The Social and Cultural Embedding of Cultural and Creative Clusters: Three Case Studies of Taiwan with Indigenous, Community and Urban Dimensions

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Table of Contents

List of tables and figures

Tables

Figures

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Abstract

This thesis examines the notion of clusters as applied in cultural and creative sectors. Specifically, this thesis explores social and cultural (as opposed to the more common economic) dimensions of clustering and argues that these two factors form a locality-specific context which enables diverse development of cultural and creative clusters in varied settings, namely urban and rural. This thesis applies a qualitative methodology to conduct research with the primary research method of interviews. The participants of this research are individual cultural and creative workers who were grantees of a funding project aiming to promote development of cultural and creative clusters of Taiwan implemented by the Ministry of Taiwan.

By contrast with most previous studies, this thesis demonstrates the pivotal role of culture in the formation of a cultural and creative cluster. Culture represents indigenous cultural embedding and creating an identity for indigenous cultural and creative workers, as well as personal preferences for the specific culture of a locality for other participants of this research. This thesis reveals an embedded nature of cultural and creative practices (in particular, craft activities). Professional identity is also imperative when it comes to cluster formation. Since cultural and creative sectors are deemed as volatile and precarious, mutual professional identity is vital for cultural and creative workers to acquire and maintain an affective connection, which enables further traded and untraded interactions. These two major factors explain the formation of communities of practice, in particular, cultural and creative sectors (in this case, crafts).

With the investigation of three cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan, this thesis aims to set up a discussion of how local contexts can contribute to the varied development of clusters. Thus, this thesis reveals and highlights the differences of rural clusters while mainstream research studies often focus on urban settings. Overall, this thesis argues that non-economic dimensions of clustering have been overlooked by mainstream research. Local social and cultural aspects of clustering do not simply provide an alternative perspective, but a more thorough understanding of the types of cultural and creative clusters, such as craft-based clusters.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Contextualising this research

This research investigates three case studies of cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan. The initial research idea comes from practical job experiences as the author was employed at the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan) between 2012 and 2015 and oversaw a project aiming to promote and enhance development of cultural and creative clusters around Taiwan. Three-years of intense observation of the project and the collection of granted cases revealed varied contexts and diverse development trajectories that differ for each cluster. For example, development of an indigenous cultural and creative cluster does not have the same development trajectory as urban manufacturing, or a design-based co-working space. This leads to an initial question regarding the efficiency of a one-size-fits-all policy and how this approach can work to support wide and diverse development of cultural and creative clusters, as well as cultural and creative industries [1] in Taiwan. This initial observation is further linked to an anticipation to examine nuances between different cultural and creative clusters with varied contexts.

Apart from the observation acquired from practical job experiences, this research is developed and conducted under the context of the global popularity of cultural and creative industries, in both policy and academic spheres. The concept of cultural industries or creative industries originates from western societies and, thus, is developed and termed with a western context. In 1994, the Australian Government enacted its first national cultural policy, *Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy.* It introduced the value of culture as a national identity as it indicated:

> "Culture, then, concerns identity-the identity of the nation, communities and individuals…Culture is that which gives us a sense of ourselves." (the Australian Government 1994)

A rather pioneering aspect of *Creative Nation* as a national policy is that it has been recognised as a milestone that culture, creativity and innovation are integrated and favoured as a policy discourse. It also highlighted impacts which culture can generate on the social and economic life of all Australians. It was an attempt to economise culture in policy discourse. Nearly a decade later, as a successor of a national cultural

[1] Following usage of the term in policymaking in Taiwan, this research uses *cultural and creative industries* to refer to a multitude of terms, including cultural industries, creative industries, creative economy, knowledge economy, and more.

policy, *Creative Australia* reassured the value of such a pioneering action in policy making:

> "In 1994, Australia's first national cultural policy, *Creative Nation*, argued it was time for government to elevate culture onto the political agenda, to recognise its place in the expectations of all Australians, encourage a broader definition of the arts and realise its importance in social and economic life." (Australian Government 2013, p.9)

A few years later, the New Labour government of the United Kingdom came to power in 1997 and introduced *Creative Industries,* partly inspired by *Creative Nation*. The launch of the new policy initiative was accompanied by the establishment of a new governmental department:

> "The formal origins of the concept of creative industries can be found in the decision in 1997 by the newly elected British Labour government headed by Tony Blair to establish a Creative Industries Task Force (CITF), as a central activity of its new Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)." (Flew 2012: 9)

The *Creative Industries* is a public initiative considered to have the capability to tackle economic, social and urban problems that are largely caused by the serious decline of traditional manufacturing industries with which the UK society was facing. It was defined in the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* as distinct from other industries due to its *"*potential for wealth creation through the generation of intellectual property*"* (DCMS 1998: 3) and its potential to enhance economic growth and urban regeneration. Furthermore, the document lists 13 sectors of creative industries:

> "These have been taken to include the following key sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and television and radio." (DCMS 1998: 3)

With the sparkling economic performance that creative industries represent, the UK's experience has been repeatedly copied internationally (Pratt et al 2019). The term and concept of creative industries, thus, have travelled globally and become a fashionable and trendy term that is embraced by policy makers. Arguably, whilst the original

concept travels, it is evolving to reflect the varied contexts of where it is introduced and deployed in policy making.

Referring to the development of Taiwan's cultural and creative industries, the term of cultural and creative industries first appeared in a government document in 2002. With government officials' visit to the UK and studies of global experiences, the promotion of cultural and creative industries as one task became a national development plan the country aimed to achieve. Such a public initiative, however, does not come together out of the blue. The development of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan has been enhanced by a long-term policy, Community Empowerment, which encourages and supports the development of cultural industries from a local and community level. This leads to a distinct feature of the cultural and creative industries development of Taiwan: its emphasis of connection with a locality. This distinct feature is one spectrum where this research might contribute to the existing discussion on cultural and creative industries.

This research explores the notion of clusters applied to cultural and creative industries. Spatial agglomeration of cultural and creative workers and enterprises has been seen as a common phenomenon in the process of cultural and creative development (Scott 1999; Pratt 2004). With the popularity of cluster theory as proposed by Michael Porter in 1990, it has not just become a key concept in economic geography, urban studies, regional economics and policy making, it has also been favoured and applied to promote the development of cultural and creative industries and, thus, enhance economic growth. As a result, both notions of cultural and creative industries and clusters are primarily utilised and understood as an economic tool in policy making practice; however, it is a theory which some researchers have indicated a concern over its definition and empirical measurement, and its application as a policy tool (see Martin and Sunley 2003; 2011). Furthermore, this research argues that the economic aspect of cultural and creative industries and clusters offers limited insights of the two notions. Indeed, it is the application of this general theory to the creative economy which is a new thing. Does it work like a general rule, or is cultural and creative clustering different from other industrial agglomerations? This research explores this issue by looking at three cases of cultural and creative clusters in varied localities of Taiwan.

