

PhD

THESIS SERIES

TSANG KA MAN

**The Making of Sustainable Cultural and Creative
Clusters in Hong Kong**

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The establishment of creative space in a city is associated with wealth generation, job creation and urban revitalisation. Many governments recite this formula when setting up clusters. Yet, a one-size-fits-all strategy cannot guarantee sustainable development. This research identifies the fundamental factors in developing a sustainable cluster in a densely populated city. This study examines (1) the concept of a cultural and creative cluster, (2) its relation to creative practitioners in Hong Kong, and (3) its corresponding synchronic and diachronic development. A model has been developed to evaluate the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters that involves three significant factors: cluster, community and creativity (the 3Cs model). Utilising the findings from three significant empirical studies in Hong Kong (PMQ, Easy Park Creative Precinct and Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre), the result suggests four external measures that can measure the sustainability of a cultural and creative cluster. The study concludes by demonstrating the applicability of the 3Cs model for highly dense cities such as Hong Kong.

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**THE MAKING OF
SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE CLUSTERS
IN HONG KONG**

TSANG KA MAN

PhD

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

School of Design

The making of sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong

Tsang Ka Man

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

January 2018

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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Abstract

In the post-industrial era, the cultural and creative cluster has become a major concern for policymakers and researchers. The establishment of creative space in the city is associated with wealth generation, job creation and urban revitalisation. Many governments recite this formula in setting up clusters, but a one-size-fits-all strategy cannot guarantee sustainable development for the cluster. This study identifies the fundamental factors in developing a sustainable cluster in a densely populated city, based on a review of key theoretical discussions of cultural and creative clusters.

This study examines the concept of a *cultural and creative cluster* and its relation to creative practitioners in Hong Kong. The synchronic and diachronic development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong is examined. This study endeavours to answer several questions. (a) What are the essential factors for sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong? (b) How should we evaluate these essential factors in an empirical setting? (c) What are the influences of the correlated essential factors on the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters?

This study develops a model for the evaluation of the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters. This model involves three key factors: cluster, community and creativity (the 3Cs model). The results revealed by the model show a strong correlation between these factors and the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters. Factors related to cluster, community and creativity are investigated by direct observation and semi-structured interviews. Three significant empirical cases in Hong Kong (PMQ, Easy Pack Creative Precinct and Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre) are selected for detailed investigation.

This study proposes that the sustainability of a cultural and creative cluster can be measured by four external measures: (1) dropout rate of tenants, (2) change in operation mode, (3) new forms of creative work or new collaborations between creative workers and (4) survival rate of tenants. The study's conclusion demonstrates the applicability of the 3Cs model for highly dense cities such as Hong Kong.

Publications and presentations arising from the thesis

Publications

1. Tsang, K. K. M., & Siu, K. W. M. (2016). The 3Cs model of sustainable cultural and creative cluster: The case of Hong Kong. *City, Culture and Society*, 7(4), 209-219.
2. Tsang, K.K.M., Siu, K.W.M., (2016). The making of sustainable cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong. *Proceedings of DRS 2016, Design Research Society 50th Anniversary Conference*. Brighton, UK, 27–30 June 2016.

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List of Abbreviations

AIR	Artist-in-residence
CBD	Central Business District
CCIs	Cultural and Creative Industries
DIP	Design Incubation Programme
PMQ	Police Married Quarters
HK	Hong Kong

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the post-industrial era, the global economic structure underwent a fundamental change. The rise of the creative industries became a key factor in profit making, and cultural-creative strategies became a new orthodoxy and strategy for urban viability. As first defined by the UK's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997, creative industries are economic practices that not only operate based on individual creativity, skill and talent, but also have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS, 2001, p. 4). The creative industries' high economic returns and growth figures attracted worldwide attention, and many American and European cities rapidly developed their local creative industries (Miles & Paddison, 2005). The creative industries agenda was generally regarded as the backbone of cities' economic restructuring. In 2010, over 300 artist villages of various sizes and functions were founded around the world (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2009); however, growth and sustainability remain major challenges for these creative clusters.

As scholars have pointed out, space is required for creative industries' operations; the creative industry requires concentration in space for its operation (Scott, 2005; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008). Because they believe the agglomeration of creative practitioners will have a positive effect of the development of creative industries, many state governments have established cultural and creative clusters in cities. As Kong (2009) has stated, setting up cultural and creative clusters has become a trendy way to support the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in a worldwide context. The stimulation, nourishing or instrumental creation of cultural and creative clusters has had significant influence on cultural and economic policy at the urban and regional levels (Mommaas, 2009).

A number of US and European cities have identified marketable potential in consumer markets and tourism in these clusters. To guarantee the successful development of these sites, governments draw on successful models (e.g., SoHo, Wicker Park, Greenwich Village and East Village) and directly repeat these predecessors' formula when setting up sites, such as by keeping creative practitioners together through the provision of large spaces with cheap rent. This formula is uncritically adopted as a

strategy for sustaining the creative industries. However, policymakers usually lack sensitivity to the complexities and distinctiveness of sectors (HaGibson & Kong, 2005; Harvey, Hawkins & Thomas, 2012; Jayne, 2005; Kong, 2009; Jones & MacLeod, 2004; Luckman et al., 2009; Mommaas, 2009; Rantisi et al., 2006). In reviewing empirical cases around the world, scholars have highlighted that such homogenous practice does not ensure the success of cultural and creative clusters in every city.

Similarly, the Hong Kong government began to recognise the economic potential of cultural and creative industries in the 2000s. Several measures were suggested to develop these industries. The Chief Executive emphasised the long-term development of cultural and creative industries in his 2005-06 Policy Address: 'Through the Commission on Strategic Development, we will explore practical measures, including creating an enabling environment for the commercialization of creative ideas, and opening up more opportunities for exchanges and interplay among creative talent' (*Policy Address 2005-06*, 2005). In 2009, the Hong Kong government further recognised the

significance of the cultural and creative industries and identified them as one of the 'six industries' of Hong Kong (*Policy Address 2009-10*, 2009). The official organisation *Create HK* was established in 2009 to drive the development of the creative industries, with a clear vision of building Hong Kong into 'Asia's Creative Capital' (*Information Services Department Hong Kong, 2010*). To realise this vision, Create HK drives the creative industries through a number of initiatives. One of its major directions is to 'develop creative clusters in the territory to generate synergy and facilitate exchanges' (Create HK, 2009). Apart from coordinating policy and resources regarding the creative industries, different cultural and creative clusters have been set up to provide ample, cheap studio space for practitioners.

Aside from the megaproject West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD), different cultural and creative clusters have been established and have become the new urban spectacles. The setting up of cultural and creative clusters has even become a new strategy for urban renewal. Setting up different cultural and creative clusters in the city is clearly the way of the future in urban development; these development plans clearly illustrate

the determination to support the cultural and creative industries in Hong Kong.

The government is eager to develop cultural and creative clusters to group artists and designers; however, the agglomeration of creative practitioners does not guarantee the formation of vibrant cultural and creative clusters. Planned cultural and creative clusters initiated by the government, NGOs and educational institutions (e.g., Cattle Depot Artist Village, Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, PMQ) neither attain popularity with the public nor are welcomed by creative practitioners. Complaints and negative feedback on these cultural and creative clusters are frequently received from tenants (Tsui, 2014). For example, many practitioners have complained that the operation of the clusters does not suit the working pattern and lifestyle of creative groups, and that the spaces do not encourage communication and interaction between different creative groups.

Many creative practitioners with limited budgets would rather set up their studios outside a planned cluster despite much higher rents. In a number

of industrial districts of Hong Kong, many creative practitioners reside in the small premises of old factories and warehouses. Some creative practitioners have even set up their own studios in subdivided flats, which lack windows and fresh air. Ironically, some vibrant cultural and creative clusters have formed organically in particular areas in Hong Kong, such as the Kwun Tong industrial district, instead of planned clusters.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This study examines the concept of the *cultural and creative cluster* and its relationship with creative practitioners in Hong Kong. The study is not just an evaluation of the success of individual clusters, but examines the essential criteria for making a sustainable cultural and creative cluster. It endeavours to illustrate dynamic progress in the formation of creative community and the vibrancy of cultural and creative clusters. The main objectives of this study are (1) to develop a model for evaluating the sustainable development of the cultural and creative clusters, which involves three key factors: cluster, community and creativity (the 3Cs model); and (2) to apply the model to analyse three significant empirical

cases in Hong Kong: PMQ, Easy Pack Creative Precinct and the Design Incubation Programme at InnoCentre.

1.3 Hypothesis

As Rantisi (2004) has remarked, ‘Creative process does not occur in a vacuum’ (p. 91) and community does not form arbitrarily. In their extensive empirical studies of cultural and creative space in Chicago and New York, Lloyd (2005) and Currid (2007) highlight crucial elements in the making of successful cultural and creative space; these are not confined to the bounded space itself, but also involve neighbourhood spaces that favour and support the creative community. In the recent literature, some influential studies (Brooks, 2001; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2005) have indicated the importance of studying how to develop creative groups and cultural and creative clusters. This study investigates the complex relation between cultural and creative clusters and the formation of community in a dense urban setting. The necessary factors that support the sustainable cultural and creative cluster are the key focus. More specifically, this study explores the following questions.

- (a) What are the essential factors for a sustainable cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong? What are the underlying reasons behind these factors?
- (b) How should we evaluate these essential factors in an empirical setting?
- (c) How do these essential factors influence the sustainable development of a cultural and creative cluster?

1.4 Scope and Research Questions

In other studies, creative groups have been treated uniformly due to the professional overlap of these professions. However, there are 11 creative industry domains mapped in *Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries* (2003). Practitioners working in different domains have completely different needs due to differences in their working environments and target audiences. This study, therefore, explores the complexities and nuances of cultural and creative clusters.

This study focusses on designers¹ who have their own studios located in cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. Design as a subsector of the creative industries is ‘hard to assess as much of it is hidden within other industries’ (British Council, 2010, p. 16). The specialised nature of the work, operation mode and needs of designers are largely unknown to policymakers and scholars. In-depth study of their attitudes towards cultural and creative clusters is needed. This study focusses on creative practitioners who have their own studios in clusters. Clusters that do not feature commercial activity are not discussed in this study, as creative practitioners in this type of cluster are free from commercial considerations and thus have completely different interpretations of the purpose and role of a cluster.

¹ This study adopts the definition of designers as people who provide ‘designing services, including fashion design, graphics, products, interior, and design services for furniture, shoes, toys and related articles’ (Centre for Cultural Policy Research (2006). *Study on the Relationship between Hong Kong’s Cultural & Creative Industries and the Pearl River Delta – Final Report*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, p. 49.)

1.5 Significance of This Study

There have been a number of major studies of cultural and creative clusters to date. The effect of cultural and creative clusters is often treated at the macro level, with the emphasis often placed on the institutionalisation of cultural and creative policies and generation of economic benefit instead of how creative practitioners benefit or are affected by it. Theories and policies are mainly constructed with reference to the structure of industries rather than individual practice. However, such an approach may mainly deal with the surface level, while the ‘real’ situation – what is happening on the ground – remains unknown. The real practices of creative groups (the dominant factors in the physical space and industries) have seldom been seriously considered. The final product of this research will be a more comprehensive and up-to-date understanding of cultural and creative clusters and community in Hong Kong. A design guideline for cultural and creative clusters will also be generated under the proposed 3Cs model. The study also provides insights into how to develop sustainable cultural and creative clusters that encourage the formation of community and the occurrence of creativity.

1.6 Framework of the Study

This chapter (Chapter 1) lays the foundation of the study by explaining the research background, research scope, aims and objectives and research questions.

Chapter 2 continues with theoretical discussion of the key terms used in this study. It establishes the theoretical background, provides definitions and reviews key discussion of (a) cultural and creative clusters (by Alfred Marshall and Michael Porter); (b) creativity (by Teresa Amabile, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Keith Sawyer); and (c) community (by Ferdinand Tönnies and Émile Durkheim).

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. It discusses cultural and creative policies and significant research on cultural and creative clusters, to provide empirical context for further discussion.

Chapter 4 presents a critical discussion of the theoretical framework used in this study. As the literature in the three key areas, including cultural

and creative clusters, community and creativity, is extensively rich and diverse, it is necessary to provide detailed explanations of this theoretical framework before exploring creative practitioners' views on and use of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. These theoretical standpoints on the correlation of the three key factors are essential to construct the 3Cs model for sustainable cultural and creative clusters.

Chapter 5 moves on to discuss the research methods applied in this study.

A case study approach has been used to examine the 'real-life context' of the contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Qualitative research, including direct observation and semi-structured interviews, was conducted for data collection. Details such as sample selection, time arrangements and data recording are reported to illustrate the reliability and validity of the data.

Chapter 6 reports on three empirical case studies. Due to their representativeness and richness of information, three significant empirical cases in Hong Kong (PMQ, Easy Pack Creative Precinct and the Design Incubation Programme at InnoCentre) were selected. Detailed

explanations of the rationale for case selection and the background and spatial configuration of each case are presented to pave the way for further illustration of the application of the 3Cs model.

Chapter 7 provides the findings of the empirical research on the three selected sites. By analysing the findings obtained through direct observation and semi-structured interviews, this chapter illustrates the 3Cs model's suitability for examining cultural and creative clusters in terms of quality of cluster, formation of community and occurrence of creativity.

Chapter 8 summarises and concludes this study, and reinforces the importance of the 3Cs model for understanding cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. The conclusion demonstrates the applicability of the 3Cs model to highly dense cities such as Hong Kong.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Preamble

There is by now a considerable literature on creative industries and cultural and creative clusters. The notions of *culture*, *creativity* and *clusters* have become common terms in economics, policymaking, marketing and cultural studies. Given that one definition may be entirely incomprehensible in another domain, a careful examination of particular contexts is necessary. An attempt to engage in knowledge construction would be fruitless if it started from imprecise definitions and a weak theoretical base; such imprecision hampers the fundamental understanding of the role, nature, function and effectiveness of cultural and creative clusters. This chapter begins by considering the origin and historical development of the key concepts involved in this research.

2.2 Discussion of Terms and Theories

2.2.1 Cultural Industries, Creative Industries and Cultural and Creative Industries

The creative industries have attracted considerable attention for scholars and policy-makers. Similar notions like ‘cultural industries’ and ‘cultural and creative industries’ could be found in some policy discourses. This section would examine the differences between these terms and their implications.

The definitions of the terms ‘cultural industries’, ‘creative industries’ and ‘cultural and creative industries’ are still evolving. Sometimes the terms have been used in an interchangeable way, even the component industries differ from one another. The terminology used in describing the creative industries policy is frequently inconsistent and confusing. As noted by Hui (2007) that the terms ‘cultural industries’ and ‘creative industries’ both could be found in the economic policies. “For example, the UK model of mapping has been emulated by many Commonwealth countries, like Australia and New Zealand; adopting the term ‘creative industries’

in their economic policies. While other European countries, such as Finland, Spain, and Germany, prefer the term 'cultural industries' instead. However, in Asia, the notion of 'cultural industries' seems more popular than 'creative industries'. Japan, South Korea, and Mainland China all adopt this term, although the component industries in these countered differently substantially from one another and from those of the rest of the world."(p. 9-10) In fact, the adoption of a term has certain theoretical and political implications.

Cultural Industries

The term 'cultural industries' was first coined by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) to illustrate the commodification of cultural products. It refers to the "industrially produced commercial entertainment – broadcasting, film, publishing, recorded music – as distinct from the subsidized "arts" – visual and performing arts, museums and galleries" (O'Connor , 2016, p.39). It depicts the paradoxical linkage between culture and industry (Garnham, 2005). From the 1970s onward, term 'cultural industries' became more popular as policymakers began to identify culture for economic development strategies.

Creative Industries

Cultural industries associate with the 'core arts' in many cultural policies.

It is common to see the related policies that are based upon direct public subsidy, while the creative industries normally refer to the more market-driven practices. (Hartley et al, 2012, p.79) For the classification developed by Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the 'creative industries' refer to "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent which have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". (DCMS, 1998, p. 3). However, some believed that the wide coverage of ranges of creative occupation should be refined for a better understanding of the included sectors. The UK National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) later has proposed another classification system based on the various business models employed. (NESTA, 2006, p.55) Two other different frameworks on the classification has been produced in order to supplement the broad coverage of classification in DCMS (1998). Also, other classification frameworks on creative industries like WIPO(2003), Eurostat (2007) and KEA(2006) are available as well.

Cultural and Creative Industries

UNESCO (1978) defines 'Cultural and creative industries' as "sectors of organised activity whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution and/or commercialisation of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature."

(Official website of UNESCO) Obviously, the definition mainly emphasises the human activity and concern for the 'heritage-related' aspects. The industries classification is absent from the definition by UNESCO.

In Hong Kong, the classification of (Cultural and Creative Industries) CCI base on the *Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries* (2003) undertaken by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research of the University of Hong Kong in 2002-2003 commissioned by the Central Policy Unit of Hong Kong Government. It defines cultural and creative industries as "a group of economic activities that exploit and deploy creativity, skill and intellectual property to produce and distribute products and services of social and cultural meaning - a production system through which the potentials of wealth generation and job

creation are realized."(p.22) This report classifies cultural and creative industries into 11 sectors. As stated by Hui (2003) that "cultural and creative industries are formed in the process of economic transformation, which is an economic flow of production and development, and identifies culture as the core resource in this developmental process." (p.48)

The terms influenced by policy

The evolving definition of cultural and creative industries in Hong Kong illustrates the policy or even political concern. The situation echoed with Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) that the shift of terminology is more than semantics but highly political. As stated by Hui (2007) that the term 'creative industries' was firstly used by the Hong Kong Government officially in its Policy Address of 2003. Several measures and policies have been announced in the subsequent annual Policy Addresses until January 2005. The research report *A Study on creativity index* (HAB & CCPR, 2005) was published. Considering the research result, the name of 'creative industries' was changed to 'cultural and creative industries' for considering the differences between "the primarily British 'creative industries' concept and the already prevalent term 'cultural industries'".

adopted in Mainland China". (p.26) However, after the stepping down of the Chief Executive Mr. Tung in March 2005, the importance of promoting the cultural and creative industries was only reiterated at the end of the Policy address .

2.2.2 Cluster

Cluster development has had a strong appeal to urban policymakers, as Flew (2011) has noted. It became a prominent cultural-led urban regeneration strategy in Europe's post-industrial cities. With the high-profile redevelopment of cities including Barcelona, Dublin and Glasgow in the 1980s and 1990s, cluster development brought a strong momentum in different countries. The cluster approach not only became an attractive strategy for regional development but also drew scholars' attention. As stated by Martin and Sunley (2003), the notion *cluster* became 'a world-wide fad, a sort of academic and policy fashion item' (p. 9). Scholars from the cultural, economic, political, artistic, scientific and even technological fields made contributions to the discussion. Ambiguous and chaotic understandings resulted from this interdisciplinary amalgam. However, the popularity of the notion across a wide spectrum of

academic disciplines did not guarantee its profundity. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (10th edition), *cluster* simply means ‘a group of people or similar objects positioned or occurring close together’. This notion has evolved into endless alternative definitions. To help clarify this concept, Martin and Sunley (2003) published an extensive review of its use. Due to different contributions by scholars across a wide spectrum of academic fields, scholars have had various standards and criteria for *clusters*. Four common characteristics have been identified for a cluster: (1) geographical proximity, (2) similarity of business, (3) network formation and (4) synergy production (Table 1).

Among numerous definitions, *geographical proximity* is the fundamental criterion agreed on by most scholars. Physical location has been regarded as the basic requirement for a cluster, although some scholars have tried to challenge the necessity of physical space for the formation of a cluster and proposed the aspatial cluster as an alternative (Kong, 2009). For the second quality, *similarity of business*, there is some dispute whether it should involve the concentration of firms in related industries or groups of firms within one industry. Flew (2011) observed such confusion based

on geographical and industrial understandings of clusters, and further classified clusters into two types, horizontal and vertical. A *horizontal cluster* involves the co-location of similar industries, while the concentration of a value chain of buyers and suppliers is a *vertical cluster* (p. 149). Apart from the general features of a cluster, some scholars (Roelandt & de Hertag, 1999; Van den Berg et al., 2001) added further dimensions to cluster typology, specifying that the cluster should help in the *formation of networks* for exchange of goods, services or knowledge. The importance of social networks within the creative cluster has been emphasised by a number of researchers. Potts, Cunningham, Hartley and Ornerod (2008) even used the social network market to redefine the creative industries. Casting a wide social net is in their view essential in helping the career development of creative practitioners and the growth of creative industries. Similarly, Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) echoed the importance of social networks in clusters, noting that ‘the network plays a vital role in the creative community, offering continuing professional development and supporting the social and institutional aspects of creative production’ (p. 534). The fourth quality, *enhancement*

of production synergy, as a key feature and ultimate goal, should result

from fulfilling the three other conditions.

Table 1. Various definitions of cluster						
1	Author, Year of Publication	Concept of <i>cluster</i>	Parameter in defining <i>cluster</i>			
			Location	Similarity of business	Network	Synergy production
2	Wares & Hadley (2008)	“Clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, with linkages to related organizations such as trade associations, government agencies, and research and educational institutions. Related economic activity tends to agglomerate naturally for a variety of reasons, such as the presence of unique natural resources, proximity to markets and reduced transaction costs.” (p. 5)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Porter (1990)	“A geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a specific field	Yes	Yes		

		based on commonalities and complementarities.” (p. 2)				
4	Crouch and Farrell (2001)	“The more general concept of ‘cluster’ suggests something looser: a tendency for firms in similar types of business to locate close together, though without having a particularly important presence in an area.” (p. 163)	Yes	Yes		
5	Rosenfeld (1997)	“A cluster is very simply used to represent concentrations of firms that are able to produce synergy because of their geographical proximity and interdependence, even though their scale of employment may not be pronounced or prominent.” (p. 4)	Yes			Yes
6	Feser (1998)	“Economic clusters are not just related and supporting industries and institutions, but rather related and supporting institutions that are more competitive by	Yes	Yes	Yes	

		virtue of their relationships.” (p. 26)				
7	Swann and Prevezer (1996)	“Clusters are here defined as groups of firms within one industry based in one geographical area.” (p. 139)	Yes	Yes		
8	Swann and Prevezer (1998)	“A cluster means a large group of firms in related industries at a particular location.” (p. 1)	Yes	Yes		
9	Simmie and Sennett (1999)	“We define an innovative cluster as a large number of interconnected industrial and/or service companies having a high degree of collaboration, typically through a supply chain, and operating under the same market conditions.” (p. 51)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	Den Hertog, & Roelandt, (1999)	“Clusters can be characterised as networks of producers of strongly interdependent firms (including specialised suppliers) linked each other in a value-adding production chain.” (p. 9)			Yes	Yes

11	Van den Berg et al. (2001)	“The popular term cluster is most closely related to this local or regional dimension of networks ... Most definitions share the notion of clusters as localised networks of specialised organisations, whose production processes are closely linked through the exchange of goods, services and/or knowledge.” (p. 187)	Yes		Yes	
12	Enright (1996)	“A regional cluster is an industrial cluster in which member firms are in close proximity to each other.” (p. 191)	Yes			
13	Keane (2011)	“A geographically defined space where cultural activities occur or where businesses assemble to produce products and services for domestic or international consumption.” (p. 3)	Yes			Yes

Historic review of the notion of the cluster: from Alfred Marshall to Michael Porter

To express the sense of geographical concentration, a number of similar terms such as *quarter*, *agglomeration*, *village*, *district* or *region* have been used interchangeably with *cluster*. However, *cluster* is not a newly developed concept and can be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century. It has special implications rather than solely describing geographical location, and is highly related to the commercial activities involved.

In 1890, the influential economist Alfred Marshall first proposed the idea of cluster in *Principles of Economics* (1890), stating that it is ‘the concentration of specialized industries in particular localities’. He highlighted the positive effect generated by the co-location of similar businesses and firms. Marshall identified the tendency of specialised firms that produce similar goods to agglomerate. In his study, he regarded industrial activities in terms of ‘a simple triad of external economies: the ready availability of skilled labour, the growth of supporting and ancillary trades, and the specialization of different firms in different

stages and branches of production' (Martin & Sunle, 2003, p. 9).

Economists including Gunnar Myrdal, Francois Perroux and Albert Hirschman also picked up the concept of cluster and applied it in their economic development studies (Flew, 2011).

After the first mention of clusters by Alfred Marshall, discussion of agglomeration of similar businesses became a prominent topic in the field.

Michael Porter, a management economist from Harvard Business School, initiated one of the most influential studies on the topic.

In 1990s, Porter further developed Marshall's economic perspective on clusters into *cluster theory*. He defined a cluster as a 'geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalties and complementarities' (Porter, 2000, p. 254). The scale of a cluster, in Porter's sense, may range from a single city to a group of neighbouring countries. He highlighted the competition generated by the agglomeration of like industries; there would be a dramatic increase of benefits for firms located in a certain area. Clustering of similar firms produces incentives for other businesses

to establish specialised services. Efficiencies in terms of transportation, infrastructure and utilities may greatly lower costs, and there is a greater pool of skilled workers available within the cluster. His study was influential, and was soon regarded as standard in the field of economic geography. Many governments have made reference to the generated model (Figure 1.1) as a policy tool for promoting regional competitiveness and economic growth.

In his study, Porter recognised the importance of competitiveness in a national and global context. One of his contributions was the ‘competitive diamond’, a framework incorporating four sets of factors: firm strategy and rivalry; factor input conditions; demand conditions; and related and supporting industries. His study indicated that the more developed and intense the interactions between these four sets of factors, the greater firms’ productivity (Porter, 1990). Apart from focussing on the spillover of economic benefits, Porter further recognised the significance of the cluster. He believed that ‘today’s economic map of the world is dominated by what I called clusters: critical masses – in one

place – of unusual competitive success in particular fields’ (Porter, 1998, p. 78).

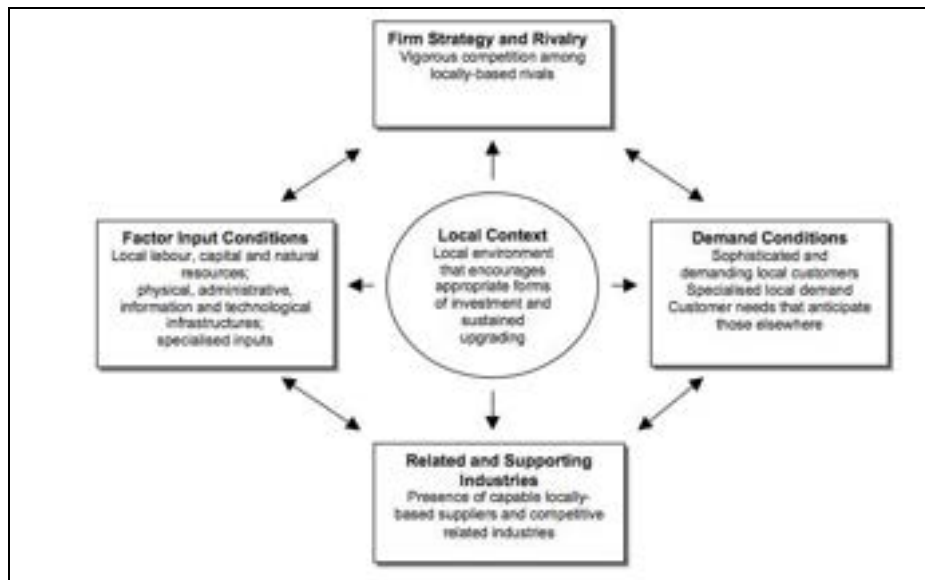


Figure 2.1 Porter's Competitive Diamond of Local Industrial Clustering (Based on Porter, 1998) (cited in Martin and Sunley, 2002, p. 6).

Why cluster?

Alfred Marshall and Michael Porter set out the foundation of understanding clusters from an economic perspective. The advantage of clustering in 'reducing transport costs, accessibility to services and human capital, associational activity, knowledge spillovers' (M. Keane, 2009, p. 94) were highlighted. Such an approach increases the economic benefits to firms of being located in a certain area. The idea that geographical proximity leads to (1) reduction of costs, (2) social

networks with embedded ties and (3) innovation through knowledge flow (Flew, 2011) became unquestionable. However, some scholars (Kong, 2009; Martin and Sunley, 2003) doubted the applicability of this universal theory of cluster formation and dynamics, as the overwhelming focus on competition simplified the complex nature of clusters. As Martin and Sunley (2003) stated, 'Clusters vary considerably in type, origin, structure, organization, dynamics, and developmental trajectory, yet Porter's theory is supposedly intended to fit all' (p. 15). Porter's cluster theory was also criticised for mixing the different perspectives of agglomeration theory and social network theory. As Hartley et al. (2012) noted, 'Cluster varies in respect to age and function'. Apart from the basic factor of cluster configuration, city culture and tradition also matter in regard to the successful formation of clusters.

Cultural and creative clusters as a unique form of cluster

Porter's cluster theory does not situate cluster development within the dynamic and operation of the cultural and creative field, regarding this unique form of cluster as a subset of industrial clusters. However, cultural and creative clusters have their own logic in operation. As highlighted by

Kong (2009), many cultural and creative clusters may not solely exist for commercial purposes, and some non-profit cultural activities also take place on the site. The purely economic perspective on cluster development is inadequate for understanding the complex nature of cultural and creative clusters. With the emergence of the *culture industry*, *cultural industry* and later *creative industry*, governments have included them in their development agendas and their significant impact on urban culture and economic venues has been the subject of scholarly discussion. A considerable amount has been published since the 1980s on creative industries and cultural and creative clusters (Kong, 2012). Among these contributions, the majority take a business and marketing perspective. Various topics have developed and can be categorised as follows: (1) defining the cultural and creative industries (Scott, 2006), (2) the generation of economic revenue by cultural and creative clusters (Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Hall, 2000), (3) the cultural and creative policies of different cities (Hui, 2006 & 2007; Kong, 2009), (4) urban planning and cultural and creative clusters (Miles & Paddison, 2005; Wu, 2004; Zukin, 1988 & 1995) (5) governance of cultural and creative clusters (Newman & Smith, 2000; Scott, 2006) and (6) the social and cultural impact of

cultural and creative clusters on the cityscape (McCarthy, 2006; Mommaas, 2003).

Although creative and cultural clusters have often been regarded as a subset of business clusters, the cluster and creative cluster is unique in terms of function and operational logic. The definition of cluster and creative cluster is more complicated, due to the added components of culture and creativity.

Ironically, the notions of *cultural cluster* and *creative cluster* have not been clearly defined in the rich body of scholarly discussion (Kong, 2009; Mommaas, 2009). Both *cultural cluster* and *creative cluster* can frequently be found in the literature and have often been used interchangeably. Some scholars involved in the debates may not recognise the need to clarify and distinguish one from the other; as a result, both notions become fuzzy and ill-defined. All these terms deserve in-depth study and intensive empirical research. The notions are evidently difficult to define and there is a lack of conceptual clarity. Kong (2009) observed the ambiguous situation and summarised common uses

of both terms *cultural cluster* and *creative cluster*. Similarly, Comunian, Chapain and Clifton (2010) criticised the failure to consider the geographical dimension and scale of clusters in the scholarly discussion. At present, there are two different approaches to the notion; studies from Europe commonly adopt the notion *cultural cluster*, while studies from the US and Australia favour *creative cluster*.

Another key contributor to defining the terms *cultural cluster* and *creative cluster* is Mommaas (2009), who drew attention to the conceptual confusion. In his study of the cultural and creative landscape, he avoided using both *cultural cluster* and *creative cluster* as terms, because he felt that *cultural cluster* is too narrow, neglecting the forms of creativity contributed by other creative realms, while *creative cluster* is too broad, hampering differentiation between various forms of creativity. Therefore, he coined a relatively clumsy term, *cultural creative cluster*, to more accurately describe his subject matter. Mommaas (2009) felt that the term also had the advantage of offering a new understanding of other domains of creativity, such as economics, science and engineering. In addition, the ongoing changing nature of

creativity requires differentiation, due to the various spatial, social, cultural and biographical dynamics involved.

Kong (2009) echoed Mommaas and applied the term *cultural creative cluster* in her study. She highlighted that reflective thinking is required among popular creative cluster studies, and drew special attention to the focus on ‘creative work in cultural and specially, arts, sector’ (Kong 2009, p. 62). For practical understanding of the field of study, she provided a working definition of *cultural creative cluster* as ‘the cluster in which creative activity takes place in the cultural field’ (p. 61). O’Connor (2004) highlighted that the study of clusters must not turn into a formal and codified knowledge, due to the tacit knowledge embedded locally ‘inside’ the circuit of knowledge. In a nutshell, the present study adopts the notion ‘cultural creative cluster’ as defined by Mommaas (2009) and Kong (2009).

Development of cultural and creative clusters

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Paris’s Left Bank and Latin Quarter emerged spontaneously as organic clusters. Bohemians including writers,

artists, painters and people from the creative field gathered at cafés, bars and restaurants for exchanging ideas and gaining inspiration for creative work. Such an organic agglomeration of creative groups formed an early cultural and creative cluster. Emerging from the new urban growth, the incorporation of cultural production clusters for the fulfilment of cultural production in market capitalism became a worldwide phenomenon. As many artists and designers moved from Europe to the US after WWII, the bohemian lifestyle could be also found outside Europe.

Zukin's influential work on loft living reported the formation of a cultural and creative cluster in New York in the 1960s. Artists set up studios where they both worked and lived; these lofts were located in worn-out multi-storey industrial buildings and warehouses. Ample space with windows and cheap rent became appealing for artists with limited budgets. Loft living was an influential example of the transformation of a space into a cultural and creative cluster. The SOHO District of New York during the 1960s and 1970s, and Wicker Park of Chicago East Village were key examples. Later the strategy of setting up cultural and creative clusters became an urban orthodoxy in the worldwide context.

In 2010, over 300 artist villages of various sizes and functions were founded all over the world (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2009).

Spatial or aspatial cluster?

In their study of Community of Practice (CoP), Amin and Roberts (2008) identified creative groups as comprising ‘experts with substantial egos, high expectations, frequent turnover, rudimentary rules and procedures, tight deadlines, and considerable ambiguity and uncertainty’ (p. 361).

Unsurprisingly, clustering people of this sort creates discontent, dispute and argument. Co-location in a densely populated place may not generate the positive effect of ‘being there’ (Gertler, 1995) that has been suggested in the economic geography literature. Based on empirical research on creative space in Singapore, Kong (2009) reported the problem of conflicts of interest and jealousy between artists in a creative cluster. The clustering of artists reveals complexity in the formation of community and issues with the particular mix of people.

In a study of creative networks of music production and their tendency to cluster in London and Berlin, Heur (2009) questioned the notion of clustering and used the terms ‘myth’ and ‘discourse’ to challenge unquestioned clustering strategies. For Heur, the idea of clustering is a romanticised myth resulting from the neglect of problems found in empirical studies. Similarly, Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) noted the occurrence of disconnection rather than connection among creative groups. Absence of cohesion and mutuality were found to be drawbacks in creative clusters. Even as the cultural and creative cluster has been considered an unquestionable urban and economic strategy, some scholars (Amin & Roberts, 2008; Gertler, 1995 & Kong, 2009) have challenged the very concept of clustering in the cultural and creative field, due to the unique character, synergies and operational logic of creative groups. In Kong’s analysis of clusters in Singapore (Kong 2009), the concept of creative cluster does not necessarily refer to the agglomeration of activity in a physical space, but in the policy sense. An aspatial creative cluster is thus understood at an operational level, and the value of a physical, tangible and spatial cluster is in doubt. Therefore, the physical concentration of creative clusters becomes a key topic for discussion. As

Zukin (1989) remarked, 'Producing space in the city for artists is more complicated than it appears' (p. 111).

The nature of clustering

Clustering does not simply refer to the co-location of creative groups. Spatial settings and built environments that favour spontaneous human interaction are the backbone of this study. Many scholars have observed that only particular cities and places can foster the development of the creative industries (Cunningham, 2002; Scott, 2006; Kong and O'Connor, 2009). Nineteenth-century Paris, Wicker Park in Chicago, Greenwich Village and East Village in New York, and SOHO and TriBeCa in Manhattan are cases in point. We need to carefully study qualities of place like amenities and connectivity that favour creative production (Brooks, 2000; Clark, 2004; Florida, 2002). To have a holistic understanding of the spatial perception of creative practitioners, three types of spatial quality (studio space, form of cluster and neighbourhood) must be examined.

In studies of two successful cultural districts in the United States, Currid (2007) and Lloyd (2010) highlighted the importance of a vivid and vibrant neighbourhood in the development of creative clusters. Florida (2002) emphasised the importance of the spatial dimension and listed 'historical buildings, established neighbourhoods, unique music scenes, and specific cultural attributes' (p. 228) as essential for attracting creative people to places.

The availability of hard infrastructure including 'research institutes, educational establishments, cultural facilities, meeting places, convenience of transport, health and amenities' as indicated by Landry (2000, p. 133) is crucial to nurturing creativity.

To have a sustainable cultural and creative cluster, we must not only focus on cheap rents and large spaces, but the basic practical needs of creative practitioners. This topic will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Community

According to Delanty (2010), ‘community’ originates in the Latin word *com* (‘with’ or ‘together’) and *unus* (the number one) (p. x). Literally, it means unity and togetherness. It is a widely used but elusive term. It has been debated in a wide range of different academic disciplines including social science, history and philosophy and is also the subject of popular discourse. There have been 94 definitions since the mid-1950s, and it has become a central line of enquiry in sociology (Hillery, 1955). As Brint (2001) has stated, the features of community cover a ‘sense of familiarity and safety, mutual concern and support, continuous loyalties, even the possibility of being appreciated for one’s full personality and contribution to group life rather than for narrower aspects of rank and achievement’ (p. 2). It is an open question whether the appealing features of community can be found in the practice of cultural and creative clusters, or whether it remains a romanticised discourse for supporting creative practitioners.

What is community? From Ferdinand Tönnies to Émile Durkheim

This study draws on two major concepts of community in sociology, which derive from Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936) and Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Their theories can be regarded as fundamental for the discussion of community.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (community and society)

In 1887, the German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies published his classic work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society), which marked the beginning of sociological discussion of community. As Brint (2001) has remarked, the concepts developed by Tönnies became ‘the locus classicus in sociology’ (p. 2). In his work, Tönnies focussed on the difference between communal relations and interest-based association.

In his theoretical essay, he put forward the notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to explicitly contrast communal and associative relationships (Brint 2001, p. 2). The concept of *Gemeinschaft* (community) refers to small numbers of people leading common ways of

life and similar beliefs, showing familiarity, strong ties and frequent interaction with other members in the group. It is 'an aggregate of minds so strongly cohesive that no one is able to stir independently of the others' (Durkheim 1887, p. xxx). *Gesellschaft* (society) differs from *Gemeinschaft* in that it is about large numbers of people distrusting each other; they are strangers in keen competition. People are governed by rules, without bonding. However, the properties of community may not be universally applicable, as contextualised meaning is important to understanding the influence of communal relations on behaviour, consciousness and the formation of community. Due to the influence of industrialisation, mass communication and urbanisation, there is profound shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* as the social and economic structure of urban areas changes. For Tönnies, this topological construct shows the evolutionary transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. Such a shift is inevitable in social development, as *Gemeinschaft* is the primitive form of *Gesellschaft*. However, this dichotomy has problems in articulating the conceptual divide of the communal relationship. It oversimplifies the complicated and ever-changing nature of social relations and urban life.

The disaggregated approach to community

The second approach originates with Émile Durkheim, and offers a useful alternative to Tönnies' work. Durkheim's disaggregating approach towards community is based on his philosophy of religion. In *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* ([1897] 1951) and *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* ([1911] 1965) he defines religion as 'a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them' (Durkheim 1954, p. 47). Religion serves as the tool to knit people together with common understandings of sacred acts. It shows the power of community over individual practice through collective sacred acts.

In *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* ([1897] 1951) Durkheim argues that suicide is not caused by individual choice; it is a social phenomenon.

Durkheim identifies three types of suicide: *egoistic*, *altruistic* and *anomic*.

He discovers that suicide is highly related to the degree of integration of society by comparing the suicide rates in different cultures. For example,

Protestant countries have the highest suicide rate, while Catholic areas

have lower rates, and Jews have the lowest suicide rate. Durkheim explains this phenomenon through social differences rather than religious differences (as all three groups have a very similar emphasis on religion).

The conclusion of Durkheim's analysis is that 'Suicide thus varies inversely with the degree of integration of the religious, domestic, and political groups of which the individual forms a part; in short, as a society weakens or 'disintegrates,' the individual depends less on the group, depends more upon himself, and recognizes no rules of conduct beyond those based upon private interests' (Jones, 1986, p. 202). The result is *egoistic suicide*, one of the suicide types described by Durkheim, who points out that dense and absorbing social ties are crucial in preventing egoistic suicide.

Although these two studies concern different topics, in both of them Durkheim extracts different elements associated with communal relations to illustrate their impact on human behaviour.

Extraction of variables from the concept of community

Although Tönnies and Durkheim take different approaches towards the concept of community, both highlight the community relationship that connects people with strong social support. However, Tönnies' analysis involves a conceptual division of people's way of life as belonging either to *Gemeinschaft* or *Gesellschaft*. However, it is difficult to find such a clear division in reality. Durkheim's approach seems more practical, as he identifies a set of properties of human interaction that is applicable to both modern cities and small villages. (p. 3). His analysis offers insights for approaching community in social research.

According to Brint (2001), 'the six properties of '*Gemeinschaft*-like' relations have proven particularly important when they have been disaggregated as variables in sociological analyses' (p. 3). Durkheim carefully identifies six variables: four structural and two cultural variables. The structural variables are: (1) dense and demanding social ties, (2) social attachment to and involvement in institutions, (3) ritual occasions and (4) small group size. The cultural variables are: (5) perceptions of similarity with the physical characteristics, expressive

style, way of life or historical experience of others; and (6) common beliefs in an idea system, moral order, institution or group. We discuss these six variables in more detail in Chapter 4.

Who forms the creative community?

There is a vast body of research on cultural and creative clusters and cultural/creative industries; however, it was not until the publication of the American economist and social scientist Richard Florida's controversial *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) that the real practices of creative groups (the dominant factors in the physical spaces and industries), including the nature of the work, work patterns, lifestyle, needs and cluster preferences, were seriously considered. The notion of the *creative class*, coined by Florida, became a canonical term to describe people working in the creative field. However, this concept was not the first used to describe the lifestyle of creative groups. Since the 1830s, a number of terms such as Bohemia (Bourdieu, 1984; Stein, 1981; Seigel, 1989; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006), BOBO (Brook, 2000), Neo-bohemia (Lloyd, 2002) and Creative Class (Florida, 2002) have been used to capture the distinct life and work patterns of creative groups. Exploration

of the evolution of different terms describing creative practitioners is therefore essential for a deeper understanding of the cultural and creative field.

