5, interview, 27.01.2016). The lack of trust among the individuals towards some of their peers seems however to inhibit a collaborative and supportive atmosphere that is able to integrate the entire industry.

Among all respondents, several perspectives on the reasons for this general mistrust have been stated. Some fashion designers and filmmakers alike regarded cultural or historical reasons as the drivers of this low interpersonal trust level within the Namibian society in general (see, for example, F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Highlighting the perverted segregation policies during the apartheid era and the young age of the country, they see trust as something that will grow slowly with the new educational and cultural context present since independence. Others, however, point to economic reasons to explain the mistrust in their respective sectors, emphasising especially the small market size which renders the competition extremely fierce and even deceptive, and the general perception of competition being dangerous: “But people don’t like being pushed, they don’t like competition, they see it as a bad thing. [...] I just think the trust issues stems a lot from what was happening in the past, in terms of you have an idea, the minute you tell it someone, then this person has the money or the capacity to make it happen. So people are very tight about their ideas” (D4, interview, 27.01.2016). Another interviewee responds in a similar fashion, pointing out that in the context of scarce resources, people are afraid to lose the little they have when competition arises, and therefore reject collaboration: “Everybody feels like they have to defend so much what they’re doing, their little idea, so they’re cocooned very much in their own thing. [...] I think it’s a real feel for some people that people are going to steal their ideas, so they don’t talk about it” (F2, interview, 26.01.2016). Naturally, regardless of what the exact reason might be, the missing trust among the members of the sector inhibits a closer cooperation and more efficient information exchange that could ultimately be to the benefit of all. Yet, if it be the incidents of ideas been stolen or people being exploited, it would be interesting to explore what kind of regulations and legal protections could contribute to an establishment of an institutional security which people can trust and rely on in cases of fraud or deception.

However, this explanation would suggest a problem that would rather transcend sectoral borders than being confined to the fashion industry. Even though variances between both sectors might be explained through the respective size and numbers of competitors, this argument falls short in explaining the apparent difference to the film sector in which at least the majority of the creative core seems to be well connected and supportive to each other but have to face the same shortage of funds.

Potentially, however, the development of the industrial bodies as networking platforms could be one explanation for this phenomenon. Both bodies, the Film Association of Namibia (FAN) and the Fashion Council of Namibia (FCN), have recently become dormant or inactive due to disputes among its members as well as with the government. While some of the board members of FAN resigned as a protest to the repeated disregard of sectoral laws and

mismanagement of funds by the Namibian Film Commission (NFC) (F1, interview, 19.01.2016), the FCN has only been established in 2014 but except for two members all have left the association on grounds of internal disputes about strategies, events and standards (D2, interview, 03.02.2016). Although the FCN was planned to be the central networking platform for the fashion industry through which information, jobs and contacts should have been made accessible, it has been regarded by most industry members as having failed.

The FAN, since its establishment in 2001 until its demise in 2014, in contrast, has been described as a central platform for all members of the industry to come together, to discuss the sectoral problems, to share information and ask for help, to get connected or find project partners: “I think it’s important obviously to have that place where you can meet and where you talk about the issues affecting them and how you can solve them. And the nice thing of FAN was also that at the end of the meetings you could [find someone] if you’re looking for a camera or somebody to help you out with your production” (F2, interview, 26.01.2016). Another respondent had a similar perspective: “The establishment of FAN also played a major role in trying to bring people together. Because it starts with being in the same space, sharing ideas. Because only when you know, he thinks in the same direction, we can work together” (F1, interview, 19.01.2016).

So perhaps the difference might be explained in that the film industry, in contrast to the fashion industry, has had a local platform where people could physically come together, exchange their ideas and discuss relevant issues. Potentially, with a growing number of meetings, mutual trust grew among the members and eventually led to collaborations that ended in a number of short films. Even after the demise of FAN, a new exchange platform for a number of filmmakers has been found in the office of a central member of the industry: “At a normal day, you would meet all the people here, you would find Perivi [Katjavivi; filmmaker] and Marinda [Stein; filmmaker] here, so everybody comes here, sometimes uses the internet and chats a bit, so this has become sort of *the spot*” (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). Perhaps then, the fashion industry has missed just this sort of place and platform where they could meet, chat, share ideas and eventually get to know each other better. Regarding the number of formal and informal meetings of members of the film industry however indicates that spatial proximity seems to help in Windhoek to build trust within the networks and relationships of its members.