There have been a small number of research studies of cultural and creative clusters, mainly considering them to be the same as generic clusters, with a few that have focused on the social relations of the exchange of ideas and knowledge: the relational

approach (see Bathelt and Glückler 2003; Bathelt et al. 2004). A limited amount of cluster research, however, has looked at the relationship between the locality and the cluster. In other words, few studies, if any, have explored the social and cultural relations of cultural and creative clusters. This is where this research stands whilst taking an entirely new perspective by looking at the nexus of intra-clusters, as well as the social, cultural and ethnic relationships of cluster development. What's more, the majorty of cluster research has been carried out in urban settings while this research explores varied settings but with a specifc focus on non-urban settings. Furthermore, most cluster research, even when looking at cultural and creative industries, tends to look at the high tech, audio visual and new media sectors. This has resulted in the neglect of the remaining sectors of cultural and creative industries, which require more inputs of studies. This research contributes to this research gap by exploring craft-based and design clusters.

Overall, whether clusters are positioned and applied as an economic, urban development or cultural policy, its potential contribution to economic growth is no doubt a vital factor of its global popularity; additionally, it has been regarded by policy makers around the globe as a panacea to tackle various problems with which a country, city or region might be faced. Shifting the focus from the economic to the non-economic incentives of cultural and creative industries, however, goes against the mainstream. Furthermore, it is rare to reconsider the promotion of cultural and creative industries from the perspective of individual cultural and creative workers. These two aspects of cultural and creative industries are what this research sets to investigate. To understand the perspective of individual cultural and creative workers, this research pays particular attention to the clustering of cultural and creative workers. In summary, this research offers a contrasting and innovative perspective on clustering, focusing on the cultural and creative clusters. Specifically, this research focuses on craft, looking at rural rather than urban areas, at non-traded, social and cultural relationships between users, not economic and traded relationships. Finally, this research explores communities of practice that are embedded in wider social and cultural networks of cultural and creative clusters within varied local contexts.

1.2 Research aim and questions

Reflecting major research and discussions both on cultural and creative industries and clusters, *economic* and *urban* are the two dominate keywords representing the notions of cultural and creative industries and clusters. Both notions have been widely introduced by policy makers and, thus, been utilised as an economic or urban development policy. This leads to a rather generalizable application of the notions,

which focuses on economic growth, city branding or marketing to attract the investment and/or creative class to urban localities.

This study explores the social and cultural aspects of cultural and creative industries and clusters by investigating three cultural and creative clusters within varied local contexts; in particular, the aim is to bring an in-depth understanding of the considerations and incentives of individual cultural and creative workers while clustering in specific localities, as well as the impact of this behaviour on their practice. Furthermore, this research sheds light on the particularities of clustering and cultural and creative industries development, primarily in relation to local social and cultural factors, in rural localities by identifying commonalities and/or distinctions of cultural and creative clustering respectively in urban and rural localities. As the rural case study investigated is in a locality that accommodates a large population of indigenous people, this research also aims to gain insights and a better understanding of cultural and creative industries and clusters from the perspectives of both indigenous and non-indigenous cultural and creative workers.

The research questions are developed with two major focuses, namely localisation and artistic practice and social interaction with other makers. Following this, the research questions were transformed into a draft interview schedule that included the following questions:

1. Why are you located at or why did you relocate to the current locality?
   (1) What were your considerations when locating to or relocating to the current locality?
   (2) How do the consideration(s) you mention benefit or limit the development of your cultural and creative practice?
   (3) Could you specifically talk about how the local culture, both material and immaterial, influences your practice?
2. How do you interact with other cultural and creative workers in the same cluster?
   (1) Do you have regular contact with or interact with other practitioners? What is this like?
   (2) Have you ever collaborated with other practitioners? If yes, how did it take place? Or if no, why didn't it happen?
   (3) What is the advantage or disadvantage of interacting with other practitioners within your cultural and creative practice?
3. If you used to work in different localities, could you describe or compare the practice in each locale?

Past research shows that local context is not considered while attempting to understand cultural and creative clusters, although this is pivotal in the formation of individual cultural and creative clusters. As a cultural and creative practice is often individualised, the social and cultural dimensions and factors of clustering can offer a rather intrinsic understanding of both notions of cultural and creative industries and clusters. Thus, this research argues that the development of cultural and creative clusters varies among localities, urban and rural, and different sectors of cultural and creative industries.

This thesis is separated into chapters to address this gap in the existing research studies of cultural and creative clusters. The first chapter addresses the context and focus of this research, namely cultural and creative industries and clusters. It introduces the earlier development of the notion of cultural and creative industries, as well as the major debate on cultural and creative clustering. Additionally, this chapter introduces the research aims and questions that are explored later in the thesis. Chapter Two critically reviews the notions of cultural and creative industries and clusters and discusses how both notions have been understood and utilised primarily as economic terms with the major research of the two notions completed in urban settings. In contrast and in response to the existing studies, this research focuses on the social and cultural dimensions of cultural and creative clusters and industries. To capture the non-economic dimensions of cultural and creative clusters, the third chapter introduces specific research methods that were applied to conduct this research, which required a qualitative approach to understand the experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers, namely, in-depth interviews, to collect data.

Prior to analysis of each case study, Chapter Four contextualises the case studies with an introduction of the development of cultural and creative clusters of Taiwan and the local contexts of the three case studies. Afterwards, the following three chapters introduce analyses of the three case studies with the same structure of social and cultural aspects of clustering. Chapter Eight serves to compare and discuss the analysis of the three case studies while the last chapter reflects on the research questions and research gaps this research set out to address. Finally, suggestions for further studies are made in the last chapter.

1.3 Summary

The concept of cultural and creative industries has transformed to be more diverse and complex and socially embedded with relation to clusters. The economic value and potential contribution to urban or regional development of both concepts of cultural and

creative industries and clusters are no doubt at the core of academic work and policy discourse, however, more attention has been shifting to the social dimension of these concepts. The current body of research has contributed little to the body of knowledge in this dimension, thus, more research is needed on the non-economic aspects of cultural and creative industries and clusters.