La vie de bohème

In terms of the clustering of creative practitioners, nineteenth-century bohemia was a pioneer. As Lloyd (2002) stated, a number of urban and cultural theorists including Allan Bloom, Fredric Jameson and Daniel Bell (1976) have noted how the bohemian becoming a defining force in culture. An increasing number of creative labours derived their work motivation from a bohemian lifestyle in certain extent, according to Brooks (2000) and Florida (2002). More significantly, although a number of terminologies have been used to name creative practitioners in different social and cultural contexts, bohemia provided the foundation for this evolution. It moulded the initial forms of creative agglomeration, and had a key influence on the cultural and creative field.

Bohemia, the name of a kingdom in Czech Republic, normally refers to a group of people working in the creative field and enjoying the artist's

lifestyle. The notion of Bohemia can be tracked back to nineteenth-century Paris, when the Impressionist painters and Baudelaire flourished; the word 'bohemian' was first applied to describe the activities of artists and eccentrics. In 1840, Balzac first adopted this term in the book *Un Prince de Bohemia* (A Prince of Bohemia). In 1848, the artist Henri Murger followed the usage of the term by Balzac in a series of romanticised accounts of the lifestyle of artists in a magazine called *Scènes de la vie de Bohemia* (Scenes from the Bohemian Life). The magazine lasted for two years, and the series was published as a book in 1851. Stein (1981) has noted that Bohemia was originally synonymous with gypsies (stereotypically viewed as loiterers, impostors, beggars, vagabonds and tramps) located in Bohemia.

Bohemia was more than a historical phenomenon; it became a social phenomenon, which has been widely discussed by scholars (Park, 1915; Gordon, 1947; Becker, 1963; Grana, 1964). Florida (2002) identified two lines of enquiry into the notion of bohemia. First, scholars took economic, social and cultural approaches to compare bohemia and bourgeois society. Another school of thought mainly focusses on city and connection

between cultural amenities, creative and economic growth (p. 56).

Bohemia is a term associated with marginal lifestyles in opposition to the wider social context and bourgeois convention. Eccentricity, marginality and antisocial values are the most persistent features of this group. Bohemians such as the writers Hemingway, Fitzgerald and Stein gathered to converse in public spaces such as cafés, bars, pubs, gin palaces and restaurants.

Bohemians' work was not merely a means to earn a living but a form of self-fulfilment through artistic expression (Becker, 1982; Caves, 2000). Therefore, bohemia is characterised by 'spontaneity, sporadic employment, lack of income, continuous improvisation, by living from hand to mouth and by trying to enjoy life from day to day instead of subordinating to fixed (work) schedules' (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, p. 236).

Generally, the bohemian lifestyle was stereotypically associated with Paris; a so-called 'Parisian prototype' (Lloyd, 2012) developed. The main reason for the occurrence of the bohemian lifestyle in Paris was the

unique social context of the city. In the nineteenth century, Paris provided a supportive material and symbolic milieu. It was a literary and artistic hub, the source of Baudelaire's urban pastoral, the masterpieces of Balzac and Flaubert and the works of the Impressionist painters; it also offered cafes and inexpensive places to live. Moreover, Parisians had a positive attitude towards bohemian behaviour; Lloyd (2012) has noted that 'the most outlandish behavior [was] not only tolerable but available to be read as markers of authenticity. Quite apart from the production of tangible works of art in painting, literature, or other media, we may view bohemia as a mode of social performance, and the material space of bohemia as the stage upon which such performance gains its greatest efficacy as collective action' (p. 56).

Although bohemia originated and developed in Paris, the bohemian lifestyle was not limited to the city. The bohemian lifestyle includes both particularity and generality; while a unique Parisian prototype was cultivated in the Parisian milieu, the ideology and need for artistic living and working space was widespread throughout Europe and the United States.

According to Brooks (2001), 'French intellectuals set up ways of living that are by now familiar to us all' (p. 67). The bohemian lifestyle originating in Paris set the model for people outside Paris. Merging with avant-garde culture and the availability of cheap housing in United States, the ideology of the bohemian lifestyle was embedded in the life of artists working in Greenwich Village. Thus an American bohemia with eccentric divergences of behaviour could be found in the early twentieth century. The large number of immigrants from Europe to the US after the Second World War had a profound effect on the next generation of bohemians in the US. In the 1960s, bohemia was not limited to one particular group of people; it became a massive counterculture opposing the mainstream.

Due to changes in work arrangements and lifestyle, and the emergence of new fields of cultural and creative activity, it may not be appropriate to speak of bohemia in the classical sense (Stein 1981, p. 10), because the Parisian prototype bohemia cannot be found in the post-industrial era.

A broader and contemporary understanding of bohemian is therefore required.

Creative class

In its original sense, bohemia connotes a libertine lifestyle and rejection of bourgeois conventions. More recently, Richard Florida (2002) related the notion of bohemia to specific artistic occupations. He observed that there is 'a growing integration of bohemian symbols and culture into mainstream economic activities' (Florida, 2002, p. 57) and developed the notion of the *creative class* to address the overlap between the occupational category and unique artistic lifestyle. Florida (2002) noted that economic growth in the United States has increasingly depended more on creativity and knowledge-based production than raw materials and labour-intensive production. Creativity has become a fundamental economic force, which constitutes a new social class following Marx's class theory. In general, professional individuals in the creative industry possess more bargaining power and social privilege than other professional groups in the global market. They live a similar lifestyle, and have similar interests and values. Florida thus asserted that they

formed a new class in society, and called it the 'creative class', one beyond the existing class categorisation.

Florida defined creative class in terms of occupation and discerned two major types: the 'Super-Creative Core' and 'Creative Professionals'. The former is individuals involved in the creative process, such as artists and designers. The latter refers to individuals who run the creative business by drawing on different areas of knowledge to solve specific management problems, legal issues and other technical matters. Generally, the creative class enjoys flexibility and privilege in their workspace, schedule, rules and dress codes. They are widely recognised as a cultural elite with a unique lifestyle. The creative class also shares similar values, norms and attitudes. Its members are eager to establish their own identities, place great emphasis on merit rather than capital accumulation and proclaim the importance of diversity and openness.

Florida (2002) stressed that the creative class needs a particular milieu to support its growth. The creative milieu acts like a magnet and the result is a snowball effect, as one artist attracts other artists, intellectuals and creative professionals. *Milieu* refers not only to an attractive natural

environment and buildings, but also to a social and cultural atmosphere that facilitates creativity. He identified three crucial factors in the concentration of the creative class: *technology*, *talent* and *tolerance* – the ‘three T’s’. Florida asserted that the milieu for the growth of the creative class must (1) be liberal towards any innovative idea, (2) be open to different types of people (e.g., bohemian artist groups and gay communities), (3) have a high concentration of creative capital and (4) contain a close agglomeration of creative individuals supported by high-tech businesses. However, the notion of a creative class coined by Florida is controversial. There are four major critiques of it in the literature.

First, scholars have found the concept of creative class to be fuzzy. Florida’s discussion often covers many professions beyond art, design and music; it includes finance, engineers, medicine and law. The conceptual boundary of the creative class thus becomes blurred (Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2008; Lloyd, 2006; Currid, 2007, Kong et al., 2009).

Second, Florida emphasised that the formation of creative class is place-specific. However, he maintained that creativity-related activities are much more mobile than agricultural and industrial production. The actual geographic features of the creative class thus remain confusing (Scott, 2006).

Third, Florida's discussion appears to romanticise the creative class, particularly their working environment, autonomy and privilege. Closer observation reveals that many artists and designers (the core members of the creative class) often work long hours in harsh conditions, and even take on part-time jobs to maintain their place in the creative field (Currid, 2007; Lloyd 2006; Markusen, 2006).

Fourth, Florida took class as 'a cluster of people who have common interests and tend to think, feel and behave similarly, but these similarities are fundamentally determined by economic function – by the kind of work they do for a living' (2002, p. 8). However, the notion of a creative class in Florida's discussion can refer to many different professions in different fields. It remains unclear how these similarities

can override diversity and enable the formation of one general class in society.

In response to rapid social changes in work and lifestyle, Florida revisited the notion of the creative class in 2012. He redefined the term, which ‘used to mean artists and writers. Today, it means job stability’ (p. viii).

In the revised version, he made the generic claim that everyone can be creative rather than emphasising the privilege of the creative class and the power of the market. He thus advocated a utopian ideal that the innate creativity of every human being should be acknowledged and nurtured, through the release of creative energies, talent and potential.

Regarding the quantitative measurement of creativity, Florida (2002) did not abandon the concept of bohemia but further developed the *Bohemian Index* (BI) as one factor in constructing the *creativity index*. The *Bohemian Index* is based on occupational data, by identifying authors, designers, painters, sculptors, craft-artists, artists, performers and other creative workers. The *Bohemian Index* reflects the population of creative people in a region by counting the number of producers of cultural and creative resources. It aims to illustrate the relationship between the

geographic concentration of creative people, human capital and high technology. Together with the *Gay Index* and *Diversity Index*, the *Bohemian Index* is one reference point for a location's degree of openness and tolerance.

Bobos

In 2000, Brooks developed a new term, 'bohemian-bourgeois' (or Bobo), to represent a new social grouping and its lifestyle. In *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*, Brooks described the artistic but economically driven life of a new class who 'work like the bourgeoisie and consume like bohemia' (Lloyd 2006, p. 65). Brooks documented the new upper class that mixed bourgeois capitalism and bohemian counterculture in the late 1970s. However, the notion of the Bobo was criticised as a representation of the 'superficial trappings of a bohemian lifestyle' (Judith 2007, p. 127). Florida further criticised such a notion due to the neglect of connection with economic systems, this type of people are like 'more eccentric, alternative or bohemian types of people' (p. 57) under the new rising knowledge economy.

Neo-bohemia

Florida (2002) reported that the new breed of creative groups rejected the label of bohemian, due to its negative associations. Another concern about the term is that the intensity and work pattern of creative groups has changed. In an ethnographical study of Wicker Park in the 1990s, Lloyd (2002) examined the relationship between contemporary bohemia and the new economy in the post-Fordist city. A new term, *neo-bohemia*, was coined to describe creative practitioners. Neo-bohemia is not about a total rejection of the bohemian lifestyle but represents a shift in response to the changing economic system. It includes a broader range of artistic and economically driven labour.

Neo-bohemia is part of the workforce, unlike bohemia, which did not respond positively to the labour market. They are a new social group with fluctuating income occupying a marginal position in the economic system. Neo-bohemia emphasises identification with place, which serves as a crucial factor in production and consumption. In turn, neo-bohemians confer subcultural cultural capital onto their surrounding

work and residential areas, transforming place-based subcultural status and their own self-production into economic activity.

Lloyd (2002) reviewed the relationship between the lifestyle of creative practitioners and the post-industrial neighbourhood. Wicker Park, for instance, 'makes unprecedented cultural and economic contributions to the broader social system without ever losing (its) distinctiveness' (Lloyd, 2006, p. 67). Neo-bohemia is sensitive to urban renewal; the importance of neighbourhood culture is one of its focal points. It follows traditions of cultural innovation in older city neighbourhoods, rather than the earlier contradiction between bohemian traditions and economic development.

However, Judith (2007) criticised this study of neo-bohemia, finding a number of contradictions between bohemian rhetoric and practices. In Lloyd's sense, neo-bohemians inherited the bohemian tradition of strong resistance to corporate labour, so that their self-determination could be preserved. However, in the empirical study of Wicker Park, young neo-bohemians had no objection to corporate work when the salary was attractive. Neo-bohemia also enjoys a high degree of flexibility in

working hours and dress code; thus the resistance to corporate culture is more rhetorical than a matter of work ethic. In the larger cultural and economic context, Lloyd's study failed to provide a full explanation of the neo-bohemian ethos and actual practice. The descriptive account of neo-bohemian life did not fulfil the need for a thorough review of the notion.

The clustering of creative practitioners – formation of creative community

In the study of creative clusters, Porter's cluster theory does not situate cluster development within the dynamic and operation of the cultural and creative field. Unlike industrial clusters, cultural and creative clusters have their own logic in operation. Many cultural and creative clusters may not be solely for commercial purposes, and some non-profit cultural activities may also be found on the site (Kong, 2009). The economic perspective on the complex nature of the cultural and creative cluster is thus inadequate. Due to its unique characteristics and mode of production, the established concept of cluster in the cultural and creative field needs to be challenged. As Kong (2009) has stated, social networks, tacit

knowledge and trust relationships are the core values of cluster theory most appropriate for the setting of cultural and creative clusters. In the literature to date, some influential studies (Brooks, 2000; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2005) have indicated the importance of studying the establishment of creative groups and cultural and creative clusters. These studies have drawn scholarly attention to the formation and operation of creative communities. As noted by Currid (2007) and Llord (2005), the formation of creative community is the most crucial factor in making vibrant cultural creative clusters. From economists' perspective, the social realm is merely one of the positive effects of clustering, and the so-called spillover is just an additional benefit rather than the core advantage of creative agglomeration. But the essence of the cluster is clustering. Fundamentally, the clustering of the creative groups has two key effects that are crucial for supporting creative practitioners.

(1) Form of clustering – Horizontal cluster or vertical cluster?

Scholars have doubted the meaning of the term 'creative cluster', due to the unique characters of creative groups and disconnection among them. A careful mix in a creative group is a key factor in tackling this problem.

Based on the nature and combination of industries, two forms of clusters (horizontal cluster and vertical) were identified by Flew (2011). A horizontal cluster involves the co-location of multiple firms in the same industry, while a vertical cluster involves a chain of supply and demand industries. The collective nature of creativity occurs across creative sectors through frequent engagement and sharing of resources.

To avoid conflicts of interest or direct competition among creative practitioners, vertical clusters rather than horizontal clusters were advocated in the empirical study. The clustering of *motley crews*, to use Cave's terminology (2002) has a positive effect, as people in the creative industries need each other's support for survival, from idea generation to product valorisation. Horizontal engagement with people from other areas through collaboration and shared skill sets is thus key to success. As creativity is fluid, cultural producers from one industry can move seamlessly into another (Currid, 2007, p. 116).

Empirical research has shown that the combination of creative groups is one of the main reasons that creative practitioners opt for a particular location. Clients might become confused if an artist's studio was located in the same building as other studios in the same field. The group dynamic should be carefully balanced. The co-location of homogenous creative groups does not bring synergy to the creative cluster.

(2) Geographical embeddedness supporting a close social network

The importance of social networks within creative clusters has been highlighted in a number of studies. Potts, Cunningham, Hartley and Ornerod (2008) redefined the creative industries as social network markets. From a practical perspective, a large number of creative workers are self-employed or quasi-self-employed rather than having stable employment, and rely on freelance or part-time creative jobs obtained through referrals. Casting a wide social net helps the career development of creative practitioners and the growth of the creative industries. Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) also echoed the importance of social networks in clusters: 'the network plays a vital role in the creative community, offering continuing professional development and

supporting the social and institutional aspects of creative production’ (p. 534).

In an analysis of *creative milieu* by Landry (2000), he identified *hard* and *soft infrastructure* as two significant components in supporting the development of creativity. *Soft infrastructure* is ‘the system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions’ (Landry, 2000, p. 133). From Landry’s analysis, we can see that soft infrastructure highlights how clusters and networks are intertwined, interactive systems. It also indicates the importance of creativity and interaction in the social realm.

However, other scholars understand the formation of social networks and community differently. Ekinsmyth (2002) highlighted two ways that social networks form: social embeddedness and geographical embeddedness. Social embeddedness involves networks established through work practice, while geographical embeddedness refers to networks linked to place. Temporary and event-based opportunities

counteract the dispersal of creative communities with opportunities for periodic in-person encounters. Social embeddedness is already adequate for building social networks (Coe, 2000; Cole, 2008). Social ties among creative practitioners can develop independently from geographical location.

2.2.4 Creativity

What is creativity?

To understand creativity properly, defining it is the first step (Kaufman & Sternberg, 2010). However, such a task is difficult, as creativity has more than one hundred definitions (Meusburger, 2009). It can refer to the creative acts of small children or to the discoveries of Albert Einstein. Academically, the term attracts scholarly attention from multiple disciplines including education, philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics and history. Scholars have not come up with a commonly agreed-upon definition since the start of intensive research on creativity over six decades ago, and debates on the definition, measurement and enhancement of creativity are still ongoing (Kaufman & Sternberg, 2010, p. xiii). Scholars' understanding of creativity varies depending on different approaches and contexts. Kaufman and Sternberg (2010)

highlighted three components usually found in definitions of creative ideas: first, creative ideas should represent something new or different; second, they should be high quality; third, they must be appropriate for existing tasks or provide other definitions of tasks. Novelty and appropriateness account for all three of these components, and are basic features of creativity agreed upon by most researchers, including Amabile (1983), Cropley (1967), Guilford (1950), Runco and Jaeger (2012), Stein (1953) and Sternberg (1988).

Inconsistent views on creativity

Not only are there the differences in definitions of creativity; the beginning of recognisable research on creativity is debatable. For example, Runco and Albert (2010) believed that many concepts of creativity could be traced back in Western history through the past 2,000 years, but argue that focussed research into creativity began in the late nineteenth century (p. 4). However, Sawyer stated that there was no recognisable creativity research before the 1950s, even though more than 10,000 papers on creativity had been published by that point (Kaufman & Sternberg, 2010). Inconsistency in research focus has also been a

problem; as Amabile (1983) reviewed the history of creativity, she found that it first started with the creative process, then understood creativity in terms of the individual, and most recently shifted to the observable outcome of the creative product. However, Sawyer (2014) tied the study of creativity to '*first wave personality psychology*' and '*second-wave experimental cognitive psychology*' (p. 7), which involved an individualist approach towards creativity research. These two waves focussed on creative individuals in their definitions of creativity. The third-wave *sociocultural approach* emphasised the relation between creative people and the social and cultural system (p. 8).

History of creativity research

We can trace the history of creativity back to the Biblical account of creation in the book of Genesis, the Greeks' perspectives on individual *daimons* and the Roman view of genius as individual creative power that could be passed on to the next generation (Runco & Albert, 2010). According to Hartley et al. (2012), the word 'to create' comes from the Latin *creare*, meaning 'to produce or to make' (p. 66). Over thirteen centuries, the word has referred to a finished product or something made.

Not until 1875 did the abstract noun ‘creativity’ occur in English.

Another breakthrough was the development of the idea of research between 1500 and 1700. Since then, the study of research has been recognised as a distinctive field of study. According to Runco and Albert (2010), *creativity* was formally separated from *genius* in the mid-seventeenth century. With the help of the English Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, research on creativity became institutionalised and formalised. The subject took shape in science and philosophy. The works of Darwin in the late nineteenth century were a milestone in creativity research. Darwin’s work (1859) introduced the idea of adaptation and survival of the fittest, and thus made a major contribution to creativity research. His work emphasises the importance of creativity for problem-solving, based on the principle of adaption as the selective retention of ideas (Legrenzi, 2010). Following the publication of Darwin’s evolutionary theory, Galton continued the scholarly discussion of creativity. Unlike Darwin, he neither dealt with the basic definition of creativity nor studied natural selection; however, he made process in creativity research by providing an operational definition based on evolution. Through his empirical study of creativity and measurement of

individual differences, Galton clarified the mythicised nature of creativity, arguing that it does not connect to any supernatural power but is an ability found throughout a population. Due to Galton's clarifications, the relation between mysticism and creativity was severed. In the nineteenth century, creativity researchers stuck to definitional questions, such as the nature of creativity, the benefit of creativity and the outstanding features of creative people. Due to the better understanding of creativity, expressions like 'creative writing' (1930) and 'creative education' (1936) first appeared in the early twentieth century (Pope, 2005). In the 1950s and 1960s, the hot research topic was the creative personality, due to the development of individualism, as stated by Helson (1996). Soon afterwards, research and publications on creativity were booming, especially in the field of psychology; research topics also became wider and deeper, dealing with issues such as types or styles of creativity.

If we follow the line of enquiry proposed by Sawyer (2014), there were three waves in the study of creativity: 'first-wave *personality psychology*', 'second-wave *experimental cognitive psychology*' and the

‘third-wave *sociocultural approach*’. The research focus thus shifted from an individualist approach to a group (or collective) approach. The sociocultural definition of creativity emphasises how creative people work together in a social and cultural system (p. 8). Collective creativity normally involves brainstorming and divergent thinking to discover different directions and new solutions. Sawyer (2014) has even pointed out that the synergy effect of a group of creative minds means that the results are greater than the sum of its parts in terms of performance (p. 32). It might seem that such idea would not apply to creative works made in solitude (such as paintings), but if we take a closer look at the entire creative process, we cannot avoid navigating a complex social system involving different gatekeepers and experts in the domain in which creative people work. Therefore, Sawyer (2012) argued that we cannot narrow the focus to individual creativity; the group dynamics induced by collaboration among group members must be considered.

Categories of creativity theory

Apart from the shifting focus on creativity, scholars from different academic fields have established their own theories of creativity. To

clarify this line of enquiry, scholars like Kozbelt et al. (2010) have reviewed and summarised theories of creativity into ten categories. In general, the classification is based on (a) levels of magnitude, (b) the four Ps (Person, Process, Product and Press) and (c) key concepts. Their work provides the framework for understanding creativity in a larger context of discussion. The categories include developmental, psychometric, economic, stage and componential process, cognitive, problem-solving and expertise-based, problem-finding, evolutionary (Darwinian), typological and systems approaches towards the study of creativity.

(a) Level of creative magnitude

Creativity can be regarded as a general term explaining the creative act in daily activities or can be applied to a much bigger context such as God's act of creation. A handful of scholars including Stein (1953), Taylor (1959), Csikszentmihalyi (1996/1998), Kaufman and Beghetto (2009), Kozbelt, Beghetto and Runco (2010) and Vygotsky (1967/2004) believe that it is necessary to distinguish different types and levels of creativity for clarifying the frame of reference, scope and focus of different theories in different contexts.

Big-C creativity and little-C creativity

The notions of *big-C Creativity* and *little-c creativity* are commonly used in investigations of creativity. *Big-C Creativity* refers to eminent creativity or creative accomplishment. *Little-c creativity* means everyday creativity that can be found in many people. Such a dichotomy has been used in creativity research since it began to develop in earnest; however, many scholars (Kozbelt, Beghetto & Runco, 2010; Kaufman & Beghetto, 2009; Sawyer, 2014) have pointed out the problems with such Big-C / little-c categories; for example, they are too inclusive or general to account for the creative product and creative experience. Further distinctions in the levels of magnitude of creativity is necessary.

Pro-C creativity and mini-C creativity

In 2009, Kaufman and Beghetto (2009) expanded the two levels of creativity into a four-level model. In addition to the Big-C / little-c categories, *Mini-C* and *Pro-C* were added to frame different types of creativity and clarify the grey area between the Big-C / little-c categories. *Mini-C* refers to inherited creativity involved in the learning process, like internal creativity (Stein, 1953); subjective or personal creativity (Runco,

1996/ 2004); or mental or emotional (Vygotsky, 1967/2004) forms of creativity. *Mini-C* creativity is different from the everyday-life creativity in the little-c category. The *Pro-C* category denotes professional-level creators in any creative domain (who may or may not attain the eminent level of creativity in *Big-C*). *Pro-C* creators have much higher skills, knowledge, motivation and performance than *little-c* creators.

For Kaufman and Beghetto (2009), the four levels of creativity are not independent categories; they can be linked together, and can even represent the trajectory of creativity in one's life, that is, from *Min-C* to *little-C*, *little-c* to *Pro-C*, and possibly from *Pro-C* to *Big-C*. Kozbelt, Beghetto and Runco (2010) recognised the importance of this four-level model of creativity. Not only does it help in comparing different creativity theories, but it is also useful for predicting the possibilities and limitations of creativity theories and research. However, as with any kind of classification, classifying creative practices may obscure individual features, no matter how specific or flexible the categories used (p. 24). Therefore, these categories should be considered a comparative tool for discussing different creative phenomena.

(b) Four Ps (or six Ps) of creativity

Aside from different levels of creative magnitude, creativity can be examined through the four Ps (or later six Ps) framework. The four-Ps framework constructed by Mel Rhodes in 1961 remains an influence on researchers even 50 years later. This widely-cited framework represents different perspectives on creativity. The four Ps are Person, Process, Product and Press (Place). Rhodes used 'press' instead of 'place' as he viewed influences on human behaviour as pressure before 1961 (Sawyer, 2010). Another two Ps have since been added to this four Ps framework – persuasion (Simonton, 1990) and potential (Runco, 2003) – to form the new six Ps framework. The four Ps (or six Ps) are not only regarded as a framework for creativity studies, but also the research focus of creativity.

Process

The shift in research focus has been much debated, as Amabile (1983) pointed out that the creative process was the earliest focus for creativity research. In 1945, Wertheimer used the creative process to define creativity. Studies by Newell et al. (1962) and Koestler (1964) later echoed the importance of creative process in understanding creativity.

Studies such as those of Wallas (1926), Runco and Chand (1995) and Amabile (1999) even considered creativity in terms of process and stage.

Sawyer (2012) proposed an integrated framework of the creative process after integrating the models proposed by scholars like Wallas (1926), Isaksen, Dorvalm and Treffinger (2000), Bransford and Stein (1984), Sternberg (2006), Burnard, Craft and Grainger (2006), Gordon (1961), Scott et al. (2004). Sawyer identified eight stages of the creative process as outlined in these studies (p. 89): (1) finding and formulating the problem, (2) acquiring knowledge relevant to the problem, (3) gathering a broad range of potentially related information, (4) taking time off for incubation, (5) generating a large variety of ideas, (6) combining ideas in unexpected ways, (7) selecting the best ideas, applying relevant criteria and (8) externalising the idea using materials and representations.

Person

The person who generates creative products is the focus of this type of creativity research. It mainly associates particular personality traits or

types with creativity. In 1949, J.P. Guilford made a distinguished contribution to the research of creativity. In 'Creativity', his presidential address to the American Psychological Association, he defined creativity as 'the abilities that are most characteristic of creative people' (Guilford, 1950, p. 444). His work on psychometric tests was later turned into a scientific measurement of creativity, the Torrance Tests for Creative Thinking (as cited in Hartley et al., 2012). This test has been widely applied for more than four decades. His work instigated a new understanding of creativity which viewed it in terms of the creative person rather than the process. Similarly, this type of research attempts to examine a person's creative ability (or even genius), using divergent-thinking tests, creative-personality measures and other tests (Hennessey & Amabile, 2010).

Product

Creative products have been examined extensively in the past few decades. The characteristics of the creative product became the means of recognising creativity in contemporary definitions of creativity (Amabile,

1983). Amabile's study of the social psychology of creativity was first published in 1983, and highlighted the importance of focussing on the interaction of social/environmental factors in creativity. In her study, three necessary and sufficient components of creativity were identified: domain-relevant skills, creativity-relevant skills and task motivation. Novelty and appropriateness are the most commonly agreed-upon qualities for the evaluation of products. A sociocultural definition was adopted such to understand creativity.

Press (or place)

Research that focusses on press centres on the effect of external forces on creativity, such as social and cultural context. It reveals how such pressure acts on the creative person and creative process. Environmental pressure is particularly highlighted.

Persuasion

In 1990, Simonton added another dimension in considering creativity. He highlighted that creative people can change other people's minds through

persuasion. Thus one criterion of creativity is that the individual must be persuasive.

Potential

Runco (2008) took a new perspective in understanding creativity. The term ‘creative potential’ was coined to describe the creative personality and places favouring the future possibilities.

(c) Coverage of the Ps

The ten strands of creativity theories described by Kozbelt et al. (2010) contribute different theoretical standpoints to creativity research.

Different research focusses lead to major differences in the scope of discussion. They can be categorised in terms of Ps factor coverage (Table

2). Some theories mainly focus on one P – for example, typological theory, psychometric theory and stage and componential process theory.

Some take a more holistic approach in understanding creativity: three theories take four Ps into consideration. One highly distinctive type of creativity theory is systems theory, which depicts creativity as a complex system with various P factors interacting and influencing each other.

Table 2 Modified summary of theories of creativity of Kozbelt et al. (2010, pp. 27-28)			
Focus on single P factor			
<i>Creative theories</i>	<i>Key ideas</i>	<i>Focus on P factor</i>	<i>Levels of magnitude</i>
Typological	There are key individual differences between creators on both macro- and micro-levels	Primarily Person	Little-c to Big-C
Psychometric	Creativity, as differentiated from related constructs (IQ), can be measured reliably and validly	Product	Little-c to Big-C
Stage and componential process	The creative process involves a series of stages or components	Process	Mini-c to Big-C
Focus on two P factors			
<i>Creative theories</i>	<i>Key ideas</i>	<i>Focus on P factors</i>	<i>Levels of magnitude</i>
Cognitive	Creative persons and achievements are based on ideational thought processes	Person & Process	Little-c to Big-C
Focus on three P factors			
<i>Creative theories</i>	<i>Key ideas</i>	<i>Focus on P factors</i>	<i>Levels of Magnitude</i>

Problem solving	A rational process from cognitive processes and domain expertise provides creative solutions to unclear problems	Person, Process, & Product	Little-c to Big-C
Problem findings	The active involvement of creative people is needed in exploring and identifying problems to be solved	Process, Person, & Potential	Primarily Mini-c
Focus on four P factors			
<i>Creative theories</i>	<i>Key ideas</i>	<i>Focus on P factors</i>	<i>Levels of magnitude</i>
Evolutionary (Darwinian)	Evolutionary-like developments may produce eminent creativity through blind generation and selective retention	Person, Process, Place, & Product	Primarily Big-C
Developmental	Creativity develops over time (from potential to achievement)	Person, Place, Potential, & Product	Mini-c to Pro-c
Economic	Market forces and cost-benefit analyses drive creative ideation and behaviour	Person, Place, Product, & Persuasion	Little-c to Big-C
Focus across all P factors			
<i>Creative theories</i>	<i>Key ideas</i>	<i>Focus on P factors</i>	<i>Levels of magnitude</i>

Systems	Creativity results from a complex system of interacting and interrelated factors	Varying emphasis across all Ps.	Little-c to Big-C
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Sociocultural definitions of creativity

Among creativity theories, only systems theory stresses that creativity should be understood across all P factors, as it regards creativity as a complex social system not a single entity. In the analysis of Kozbelt et al. (2010), the systems theory developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1999) considers multiple factors in viewing the phenomenon of creativity, and creativity occurs due to interrelated factors operating at multiple levels.

Csikszentmihalyi (1999) viewed the environment for creativity in both its cultural and social aspects. The cultural aspect is ‘the domain’ while the social aspect is ‘the field’. Creativity is ‘a process that can be observed only at the intersection where individuals, domains, and fields interact’ (p. 316). He developed a system model of creativity to illustrate his understanding of the ‘person-field-domain’ interrelationship.

Apart from the involvement of persons (individual practitioners), field (social system) and domain (cultural system) are key components for the operation of this model. Csikszentmihalyi agrees that individual practitioners may have novel ideas, but those ideas may be quickly discarded unless they are approved by certain groups or gatekeepers (i.e., the field) with specific knowledge, who decide to keep those ideas in the domain. Csikszentmihalyi believes that culture is the combination of different domains, such as music, religion and art. Some talented people are attracted by certain domains and make the occurrence of creativity possible. The field is the key term representing the social context of creativity. In Csikszentmihalyi's understanding, fields are made up of creative individuals who practice in a domain. They are the gatekeepers who have the right to decide whether an idea is creative.

Novelty and appropriateness

Among various definitions of creativity, novelty and appropriateness are generally regarded as basic components of creativity (e.g., Cropley, 1967; Guilford, 1950; Stein, 1953; Sternberg, 1988). Beginning with the first wave of personality psychologists, these two factors were emphasised as requirements of 'true creativity' (MacKinnon, 1962, p. 485). The

sociocultural approach typically adopts these two qualities in its basic understanding of creativity, as involving ‘the generation of a product that is judged to be novel and to be appropriate, useful, or valuable by a suitably knowledgeable social group’ (Sawyer, 2014, p. 9). Similarly, Stein (1953) stated that a ‘creative work is a novel work that is accepted as tenable or useful or satisfying by a group in some point in time’ (p. 311). Many researchers have even believed that these two qualities offer a valid alternative measurement of creativity separate from the commonly adopted Consensual Assessment Technique (CAT) (Carson, 2006; Kaufman, Baer & Gentile, 2004; Kaufman, Plucker & Baer, 2008; Plucker & Makel, 2010; Sternberg & Lubart, 1999).

According to Sawyer (2012), novelty refers to something ‘new to the domain, and the domain exists outside of any single individual’; while appropriateness can be ‘judged only by a social evaluative process’ (p. 211). From the sociocultural perspective, novelty and appropriateness are closely connected. A creator may be not able to make sure there is no identical work in the world, and will assume that their work is novel. Sometimes a novel idea will be easily forgotten; thus, recognition of

novel ideas is important. Therefore, appropriateness for a social group is necessary to determine whether an individual creation is truly novel. Therefore, scholars who focus on the sociocultural understanding of creativity (especially researchers who take the systems approach) will highlight the importance of both aspects in dealing with creative products.

Clustering spurring creativity

What makes creative people innovate should be the key consideration in the setup of a creative cluster. As Comunian, Faggian and Li (2010) have stated, creativity in itself is an unchallenged but fuzzy concept. It is believed that creativity is beneficial to both individuals and society, yet what 'creativity entails and exactly what kind of benefits it brings is far from being solved' (p. 389). In fact, creative production is intrinsically spontaneous and unpredictable. If the setting of the creative cluster does not support the occurrence of creativity, it is meaningless to call it a creative cluster. This study shares the view advanced by Drake (2003) that creativity should not be examined in its own sphere. Creativity has often been regarded as the outcome of a social process; its collective nature has been demonstrated. Individual creativity spurred by the

inspiration of place is another dimension of creativity studies. The physical location and surroundings became a form of stimulus. Creative ideas are formulated in a very complicated manner, through dynamic interaction between an individual and the environment and with other people. Regardless of the various definitions, forms and types of creativity, creativity in the spatial context and its relation with creative practitioners needs to be carefully considered.

2.3 Summary

This chapter aims to establish the theoretical background for discussion of several topics. To construct the theoretical framework for this research, this chapter reviews definitions and key discussion of (a) cultural and creative clusters (by Alfred Marshall and Michael Porter), (b) creativity (by Teresa Amabile, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Keith Sawyer) and (c) community (by Ferdinand Tönnies and Émile Durkheim). These three main concepts are extensively discussed, leading to a vast array of definitions and theoretical positions; thus, this chapter establishes a theoretical perspective for further discussion in this study.

Chapter 3 Development of Cultural and Creative Clusters in Hong Kong

3.1 Preamble

As Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) have noted, there is a need to trace the histories and antecedents of clusters to avoid oversimplifying the cultural and creative cluster narrative. Currently, there are 15 recognised cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. They differ from each other in terms of scale, rent, function, usage and features (Table 3). This section lays out the synchronic and diachronic development of the cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong. The second part of this chapter discusses the development of cultural and creative policies in Hong Kong, clarifying the role and contribution of the Hong Kong government in the creative industries agenda. The chapter ends by reviewing significant research on cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong to lay the foundation for further discussion.

3.2 Historical Development of Cultural and Creative Clusters in Hong Kong

The development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong is closely linked with the property market. Due to limited land supply and the high land price policy, property prices in Hong Kong are among the highest in the world (Shay, 2009). Consequently, the usage of space is directed by the market economy. Apart from traditional cultural infrastructure (museums, town hall, libraries etc.), the government did not pay much attention to the development of cultural and creative clusters before the economic value of cultural and creative industries was generally recognised. Cultural and creative clusters were thus formed unexpectedly.

In 1997, the economic downturn caused by the Asian financial crisis shook up the global financial order. The bursting of the property bubble caused the value of commercial and residential real estate to drop drastically. To stimulate the property market, the government stopped all land auctions. The Government Supplies Office at Oil Street was relocated and the premises were not assigned to a new user. Units at the

site were rented out on short-term leases at an extremely low rate, HK\$2.5 per square foot (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2010, p. 42). By chance, a bundle of creative practitioners flocked to the site to set up their studios; the warehouse soon became the first cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong.

3.2.1 Emergence of the First Cultural and Creative Cluster in Hong Kong –

The Ex-government Supplies Office at Oil Street (1998-2000)



The economic recession created golden opportunities for creative practitioners to set up their studios; the art scene was established with the economic downturn. The ex-Government Supplies Office at Oil Street, located at no. 12 North Point, is regarded as the first cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong in terms of scale and number of tenants (Figure 3.1). Built in 1908, the site was a large warehouse for stocking government furniture and other supplies. Because of its many desirable features – extremely low rents, ample interior and outdoor space, fourteen-foot ceilings with no obstructing pillars, a panoramic sea view and convenient transportation – a large number of artists, art groups,



music groups, designers, photographers and architects flocked to the premises in June 1998. The site welcomed anyone who could afford the rent, without requiring official application and approval. Around 30 individuals and art groups were located on the site at its peak.

Apart from locating their studio spaces there, creative practitioners used the premises as an exhibition hall and gallery. Following the first opening of an exhibition at the contemporary visual arts organisation 1a Space on 22 October 1998, a number of public events, experimental art performances and large-scale installations took place on the site. The site gradually gained a reputation as an edgy artistic space; however, government departments were concerned that the space was being used for purposes other than as an office and warehouse, thus violating the terms of the lease. Warning notices were issued to tenants due to the vast numbers of visitors. After six months of operation, some tenants were informed that their leases would not be renewed. This decision unified the tenants to negotiate with the property owner. The result after intensive negotiations was a monthly lease renewal. Not long after this matter was settled, however, another crisis came that affected everyone on the site.

On 19 October 1999, the Government Property Agency announced that the Ex-Government Supplies office was included in the restoration of land auction. All tenants were required to move out by 15 December 1999. The shocking news made the tenants organise a large-scale movement called 'Save Oil Street' (or S.O.S.), which included protests and press conferences to fight against the decision. However, the efforts were in vain, as the government only extended the evacuation deadline to 4 January 2000. For the sake of smooth removal, government offered the tenants another location, the Cattle Depot in Mau Tau Kok. As the Cattle Depot still needed to be renovated, the tenants were invited to move to Kai Tak Airport or Cheung Sha Wan Abattoir for transitional accommodations. However, the government withdrew the site from the land sale after the eviction of all creative practitioners and groups. The building was left empty for nearly ten years, with a short-term lease car park in the central open space (Figure 3). At last in August 2011, the Lands department sold the land to Ocean Century Investments Limited on a 50-year land grant at a premium of \$6,267.2 million (Figure 4). The site was demolished and designated for hotel or non-industrial purposes (Lands Department, 2011). The creative practitioners reacted vigorously

to the closure of the art village. A series of protests and related art events was held to fight the closure of the site. For example, 120 artists and art organisations participated in a large-scale exhibition, *Big Act in Oil Street* – *Towards A Cultural Metropolitan City* (1999), to show their opposition to the government decision.

	
<p>Figure 3.1 The site of Oil Street Artist Village in 1999</p>	<p>Figure 3. 2 The location of the former Oil Street Artist Village (highlighted in red)</p>
<p>Image source: Chu, A. (1999). <i>Aerial view of Former Government Supplies Department (from Newton Hotel)</i>. Asian Arts Archive. Retrieved from https://www.aaa.org.hk/en/programmes/programmes/uncatalogued-the-case-of-oil-street-artist-village/period/past</p>	<p>Image source: Google Maps (2017, November 5). <i>Oi!, Hong Kong</i>. Google. Retrieved from https://www.google.com.hk/maps/place/Oi!/@22.2892853,114.1918222,17.77z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x340401021f6576bb:0xdd2437a4a545ae3f!8m2!3d22.2888033!4d114.1929614?hl=en</p>

	
<p>Figure 3.3 The Oil Street Artist Village was turned into a short-term lease car park in February 2011.</p>	<p>Figure 3. 4 The Oil Street Artist Village was shut down for land auction in July 2011.</p>
<p>Image source: Google Maps (2011, Feb 8). <i>Oil Street Artist Village, Hong Kong</i>. Retrieved from https://www.google.com.hk/maps/place/Oi!/@22.28891,114.19383,102a,35y,269.13h,45.63t/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x0:0xdd2437a4a545ae3f!8m2!3d22.2888029!4d114.192961?hl=en</p>	<p>Image source: Google Maps (2011, July 11). <i>Oil Street Artist Village, Hong Kong</i>. Retrieved from https://www.google.com.hk/maps/place/Oi!/@22.28891,114.19383,102a,35y,269.13h,45.63t/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x0:0xdd2437a4a545ae3f!8m2!3d22.2888029!4d114.192961?hl=en</p>


Ironically, adjacent to the demolished ex-Government Supplies Office, a new government art space named *Oi!* (its name chosen because of its similar sound to its address in Cantonese, and alluding to the former artist village) was set up by the government in 2013. The redbrick complex was a Grade II historic building that was home to the Royal Hong Kong Yacht Club in 1908. Under the land reclamation development, the yacht club moved to Kellet Island in Causeway Bay. The old premises served as a garage and the staff quarters of the Government Supplies Department

until 1998. The antiquities office then used it as a storehouse until 2007.

At a cost of HK\$18.9 million, the site was renovated; the windows, doorframes and tiles were preserved.

With the aim of ‘fuel[ling] creativity, imagination and an open dialogue and...inviting diverse communities to experiment freely with contemporary art and culture’ (Official website of *Oi!*), the Hong Kong Visual Arts Centre under Art Promotion Office (APO) of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department organised a number of art exhibitions and culture-related activities in *Oi!* Two galleries, the lawn and outdoor spaces were also reserved for exhibitions and activities.




Although the site is next to the former artist village, the site is now turned into an exhibition space rather than a space for creation. Community engagement is emphasised, through the official website and Facebook page; various activities involving public participation were documented to promote the site.