3.6.4 Government Policies and Support Structures

The perception of the Namibian government among fashion designers and filmmakers has of course not been homogenous, but differed rather between both sectors rather than within

them. Except for one respondent, no interviewee complained about too much government intervention into their respective industry but rather about too less or at the wrong end. Nevertheless, recent plans of the government to transform the film commission into a state owned enterprise has evoked some concerns about government activity in the film sector becoming too regulative in the near future (FAN, 2015).

In general, the economic policy of the national government of Namibia has in recent years changed from a relatively strict *laissez-faire* approach adopted after independence to a more developmental policy in recent years. Stating the positive examples of South Korea or Malaysia, key industrial policy papers indicate the regulating and supporting role government seeks to assume in building Namibia's economic future (Ministry of Trade and Industry, 2011: 7). Due to Namibia's centralized policy structure, local government – the municipality of Windhoek – does not play a major role in supporting these industries, yet parallel or uncoordinated support schemes for SMEs call for an alignment of both policies (Ogbokor & Ngheendepi, 2010: 16).

Although the government seeks to develop a partly knowledge-based sector until 2030 (Government of Namibia, 2004: 39), the creative industries have so far not featured in key policy documents and government has not developed a coherent policy for the creative industries yet. Rather, the individual sectors are frequently housed under different ministries and institutions, rendering a consistent and holistic governance of the creative sectors difficult. While the fashion industry falls under the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture (MoE) for its creative aspect and under the Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and SME (MIT) Development for its economic aspect, the film industry is governed by the Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology. Not surprisingly, both sectors have thus quite different governance structures in which they are embedded.

In comparison to the fashion or other creative sectors, the film industry has enjoyed a relatively privileged status in government policies. This is not to say that the film sector has received a great amount of attention or support, yet among the creative industries, the most elaborate policy instruments have been developed for the film sector. While the fashion sector lacks a respective government body which is responsible for the development and regulation of the sector, Namibia's government established a film commission (NFC) in 2000 in order to support the local film sector and promote Namibia as a location for international film productions (Government of the Republic of Namibia, 2000). The commission has five permanent employees and a board consisting of representatives of the most important line ministries and of the industry body. Although the commission has an own income through the sale of filming permissions to foreign companies, it is nevertheless heavily dependent on allocated government budgets (Karolewski, 2008: 37). The money is supposed to be

distributed among local filmmakers through investments in individual films, travel allowances for international film festivals or providing study grants to prospective filmmakers. Unfortunately, however, the annual budget size is not determined, varying greatly from years in which no funds are allocated to years in which seven short films and two documentaries are funded (F5, interview, 27.01.2016). Coupled with government's strict compliance with the rights to the freedom of expression and press – Namibia is considered to be the top African nation in this regard, ranked even above the USA or the United Kingdom (Namibian Sun, 17.02.2015) – it is no surprise that even relatively fierce critics of the government among the interviewees have acknowledged that Namibia's film policies are, at least on paper, supportive and provide a competitive advantage to local filmmakers in comparison to neighbouring countries like Botswana or Angola: "Comparing to any other African country [except South Africa], we have one of the best structures in the region because we make provision for the film commission through which the government can make resources available, we have for any art a ministry, we have a very active Directorate of Arts under which finances can be made available through the Council of the Arts [...]. And those structures you can't find in most countries" (F1, interview, 19.01.2016).

Within the fashion industry, government support is less elaborate. Without a ministry having a direct responsibility for the fashion sector, designers feel primarily related to the MOE since the Directorate of Arts (DOA) and the Council of the Arts (COA) are housed within this ministry. The COA is the government body to manage the public funds allocated to the arts and culture, while the DOA is responsible for the regulation of the sectors as well as for art education. However, no specific policies have been developed for the fashion sector and no regular funds are awarded, merely upon application funding is irregularly provided for occasions like fashion shows or similar activities. Yet, the fashion industry has far better accessed government support provided by the MIT compared to the film industry, possibly indicating a further field for exploration by Windhoek's filmmakers. Public lists of awarded government funds to SMEs for the purchase of equipment, or the registers of subsidized studio space reveal that merely a fashion designer and a relatively large number of seamstresses but no filmmakers have accessed these programs (see for example, MIT, 2015).

Despite these different government approaches to each sector, the interviewees of both sectors have mentioned some recommendations as well as criticism that relates to similar challenges and needs among both groups. One of the most frequently mentioned issues and proposed recommendations have related to a call of support from both industries. Confronted with markets that are primarily controlled by foreign companies – the TV sector mainly through South African pay TV and the fashion industry through South African chain stores –

almost all interviewees have called for support by the government to provide access to the market for local producers. Both groups feel that they do not have the required power to change these issues themselves but rely in this regard on the government. As one fashion designer remarked: “So it is like you are just left to figure out things on your own. But a lot of this stuff is not in my reach, for me as a designer, there is no way that I can try to convince Mr. Price [one of the largest South African chain stores] because the manager is sitting somewhere else [in South Africa]” (D1, interview, 28.01.2016).