From a policy aspect, the economic value of cultural and creative industries is at the centre of promoting such a policy initiative. Its contribution to GDP or creation of jobs has been widely emphasised and recognised. Indeed, Throsby (2008) argues that much of the drive to value cultural and creative industries for its economic contributions is from public sectors. Cultural and creative industries also serve as a political rhetoric because it is the terminology that is more attractive to the public.

In terms of the mainstream academic research studies on cultural and creative clustering, productivity and competitiveness are two keywords on which the majority of attention has been placed. This can refer to an individual firm or urban and regional development; in either case, its focus is economic development with most of the research referring to urban settings. While a few research studies have explored the social aspect of clustering, the major focus is on the formal and traded interactions between individual cultural and creative workers or firms. This research argues that the informal and cultural dimensions of clustering have been neglected and have a meaningful impact on cultural and creative practices; in particular, a vital shift from an economic-dominated discussion is embedded in the locality both in terms of general social relations and the ethnic-cultural artistic practice.

In policy-making practice, *Creative Industries,* which was initiated by the New Labour government of the UK in 1997, marks an exceptionally successful campaign for both the UK government and branding the creativity of the nation. Afterwards, the concept of creative industries travelled globally, not just to the Global North but also acquiring increasing popularity among the Global South. Taiwan is one of the stops where the notion landed.

Yu and Wu (2012) point out that the UK's experiences of promoting creative industries had an impact on developing Taiwan's cultural and creative industries policy. In 2002, *Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan* saw the first appearance of the term, cultural and creative industries, in an official government document. Since then, the promotion of cultural and creative industries has become a national policy; however, the promotion and development of cultural and creative industries in Taiwan is not out

of the blue. Indeed, the development is enhanced by a long-term policy, Community Empowerment, which was implemented in 1994. This policy has enabled the development of cultural and creative industries to acquire a special link with Taiwanese culture.

Furthermore, the concepts of clustering and hubs are of key interest at the present time, especially with relation to indigenous and craft-based activities in ASEAN countries. Although economic value remains a major factor, development maintains a solid connection with local communities and culture to ensure a more sustainable development rather than a short-term economic boom.

This research raises some important questions for both theory and empirical work, as well as for policy, arguing that replication of the so-called successful experiences or models of promoting cultural and creative industries leads to challenges and problems, such as failure to reflect upon local distinctiveness regarding culture, society or industrial development. This might cause risks for policymaking as it can lead to a one-size-fits-all policy. Thus, the aim of this research is to investigate the varied contexts of cultural and creative industries in different localities to respond to such phenomenon, paying particular interest to non-economic factors of cultural and creative industries. With this alternative perspective, a wider but also more in-depth understanding of cultural and creative industries can be achieved.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter serves to review and identify the key debates about cultural and creative industries and, more generally, on clusters. This chapter identifies the gaps in the existing research, which focuses more on the economic dimensions of clustering, and the research that has a focus on social and cultural dimensions of clustering. As mentioned in Chapter One, both creative nations and creative industries favour the economic value of culture and creativities. The mainstream work on both cultural and creative industries and clusters also tends to focus more on the economic aspects of both notions; however, my research explores untraded and subtle social and cultural dimensions which cannot be analysed by quantitative manners and requires more in-depth and qualitative approaches which are discussed in the next chapter.

2.1 Introduction

The potential economic contributions of promoting cultural and creative industries are well recognised and, indeed, have become a dominant aspect of understanding cultural and creative industries. This perspective, however, is limited if one aims to have a thorough picture of the industries. For instance, this research carries out a case study of an indigenous craft-based artistic cluster, which might be limited if the focus is on figures such as profits, number of employees or the economic impact on regional development. Instead, this research argues that it is necessary to shift the focus from economic to non-economic aspects of cultural and creative industries to gain a full understanding.

As the major research on cultural and creative industries has limited itself to specific industrial sectors, such as movies, sound recording, performing arts, theatre, media and publishing (see Caves 2000), this might lead to two problems in practice and policymaking. Firstly, it might lead to a tendency to form a one-size-fits-all model that is then applied to varied sectors of cultural and creative industries. Secondly, this might encourage the replication of so-called successful models to be applied to the same industrial sector without consideration of the varied context and development trajectories. These two potential problems highlight the importance of raising awareness of the individualities found in varied industrial sectors and sectors with varied contexts.

This research pays specific attention to the notion of a cluster. There are two major grids of thought when it comes to understanding the term cluster. One the one hand, as

the economic aspect of cultural and creative industries dominates the discussion and debate, the notion of clusters in cultural and creative industries tends to be understood with the same anticipation, namely, its economic potential and contribution. On the other hand, as Michael Porter's studies suggested: cluster theory is leading the major discussion in cultural and creative industries (Cunningham 2002). This research, then, argues for a more cultural and social perspective of understanding of cluster development of cultural and creative industries.

Since this research aims to investigate clustering of individual cultural and creative workers in varied localities, and the areas that this research covers include cultural and social aspects of cultural and creative industries, this chapter reviews concepts and theories which this research covers. The following review incorporates two major topics, the notion of cultural and creative industries and the theory of Communities of Practice. The first section discusses the concept and term of cultural and creative industries including a review on the notion of clusters. Followed by that is the introduction of a social learning theory, Community of Practice, with an exploration of its application in cultural and creative industries studies.

2.2 Cultural and creative industries

Some argue that the term creative industries serve a political purpose (Garnham 2005; Throsby 2008; Pratt et al 2019). The shift from cultural to creative industries represents a change of emphasis on the economic value of the industries and a growing focus on consumption. This discussion holds a dominant position in the established research on cultural and creative industries whereas this research argues for a more nuanced understanding of cultural and creative industries, namely, an understanding that recognises cultural and social aspects. The following sections critically review the term.

2.2.1 Context and its policy implication

The particularity of the economic development of post-industrial society (Bell 1974) since the late 20th century led to a new division in the forms of labour and economic forms. Post-Fordism (Amin 1994) represents a similar change and shift in the nature of economic activities and indicates a shift of human need from basic material needs to immaterial needs. This has led to a growing focus on consumption. As a result of these shifts, Garnham (2005) argues that design and marketing became central in the increasingly fragmented, volatile and competitive consumer market. Furthermore, what has been produced and purchased are status aspirations, in other words, lifestyle driven.