	
<p>Figure 3.5 The new art space Oi! was located next to the Ex-Government Supplies Office.</p>	<p>Figure 3.6 Oi! at 12 Oil Street – a renovated site for event and art performance</p>
<p>Image source: Google Maps. (2017, November 5). <i>Oi!, Hong Kong</i>. Google. Retrieved from https://www.google.com.hk/maps/place/Oi!/@22.2892853,114.1918222,17.77z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x340401021f6576bb:0xdd2437a4a545ae3f!8m2!3d22.2888033!4d114.1929614?hl=en</p>	<p>Image source: Photo of Oi! from Official website. Retrieved from http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/APO/en_US/web/apo/about_oi.html</p>
	
<p>Figure 3.7 Art exhibition at Oi!</p>	<p>Figure 3.8 The preserved façade of the Royal Hong Kong Yacht Club in 1908 at Oi!</p>
<p>Image source: Photo by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo by the author</p>

Oil Street as an irreplaceable legend

Although the ex-Government Supplies Office at Oil Street was demolished, it became a legend to the tenants and other creative practitioners. The artist village, despite only being in operation for 522 days, was memorialised and the name ‘ex-Government Supplies Office’ was shortened to ‘Oil Street’. In the book *Before and Ever After: 522 Days of Oil Street: Photography by Another mountainman in 12.1999* (2001), the authors remember the good old days at the Oil Street studio. The book is a photographic collection documenting activities from before the closure of the site. The nostalgia towards this site is always evident in discussions of art and cultural development in Hong Kong. For example, duration of residence is carefully counted in terms of days rather than years. As the site formed accidentally, it became the first community-driven mixed mode cluster in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2010). Due to a series of crises, related parties like HKADC urged the Hong Kong government to plan a serious long-term strategy to create similar artist villages. Although the ‘Oil Street Artist Village’ protest did not alter the site’s fate, such a movement made the public aware of the existence of and need for creative space in Hong

Kong. Regarding the management issues of the site, the Oil Street incident provided tenants with valuable experience in running a cultural and creative cluster. With a mix of creative practitioners in various fields giving it its identity or 'public persona' (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2010), it was always recalled as an 'ideal cluster' for creative practitioners. The collection of the Asian Arts Archive (AAA) contains photos by artists who stayed there before the closure. Ample studio space for large-scale creative production (Figure 12), a small library (Figure 11), decorated corridors with displays of art and lighting effects (Figure 10) were desirable features that favoured creative production. In such a working environment, close social ties between the tenants were forged, as was evidenced by self-initiated joint exhibitions. The creative practitioners held a fashion show (Figure 13) and many different exhibitions.

	
<p>Figure 3.9 Visitors waiting outside the studio premises for an exhibition</p>	<p>Figure 3.10 The corridor of the artist village decorated with artworks and lighting</p>
<p>Image source: Photo documentation of Oil Street by Frog King in 1999 (Album from Asian Arts Archive collection)</p>	<p>Image source: Kwok, M. (1999). A photographic album of Frog King's time and work at Oil Street in 1999 including artworks, events and visitors wearing froggy sunglasses. Asian Arts Archive. Retrieved from https://www.aaa.org.hk/en/collection/search/archive/oil-street-archive/object/frog-kings-oil-street-album-number-4-set-of-24-photographs</p>
	
<p>Figure 3.11 Artist Commune's library corner</p>	<p>Figure 3.12 Ample interior space with high ceiling, where large-scale exhibits could be displayed</p>
<p>Image source: Chu, A. (1999). <i>Interior view of Artist Commune library corner</i>. Asian Arts Archive. Retrieved from https://www.aaa.org.hk/en/collection/search/archive/oil-street-archive/object/interior-view-of-artist-commune-library-corner</p>	<p>Image source: Chu, A. (1999). <i>Interior View of an Exhibition Space at Oil Street</i>. Asian Arts Archive. Retrieved from https://www.aaa.org.hk/en/collection/search/archive/oil-street-archive/object/interior-view-of-an-exhibition-space-at-oil-street</p>

ction/search/archive/oil-street- archive/object/artist- communes-library- corner/page/1	llection/search/archive/oil-street- archive/object/interior-view-of-an- exhibition-space-at-oil-street
	
Figure 3.13 A fashion show held in the Oil Street artist village, featuring many visitors and creative practitioners	Figure 3.14 The poster for the joint exhibition with different creative groups at the Oil Street artist village.
Image source: Kwok, M. (1999). Frog King's Oil Street Album from Asian Arts Archive collection	Image source: Kwok, M. (1999). Oil Street Album from Asian Arts Archive collection

3.2.2 The Continually Transitional Settlement at Cattle Depot

(2001-Present)

After the closure of the Oil Street Artist Village in 2000, the Cattle Depot in To Kwa Wan was renovated to house the relocated creative practitioners. The Cattle Depot, originally the Ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot at No. 63 Ma Tau Kok Road in To Kwa Wan, had served as a public slaughterhouse and quarantine depot since 1908. After the construction of a new slaughterhouse at Sheung Shui in 1999, the Cattle Depot was renovated. The Architectural Services Department used

\$23 million to renovate this 1.7-hectare horizontal space. In 2009, the Antiquities Advisory Board recognised the site as a Grade II historic building. The five Arts and Crafts style redbrick blocks, Dutch gable, complex of animal sheds and yards, various rooftops, tapered chimneys and Chinese pan and roll tiled roofs of the row building were retained as architectural features of this long and narrow site. The adaptive reuse of this historical site made it an alternative space for contemporary arts after the closure of the Oil Street Artist Village.

The government's keenness to boost the creative industries and turn the heritage building into a new cultural and creative cluster was evidenced by the considerable budget allotted for renovation. Affordable rents, spacious indoor and outdoor environments and embeddedness within the local community are preferred conditions for practicing creative work. High expectations developed for the formation of a new creative milieu. However, the Cattle Depot could not sustain the creative atmosphere or creative community formed within the Oil Street Artist Village. The Cattle Depot was heavily criticised for lacking vibrancy and offering a meagre livelihood due to its low usage rate and unpopularity. The reasons

for the site's failure to develop fully include (1) an inappropriate physical setting, (2) mixed use of the site, (3) insufficient amenities in the neighbourhood, (4) Vague positioning and (5) its uncertain future.

Historical background of the To Kwa Wan District

The Cattle Depot is situated in the centre of To Kwa Wan, adjacent to Kai Tak District and Kowloon City. According to *Historical cum Social Study on Kowloon City District in Connection with Kai Tak Area* (2009), the history of Kowloon City and To Kwa Wan date back to the late Southern Sung Dynasty. Over 30 historical monuments and memorials can be found in the district, including Sung Wong Toi, the Jin Dynasty Princess Tomb, Hau Wong Temple, Yi Wong Din Village in Kowloon City and To Kwa Wan. Until the Ming and Qing Dynasties, farming and fishing villages were spread around the Kowloon City District. The Kowloon City and To Kwa Wan area was still rural until the early 20th century.

After Kowloon City was leased to the British in 1898, the colonial government began to develop To Kwa Wan and Kowloon City. One

important infrastructural development was the construction of Kai Tak Airport in the 1920s accompanying reclamation work on Kai Tak Bund. During the Second World War, although the streets around the airport were demolished, the Japanese built an additional runway for Kai Tak Airport. After 1945, many immigrants flooded into Hong Kong, and To Kwa Wan and Kowloon City soon became a flourishing district due to the extensive economic and industrial development. To meet the growing residential needs, tenement houses were built along Ma Tau Wai Road, Ma Tau Chung Road, Pak Tai Street, Tam Kung Road and Kowloon City Road. At that time, many factories were built along the To Kwa Wan coast. In 1953, the large-scale Ma Tau Kok Gas Plant was built on Ma Tau Kok Road, marking the beginning of industrialisation in To Kwa Wan and Kowloon City. The district soon became a mixed residential and industrial area as economic conditions improved. Light manufacturing such as plastics, silk screen printing and textiles were the major industries of the area.

After the closure of a great number of textile and plastic factories in the 1980s, To Kwa Wan's industrial era faded out and it became an old

district with an aging population. 17.4% of the population in the Kai Tai Area was over 60, according to census statistics from 2011. The median monthly domestic household rent was HK\$4,400 in the area, which was an affordable rental rate for the grassroots. Statistics show that the median monthly income of the working population was HK\$12,000. A considerable number of ethnic minorities (Indian, Pakistan, Filipino and Indonesian) settled down in the To Kwa Wan district; around 5.2% of residents were non-Chinese. At the same time, since 1997 over 12,000 sq. ft. of old residential areas have been redeveloped and turned into luxury private housing estates like the Sky Tower and Grand Waterfront.

	
<p>Figure 3.15 The location of <i>Cattle Depot Artist Village</i>. It is situated in the local district opposite the well-known ‘13 Streets’ (a concentration of automobile repair shops).</p>	<p>Figure 3.16 Map generated by West Kowloon Cultural District Authority and Hong Kong Arts Development Council indicating the Cattle Depot Artist Village site</p>

<p>Image source: Google Maps (2017, November 11). <i>Cattle Depot Artist Village</i>, Hong Kong. Google. Retrieved from https://www.google.com.hk/maps/place/Cattle+Depot+Artist+Village/@22.3211572,114.191346,17.93z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x34040129dfe42237:0x5717f32bbd140837!8m2!3d22.320838!4d114.191563?hl=en</p>	<p>Image source: West Kowloon Cultural District Authority (2017). Retrieved from http://www.westkowloon.hk/media/source/leekit-map.jpg</p>
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Immediate surroundings of Cattle Depot

Cattle Depot has a unique spatial quality which is different from other cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, as it is geographically embedded in the local community. Several reports have mentioned the significance of community engagement and have assumed that the site has close links with the local neighbourhood. Situated in To Kwa Wan district, Cattle Depot is located within the neighbourhood. Opposite to Cattle Depot is the well-known ‘13 Streets’ (11 alleys named after animals considered auspicious in Chinese culture) (Figure 15), which consists of low-cost housing built in 1958-1961. Due to the proximity of the old Kai Tak Airport in Kowloon City, building height was restricted in To Kwa Wan district; buildings built in the 1960s were only permitted

up to 5 to 7 storeys. Small shops, local stores and over 200 automobile repair garages are situated at the foot of the residential blocks.

Although the Cattle Depot Artist Village was a much better location than the former public slaughterhouse, which featured unpleasant odours and annoying noise, the artist village had not built up a close relationship with the immediate neighbourhood. Development was highly restricted for reasons of hazard prevention. The site was situated in the aging neighbourhood of To Kwa Wan District, next to the Ma Tau Kwok Road Refuse Collection Point, Ma Tau Kwok Road Public Toilet and Bath House. Just opposite Cattle Depot, a large-scale gas plant was situated; pedestrian flow needed to be carefully controlled. The site was also surrounded by several unappealing community facilities; aside from special events or workshops, few visitors came to the site on a daily basis. In addition, Ma Tau Kok Road featured heavy daytime traffic. The main entrance of the Cattle Depot was next to a one-way road with a bus stop and over 200 automobile repair shops nearby (Figure 19). The heavy traffic had a negative effect on foot traffic around the site. Pedestrian

accessibility was limited by the road infrastructure and the management of the site (Figure 20).

	
<p>Figure 3.17 Heavy traffic outside the Cattle Depot</p>	<p>Figure 3.18 Limited pedestrian accessibility</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>
	
<p>Figure 3.19 Over 200 automobile repair shops located at the '13 Streets' opposite the Cattle Depot.</p>	<p>Figure 3.20 Fences outside the site setting an unfriendly tone for visitors and neighbours</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>

According to Landry (2005), a creative milieu is only possible with the presence of both hard and soft infrastructure. For hard infrastructure,

Cattle Depot is located in a rather isolated district in terms of accessibility.

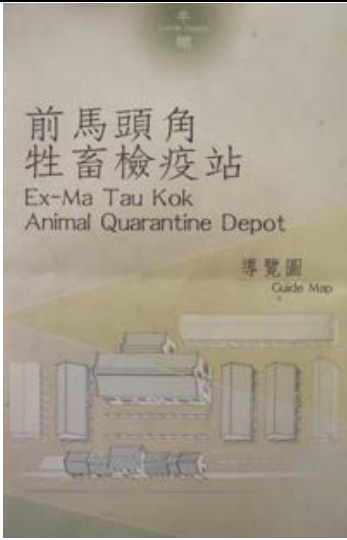

The public transportation network was undeveloped, as there was no MTR station nearby until the completion of the Shatin Central link. Other public transportation options were limited, as few busses or minibusses served the To Kwa Wan district. If people drove to Cattle Depot, no parking lot was available in the surrounding area. Soft infrastructure like cafés and bars was not to be found in the district. Mainly local stores and old shops could be found in the area (Figure 21). The lack of places to hang out before or after visiting Cattle Depot meant that people would only come to the site for specific purposes, such as participating in events or attending a class. The drawbacks of the geographical location and the lack of related amenities hamper the formation of a creative milieu in this creative cluster.

	
<p>Figure 3.21 Older persons sitting and chatting casually outside the shop opposite the Cattle Depot</p>	<p>Figure 3.22 Locals drying their clothes (even underwear) on fences next to the pavement</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>

Unclear future of Cattle Depot

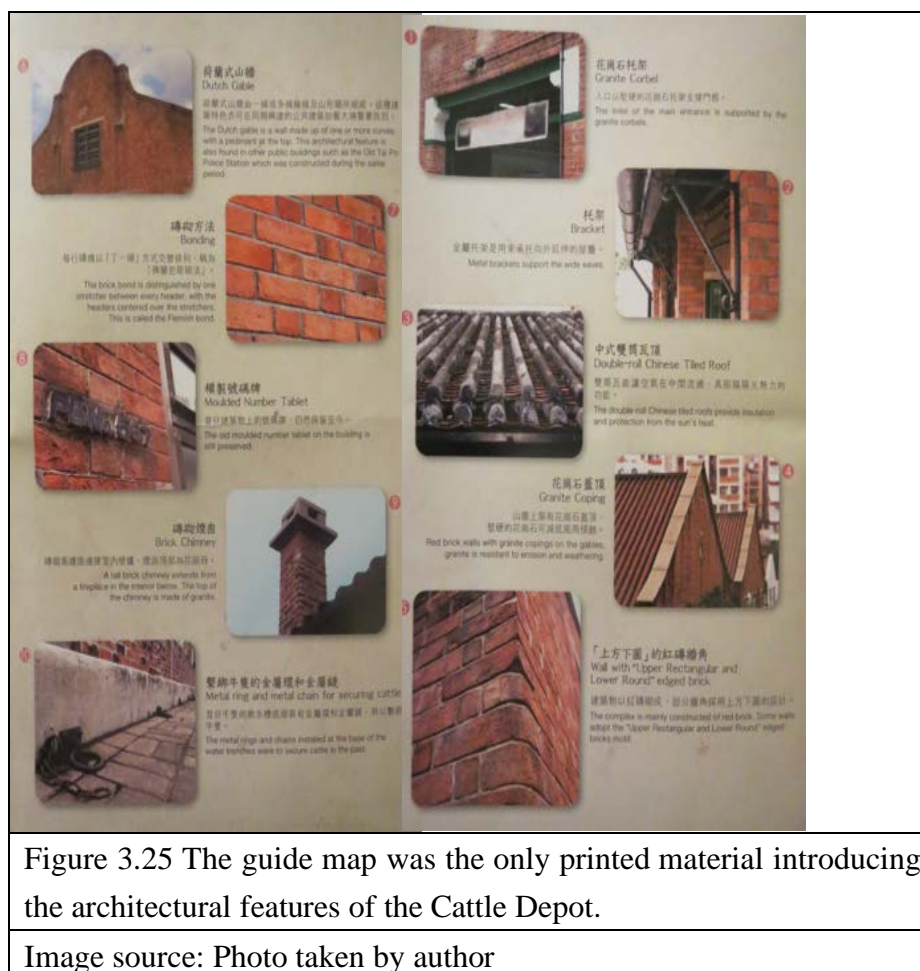
With respect to the unique typology of Cattle Depot, the lack of a long-term development plan is of high concern for creative practitioners. Clearly, the Hong Kong government did not have a clear vision for the development of Cattle Depot. This ignorance is evident in the site's confusion of function and identity. For example, as the site was originally for relocating artists from the Oil Street Artist Village, the artist studio and theatre venue were well received. In 2006, the Arts Development Council (ADC) proposed turning Cattle Depot into a performing arts space by relocating all artists to the newly developed art space Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC). This proposal was rejected by the

tenants, and most of them stayed on the premises. Regarding its rich historical background, Cattle Depot was different from other cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. The adaptive use of a heritage building was a new approach in developing a cluster which could provide added value to the site. However, both the historical significance and practical use of the site were underestimated. The name ‘Artist Village’ could not be found on the guide map or the notice board at the entrance.

	
<p>Figure 3.23 The guide map, which named the site Ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot instead of the Cattle Depot or Artist Village</p>	<p>Figure 3.24 Neither ‘art’ or ‘artist village’ could be found in the signage at the Cattle Depot entrance</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>

(i) Adaptive use of heritage

Although the site was recognised as a Grade II historical building, its historical significance was seldom mentioned. In the To Kwa Wan district and the Kowloon City district, there was no clear marker to show the location of the site. Similarly, no signs concerning architecture details could be found inside Cattle Depot. The only proper guide, with the title *Ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot* (rather than Cattle Depot Artist Village), was placed on the display rack juxtaposed with other promotional leaflets. Visitors could not learn about the historical value and adaptive reuse of Cattle Depot.



(ii) Inappropriate physical set up

Although the government spent considerable resources to renovate the site, the facilities were not suitable for a cultural and creative cluster. The site had relatively little housing for creative practitioners, as there were fewer than 20 standard units available at the site. Such a limited number of units could hardly lead to a significant art scene. Kong (2011) further highlighted several practical difficulties in using the heritage building as a creative space. Tenants had to make many modifications to fully utilise

the space. For example, although the site was intended to provide an experimental platform for artists, lighting, audio and stage controls had to be installed to allow it to be used as a theatre with a 60- to 80-seat capacity. Partitions had to be put between units to prevent rainwater leakage.

(iii) Unofficial Artist Village

After the demise of the Oil Street Artist Village in 2000, Cattle Depot was intended to serve as its formal replacement for artists and creative practitioners. The site was well received as an artist village by creative practitioners and the public. In the map published by District Council Electoral Boundaries – Kowloon City District (2011), ‘Cattle Depot Artist Village’ could be clearly found. Promotional materials such as ads and maps for an art exhibition held by the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority and Hong Kong Arts Development Council in 2014 clearly showed the venue as *Cattle Depot Artist Village*. The acronym of the Cattle Depot Artist Village, CDAV, was even used in a report commissioned by the Development Bureau, *Research on Future Development of Artists Village in Cattle Depot* (2011). However, the site

was known as the Ex-Ma Tau Kok Cattle Depot rather than as an artist village in the service contract offered by the government. A proper sign with the name *Cattle Depot Artist Village* could neither be found at the entrance nor anywhere inside the site. In 2009, one tenant put a banner in Chinese saying *Cattle Depot Artist Village* at the main entrance. The management required the banner to be removed, as any banner displayed outside the premises required prior approval by the Government Property Agency. No permanent banner or signage was allowed (Figure 26).



Figure 3.26 No proper name or signage could be found at the entrance of Cattle Depot.

Image source: Photo taken by author

(iv) Management issues

Lack of a formal name for the site not only hindered its identification, but implied a vague position and confused vision. Several management issues therefore arose. The strict management by the Government Property Agency (GPA) was heavily criticised by users. Before 2010, the site was not open to the public, as Cattle Depot was a private place in the view of the estate management; only visitors with the consent of the tenants could enter the unit. The opening hours of Cattle Depot were restricted to 10 am to 10 pm. Visitors were forbidden to take photos or wander in the open spaces at the Cattle Depot so as not to disturb tenants. Moreover, it was impossible to hold regular large-scale events, as the site could only apply for temporary permits for one-off events rather than having a permanent Public Entertainment License, due to the lack of proper lighting, fire safety equipment, emergency exit and hygiene facilities. The GPA was very strict about the use of open space; tenants were not allowed to put anything, even plants or chairs, outside their premises unless permission was granted by the estate management. Even for the Cattle Depot Sue Yuen (2001-2003) short-term evening courses on art, literature and philosophy, students had to line up at the entrance

for their ID cards to be checked. As was reported by the Director of Cattle Depot Sue Yuen, Leung Man Dao (2009), occasionally students had missed half the class by the time they were admitted.

Although the unreasonable behaviour of management stopped after the handover in 2011, the damage had been done; the resulting bad publicity discouraged the public from visiting the site. To facilitate internal growth and increase the public accessibility of the cultural and creative cluster, site management of Cattle Depot was transferred from the Government Property Agency (GPA) to the Development Bureau. The site was finally officially opened to the public in 2011.

Community building

According to Kong (2011), two dimensions of social existence must be considered: the internal dynamics among tenants in the cluster and their relationship with the society and community beyond (p. 4). There were thus two forms of community in the area: the community formed within the cluster and the community between the tenants and neighbourhood.

(i) Formation of creative community inside Cattle Depot



There were several persistent issues at the site due to differences in expectations between individual tenants and organisation tenants. Due to different financial resources, funding sources and use of space, there were different opinions resulting in diverse perspectives towards the nature and role of the site.

A study conducted by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (2010) questioned the possibility of synergies and collaboration within the cluster, as many tenants were not satisfied with the way others used the space (e.g., using the space as storage or making little use of it). Due to the rejection of new tenants after the departure of tenants, subletting occurred. This unofficial practice made interactions between tenants even worse. Without site manager, like the caretaker of the Foo Tak building and Easy Pack Creative Precinct, to balance different expectations and settle disturbances among tenants, it was difficult to establish mutual trust and identity.

However, there was one occasion when the tenants unified and developed a strong sense of belonging. In May 2002, the Cattle Depot Artist Village Management Committee was created to arrange a large-scale public event for connecting Cattle Depot and the community. The First Cattle Depot Arts Festival (2002) was the first programme initiated by tenants. However, the committee dissolved after the Second Cattle Depot Arts Festival (2003) due to conflicts between tenants. Large-scale events from 2003 to 2006 (the annual Cattle Depot Book Festival) were organised by only two institutional tenants.

When a proposal was made by ADC to make Cattle Depot a performing space, the group Cattle Depot Artist Village G5 was formed in 2006 to express discontent with the new proposal. The G5 comprised five organisational tenants including two visual arts groups, two theatre groups and one multimedia group. Later the group was renamed the Cattle Depot Arts Festival Association, and was responsible for organising the art festival, setting up a committee to oversee the management of the artist village and securing collective grants for large-scale activities. However, little collaboration between tenants occurred

and the static composition of the tenants did not produce effective synergies. As Kwok (2011) stated, the sense of community and identity was partial and periodic; collaboration only occurred whenever tenants faced crises or management issues. Daily and casual interactions, not to mention the occurrence of creativity, were infrequent.

	
<p>Figure 3.27 Few visitors or tenants could be seen at Cattle Depot.</p>	<p>Figure 3.28 Despite ample public space in the site, little interaction occurred between tenants.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by author</p>

(ii) **Formation of community between Cattle Depot and the immediate neighbourhood**

The study conducted by the Centre for Architectural Heritage Research (2009) pointed out that ‘The art organizations are flexible to rent flats nearby such as 13 streets buildings to meet AIR artist needs’ (p. 46). Similarly, as Kong (2011) noted, the relationship between Cattle Depot

and the surrounding community was unhealthy. The demographic of the neighbourhood might not be the reason for the formation of harmonious community. Even the Depot Art Festivals and the Cattle Depot Book Fairs (2003-2006) gained positive publicity from media and a strong public response. The average number of visitors in the Cattle Depot Book Festival was 1,893 visitors per day (p. 88). As was stated in *Research on Future Development of Artist Village in Cattle Depot* (2010), 'engagement with the public is NOT a primary function of artist village' (p. ii/p. 11). The possibility of turning Cattle Depot into a community arts hub was mentioned in the annual report of the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC); however, many creative practitioners preferred a quiet work space without disturbance. Not many artists welcome visitors, though some premises may be open annually to the public or for special occasions. For example, only one unit opened its doors during Art Basel May 2014. Many premises were closed most of the time, giving the site an unwelcoming atmosphere.

Uncertain future of the site

After a short stay at the Cheung Sha Wan slaughterhouse (1999-2001), 32 creative practitioners (six arts organisations and ten individual artists) moved from Oil Street Artist Village to Cattle Depot to continue their artistic creation. The five redbrick buildings housed galleries, artist studios and theatre space. However, this transplantation did not provide creative practitioners with a stable environment. After the first three-year lease given to all tenants, only 15 out of 19 units at the site were given a one-year lease, while others were given a three-month lease, which they had to renew on a quarterly basis.

Due to the uncertain direction of development, the Home Affairs Bureau would not extend the leases. This practice discouraged creative work in a number of ways; for example, it was impossible for tenants to submit proposals or seek funding for long-term development, as they were not sure if their studio or art group would still be at Cattle Depot after three months. Even after the handover of site management to the Development Bureau in 2011, no clear future could be projected. The eight vacant units were only available for short-term lease till 2017 (Figure 3.29).

The official website of *Conserve and Revitalise Hong Kong Heritage* (2012) reported that the Development Bureau (DEVB) had long-term plans to rejuvenate Cattle Depot. It highlighted ‘a more flexible management of Cattle Depot to facilitate its organic growth and increase public accessibility. This would involve a greater accessibility to the site, so as to ensure more public participation, enjoyment and appreciation of the historic site.’

Aside from the shift in management, the government approved a one-off grant of \$100 million for each District Council to carry out signature projects in the 2013 Policy Address. The Kowloon City District council followed up and proposed to develop the underused backyard adjunct to the front portion of Cattle Depot. The District Council proposed both work and non-work elements should be incorporated in the rear portion of Cattle Depot. An arts and culture seating area, lawn and related ancillary facilities should be constructed on the site, while non-work elements like community involvement (art-related activities including workshops and exhibitions) and publicity (public activities with collaboration with NGOs) should be included.

The Urban Renewal plan for Kowloon City and the opening of mass railway Shatin to Central Link (SCL) MTR and To Kwa Wan station, originally planned for completion in 2015, could greatly alter the ecology of the local community and neighbourhood. Because of the updated transportation system and urban renewal, gentrification began to emerge in the old To Kwa Wan district.

3.2.3 From Centralised to Scattered Industrial Buildings (2000s–Present)

Since the economic restructuring of the 1990s, the manufacturing industry in Hong Kong has gradually wound down. A great number of factories closed and relocated to the Mainland. Many industrial buildings were left empty. These vacancies created possibilities for creative practitioners who were much in need of space to set up their studios. Cheap rent, flexible management and ample space meant that a huge number of creative practitioners settled in industrial buildings. Several industrial areas turned into an agglomeration of cultural and creative clusters. The Fotan, Chai Wan, Kwun Tong and Wong Chuk Hang

industrial areas are cases in point. Different clusters gradually developed, each with its own identity and positioning. For example, many art-based practitioners concentrated in the Fotan industrial area while the Chai Wan industrial area mainly housed art studios and photography studios. To gain publicity, some sites like Fotan industrial area (Figure 30) and Chai Wan industrial area (Figure 31) had an annual open doors day to welcome visitors.



Figure 3.30 *The Fotan Open Studio* was held annually for art-lovers to visit artists' studios.

Image source: Photo taken by author



Among the cultural and creative clusters that organically agglomerated in different industrial areas, Kwun Tong was one of the largest creative clusters in Hong Kong. Its many art/design studios, production houses, galleries, retail shops, performance venues and cafes turned Kwun Tong into a creative hub. Many industrial buildings built in the 1960s and 1970s are currently actively in use. The premises have helped nurture Hong Kong's cultural and creative industries. In 2011, 4.5% of establishments in Kwun Tong belonged to the publishing, media, multi-

media and creative and performing arts industries or specialised in design, which are the fifth major industry in Kwun Tong (*Survey on business establishments in Kowloon East*, 2011). It is worth noting that low occupancy / operational cost (60.8%), availability of suitable premises / ability to meet floor space requirements (60.7%), good accessibility to local public transport and parking facilities / convenient location (36.2%) are the top six reasons that people set up their work space in Kwun Tong.

Kwun Tong is located in the eastern part of the Kowloon Peninsula. It is 1,130 hectares in area and has a population of 627,800, which is about 8.8% of Hong Kong's overall population (Official website of Kwun Tong District Council, 2013). In 1953, the first industrial satellite town was developed in Kwun Tong, which was one of the oldest manufacturing areas in Hong Kong. According to *Survey on Business Establishments in Kowloon East* (2011), Kwun Tong is still an active industrial area: 77% of the buildings (out of 19,396 establishments) are used for industrial purposes. In 2009, the Hong Kong government proposed new measures to redevelop vacant and under-utilised industrial buildings. A land administration policy was introduced to optimise the use of industrial

buildings. Recognising the value of old industrial buildings, landlords either raised rents sharply or applied for redevelopment than continued to lease out units to creative practitioners. Kwun Tong was one of the most affected areas in Hong Kong during this wave of urban redevelopment.

Uncertain future under the Urban Renewal Project

The district is currently experiencing another drastic change. Apart from the bullishness of the property market since 2012, the Kwun Tong Town Centre project (KTTC) is the redevelopment projects announced by the Land Development Corporation in 1998. The project became the “largest single project undertaken by the Urban Renewal Authority (URA)”. (Official website of URA) due to its scale and number of affected property interests and households. Kwun Tong became one of the redevelopment district with lots of changes. Also , the Energizing Kowloon East Office was set up in 2012 to coordinate the development of Kowloon East area. Kwun Tong was one of the important area in the Kowloon East . Under the redevelopment project and further development of the Kowloon East area, the industrial lands in Kwun

Tong would be redeveloped for commercial use and Grade A office premises for building another CBD of Hong Kong. To show the new identity of Kwun Tong, the government even changed the name from *Kwun Tong Industrial District* to *Kwun Tong Business Area*, which marked a milestone in its redevelopment. It is not surprising that gentrification soon occurred, and many creative practitioners could not afford soaring rents after conservation; they either waited to be expelled or moved to a new studio space on the periphery. Clearly, the cluster may experience another shift after the completion of revitalisation.

Figure 3.32 Location of Cultural and Creative Clusters in Hong Kong



No.	Cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong	Location
1.	Oil Street Artist Village (demolished)	North Point
2.	Cattle Depot Artist Village	To Kwa Wan
3.	Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC)	Shek Kip Mei
4.	InnoCentre	Kowloon Tong
5.	Foo Tak Building	Wan Chai
6.	Easy-Pack Creative Precinct	Kwun Tong
7.	ADC Arts Space	Aberdeen
8.	Fo Tan industrial area	Fo Tan
9.	Chai Wan industrial area	Chai Wan
10.	Kwun Tong industrial area	Kwun Tong
11.	San Po Kong industrial area	San Po Kong
12.	Wong Chuk Hang industrial area	Wong Chuk Hang
13.	Ap Lei Chau industrial area	Ap Lei Chau
14.	Tsuen Wan industrial area	Tsuen Wan
15.	Fashion Farm Foundation	Lai Chi Kok
16.	Police Married Quarters (PMQ)	Central
17.	West Kowloon Cultural District (not yet opened)	West Kowloon

Table 3 Timeline of cultural and creative cluster development in

Hong Kong

Year	Event	Cluster involved
1997	Economic downturn in Hong Kong	Fo Tan industrial area
	Art studio set up in Fo Tan factory blocks	
1998	The ex-Government Supplies Office was transformed into studio spaces with several exhibitions and events	Oil Street Artist Village
	Tenants were informed that their leases would not be renewed due to the increasing number of visitors	
	The leases were renewed on monthly terms	
1999	The announcement of restoration of land auction	Chai Wan industrial area
	‘Save Oil Street’ was held to gain public attention	
	Graduates of the Hong Kong Arts School set up their studio in Chai Wan	
2000	Extended deadline of evacuation of Oil Street	Oil Street Artist Village
	Relocation of tenants from Oil Street Artist Village to Cattle Depot	Cattle Depot
	Artists and bands started renting studios in Kwun Tong	Kwun Tong
2001	Official opening of Cattle Depot (November)	Cattle Depot
	Retired art Professor Lui Chun Kwong was the one of the first artists to come to Fotan and set up the ‘Yilau Painting Factory’ in 2001.	Fo Tan industrial area
2002	The first open day of Chai Wan Studio (graduation show of the Hong Kong Arts School)	Chai Wan industrial area
	The First Cattle Depot Arts Festival	Cattle Depot
2003	The first open day of Fo Tan Studio	Fo Tan industrial area
	The First Cattle Depot Book Festival	Cattle Depot
	An anonymous philanthropist leased his property (Fu Tak building), in which an artist village was set up	Fu Tak building

2004	Osage Kwun Tong gallery opened (shift of art gallery from Central to Kwun Tong district)	Kwun Tong industrial area
2006	Kwun Tong Studios opened to public	Kwun Tong industrial area
	Opening of InnoCentre and start of Design Incubation Programme (DIP)	InnoCentre
2008	JCCAC Artist Village opened	JCCAC
2009	Hidden Agenda opened at Kwun Tong	Kwun Tong industrial area
	Revitalization of Industrial Buildings in Hong Kong (Policy Address 2009-2010)	
2014	PMQ opened	Central

3.3 Development of Cultural and Creative Policies – More of a Hindrance than a Help?

As a source of revenue and a strategy to improve urban vitality, the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) have become a popular policy focus around the world. Policies play a fundamental role in the coordination and development of creative industries in cities. In general, academic discussion on creative policies has mainly focussed on their economic benefits (Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Cunningham & Higgs, 2009; Tafel-Viia, Viia & Terk, 2014) or the urban development context (Comunian, 2011; Grodach, 2012; Landry, 2012; Scott, 2006). Due to the complexities of creative clusters in practice, the relationship between

government policy and creative clusters deserves further empirical investigation. The relationship between policies and creative practitioners' needs should be examined in detail. There is an assumption that creative industries prosper with government support, and similar logic has been followed in many different cities. For example, many governments provide cheap rental space for start-ups. Especially in densely populated cities where land is a scarce and valuable resource, the setup of creative clusters has a significant impact on urban planning and policies, as land and resources will be allocated to establish clusters. For example, the Hong Kong government has dedicated enormous resources to promoting the creative industries, and placed creative policy high on its agenda. Since the 2000s, five large-scale official creative clusters have been established due to general agreement on the economic benefits of the creative industries. These creative clusters are located at the city centre and are part of urban renewal projects. According to Tang (2016), the Hong Kong government 'praised urban renewal as an avenue to foster these (creative) industries' (p. 157).

The provision of resources is important in developing creative clusters, but it is not the only factor. Without a thorough understanding of creative practitioners' needs, state-led creativity and top-down creative policies may arouse frustration and even counter-responses among the creative class towards authority (Luger, 2017). Therefore, we argue that a well-balanced plan that considers the real needs of practitioners is the key to success. In this study, we analyse Hong Kong's creative industry policy and its historical development. We can see that the development of creative clusters becomes an important factor in directing urban planning. This study focusses on the effect of creative policies on creative clusters and examines creative practitioners' needs. Echoing Goldberg-Miller and Heimlich (2017), we will argue that understanding the expectations and needs of creative practitioners can provide insights for policymakers and scholars into how to make a successful creative space.

Historical development of creative industry policy in Hong Kong

As Hong Kong is an international financial centre, the development of creative industry policy there has been closely entwined with economic concerns. The history of policy development is summarised in Figure 2.

The cultural and creative clusters emerged in Hong Kong in part because of the property market. Because of the city's limited land area and high land price policy, property prices are among the highest in the world (Shay, 2009). As a result, the market heavily restricted the use of space. Apart from traditional cultural infrastructure such as museums, town halls and libraries, the government did not pay attention to the development of cultural and creative clusters until it recognised the economic value of the cultural and creative industries.

In 1997, the Asian financial crisis and collapse of the property bubble meant that commercial and residential real estate values dropped sharply. To stimulate the property market, the government stopped all land auctions. At the same time, the Government Supplies Office on Oil Street was relocated and the premises were not assigned to new occupants. As we have seen, the building briefly became an artist village from 1998 to 2000 after creative practitioners flocked to the building to set up their studios. In 2001 many were relocated to the renovated Cattle Depot, the former Ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot.

The government began to recognise the potential economic benefits of the creative industries. In 2002, the Hong Kong Design Centre opened. Funded by the government and the Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust, the Centre was a key milestone for the creative industries and became closely involved in creative industry policy.

The term ‘Creative Industries’ first appeared in *Policy Address 2003* (Policy Address 2003-2004), and since then the Hong Kong government has shown a determination to develop the creative industries in several ways. For example, it commissioned several consultation projects to build an understanding of the background and operation of the creative industries. The *Baseline Study on Hong Kong’s Creative Industries* (2003) and *A Study on Creative Index* (2005) are cases in point.

In the *Policy Address 2005*, the ‘Cultural and Creative Industries’ were identified as a new economic focus. The term ‘cultural and creative industries’ replaced ‘creative industries’ as a better way to conceptualise the scope of policy direction. With government funding, the Design Incubation Programme (DIP) began in 2006. This programme aimed to

nurture design start-ups at InnoCentre after the relocation of the Hong Kong Design Centre. The Hong Kong government actively promoted the creative industries alongside the traditional four pillar industries. In 2009, cultural and creative industries (CCIs) were recognised as one of the six industries of Hong Kong, and Create Hong Kong was established as a dedicated office to coordinate government policy and boost the development of creative industries in Hong Kong. The office had a vision of ‘build[ing] Hong Kong into a regional creative capital’ (Create Hong Kong, 2009), and the government provided it with a significant budget every year. From the official website of Create HK, it clearly shows the strategic directions for the development of the creative industries, focussing on seven areas including: (1) nurturing a pool of creative human capital which will form the backbone of our creative economy;(2) facilitating start-ups and development of creative establishments; (3) generating demand for innovation and creativity and expanding local market size for creative industries;(4) promoting creative industries on the Mainland and overseas to help explore outside markets;(5) fostering a creative atmosphere within the community; (6) developing creative clusters in the territory to generate synergy and facilitate exchanges;

and(7) promoting Hong Kong as Asia's creative capital.(official website of Create HK).

To establish Hong Kong as 'Asia's creative hub' (*Policy Address*, 2012), the Hong Kong Government designated 2012 the 'Hong Kong Design Year'. With financial support from the government, the Hong Kong Design Centre hosted a number of large-scale international events.

The Hong Kong government has continued to pour resources into the creative industries. It established the Create Smart initiative with \$300 million in funding. This initiative was one of the most significant items in the Policy Address; the government injected an additional \$300 million into it in 2013 and 2014 and \$400 million in 2016.

The government has provided significant funding and space to the DIP since its inception in 2006. The government highlighted this programme in the 2015 and 2016 policy addresses. In *Policy Address 2015*, the government stated that it was 'expanding the Design Incubation Programme', and in its 2016 address it outlined its 'Plan to increase the

admission quotas of the Design Incubation Programme’ and to ‘launch the new fashion incubation programme’.



Figure 3.33 Timeline of milestones in creative policy in Hong Kong

Market-driven policies

Due to the unique political context and history of Hong Kong, its cultural policies have been closely connected to its political-economic development. The British colonial government before 1997 featured laissez faire governance (Ho 2017) or so-called ‘no cultural policy’. This policy framework was ‘established by the British colonial government since it colonised Hong Kong in 1842’ (Ooi, 1995, p. 237). The result has been a situation where the Hong Kong government has lacked long-term planning for cultural policy. It has relied on ad-hoc remedies whenever any problem or issue has arisen.

In fact, when approaching the handover of sovereignty in 1997, the British colonial government did not pay much attention to cultural development. For example, apart from traditional cultural infrastructure (museums, town halls, libraries, etc.), the government allocated few resources to supporting cultural and creative clusters. The Government Supplies Office in Oil Street, the first cultural and creative cluster, was formed and ended by happenstance. In a study of Hong Kong's cultural and creative policies, Ho refers to a 'checks-and-balances' cultural policy model (Ho, 2017) to emphasise that responsibility for cultural administration was typically divided among many departments. The government set up different offices and organisations to take care of cultural development: Urban Council (1953), the Council for the Performing Arts (1982) and HKADC (1995). According to Ho (2017), this division was a political strategy adopted by the British Hong Kong government and the two main units taking care of cultural affairs (HKADC and the Urban Council). However, these units had different understandings of 'culture'. For HKADC, culture refers to high art, while the Urban Council interprets culture as something related to individual lifestyles. The co-existence of these two bodies has neither provided clear

direction in cultural governance nor supported the holistic cultural development of Hong Kong. In Ho's sense, the claim that 'Hong Kong is a cultural desert' is understandable given such confusion in cultural policies.

Despite the significant influence of the political environment on cultural policies, the economic situation has led policy development in a centralised market direction (Ho, 2017; Tang, 2017). The transfer of sovereignty in 1997 was a remarkable time for Hong Kong, but a series of financial crises – the Asian financial crisis in 1998, the burst of the dot-com bubble in 1999 and the harsh hit on the economy in 2003 due to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak – made the government pay closer attention to the cultural and creative industries. The government needed to revitalise the economy as soon as possible by developing a knowledge-based economy.

Following the first definition of the creative industries in the UK in 1997, the Hong Kong government began to highlight their importance. In 1999, HKADC first proposed the notion of creative industries. The government

began to realise their potential for generating significant economic benefits. It defined 11 components of the *cultural and creative industries* based on the UK approach, but confused the notions of *cultural and creative industries* and *creative industries*; these two terms became interchangeable in public policy discourse. In Hong Kong, the classification of (Cultural and Creative Industries) CCI base on the *Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries* (2003) undertaken by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research of the University of Hong Kong in 2002-2003 commissioned by the Central Policy Unit of Hong Kong Government. It defines cultural and creative industries as "a group of economic activities that exploit and deploy creativity, skill and intellectual property to produce and distribute products and services of social and cultural meaning - a production system through which the potentials of wealth generation and job creation are realized." (p.22) This report classifies cultural and creative industries into 11 sectors. However, the evolving definition of cultural and creative industries in Hong Kong illustrated the policy or even political concern. The situation echoed with Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) that the shift of terminology is more than semantics but highly political. As stated by Hui (2007) that the term

'creative industries' was firstly used by the Hong Kong Government officially in its Policy Address of 2003. Several measures and policies have been announced in the subsequent annual Policy Addresses until January 2005. The research report *A Study on creativity index* (HAB & CCPR, 2005) was published. Considering the research result, the name of 'creative industries' was changed to 'cultural and creative industries' for considering the differences between "the primarily British 'creative industries' concept and the already prevalent term 'cultural industries' adopted in Mainland China". (p.26) However, after the stepping down of Mr. Tung in March 2005, the importance of promoting the cultural and creative industries was only reiterated at the end of the Policy address with less pushing this policy agenda. Due to the historical background of Hong Kong, the term not only refers to the industries' classification, but the association of content and even political concern also considered. In 2009, the cultural and creative industries were recognised as being among the six industries of Hong Kong, and a dedicated office, Create Hong Kong, was set up for coordinating government policies and boosting the development of the creative industries in Hong Kong.

The development of art and culture is no longer the focus of government policies due to the weak ability to generate economic revenue. As Ho (2017) has observed, government funding was mostly allocated to the creative industries rather than cultural and arts activities. In 2014, the government formally used the term *creative industries* rather than *cultural and creative industries* in its policy address. This action shows the government's strong determination to include the creative industries in its political agenda.