In particular, the fashion designers have primarily complained about the domination by the huge fashion retail stores from South Africa dominating the market and their rejection of demands to include some local designers in their shops: “They [South African retailers] got their stock into the local shops, you go to Edgars, they stock up South African designers, you go to Woolworth, they stock South African designers. [...] But you got Woolworth, Edgars, Foschini, all these shops in South Africa and they stock South African designers, not Namibian designers. The managers are sitting in South Africa. And for me that is taking away our market. Where is the fairness in this?” (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). Consequently, most of the interviewees have proposed a government intervention on their side to ultimately open up some of the shops to Namibian designers. In their perspective, government should either advocate and lobby the managers of these chain stores, or even introduce a ‘local content law’ that requires each shop to dedicate a certain number of square metres to local designers. Introducing such law, the interviewees hope, would greatly enhance their market access as Namibians are allegedly very conscious about international brands and would thus only support a local designer once he has been appreciated by foreign customers: “Every year you take a sample and produce the collection [for one of the retailers], but I am telling you, after that year, that certain designer would be established. All they need is that foot in the door” (D1: 12).

In a similar vein, the respondents of the film industry related to their sector. Facing the tiny market share they have for DVD sales or TV presence, local filmmakers have repeatedly during their interviews pointed out two possible solutions which however require the support of the government. Firstly, almost all respondents have mentioned the positive effects a ‘local content law’ would have for the industry. In their perspective, Namibia’s legal structures are in this respect lacking a law relating to the TV content of national broadcasters as it exists in South Africa and other countries around the globe (F5, interview, 27.01.2016). Attributing a certain percentage of broadcasting time to locally produced fictional films would boost the entire film industry since the local broadcaster NBC would have to commission local productions to meet the required share. It would thus create a continuous demand for local films, awarding a certain level of security to filmmakers that they will subsequently find

buyers for their movie (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). In addition, being broadcasted on local TV would enhance their exposure among the local audience, possibly developing a local film culture or at least a taste for Namibian films and eventually generating a sustainable demand for their products. As one film interviewee remarked: “So for us to change this perception we have to cultivate an appreciation of films for Namibians and how can we do that? If we make it more visible because if you entice people visually, [...] they want to see this movie” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016).

Secondly, most of the respondents have called for a reform of the regulations concerning foreign film productions in Namibia. Currently, Namibia is benefiting from South African or Hollywood production on its territory through a levy demanded from foreign firms by the NFC for a film permit (NFC, 2015). Additionally, Namibia benefits from the marketing of its picturesque landscape in these movies, as well as from the money such production teams leave at hotels, car rentals or catering services (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). Yet, local filmmakers feel that Namibia in general and themselves in particular should benefit more from such expensive productions, not necessarily in monetary terms but rather through the transmission of skills and knowledge to local filmmakers: “My feeling is, if we are denying our people the opportunities to work on those productions, how are we ever to learn?” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016). Referring to other African countries like Morocco or South Africa, Windhoek’s filmmakers have suggested that the government should strengthen Namibia’s international attractiveness through tax incentives and the expansion of required infrastructure. In return, regulations should force these companies to make use of local staff and expertise. It is reported that past foreign productions have primarily brought their own staff, not only actors and directors but even drivers, technicians or chefs, and if they employed local personnel, then mostly for low-skilled positions (F2, interview, 26.01.2016). Yet, to benefit from these productions, local filmmaker have suggested to introduce a three-tiered system which requires foreign companies to employ or at least attach for training purposes a certain percentage of local individuals in the bottom tier, as well as in the middle and top positions: “We still feel it has to be a directive from government to say, look you need to have x percentage of local staff and of those x percent of these people: one experienced, one developing, one training” (F4, interview, 05.02.2016).

In addition to the ‘local content law’ for both sectors, interviewees have repeatedly called for a reform or introduction of government funding. Yet, the respondents do not merely mean to add to the amount directly available to them. Rather, they consider a consistent and transparent government funding as an investment that would help to re-establish the sectors’ trustworthiness in the eyes of private investors, along the lines of: “NFC [government] is already trusting this production with one million [Namibian] dollar, can you put this?” (F1,

interview, 19.01.2016). As mentioned above, respondents of both industries feel that private investors have lost their trust in the profitability of the sectors due to funding irregularities, industry disputes and sub-standard products, and that they therefore need government as a symbol of trust towards private investors.