These are the contexts in which the notion of cultural and creative industries has been developed.

Within the notion of cultural and creative industries, consumption holds a key position as the concept has been developed and applied. Howkins (2018), from an economic point of view, indicates that 'selling' is a crucial part of the whole creative economy theory; moreover, as cluster development is a commonly applied approach while promoting cultural and creative industries, Throsby (2008) argues that clusters were taking place because of the demand and supply sides of the market. Such development marks a market-oriented or pro-consumption development of cultural and creative industries.

On the other hand, Pratt (2004 p.117) argues that "the analytical pendulum has swung too far in prioritizing consumption in analyses of the cultural economy". Thus, production as a vital part of the nature of the industries has been overlooked. Pratt (2015), then, argues for a more balanced notion and described clusters as 'audience pools' where producers can access audiences to test their products and receive critical feedback from other professionals. Indeed, prior to these debates, Frankfurt School raised concerns over mass production and consumption of cultural goods whereas Scott (1999) argues that the world did not turn out to be what Frankfurt School anticipated. Instead, Scott further claimed that we do not only appreciate artistic expression, but we also embrace cultural consumption.

After more than two decades of discussion and debate, although questions remain around definitional coherence (Flew and Cunningham 2010), the size, scope and significance of cultural and creative industries have reached some degree of consensus; however, the discussion and debate on whether cultural and creative industries follow the same analytical rules and obey the same expectations as other industries is ongoing. Caves (2000), for instance, argues that its peculiar organisational and market structures and non-market roles require us to use different lenses to understand it, as well as to support it.

When it comes to cultural and creative industries, the widely accepted standard definition of creative industries comes from the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in the UK (previously known as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport) in terms of creative inputs and intellectual property as outputs. Garnham (2000) and Throsby (2008) argue that the notion served as a political rhetoric to support political programmes and to create a fresh image of policy action

via encompassing existing industrial sectors and rebranding them as a new type of industry. In other words, the term has a political purpose (Pratt et al 2019).

As seen from *Creative Nation*, the first Australian national cultural policy in 1994, the economic value and potential of culture was raised and recognised. Culture has been economised and has played a significant role as a tool in policymaking to not just enhance economic growth, but also to make the public aware of it. After the successful promotion of the UK's positive experience of creative industries, the notion travelled globally and creative industries has been seen as the key new growth sector of the economy, in terms of future employment growth and export earnings, while the manufacturing sector declines (Garnham 2005).

Arguably, much of the drive to value cultural and creative industries for its economic contribution is from public sectors (Throsby 2008). The shift from cultural to creative industries involves redefining the grounds, purposes and instruments of policy (Garnham 2005). The shift also represents a policy mobilisation from state-funded to market-oriented, namely, the focus is shifting from production to consumption. While widely accepted, DCMS's definition of creative industries also derives criticism. Potts et al. (2008) argues that such a definition is implicitly defined and classified according to industrial sectors. Thus, it requires further aspects of understanding.

2.2.2 Individuals as the heart of the industries

Cultural and creative industries are intrinsically anarchic and individualistic (Pratt 2005). Indeed, individual creativity is the heart of cultural and creative industries. Human talents, skills and creativity become the major capital of cultural and creative industries whereas traditional industries typically rely on natural resources, undifferentiated pools of labour or market access. Cultural and creative workers are labourers in nature but with varied ways of production and distinct forms of outputs. They are knowledge workers who are paid to use their mind (Florida 2012) instead of physically labouring. The outputs are intellectual property in the form of ideas, knowledge and creativity.

Moreover, cultural and creative workers are a group of people who are value-driven, i.e., they tend to rather be motivated by particular social and cultural values (Goodwin 2019) than economic incentives. The various practices, no matter if they are in the form of physical labour or services, that result in goods produced by the creatives tend to contain and represent specific symbolic values (Garnham 1987; Scott 1999) and

subjective meaning (Scott 2004), which may also reflect practitioners' appreciation of certain values.

An emphasis on specific values leads to a 'new normal of working life' (Taylor and Luckman 2018) where cultural and creative workers might be sacrificing something to be consistent with values they appreciate and follow. Values, in this regard, become a religion or ethos hats (Florida 2012) and play an irreplaceable role for workers in their practice and everyday living. Thus, they are workers with autonomy and without being alienated at work. This research, then, argues for a critical investigation on the individual cultural of creative workers regarding their experiences and perspectives, which have been overlooked in mainstream research.

In short, the new normal of working lives sees a shift in how people want to work and how they organise their lives. Even though it is seen as precarious, volatile and uncertain, it is a personal choice in contrast to mainstream standardised, idealised lives and lifestyles. The autonomy might enrich the creativity of cultural and creative workers which then feeds back to the development of cultural and creative industries; thus, this research argues that understanding the experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers is vital.

2.2.3 Cultural and creative industries are place-based

Development of cultural and creative industries is place-based and is often interconnected with place and community (Scott 1999). This reveals that the development is not out of the blue; in other words, the development of cultural and creative industries tends to be based on specific contexts, advantages or features of localities. Furthermore, this then is inclined to lead to development of clustering of cultural and creative firms or individual practitioners. Virani et. al (2020) argues that development of clustering is of local embeddedness. The local embeddedness can cultivate specific identities for particular clusters and thus creates symbolic values, which then attracts social capitals. This is essential to the success of cultural and creative clusters.

Cities are often regarded as major sites for the accommodation of cultural and creative industries development (Scott 1999); as a result, mainstream research on cultural and creative industries tends to be within urban settings. This might partly be attributed to policy practice where cultural and creative industries have been deployed as an initiative to secure the economic development of post-industrial cities due to the decline of manufacturing industries. These efforts have also contributed to urban

regeneration which Throsby (2008) argues that promoting cultural and creative industries can result in the revitalisation of depressed urban areas and the stimulation of regional growth. Cities and cultural and creative industries are generally known to coexist and be mutually beneficial to each other. For example, cultural and creative industries might benefit from convenient transportation and the intense connectivity that a city could provide while the industries, in return, contribute to a creative image of a city (O'Connor and Gu 2010). In this regard, cultural and creative industries are further connected with cities.