3.4 The influences of Mainland China on Cultural and Creative Clusters in Hong Kong

Regarding the close relationship between Mainland China and Hong Kong after 1997, the development of creative industries and creative policies had significant influences on both policy and practice in Hong Kong. Mainland China also adopted the CCIs as urban development strategies, and the proliferation of cultural and creative clusters could be found in many cities and provinces. Actually, the State government

made reference to Hong Kong regarding the classification of creative industries. (Hui, 2006) Due to the political situation, Mainland China actually led the development direction of Hong Kong in terms of the cultural and creative industries as well as the cluster development.

The influence on creative and cultural policies

The study of Hui (2006) recorded that the notion of 'Creative industries' was firstly used in Policy Address 2003. However, the Beijing officials showed interested in this notion after the first international conference on creativity industries held in Beijing. After the Beijing official read the *Baseline study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries* (2003), Beijing government commissioned Centre for Cultural Policy Research to conduct the "Study on Cultural and Creative Industries for Chaoyang District, Beijing" in 2005. After the completion of research, some senior officials have reservations about the use of word 'creative' in association with cultural industries in the research report , but finally the term 'cultural and creative industries' was accepted as the report title in both the Chinese and English versions. The term 'cultural and creative

industries' then became the official use in Mainland China. In 2006, it was announced that Beijing would promote cultural and creative industries as the pillar development of Beijing. (Hui, 2006, p.318) As part of China, Hong Kong followed the development direction of the State government. The cultural and creative industries became one of the six industries of Hong Kong.

Even though Hong Kong and China employed the term 'cultural and creative industries', the developmental focus and marketing positioning of cultural and creative industries was different. According to the study of Center for Cultural Policy Research (2006), Hong Kong refers CCIs as "a group of economic activities" and "a production system through which the potentials of wealth generation and job creation are realized."

However, the case was very different in Mainland China that "Cultural activities that are non-economic or non-productive, as well as manufacturing industries with very low creative added value, are not included within the CCIs. The Mainland China, however, stresses "cultural activities and entertainment products and services for the public" and does not separate public cultural services from cultural

industry production systems. Hence their classification of cultural and related industries is even broader, including news, heritage and cultural protection, library, archive, mass cultural services, sports and leisure, even stationery, photographic equipment, musical instrument, toys, game equipment, paper, film and negatives, magnetic" (p.6)

Economic exchange of Hong Kong and Mainland China

After the announcement of the implementation of cultural and creative policies, the Pearl River Delta region put the cultural and creative industries into the development agenda. As the State government welcomed the Hong Kong business to invest in certain industries areas like printing, design, and entertainment, but not the sensitive industries like television or publishing. Hong Kong capital became essential to support the development of cultural and creative industries of the region. Meanwhile, due to the geographical proximity, it was possible to allow the creative practitioners to have one-day business trips to the Pearl River Delta. Many Hong Kong businessmen set up their business of cultural

and entertainment products at the Pearl River Delta. They employed the Hong Kong designers as well.

Besides, some large scale cultural and creative clusters in Beijing and Shanghai had the involvement of Hong Kong creative practitioners in planning . For example, the Bridge 8 in Shanghai was one of the signature cultural and creative clusters in Shanghai . More than 70 creative companies from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Japan, USA and Italy could be found in the site. The Bridge 8 project was planned and invested by both Shanghai and Hong Kong companies. The site now became “a landmark for creativity of Shanghai and even China.”(Official website of Information Office of Shanghai Municipality).

The new geographical position of Hong Kong

With the expansion of the cultural and creative industries in the Pearl River Delta, the relationship between the Mainland and Hong Kong was very close. Due to the geographic proximity, it was common for the creative practitioners in Hong Kong to have a one-day business trip to

China. The Hong Kong government tied-in the cultural and creative policies with the State policies and development direction. In Policy Address 2017, the Hong Kong Government would implement the 'Belt and Road Initiative' and the new concept 'Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Bay Area', in order to realize "what the country needs, what Hong Kong is good at" policy (Policy address 2017) . The policy further promotes Hong Kong as a creative hub for Mainland China and other parts of the world .

Influences on the Cultural and Creative Clusters

The Mainland China has not only cast an influence on the direction of Hong Kong , it also largely encourage the setup of cultural and creative clusters in many major cities like Beijing and Shanghai. Soon after the formal adoption of the term 'Creative Industries' in the political agenda, there were around 90 official clusters found in Shanghai (O' Connor and Gu, 2014) Clusters like the Bridge 8 , the 1933 Shanghai , Tian Zi Fang or Red Town creative park were the cases in point. In Beijing , the Beijing 798 Art Zone was the most commonly cited case to illustrate the

significances of the cultural and creative cluster in Mainland China. More cluster like No.46 Fangjia Hutong and Nanluoguxiang were other important cultural and creative clusters in Beijing. Obviously, the approach in setting up different clusters was encouraged in Mainland, and Hong Kong followed suit in the cluster development. One of the strategic directions of *Create HK* was “to develop creative clusters in the territory to generate synergy and facilitate exchange.”(Official website of Create HK). It showed that Hong Kong followed the policies and practices of Mainland China in establishments of cultural and creative clusters.

3.5 Significant Research on Cultural and Creative Clusters in Hong Kong

In 2000, the creative industry accounted for HK\$29,850 million, or 2.5% of GDP (Census, 2000). The government consequently realised the increasing potential of the creative industries and set out to collect ‘the necessary data to help develop appropriate strategies for facilitating development of creative industries’ (Cultural Policy Research of the University of Hong Kong, 2003, p. 12). Since 2003, the Hong Kong

government and related bodies have commissioned several research projects to study the economic potentials and development of the creative industries, so that a more concrete and comprehensive understanding may yield insights for policymaking and developing the city's creative image. The previous section showed that creative industry policies in Hong Kong are basically economically driven. The preliminary findings of the Census and Statistics Department (2000) showed a significant number of establishments and workers in the creative industries.

3.5.1 Government-commissioned Consultancy Studies on the Creative Industries in Hong Kong

Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries (2003)

In 2002, the Central Policy Unit of the Government of the HK Special Administrative Region (CPU) commissioned the Centre for Cultural Policy Research at the University of Hong Kong to map out the current state and development of the creative industries in Hong Kong. This study can be regarded as the first attempt by the government to identify the importance of the creative industries in Hong Kong.

Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries (2003) makes several contributions. First, the study establishes the definition of creative industries as:

...a group of economic activities that exploit and deploy creativity, skill and intellectual property to produce and distribute products and services of social and cultural meaning – a production system through which the potentials of wealth generation and job creation are realised. (p. 22)

Second, based on the categorisation of creative industries by the UK's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997, the study covered research on 11 industrial sectors: advertising; architecture; art, antiques and crafts; design; film and video; digital entertainment; music; performing arts; publishing; software and computing; and television and radio. This wide coverage provides policymakers and researchers with a better understanding of the development of different sectors.

Third, the study emphasised the significance of clustering by referring to the works of Allen Scott (2001, 2003), Molotch (2003) and Richard Florida (2002). It argued that successful clusters attract talented creative individuals. The close connection between place-specific settings, social and cultural infrastructure and industrial professions was recognised; in particular, design-intensive industries may acquire place-specific competitive advantage by including local cultural symbols in their products (Molotch, 2003).

In addition, relevant government bureaus and departments could refer to the report to make policies in line with the creative policy direction announced in the Policy Address 2003. Dr. Desmond Hui, the Director of the Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Hong Kong, introduced the report at the press conference: ‘The study mainly focuses on the economic aspects of creative industries but its findings also have wider implications on the cultural configuration of society’ (September 16, 2003).

A Study on Creativity Index (2005)

Following up the first study, the HKSAR Government commissioned the Centre for Cultural Policy Research in 2004 to construct a framework for a Creativity Index (CI). This study suggests ways to quantify creativity by reviewing existing studies, studying different Creativity Indicators in the world (such as the Euro-Creative Class Index used in 13 EU nations to measure the number of creative workers) and conducting a large-scale survey. ‘Creative Capital Theory’ (suggested by Richard Florida in 2002) used a 3Ts index that measured Tolerance, Technology and Talent. This Centre’s study instead proposed a 5Cs model (i.e., outcomes of creativity, structural/institutional capital, human capital, social capital and cultural capital) for measuring the performance, potential and competitiveness of creativity. A detailed description of the 5Cs model showed how to use it to measure creativity over a long period of time. The report concluded that Hong Kong performs well according to the Creativity Index; the score showed a steady growth over the period 1999-2004.

Relationship between the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong's Creative Industries (2006)

With the emergence of a potential market in the Pearl River Delta, Hong Kong government commissioned another study of the relationship between the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong's creative industries in 2005. The study aims to understand the creative industries in a larger context, and to examine possible business opportunities and collaborations between the creative industries in the two areas.

A Study on Hong Kong Design Index (2010)

Due to the wide application of design in different contexts, this study first provides a definition of the design industry and specialised design activities. It aims to review the design industry in Hong Kong by mapping the design environment and comparing it to the design industry in other regions. It provides statistical indicators for conducting a future index study, and particularly focusses on analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the design sector, so that policymakers may use the index framework for developing the creative economy. The framework identifies seven dimensions to measure favourable social and cultural

environments for the design sector. These are: human capital, investment, industry structure, market demand, social and cultural environment, the protection of intellectual property rights and generally good conditions for business. The framework tries to quantify these seven dimensions to examine the development of the design sector, which is the main contributor to the creative industries in Hong Kong.

Mapping Study of Creative Clusters in Hong Kong (2010 & 2014)

Since the establishment of Create HK (2009), commissioned research on the cultural and creative industries has been centralised and managed by this government body. *The Mapping Study of Creative Clusters in Hong Kong* was conducted in 2010, 2014 and 2017 (in-progress) to provide statistical data and information on the development of clusters. The studies mainly provide data on the usage of creative clusters in Hong Kong, including statistical data on the number of employees, the gross floor area of creative establishments, rental level, mode of operation and type of business activities.

In the *Mapping Study of Creative Clusters 2014* (“Mapping Study

2014”) , they study carefully studied the register details of the creative establishments listed in the Central Register of Establishments. By employing the GIS study, the study recorded 6 urban areas outside the industrial areas showing spontaneous clustering. The study further examines the spontaneous and planned cluster. The synergy effect generated by the mix of cross-disciplinary collaboration has been pinpointed.

However, the Create HK only released the executive summary rather than the full report. The findings would properly help to understand the initiatives for creative policies making.

Table 4. List of studies of creative industries in Hong Kong

Year	Title of research/study/consultation	Organisation/ Government body
2000	Introduction to Creative Industries: The Case of United Kingdom and Implementation Strategies in Hong Kong	Hong Kong Arts Development Council
2003	Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries	Commissioned by the Central Policy Unit
2005	A Study on Creativity Index	Home Affairs Bureau, HKSAR Government
2006	Recent Performance and Development Prospects of Selected Creative Industries in Hong Kong	Economic Analysis and Business Facilitation Unit
2006	Study on the Relationship between Hong Kong's Cultural and Creative Industries and the Pearl River Delta	Central Policy Unit
2010	A Study on Hong Kong Design Index	Hong Kong Design Center
2010	Mapping Study of Creative Clusters in Hong Kong	Create Hong Kong
2014	Mapping Study of Creative Clusters in Hong Kong 2014	Create Hong Kong
2016	Survey on Manpower Demand for Creative Industries in Hong Kong	Create Hong Kong
2017	Mapping Study of Creative Clusters in Hong Kong 2017	Create Hong Kong
2017	Survey on Employment Mobility for Creative Industries-related Programmes Graduates in Hong Kong	Create Hong Kong

3.6 Summary

This chapter reviews the synchronic and diachronic development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. Tracing the development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, it is obvious that the government takes an economically driven approach to the creative industries and the development of clusters. The second part discussed the development of cultural and creative policies in Hong Kong to document the contribution of the government to the creative industries. The government has clearly decided to develop these industries; for example, a huge amount of resources has been poured into different projects and creative establishments. However, ever-changing policy directions (e.g., shifts in the nature and definition of creative industries) have weakened the sustainability of these ventures. A micro rather than macro approach in reviewing the effectiveness of policies is therefore suggested. This chapter concludes by reviewing the significant research on cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, which should provide a significant foundation for the discussion that follows.

Chapter 4 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Preamble

The first part of this chapter introduces the theories that will be used in this study, based on a review of the scholarly literature in previous chapters. Theories are selected based on their relevance, appropriateness, logical interpretation and alignment with the research questions (Lovitts, 2005). The selected theories on clusters, community and creativity will then be discussed.

The rapid worldwide growth of creative clusters has attracted much scholarly attention. Scholars are not only interested in the cluster phenomenon itself, but also in relating it to other factors. The second part of this chapter pinpoints two factors that need to be included in discussion of the cluster phenomenon: community and creativity. Only by considering all three together can a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter be obtained.

The third part of this chapter sets out the theoretical framework of this study, that is, the 3Cs model of a sustainable cultural and creative cluster.

Grant and Osanloo (2014) note that a theoretical framework ‘consists of the selected theory (or theories) that undergirds your thinking with regards to how you understand and plan to research your topic, as well as the concepts and definitions from that theory that are relevant to your topic’ (p. 13). The 3Cs model specifies the key variables that can explain, predict and understand phenomena. It also aims to encapsulate the theoretical propositions of this research study concerning the sustainability of cultural and creative clusters.

4.2 Cluster

Cultural and creative clusters as a unique type of cluster

This study agrees that four elements – location, similarity of business, network and synergy production – are the essential qualities of a cluster.

It provides an argument for physical concentration. However, it does not take an economic perspective to study the cluster phenomenon, as the cluster theories of Alfred Marshall (1890) and Michael Porter (2000) do not fully explain the unique dynamics and operation mode of clusters formed by creative practitioners. This study does not focus on the positive effects of industrial agglomeration, including reduction of

transaction costs, efficiency, high levels of competitiveness and competence, knowledge spillover, dense business networks and availability of skilled labour (Flew, 2011; Keane, 2009). Another social and cultural perspective to examine the very meaning of clustering in the cultural and creative field is therefore adopted. The distinctiveness of creativity and clustering is of increasing scholarly interest; a number of studies have asked why cultural industries cluster. However, issues such as profit generation and product innovation systems (Lazzeretti, Boix & Capone, 2008) have still been the main focus of these studies.

The scope of this study is to examine the essential factors in sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. Many scholars (Cunningham; 2002; Kong and O'Connor, 2009; Scott, 2006) have observed that successful cases can be found only in certain cities/locations. Clearly, some essential factors favour creative production and the development of clusters (Brooks, 2000; Clark, 2004; Florida, 2002). As clustering is more than the co-location of creative practitioners, practitioners' different needs and whole-person development should be well considered in accounts of clustering

phenomena. Therefore, this research will use the classic work *Hierarchy of Needs* by Abraham Maslow (1943) to illustrate the different levels of need of creative practitioners.

4.3 Community

According to Brint (2001), the concept of *community* is a central topic in sociology; however, it loses its value in sociological analyses as it does not fit the modern context. The concept of *community* has positive associations and even becomes a myth. Disagreeing about the definition and meaning of community, classical liberalism and communitarians have hotly debated its meanings and functions.

In Chapter 2, we lay out the definitions and historical background of community. The classic works of Tönnies (1887) and Durkheim (1897/1951) remain the foundation for scholarly discussion. However, the advancement of technology and social development means that the traditional understanding is insufficient to explain community in the modern world. Tönnies' dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* oversimplifies the discussion.

Social network or community?

In the study of community, a social network is a prominent feature of community formation; indeed, it has been suggested that it is interchangeable with the notion of community. Crow and Allen (1994) and Delanty (2003) take a pessimistic view of community studies; the idea of ‘communities lost’ seems unavoidable with the rise of modernity. Such an argument complements Tonnies’ arguments on the decline of *Gemeinschaft* in the modern world. Stacey (1969) further suggests that researchers should focus on the quality of social networks rather than strengthening the notion of community, as the sense of belonging varies between different communities. The community concept, which is a relatively stable long-term structure, has been generally been ‘absorbed into’ social network studies, which emphasise practical concerns. The concept of social networks is attractive as it cuts across different domains. Research on social networks and social ties has gained importance in the study of social relationships between people. The social network approach has even been regarded as a ‘powerful instrument in the analysis of social life’ (Granovetter, 1983, p. 229).

However, if a social network approach is used to study community, many questions must be overlooked. First, community is a complex topic concerning more than the networks among certain groups of people. O'Reilly (1998) and Clark (2007) have noted that the social network is ill-defined; in the considerable amount of research dealing with social networks, social support is seldom mentioned. Issues like the stability of networks, the number of members involved, the time needed for building networks and even their purpose are unclear. The overwhelming reliance on supply and demand social ties is another drawback of the social network approach, as different people have different reasons for maintaining contact with others, which may not solely involve the provision of or access to resources. Therefore, this study uses community theory but not network theory in constructing its theoretical framework.

Forms of interaction

Brint (2001) related community theories to the current social context and identified a new typology for bringing vitality to this classic sociological concept. This typology is based on subtypes of community with different partitioning variables. Different forms of interaction mark the differences

between each partition. Following an analysis of the small number of partitioning variables, eight major subtypes of community were identified. The different subtypes of community (communities of place, communes and collectives, localised friendship networks, dispersed friendship networks, activity-based elective communities, belief-based elective communities, imagined communities and virtual community) are central to understanding behavioural and organisational outcomes.

Loosely connected communities of place, loosely connected friendship networks, activity-based elective communities and non-ideological imagined and virtual communities place fewer constraints on individual freedoms and are less hostile to outsiders. These types of community are more suitable to the modern world. Loose connection is the most important quality of these communities in the modern world.

With the advance of technology and internet communication, we cannot deny that loose connections and weak social bonds are the outstanding features of communication. Brint has celebrated the reduced constraints on individual freedoms and openness to outsiders, which encourage

freedom of speech and erase the power relations in interactions. Especially in imagined and virtual communities, weak bonds between people are more important than dense social ties. However, we do not agree that these types of community are necessarily ideal; their applicability really depends on situation and context. Nowadays, although this type of interaction is dominant in the virtual community, the community of place still has value in the modern world and in Hong Kong's situation.

Although computer-based communication is important, face-to-face interaction still exists. We cannot live without embedding in certain groups of people or organisations. For a dense city like Hong Kong, the community of place is inevitable and human relationships are built naturally with frequent day-to-day contact. Just as in the analysis of the outcomes of community subtypes in Brint's work (2001), a high level of mutual support and tradition is essential in meeting the basic function of community. In fact, the emphasis on the advantages of loose connection may reduce conflict and inequality in the relationship, hoping that it will bring some of the virtues of community to the modern world. However,

we cannot deny the existence of community of place and the values of strong bonding in generating mutual support and trust between members.

Loose connection in community is a double-edged sword: it allows freedom of communication, especially for online communication, but reduces the responsibility of members of the social group. Loose connection produces a weak sense of belonging to and identification with the group. In times of crisis, it is doubtful whether members will still participate and identify as part of the group.

In establishing creative community in Hong Kong, practitioners encountered various difficulties, from setting up their studios to finding jobs, devising different creative solutions and reaching final production.

The imagined community and virtual community may provide them with business networks, but they need physical and psychological support from the community of place.

We cannot deny that imagined community / virtual community and the community of place are both critical in the modern world. If we neglect

imagined community / virtual community, we will ignore the developments of modern computer-based society. However, if we only value the loose community in imagined community / virtual community, the inherent values of community of place will be discarded.

Regardless of the advance of internet communication, this study is based on the belief that place-based communities are significant; as DeFilippis and Saegert (2008) put it, 'Place-based communities are still important because people are finite creatures who have to live in real and limited times and spaces, and communities of face then ground our experience even as they do not fully cause or limit them' (p. 4).

Instead of adopting such a dichotomy in its notion of community, this study relies on Émile Durkheim's disaggregated approach towards community. In *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* ([1897] 1951) and *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* ([1911] 1965), Durkheim identifies the variable of properties of human interaction. Therefore, this study adopts Durkheim's theoretical framework in understanding community.

We further focus on Brint (2001)'s slight modification of Durkheim's identified variables in examining the cluster.

What is the creative community?

There is a vast body of research on cultural and creative clusters and the cultural/creative industries. It is obvious that bohemia and the creative class cannot be exactly defined as the same creative group. Bohemia does not care much about being rewarded for the work; it is motivated by self-fulfilment or art-for-art's-sake. The practical economic burden was not easy to handle, and people can no longer free themselves from economic constraints as consumerism is integral to capitalist society.

For the creative class, the over-emphasis on the occupational category and the all-inclusive approach to dealing with creative practitioners is inappropriate. The term *class* derives from Marx. Whether creative practitioners have class consciousness – that is, a transition from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself' – has not been clearly examined. Although Florida has revised his creative class theory, his new interpretation of the

creative class is not especially helpful for discussing the people really engaged in the creative field.

The notions of Bobos and Neo-bohemia sound more useful for dealing with the practical situation of creative practitioners, as both take economic considerations into account. However, it is difficult for Bobos to realise the co-existence of bohemian–bourgeois thinking, as these are contradictory in the first place. It is therefore more useful to adopt neo-bohemia in a critical study of the work patterns and lifestyles of creative practitioners in today's context.

4.4 Creativity

Level of creative magnitude

Among the four C categories (*Big-C*, *Pro-C*, *Little-c* and *Mini-C*) measuring the level of creative magnitude, this research concerns itself exclusively with creativity at the *Pro-C* level. The *Pro-C* category denotes professional-level creators in any creative domain (who may or may not attain the eminent level of creativity in *Big-C*). This approach is helpful in understanding creative practitioners who have already attained a high level of skill and knowledge in the creative process.

Four Ps of creativity

This study basically agrees with the identified 4 Ps in considering creativity: *persons*, *process*, *product* and *press(place)*. We agree that creative persons are the core of the entire process and the production of creativity. However, this study does not discuss individuals who are specially gifted with creative talents (Boden, 2004, pp. 14–15), but will emphasise factors that make cultural and creative clusters sustainable.

There are still different views on the number of stages involved in the creative process. This study does not make this topic central to the discussion.

This study echoes the theoretical standpoint of system theory that creativity should not be understood in light of a single factor. Creativity is a sociocultural phenomenon woven into a complicated system. Both *creative place* and *creative product* are essential factors in examining the occurrence of creativity.

For *creative place*, scholars have included contexts and environments in the study of creativity since the early 1980s. Meusburger (2009) has noted that we should research the ‘spatial contexts and environments as factors of creativity [because] creativity research centring predominantly on isolated variables has come to very inconsistent or contradictory results. Some of these inconsistencies have resulted from taking individual variables out of context and from failing to take into account that correlations between variables differ in the spatial dimension from one context to the next’ (p. 111). The notion of the milieu of creativity is closely linked to context and environment. This study echoes the importance of quality of place in the discussion of clusters.

When the focus is placed on the *creative product* itself, as stated by Kozbelt et al. (2010), the drawback is that the creator’s personality can hardly be traced; therefore, such an approach will be most suitable for evaluating highly creative persons instead of those with ‘as-yet-unfulfilled’ creative potential (Runco, 1996). In this study, we endeavour to understand the relationship between creative practitioners and the physical cluster. The super-creative (Florida, 2002) are the research

target. Therefore, the drawback of emphasising the creative product has less influence in this study.

We can clearly see from the inconsistent views of creativity that is not easy to come up with a proper definition. Despite diverse understandings of the notion of creativity, two basic qualities widely agreed upon by most scholars are novelty and appropriateness. This study adopts the sociocultural approach to creativity initiated by Amabile (1983), who stressed that definitions of creativity should consider two key factors: (a) novelty of the product/process and (b) appropriateness to some domain of human activity (Sawyer, 2012). This approach makes it possible to examine the value and operation of novelty and appropriateness in creative processes in a practical way.

4.5 Binary Linkage/Connection between Two Factors

Many studies have extended the focus from the spatial qualities of clusters (Jacobs, 1961; Landry, 2000) to their wider social and cultural contexts. Other studies have discussed the development of clusters. For example, the relationship between clusters and network formation is a

key concern in the work of Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) and Kong (2009), whereas other scholars have focussed on the relation between cluster development and creativity (Drake, 2003; Grandadam, Cohendet and Simon, 2013; Leslie and Rantisi, 2011; Mensburger, 2009). Adler (2015) and Capaldo (2007) highlighted the close relation between creative community and creativity. Previous studies have established a correlation between the development of clusters and the development of creativity or communities. However, the simple correlations discussed in some of these studies do not fully explain the complexity of cultural and creative clusters.

Focus on the cluster–creativity link

Some scholars who have stressed the relation between cluster development and creativity have downplayed the importance of community formation in a cluster. The mutual support and trust generated within a creative community are vital factors in the holistic development of creative practitioners. As Rantisi has remarked (2004), ‘Creative process does not occur in a vacuum’ (p. 91), and a community does not form arbitrarily. Empirical studies of cultural and creative

spaces in Chicago (Lloyd, 2005) and New York (Currid, 2007) have shown that the crucial elements of successful cultural and creative spaces include the neighbourhood's support for the creative community. Some influential studies (Brooks, 2000; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2005) have demonstrated the importance of creative communities to cultural and creative clusters. Similarly, Drake (2003) argued that there is a need to extend existing theories of creativity and place.

For Drake, neglect of the importance of place for individual creativity makes the theory incomplete. Place, as a source of creative stimuli and ideas, should be further highlighted. To have a vivid understanding of the importance of place, the author treated place as more crucial than 'reduced costs, marketing advantages, social or family networks, familiarity or local infrastructure' (p. 517); it is not just the source of signs and inspiration. Individual creativity is largely induced by the inspiration and local industrial atmosphere from the clustering of creative groups.

Currid (2007) agreed that ‘creativity would not exist as successfully or efficiently without its social world – the social is not the by-product – it is the decisive mechanism by which cultural products and cultural producers are generated, evaluated and sent to the market’ (p. 4).

Creativity is in this view the product generated from the collective or social process. Without clustering with like creative minds, creativity is limited and confined to its own sphere. Through regular sharing, critique and inspiration from the peers within a place-based creative cluster, creativity can take shape in a collective or social process.

Leonard and Sensiper (1998) even concluded that innovation, to a large extent, is a social and communicative process. The exchange of ideas and information among creative groups and face-to-face interaction should not be neglected. ‘Creative buzz’ or ‘creative milieu’ demonstrates the significance of particular forms of inspiration and stimulation, including diverse and complex prompts, idea, trends and fashions (Ekinsmyth, 2002; Nachum and Keeble, 1999).

Place can act as catalyst inspiring individualised creativity. Although frequent interaction between creative practitioners inspires creativity, the generation of new and innovative ideas is not limited to socialised activity or planned activities – for example, brainstorming or collaborative works. Environmental stimuli, solitude and interpersonal distance can also lead to individualised creativity. As Meusburger (2009) has shown, the physical environment motivates every single stage of the creative process. Locality acts as a source of aesthetic inspiration for the sensitive and responsive creative practitioner. Similarly, several interviewees stated that their creativity was greatly influenced by place.

Focus on the cluster–community link

Some researchers have not considered creativity in their studies; their emphasis on the relation between community and cluster ignored the role of specialised modes of creative production. A cultural and creative cluster has a distinct operational logic, due to the lifestyles of creative practitioners. The homogenous practices used in industrial clusters do not ensure the success of creative clusters (Kong, 2009; Mommaas, 2009).

Focus on the community–creativity link

Researchers who focus on community formation and creativity may neglect the physical qualities of places that encourage creative production. As highlighted by Landry (2002), a creative milieu requires both soft and hard infrastructure. Basic amenities and the physical environment are therefore important influences on creative production.

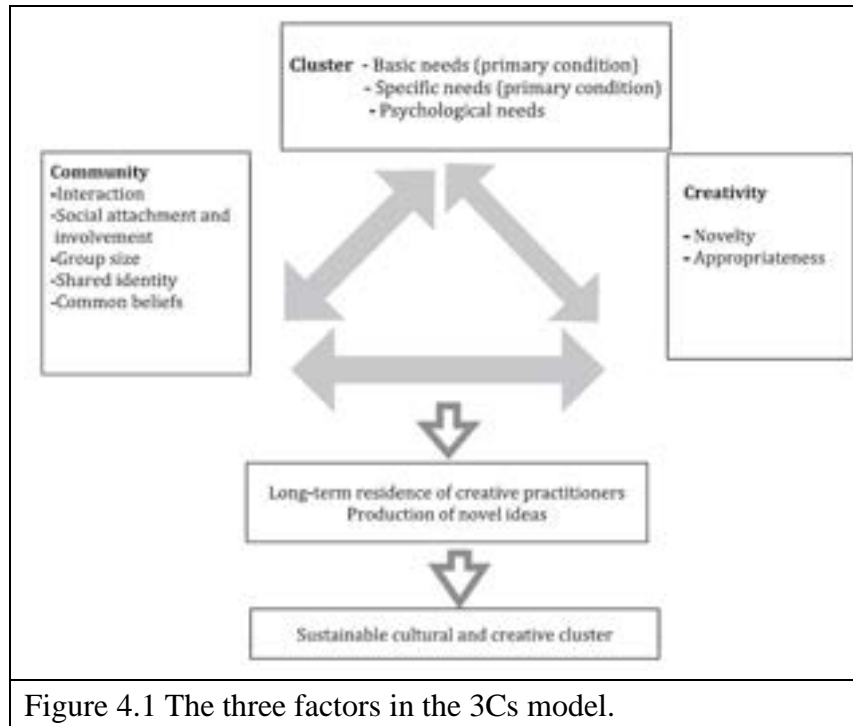
4.6 The Importance of Blending the Three Factors – Community, Creativity and Cluster

Apart from concentrating on the nature and function of the creative cluster itself, there is a growing literature concerning the relationship between clusters and other attributes; for example, the relation between clusters and network formation is a key concern for Harvey, Hawkins and Thomas (2012) and Kong (2009). Another group of scholars has focussed on the relationship between cluster development and creativity (Drake, 2003; Mensburger, 2009), while Adler (2012) and Capaldo (2007) have highlighted the close relationship between community and creativity. It is fruitful to examine the interconnection of cluster with creativity and community.

However, a dualistic view of cluster development cannot totally explain the growing complexity of clustering. An emphasis on the relationship between community and clusters might overlook the unique mode of creative production. The studies would thus have similar shortcomings as those on industrial clusters. A stress on the relationship between cluster development and creativity might result in overlooking the mutual support generated within the creative community. Those who focus on community formation and creativity may neglect the qualities of place that support creative production.

If we look closer at empirical cases, it is not difficult to find that the basis of a vibrant cultural and creative cluster is the blending of community, cluster and creativity. The cluster's healthy and sustainable development requires an intricate and complex blend of all three areas. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs (1961) stated that the old buildings associated with bohemian enclaves become an important space of innovation. Currid (2007) echoed Jacobs' observation: 'the social component to these decisions is why the geography of creativity – where

creativity happens – becomes so meaningful. Put another way, place matters because the social networks are grounded in particular places where culture is produced and consumed’ (p. 79).



Because one definition may be literally incomprehensible in other domains, a careful examination of the appropriateness of context is necessary. This study begins by outlining the meanings of community, cluster and creativity. Through a literature review, it endeavours to examine the very concept of the creative cluster. It briefly discusses the conceptualisation of the cluster, before moving on to theories of clustering in the context of creativity and place. It then analyses empirical data obtained from observation and semi-structured interviews with

creative practitioners in different sites to underline the complexity of clustering. It attempts to acknowledge the links between community, creativity and cluster. Therefore, this study emphasises the importance of the interaction between three factors – that is, the physical characteristics of the cluster, community formation and creative production – in the creation of a sustainable cultural and creative cluster. It is necessarily to highlight the close connection between cluster, community and creativity. In the three cases, all of them show the connection of the three factors, but the differences are whether the three factors is strong or weak. Actually it is a dynamic process, and it starts with the uniqueness of the creative practitioners. The relationship the relationship could be illustrated in figure 4.2.

Relationship between cluster and community

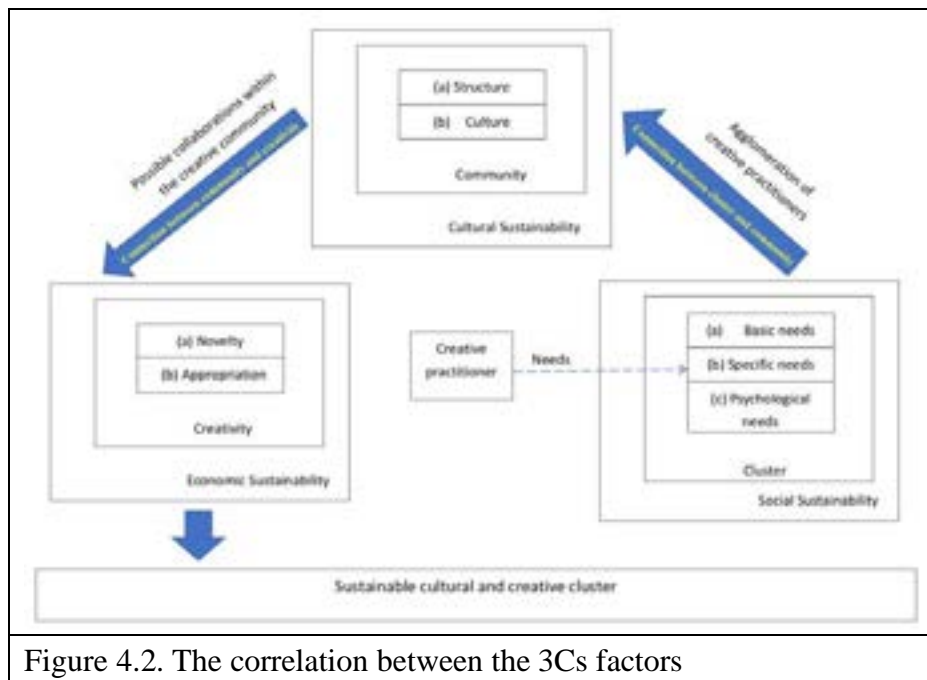
Creative practitioners are the unique group with specific lifestyle and work pattern. Their uniqueness could be supported by both literatures and empirical findings. For the literatures, even though there are different terminologies used by scholars like Creative Class (Florida, 2002) or Neo-Bohemia (Lloyd, 2010), they have pinpointed the uniqueness of the

creative practitioners. (Please refer to chapter 2) Empirically, the characteristics and lifestyles could be identified in the interview and observation. (Please refer to 7.2.) The cluster that could meet the basic needs, specific needs and psychological needs of the creative practitioners will become a place to bring them together. The creative practitioners are willing to stay for a long period of time and generate social attachment on site. With frequent formal or informal interaction, similar perception and belief system, the creative practitioners could develop the trust and think network among the community, and they are willing to share ideas, difficulties and even resources for possible collaboration.

Relationship between community and creativity

Once the creative community is formed, the cluster will turn into a “catalysing place where people, relationships, ideas and talents can spark each other.” (De Propriis et al, 2009, p.11) The creative process will be kicked off spontaneously: creative practitioners could easily identify the problems through interaction with different creative minds, acquire the knowledge on different areas with people from different domains, gather

related information related to the work production with the help of others , generate ideas after absorbing insights from different parties , combine and select the best ideas , and finally externalize ideas . The cluster will then become the center of creativity that not just help practitioners to find job or to secure resources, but it will become a place for generating synergy.



4.7 The 3Cs Model of a Sustainable Cultural and Creative Cluster

What is sustainability?

Sustainability is a fuzzy concept with a wide range of definitions across disciplines. This study adopts Kong's definition of sustainability (2009;

2012). She carefully defined the social, cultural and economic aspects of a sustainable cluster in an Asian context. Kong (2012) argued that social sustainability is related to 'the sense of support that derives from social interaction within the space' (p. 187). In other words, community building is the fundamental feature of a sustainable cluster. Kong referred to cultural sustainability as 'The continued ability for cultural workers to engage in their cultural work, and the conditions that support the specific nature of that cultural work' (p. 186). This study slightly modifies Kong's definition of cultural sustainability, as Kong's research target was artists, whereas this study focusses on designers, who have commercial needs. In this study, cultural sustainability is defined by the ability to continuously produce new creative work. Following Kong's understanding of economic sustainability as commercialisation, this study also investigates the commercial activities found in clusters.

3Cs model of sustainable cultural and creative clusters

In the 3Cs model, three factors are regarded as fundamental elements for creative production. These factors do not function independently, but are interwoven to support creative practitioners.

A cluster is not simply a physical site; it is also a spatial setting that supports creative production. Maslow's basic and specific needs are the primary conditions needed to maintain a cluster. Psychological needs also need to be considered, due to the characteristics and production modes of creative practitioners. The spatial setting of a cluster greatly influences the chance of face-to-face interactions, which can stimulate creativity.

Practitioners must be part of a community, as communities create information exchange and mutual support. Especially for creative production, which often involves teamwork and collaboration, a sense of belonging and mutual trust are beneficial. Frequent social interactions generate 'trust-based, co-operative behaviour' (Bassett et al., 2002, p. 172).

Spatial settings that are the long-term residences of creative practitioners encourage interaction between creative minds working in a creative

atmosphere. Novel ideas are generated, which is one of the ultimate goals of a creative cluster.

Therefore, our conceptual model, the 3Cs model, has three elements: quality of cluster, community formation and occurrence of creativity. The detailed parameters of the three factors are discussed and analysed below.

Cluster Quality

Numerous studies have demonstrated the importance of a cluster's geographic or spatial setting (Cunningham, 2002; Kong & O'Connor, 2009; Scott, 2006). However, to study the practical features of clusters, a more systematic and detailed framework is needed. Studios, where creative practitioners produce their work, are more than work spaces. Sustainable clusters must meet the practical needs and support the well-being of the users. Thus, the proposed model for sustainable creative clusters is based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), which recognises different levels of attainment for individuals' well-being. Maslow identified different levels of needs, including 'physiological',

‘safety’, ‘belonging’ and ‘love’, ‘esteem’, ‘self-actualisation’ and ‘self-transcendence’. He argued that sustainable working environments could be better understood in terms of the different levels of need they meet. Specifically, this study modifies his conceptual model and identifies three levels of needs: (a) basic needs; (b) specific needs based on disciplines and (c) psychological needs.

Basic needs

In creative clusters, basic needs include the fundamental conditions (for example, affordable rent) and amenities necessary to retain creative practitioners in a cluster. These amenities are a necessary part of the day-to-day practice of creation and realisation.

Specific needs based on disciplines

Special needs are especially relevant for different art and design disciplines. Although many scholars have highlighted the unique production mode of creative practitioners, the specific needs related to their disciplines have often been neglected. For example, product design

requires workshops for prototype production and related testing, whereas fashion design requires ample storage space for fabrics and materials.

Psychological needs

According to Landry (2005), hard and soft infrastructure are an integral part of the creative milieu. In addition to support for their practical work, practitioners have higher psychological needs. Cultural establishments, such as live music venues, galleries, green spaces and sports courts, have positive effects on creative practitioners' psychological well-being. The privately owned toilets and reputation of a cluster may raise the inhabitants' level of satisfaction and support their self-esteem. The privately toilet is listed under the psychological needs as it provides a higher level on sense of belonging and sense of security.

Community formation

Many studies (Brooks, 2000; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2005) have demonstrated the need to study creative groups and cultural and creative clusters. Currid (2007) and Llford (2005) noted that the formation of a creative community is the most crucial factor in vibrant cultural/creative

clusters. Three lines of thought dominate the scholarly discussion. Beginning with Tönnies' 1957 work on *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, the concept of community has become well-established in sociology. Many studies have demonstrated the importance of social networks (Coe & Johns, 2004; Kong 2005; Piselli, 2007) and imagined communities (Malkki, 1994), and Lave and Wenger (1991) introduced the idea of a community of practice (CoP). Weak ties and social networks may be sufficient for some business enterprises; however, such remote relationships are too weak to build the close relationships that have been empirically shown to be important to the formation of a creative community. The argument for defining community socially rather than spatially (Wellman, 2001, p. 233) seems incomplete to understand the relations cultivated through day-to-day encounters.

Brint (2001) found that the level of mutual support and trust is greater in this type of community than in other communities, that is, imagined communities or a community of practice.

Therefore, rather than taking community as a generic concept or social structure, this study uses Durkheim's (1897/1951) disaggregated approach to community, which emphasises traditional forms of human interaction. Brint (2001) expanded Durkheim's concept of community by identifying six important variables that can be used to study the formation of a community. These variables, categorised as either structural variables or cultural variables, are particularly useful for evaluating the quality of a community.

Structural variables

Building on Brint's work (2001), we adopt three types of structural variables: (1) dense social ties; (2) social attachment to and involvement in institutions; and (3) small group size (in relation to spatial setting) (p. 3). To fit the context, the first variable includes both formal and informal interactions, as the possibility of diversified face-to-face contacts is vital in forming relationships in these communities. Interaction is important in 'enabling people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other; and to knit the social fabric' (Beem, 1999, p. 20). Trust can be built through frequent face-to-face encounters. For example, important

relationships might be formed at formal networking sessions or trade shows. We also include different levels of informal interaction, such as encounters, chats, shared meals, entertainment activities and activities on- and off-site. Participation in activities organised at the site or participation in the site's ceremonial activities show that participants have a sense of belonging. Community formation is also more likely when the community is small.

Cultural variables

Feelings of safety and comfort can be enhanced through social identification. There are two types of cultural variables that are crucial indicators of social identification in a community: (1) perceptions of shared physical characteristics, expressive styles, ways of life or historical experiences and (2) common belief systems.

Occurrence of creativity

Comunian, Faggian and Li (2010) have noted that creativity is an unchallenged but fuzzy concept. Understanding what makes creative people innovate should be the key consideration of planners trying to

establish creative clusters; however, few studies have seriously considered the nature of creativity or how to measure it effectively. Creative production is spontaneous and unpredictable. If a cluster's environment does not support creativity, it is meaningless to call it a creative cluster. This study adopts Drake's (2003) view that creativity should not be examined in its own sphere. Creativity has often been regarded as the outcome of a social process; its collective nature is acknowledged. This study adopts the sociocultural approach to creativity initiated by Amabile (1983), who stressed that definitions of creativity should consider two key factors: (a) novelty of the product/process and (b) appropriateness to some domain of human activity (Sawyer, 2012). This approach makes it possible to examine the value and operation of novelty and appropriateness in creative processes in a practical way.

Novelty

Under the concept of novelty, we assess three components: (1) availability of different domains, that is, the availability of the multidisciplinary and dynamical synergistic environment; (2) new works

in the domain; and (3) opportunities for divergent thinking (for inspiration).