On a technical level, this would entail the reform of funding procedures of the NFC for the film industry. According to all filmmakers, this should ensure a consistent and regular funding to enhance the plannability and financial security, while decision making criteria have to be made more transparent. Ideally, the funds would include different tiers for students, developing and experienced filmmakers to ensure sustainability of the industry (F1, interview, 19.01.2016). For the fashion industry, which has been lacking a separate government funding structure except for occasional funds for fashion shows or similar events through the Council of the Arts, similar ideas have been mentioned, demanding a regular funding of fashion shows to provide a consistent platform for designers to present their work to a larger audience. "Have a fixed budget", one fashion designer responded to the question what government could do, "because it doesn't help dropping money every now and then and it is not bringing you anything out, it has to be established by a certain period of time" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016).

On a more cultural level, however, in order for these reforms to happen, government's perception about the value of creative work has to change: "It has to do how art and design is perceived in this country" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016). In the respondents' view, government will not bring about change if it does not stop regarding culture as a "luxury that is not really needed" (D1, interview, 28.01.2016) and begins to start appreciating the economic and societal benefits of cultural work. Interviewees of both industries see a funding of their sector as a mutual benefit for both, the industries and the state. For on the one hand culture and arts are a possibility to widen a state's influence within the international community and this soft power "will eventually turn into real cash" (F3, interview, 02.02.2016). On the other hand, interviewees have highlighted the economic value inherent in both sectors. Referring to a study conducted by a South African expert on investments in the film sector in Cape Town and Namibia, one respondent highlighted the results of this non-public study, indicating that the film sector is able to at least double the return on investments (F3, interview, 02.02.2016). An interviewee from the fashion sector, too, highlighted the economic potential of government investments in her industry: "I think what needs to be invested really, it would probably be more a partnership in the beginning because at the end of the day they need then to work for the Namibian economy. The government needs to see the bigger picture because they eventually benefit from it because they don't think the investment can create a successful brand. [...] So therefore I see it more as a partnership because the government is

supposed to benefit from it at the end of the day” (D2, interview, 03.02.2016). In the eyes of the filmmakers and fashion designer, financial support by the government would not amount to a mere public subsidization of these industries but would ultimately be for the benefit of the sector as well as to the entire economy.

The relationship between the government and the respective sectors has been perceived by both camps differently. While the policies for the film industry even seem to, at least on paper, provide Namibian filmmakers with a competitive advantage towards their immediate neighbouring countries, the fashion industry does not enjoy such status. Regulated alongside a large number of minor creative sectors, the fashion industry receives no specific government support. Suggestions and demands of both sectors for government intervention, however, point to the same direction. Facing local markets that are strictly dominated by foreign companies, both sides call for an infancy protection of their industry: legal regulations to ensure access to markets as well a skill transfer from these companies. A reform of current government funding is as well suggested by both sides, highlighting the need for continuous government investments, at least in its early stages, to restore trust in these sectors. Since the Namibian government envisions a strong knowledge-based and manufacturing sector for its future, and does not reject a developmental state model, these suggestions are worth looking into.

4 CONCLUSION

The initial thought that led to this study was simple – yet it accompanied the work until the end and still hovers somewhat unanswered above it. There was that trendy concept of the creative city on the one hand, already criticised by many scholars, but it still had this appeal as it sounded so logical and too good to be true: promote the local culture through programs, lean back and see how a young and creative class will beautify old industrial quarters, expand the city’s cultural diversity, found small firms and transform the old and ailing economy into a knowledge-based and innovative economy.

On the other side have been the cities of Africa, with their immense growth potential but also with their rampant problems of poverty and inequality. The question thus arose whether the creative city concept could present an opportunity to overcome these challenges and concurrently help the urban agglomerations of Africa to grow their economies.

Surely, the individual issues had become far more complex during the research. The number of concepts and definitions relating to the creative sector grew alongside the list of characteristics that accompanied each individual African city, while it was increasingly revealed that only little research and benchmark studies exist in this context. Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia, was chosen to explore the concept, for it has, *inter alia*,

characteristics of many towns and cities of southern Africa: relatively small, a high inequality, the absence of an industrial base and relatively isolated from global dynamics.