With a growing popularity of the notions and terms of creative cities (Landry 2000) and creative class (Florida 2002), the link between cultural and creative industries and urban localities is further strengthened. This string of discussion tends to share narratives with urban regeneration (O'Connor and Gu 2010). O'Connor and Gu (2014) further argue that cultural and creative industries should be included in an urban planning policy as it often works as an initiative to picture or rebrand images of a city and, thus, has the potential to attract further investment. Florida (2002) claims that cities or regions with a critical mass of talented and creative people are more likely to attract business investment. In that sense, the creative class is regarded as a crucial factor for the economic success of a city (Montgomery 2005); furthermore, the creative class can enhance the competitiveness of a city in the global market.

The promotion and development of cultural and creative industries, however, are not restricted to urban localities. For example, Bell and Jayne (2010) argue for a creative countryside and some effort has been put into case studies of non-urban cultural and creative industries (see Harvey et al 2012; Thomas 2019). This is one aspect of existing research focus to which this research aims to make a contribution.

2.2.4 Clustering: a spatial form of cultural and creative industries

The potential economic contribution that cultural and creative industries make is a well-studied aspect of the industries. The economic effect is generated with specific mechanisms of the production of cultural and creative industries. It is perceived that the economic potential of cultural and creative industries is derived from clustering as individuals or enterprises engaged in these industries tend to co-locate in specific locations (Scott 1999; Florida 2012), areas or regions for a cost-effective environment. That is to say, cultural and creative industries development has a focused spatial form (Scott 1999; Mommaas 2004; Pratt 2008) as spatial proximity enables cultural and creative workers or enterprises to have ease of access to necessary production resources.

Prior to the notion of clusters, Marshall coined the term *industrial district* in 1919. An industrial district is distinct from traditional industrial organisation where a relatively few number of factories dominate the production processes; rather, an industrial district is formed by small enterprises that specialise in a specific industry within a given locality. Marshall argues that the advantages of large-scale production can also be achieved by a concentration of small-sized firms that specialise in different stages of production in the same area. This represents a shift from a traditional, centralised industrial organisation to one that is decentralised. In this regard, Piore and Sabel (1984) argue for the 'second industrial divide' where the production shifts from giant corporations back to regional networks of small firms in the same industry. This also reveals what Storper (1989) claims as a resurgence of flexibly specialised and decentralised business systems which are all geographically agglomerated.

Marshall depicts the formation of an industrial district as a bottom-up industrialisation process, largely attributed to a single local labour market. As a result, small firms merge with local workers and, in return, enable these processes to possess local social and cultural features. This has economic meaning and value; that is, the economic advantage of an industrial district is largely attributed to local labour. Amin (2003) indicates that the local labour market helps firms to reduce the cost of knowledge and information transactions since there is mutual knowledge and trust among those in a local society. Moreover, the social familiarity and face-to-face contact of local labourers facilitates the flow of information and knowledge that are 'in the air'. This derives from what Marshall calls the industrial atmosphere where knowledge and information spread quickly throughout the local community (Belussi and Caldari 2009). In this regard, the social aspect of an industrial district is an important consideration.

The benefits that an industrial district can provide for firms include a cost-efficient environment. Amin (2003) mentions that an offering of cost savings and economic opportunities are benefits attributed to such an agglomeration; in particular, spatial proximity offers reduced transaction and transportation costs, as well as better and easier access to inputs of specialised labour, services and know-how. Within an industrial district, the division of labour among firms allows the individual firms to specialise in a given task or phase of production; in other words, firms within an industrial district can benefit from completing the final product in varied phases without loss of productive efficiency (Amin 2003).

Arguably, the social aspect of establishing a Marshallian industrial district is unquestionable. Becattini (1990) defines an industrial district as a socio-territorial entity characterised by the active presence of both a community of people and a population of firms in one naturally and historically bounded area. In the district, community and firms tend to merge. This enables effective knowledge sharing that is enhanced by social and cultural proximity between agents in the same district. Local firms are assumed to be more willing to share knowledge and establish research partnerships with other local agents because common norms and values prevent cheating and opportunistic behaviour (Harrison 1992). In other words, because geographical and cultural proximity facilitate interactive learning, district borders were conceived to enclose knowledge networks, and collective learning processes were tied to the place of the district (Crevoisier 2004).

Boschma and Ter Wal (2007) argue, however, that the traditional view that geographical proximity facilitates knowledge sharing, interactive learning and innovation is well established (Boschma 2005; Boschma and Kloosterman 2005), specifically with an argument on regions as key drivers to innovation in economic geography. In this grid of argument, it assumes that knowledge does not spill over large distances, thus, firms of an industrial district can benefit from knowledge externalities that are 'in the air' and are not available to firms located outside the district. What's more, this body of literature stresses that all firms in the district can benefit from knowledge spillover as they belong to the same cultural environment (Malmberg and Maskell 2002); however, this perspective tends to ignore the importance of knowledge creation within the firms where empirical studies often show that firms value internal knowledge creation as a more important source of knowledge for innovation than external relationships (e.g., Sternberg and Arndt 2001). Overall, the concept of an industrial district has a certain level of influence on the notion of clusters while deployed in cultural and creative industries, particularly on the economic advantage of such a spatial agglomeration.

Cunningham (2002) argues that cluster theory as defined by Michael Porter has been adapted to understand cultural and creative industries. Porter (1998) defines a cluster as a particular location with a critical mass of upstream and downstream industries that specialise in the same or related fields. By proximity, corporations can benefit from a lower production cost whilst supports or resources may be more accessible, thus enhancing competitive advantages because of cost minimisation. From a management point of view, a cluster, according to Michael Porter, is a strategy used to enhance national or regional development. This, then, has been favoured and applied by policy

makers for the promotion and development of cultural and creative industries. In practice, the cluster strategy seems to work on enhancing economic performance; however, it is a theory with no direct focus or implication on the development of cultural and creative industries from the beginning. Furthermore, the theory received criticism in the form of being questioned as a loosely defined theory (Martin and Sunley 2003).

Back to discussion of cultural and creative industries, Dovey et. al (2016) indicate the notion of a cultural ecology, which refer to the assemblage of agents that constitutes a meaningful network of new relationships by micro, small or medium cultural and creative enterprises and businesses. This is then inclined to be framed and linked with economic cluster theory while evaluating the impact, value and development of such a specific form of cultural production. While shedding light on local embeddedness, Virani et. al (2020) further argues that locally embedded creative hubs provide a better infrastructure to cultural production and benefit the development of clusters. The next session reviews the production aspect of clustering in cultural and creative industries.