Appropriation

In the design field, opportunities to display one's creative outcomes are crucial; for example, market transactions are an important method for collecting feedback on and public responses to one's work. The existence of (1) events or activities that allow self-initiated chances for exposure and (2) officially organised events such as trade fairs suggests that a cluster supports creative production.

Table 5 Details of the 3Cs Model

Cluster	(a) Basic Needs		
	Parameters		Examples
	On-site	Conditions for staying	Affordable rent
		Amenities	Windows Air-conditioning system (Central/split system) Elevator (Passenger/Cargo)
	Surrounding environment		Convenient transportation Affordable food
	(b) Specific needs based on design disciplines		
	Parameters		Examples
	On-site		For graphics (e.g., provision of printing and exhibition venue) For photographic studio (e.g., provision of high ceilinged premises) For fashion and product (e.g., provision of showcases, workshops, storage)
	Surrounding environment		Graphic (e.g., printer, courier) Fashion and product (e.g., resources, materials, courier)
	(c) Psychological needs		
	Parameters		Examples
	On-site		Meeting place (formal/casual), place for entertainment, relaxation, flexible management, strict security, reputation of the cluster
	Surrounding environment		Environment (open space, fresh air and greenery) Cultural facilities (live music, café, gallery)
Community	(a) Structure		
	Parameters		Examples
	Dense social ties	Formal Interaction	Opportunities for networking (e.g., event opening, market fair, trade show)
		Informal Interaction	Opportunities for encounters, chats,

			information exchange, meals, entertainment, collaboration, on-site activities, off-site activities
	Social attachments and involvements in the site		Active participation in activities organised by the site (e.g., opening days, festival celebrations)
	Group size (in relation to spatial setting)		Small group size preferred
	(b) Culture		
	Parameters		Examples
	Perception of similar physical characteristics, expressive style, way of life or historical experience		Like-minded people with similar daily lives (e.g., work mode and working hours)
	Common belief system or institution		Vision and plan to work in creative industry (future planning)
Creativity	(a) Novelty		
	Parameters		Examples
	Availability of different domains		Variety of domains on site
	New work in the domain		New designs/work/projects
	Opportunities for divergent thinking (for inspiration)		Opportunities for brainstorming, inspiration and sharing
	(b) Appropriateness		
	Parameters		Examples
	Opportunities for exposure		Official organised events for exposure (e.g., trade show, exhibition, flea market, showcase and display)
			Self-initiated activities for exposure (e.g., trade shows, exhibitions, flea markets, showcases and displays)

4.8 Summary

The first part of this chapter introduces the theories used in this study.

After reviewing the literature in Chapter 2, theories are selected based on

their relevance, appropriateness, logic interpretation and alignment with the research questions (Lovitts, 2005).

Due to the rapid growth of creative clusters worldwide, this topic has attracted scholarly attention. Scholars are not only interested in the cluster phenomenon itself, but also in expanding discussion of clusters to discussion of other factors. The second part pinpointed potential issues and problems in relating only two factors in discussion of clusters. It is suggested that three correlated factors, that is, cluster, community and creativity, should be considered for a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

In the last part of this chapter, the theoretical framework of this study (the 3Cs model) is proposed to explain, predict and understand the sustainability of cultural and creative clusters. Based on the theoretical prepositions of this research, the 3Cs model identifies the three correlated factors (cluster, community and creativity) for a sustainable cultural and creative cluster. The parameters of each factor have also been identified.

Chapter 5 Empirical Study Method

5.1 Research Design

Research is ‘a deliberate study of other people for the purposes of increasing understanding and/or adding to knowledge’ (Dawson, 2002, p. vi). It can be regarded as a journey, which allows the researcher to seek out in-depth understanding, gain new insight and construct new knowledge of a specific topic. At the beginning of a research project, the researcher must decide the best approach to take.

This study adopts a bottom-up perspective to understand the essential factors in sustainable cultural and creative clusters, the formation of creative community and the occurrence of creativity. To examine the interaction between actors, in addition to their perception and interpretation of the cultural and creative cluster, a qualitative research methodology is adopted. As noted by Bryman (1984), qualitative research emphasises that the interaction, behaviour or actor should be examined ‘in the context of meaning systems employed by a particular group or society’ (p. 78). The theoretical reference points embedded in qualitative research are ‘interpretivist’, ‘constructivist’ and

‘phenomenological’. The underlying epistemology rejects the objective view that ‘meaning resides within the world independently of consciousness’ (Collin, 2011, p. 38). Qualitative research aims to reveal the social world from the actors’ perspectives (an insider view) for exploring and constructing the meaning of everyday life settings. The emphasis on fieldwork is one major characteristic of the qualitative approach.

According to Kong (2009), setting up cultural and creative clusters is a popular way to support the cultural and creative industries in a worldwide context. However, the topic has gained more attention from keynote researchers and theorists within the academic discipline, with most studies staying on the theoretical level instead of the empirical level. Evans (2009) states that empirical studies on the topic are ‘heavily reliant on proxies but light on theory or hard evidence’ (p. 1005). The notion of cultural and creative clusters is commonly referred to, but their nature and operation can differ culturally and spatially. The impact of cultural and creative clusters is often treated at the macro-level, with an emphasis on the institutionalisation of policies or operation modes. Influences on

creative practitioners are often neglected. Creative theories and policies seldom take individual practice into account. What is happening on the ground remains unknown.

Indeed, the real practices of creative practitioners have seldom been considered in a serious manner. The difference between artists and designers is especially important in discussion of creative clusters but is often neglected. We cannot deny that it is not always easy to distinguish between ‘artists’ and ‘designers’, as there is overlap in their work’s nature and outcome, but they have unique needs due to differences in working environments and target audiences. The special working nature, operation mode and needs of designers remain unclear to policymakers. Therefore, this study explores the inner picture of designers and their relationship with clusters.

5.2 Case Study Approach

This research adopts the qualitative case study methodology for examining the relation between cultural and creative clusters and creative practitioners. Baxter and Jack (2008) have noted that the case study

methodology specialises in dealing with complex phenomena within a situated context. It is particularly useful when the research focusses on 'how' and 'why' questions, as it allows exploration and in-depth investigation. Robert Stake (1995) and Robert Yin (2003, 2006) are key figures in the discussion of case study methodology. They propose different methods and terminologies for case study methods. However, both agree that the case study method adopts the constructivist paradigm that 'recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, but doesn't reject outright some notion of objectives' (Crabtree & Miller, 1999, p. 10). This study aims to identify the essential factors for sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong and users' interpretation and evaluation of clusters. Close examination of data is very powerful in understanding human actions and interpretations within a specific context. The case study method also enables the researcher to explore or describe what happens on the ground, and provides insights into real life situations that cannot be obtained by surveys or other research methods (Noor, 2008).

Multiple case studies

As highlighted by Campbell (1975), multiple-case design helps to increase the rigour of the case study method. It enables the researcher to analyse individual settings or make comparison across settings, while a single-case study only allows the researcher to understand a limited, unique or even extreme case. Although it is relatively time-consuming, this type of study is more robust and reliable. This study does not discuss the success of an individual cluster, but instead expands its scope to reveal the necessary factors for developing sustainable cultural and creative clusters in densely populated cities. To gain a holistic picture of the development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, different cases rather than a single case have been selected for in-depth study.

Multiple data sources

The use of multiple data sources is a hallmark of the case study approach.

A wide range of possible data sources including ‘documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artifacts, direction observations, and participation-observation’ (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 554) is highly

encouraged for enhancing the credibility of findings. By using a variety of data sources, a study can explore complex interventions, communities or programmes in an effective way (Yin, 2003). A variety of data sources are used to support the arguments of this study, including findings from different academic publications, government and non-government reports/studies, semi-structured interviews and direct observations. These sources underpin the study's conceptual framework for sustainable clusters.

5.3 Data Collection

The research was conducted in Hong Kong from September 2012 to October 2016. The study used the qualitative research approach. Data were collected through direct observation and semi-structured interviews. Direct observation was undertaken during weekdays and weekends and at different times of day. Interviews were conducted with 40 creative practitioners who had design studios at PMQ, InnoCentre and Easy-Pack Creative Precinct. The purpose of the interviews and observation was to collect primary data on (i) use of studios in the clusters, (ii) the relationship between creative practitioners and the

localities, as perceived by the practitioners and (iii) the formation of a creative community and the occurrence of creativity within the cluster.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviewing is a research method to generate conversation with people on specific topics. It is a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives. According to Tim May (2011), interviews can yield ‘rich insights into people’s biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings’ (p. 132). They allow for different degrees of interaction between interviewer and interviewee.

Researchers may develop new insights into contexts and attitudes by asking probing questions during interviews. There are three types of research interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. According to Hobbs and May (1993), a semi-structured interview ‘allows the respondent to develop and qualify his or her ideas in the interview setting and in addition allows for the introduction of contradictions which in themselves can provide valuable insights into consciousness’ (1993, p.

102). A semi-structured interview provides a list of questions, and the interviewer has a certain degree of freedom to follow up and probe beyond the answers. Tim May (2011) highlights two key concepts in conducting semi-structured interviews: clarification and elaboration. Interviewees are invited to further clarify and elaborate their answers within an open framework, which allows for focussed and dynamic communication. One of the strengths of this research method is that the interviewee may use his/her own words to answer questions, rather than picking from standardised choices. Semi-structured interviews follow a certain structure, unlike an unstructured interview. This study aims to let interviewees express themselves freely with their own clarifications and elaborations. Therefore, it uses semi-structured interviews to permit focussed and dynamic communication based on an open framework.

For a better understanding of clusters, the semi-structured interviews focus on creative practitioners who have their own studio in their cluster. Due to the differences in their nature, studios that only serve personal interests rather than commercial activities will not be the primary targets in this study, as creative practitioners who are free from practical

considerations may have completely different interpretations of the purpose and role of their cluster.

Interviewees are identified from personal networks for practical reasons.

A 'snowball sampling' method was applied for enlarging the scope of the investigation. Referral by interviewees was the most common method for locating another possible interviewee. Formal letters were also sent to arrange interviews with managers of clusters and designers when necessary. All interviews were carried out after disclosing the research nature and objectives. All interviews were conducted in the form of face-to-face conversations with the questions directly addressed. So as not to lose any data, all interviews were tape-recorded with the approval of interviewees.

Direct observation

Observation is a central and essential research method in qualitative research. It is a powerful tool in revealing behaviour, interactions, events and artefacts in their natural social setting. Through observation, hidden patterns or information that the actors do not know how to express or are unaware of are visible to the researcher. As Berger (1998) has stated,

‘observation finds out what goes on in the subcultures or organisations being studied and to gain some insight into their operations (especially hidden aspects not easily recognised) and how they function’ (p. 105).

The significant function of observation cannot be replaced by other research methods. According to Goffman (1989), observation is an effective method for revealing the object of research in the most authentic way; the researcher can see how people use the place, engage in activities or interact with others in a setting of their choice. According to Zeisel (2006), the natural setting is important to a researcher who wants to examine the elements, relationships and dynamic, as ‘you cannot fully observe a situation and its context if certain portions are excluded from study, as they might be if the situation were transferred to a contrived setting’ (p. 104). Through intensive observation in a natural setting, an in-depth description or ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973) will result.

There are two forms of observation, direct and participant observation. Considering the scope of this research, direct observation is applied for conducting systemic observation. The researcher selected the sampled situations and conducted systemic and well-organised observation in a natural setting. This method reveals the patterns, conditions and

problems of the target group in an unobtrusive way. Direct observation focusses on specific aspects rather than every single detail of the target group. The researcher therefore carefully observed and listened rather than taking part in the setting.

To examine the relationship between creative practitioners and cultural and creative clusters, site observation was selected as the research method. In *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*, May (2001) stated that the physical and social setting are major subjects of observation, as physical characteristics mirror and condition social behaviour. The purpose is to determine the actual features of the milieu for the occurrence of creativity, and especially how creative practitioners use and evaluate their creative clusters. Therefore, direct observation of the physical and social setting was used to probe the unique culture of the cluster.

According to Marshall and Rossman (2010), the researcher should enter the site after clearly defining the field. In the preliminary stage, the researcher visits the site with open-ended entry, so that he or she can

identify behaviour or interaction patterns. In later stages, an observational checklist generated by the researcher after several visits may help him/her to notice, record and describe patterns in a more context-sensitive way. In this study, the researcher visited all cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong in the first year of study. By comparing the features and spatial configurations of different sites, the researcher identified three sites (PMQ, Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and InnoCentre) for further study. After conducting field research at the sites for two months, an observational checklist was generated based on the classic works of Hall (1966), Alexander (1977) and Zeisel (2006) on environment-behaviour research. This study evokes the observation parameters set by Zeisel (2006) for physical traces and social behaviour, using a three-part checklist focussing on three aspects – (a) physical setting, (b) social setting and (c) cultural setting:

Table 6 Observation Checklist:
<u>(a) Physical Setting</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By-products of use - What kind of activities are carried out at the site?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adaptations for use - Are there any changes that users have made to the setting?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displays of self – How do designers establish their own identity at the site?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Messages – What kind of official and unofficial messages are delivered at the site?
<u>(b) Social Setting</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lifecycle of the cultural and creative cluster – What are the users' duration of stay and activities?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pockets of activity – Are there any places that favour face-to-face encounters/contact?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Casual group activities – Are there any facilities/amenities to support casual group activities?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity for casual / organised social gathering – Does the cluster provide space and opportunities for sharing and communication?
<u>(c) Cultural Setting</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship between creative practitioners and the cluster - Is there any sense of belonging or sense of community established in the cluster?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship between cluster and the neighbourhood - is there any communication/interaction between the site and residents/shop owners?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship between different clusters - what is the relationship between different cultural and creative clusters? Is there any connection/competition/mutual support between them?

Recording data

During direct observation, field notes and photos were used for recording data. Permission for taking photos on the cluster's premises was obtained. All semi-structured interviews were face-to-face and conducted at the interviewee's studio. Each interview lasted approximately one and a half hours. All interviews were tape-recorded.

Time arrangements

Direct observations were conducted on both weekdays and weekends and at different times of the day, including morning, afternoon, night and midnight. Although some sites have official opening hours, observations were conducted whenever tenants were on site regardless of the official opening hours. For example, tenants of the Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre were supposed to leave the premises after seven o'clock when the central air-conditioner turned off. However, observations were conducted after seven o'clock to see how the tenants tactically used the studio space. Apart from the planned schedule, observations were conducted by invitation from the creative practitioners.

For example, the researcher was invited by tenants to join their music performance in a music venue.

5.4 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are important criteria for judging the quality of research design. The case study approach has been criticised for lack of rigour. Noor (2008), Gibbert, Ruigrok and Wicki (2008) and Yin (1984) discuss the rigour of the case study approach. As Yin (1984) states, ‘too many times, the case study investigator has been sloppy, and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and discussion’ (p. 21). To enhance the validity and reliability of research findings, Yin (2003) proposes four empirical tests for case study research: *construct validity*, *internal validity*, *external validity* and *reliability*.

Construct validity refers to the establishment of operational measures of relevant concepts. Yin proposes using multiple sources of evidence to enhance the validity of case study research, or applying *triangulation*, that is, using different methods and sources for data collection. This study

adopts the multi-source approach by using different research methods (archival analysis, semi-structured interviews and direction observation) to check the validity of the research data.

Internal validity can also be called logical validity (Cook and Campbell, 1979); it emphasises the provision of causal arguments in the data analysis process. To enhance internal validity, the research should develop a well-defined framework to illustrate the relationship between different factors or variables. Comparison between empirical data and theory may help the researcher to verify the findings. This study proposes a model of sustainable cultural and creative cluster as the final outcome, and the relationship between the three factors (cluster, community and creativity) is verified through comparison between different empirical cases.

External validity refers to the generalisability of the study's findings to more than one setting. Multiple cases instead of a single case are one way to provide a stronger basis for generalisation (Yin, 2003). The researcher should give strong reasons for the case study selection. This study

examines three cases (PMQ, Easy Pack Creative Precinct and InnoCentre) to test the applicability of the 3Cs model. The cases were picked due to the nature of the practitioners and the spatial configuration of the sites.

Reliability is about the detailed documentation of a study's methodology; theoretically other studies could obtain similar results by following the same data collection process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). A well-organised case study helps to develop protocols for future replication. In this study, the parameters for direct observation and questionnaires for the semi-structured interviews have been clearly reported and documented.

5.5 Summary

This chapter discusses the research methods applied in this study. A case study approach was selected to observe the 'real-life context' of a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 1994, p. 13). This study adopts a bottom-up perspective to understand the essential factors in sustainable cultural and creative clusters, the formation of creative community and the occurrence of creativity. To examine the interaction between the

actors, along with their perceptions and interpretations of cultural and creative clusters, a qualitative research methodology is adopted. Qualitative research methods including direct observation and semi-structured interviews were used for data collection. Details of the research methods, including sample selection, time arrangements and data recording methods, have been reported to demonstrate the reliability and validity of the data.

Chapter 6 Case Studies

6.1 Preamble

Multiple case studies allow the researcher to understand differences and similarities between cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). They also help the researcher to examine the data both within each situation and across situations (Yin, 2003). In this study, three cultural and creative clusters were selected. To understand the operation of the sites and how creative practitioners understand/interpret the clusters, the real situation is first described. The following paragraphs explain the reasons for selecting the sites and list the key field research activities conducted. The second part introduces the background, history and configuration of each site.

6.2 Reasons for Selecting the Sites

The Police Married Quarters (PMQ), Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and InnoCentre were selected out of the 15 cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, based on three considerations: (a) *architectural form*, (b) *profession of creative practitioners* and (c) *significance*.

There are four architectural forms of clusters in Hong Kong: vertical, horizontal, scattered and complex (see Table 7). This study does not consider scattered clusters at the street level, as large-scale sites may be affected by a wide range of factors. The only case in the horizontal form is Cattle Depot Artist Village, but it was not selected, as there are only art groups/artists at the site and it is a rare case in Hong Kong where ample space is reserved for artistic use.

For (b) *profession of creative practitioners*, only clusters with an agglomeration of designers² are focussed on in this study. There are some similarities in the nature of the work and creative production among artists and designers, but because design is a sub-sector of the creative industries it is ‘hard to assess as much of it is hidden within other industries’ (British Council, 2010, p. 16). The special working nature, operation mode and needs of designers remain unknown to policymakers

² This study adopts the definition of designers as people who provide ‘designing services, including fashion design, graphics, products, interior, and design services for furniture, shoes, toys and related articles’ (Centre for Cultural Policy Research [2006]. *Study on the Relationship between Hong Kong’s Cultural & Creative Industries and the Pearl River Delta – Final Report*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, p. 49).

and scholars. In-depth study of their preferences in terms of cultural and creative clusters need to be carried out. The research target is thus creative practitioners who have their own studios in their clusters.





The (c) *significance of the cluster* is another important selection criterion.

PMQ was selected because it is a large-scale cultural and creative cluster that was named 'Hong Kong's New Creative Landmark' (official website of PMQ). The Design Incubation Programme (DIP) of InnoCentre was selected as it was the only government-funded programme to nurture start-up designers. The Easy-Pack Creative Precinct is an organically formed cluster with a special concern for the needs of creative practitioners.

This study aims to examine the factors in sustainable cultural and creative clusters with reference to various forms of cluster. After the pilot study of all sites, the most representative cases (in terms of architectural form, profession of creative practitioners and significance) were selected. Thus, the sites selected for further direct observation and interviews were: Easy

Pack Creative Precinct (vertical form), InnoCentre (complex form) and

PMQ (complex form).

Table 7 Different architectural forms of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong			
Type	Architectural form	Name of Cluster	Location
Complex form		InnoCentre*	Kowloon Tong
		Police Married Quarters (PMQ)*	Central
		Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC)	Shek Kip Mei
Vertical form		Easy Pack Creative Precinct (3-5 th Floor)*	Kwun Tong
		Foo Tak Building	Wan Chai
		ADC art space	Aberdeen
		Fashion Farm Foundation (9 th Floor)	Lai Chi Kok
Scattered form		Kwun Tong industrial area	Kwun Tong
		Chai Wan industrial area	Chai Wan
		Fo Tan industrial area	Fo Tan
		San Po Kong industrial area	San Po Kong
		Wong Chuk Hang industrial area	Wong Chuk Hang
		Ap Lei Chau industrial area	Ap Lei Chau
		Tsuen Wan industrial area	Tsuen Wan
Horizontal form		Cattle Depot Artist Village	To Kwa Wan

* Cases selected in this research

6.3 Field Research Activities

Time schedule

Field research activities were conducted beginning in March 2011, and involved direct observations and semi-structured interviews at all cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. Appropriate cases were identified for further in-depth study. The field research activities at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and InnoCentre were conducted from January 2012 to June 2016. For the Police Married Quarters (PMQ), research activities occurred after its opening in 2014, and took place from May 2014 to May 2017.

Direct observation and semi-structured interviews were the main field research activities at the three sites. Site visits were conducted once a month during the research period. Days of visits included (a) weekdays; (b) weekends and public holidays and (c) special occasions (e.g., gatherings of creative practitioners). To give a holistic picture of the usage and interpretation of the cluster, some research activities lasted till midnight, especially for Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, which did not have fixed opening hours.

Activities

Most research activities were planned, but some occurred after direct observations or interviews based on invitations. Examples are given as follows.

1. Having lunch/dinner with creative practitioners in the immediate vicinity to discuss their needs
2. Visiting the live music performance space with the interviewees to find out about their needs in terms of the surrounding environment
3. Going to music performances by the interviewee's band at the industrial buildings nearby

6.4 Background of the Sites

6.4.1 Police Married Quarters (PMQ) – an Official ‘Creative Landmark’



PMQ, which opened in 2014 and was named ‘Hong Kong’s New Creative Landmark’ (official PMQ website), is a \$500 million heritage conservation and revitalisation project in a historical building (Figure 6.1). PMQ is a large-scale site with several layers of historical significance. In 1884, the Central School, which was the first government

school in Hong Kong, was built on the north end of Hollywood Road. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was one of the students at the school. After five years, the School was relocated to the junction of Aberdeen Street and Hollywood Road, and was renamed Queen's College (Figure 6.2). The school was occupied by the Japanese army during the Occupation, and the building was burnt to the ground. Soon after the war, the site was rebuilt and became the first Police Married Quarters in 1951. With 140 single rooms and 28 double rooms, the site was home to married police officers working in the nearby Central Police Station till 2000.



Figure 6.1 PMQ is a large scale cultural and creative cluster with more than 100 design studios.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

	
Figure 6.2 Central School moved to Hollywood Road and was renamed Victoria College in 1889.	Figure 6.3 The site was renamed Queen's College after the relocation.
Image source: PMQ (2017). Retrieved from http://www.pmq.org.hk/heritage/history-of-pmq/?lang=en	Image source: PMQ (2017). Retrieved from http://www.pmq.org.hk/heritage/history-of-pmq/?lang=en

In October 2009, the site was listed as one of eight preservation projects by the Development Bureau in that year's Policy Address. PMQ was part of a strategy for promoting creative industries in the city. The project was run by a registered charity, Musketeers Education and Culture Charitable Foundation Limited, in collaboration with the Hong Kong Design Centre, Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Hong Kong Design Institute of the Vocational Training Council. In November 2010, the Secretary for Development announced plans for development at a press conference (Figure 6.4). The Former Police Married Quarters site on Hollywood Road would be transformed into a creative industries landmark named PMQ, aiming to strengthen the position of the creative industries and elevate the value of design in Hong Kong.



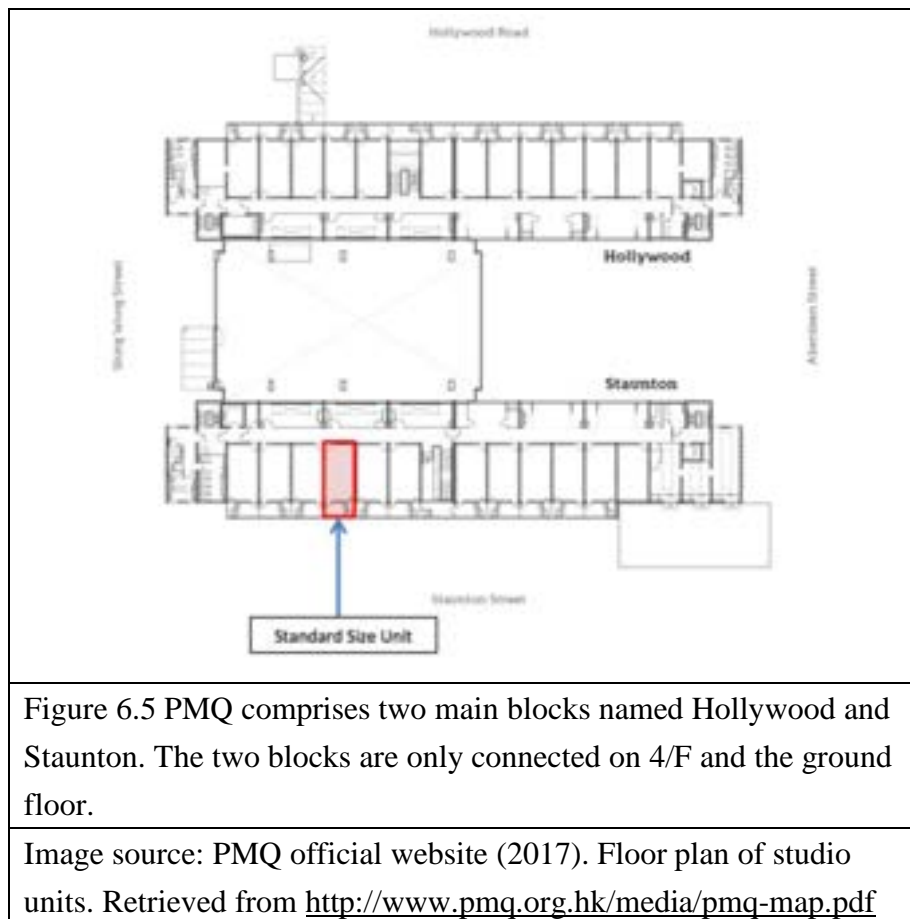
Figure 6.4 The Secretary for Development announced the transformation of the Former Police Married Quarters site on Hollywood Road into a creative industry landmark on 15 November 2010.

Image source: PMQ (2017). *Official announcement of the PMQ project*. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/milestone/?lang=en>

A brand new ‘studio-cum-shop’ concept was the major selling point of the site; tenants had both a workplace and a retail store on the premises. Not only did it offer more than 130 studio units (approximate 40 m² per unit) (Figure 6.5) for creative start-ups, it also provided ample space for events and exhibitions.

The site comprised 6,000 m² of floor area and was classified as a Grade 3 historic building. In addition to the building’s rich cultural and historical background, the cluster had several virtues, including an ideal location for practicing art and design, subsidised rent, a strong project

team, specialised PR for its frequent events and promotions and guided tours for visitors. The site has official opening hours from 7 am to 11 pm (Figure 6.32). Apart from restaurants and bars, most studio-cum-shops open from 1 pm to 7 pm. Few visitors can be found during weekdays (Figure 6.34).



Surrounding environment

PMQ is surrounded by a wide range of cultural and historical spots such as the Dr. Sun Yet-Sen Historical Trail, galleries, antique shops, boutiques and shops selling edgy fashion and designs. It is also near a

handful of upscale restaurants, cafés and bars in the area south of Hollywood Road, SoHo. However, the traffic near the site is very busy, especially at the junction of Aberdeen Street and Hollywood Road (Figures 6.11-12).



Figure 6.6 Location of PMQ.

Image source: PMQ official website (2017). *Official map of PMQ*. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/media/pmq-map.pdf>









Figure 6.7 Residential areas next to PMQ



Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.8 Some old buildings next to PMQ

Image source: Photo taken by the author

	
<p>Figure 6.9 Dr Sun Yet-Sen Historical Trail next to PMQ</p>	<p>Figure 6.10 Local stores next to PMQ</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 6.11 PMQ located at a junction with busy traffic</p>	<p>Figure 6.12 Entrance of PMQ situated on a steep street</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 6.13 Antique shops near PMQ</p>	<p>Figure 6.14 Residential areas next to PMQ</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
<p>Figure 6.15 PMQ was promoted as a new landmark of creativity.</p>	<p>Figure 6.16 Promotional materials for PMQ could be found along the central mid-level escalator and walkway.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

Configuration of the site

In PMQ, there are five types of spaces: (1) *shopping*, (2) *dining*, (3) *programmes and events*, (4) *support for designers and createpreneurs*; and (5) *heritage*. We can see that even the concept ‘shop-cum-studio’ was introduced as the main feature for this historical site. The 130 premises for creative practitioners are categorised under *shopping*. *Dining* and *programmes and events* take up large portion of the site. Spaces designated for *support for designers and createpreneurs* and *heritage* occupy relatively little of the site.



Figure 6.17 According to the official PMQ website, the site houses more than 100 'local young create-preneurs'. However, all design studios were categorised under the *Shopping* section.

Image source: PMQ official website (2017). Feature and facilities of PMQ. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/the-site/feature-facilities/>

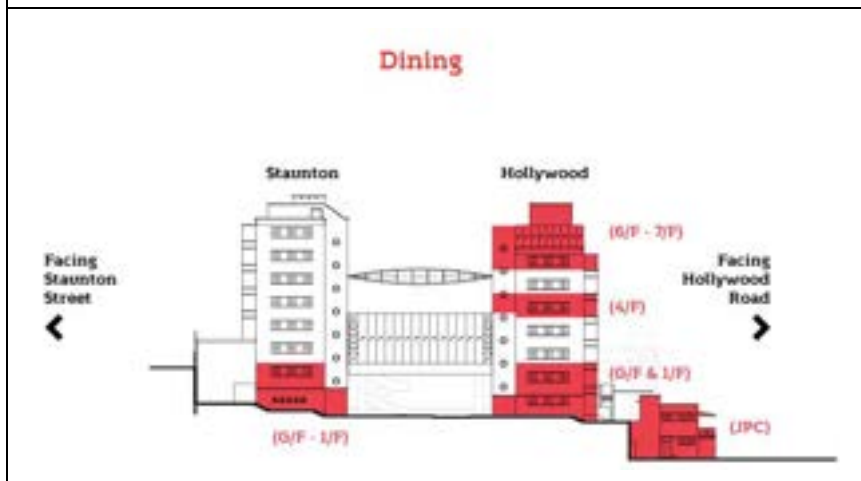


Figure 6.18 More than 10 restaurants could be found on different floors of PMQ.

Image source: PMQ official website (2017). Feature and facilities of PMQ. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/the-site/feature-facilities/>

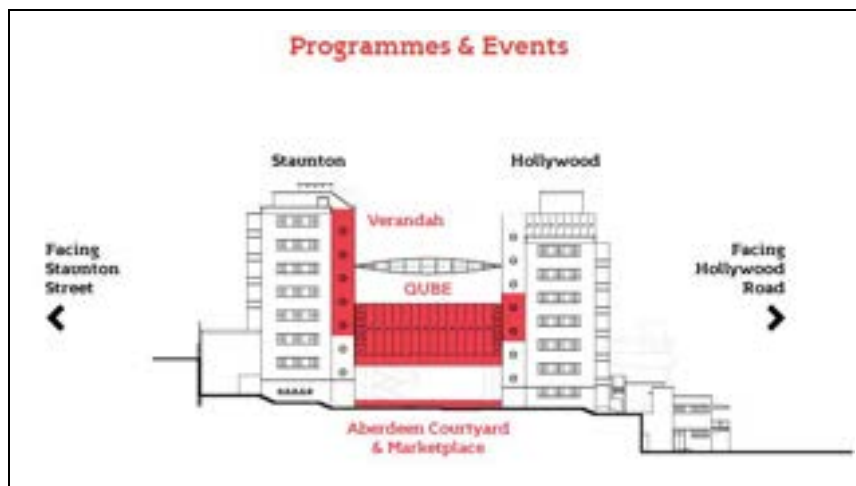


Figure 6.19 Ample space for programmes and events at PMQ

Image source: PMQ official website (2017). Feature and facilities of PMQ. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/the-site/feature-facilities/>

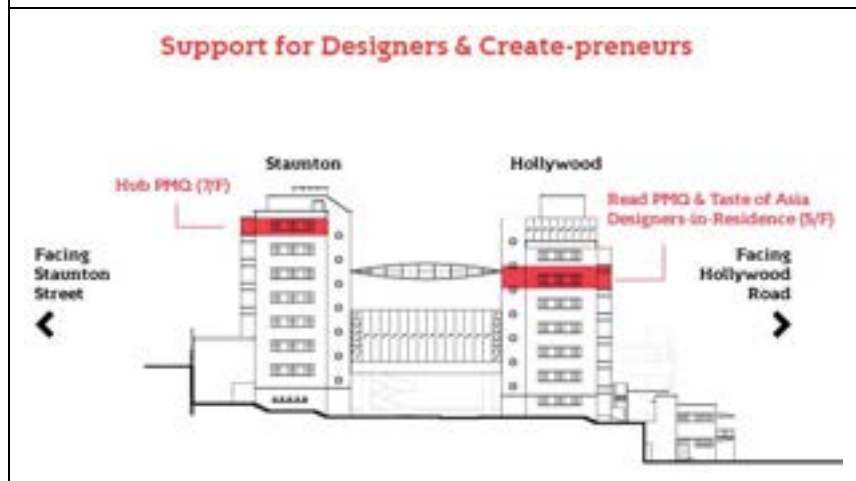


Figure 6.20 PMQ is positioned as a landmark of creativity, but there are only two areas assigned for supporting designers: a library with design reference books and cookbooks and a flexible co-working space. The Designers-in-Residence feature has not been promoted.

Image source: PMQ official website (2017). Feature and facilities of PMQ. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/the-site/feature-facilities/>

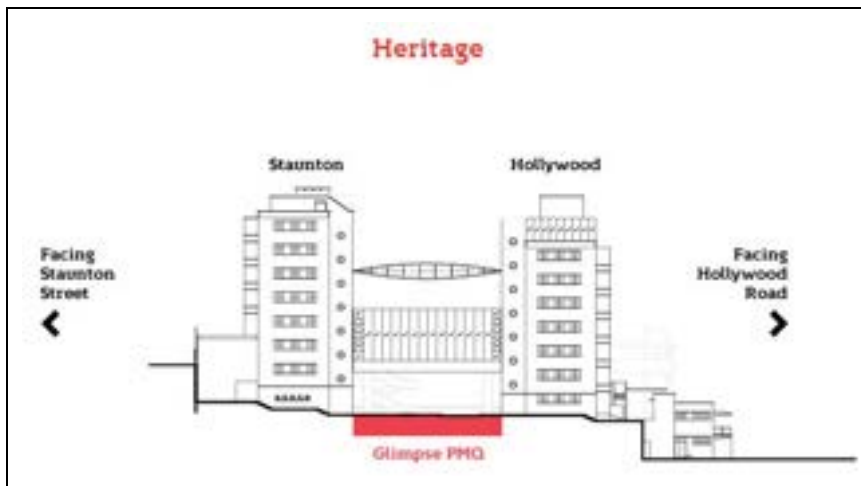








Figure 6. 21 There is a tiny underground exhibition hall ('Underground Interpretation Area') in the middle of the site. Two of the longest remnants of the foundation of the Central School, six pieces of the original floor and fragments of building materials can be found in this exhibition area.





Image source: PMQ official website (2017). Feature and facilities of PMQ. Retrieved from <http://www.pmq.org.hk/the-site/feature-facilities/>



Figure 6.22 Ample public space and green space at PMQ

Image source: Photos taken by the author

	
<p>Figure 6.23 A large-scale rooftop garden connecting two blocks</p>	<p>Figure 6.24 Many large-scale design events have been held at PMQ.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 6.25 Design features could be found in many places at the site.</p>	<p>Figure 6.26 Design features could be found in many places at the site.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 6.27 The museum at the ground level of the site</p>	<p>Figure 6.28 Some historical features were retained in the renovation, such as the old mail box at the entrance.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
<p>Figure 6.29 A multi-purpose room is located on the 7th floor for meetings or consultations.</p>	<p>Figure 6. 30 The 'taste library' is located on the 7th floor.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 6.31 Most tenants use their balconies only for storage.</p>	
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	

 	
<p>Figure 6.32 The site has fixed opening hours, from 7 am to 11 pm. However, most visitors and tenants stay at PMQ from 11 am to 7 pm.</p>	<p>Figure 6.33 A small exhibition area is set up at the underground floor of the site.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

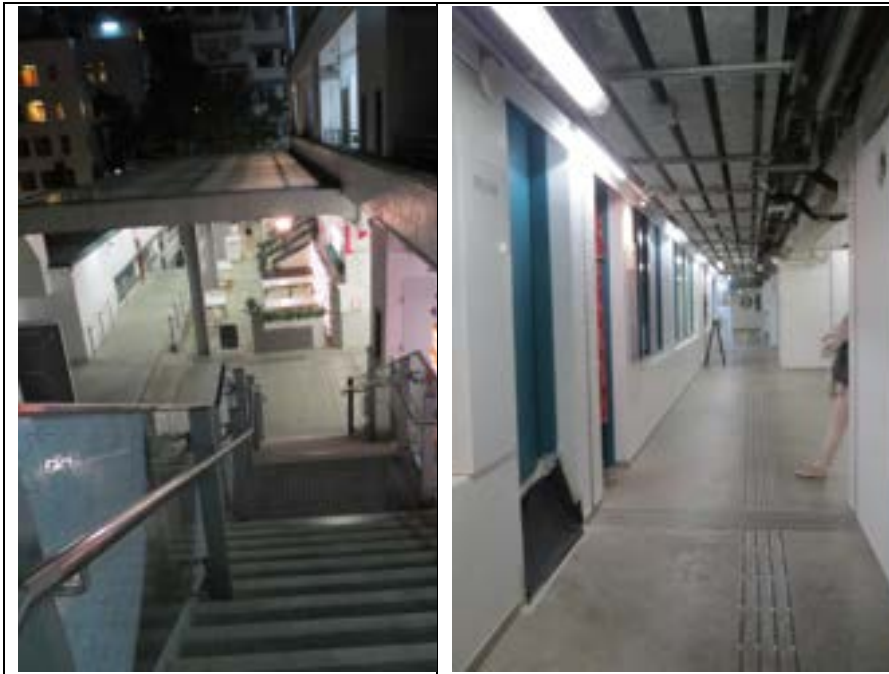


Figure 6.34 Few visitors could be found on weekdays.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.35 Many tenants extend their display areas by renting the space outside their premises.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

Image source: Photo taken by the author

6.4.2. Easy-Pack Creative Precinct – A Creative Cluster in a Subdivided Flat

Easy-Pack Creative Precinct is located in a 40-year-old industrial building in Kwun Tong district. In 1982, the Li family bought the building and established Easy-Pack Manufacturing Limited. Due to its location and the lack of elevators, the owner Mr. Li used only two floors for his business and the three upper floors remained empty. In 2011, Mr. Adrian Li, the son of the landlord, returned to Hong Kong after graduating from an arts and design programme. The landlord then renovated the upper three floors and turned it into the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct. A cargo lift and a proper lobby were added to support the cluster operation. At the time of the study, there were 16 premises in the cluster, housing 18 creative groups who work in different disciplines (product design, furniture design, graphic design, music production, leatherwork, design services and multimedia art/design). Mr. Adrian Li is one of the cluster users and had experience in running a creative cluster when he studied at Austria. Consequently, the interior design of the Easy Pack Creative Precinct is tailor-made to meet the needs of creative practitioners. For example, there is a rooftop garden specially designed

for events and functions. The busy traffic, air pollution and messy alleys of the Kwun Tong district mean that the surrounding environment of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct does not offer a pleasant atmosphere (Figures 6.41-42). To maintain reasonable rent for practitioners, the property owner divided the floors into many small premises with shared toilets and pantries; the cluster is thus in the style of subdivided units, which was a new kind of rental housing in Hong Kong. The size of each unit is different, ranging from 200 to 1200 sq. ft., to suit the different needs and budgets of tenants.

To maintain smooth operation of the site, the landlord works with a friend, Mr. Phil Kan, to assist with and cater to the needs of the tenants. Mr. Kan is the sub-landlord of the third-floor premises. He has his studio on the third floor and also acts as the caretaker of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct.



Figure 6.36 The renovated entrance of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.37 The façade of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.38 Location of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Google Maps

Surrounding environment

Easy-Pack Creative Precinct is situated in Kwun Tong. In 1953, the first industrial satellite town was developed in Kwun Tong, one of the oldest manufacturing areas in Hong Kong. Since economic restructuring in the 1990s, the manufacturing industry in Hong Kong has gradually wound down, and a great number of factories have closed and relocated to the Mainland. Many industrial buildings were left empty. These vacancies created possibilities for creative practitioners, who were much in need of space to set up studios. Because of cheap rents, flexible management and ample space, a huge number of creative practitioners settled in the industrial buildings. A wide range of cultural and creative industries agglomerated organically and made Kwun Tong the largest creative cluster in Hong Kong. The many artist/designer studios, production houses, galleries, retail shops, performance venues and cafes turned Kwun Tong into a hub of creativity in the city.

In addition to the property market turning bullish again in 2012, the Energizing Kowloon East Office was set up in 2012 for promoting redevelopment projects. Industrial lands were redeveloped for

commercial use and *Grand A* office premises for building another CBD of Hong Kong. To promote the new identity of Kwun Tong, the government even changed its name from Kwun Tong Industrial District to Kwun Tong Business Area, which marked a milestone in Kwun Tong redevelopment. It is no surprise that gentrification occurred, and many creative practitioners could not afford soaring rents after redevelopment; they either waited to be expelled or moved to new studio spaces on the periphery. However, rents in Easy-Pack Creative Precinct remained relatively reasonable during the research period. Creative practitioners moved out not because of sky-high rents but due to expansion of their businesses.





Figure 6.41 The surrounding environment of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.42 The main entrance of the Easy-Pack industrial building is located in the back alley (day and night photos).

Image source: Photos taken by the author

	
<p>Figure 6.43 The Energizing Kowloon East project underway along Kwun Tong</p>	<p>Figure 6.44 Large amounts of graffiti could be found in the surrounding area.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

Configuration of the site

As the landlord stated, the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct was renovated according to the needs of the creative practitioners. For example, different sizes of units could meet the affordability of the practitioners. The tenants are welcome to use the public space like the rooftop garden, pantry and other public space in the site.