Basing this study on the two academic strands of African Urbanism and the creative city, it has been established that the creative city is in this work understood as a potential cluster of cultural and creative firms that exhibit specific characteristics in terms of their labour market, their production networks as well as the importance for information exchange for this sector; and that a creative city approach in Africa needs to consider and address issues like inequality, poverty, the lack of infrastructure, the fragmentation of cities as well as the informality of many actors.

The research has been mainly based on interviews conducted among members of the creative industries in Windhoek. Yet, the little data, statistics, policy documents and research that is available for Windhoek's creative industries has been analysed in order to assess Windhoek's potential for such urban development concept. Being the primate city in Namibia, all creative industries are mainly concentrated in Windhoek, as well as most government and private institutions related to the sector. In addition, the economic macro-data shows a rapidly growing urban middle class, a rising GDP and a growing tertiary sector. In addition, policy documents indicate a relatively conducive cultural policy structure, at least on paper. However, these formidable figures might not veil the extreme inequality and widespread poverty, or the highly fragmented layout of the city which still segregates people and forces public life to remain in the individual suburbs instead of being combined in a bustling city centre.

Despite, or because of, these challenges, the creative city could present a potentially empowering and inclusive force to Windhoek's citizens, establishing an inclusive public life and potentially contributing to meet the targets set by Namibia's "Vision 2030" of an at least partly knowledge-based and export-led economy.

During the interviews with members of the fashion and film industry in Windhoek, it has been attempted to explore local characteristics of the creative industries as well as how creative firms adapt to the local circumstances. The results have been diverse and highly interesting, and could give first indications where challenges are and how to tackle them.

The film industry has been found to be relatively small at its core but possibly including a wide range of people that are professionally involved with the medium film, e.g. cinemas, foreign productions, DVD shops, TV stations. Policy structures and government institutions seem to be supportive, again, at least on paper as disputes have led to a blockage between the industry and government. Problematic is also the small local market that does not seem to exhibit a great cinema culture. Fashion designers, in turn, have to face less developed

policy structures but enjoy a better consumption culture, even if foreign companies dominate the market completely. Admittedly, both sectors seem to be rather small and are faced with rather bleak growth potential, nevertheless both sectors should not be underestimated for their employment creation ability and spill-over effects to other sectors.

The labour market in turn has shown indicators to be relatively empowering and inclusive, however the wide lack of business and management skills among creative entrepreneurs has been reported to be one of the biggest challenges. Considering the high failure rate among SMEs in general (MIT, 2015: 20) this might be an area government could help to ease with more and better education opportunities. The biggest issue within the labour market has however been the role of informal or low-skilled members of the industry. Arousing allegations to harm the industry in both sectors, conflicts seem to spread about this issue, calling for a regulation that does not exclude the one side but generates a perception of security for the other.

Within the production networks, it was revealed that both industries face a market that is highly dominated by foreign products and actors, rendering their available funds very small. Different adaption strategies have however been adopted. While the fashion sector has attempted to increase its distribution channels as well as to diversify in terms of offered services, the film industry has increased both, the product range as well as their services. Compared to the vertically and horizontally disintegrated networks of specialized but complementary production units of the Global North, the networks in Windhoek seem to be rather horizontally and vertically integrated in one company, if not one person.

Local and international networks have been considered by both industries as extremely important to their work – even if rather information and knowledge than financial resources have been exchanged through these networks. Gathering information about export markets or seeking advice for a problem have been among many examples why these networks are so crucial for knowledge and information transmission in Windhoek. It has been stated, however, that the fashion industry lacks the cohesion and collaborative spirit that can be found among a core group of filmmakers. One possible explanation has been spatial proximity as the filmmakers have enjoyed a central networking platform where relationship and trust could have been built, while fashion designer have lacked this central platform.

In relation to government policies and support structures, both industries urged for a reform of government funding, calling for more funds and continuity to restore trust in the sector in order to overcome their huge lack of funds. Additionally, both industries called for support to access local markets. Urging government to introduce 'local content laws', members of both industries hope to break South African dominance through legal regulations.

In conclusion, it can be said that the concept of the creative city holds definitely potential for Windhoek. Being inclusive and empowering, the creative core might not be too large. Yet, with all related individuals accounted for, the creative industries potentially provide some income for a fair share of the population. These effects could even be enhanced, if government begins to acknowledge the value of these industries and incorporates their firms more strongly into its economic vision and strategy papers – export-orientation, stimulating local manufacturing and knowledge-intensive companies are all targets of Namibia' s “Vision 2030”, targets that industries like fashion design and filmmaking already meet today.

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Stakeholders in Windhoek's Creative Industries