2.2.5 Clustering: mechanisms and advantages of production

Clustering as a spatial form of cultural and creative industries benefits cultural and creative practice. With a perspective of cultural ecology, Dovey et. al (2016) argue that cultural and creative agents can aggregate resources, skills, ideas, attention and connections and enhance the impact of each project above and beyond its own singular potential. Furthermore, aggregation of fragmentary creative talents into a critical mass can enhance diversity, as well as sustain impact and development.

More specifically on production of cultural and creative practice, cultural and creative industries follow a specific production cycle. Throsby (2008) indicates a seven-phase production cycle involving creation, production, dissemination, exhibition/reception, consumption/participation, archiving/preserving and education/training. Pratt (2015) argues that cultural and creative industries share characteristics of both commodity production and manufacturing systems and refers to a cultural production system that consists of conception, manufacturing, distribution, consumption and archiving.

Scott (1999) indicates that the spatial agglomeration of cultural and creative industries provides a ‘talent pool’ where workers and corporations can benefit from mutual accessibility when they co-locate in the same locality. Firms and individuals who participate in cultural and creative industries can benefit from being mutually accessible as they can provide and receive services to and from each other. In this regard, firms and individual workers develop a demand-and-supply relationship to

support the cultural and creative production. Thus, a critical mass of cultural producers is also important for the sustainability of a skilled labour pool.

Pratt (2015) points to the notion of an 'audience pool' where a spatial agglomeration consists of both producers and consumers. Pratt (2015 p.63) also states that cultural clusters are 'groupings of similar cultural production and services around common markets. The critical mass of many similar common producers can, in exceptional cases, create the necessary market for the provision of otherwise absent specialized services.'Narrowing the perspective, cultural and creative workers or enterprises operate with specific mechanisms. Scott (2004) mentions a high level of transaction-intensive interfirm relationships within cultural and creative industries, which reveals a more interactive practice to be expected to take place in the industries. It is no longer like traditional manufacturing industries where labourers might experience alienation due to a hierarchical distribution of work.

In regard of intensive interaction, access to specific knowledge and information is a vital factor where cultural and creative workers or enterprises tend to co-locate. Through spatial proximity, cultural and creative workers have access to professional knowledge of other members who cluster in the same locality; however, co-location is surely not enough (Boschma and Ter Wal 2007) since co-location with other firms does not guarantee interaction. Bathelt et al (2004) explain that the key is staying in the loop and tuning into the local buzz for valuable information sharing. Furthermore, Boschma and Ter Wal (2007) stress that a strong local connectivity not only increases the innovation performance of a firm, but it can also strengthen connectivity to external firms, similar to global pipelines (Bathelt et al 2004). Thus, connectivity is the key to obtaining production competitive advantages.

On the other hand, Feldman et al (2005) argue that only a limited number of local actors are part of a local knowledge network. It is not the case that most of the local firms engage in the local network despite geographical proximity. Feldman et al (2005) further argue that a strong local network position of firms has a positive impact on their innovative performance. That is to say, spatial proximity is not enough; rather, the key is whether a firm is connected with others within the same localities as is a connection to non-local actors. Arguably, firms that have non-local knowledge relationships are more innovative than firms lacking such a window to the outside world.

In economic geography, there is an ongoing debate regarding whether places are still relevant for the competitiveness of firms, or whether networks matter more (Castells

1996). Indeed, the key is that being in the right place matters for learning and innovation while being in the right network is of utmost importance as networks are the key vehicles of knowledge transfer and diffusion (Castells 1996).

2.2.6 Social aspect of clustering and production

The formation of a cultural and creative cluster is not merely a grouping of individual workers or enterprises. Pratt et al (2019) argues that co-location is not only attributed to economic advantages which cultural and creative workers can obtain, it is also due to compulsory sociality. It is the connectivity between members of the cluster that makes a cluster work and function properly. Indeed, spatial proximity does not directly lead to competitive advantages, nor does it guarantee interaction between cultural and creative workers. Merkel (2019) indicates an interactive aspect of clustering that members of a co-working space are not working alone, but together. It is the sociality, both formal and informal, that allows the co-location to function.

Co-location might create more opportunities for cultural and creative workers to encounter each other in a face-to-face manner. Although technology has dramatically changed how humans interact and some even claim the death of distance (Cairncross 1997), face-to-face contact (Pratt 2000; Storper and Venables 2004) remains crucial in cultural and creative industries. It does not exist only for production needs where face-to-face contact enables knowledge and information sharing, it is also critical in terms of connecting and strengthening bonds between cultural and creative workers to reduce the impact of working in precarious circumstances.

Furthermore, face-to-face contact can facilitate learning among cultural and creative workers. Through an interactive process (Bathelt et al 2004), skills and knowledge can be shared and learned. This might be particularly vital for some sectors, such as crafts, which rely on in-person interactions to pass on knowledge. In this regard, a cultural and creative cluster might be where the juniors learn from their senior community members (Goodwin 2019).

Apart from the practical production advantages that social interaction can generate for individual cultural and creative workers and enterprises, the social fabrication within clusters plays a vital role regarding affective relationships among individuals. It has been widely recognised that working in cultural and creative industries is precarious (Gill and Pratt 2008; Ocejo 2017; Avdikos and Iliopoulou 2019) since it is volatile (McGuigan 2010) and uncertain (Pratt et al 2019); Furthermore, the varied working patterns and mindsets sometimes lead workers to professional isolation (Bell and

Jayne 2010). Participants in cultural and creative industries are, in most cases, likely to be either individuals or operate on a micro-scale, which Pratt (2015) considers a potential strategic weakness of cultural and creative industries. In this regard, cultural and creative workers or enterprises might be unable to achieve self-sufficiency.

Cultural and creative workers are most likely to work in a project-based pattern (Pratt 2015; Pratt et al 2019). This leads to a temporary working pattern in a fast-changing and fragmented industrial environment. Thus, for sustainability, cultural and creative workers or enterprises should be capable of working collectively with other individuals or organisations, and be flexible and mobile to secure their next projects or further opportunities. This, then, causes risk for their careers. The challenges make cultural and creative workers vulnerable to risk and uncertainty (McRobbie 2016).