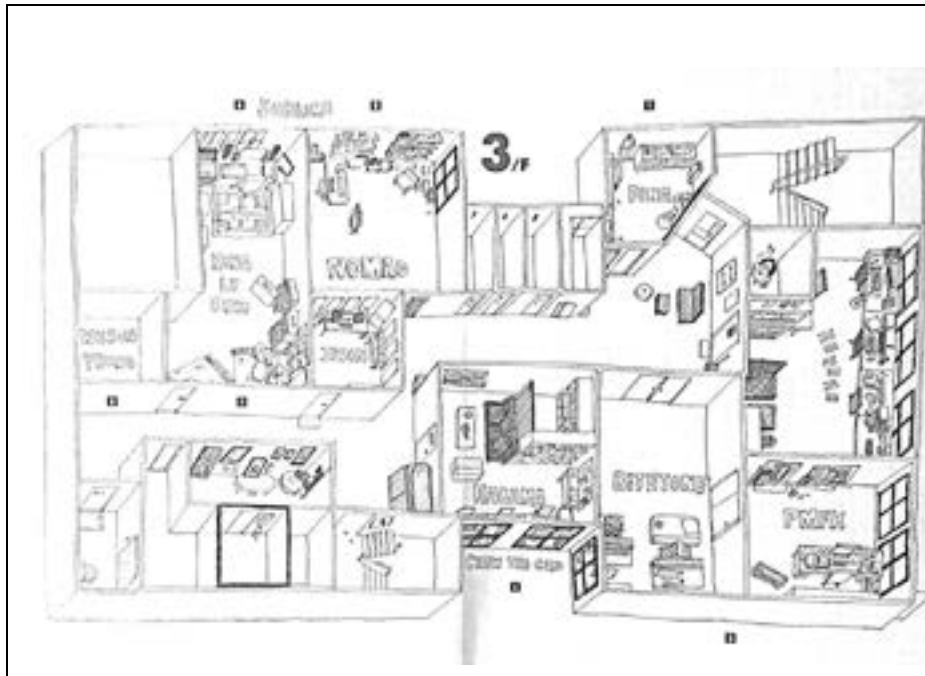


Figure 6.45 The layout of the 3/F floor of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Cai, X.T. et al. (2015). *Gongshali de ren. Xianggang: San lian shu dian (Xianggang) you xian gong si* (p. 144)

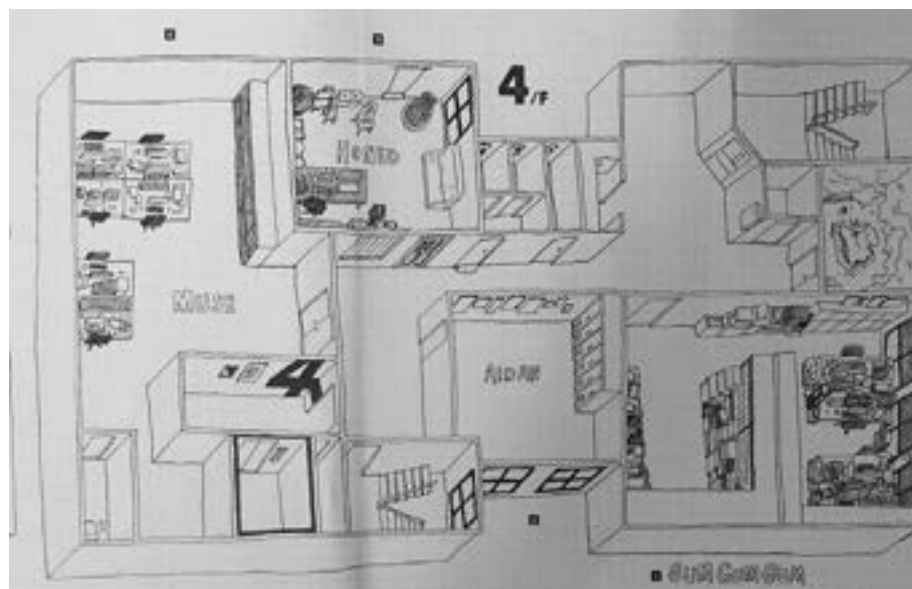


Figure 6.46 The layout of the 4/F floor of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Cai, X.T. et al. (2015). *Gongshali de ren. Xianggang: San lian shu dian (Xianggang) you xian gong si* (p. 145)

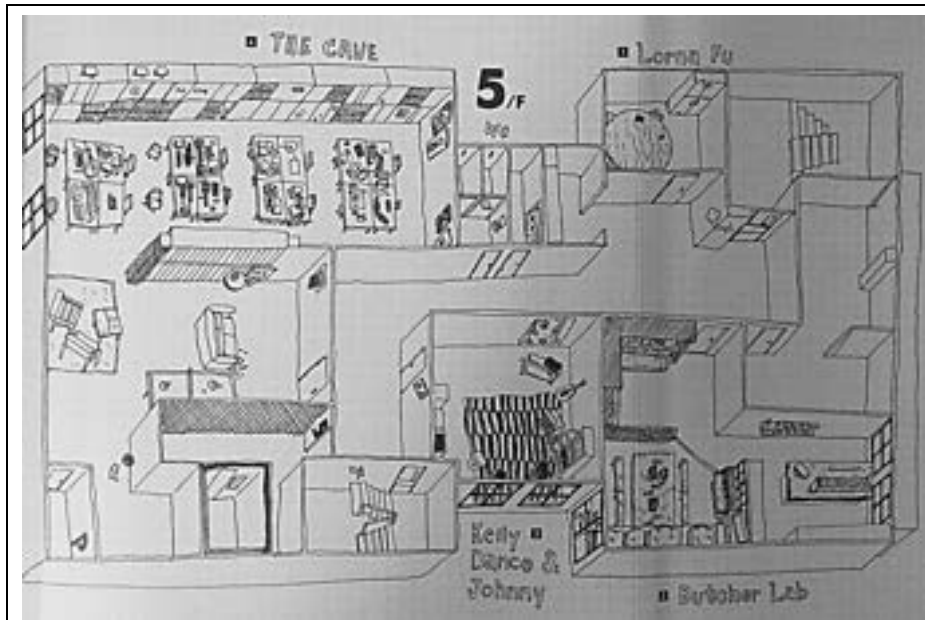


Figure 6.47 The layout of the 5/F floor of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Cai, X.T. et al. (2015). *Gongshali de ren. Xianggang: San lian shu dian (Xianggang) you xian gong si* (p. 146)



Figure 6.48 A shared studio with ample space for storage

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.49 A studio with a high ceiling, ideal for photo shoots

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.50 A shared studio with ample space for storage

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.51 The rooftop garden of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct before renovation

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.52 Tenants turned the public space into a sharing and entertainment space

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.53 The tenants put their creative work on display in the public space

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.54 Premises without windows

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.55 Premises with windows

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.56 Public space of the 5/F floor of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct. The tenants do not mind putting their belongings outside the studios.

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.57 The interior of one studio

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.58 The interior of one studio

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.59 A tenant hung a banner from the rooftop of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

6.4.3 Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre –

A Well-Planned Programme for Design Start-ups?

The government established DIP to nurture design start-ups. It became a key component in government creative policy and was consistently highlighted in Policy Addresses for the five years. The programme is fully funded by the Hong Kong government and provides substantial funding and resources for start-ups.

Because Hong Kong has the most expensive office rental prices in the world (Hollingsworth, 2016), it is very difficult to afford space for creative work. The DIP provided a very attractive offer: successful applicants to the programme would be provided with discounted ready-to-use offices for a two-year incubation period (free rent for the first year and discounted rent for the second). During the period of this study, the programme was situated at InnoCentre, which provided an ideal location and excellent facilities for start-ups. The programme was recently moved from InnoCentre to a new site at Wong Chuk Hang, on Hong Kong Island (December 2016).

Surrounding Environment

InnoCentre is a six-storey building in Kowloon Tong, a 10-minute walk from the MTR and a large bus terminal. It is adjacent to a university, high-end residential areas and an upscale shopping mall. It features different-sized exhibition halls, a design library, training and meeting facilities, cafés and shops that sell work produced by the tenants. It houses around 50 design firms and design-related establishments. Many famous local design establishments are located in the building. It is thus a desirable cluster for creative practitioners. However, for regular tenants (those not in the incubation period) the rental cost is comparable with Grade A office premises. As a result, only 8.5% of DIP participants have been able to afford to stay at the site after graduating from the programme.



Figure 6.60 The façade of InnoCentre

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.61 The location of InnoCentre

Image source: Google Maps



Figure 6.62 InnoCentre is near a university and a high-end residential area.

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.63 Ample outdoor space outside the site

Image source: Photo taken by the author

The government also provides creative practitioners with up to \$500,000 each for operating expenses, business promotion and development. Participating practitioners are required to attend training courses on business knowledge enrichment, mentorship and business outreach. The

Hong Kong Design Centre provides regular business development networking sessions.

At first glance, the DIP appears to have been successful. According to a Legislative Council meeting document (9 January 2017), since its inception participants in the DIP ‘have filed 286 intellectual property rights for registration and attained 198 awards and public recognition, of which 42 were renowned international awards, such as iF Product Design Award and Red Dot Design Award’ (p. 2). In addition, the annual report of the Hong Kong Design Centre (2016) stated that ‘around 95% of start-ups remained in operation two years after graduation’ (p. 41). The figures suggest that the government’s efforts to foster the creative sector in Hong Kong have been successful.

Configuration of the site

Although there are seven storeys at InnoCentre, the DIP units are mainly located on the first level of the building. Facilities are well equipped and specially designed for the needs of design practitioners. For example, there is a 3D printing room, work room, shooting studio and equipment

room to help practitioners in their creation process. Different sizes of meeting rooms and networking rooms are available at the site. Resources such as a design library, café, programme and event venues are tailor-made for creative practitioners.



Figure 6.64 There are various exhibition areas and meeting rooms at InnoCentre.

Image source: InnoCentre official website (2017). *InnoCentre Chamber Floor Plan*. Retrieved from <https://www.hkstp.org/media/1800/floor-plan.pdf>



Figure 6.65 The Design Incubation Programme is mainly located on the second floor of InnoCentre.

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.66 The floorplan of the Design Incubation Programme

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.67 The Design Incubation Centre provides services to support DIP participants.

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.68 A small exhibition area showcases the work of the creative practitioners.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

Figure 6.69 The reception area of the Design Incubation Centre

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 6.70 Normally units' doors are closed. Creative practitioners are rarely seen.

Image source: Photos taken by the author

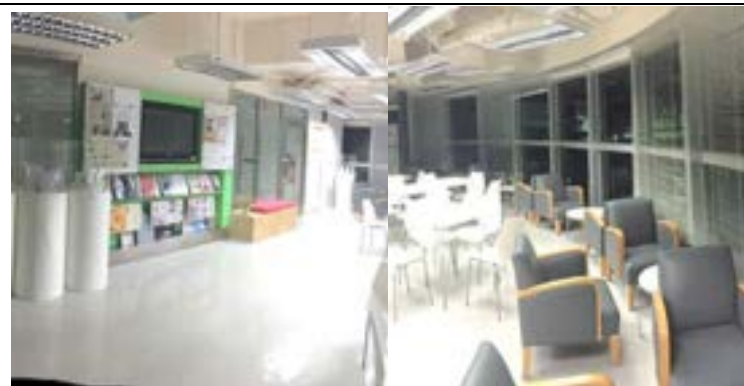


Figure 6.71 Well-equipped pantry with furniture and TV

Image source: Photos taken by the author



Figure 6.72 A 3D printing room and work room are available at InnoCentre.

Image source: Photos taken by the author



Figure 6.73 Two pantries at InnoCentre

Image source: Photos taken by the author



Figure 6.74 Spacious lobby with a promotional poster hanging from the top of the building

Image source: Photo taken by the author

Table 8. Comparison between the three cases			
	PMQ	Easy-Pack Creative Precinct	DIP at InnoCentre
Form of establishment	Planned by the government	Organically formed	Planned by the government
Year of operation	2014	2011	2012
Nature	Studio-cum-shop	Studio	Studio
Business-to-business (B2B) / Business to Consumer (B2C)	B2C	B2B	B2B
Operator	PMQ Management Co, Ltd	Li family	The Hong Kong Design Center
No. of Storeys	7	5	7
Former use of the site	Central School, the former Hollywood Road Police Married Quarters	Industrial building	Former Industry Technology Centre
Financial support	Concessionary rents	Market price	Free rent for the first year and discounted rent for the second
Location	Central	Kwun Tong	Kowloon Tong
No. of units	130	16	22
Size of unit	400 sq. ft	200-1200 sq. ft	556-1,200 sq. ft.
Number of creative groups	100	18	60 incubatees in three years
Duration of stay	2 years	2 years (flexible /negotiable)	2 year (maximum)

Annual report	Nil	Nil	Progress report
Shared facilities	Toilet	Toilet and pantry	Toilet and pantry
Promotion	Yes	Nil	Yes
Official website	Yes	Nil	Yes
Tenancy Selection	Yes. Formal proposal submitted to the foundation	Yes. Decision based on the nature of operation (by Mr. Aidan Li & Mr. Phil Kan)	Yes. Formal proposal submitted to the Hong Kong Design Center

6.5 Summary

In this study, three cultural and creative clusters were selected for multiple case studies. To understand the operation of the sites and how creative practitioners understand/interpret these clusters, the real situation was first described and revealed. This chapter first explains the reasons for selecting the sites out of the 15 cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong for case studies: (a) *architectural form*, (b) *profession of creative practitioners* and (c) *significance*. All key field research activities conducted during the research have been listed out to show the validity of the research findings. The second part introduced the background, history and configuration of PMQ, Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and DIP at InnoCentre to show the significance of each case.

The background and details help to pave the way for further illustration of the applicability of the 3Cs model of cultural and creative clusters in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 Research Findings and Discussion

7.1 Preamble

This study endeavours to determine the essential factors in sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. This chapter considers how creative practitioners interpret and use cultural and creative clusters. The first part of this chapter reports overall comments and feedback on clusters by creative practitioners. The importance of the three factors (quality of cluster, importance of community and occurrence of creativity) is revealed by the responses of informants. The second part examines the three selected cases using the 3Cs model. By analysing the findings obtained from direct observation and semi-structured interviews, this part illustrates how suitable the 3Cs model is for examining the cultural and creative clusters in terms of quality of cluster, formation of community and occurrence of creativity. Comparison between the three sites will be based on the factors in the 3Cs model. To evaluate the applicability of the 3Cs model to the empirical setting, objective external factors (dropout rate, mode of operation, collaborations between tenants and survival rate) will be measured.

7.2 Understanding the Real Practice of Creative Practitioners

Overall comments and feedbacks on clusters by creative practitioners

In the first part of interview, the interviewees express their general views on the nature of cultural and creative clusters , their lifestyle and the important factors of the cluster . It was important to highlight their unique lifestyles in order to mark the differences of creative clusters from other types of clusters . Firstly we could confirm the needs of a physical cluster from all interviewees. Their views are categorized in three sections including (1) Challenges in Hong Kong , (2) Special requirement , and (3) Importance of forming groups.

The aspatial cluster is only a romantic discourse

Interviews started with a query as to whether renting studio space was a must for creative practitioners. Whether the location provided suitable space for setting up a studio was critical.

All of the interviewees highlighted that studio space was extremely important for a number of reasons. First, the home environment was full of distractions and they could not concentrate on their work. The

comfortable environment and setting, entertainment gadgets or passing family members became forms of distraction. Secondly, working at home had adverse influences on themselves and their families. One interviewee reported that he worked in video and film production. His work always involved the whole crew working simultaneously on video editing; his house was too small for the crew. Another crucial concern was that most people in the production crew were heavy smokers (a common phenomenon among creative practitioners); family members could not stand such a polluted environment. Some types of creative work also have special requirements for materials and equipment; for example, a fashion stylist and designer highlighted that the production and sewing process, which requires several large machines, was impossible at home. In addition, the textile samples used in testing and matching were normally full of dust. Home-based working environments were definitely a problem. Apart from practical production concerns, some interviewees stated that clients might not approach them if they did not have a proper studio. Clients would not feel the designers/artists were professional if they only provided a residential address. A more stable client flow would be possible by having a proper workplace.

One interviewee cited another positive result of renting a studio space. Although high rent was a major concern (or a heavy burden), designers/artists were highly motivated by having to pay the monthly rent. The studio could thus not be regarded as a place for relaxation or friendly gatherings, but instead was a place for productive work. Two interviewees moved their premises due to the expansion of their businesses, while others started businesses with small studios and cheaper rent.

7.2.1 Challenges in Hong Kong

The form of creative clusters

All of the interviewees were very concerned about the physical form of clusters. Architectural form influences the formation of social networks and interaction between creative groups. Currently, there are a number of physical types of clusters in Hong Kong: (1) horizontal, (2) vertical, (3) scattered, (4) street-level and (5) complex. According to observation and interview data, a single building was regarded as the ideal architectural setting for creative clusters. Interviewees in a cluster within a single industrial building appreciated the concentration of design studios,

workshops and recording studios within a single building rather than being scattered around the district.

Transportation is of utmost importance

Transportation is extremely important in Hong Kong, even though the city is small. Clusters without a public transportation network were not welcomed by creative practitioners. Studios concentrating on commercial jobs would seldom opt for remote clusters, even if the rent was relatively affordable or the environment more pleasant. Lack of transportation indeed stops clients or working partners from visiting the studio. For example, one interviewee from Easy-Pack Creative Precinct stated that he would never consider Wong Chu Hang as a studio location even he lives at nearby area with good environment. The lack of adequate public transportation becomes one of the important factors to consider in the setup of studio.

One interviewee vividly described the foreseeable difficulty in transporting materials in Hong Kong .

The effectiveness of the transportation is important. Designers found to be suffered and annoyed by carrying the portfolio to head in different places; particularly the form board is easy to be damaged from the crowd. (Interview with Mr. Chan, graphic designer, at 10/08/2015)

At the same time, clusters located around the Central Business District have an enormous advantage, and therefore rents will be higher.

Differences from the loft style – separation between work and living

In the 1970s loft lifestyle in the US, artists combined studio space and residential use. However, this approach did not occur in HK. Using an industrial property as a residence is illegal in Hong Kong. The Development Bureau will issue a warning letter after receiving a complaint, and tenants can be evicted as a result. In this study, all of the interviewees stated that they would not turn the studio space into a living unit. Although during the interviews and observations, different home appliances (refrigerator and mini oven) and home-like environment (soft lighting, sofa and bed) could be seen in the studios, interviewees said they seldom stayed overnight. Occasionally they would stay overnight to complete some last-minute work or have a gathering of friends. Some interviewees stated practical reasons for not staying overnight: the air and

water quality were poor in the industrial area; it was awkward to stay overnight when another tenant was there (especially of a different gender); the studio was not an ideal home space, as the large area and lack of partition were awkward. Some of them said they suffered from back pain after staying in the studio for a few nights. The key issue was that a prolonged stay in the same place might suffocate the creative mind. It would be fine to stay overnight occasionally, but regular residential use was unacceptable. Some even stated that one reason to rent a studio was the separation of work from home. Most interviewees agreed that they worked productively and effectively in the studio but not in the home environment, due to its many distractions.

Bohemian lifestyle is only a romantic discourse

Nearly all of the interviewees expressed their difficulties in running their studios. The huge economic burden and practical concerns meant they could not afford to spend time wandering around the district or hanging out at the coffee shop. Most spent a great deal of time working and meeting with clients. The bohemian lifestyle was far from the situation of these design practitioners, and was not common in Hong Kong.

7.2.2 Special requirements from the creative practitioners

A cultural creative cluster provides more than practical needs

The empirical data suggest that an aspatial cluster without physical location does not support the work of creative practitioners. Many studies have focussed mainly on the practical needs addressed by clustering. However, concentration of studio space not only provides practical support but also offers emotional support and a sense of belonging.

Spatial contexts are important in knowledge generation and the creative process. Some interviewees emphasised that a concentration of like people was crucial for the occurrence of creativity. Although there were several associations and committee in the creative fields, many interviewees felt that they did not work well in developing relations with others. Unless one is a core member of an organisation, it is not easy to develop a solid network with people who only meet occasionally. Clustering enables creative practitioners to chitchat and interact with each other. Apart from group activities organised by the manager of the industrial building, informal encounters in the corridors, lifts, toilets and rooftop garden help tenants to build a sense of belonging and form

creative community. Through day-to-day encounters, people become familiar with each other, which is the basic criterion for enhancing the flow of information.

Formality does not work well in the creative community

Although a number of formal invitations for interviews were sent via email, the response rate was very low. This situation was mentioned to the interviewees. Some of them thought this lack of response was to be expected, as not many of them read their email. Invitations would not be received if a formal method of communication was used. Through friend referrals via phone, Facebook and Whatsapp, the artists/designers agreed to be interviewed. One interviewee, a photographer, highlighted that it is important to make connections on informal occasions. He believed that the best way to make connections with people from relevant fields (make-up artists, stylists, copywriters from advertising agencies, creative directors, etc.) was first through openings or events, followed up with casual encounters at hangout places. A strong network could be then built, which would increase the chance of success. It was very difficult to stay away from social networking and to simply work independently. This

circumstance was even more important for start-ups, as formal meetings and presentations were not enough.

7.2.3 The importance of forming groups

Formation of grouping

80% of interviewees agreed that there was community formed at both the location-based and work-based level. For the work-based level, interviewees had different interpretations of the concept of community. For example, some associated it with organisations such as the Hong Kong Designers Association (HKDA) and Hong Kong Fashion Designers Association (HKFDA). However, they did not believe such institutional formations enhanced community in any real sense; they offered professional identity but were not communities that provided support. A number of interviewees said they had developed social networks through work; for example, they met members of the production crew on shooting projects. Further communication and networks were built through collaborations.

For location-based community, many interviewees stated the importance of agglomeration in clusters. Clustering at a small location creates daily

face-to-face interaction; interviewees from bounded clusters emphasised the importance of staying together in building community. A sense of community is easily built through day-to-day contact, which not only helps in establishing friendly relationships, but also reveals others' potential and possibilities for future collaboration. Interestingly, the interviewees located in scattered clusters also stated that they felt the existence of community, even though it was not as obvious as in bounded clusters. For example, three interviewees from the Kwun Tong industrial area spoke of the cooperation of creative practitioners to oppose the urban renewal project Energizing Kowloon East. The practitioners worked together to design promotion materials, distribute leaflets and participate in the protest. They called themselves stakeholders in the cluster and district.

Importance of social networks

This study argues that spatially defined communities are important due to the practice of creative work. Freelance, project-based or contracted work normally requires last-minute workers with instantaneous access to skill sets. Job referrals through an established social network is a win-win situation given the collaborative nature of creative work. Without

extensive socialisation at a permanent physical location, it is difficult to develop a network of trust. Support, critique and collaboration occur after the development of mutual trust. As stated by Belussi and Staber (2011), 'spontaneous and informal networks are the central organizational form in which they (Creative practitioners) coevolve with the creative process' (p. 213). Only if creative people are present in the same place will spontaneous and informal creation be possible.

Most of the interviewees mentioned that social networks were very important for startup. As it was not easy to find a studio space with affordable rent, sharing flats was a normal practice. Referrals among friends were the most common way to find a suitable place. Without social networks, they might not have been able to set up their studios. In this way, co-located studio spaces form clusters.

Several scholars have found that social embeddedness nurtures creativity. However, the interviewees shared their experience of encounters with creative groups in occasional gatherings. Without lengthy observation, the credibility and performance of others could not be determined. These were not easy to tell from mere word of mouth. Additionally, the close

connection developed by geographical concentration supported development.

Importance of being together

In the empirical cases, one creative practitioner who had a full-time job during the day expressed a psychological need for being together. Many tenants mentioned that they usually stay at their studios for a long time. To meet deadlines, they usually worked very late and sometimes stayed overnight. A number of interviewees mentioned that they were sometimes negatively affected by feelings of loneliness, but knowing their colleagues were still working in the same building/area made them feel better. Especially for clusters within bounded space, hearing music or noise from other units or seeing a dim light from their doors was good enough. Some creative practitioners could only work at their studios at night as they worked full-time jobs to pay the rent. If the building only housed 9-to-5 office or factory work, the environment would feel deserted after 5 pm. Feeling that other people are around thus becomes an important support for creative practitioners. It is interesting that the interviewees had vague definitions of their workplace. Normally they referred to another person's workplace as 'his/her place' in Cantonese:

for example, ‘I know Mr. A’s place; it is located in the building opposite.’

Most of them used the word *studio* in describing their workplaces. Just one interviewee, who had worked for an advertising agency for over three years, used the word *office* instead. Another key point from the interviews was the activity carried out at the studio. Depending on the nature of the work, tenants needed space to carry out their production work, such as woodcutting, metalwork or photography.

Doors are for safety, not for communication

In the case of the Easy-Pack Industrial Building, the door gate functioned in both positive and negative ways. In a positive sense, it provided security. As the building was located in the industrial area, safety and security were major issues for neighbours. However, door gates could also have negative effects. For example, there were gates on floors 3 and 4, while floor 5 was open to the public. People had to call tenants when paying a visit. Strangers could not enter the corridors without permission. A boundary between public and private space was clearly set by the gate. Although it looked like friends could casually visit, the password of the door gate was kept strictly confidential. The password was not given out to anyone other than the building’s tenants. One interviewee’s girlfriend

brought his lunchbox every day, yet he did not give her the password but asked her to call for entry. Having the password showed that one was an ‘insider’ at the building. Insiders wandered around and visited different studios freely. On level 5/F, however, people could visit more casually. Some studios such as Cave did not have a proper door. They did not worry about security, but simply wanted to prevent the cat from slipping out of the building.

Surrounding amenities and the formation of community

The interviewees indicated that the availability and quality of the surrounding amenities is important in constructing community. One interviewee stated that the most crucial factor in the formation of community was whether the place could retain practitioners. If the surrounding environment and amenities could not support the work of creative practitioners, how could community form?

Apart from practical needs and related industry needs, the interviewees mentioned certain amenities. 40% of interviewees mentioned that hangout places help in building community and networks. Some

interviewees stated that the concert space in the district was an important venue for community. One remarked, ‘everyone is there; if you want to meet someone, simply go there for a while then you properly see what you want’.

20% of interviewees stated that the availability of a ball court strengthened communication between practitioners within the cluster. One interviewee mentioned that many creative practitioners, especially male ones, needed time to work out and refresh themselves. They could meet other practitioners casually, and get to know each other after the football/basketball match.

Long working hours help in building close relationships

In the interviews, most interviewees stated that they stayed at the studio for long hours. Working over 10 hours was a common practice for the interviewees, and some of them worked till very late. In general, they reported that they needed companions for chat or late supper. As they knew that someone else was also working there, they could receive mutual support.

Lack of money is not bad at all – reinforcement of a sense of community

Most interviewees had a limited budget for their startups, and money was the biggest challenge. To rent, finish and furnish their studio spaces, they had to make careful budget calculations. However, such issues have both positive and negative effects. Obviously they restricted their studio setups; however, they provided designers with an opportunity to gain financial training to explore their creativity and help in relationship-building. A number of interviewees highlighted the importance of financial planning within a limited budget; they learned how to break down their costs and strike a balance between practical usage and decoration. Apart from fulfilling a training purpose, lack of resources became a catalyst in building relationships between different groups. One interviewee stated that his coffee table was a gift from the design group next door, who made it out of recycled pallets. He treasured it and was grateful that his friends were aware of his need. One interviewee mentioned that he did not have sufficient money for furnishing; he made all his furniture by himself and had to learn a wide range of skills, including mental work and woodwork. He regarded it as a fruitful experience, as he could now design and execute his own custom work.

A planned gathering place cannot guarantee the formation of community

A gathering place in a cluster may increase the chance of communication, and thus help to build community. However, the interviews and observation findings indicated that the common area was the primary site for making friends and meeting up. Due to lengthy working hours and last-minute projects, interviewees could not spend much time in gathering places. Even when there was a specific place for gatherings in the cluster, tenants would not use it on a regular base. For example, the landlord of the Easy Pack industrial building reserved the rooftop garden and a small game area with a pool table for gathering and sharing. Usage rate for both areas was low, except for events or openings. However, common areas such as staircases, corridors, elevators and the lift lobby made informal encounters happen. Through day-to-day encounters, people become familiar with each other. Tenants who bump into others may chitchat, gossip, share their difficulties and exchange information.

If conversation goes well, they may invite others to visit their studio for a long talk. Interviewees remarked that they love to stop by and say hello

to others in their clusters. These common areas are effective places for initiating conversation and enhancing relationships between tenants. The quality of these places should thus be further enhanced.

7.3 Evaluation of the 3Cs Model of Sustainable Cultural and Creative Clusters

This study has proposed the 3Cs (cluster, community, creativity) model for developing sustainable cultural and creative clusters. (Please refer to Chapter 4 for a detailed explanation of the theoretical framework.) In the 3Cs model, three factors are regarded as fundamental elements for creative production. They do not function independently, but work together to support creative practitioners. A cluster is not simply a physical site; it is also a spatial setting that supports creative production. Maslow's basic and specific needs are the primary conditions needed to maintain a cluster. Psychological needs must also be considered, due to the particular characteristics and production modes of creative practitioners. The spatial setting of a cluster greatly influences the chance of face-to-face interactions, which can stimulate creativity.

Practitioners must be part of a community, as communities provide information exchange and mutual support. Especially for creative production, which often involves teamwork and collaboration, a sense of belonging and mutual trust positively influences creative work. Frequent

social interactions generate ‘trust-based, co-operative behaviour’

(Bassett et al., 2002, p. 172).

Spatial settings that are the long-term residences of creative practitioners encourage interaction between creative minds working in a creative atmosphere. Novel ideas are generated, which is one of the ultimate goals of a creative cluster.

Therefore, our conceptual model, the 3Cs model has three elements: quality of the cluster, community formation and occurrence of creativity.

To examine the applicability of the 3Cs model, three case studies were selected. The following section examines how the three interwoven factors influence the cluster. The detailed parameters of the three factors are then discussed and analysed.

7.3.1 The Case of PMQ

Examining PMQ: quality of the cluster

With strong support and detailed planning, PMQ provided a very good environment with subsidised rent. PMQ's places for showcasing work and retail outlets were its most appreciated features. The ample open space, multiple exhibition and event venues, garden, high-end café, dining sites and handful of nearby cultural and historical establishments fulfilled the *basic* and *specific needs* of the tenants. However, the spatial setting did not meet the *psychological needs* of the creative practitioners, as it was not a suitable place for creative work. One interviewee who works as product designer highlighted that PMQ provided a good environment for the practitioners.

In fact, there are spacious space, a big hall and the rooftop at the PMQ. However, the poor management from the top management was reflected by insufficiency implantation from all those facilities. Though the private event and exhibition hold by the big label had been ongoing, however, the original purpose of "Art, design and culture" from the venue has not been shown. The setup of the PMQ has lost with its cultural feature and as for how it was planned to establish as a Design Landmark. In contrast, the activities from the courtyard (West Kowloon Cultural District) seem to be more inspiring/ interesting to be compared with. (Interview with Mr. Cheong, product designer, at 5/02/2016)

However, the good environment and facilities turned the site into a popular tourist spot rather than a place for creative production. According to PMQ's promotional literature (2015), over 3 million people visited the space in the year after it opened in 2014. Many visitors came to the site to take photographs and eat out (Figure 7.1). All of the interviewees clearly stated that they seldom used the public area and garden outside their premises, as they did not have any reason to be outside.

The use of the common area...Seriously No! Basically, both mentioned (public space) places did not come to our choice. I would prefer to stay at my shop to relax as there's conditioning provided. (Interview with Mr. Yeung, fashion designer, at 1/03/2016)

However, they were required to keep their doors open, and there were frequent security patrols to make sure the studios had open doors, with penalties if they failed to follow this rule. This strict management actually hindered their work.

Yes, the shop should be opened at the regular/ fixed hour of 1pm-8pm. The penalty would be caused if you failed to do so, similar regulation as the public estate. There's 3 points quota per month, 1 point will be deducted if the shop did not open at the regular hour which means the






serving day per week cannot be less than three days. You will get kicked out if you lost more than 3 points. In fact, there are quite many regulations to follow. Such as, no plant is allowed and no decoration allowed at the window...etc. Have forgotten the rest but there are definitely more. (Interview with Mr. Tai, product designer, at 15/07/2016)

Some interviewees also said they were worried about PMQ's location, in the Central area. Although they could afford the subsidised rent, daily life in the CBD was expensive. For example, a budget meal, which they could find in the industrial area, might not be available in the Central area.

The price at Wilbur's is more approachable and that's why I have picked this restaurant. Comparatively, the other options of *Vasco*, *Isono* and Aberdeen Street Social are too costly though their foods are fine, the general charges of around \$200 would stop me to visit while there's set lunch in reasonable price provided by Wilbur's. The set lunch is a good option with *Xingzhou Friend* Rice noodle with the price under \$100. (Interview with Ms. Lam, fashion designer, at 20/11/2016)

I usually dine in the surrounding area. It was not recommended by the organizer from the PMQ, as we were expected to stay at the shop at most of the time. However, we usually eat out as the customers do not visit during a weekday, we don't see the difference to only leave the shop closed at lunch hour. People do come for visit during the weekend, so we don't take a long lunch out at the weekend. SOHO is not a popular option for us; we usually head to the Central, Sheng Wan and the area like Kau U Fong of their local restaurant and noodle stall. Have you visited the

restaurant at the PMQ? Have been to one or two, they are fine for me. There was one called, *Tai Lung Fung*, they serve Hong Kong local food. It's a good option for Chinese flavour. But overall, the options at the PMQ are expensive and less attractive to those restaurants located at the surrounding area. No experience in the Fine dining restaurant. (Interview with Mr. Tai, product designer, at 15/07/2016)

	
	
	
<p>Figure 7.1 Visitors came to PMQ to take photos</p>	<p>Figure 7.2 Visitors came to PMQ for dining</p>
<p>Image source: Photos taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photos taken by the author</p>

Examining PMQ: community formation

In PMQ, the brand new 'studio-cum-shop' concept and architectural structure were the most appreciated features; the subsidised retail space in a high-end shopping district allowed start-up businesses to showcase their work. In practice, these characteristics hindered creative production and even weakened social ties between tenants. To keep the shop open, many designers had to recruit part-time staff to take care of the shop while they were away finding sources, attending meetings or actually producing creative work. Some interviewees mentioned that it took time to figure out who were the designers and who were the sales staff. To cater to retail demands, the designers only left the premises when necessary.

There's another serious issue to mention. It is not easy to liaise with collaboration at the PMQ, while you may not be able to reach to the shop owner or the designer. Some of us may have contacted with each other, we sometimes would exchange with our views and information. However, that may not happen to everyone especially if the staff is the only person to station at the shop, it could be too complicated to get to connect through different people for a new project proposal. The case is similar when you go to the store like Muji. You may be able to seek help from their sales or staff, but further cooperation could not be succeeded. (Interview with Mr. Cheong, product designer, at 5/02/2016)

Social network... Not as how I expected at the beginning. In my recent case, we do have a normal greeting, but that's the most of it. It really depends on different cases, you may find to get along with somebody especially if you both meet each other more frequently. But that's not my case apparently. (Interview with Ms. Lam, fashion designer, at 20/11/2016)

In addition, interviewees said that the architectural setting lowered their motivation to interact with other tenants, as the cluster was structurally divided into two sections, that is, two individual blocks connected by a fourth-floor garden. Unless their premises were located on the fourth floor, practitioners had to go up/down and walk through the garden to access premises in the opposite block. Practitioners rarely wandered around or chatted with other tenants.

This is the vital point from the PMQ. People will take a side since there are only two connection points between two blocks. People either choose the left block or the right from the 4th floor connecting point. This problem had caused by the original design of the building structure. (Interview with Mr. Tai, product designer, at 15/07/2016)

Both the signage and the public notices created the impression of *shops* rather than *studios* (Figure 7.3), and this understanding was also expressed by the interviewees, who regarded PMQ mainly as a retail site.

Activities other than those related to retail/work/meetings rarely took place on site.



In my opinion, the management of the PMQ is tented to be commercial on both visualization of the stores, or the operation method, the promotion, and managing of the PMQ are similar to the mainstream shopping mall instead. This may not be all negative, however, the feature of design and flexibility have lost while the shops here is getting similar to the other mainstream shopping mall/shops. The standardized pattern of display and management of the shop become an obstacle to maintain the interaction with the customers and the uniqueness and lively of the shops would have missed. That's my view of the PMQ. (Interview with Mr. Yeung, product designer, at 1/03/2016)

Most practitioners left the premises immediately after work; they did not engage in any kind of relaxation, chatting or entertainment on site, which are necessary for making connections.

...Another point is, the shops at the PMQ are all closed by around 10pm. Basically, the nature of the shops over here is for retail purpose but not in design studio practice. People, including the designers, would leave at a non-open hour. Unlike SD (School of Design, The Polytechnic University), designers work during evening time or even work overnight, people will get to hang out at the rest of the time. However, the atmosphere here is different, you can only reach people during the office hour. (Interview with Mr. Tai, product designer, at 15/07/2016)

Size of the group would be another key factor influences the formation of community. There were over 100 tenants at PMQ , but the interviewees reflected that it is very difficult to communicate with other creative practitioners. It is impossible to even meet the designers as many units only have the sales taking care of the shop.

The tenant association had created a “WhatsApp” group for contacting. However, the deviation of the common belief had turned the activity or campaign (proposed from tenant) could not be accomplished. There're two types of people here. The first type, owner takes over the shop and station at the venue, and another type is to hire a salesperson to manage to shop matter for them. Usually, the owner in good economic condition may have hiring staff to take up the position for them, and they could propose many interesting ideas for planning and promotion, however, they may not having good ability on further execution. For the owner with a poor economic condition, has already been occupied from heavy workload resulted in less involvement in the common activity. In general, there are too many different tenants, which means it is not an easy task to gather them together for a common goal and planning.(Interview with Mr. Cheong, product designer, at, 5/02/2016)

	
<p>Figure 7.3 The notion of <i>shop</i> rather than <i>studio</i> was common at PMQ.</p>	<p>Figure 7.4 Notice for recurring part-time sales staff outside a shop front at PMQ</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

Examining PMQ: the Occurrence of Creativity

PMQ was named the new creative landmark of Hong Kong and provided practitioners with a place to show their work. Not only did the premises serve a retail function, they gave practitioners the chance to receive comments, feedback and recognition from buyers and customers. Although there were over 100 creative premises at PMQ, it contained only three major types of creative industry. The business environment and work mode did not encourage creative ideas or collaboration, and in fact resulted in competition between creative practitioners.

Will you find to be inspiring from the design shops located around? It must be though I haven't fully experienced yet. Probably we have been concentrated with our own matter, or whether this is the designer's nature or not. Not seeing lots of collaboration from my personal observation. (Interview with Mr. Cheong, product designer, at 5/2/2016)

There's different traffic on different floors. The 4th floor was crowded at the beginning, while the 5th floor took over the place when there are more shops located afterward. However, collaboration and crossover were not popular here; I guess everyone wanted to focus on their own business instead. (Interview with Ms. Lam, fashion designer, at 20/02/2016)

Since the formal opening, only one joint sale had taken place, which was initiated by a group of tenants on the fourth floor. Copyright issues were another concern mentioned by two interviewees, as the showcasing of work disclosed the creation process. It might provide necessary conditions for infringement of copyright (Figures 7.5-6).

	
<p>Figure 7.5 Notice ‘Respect Copyright, No filming & No Videotaping in studios’ could be found in many locations at PMQ.</p>	<p>Figure 7.6 Apart from the official warning by the PMQ management, this tenant also put up a ‘No photos’ warning sign in the window of their premises.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
Figure 7.7 The night market event was welcomed by many visitors for the soft opening of PMQ.	Figure 7.8 Different talks and events were held in the open space of PMQ.
Image source: Photo taken by the author	Image source: Photo taken by the author
	
Figure 7.9 A flea market took place in the open space reserved for events.	Figure 7.10 Different campaigns could be found at PMQ.
Image source: Photo taken by the author	
	
Figure 7.11 This promotional card holder shows that a large-scale promotional campaign for PMQ began in 2012, that is, two years before the site opened. PMQ has made strong use of PR.	
Image source: Photo taken by the author	

7.3.2 The case of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Examining Easy-Pack Creative Precinct – quality of the cluster

Easy-Pack Creative Precinct does not have a very pleasant environment, as it is located in the old industrial district with automotive repair shops and hardware stores nearby. Traffic is busy and the frequent loading of lorries creates traffic jams during peak hours. The cluster itself is in a subdivided studio unit format, and some premises are very small and without windows. Due to the limited size of each floor, there are very limited supporting facilities for creation and testing. There are thus a number of drawbacks to Easy-Pack Creative Precinct's spatial setting in terms of *basic needs* and *specific needs*. The small units and unpleasant surroundings did not provide a desirable environment for tenants or visitors. Ironically, all of the interviewees were satisfied with the spatial setting of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, although they felt that a better environment would be 'nice to have'. The satisfaction of *psychological needs* made up for physical limitations. The enclosed spatial setting, corridors with warm lighting, small but well-equipped pantry, free rooftop garden for relaxing and prototype testing and sympathetic

management that encouraged flexible use of space helped to create a sense of belonging and supported community formation.

Interviewees agreed that the site had drawbacks, but they could generally overlook them or deal with these. For example, one interviewee shared that though the rent was his major concern, he was highly motivated by the fact that he had to pay the rent every month. All of the interviewees believed that flexible management and freedom in the use of space were crucial. For example, they could have temporary storage spaces in the lift lobby if they were needed, and would not be accused of making noise or using hand tools.

In studies of two successful cultural districts in the United States, Currid (2007) and Lloyd (2010) highlighted the importance of a vivid and vibrant neighbourhood in the development of creative clusters. Florida (2002) emphasised the importance of the spatial dimension and listed the 'historical buildings, established neighbourhoods, unique music scenes, and specific cultural attributes' (p. 228) as essential qualities of place to attract creative people.

In *Survey on Business Establishments in Kowloon East* (2011), 41.2% of the establishments in Kwun Tong were very/quite dissatisfied with 'environmental quality, amenities and landscaping' regard air and noise pollution produced by factories and heavy traffic. Such a statistic may seem ironic, but such findings can be fully underpinned by the quality of neighbourhood space in the industrial district.

The availability of hard infrastructure, including 'research institutes, educational establishments, cultural facilities, meeting places, convenience of transport, health and amenities', as indicated by Landry (2000, p. 133), is crucial in nurturing creativity. Making Kwun Tong's streets and neighbourhood accessible to pedestrians encouraged encounters between those offering creative skill sets and those who needed them. In terms of creation, practice, music studio, producing, recording, graphic design, promotion and performance venue, one-stop service was available within walking distance.

Apart from practical concerns of amenities, uniqueness of place provides inspiration to creative practitioners. Most interviewees said that they


loved to stay in the old district, among local shops and neighbours.



Emotional attachment is an important quality of creative clusters. In addition, places for hanging out are crucial for creative practitioners. A concert venue in the district became an important anchor point for meeting and relaxing.

Even though we run the design house here (a small design house located in one of the industrial buildings) my partner and I are both members of two local indie bands... I am the vocalist, while my partner plays bass. We have regular practice and contact with other bands in the districts. Just 15 minutes away, I can reach my practice room, performance space and studio...Everything is nearby. I visit the concert space nearly every week. Sometimes I go there to enjoy music, but sometimes I can just meet people there. It is a good place to share ideas, circulate information and chitchat. (Interview with Mr. Ng, Graphic Designer, at 08/09/2013)

There are few places in Hong Kong where graffiti and street art can be found. Any paint appearing on government properties is soon removed by workers from the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department. However, large-scale graffiti was visible on the timeworn façade of industrial buildings in Kwun Tong (Figure 7.12). The district's understated governance provided creative practitioners with a certain edgy feeling.

Sometimes I got stuck after working for the whole day. Walking along the waterfront promenade, enjoying a band show at HA (a music venue), feeling the old and chaotic environment, looking out for new graffiti by our friends and playing basketball at the ball court, I just get recharged and inspired. (Interview with Mr. Chan, Product designer, at 13/1/2014)

	 
<p>Figure 7.12 Graffiti on the utility box at Kwun Tong</p>	<p>Figure 7.13 Graffiti could be found in different areas of Kwun Tong.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
<p>Figure 7.14 Tenants collecting wooden pallets in Kwun Tong industrial area as material for creation</p>	<p>Figure 7.15 Easy-Pack Creative Precinct's surroundings were full of auto repair shops and back alleys.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo provided by the interviewee</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

Examining Easy-Pack Creative Precinct – community formation

Easy-Pack Creative Precinct is a small cluster with a number of weaknesses and limitations, but the creative practitioners regarded it as an anchor rather than merely a workplace. They formed a strong community with dense social ties. First, due to its small size, interviewees bumped into each other in the corridors, on the staircase and in the lift on a nearly daily basis. Through these day-to-day encounters, tenants became familiar with each other. They chatted, dined out together, played video games, etc. Most of the interviewees shared the experience of hanging out at each other's studio for a few hours due to the site's cosy atmosphere.

One interviewee took me for a walk around to visit others' studios.

During the whole journey, he never phoned in advance, but just brought me downstairs to see if anyone was there. The interviewee peeked from the window at the back to see which studio was lit up (Figure 7.16).

Obviously, this system was a method of communication among themselves. Outsiders could not understand the mechanism of communication within the community, which is one major feature of a vertical cluster. Different festive gatherings like moon cake sharing, hotpot gatherings and BBQs demonstrated the close relationships between creative practitioners in the cluster. They sometimes went together to picnics, local bands or films.

At this site, the creative practitioners had built a strong sense of community and belonging; whenever there was a community event, such as a rooftop music show, workshop or flea market, most tenants participated in and promoted the event through social media, such as their Facebook or Instagram accounts. They also organised joint exhibitions, and some tenants even initiated camping activities in the rooftop garden even though it was in a noisy and polluted industrial area.

Most interviewees emphasised that it was not easy to make a living in the cultural and creative industries in Hong Kong. The long work hours (on average, around 10.5 hours per day) and low income frustrated them.


To meet deadlines, I usually work very late and under a lot of stress; sometimes I work overnight at my studio. The feeling of loneliness makes me feel bad, but knowing my buddies in this building are still working just like me makes me feel better. Even though they are working in their units, hearing the sound of hammering or seeing dim light outside their door is good enough. (Interview with Ms. Chan, at 08/09/2013)



Figure 7.16 The tenants peek into the windows at the staircase to see who is free. They will not disturb others if they can see meetings/guests inside the premises.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

	
<p>Figure 7.17 Tenants sometimes chitchat in the corridor</p>	<p>Figure 7.18 Tenants visit each other's studio on a frequent basis.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 7.19 Keeping pets in the studio is strictly forbidden in other creative clusters, but the cats connect tenants at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct. Most tenants welcome the cats in their studios.</p>	<p>Figure 7.20 The pantry is not well equipped due to limited space. However, tenants bring different kitchenware and groceries for sharing.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
<p>Figure 7.21 The tenants leave a bicycle out to be shared with other tenants.</p>	<p>Figure 7.22 Tenants welcome visits from guests. A shoe rack with slippers could be found at the door of this studio.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

The strong social ties help creative practitioners in several ways. For instance, one interviewee highlighted that he preferred to collaborate with tenants in his cluster. He often knew practitioners from occasions or events but could not know their ability and knowledge without closer observation. Many people merely boasted of their talents and had brilliant presentation skills. Only through day-to-day observation could he know another person's abilities, strengths and weaknesses. It was risky to work with people he was unsure of. Clearly, there was mutual trust among the tenants. Half of the interviewees mentioned that they stayed there owing to the concentration of creative groups. They believed it was vital to stay with like minds, as they could support each other in many

ways. One interviewee highlighted that she could seek instant professional advice from the people around her.. The exchange of information and mutual support from peers was very important. Kong (2005) observed similar patterns in the Hong Kong film industry; that is, social networks, interpersonal relationships and trust were crucial elements at all stages of creative work (p. 67).

The interviewees shared their experience of encounters with creative groups in occasional gatherings. Without lengthy observation, the credibility and performance of others could not be determined. They were not easy to tell from mere word of mouth. The close connection developed by geographical concentration also supported development.

If possible, I prefer to collaborate with people here (in this building), as the outside world is just about socialising. Yes, we know some people at openings, events or gatherings, and sometimes we may meet some nice guys, but we never exactly know their ability and knowledge without prolonged observation. Many people boast of their talents and works and have brilliant presentation skills. It is not easy to tell whether they are capable or not. Through day-to-day observation, we know what someone's working on, and their strengths and weaknesses. Credibility is very important in collaboration. It is risky to work with people you are not really sure about... (Interview with Ms. Chan, product designer, at 05/09/2013)

People here are so nice. It is important to seek professional advice from others. Friendship, trust and mutual support are valuable. Sometimes we need to seek professional advice from others, but it is not easy to find someone to talk to. For example, with operational issues like material sourcing and invoice issuing, it is easy to find somebody to answer questions, but sometimes those very sensitive questions are not easy to ask – for example, should we work for a certain brand? Is there any effect on our brand label? How much should I charge for that design job? Should I bargain or compromise for such price? People here are my buddies who are from other fields, so I feel comfortable seeking advice from them. (Interview with Ms. Suen, product designer, at 10/10/2013)

Most interviewees had limited budgets for start-up, and money was the biggest challenge. Given the costs of renting, finishing and furnishing a studio space, they had to make careful budget calculations. However, such issues have both positive and negative influences. Obviously, they restricted the studio setup; however, they provided the designers with a chance to gain financial training to explore their creativity and help in relationship-building. A number of interviewees highlighted the importance of financial planning, within a limited budget; they learned how to break down their costs and strike a balance between practical usage and decoration. Apart from fulfilling training purposes, lack of resources became a catalyst

in building relationships between different groups. One interviewee stated that the design group next door made them a gift of a coffee table constructed from recycled pallets (Figure 7.23). He treasured that table very much and was grateful that the friends were aware of his need.

	
<p>Figure 7.23 The interviewee's coffee table was co-created by two tenants as a housewarming gift.</p>	<p>Figure 7.24 Tailor-made furniture (serving the function of seat/trolley/storage) co-created by tenants</p>
<p>Image source: Photos taken by the author</p>	

One interviewee mentioned that he did not have enough money to furnish his studio; he instead made all the furniture himself and had to learn a wide range of skills, including metalwork and woodwork. He regarded it as a fruitful experience, as he could now design and execute his own work.



Figure 7.25 Camping on the rooftop of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct. A self-initiated activity by tenants

Image source: Facebook image of interviewee



Figure 7.26 Picnic organised by the tenants of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Facebook image of interviewee



Figure 7.27 Self-initiated craft-beer event on the rooftop of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Image source: Facebook image of interviewee



Figure 7.28 The live music venue situated in the neighbourhood. Tenants of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct often went out together to indie band shows.

Image source: Photo taken by the author

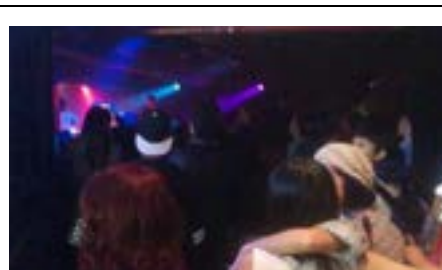
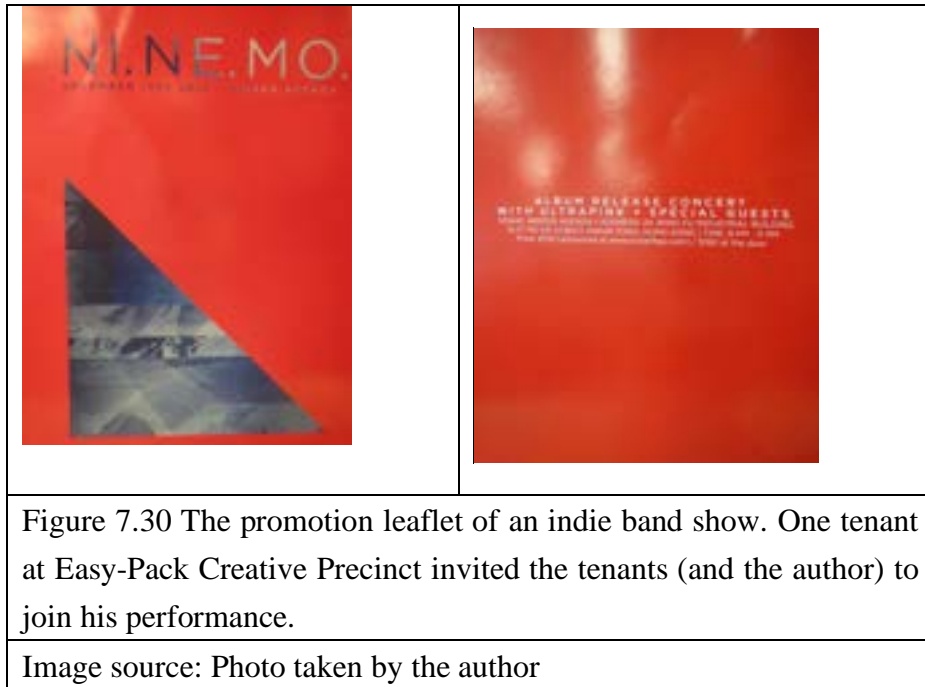


Figure 7.29 Six tenants of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct joined the indie band show and showed support by shouting and clapping.

Image source: Photo taken by the author



The strong community was one of the key factors of the site , one interviewee from PMQ clearly stated that he was strongly attracted by the creative atmosphere of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct .

Personally, I would prefer "EASY" instead, though I have not been there for many times. I found that "EASY" had contained with a sense of design community which I could not see that at the PMQ. You may enjoy visiting PMQ at your very first or second time, but then it is not there yet when it comes to being a design community. On the other hand, "EASY" had a strong community and I think they have done well. I also noticed with their stationed designer,"KaCaMa" and so as their other stationed artists. The forming of the "community" could be found at "EASY", while regular event had been conducted at their venue and the mode of "Studio Base" had brought a wonderful atmosphere within the community. PMQ seems tented to be a commercial domain instead. The operation mode is similar to the mainstream shopping mall, such as K11 and

APM. The counterpart could not be reached directly, which means the approach for further cooperation would have been difficult. Moreover, most of the owners at the PMQ were mainly in a good economic condition, original and creativity from products were not the focus points and target strategy. In general, the organizer from the PMQ was tending to focus on the big commercial label's cooperation, particularly at the area of exhibition and event holding, which lead to the overall image of the PMQ had turned to be in product and retail domain rather than creativity. Although the overall presentation from "EASY" is not decent. But the content is far better than that of PMQ. One more thing, the rental of PMQ is high, the young designer may not be able to afford. At the same time, they may find hesitation from the strict restriction from the site like InnoCentre. A venue with more freedom may found them to be more engaged and interesting.(Interview with Mr. Tai, product designer, at 15/07/2016)

Examining Easy-Pack Creative Precinct – occurrence of creativity



Although there were only 18 creative groups in this small cluster, they represented seven major domains of the creative industries. In an interview with the landlord, he emphasised the careful selection of tenants according to their specialties, as he wanted to balance the dynamics at the site. He further highlighted that many tenants asked him if there were similar creative groups in his building, as they wanted to minimise competition and conflicts of interest. The co-location of homogenous creative groups would not bring synergy to the creative







cluster. One interviewee recalled the process of collaboration between the tenants.

I have collaborated with the furniture maker in this building. When I was waiting for the lift and had a casual chat with designer J, we came up with the idea of making a leather chair. I am a teacher of leather design, and his buddies also joined in with their furniture design background. After a few nights, we finally got the design done. But we were not sure about the production process, so I just went upstairs where a curator has her own studio. She then linked us up with a factory on the mainland, and now the leather chair is available in the market. We even did a workshop on this. (Interview with Mr. Ngan, Fashion designer , at 04/06/2013) (Figures 7.31-32)

	
<p>Figure 7.31 This leather chair was a collaboration between different creative groups at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct.</p>	<p>Figure 7.32 A leather chair workshop was initiated after the collaboration between different groups.</p>
<p>Image source: Facebook image of interviewee</p>	<p>Image source: Facebook image of interviewee</p>

At Easy-Pack Creative Precinct there were no official showcases or displays of creative work; however, some of the tenants organised flea markets to sell their products and get feedback from customers and experts. This small cluster contained representatives of seven major creative industry domains and they all benefitted from divergent thinking. As a result, a wide range of collaborations and crossover projects between different units occurred. A new group was even formed from three different creative units – a leather workshop, product designer and music label. Tenants at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct attained a high level of novelty.

	
<p>Figure 7.33 A new group was formed from three different creative units: a leather workshop, product designer and music label.</p>	<p>Figure 7.34 Some of the tenants organised flea markets on the rooftop of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct to sell their products and get feedback from customers and experts.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo provided by the interviewee.</p>	<p>Image source: Photo from the Facebook page of the interviewee.</p>

	
<p>Figure 7.35 Tenants used the corridor to showcase their creative works.</p>	
<p>Image source: Photo provided by the interviewee.</p>	
	
<p>Figure 7.36 Reonda + Relaxpose live music show</p>	<p>Figure 7.37 Book fair event</p>
<p>Image source: Photo from the Facebook page of the interviewee.</p>	<p>Image source: Photo from the Facebook page of the interviewee.</p>
	
<p>Figure 7.38 Logo created for the joint event</p>	<p>Figure 7.39 The logo printed on promotional materials for the event</p>
<p>Image source: Photo from the Facebook page of the interviewee.</p>	<p>Image source: Photo from the Facebook page of the interviewee.</p>

7.3.3 Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre

Examining the DIP – quality of the cluster

In general, the DIP at InnoCentre provides a good working environment and good facilities for creative practitioners. In terms of *basic needs*, rental subsidies are definitively the most attractive feature for creative practitioners with limited budgets. The location is also a key strength; it is within walking distance to main transportation links. The train station allows for easy travel to the Mainland China for business. In addition, the site is adjacent to a university, an upscale shopping mall and a high-end residential area, and a wide range of dining options is available.

We can order take away or go for the options at Festival Walk, a local restaurant nearby, the canteen from the City University or Nam Shan Estate. Since the charges from the restaurants at Festival Walk were costly, the food court had always been our choice. But we occasionally visit the decent restaurant for a special event, such as farewell dinner ...etc. (Interview with Ms. Tsang, Creative media designer, at 04/06/2013)



I feel fine to dine at the pantry. The pantry is decent with French window, open view and the facilities such as microwave and refrigerator. Some people have prepared lunch box and dine there. (Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion designer, at 14/01/2014)

However, ventilation is an issue, as the building's central air-conditioning system operates from 9 am to 7 pm and not all of the premises have windows. Unless tenants pay an extra fee, the central air-conditioning system is switched off after 7 pm. Many of the interviewees noted that it was difficult to work on the premises without fresh air. Many stated that it was normal practice for them to work at night. However, in hot and humid weather, it was impossible to work inside a stifling room.

Even though they have claimed that this place is tailor-made for the designer. However, they turned the air conditioner to be off at 7pm which had shown that this point is not valid. They should have noted that designers working practice that they usually works during evening time, that's why I think it's not appropriate of their arrangement of air conditioning limited time. Basically, the venue is sealed if the air conditioning is off, people may faint to stay for three hours, a serious problem of human function may have caused by staying over five hours, so I won't take this risk for them.(Interview with Mr. Shek, Graphic designer, at 04/04/2014)

For designers who works for video production, they usually work overnight, as they would need to do the editing at night time, but they would be suffered. They can choose to buy an air conditioner with separated electronic supplied for making themselves 'alive'. (Interview with Ms. Chan, Fashion accessory designer, at 04/06/2014)

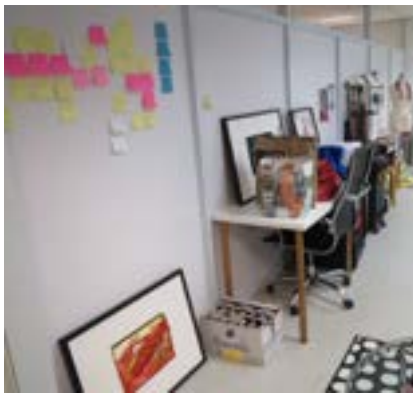

The programme’s mandatory admission criteria state that each applicant company must have at least two full-time staff members, but it would be difficult for more than one person to work inside the premises without fresh air. An electric fan is the only remedy for the situation.

	
<p>Figure 7.40 Office premises without windows</p>	<p>Figure 7.41 Ventilation only supported by the building’s central air-conditioning system</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

In addition, while the premises have a suspended ceiling and look tidy and organised, they did not suit the taste of many of the creative practitioners interviewed. The office interior hindered their creative expression; it had an office-like rather than design studio feel. Some premises were sub-divided by partitions. Some tenants felt that privacy was an issue when, for instance, they were discussing designs and design fees.

In fact, it's fine by not holding the meeting here. Clients would prefer a more relaxing atmosphere for a meeting, by having a cup of coffee...they found primness to have a proper formal setting meeting.(Interview with Mr. Shek, Graphic designer, at 04/04/2014)

Needed to be voice down, in fact, we can hear the conversation from the next room, in full conversation!
(Interview with Mr. Chan, product designer, at 04/06/2013)

	
<p>Figure 7.42 Some premises were sub-divided by partitions.</p>	<p>Figure 7.43 The office premises with a suspended ceiling. Noise insulation is a concern for tenants.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

There are on-site facilities that offer good support for design businesses.

There is a well-equipped meeting room (Figure 7.47), a design library that provides reference material for inspiration (Figure 7.45), a professional photography studio, spacious exhibition halls and a 3D printing workshop. Many participants used some of their government funding to purchase equipment such as computers and software.

The InnoCentre cluster meets creative practitioners' psychological needs in several ways. It provides many public spaces, and the environments are generally good. There are a number of design firms and award-winning designers above the second floor, and some interviewees highlighted that coexistence with these companies provided a good brand image and reputation for their cluster and studios.

As the top-ranked designers locate upstairs, like Uncle Kan and Another Mountain Another Man (Interview with Mr. Wong , Graphic designer, at 22/09/2013)

I can proudly proclaim that my studio and my showroom is located in Kowloon Tong, please visit me at your free time. It would sound more convincing and decent. For more details, my label is under government funding, we've gained the support from the government. The advantage is, people may have more confidence to my label, so does the trust of my potential. (Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion designer, at 14/01/2014)

The design firms on the upper floors often looked for freelancers or practitioners for small-scale jobs. Many interviewees had received work from the design firms or collaborated with them. All of the interviewees stated that they would prefer to stay at InnoCentre if they could afford the rent, partly because of the convenience of the available transportation and job opportunities.





There are many clients were introduced by the in-house artists. People will exchange contacts through the projects they are working on. Such as the graphics artist would have approached me for their video session. I have assisted Mr. Kan Tai-Keung for the animation from his branding project. As well I have cooperated with the famous designer, Charles Ng for many projects, he is a generous man by offering many opportunities to me. Even though I am playing the role of incubator here, could be the competitor with another artist on the block. However, I wouldn't mind sharing the contacts and projects with the other somehow. Since there are different projects and opportunity existing in the market and the market always needs a new partnership. It's not necessarily to only focus on only one particular chance, there are more to come.(Interview with Ms. Tsang, Creative media designer , at 04/06/2013)

During the interviews, many participants noted that the management of the site was very strict. For instance, windows on some of the premises could not be opened even when the air-conditioning was off after 7 pm, and nailing a picture to the wall was forbidden. Within the two-year incubation period, programme participants were required to submit reports on their progress and finances at every stage. Management reviewed and checked whether participants had fulfilled the listed deliverables at each stage (0-4 months, 5-12 months and 13-20 months). If not, they were ejected from the programme and cluster. According to

the Legislative Council (2017), 41 (26%) of the 171 participants had not completed the incubation period (i.e., they left the cluster before the end of two years).

Indeed, very strict and formal. Which means I have to submit with the milestone, business plan, the income and bank statement...etc. This practice of regular checking and declaration had made me felt like a school kid in general. (Interview with Mr. Wong, Graphic designer, at 22/09/2013)

	
<p>Figure 7.44 Café situated in the lobby of InnoCentre.</p>	<p>Figure 7.45 A design library provides reference facilities for participants.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 7.46 No personalisation or decoration is allowed on the premises.</p>	<p>Figure 7.47 Well-equipped meeting rooms are available.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

	
<p>Figure 7.48 Because the air conditioning is switched off, it is impossible to work on premises without windows after 7 pm.</p>	<p>Figure 7.49 Participants cannot attach their work to the walls (this participant has placed work around his desk).</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>
	
<p>Figure 7. 50 A security guard stationed in the lobby during holidays. Registration is needed for access.</p>	<p>Figure 7.51 No retail is allowed inside the design studio. As incubees need to strictly observe the rules and regulations, this designer had a removal sale on his premises the day before he moved out.</p>
<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>	<p>Image source: Photo taken by the author</p>

Examining the DIP: community formation

Over the two-year incubation period, participants found it challenging to develop relationships and trust with others. They spent considerable time on reporting and other programme requirements. Although there were many public areas such as corridors, kitchens and the lobby, participants rarely encountered others in those areas (Figures 7.52-55). Many highlighted that they had no time to relax or make friends.

It's a little pity that we are not close during two year time. People are all busy. The company members in opposite are always out of town, we've only got a chance to greet each other occasionally, not a close relationship we have. (Interview with Ms. Tsang, Creative media designer , at 04/06/2013)

Do we catch up often? Occasionally. Pretty rare I would say. People are usually busy and we attend in a different timeslot. Some show up at 3pm, some till 11pm and some attend since 9am. (Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion designer , at 14/01/2014)

Everyone was busy with deadlines and sales figures. Moreover, differences in admission times made it hard for participants to build friendships. Many of the participants said they had limited interactions

with others, as they had their doors closed or arrived and left at different times. It was not easy for them to meet each other on a regular basis.

Usually Closed. It is studio based here with no common space provided and not in retail purpose. Therefore, people would keep the door shut unless the air circulation is in bad condition. Particularly everyone is in rush at their work and tend to be home straight after work.(Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion designer, at 14/01/2014)

I cannot see him(designer at the opposite door) regularly , properly he close the door after he back . Or he does not stay at office or he has business trip. (Interview with Ms. Chan, Fashion accessory designer, at 21/08/2014)

As has been shown by Clare (2013), place-embedded social relations have an influential role in creative clusters. Frequent face-to-face interactions matter for building trust and networks among creative practitioners. Although the group size was relatively small (20-30 participating companies on average), many did not have interactions with others beyond a basic level. They might occasionally see people in common areas such as the pantry, but would be unsure whether they were participants or interns. It was difficult for participants to develop bonds of trust and mutual support.

All the interviewees stated that they did not stay at their premises at the end of the workday, due to their busy work schedules and management policies. They had no intention of having any kind of rest, entertainment or gatherings on their premises. To them, it was only a workplace. They had little sense of belonging and few relationships with other tenants.

The personal gathering is not allowed as well listed at the agreement. But the execution was not strict, a casual catch up (in low profile manner) with friends is still permitted. The space in each office is limited, there's no way to set a ping pong game in an office or have a movie night though, so some people chose play TV games instead. (Interview with Ms. Chan, Fashion accessory designer, at 21/08/2014)

As the DIP application form clearly states, all applicants were required to participate in training courses, networking events and at least three clinic sessions during their incubation period. If they failed to do so, a 'strict penalty [would] be imposed (e.g., suspension, alteration or cancellation of the financial assistance packages at the sole discretion of HKDC)' (p. 3). Participants were required to attend all quarterly

networking sessions to build networks with investors, industry experts and DIP alumni.

However, these planned events to encourage business networking were not welcomed by many participants. Many interviewees did not feel good when they were required to attend networking activities. They might learn some new information or encounter someone from the industry, but it did not help them to develop strong social ties.

The Networking session is a compulsory program. I found it helpful at the very beginning. However, I was bored with the repeated content. (Interview with Mr. Chan, jewellery designer, at 08/07/2014)

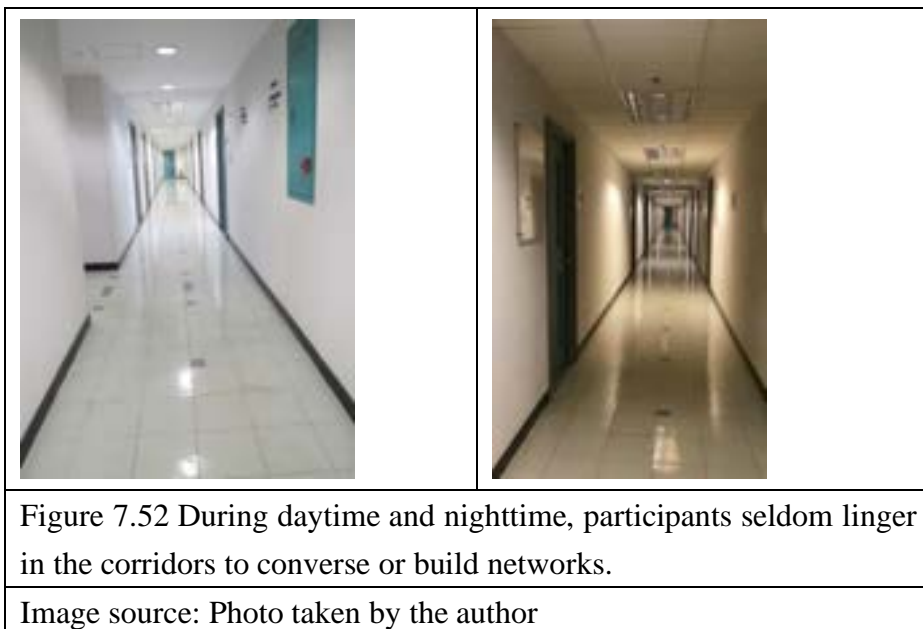
Such networks could not provide them with ‘emotional encounters, and the intimate practices of peer support’ (Harvey et al., 2012, p. 536) that are highlighted in Harvey’s ethnographical study. The *soft* spillover effects actually play a central role in forming support networks.





In fact, management only emphasised networking with outsiders (industry and investors) and neglected networking between participants. The designated networking area (Figure 7.56) illustrates this emphasis. It is a room situated in the middle of the site, which is password-protected

with clear instructions posted on the door that ‘All private activities (e.g., personal party, family union) are not allowed in the area’. The notice has a security purpose, but it also clearly sets the formal tone and guidelines for the type of networking activities in the cluster.

Within the two-year incubation period, participants were involved in creative industry work, but had diverse beliefs and future plans. Many regarded it as a temporary stay and therefore did not form a strong creative community.

I rarely have a close relationship with the stationed artist. As the status of the tenant was not steady, people come and go. I have a closer relationship with that artist who has moved in from the same period of mine or those approached me for chit-chat, for the rest of them are not familiar. (Interview with Mr. Chan, jewellery designer, at 23/07/2014)



	
Figure 7.53 Few people use the canteen for gatherings or casual meetings.	Figure 7.54 Few people can be found in the small pantry
Image source: Photo taken by the author	Image source: Photo taken by the author
	
Figure 7.55 Few people linger in the lobby.	Figure 7.56 The networking area is locked. Entry requires a password. No private activities are allowed in the area.
Image source: Photo taken by the author	Image source: Photo taken by the author

Examining the DIP: occurrence of creativity

For the *creativity* factor, novelty and appropriateness are the main areas to consider. Concerning appropriateness, the DIP provides participants with opportunities for exposure. There were a range of exhibition venues and spaces to display work (Figures 7.57 and 7.58). A large notice board

showcasing participants' work was adjacent to the canteen (Figure 7.59).

The DIP promotes participants' work on their official website and through social media such as Facebook. However, participants do not engage in many self-initiated events, as they are not closely connected with each other and any kind of self-initiated sales activity on the site is forbidden.

There are eight creative industry domains under the DIP. The diverse range of practices helps to encourage innovation. The clustering of creative practitioners should also provide opportunities for divergent thinking, but the management and policies mean that interaction between participants is limited.

The opening hour of the air conditioning is fixed at 9am - 7pm. No central air conditioning provided. The windows are shut, a fan would be the alternative and the only choice. I would say this is the management problem. The fixed hour of the air conditioning reflected that the system is referred to the general office mode instead referring to the pattern of the design field, there should be a special arrangement by reference to the needs instead. We feel helpless as a tenant, but there's not much we can do.(Interview with Ms. Tsang, Creative media designer, at 04/06/2013)

And there's no air conditioning provide on Sunday, supply up to 3pm on Saturday. Quite a limited operation indeed. (Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion designer, at 14/01/2014)

They have requested us to fill in the form with the number and status of staff. By the time, I have filled with four staffs in total...They have assigned a room on a different scale according to the staff number you have. Basically, you have no choice but to decide whether to take it or not. Surely I took that offer at the end. (Interview with Ms. Chan, Fashion accessory designer , at 21/08/2014)

If you need to work overnight you cannot let them (management) know you take a nap at studio. As a grown-up, I don't think it makes sense if I've got to report even if I take a nap at the studio. I just put this as an example, but this reflected with the rigid style presented by the management. Spraying paint and lighting up fire are definitively not allowed. This building is operated by CYBER PORT, so it doesn't make any difference even if you have reported to the design center of any request and your difficulty. There's a solid execution problem on a different aspect, I am not criticizing to a particular organization or department. But I would say this is the common practice of the government organizations.(Interview with Mr. Wong, Graphic designer , at 22/09/2013)

As the programme aims to nurture design start-ups, new forms of creative work and crossover work with other practitioners should be encouraged.





However, the interviewees stated that they were required to strictly follow their admission proposal and business plan, and that new or crossover forms of work were not welcomed by management. In the application proposal, applicants are required to outline the expected deliverables at different stages. For instance, in the *Milestone Summary*

section of the *Business Plan*, applicants are required to list ‘(a) Number and nature of design sketches to be produced, (b) Number and nature of sample/prototype/design proposal ready for production of delivery, (c) Number and nature of deliverables of design service/projects/products, and (d) Number and nature of other product/service/business development plan etc’. Therefore, participants must execute ‘planned creativity’ within the incubation period. Unfortunately, the cluster formed under this programme did not foster synergy between interviewees.

The organization is unwilling to see if we try to propose a new idea, the direction in particularly on design direction. Since we have submitted a proposal, selling plan and presentation before our entry, new proposed ideas would have caused of censure from the organization, by regarding as not –focusing and target amount could not be fulfilled. From my perspective, the field of design is full of possibility and flexibility. Opportunity could be created by new development and experiment. But the organization mainly focus at the profit you made on each month, and all outcome would be related to your original proposal. (Interview with Mr. Li, Fashion accessory designer , at 14/01/2014)

As the organization would check with the proposal that the practitioners have proposed regularly, every detail does need to be well listed by

including with the committed goal, development planning, and activity participation. They will need to make an explanation if there's task could not be fulfilled. Overhead that there's designer have left by the program by within-year with the reason of feeling pissed with the whole structure and requirement. The practitioners expressed that it was kind of trade-off with the discounted rent. But many of them felt that it ended up to be playing the 'number game' with the organization and spent time on documentation.

	
Figure 7.57 The Design Incubation Programme provides spaces to showcase creative work.	Figure 7.58 Different types of exhibition venues were available for participants.
Image source: Photo taken by the author	Image source: Photo taken by the author
	
Figure 7.59 A large notice board promoting the work of participants	Figure 7.60 Large space for exhibitions and events
Image source: Photo taken by the author	Image source: Photo taken by the author

7.4 Comparison of the Creative Process in the Three Cases

In the study of creativity, Sawyer (2011) has compared different process models including IDEAL cycle (Bransford & Stein , 1984) , UK QCA (QCA, 2005) , IDEO (Kelley , 2001) , Mumford's group (Scott et al., 2004) . His research has identified eight stages of the creative process after comparing with different models. In general, the eight stages are (1) Finding the problem, (2) Acquiring the knowledge, (3) Gathering related information, (4) Incubation, (5) Generating ideas, (6) Combination of ideas, (7) Selecting the best ideas and (8) Externalizing the ideas. (p. 88)

In this section, we would like to compare the creative process of the three cases in order to illustrate the close relationship between formation of community and occurrence of creativity.

Creative process occurred in the DIP

DIP at InnoCenter was a good quality of cluster with subsidized rent and financial support. The site was very attracting for the start-ups . However,

the participants were required to submit a detail proposal as the entry requirement. The committee selected the participants to join the programme based on the submitted proposal. In the interview , the interviewees highlighted the restriction for the happening of creative process as the organization closely monitored the progress and the expected outcome. Any new proposed ideas during the incubation period would have caused of censure from the organization, by regarding as not-focusing and the targeted amount could not be fulfilled. The organization did not encourage any new ideas different from the submitted proposal. The DIP at InnoCenter allowed the (4) *incubation stage* in the creative process while other stages were almost absent.

Besides , the community formed under DIP was relatively weak. As many participants mainly focused on their individual works or to meet the proposal requirements , the informal interactions between creative practitioners were seldomly found in both interview and observation findings. It was really difficult to acquire knowledge from others or to generate ideas with other practitioners .

For the case of DIP at InnoCenter , the management emphasized on the outcome or sale figures , the ‘planned’ creativity was preferred. However, the field of design was full of possibility and flexibility. Opportunity could be created by new development and experiment. In this site , it seemed that majority of creative process has completed before the entry of the programme.

Creative process occurred in PMQ

As highlighted by the interviewees of PMQ, the site was mainly for retail purpose . When we examined the site through the eight-stages of creative process, not many stages could be found due to a number of reasons . Firstly, the concept *studio cum shop* is the most outstanding features of the site ; however, 56.8% of the premises were used purely for retail purposes. For this type of premises, it was difficult to see any creative process happened. For the premises with workplace, the creative practitioners might still undergo the creative processes. But it has very limited idea exchange among the creative practitioners in the site.

Secondly , the role identification of the creative practitioners in PMQ was unclear. Many interviewees reflected the difficulties in identifying the designers rather than the sales staff. (Figure 7.3 and figure 7.4 evidenced the confusion of premise' function and identity of designer). The arrangement largely reduced the chance for the designers to (3) *gather related information* from other practitioners or (5) *generating ideas* with other practitioners . The interviewees mentioned that the only recorded collaboration was the joint-sale activity rather than any kind of creative work production.

We can clearly see the limitation of the creative process to be developed within PMQ. Even though a wide range of creative products were available for sale , the creative ideas were probably generated outside the site. The interviewees remarked that the topics aroused tenants' interest were mainly about the sale figures or product promotion , it had little to do with the creative process itself. Many creative practitioners actually brought the final products to the site for sale but not to enable the happening of creative process.

Creative process occurred in Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

For the case of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, several examples showed that nearly the whole creative process could be found in the site. The case of making a leather chair (please refer to figure 7.31 & 7.32) was a significant example to illustrate the happening of creative process. First, it was a collaborative project by a fashion designer, a product designer and a curator. The fashion designer (1) *identified the design problem* through a casual chat with a furniture designer while they were waiting for the lift. He (2) *acquired knowledge* of different design disciplines through the discussion with other designers. They (3) *generated ideas* together and came up with the (5) *combined ideas*, and made the (6) *design happened*. For further (8) *execution of ideas*, they further consulted a curator in the site to link up with a factory in the Mainland China. The final design then was available in the market.

Many interviewees expressed they could be largely benefited from the informal interaction with other practitioners in the site. With strong community formed in the site, they were willing to acquire the relevant

knowledge or professional advices from people in the site, they could generate, modify and combine different ideas through discussing with practitioners in the site. Obviously, the strong community formed in the site encouraged the occurrence of creative process.

When comparing the three cases, it showed that creative process happened inside Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, while limited stages of creative process could be found in PMQ and DIP at InnoCenter. Creative process highly related to the creative community, as it helped to generate novel ideas. If the community was weak, the cluster could still work in the field of creative industries, but it had a drastic negative effect on the creative process or even its sustainable development.

7.5 Evaluation under the 3Cs Model

Using the 3Cs model, this study identifies several parameters based on cluster-community-creativity factors for evaluation. As the cluster parameters are relatively explicit and tangible, 17 parameters were measured: *basic needs* (eight parameters); *specific needs* (two parameters); and *psychological needs* (seven parameters). Five parameters were measured for community: *structure* (three parameters) and *culture* (two parameters). Similarly, five parameters were considered under creativity: *novelty* (three parameters) and *appropriateness* (two parameters). The results of the comparison of the three sites under these parameters are presented in Table 9. The results are also summarised below.

Table 9. Evaluation under the 3Cs Model of sustainable cultural and creative clusters					
Factors	Parameters		Easy-Pack Creative Precinct	PMQ	DIP at InnoCentre
	Basic needs (8)	Studio Unit			
Cluster (17)	Purpose	Subdivided studio unit (Weak)	Flexible/Multi-purpose studio space (studio cum shop/studio/shop) (Strong)	Large studio unit (Strong)	Proper office premises. (Strong)
	Rent	Studio purpose only (Weak)	No subsidised rent (Weak)	Concessionary Rents (Strong)	Studio purpose only – office premises. (Weak)
	Window	Not all premises have windows (Weak)	Split air-conditioning system (24 hours). Can work round the clock in hot and humid weather (Strong)	Every unit has windows and balcony (Strong)	Subsidised office rental. (Strong)
	Air-conditioning	Not all premises have windows (Weak)	Central air-conditioning system (11 am-11 pm). Impossible to work round the clock in hot and humid weather (Weak)	Not all premises have windows. (Weak)	Central air-conditioning system (9 am-7 pm). Impossible to work after 7 pm in hot and humid weather. (Weak)
	Elevator	1 elevator (for both cargo and passenger use) (Weak)	6 elevators (2 cargo elevators and 4 passenger elevators) (Strong)	3 elevators (2 cargo elevators and 2 passenger elevators). (Strong)	Convenient transportation (3- to 5-minute walk from major transportation hub). (Strong)
	Transportation	Convenient transportation (3-5 mins walk from major transportation) (Strong)	Inconvenient transportation (10-15 mins walk from major transportation) (Weak)	Wide range of meals (affordable meals and high-end restaurants nearby). (Strong)	
	Meals	Affordable meals available (e.g., factory canteen nearby) (Strong)	Mainly expensive meals (High-end café and dining places in SOHO) (Weak)		

Specific needs (2)	Supporting facilities on site	Limited supporting facilities for creating, testing, producing. No formal exhibition and event venues (Weak)	Professional photography studio. Various exhibition and event retail (Strong)	Subsidised business operating expenses. Professional photography studio. Library for design reference. 3D printing workshop. Meeting rooms. Various exhibition and event venues. Showcase windows for display. (Strong)
	Supporting facilities in the surrounding environment	Various discipline-related resources available nearby (e.g., printer, courier, and hardware stores) (Strong)	Limited discipline-related resources available nearby (Weak)	Various discipline-related resources available nearby (e.g., printers, couriers, and hardware stores). (Strong)
	Public spaces on site	Public spaces for casual meetings, gatherings, entertainment, & relaxation (e.g., rooftop garden, lift lobby, staircase, some larger studios) (Strong)	Formal meeting room, ample open space with greenery for relaxation. (Strong)	Public spaces for meetings and gatherings (e.g., lift lobby, corridor, café). (Strong)
	Management of the site	Flexible management (Strong)	Strict management (noise caution, open door policy, fixed opening hours) (Weak)	Strict management (e.g., noise restrictions, smoking forbidden, no ability to alter conditions). (Weak)
Psychological needs (7)	Security	Mid-level security (No security guard, equipped with CCTV. The main entrance is locked after 8pm) (Weak)	High security level (security company with frequent patrolling and CCTV) (Strong)	High security level (security company with frequent patrolling and CCTV). (Strong)

		Surrounding environment (open space, fresh air, and greenery)	Serve air pollution due to busy traffic and concentration of factories. Noisy and busy traffic with frequent loading of lorries (Weak)	Nice environment with fresh air, plenty of greenery, and ample open space. Quiet and relaxing environment. (Strong)	Nice environment with fresh air, plenty of greenery and ample open space. Quiet and relaxing environment. (Strong)
		Cultural facilities in surrounding environment	Next to the automotive repair shops and hardware store (Weak)	Next to art galleries and antique shops (cultural atmosphere) . (Strong)	Adjacent to university and upscale shopping mall with design bookstore. (Strong)
		Sense of security in surrounding environment	Poor sense of security due to many back alleys with dim lighting at night (Weak)	Good sense of security at night (Strong)	Good sense of security at night. (Strong)
		Reputation of the cluster	No official promotion of the site (Weak)	The site was promoted as the legitimate home for local and young creative practitioners. Strong marketing and promotion. (Strong)	The site was well known to practitioners. Concentration of famous design firms. Strong marketing and promotion. (Strong)
Community (5)	Structure (3)	Formal/informal interaction	Many chances for networking at event openings and flea markets. Frequent day-to-day interactions in public spaces. Strong social ties formed among the creative practitioners (e.g., frequent encounters, chats, meals, TV	Limited interaction (formal/informal) between the practitioners on site under the open door policy and spatial setting. Common space was used by visitors, tenants seldom use the common space. Weak social ties	Limited informal interaction between the practitioners on-site due to the policies and spatial setting. Participants seldom used common spaces. Weak social ties formed between the creative practitioners. (Weak)

		games, attendance at music shows) (Strong)	formed among the creative practitioners. (Weak)	
	Social attachments on site	Active participation in the events organised by the site (e.g., joint exhibitions, flea markets, rooftop music shows, BBQs, hotpots, and other festival activities) (Strong)	Passive participation at the events organised by the site (e.g., markets were held on a regular basis, but participants were mainly outsiders not the tenants) (Weak)	Passive participation at events organised by the site (e.g., markets were held on a regular basis, but participants were mainly outsiders not the tenants). The practitioners were unwilling to stay at the premises after work. (Weak)
	Group Size	18 creative groups – small group size preferred (Strong).	85 creative groups – difficult to develop dense social ties due to big group size (Weak)	Thirty creative groups, difficult to develop close social ties due to frequent turnover of participants. (Weak)
Culture (2)	Perception of similarity	All tenants are creative practitioners with similar working hours and work patterns (Strong)	Creative practitioners and sales persons mixed together. They have various work modes (Weak)	All tenants are creative practitioners with similar working hours and work patterns. (Strong)
	Common belief system	Creative practitioners with similar beliefs and future plans (Strong)	The site was turned from nurturing creativity to a marketplace of creativity. Creative practitioners have diversified beliefs in the mission and operation of the site (Weak)	Creative practitioners have diverse beliefs in the mission, operation of the site and future plans because their stay is only temporary. (Weak)

Creativity (5)	Novelty(3)	Availability of different domains	7 major domains of creative industries (fashion/product /interior /music /branding/graphics /design service) (Strong)	3 major domains of creative industries (fashion & accessories design/ product & gift design/ lighting & exhibition design/cultural design) (Weak)	Eight major domains of creative industries (fashion/branding, packaging/product/interior, architecture/jewellery design/media, communication/visual and spatial arts/other design disciplines). (Strong)
		New works in the domain	Various new forms of work (e.g., commercial/cultural /cultural and commercial creative activities) (Strong)	Limited new designs (Weak)	Execution of planned creative work only (participants must strictly follow their admission proposal). (Weak)
		Opportunities for divergent thinking	Frequent collaboration/cross-over work between tenants. (Strong)	Limited interaction between creative practitioners (limited opportunity for divergent thinking) (Weak)	Limited interaction between creative practitioners (limited opportunity for divergent thinking). (Weak)
	Appropriateness (2)	Opportunities for exposure (official events)	Few official organised events for exposure. Low in popularity due to the lack of promotion (Weak)	Official displays and showcases of the work. Strong promotion and marketing (i.e., site promotion/event organisation. (Strong)	Official displays and showcasing of work. Strong promotion and marketing (i.e., site promotion/event organisation. (Strong)
		Opportunities for exposure (Self-initiated)	Self-initiated markets to showcase some works (Strong)	Self-initiated sales activities organised by some tenants (Weak)	Self-initiated sales activities are forbidden. (Weak)

7.6 Results of the Three Cases

PMQ

PMQ performed well in the cluster factor, with over 70% of the parameters rated as strong. However, this well-equipped cluster did not correlate with a positive result in the community and creativity areas. None of the community parameters were rated strong, and only 20% of the creativity parameters were considered strong.