The short-term and fast-changing nature of the project-based working pattern leads to fragile personal alliances and personal commitments (Mommaas 2003). For instance, Grugulis and Stoyanova (2011) point out the reality that junior practitioners might not be able to learn from their more experienced counterparts who work collectively on projects since the senior practitioners may move on to the next project while conducting or finishing the present one. Such a working pattern would be exceptionally uncertain and difficult for junior cultural and creative practitioners.

Moreover, self-exploitation and overwork are at least, if not often, not rare in order to attain a reputation for future project opportunities. That is to say, cultural and creative workers may constantly need to strike a balance between autonomy and risk, fulfilment and self-exploitation (Pratt et al 2019). Additionally, low pay risk and often no social protection (Pratt et al 2019) make cultural and creative workers vulnerable, often seeking creative justice (Banks 2017).

To sustain cultural and creative workers in these precarious working circumstances, two dimensions of support are crucial: the first from individual affective relationships and the second from organisational intermediaries. The sustainability of cultural and creative practice relies heavily on social interaction among the individual workers of the industries. In particular, the establishment of affective relationships among cultural and creative workers is exceptionally vital. These relationships enable individual workers to seek like-minded partners and professional fulfilments (Scott 1999) or kindred spirits (Thomas and Jakob 2018) and helps counteract isolation (Lee, 2019). The affective relation is particularly important for cultural and creative workers who co-locate in dispersed localities (Harvey et al 2012), as well as young

creative workers who are more likely to suffer from affective pressure such as failure, anxiety or shame while working in cultural and creative industries (Lee 2019).

From an organisational point of view, the precarious situation which cultural and creative workers might encounter can be partly resolved with the support of intermediaries. The importance of intermediaries is a growing awareness regarding supporting the development of cultural and creative industries. Reflecting on the nature of cultural and creative practices, cultural production is an ensemble work (Pratt 2015) that does not only consist of artists or whoever is deemed as creative, but rather relies on multiple inputs from various professionals with varied expertise. Specialised services such as marketing, distribution, legal services, or management are crucial regarding the survival and development of cultural and creative practices and careers; however, these services are often beyond the scope of an individual worker as they are, in most cases, unable to achieve self-sufficiency. This highlights the important role that intermediaries can play in cultural and creative industries. This also leads to an increasing emergence of intermediaries.

Apart from the organisational level, hosts of an organisation or, in some cases, individual gatekeepers, play a crucial role in supporting cultural and creative workers to improve their connections with others and access the resources they need. For instance, Harvey et al (2012) indicates that individuals who obtain dense internal and external networks are crucial for the development of a non-urban cluster. Merkel (2019) mentions the pivotal role of co-working space hosts in the social curation of cultural and creative workers and, thus, facilitating encounters, interactions and mutual trust among members of a co-working space. Furthermore, intermediaries also serve as facilitators of communication. Due to varied working patterns and mindsets, cultural and creative workers are often speaking different languages to government officials, for instance. In this regard, intermediaries are vital in translating the varied languages for the two sides (O'Connor and Gu 2010).

2.2.7 Informal structure and atmosphere of clusters

O'Connor and Gu (2014) regard various forms and levels of interaction among cultural and creative workers as a soft infrastructure. A soft infrastructure is an informal and virtual network constructed by individual workers or enterprises. This network allows cultural and creative workers to support each other and, thus, benefit from the connections created. Unlike other industries that workers or firms may primarily interact through formal channels at work, people who are engaged in cultural and creative industries, at large, benefit from informal interactions with their

counterparts. It has been argued that cultural and creative workers who are beneficiaries of informal interactions are 'learning by hanging about' (Pratt 2018). Informality can provide cultural and creative workers with more flexibility to meet the challenges of working in atypical patterns from other industries.

With specific forms of social bonds and connectivity constructed among cultural and creative workers while they co-locate in the same localities, some have argued for cultivation of a 'creative milieu' or 'ecosystem' (Scott 1999; Hutton 2006; Mommaas 2009; Van Heur 2010). It is a unique atmosphere of a locality which generates what Luckman (2012) calls a soft infrastructure consisting of both material and immaterial features of a specific locality. The soft infrastructure of a locality is a supportive environment from which both cultural and creative workers and the making of their practice can benefit. It is also where cultural and creative workers situate and where a cultural and creative practice is rooted. This is the embedding nature of cultural and creative industries.

With an informal network and the invisible atmosphere that nurtures cultural and creative works, it is likely for cultural and creative workers who co-locate in specific localities to form a community. As previously discussed, a place-bound community can cultivate an atmosphere that nurtures knowledge, communication and innovation (Amin & Thrift 1992). In cultural and creative industries, its development is considered place-based and it is often interconnected with the place and the community (Scott 1999). The formation of a community of cultural and creative workers is based on social bonds among the members of the workers; however, apart from the economic contribution which the cultural and creative community can make, this research argues for a focus shift from the economic point of view to more individual and social points of view.

2.3 Communities of practice

Reflecting on the above review of cultural and creative industries, we understand the social aspect of the industries plays an exceptionally vital role to connect cultural and creative workers and enterprises, and, thus, generate a positive economic effect; however, the social aspect has rarely been thoroughly examined from the perspective of forming connectivity among cultural and creative workers and the actual learning and sharing process. This research attempts to apply a social learning theory, Community of Practice, to theorise various forms of interaction among cultural and creative workers.

This research aims to explore the non-economic aspects of cultural and creative industries by specifically examining factors, formation, organisation and interaction taking place in clustering of cultural and creative workers. Even relevant research on cultural and creative industries is mostly economic-oriented. Thus, this research proposes to apply a social learning theory, communities of practice, to examine factors which trigger or enhance the internal formation of interaction between creative workers who co-locate in the same localities.

2.3.1 Notion of community

A normative definition of a community is a group of people who have shared values and specific ways of life, identify with the group and adhere to its shared values, as well as recognise each other as members of the same group (Mason 2000). The formation and sustainability of a community rest on the establishment of a sense of community which McMillan and Chavis (1986) define as belonging to a group and having a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group. A community also has a shared faith that members' needs will be met via their commitment to form and maintain the group. A stronger sense of community leads to problem-focused coping behaviours (Bachrach and Zautra 1985), which contribute to the members' level of community involvement.