At first glance, the profile of PMQ was better than that of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and DIP in terms of resources, facilities, environment and location. However, when the two cases were examined under the 3Cs model, it was clear that PMQ was only strong in the cluster dimension. PMQ's community dimension was weak structurally and culturally. In the creativity dimension, PMQ could only meet the need for appropriation due to its nature and operation, and it failed to produce novelty. In contrast, the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, situated in subdivided flats without any financial support, formed a strong community where creativity occurred frequently.

As the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct had a more balanced performance according to the 3Cs model, this site should be a more sustainable cultural and creative cluster. Although PMQ had a strong cluster, it had weak creativity and community. The 3Cs model predicts that the sustainability of PMQ as a cultural and creative cluster is not high.

Easy-Pack Creative Precinct

Less than 40% of the cluster parameters were rated as strong for Easy-Pack Creative Precinct; however, both the community and creativity factors were strong. All of the community parameters were strong at this site and 80% of the creativity parameters were rated strong.

DIP at InnoCentre

Examining the DIP at InnoCentre using the 3Cs model shows that in terms of the cluster factor, the programme has performed well. Because it provides strong support and rich resources, 76% of the cluster parameters are strong. However, the results are different in the community and creative areas. Only 20% of the community parameters are strong. Only 40% of the creativity parameters are strong. From the

perspective of the three factors model, the DIP has clearly performed in an unbalanced way. The 3Cs model indicates that the sustainability of the DIP at InnoCentre as a cultural and creative cluster is not high.

Table 10 Performance of the three cases evaluated using the 3Cs model									
(No. of parameters in each factor)	Easy-Pack Creative Precinct			PMQ			DIP at InnoCentre		
	Strong	Weak	Result	Strong	Weak	Result	Strong	Weak	Result
Cluster (17)	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	Weak	12 (71%)	5 (29%)	Strong	13 (76%)	4 (24%)	Strong
Community (5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	Strong	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	Weak	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	Weak
Creativity (5)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	Strong	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	Weak	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	Weak

7.7 Sustainability Assessment of the Sites

The model's applicability can be verified by examining the relative length of stays and the number of crossover projects at each site. According to the proposed model, Easy-Pack Creative Precinct was a much more sustainable creative cluster. The clusters' actual sustainability can be measured by four factors: dropout rate, operation mode, number of collaborations and survival rate.

Dropout rate

Setting up a studio involves lot of resources and effort; once creative practitioners establish themselves in a cluster, they do not tend to move out unless the cluster does not support sustainable growth. Thus, the dropout rate of tenants indicates whether a cluster meets the needs of creative practitioners. The dropout rate at PMQ was much higher than at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct; aside from restaurants/bars and short-term pop-up stores, the dropout rate at PMQ was 19.8% during the research period. Although it had no financial support from the government, Easy-Pack Creative Precinct was a very stable cluster; there was an 11.1% dropout rate during the research period. It is important to note that there was a huge difference in the sample size, that is, 85 premises in PMQ and 18 premises in Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, so the percentage difference is more significant than total numbers. During the research period, the tenants of only two units at Easy-Pack moved out; they moved because their business was expanding and they needed a more suitable location. The dropout rate at PMQ was comparatively high and many tenants moved out without completing their first contract.

Change in operation mode

The brand new studio-cum-shop concept was one of the selling points of PMQ; the site not only provided workplaces for creative practitioners, but also a place to sell their products. Due to its good location, visitors to this district were normally middle/upper class or design-lovers who could afford design products. However, the emphasis on sales and the open door policy overwhelmed creative production. Excluding short-term popup stores and restaurants, 28.4% of the units adopted the studio-cum-shop model, with usually only a small space reserved for creative work. A further 56.8% of the units were used purely for retail purposes and only 14.7% of the units were purely design studios. Most of the latter were architecture firms or design service companies. Some modifications or changes in business model were inevitable; however, in this case most of the studios became shops, indicating that many creative practitioners did not regard the space as a studio. In the interviews, the participants mentioned their difficulties in implementing the policies. To fulfil the ‘open door policy’, creative practitioners had to hire part-time sales staff to keep the shop open. The interviewees also said that they were not sure if the people they saw in other units were designers or sales staff. This

context was not suitable for building social networks among creative practitioners or facilitating creative work. In contrast, at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, all of the creative practitioners were productive in a sustainable manner.



Figure 7.61 Premises without a work area

Image source: Photo taken by the author

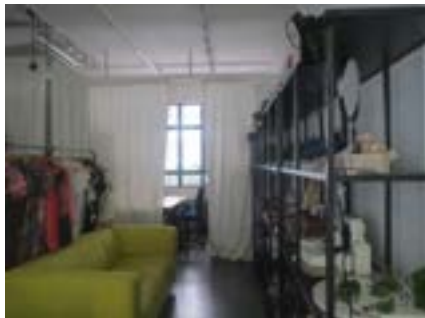


Figure 7.62 Premises with both a work area and a shop

Image source: Photo taken by the author



Figure 7.63 Premise with work area only

Image source: Photo taken by the author

New forms of creative work and collaborations

As stated clearly in the press release of the PMQ Management Co. Ltd., (10/12/2012), PMQ encouraged its tenants to collaborate with fellow designers (p. 2). However, little collaboration occurred at PMQ and the interviewees could only recall one self-initiated joint sale. In contrast, the creative practitioners at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct worked closely with other tenants. There were different levels and forms of collaboration between tenants in the cluster, including joint workshops, design projects and exhibitions. One new group was formed by merging a music label, product designer and leather workshop. There were other mixes with more than two parties involved (Table 11). These collaborations revealed the synergy produced in the cluster, which is not only the purpose of a cluster but necessary for the sustainable growth of creative practitioners.

Table 11 Collaborative projects between tenants at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct				
Nature of Work	Date	Project	Description	Unit(s)
Commercial activity Creative work	10/10/2015 03/10/2015 31/08/2015	Weekend Pantry	Two product designers, one leather workshop and a musician formed the group Weekend Pantry to produce handmade desserts and snacks for weekend events held at or away from the site	3
Commercial activity Creative work	28/01/2015	Music Critique Workshop	One leather workshop, two product designers and an on-line music magazine organised a music critique workshop	4
Commercial activity	06/2013	Lee UNION-ALLS 100th Anniversary x Easy-Pack Union	The fashion brand Lee invited 10 creative groups at Easy-Pack to design a new denim outfit to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Lee Union-Alls. The works were showcased at the Lee flagship store.	10
Creative work	04/2013	<i>Days of Being</i> exhibition	A group exhibition with 12 creative units displayed their works at the HAJI Gallery	12
Creative work	10/2012	Detour 2012	Participation in the production of the Detour programme	5

	
<p>Figure 7.64 The first joint exhibition of the Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>	<p>Figure 7.65 Music show on the rooftop of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>
<p>Image source: Facebook page of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>	<p>Image source: Facebook page of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>
	
<p>Figure 7.66 All tenants of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct were invited by Lee to exhibit their co-created works.</p>	<p>Figure 7.67 The flea market held at Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>
<p>Image source: Facebook page of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>	<p>Image source: Facebook page of Easy-Pack Creative Precinct</p>

Survival rate

The government poured a huge amount of resources into the DIP.

However, the policy has been less effective than initially appeared. As

Kong (2014) stated, ‘the data supporting the supposed economic benefits of the creative industries must be carefully interrogated’ (p. 597).

We therefore first conducted a statistical study using information provided by the official DIP website

(<http://www.hkdesignincubation.org/>). Obviously, the reported statistics

do not fully capture the reality of the situation. The ‘Graduated

Companies’ section of the website provides a full list of graduates

categorised into eight areas of practice: Product Design, Fashion, Visual

& Spatial Arts, Branding & Packaging, Jewellery Design, Interior &

Architecture, Media & Communication and Other Design Disciplines.

One hundred and forty-one graduates are listed, as are their company

websites. The details are summarised in Table 12.

Graduates who do not stay at InnoCentre can establish premises

elsewhere. However, the company websites of 50% of the graduates who

did move out did not supply a new office or studio address. It seems that without subsidies and funding support from the government, half of the participants could not afford new premises for creative work.

We also checked company websites for releases of new work and the date of the most recent update. Company websites were categorised as not updated when they had not been updated in two years (since 2015).

Around 40% of the graduates fell into this category, indicating they had not circumvented the rent cost issue by focussing on online business, which does not need tangible space.

A number of graduates had neither listed a new office/studio address nor updated their company website. The enterprises of graduates in some areas of practice were very likely to die out if they could not afford new premises. For example, 95% of graduates involved in product design and 85% of those involved in fashion design had not been able to afford new premises and had not updated their company website. Half of those involved in branding and packaging and jewellery design had no premises and had not updated their company website. It is certain that

graduates involved in interior and architecture (100%) and media and communication (100%) would not have survived if they could not afford premises in which to continue their work.

The results contradict the data reported by the Hong Kong Design Centre (2016), which stated that ‘around 95% of start-ups remained in operation two years after graduation’ (p. 41). When reports trumpeting the achievement of the DIP are compared with the statistics just given, Kong’s (2014) argument is brought to the fore: ‘misleading growth data that exaggerate the economic value of the creative industries may prompt governments to design policies that divert resources and funds to initiatives that do not translate into the desired benefits’ (p. 603).

Although the Hong Kong government has invested more than \$10 million annually into the DIP, the programme has failed to nurture design start-ups and establish a sustainable creative cluster to generate synergy.

Table 12: Evaluation of the performance of graduates from the DIP at InnoCentre					
Graduates' areas of practice	Total no.	(A) Stay at InnoCentre after graduating from the DIP	(B) No new office/studio address provided	(C) No update of company website	(C) divided by (B) Percentage of companies with no website update or new address
Product Design	44	3	19	18	95%
Fashion	30	0	20	17	85%
Visual and Spatial Arts	23	2	16	11	69%
Branding and Packaging	15	4	4	2	50%
Jewellery Design	8	0	4	2	50%
Interior and Architecture	7	1	2	2	100%
Media and Communication	7	1	2	2	100%
Other Design Disciplines	7	1	3	2	67%
Total	141	12 (8.5%)	70 (50%)	56 (40%)	

7.8 Summary

This study generates a 3Cs model of a sustainable cultural and creative cluster. In this chapter, three aspects of sustainability are acknowledged and verified. The essential factors for sustainable cultural and creative clusters (cluster, community and creativity) are also identified. The three empirical cases clearly showed how the three essential factors are correlated through comparison of the parameters of each factor. They also clearly showed that although both PMQ and DIP at InnoCentre were very strong in the quality of cluster dimension, both the community and creativity dimensions were weak. Although Easy-Pack Creative Precinct did not have a good profile in terms of quality of cluster, it performed better in terms of community and creativity.

Objective ways to evaluate the essential factors in an empirical setting and the applicability of the 3Cs model were also shown: dropout rate, change of operation and new collaborations on creative work. The sustainable development of the cultural and creative cluster depends on the fulfilment of the correlated essential factors. This requirement was clearly reflected in their operation. Therefore, Easy-Pack Creative

Precinct was more sustainable than PMQ and DIP at InnoCentre when measured by the 3Cs model. This result was verified and supported by other external evidence. The high dropout rate of tenants, the loss of the original production motive and the lack of collaboration at PMQ confirm the usefulness of the 3Cs model for identifying sustainable clusters. For the DIP at InnoCentre, continued operation after the completion of the DIP provided important evidence of sustainable development. This chapter reinforces the importance of 3Cs model for cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Conclusions of the Present Study

The global economic structure has undergone fundamental changes in the post-industrial era. The cultural and creative industries (CCIs) have become key economic drivers and the basis of a new orthodoxy for urban viability (Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS], 2001). To support the creative industries, governments around the globe are building creative clusters of various types and scales. Many governments are following the successful Western formula, that is, keeping creative practitioners together through the provision of large zones with cheap rent. In 2010, over 300 artist villages of various sizes and functions were founded all over the world (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2009); however, growth and sustainability remain major challenges for these creative clusters. Furthermore, in densely populated cities such as Hong Kong, land is the most important resource – one that is wasted if a creative cluster does not meet the real needs of creative practitioners and lead to the expansion of the creative industries.

Regional developers and scholars have indiscriminately accepted the establishment of cultural and creative clusters (or a cultural/creative cluster) as an attractive strategy for sustaining the creative industries. As Martin and Sunley (2003) state, the concept of a *cluster* has become ‘a world-wide fad, a sort of academic and policy fashion item’ (p. 9). Building on the canonical cluster theory developed by the geographic economist Alfred Marshall (1890) and Michael Porter’s (1998) economic perspective on the cluster, a wide range of scholars from cultural, political and even technological fields has expanded and popularised the concept (Bayliss, 2007; Comunian, 2010; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; O’Connor & Gu, 2014; Sasaki, 2010; Zukin & Braslow, 2011). The Hong Kong government has dedicated enormous resources to establishing creative clusters and placed creative policy high on its agenda. Since the 2000s, five large-scale official creative clusters have been established, due to the government’s recognition of the economic benefits of the creative industries. Create HK was established in 2009 to drive the development of the creative industries and develop Hong Kong into ‘Asia’s Creative Capital’ (*Information Services Department Hong Kong, 2010*). To realise this vision, Create HK drives the creative industries

using different approaches. One of its major directions is to ‘develop creative clusters in the territory to generate synergy and facilitate exchanges’ (Create HK, 2009). Apart from coordinating policy and resources regarding the creative industries, different cultural and creative clusters have been set up to provide ample but cheap studio space for practitioners. The government is eager to develop cultural and creative clusters to group artists and designers, yet the agglomeration of creative practitioners does not promise sustainable cultural and creative clusters. Planned cultural and creative clusters initiated by the government, NGOs and educational institutions neither attain popularity with the public nor are welcomed by creative practitioners. Many creative practitioners with limited budgets would rather set up their studios outside the planned cluster despite much higher rents. In a number of industrial districts in Hong Kong, many creative practitioners reside in small premises in old factories and warehouses. Some creative practitioners even set up their own studios in subdivided flats with no windows or fresh air.

This study has examined the concept of the *cultural and creative cluster* and its relationship with creative practitioners in Hong Kong. It is not just

an evaluation of the success of individual clusters, but has examined the essential criteria for the making of sustainable cultural and creative clusters. This study has endeavoured to explore several questions: (a) What are the essential factors for sustainable cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong? (b) How should we evaluate the essential factors in an empirical setting? (c) What are the influences of the correlated essential factors on the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters? A vast literature on clusters has often emphasised tangible economic outcomes and the impact on the creative industries. The diverse nature of creative work and unique characters of creative practitioners mean that clusters deserve further empirical research (Kong, 2009; Darke, 2003). The all-inclusive approach to dealing with creative clusters masks the complicated meaning of clustering. There is a growing interest in unpacking the concept of clusters by reviewing the dual relation between cluster and community or cluster and creativity. A closer look is still needed, however, at the interrelationship between cluster, community and creativity.

In response to the key research questions, this study makes an important first step in investigating the complex relation between cultural and creative clusters and the formation of community in a highly condensed urban setting. At present, there are many studies on the topic of cultural and creative clusters. The effect of cultural and creative clusters is often treated at the macro-level, with the emphasis often placed on the institutionalisation of cultural and creative policies and the generation of economic benefits, instead of how creative practitioners are benefitted or affected by them. Theories and policies are mainly constructed regarding the structure of industries rather than individual practice. However, such an approach mainly deals with the textual level, while the ‘real’ situation – what is happening in reality – remains unknown. The real practices of creative groups (the dominant factors in the physical spaces and industries) have seldom been seriously considered. Through empirical research methods including direct observation and semi-structured interviews, this research has produced a more comprehensive and up-to-date interpretation of the subject matter of cultural and creative clusters and community in Hong Kong. The 3Cs model for sustainable cultural and creative clusters has been generated as a guiding principle.

Due to the vast literature and diverse viewpoints on clusters, this study first conducted a detailed review of the key terms and relevant theoretical discussions in the academic field. To lay a theoretical foundation, definitions and key discussions have been reviewed, including accounts of (a) cultural and creative clusters (by Alfred Marshall and Michael Porter); (b) creativity (by Teresa Amabile, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Keith Sawyer); and (c) community (by Ferdinand Tönnies and Émile Durkheim).

To have a better understanding of the Hong Kong situation, the synchronic and diachronic development of the cultural and creative cluster in Hong Kong was studied. From the development of cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong, it is obvious that the government has taken an economically driven approach to the creative industries after recognising their value. A review of the development of cultural and creative policies in Hong Kong enables us to understand the role and contribution of the government to the creative industries. The government has attempted to build the creative industries, for example,

by pouring a huge amount of resources into different projects and creative establishments. However, ever-changing policy directions, such as shifts in the nature and definition of the creative industries, have weakened the sustainability of these efforts. A micro rather than macro approach in reviewing the effectiveness of policies is therefore suggested. Our work would greatly benefit from studying the significant research on cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. These academic works have provided a significant foundation for this discussion.

Based on a review of the literature, this study has presented a critical discussion of its theoretical framework. As the literature in the three key areas, that is, cultural and creative clusters, community and creativity, is rich and diverse, it is necessary to provide detailed explanations of the theoretical framework before exploring creative practitioners' views on and practice in cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong. Many studies have established a correlation between the development of clusters and the development of creativity or communities. However, the simple correlations discussed in some of these studies do not fully explain the complexity of cultural and creative clusters. First, some researchers did

not consider creativity in their studies; their emphasis on the relation between community and cluster ignores the role of specialised modes of creative production. Second, some scholars who stressed the relation between cluster development and creativity downplayed the importance of community formation in the cluster. Third, researchers who focus on community formation and creativity may neglect the physical qualities of places that encourage creative production. The basic amenities and physical environment are therefore important influences on creative production. This study emphasises the importance of the interaction between three factors – the physical characteristics of the cluster, community formation and creative production – in the creation of a sustainable cultural and creative cluster. A conceptual model of cluster, community and creativity, that is, the 3Cs model for a sustainable cluster, was presented to illustrate the essential factors for sustainable cultural and creative clusters.

In Chapter 5, we discuss the research methods applied in this study. A case study approach was selected to observe the ‘real-life context’ of the contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Qualitative research

methods (direct observation and semi-structured interviews) were conducted for data collection. The sample selection, time arrangement and data recording method were reported to show the reliability and validity of the research data.

Due to their representativeness and the richness of available information, three significant empirical cases in Hong Kong – PMQ, Easy-Pack Creative Precinct and Design Incubation Programme (DIP) at InnoCentre – were selected for multiple case studies. To understand the operation of the sites and how creative practitioners understand/interpret the clusters, the real situation was described and analysed. The reasons for selecting the sites out of the 15 cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong for case studies were: (a) *architectural form*, (b) *profession of creative practitioners* and (c) *significance*. All the key field research activities conducted during the research were listed to show the validity of the research findings. The background, surrounding environment and configuration of each site not only provides a basic understanding of the site, but also illustrates the significance of each case. The detailed

description paved the way for further discussion of the application of the 3Cs model of cultural and creative clusters.

Through direct observation and semi-structured interviews, the findings clearly showed the importance of the cultural and creative cluster in practice. The real needs of creative practitioners are more than physical space or economic resources; quality of cluster, presence of creative community and the occurrence of creativity are crucial factors to determine the sustainability of a site. By analysing the findings obtained, this research illustrates how suitable the 3Cs model is to examine cultural and creative clusters in terms of quality of cluster, formation of community and occurrence of creativity.

Finally, the sustainability of the clusters was verified. As sustainability is a fuzzy concept with a wide range of definitions across disciplines, this study adopted Kong's definition of sustainability (2009; 2012). She carefully defined the social, cultural and economic aspects of a sustainable cluster in an Asian context. We agree that social sustainability is related to 'the sense of support that derives from social

interaction within the space' (p. 187). In other words, community building is the fundamental feature of a sustainable cluster. To measure the effectiveness of community formation, the dropout rate under conditions of affordable rent is an important indicator of tenants' willingness to stay or leave a cluster when economic burden is not a major concern. Kong referred to cultural sustainability as 'The continued ability for cultural workers to engage in their cultural work, and the conditions that support the specific nature of that cultural work' (p. 186). This study slightly modified Kong's definition of cultural sustainability, as Kong's research target was artists, whereas this study focusses on designers, who have commercial needs. In this study, cultural sustainability was defined by the ability to continuously produce new creative work. Following Kong's understanding of economic sustainability as commercialisation, this study also investigated the commercial activities found in clusters.

In a more practical sense, this study proposes that the sustainability of a cultural and creative cluster can be measured by four aspects: (1) dropout rate of tenants; (2) changes in operation mode; (3) new forms of creative

work or new collaborations between creative workers; and (4) survival rate of tenants. These four aspects acted as external evidence to support the findings, and also demonstrated the applicability of the 3Cs model for a highly dense city like Hong Kong.

8.2 Re-examining the Meaning of Clusters and Clustering

To express the sense of geographical concentration, a number of similar terms like *quarter*, *agglomeration*, *village*, *district* or *region* have been used, and sometimes they are interchangeable with the notion *cluster*. However, the notion of a cluster, which was developed in the end of the nineteenth century, has very special implications. It does not simply refer to the co-location of creative groups or solely describe the geographical location and proximity of similar businesses; it also predicts benefits from the efficient use of transportation, infrastructure and utilities by localised networks of specialised firms. Ultimately, the generation of a synergy effect is the final goal for clustering. Moreover, there are numerous clusters in the world under the creative industries agenda, but whether the cluster can maintain its sustainability is in doubt. This study therefore suggests the importance of taking the three factors (cluster,

community and creativity) into account in constructing a sustainable cluster.

Although PMQ and DIP at InnoCentre are strong in the cluster setting, they have difficulties in forming creative community and with the occurrence of creativity. Easy-Pack Creative Precinct, however, can be regarded as a sustainable cluster, as it has achieved a high level of community and creativity. The synergy effect is clearly evidenced in the quantity and range of creative productions.

8.3 Contributions of the Present Study

The major contributions of the research study can be summarised as follows:

- 1) This is an empirical study to illustrate the dynamic progress in the formation of creative community and the vibrancy of cultural and creative clusters.
- 2) This study identifies the essential factors (quality of cluster, formation of community and occurrence of creativity) for sustainable cultural and creative clusters in a highly dense city.

The correlation between the factors has been clearly demonstrated.

- 3) This is a pioneering study to develop a theoretical framework 3Cs model for the evaluation of the sustainable development of cultural and creative clusters.
- 4) Through this study, the applicability of the 3Cs model has been successfully demonstrated.
- 5) Four external sources of evidence have been discussed and tested, that is, (1) dropout rate of tenants; (2) change in operation mode; (3) new forms of creative work or new collaborations between creative workers; and (4) survival rate of tenants for the applicability of the 3Cs model.

8.4 Research Limitations

This study has the following limitations regarding the coverage of cases, research methods and knowledge contribution:

The coverage of cases

We have attempted to examine all available cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong to evaluate the applicability of the 3Cs model in different settings. As Kong (2009) states, more empirical studies are needed to offer a more comprehensive understanding of operations and logics. However, due to limited time and resources, the research could not include all cultural and creative clusters in Hong Kong; we thus only selected the most representative sites for case studies.

Research methods

In this study, direct observation and semi-structured interviews were used as the research methods. However, it is more fruitful if research methods like participant-observation could be used so that personal accounts in the cluster will be possible. Due to my personal background as a design lecturer rather than a practicing designer, it is impossible to participate in settings like the practitioners. Therefore, participant observation was not selected as the research method.

Knowledge contribution

The present 3Cs model for sustainable cultural and creative clusters focusses on the needs of designers, not the artists. Although there might be some overlap in the nature of the work, they have completely different prerequisites in terms of practical needs and final execution. Therefore, the 3Cs model will only accommodate the needs of designers but not artists. Due to the different natures and production mode, the 3Cs model is only applicable to the cultural and creative clusters with concentration of designer studios. The industrial or technologies-driven clusters with different parameters could not be covered in this research.

8.5 Recommendations for Further Investigation

At present, there is much scholarly discussion about cultural and creative clusters. This study develops the 3Cs model for sustainable cultural and creative clusters. The applicability of the model has been verified through case studies in Hong Kong. Two areas of research may further enhance the usefulness of the 3Cs model.

First, the 3Cs model provides a theoretical framework in the study of the sustainability of cultural and creative cluster. As the Hong Kong government is eager to develop the creative industries and creative clusters, it is worthwhile to conduct a large-scale study, in terms of duration and coverage, to understand the needs of practitioners, extending from single buildings to whole districts. Further research is necessary for the development of the 3Cs model into detailed design guidelines for cultural and creative clusters. Also, the 3Cs model could be further modified in order to fit in other type of clusters like the industrial or technical driven clusters.

Second, the 3Cs model has been verified by three Hong Kong cases. Further research in different Asian cities such as Singapore or Shanghai is recommended. As over 90 clusters could be found in Shanghai since 2012, further research would help to verify the applicability of the 3Cs model in the Chinese context. Similarly, because the Singapore government pays close attention to the development of creative clusters (Kong, 2009), the 3Cs model could contribute to understanding different cultures and cities.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Questionnaire for the creative practitioners

香港理工大學設計學院
<香港文化及創意園區與創意社群>博士研究問卷
(PhD Research on the creative community and the cultural and
creative cluster)

(I) 基本資料(Background)

姓名(Name): _____

職位(Occupation) : _____

工作室 / 公司名稱(Name of Studio /company): _____

地址(Address) : _____

經營年份(Year of practice) : _____

(II) 設計/藝術工作室背景資料 (Background of Designer / Artist Studio)

1. 可以簡述這家設計/藝術工作室成立的歷史嗎?

Would you briefly summarize the history of this designer/artist's studio?

2. 當初成立的過程是怎樣? 有沒有經歷什麼困難?

Is there any difficulties encountered in the setting up of studio?

3. 閣下的工作室是否與人合租? 如合租, 人數多少?

If you rent the studio with others ? If not ? How many people are there ?

4. 這裡是否閣下首次開設的工作室? 如不, 為何遷離之前的地方?

If it is the first time to set up the studio? If not, why do you leave

5. 現在的經營模式如何? 工作是什麼?

Would you describe the mode of operation?

6. 閣下對工作室有什麼基本的要求？

If you have any requirement for the studio?

空間的大小 (Size)	
樓底高度 (Height of ceiling)	
設施的需求 (例如獨立廁所) (requirement of facilities i.e. toilet)	
管理(management)	
交通 (transportation)	
隔音設備(Soundproofing)	
附近配套設施(amenities nearby)	

6. 為何選擇在此區域/大廈?有何特點及好處?

Why do you choose this district /building for the setup of studio? Any special feature ?

(III) 設計/藝術工作室現況

(III) Current Situation of the studio

(a) 單位內部 (Premise)

1. 平均每天在工作室逗留多久? (平日及周末)

How long do you normally stay at your studio? (Weekdays and weekend)

2. 在工作室內會進行什麼活動? 重要性? (1 為最不重要, 5 為最重要)

What kind of activities will you carry out in your studio? If you think it is important to have that activity? (Please rate the importance of such activity, 1= least important, 5= most important)

	會 /不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)		會/ 不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)		會/ 不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)
工作 Work			休息 Rest			閑談 Chit chat		
會議 Meeting			留宿 Residence			嬉戲 Game		
用膳 Meal			儲存 Storage			朋友聚會 Gathering		
課程 Class			展覽 Exhibition			演出 Performance		

(b) 公共空間(public space)

1. 文化及創意園區內有沒有公共地方（common area）？如有，可否簡單介紹？

If there is any common area in this cluster? If yes, would you please introduce ?

2. 在工作室外會進行什麼活動？（1 為最不重要，5 為最重要）

What kind of activities would be found outside the studio ? (Please rate the importance of such activity, 1= least important, 5= most important)

	會 /不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)		會/ 不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)		會/ 不會 Yes/No	重要性(1- 5) Importance (1-5)
工作 Work			休息 Rest			閑談 Chit chat		
會議 Meeting			留宿 Residence			嬉戲 Game		
用膳 Meal			儲存 Storage			朋友聚會 Gathering		
課程 Class			展覽 Exhibition			演出 Performance		

4. 平均每天在工作室以外的公共空間逗留多久？

How long do you normally stay at the common area of this cluster?

5. 會否相約其他租客一起在園區的公共空間舉行活動？

Will have any kind of activity at the public pace with other tenants?

6. 閣下最滿意工作室以外的什麼地方？

Which place are the most satisfied with outside this studio ?

a. 社區網絡 (social network)

1. 平時喜歡獨自創造還是集體創作？

In doing on the creative work, if you love to work collaboratively or work by your own?

2. 有否與其他人一起進行創作活動？例如： Brainstorming 或 ‘傾野’等？

If there are anyone to join your creation process e.g. brainstorming or sharing?

3. 通常什麼地方或什麼時候出現這類型的溝通？

When and where will you have this kind of communication?

4. 會否一些定期的聚會？ 如有，地點在哪？

If you have any regular gathering with other creative practitioners? If yes, where will it be held?

5. 有沒有組織成一個族群？如有，是根據地區發展還是以工作性質組成？

If there is any community formed? If yes , the community is district-based or work-based?

6. 創意社群之間有沒有固定的聯系？ 通常以何種方式聯系？

If there is any constant networking between the creative communities?

7. 附近的環境有沒有幫助你與文化及創意社群聯誼？

If the surrounding environment facilitate the networking among the creative practitioners

b. 社區設施方面(community facilities) :

1. 附近的設施是否充足及理想?在那方面需要改善?

If you are satisfied with the surrounding facilities ? Any improvement needed ?

c. 創意氛圍 (Creative Milieu)

1. 貴設計/藝術工作室會否定期進行對外開放?

Is there any open house activity for the public ?

2. 貴/設計/藝術工作室會否定期向外作宣傳?以何種方式?

Does your studio have any promotion? If yes, what is it?

- 2.你認為對外開放重要嗎?為何?

Is it important to have public opening? Why?

- 4.你覺得附近的社區是否能營造創意氛圍?

If you think the neighborhood generate the creative milieu?

(IV) 將來的期望 (Future plan)

1. 工作室未來有什麼計劃?

If there is any plan for your studio in future?

- 2.會否希望工作室搬離此大廈/地區?為什麼?

Will you like to relocate your studio away from this building /district?
Why ?

(V) 創意社群的生活模式 (lifestyle of the creative community)

- 1.餐廳： 喜歡到什麼地方'蒲'?

Dinning: Where do you like to hangout?

- 2.居住： 與工作室距離?

Residence: Where do you live?

- 3.交通： 交通方便

Transportation: if the transportation convenient?

(VI) 香港目前狀況 (Existing Situation)

a. 政策方面 Policy

1.你如何看待香港目前的文化,藝術及創意的政策? 對閣下的創作/經營有沒有幫助?

How do you understand the present cultural and creative policies of Hong Kong? Could the police help you in creation/ operation?

2.你怎樣評論香港其他的文化及創意園區?

How do you comment on the cultural and creative cluster?

	地點 Location	意見 Comment
1.	工業區(火炭, 柴灣, 新蒲崗, 香港仔) Industrial areas (Fo Tan , Chai Wan , San Po Kong & Aberdeen)	
2.	牛棚藝術村 (Cattle Depot Artist Village)	
3.	賽馬會創意藝術中心 (JCCAC)	
4.	Inno center	
5.	灣仔富德樓(Foo Tak Building)	
6.	POHO (Tai Ping Shan Street, Upper Station Street, and Square Street .)	
7.	元創方(PMQ)	

b. 概念方面(conceptual issue)

1.你怎樣理解文化及創意園區(Cultural and creative cluster)一詞?

How do you understand the term Cultural and creative cluster?

2. 閣下怎樣理解創意, 創意社群, 文化及創意園區的關係?

How do you understand the relationship between creativity, community and cluster ?

4. 閣下最理想的創意園區 (ideal cultural and creative cluster)是怎樣的一個地方?

What is an ideal cultural and creative cluster?

(6) 謝謝! Thank you

No. 日期(Date) : _____

**Appendix 2: Interview Questionnaire for the creative practitioners
(Managerial group)**

香港理工大學設計學院
<香港文化及創意園區與創意社群>博士研究問卷
(PhD Research on the creative community and the cultural and
creative cluster)

(I) 基本資料(Background)

姓名(Name): _____

文化及創意園區名稱(Name of Studio /company): _____

地址(Address) : _____

文化及創意園區經營年份(Year of practice) : _____

(II) 設計/藝術工作室背景資料 (Background of Cluster)

3. 可以簡述這個園區成立的歷史嗎?

Would you briefly summarize the history of this cultural and creative cluster?

2. 當初成立的過程是怎樣? 有沒有經歷什麼困難?

Is there any difficulties encountered in the setting up of cluster?

3. 現在的經營模式如何?

Would you describe the mode of operation?

(a) 公共空間(usage of space)

1. 園區內有沒有公共地方 (common area) ?如有, 可否簡單介紹?

If there is any common area in this cluster? If yes, would you please
introduce ?

4. 租客平均每天在工作室以外的公共空間逗留多久?

How long do the tenants normally stay at the common area of this building?

5. 租客會否相約其他一起在公共空間舉行活動？

Will have any kind of activity at the public space with other tenants?

(b)管理 Management

1. 文化及創意園區內有沒有特定的管理模式？

Is there any management policy in this cluster?

2. 文化及創意園區內有沒有專責人員負責管理？

Is there any caretaker to oversee the management of the cluster ?

3. 租客對管理有沒有特別關注的地方？

Any special concern (e.g. conflict) between the tenants ?

(c) 社區網絡 (social network)

8. 會否一些定期的聚會？如有，地點在哪？

If you have any regular gathering with other creative practitioners? If yes, where will it be held?

9. 有沒有組織成一個族群？如有，是根據地區發展還是以工作性質組成？

If there is any community formed? If yes , the community is district-based or work-based?

(d) 社區設施方面(community facilities)

3. 附近的設施是否充足及理想？在那方面需要改善？

If you are satisfied with the surrounding facilities ? Any improvement needed ?

4. 附近的環境有沒有幫助你與文化及創意社群聯誼？

If the surrounding environment facilitate the networking among the creative practitioners

5. 你覺得創意社群需要什麼的社區設施才能配合文化及創意園區的發展？

What kinds of facilities are required to suit the need of the creative community?

c. 創意氛圍 (Creative Milieu)

1. 貴园区會否定期進行對外開放？

Is there any opening for the public?

2. 貴/园区會否定期向外作宣傳？以何種方式？

Does your cluster have any promotion? If yes, what is it?

(IV) 將來的期望 (Future plan)

1. 园区未來有什麼計劃？

If there is any plan for your cluster in future?

(VI) 香港目前狀況 (Existing Situation)

a. 政策方面 Policy

1. 你如何看待香港目前的文化、藝術及創意的政策？對閣下的文化及創意園區有沒有幫助？

How do you understand the present cultural and creative policies of Hong Kong? Could the policy help you in creation/ operation?

2. 你怎樣評論香港其他的 文化及創意園區？

How do you comment on the cultural and creative cluster?

	地點 Location	意見 Comment
8.	工業區(火炭, 柴灣, 新蒲崗, 香港仔) Industrial areas (Fo Tan , Chai Wan , San Po Kong & Aberdeen)	
9.	牛棚藝術村 (Cattle Depot Artist Village)	
10.	賽馬會創意藝術中心 (JCCAC)	
11.	Inno center	
12.	灣仔富德樓(Foo Tak Building)	
13.	POHO (Tai Ping Shan Street, Upper Station Street, and Square Street .)	
14.	元創方(PMQ)	

b. 概念方面(conceptual issue)

6. 閣下怎樣理解創意，創意社群，文化及創意園區的關係？

How do you understand the relationship between creativity, community and cluster ?

4. 閣下最理想的創意園區 (ideal cultural and creative cluster)是怎樣的一個地方？

What is an ideal cultural and creative cluster?

(6) 謝謝! Thank you

No. 日期(Date) : _____

Appendix 3

Details of the interviewees				
No.	Interviewee	Area of practice	Years of practice	Duration of stay at the site
Easy-Pack Creative Precinct				
1.	Mr. Match Chan	Product	5 years	3 years
2.	Ms. Kay Chan	Product	5 years	3 years
3.	Mr. Kevin Cheung	Product	5 years	2 years
4.	Ms. Catharine Suen	Product	5 years	3 years
5.	Mr. Equis Lee	Product	3 years	2years
6.	Ms. Fion Chan	Fashion /accessory	4 years	2 years
7.	Mr. Momo Ngan	Fashion /accessory	7 years	4 years
8.	Mr. Dee Lam	Graphic/ video production	7 years	1.5 years
9.	Mr. Teddman Lee	Graphic/ video production	6 years	1.5 years
10.	Mr. Eddie Yueng	Graphic/ video production	6 years	1.5 years
11.	Mr. Fred Pang	Graphic/animation	8 years	2.5 years
12.	Mr. Yuman Ng	Graphic / Banding/ music production	8 years	3 years
13.	Mr. Jason Lee	Music Producer	6 years	3 years
PMQ				
14.	Mr. Yeung Chin	Fashion	5 years	1 year
15.	Ms. Christine Lam	Fashion	4 years	7 months
16.	Ms. Janko Lam	Fashion	3 years	8 months
17.	Ms. Anna Chan	Fashion accessory	2 years	1 year
18.	Mr. Stanley Lee	Fashion/branding	5 years	7 months
19.	Ms. Marielle Byworth	Jewellery	5 years	9 months
20.	Mr. Bengogh Chung	Product/accessory	7 years	8 months
21.	Mr. Felix Tai	Product /accessory	4 years	1 year
22.	Ms. Vicki Lui	Graphic /Curator	5 years	1 year

Interviewee	Area of practice	Years of practice	Duration of stay at the site
InnoCenter			
23.	Ms. Carman Chan	Jewellery /accessory	3 years 15 months
24.	Mr. Chan Po Fung	Jewellery	5 years 1 year
25.	Mr. Shek	Product/branding	5 years 18 months
26.	Mr. Pineapple Wong	Graphic /photography	5 years 1 year
27.	Ms. Sandra Ng	Fashion	5 years 1 year
28.	Mr. Kenni Li	Fashion/ accessory	5 years 15 months
29.	Mr. Kenneth Tsang	Fashion /accessory	3years 1 year
30.	Ms. Mandy Tsang (regular tenant)	Advertising /branding	5 years 2 years
31.	Mr. Charles Ng (regular tenant)	Advertising /branding	20 years 5 years
Fashion Farm Foundation			
32.	Mr. Jeff Wan	Fashion /shoes design	4 years 1 year
33.	Mr. Kenax Leung	Fashion	2 years 1 year
Kwun Tong industrial area			
34.	Mr. LeeCat Ho	Photography /video production	8 years 5 years
35.	Mr. Manchi Leung	Multimedia	5 years 5 years
36.	Mr. Tong Wong	Graphic/branding	15 years 3 years
37.	Mr. Christopher Lee	Graphic/ video production	6 years 6 years
38.	Mr. Ken Tse	Multimedia	4 years 2 years
Tusen Wan industrial area			
39.	Mr. Kin Man Chan	Graphic /Photography	5 years 2 years
40.	Mr. Calvin Ho	Graphic /animation	3 years 8 months
41.	Ms. Kathy Wong	Graphic /video production	2 years 1 year
42.	Mr. Dick Wong	Photography /Video production	2 years 1 year

Chai Wan Industrial area				
43.	Mr. S. Parke	Fashion/ Photography	12 years	5 years
44.	Mr. Dennis Yim	Multimedia	4 years	2 years
San Po Kong				
45.	Ms. Fiona Chan	Fashion /Fashion workshop	2 years	6 months
Sam Shui Po				
46.	Ms. Perry Wong	Fashion	3 year	6 months
(a) Managerial parties of the clusters				
47.	Mr. Adian Li	Landlord of Easy Pack Creative Precinct Jewellery designer		
48.	Mr. Phil Kan	Caretaker of Easy Pack Creative Precinct Artist		
49.	Ms. Kobe Ho	Caretaker of Foo Tak Building		
50.	Mr. Yale Yeung	Caretaker of Fashion Farm Foundation		
51.	Prof. Raymond Au	Director of Fashion Farm Foundation		

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