Ahlbrandt and Cunningham (1979) argue that the formation of a community requires a social fabric that captures the strengths of interpersonal relationships rather than simply grouping individuals together. McMillan and Chavis (1986) later elaborate the notion of community by pointing out four factors that constitute a sense of community: membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection. For McMillan and Chavis, membership refers to a sense of belonging and personal relatedness to one another. Influence is a sense of mattering, in which members are aware of making a difference within the group to which they belong, and vice versa. Integration and fulfilment of needs are a feeling that members know their needs will be met by the resources received through their membership. Lastly, shared emotional connection is the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, similar experiences and time together. These four factors mutually influence one another.

Those mentioned factors might create unique mechanisms of interaction within a community. By following the rules that are specifically attached to a community, members can define their identities in the community through the role they play (Riel and Polin 2004). The notion of a community can particularly be useful in examining the human and social aspects of the formation of clusters in cultural and creative

industries, however, it might not fully reflect the interactive aspect of learning and sharing that takes place among cultural and creative workers.

2.3.2 Community of Practice

To reflect the interactive aspect of clustering of cultural and creative workers, this research employs a social learning theory, Community of Practice, to examine the formation of clusters in cultural and creative industries. Community of practice is a learning theory defined by Lave and Wenger (1991). They studied apprenticeship as a human learning mechanism and argue that learning is a social activity with the theory placing particular emphasis on the social and contextual nature of learning. A community of practice is, defined by Lave and Wenger (1991), "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." The theory illustrates interactions and relationships among people in a group who share the same or at least similar interests or passions towards a specific practice.

Learning takes place in social situations and rests on situational contexts (Farnsworth et al 2016). By observing how midwives, meat cutters, and tailors learn and gain skills, Lave and Wenger (1991) argue for the importance of situated learning. Thus, we can say that a community of practice is inherently a social endeavour (Duguid 2012), and the social environment is crucial for enabling members of a community of practice to acquire and advance their skills and knowledge of a specific practice. In this regard, a community of practice tends to involve face-to-face interaction (Gray 2005), which not only enables the acquisition of explicit knowledge of a community but also the identity of the community.

Furthermore, Lave and Wenger discovered the interactive processes and joint activities repeatedly taking place between novices and experts, and, thus, they argue that conceived learning is a process of legitimate peripheral participation; in other words, a novice would join and then move from the periphery to the centre of a community of practice by observing and interacting with experts to gain specific knowledge or skills. In this sense, the idea of learning as a participatory process marks the interactive nature of the theory and remains central to the theory (Buckley et al 2019). For individual members, learning represents the journey from being a newcomer to becoming an expert (Riel and Polin 2004).

Apart from learning, construction of identity is the other vital aspect of a community of practice. The making of meaning relies on relationships which are based on mutual

respect and trust among members of a community of practice (Wenger 1996; Wenger 2000). With respect and trust, members develop a sense of belonging for the community to which they are attached; this is where the concept of identity comes in (Farnsworth et al 2016).

The construction of identity has two layers. Socially, the establishment of identity in practice rests on how a member demonstrates one's competence and whether others in the community of practice perceive the one as a member. Personally, identity is how one perceives him/herself by participating in a community of practice. Wenger (2016) reiterates that the primary motivation for people as social beings to negotiate and give meaning to their behaviour is a process of becoming a certain person within a specific social context. A community of practice places the negotiation of meaning at the core of human learning as opposed to merely the acquisition of information and skills (Farnsworth et al 2016).

Over time, communities of practice develop regimes of competence, which Wenger (2016) argues that the accountability to regimes of competence is central to the way he refers to identity in the theory. That is to say, the identity constructed among members of a community of practice is an identity of skilled knowledgeability (Lave and Wenger 1991). This is a distinguished difference of a community of practice from a general community.

A collection of people engaging in learning, however, does not necessarily guarantee the formation of a community of practice (Riel and Polin 2004; Buckley et al 2019); likewise, a network of people may not necessarily have a shared identification toward a specific practice (Farnsworth et al 2016). Later, in Wenger's book published in 1998, the theory is further developed and elaborated. Wenger refines concepts of Communities of Practice and details communities of practice as entities bound by mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. Mutual engagement describes the interactions among individuals and how they create shared meaning on issues or problems. Joint enterprise depicts people who are engaged and working together toward a common goal. Shared repertoire, then, refers to the common resources and jargon which members employ to negotiate meaning and facilitate learning.

Wenger (2000) further indicates three elements that compose a community of practice: domain, practice and community. Domain refers to a common and shared area of concern or interest which drives people together. Firstly, showing commitment to the

domain shapes the identity of a community of practice, which distinguishes members of a community from non-members. Secondly, practice is something members of a community of practice do and how they can advance knowledge and skills of the practice via joint activities within a community of practice; thus, members are not just people with the same interest, but rather members are practitioners of one specific practice. Lastly, community implies the collective aspect of the group. It is where members pursue their specific practice and conduct joint activities. It is also where members establish relationships with other practitioners and, thus, enable learning from each other.

With the popularity of the theory, the concept of Communities of Practice is evolving after being adapted to various domains or professions. It has evolved and expanded while being introduced and applied to domains such education (see Gray 2005), organisation development (see Li et al 2009), education and nursing studies and practices (Farnsworth et al 2016), etc. However, with broad application to varied domains, the notion of Communities of Practice has been developed and shifted from a theory that describes a situated learning process to an intentional tool used for knowledge development and management (Buckley et al 2019).

2.3.3 Critiques of Communities of Practice

With a growing popularity of notion of communities of practice, it has received criticism as being a theory that is too challenging to apply (Riel and Polin 2004). Furthermore, Roberts (2006) argues that as it can be applied in a wide range of organizational settings, this can also be a weakness of the theory since it may lead to inappropriate application. Another criticism is on power relation of the theory.

Of interest, most citations of Lave and Wenger's Communities of Practice focus on community and overlook the importance of practice, which is what makes a community of practice identity-sociality-centred with the practical purpose of gaining specific skills or knowledge (Duguid 2004). Contu and Willmott (2003) also point to the danger of assuming a consensus in communities of practice, urging to emphasize the idea of practice rather than community.

Lave and Wenger (1991) explore apprenticeships and develop study of situated learning. They highlight tension between new-comers and old-timers during the processes of acquisition of knowledge and skills of specific practice. They notice that new community members move from the periphery to a position of full participation as they develop their knowledge and learn from skilled practitioners. Due to new members' accomplishment of continuities of practice and disruptive instigation of innovations, this may threaten to displace the centrality of the skilled practitioners in

the reproduction and redefinistion of the community. However, Roberts (2006) argues that Lave and Wenger fail to explore the implications of the distribution of power when discussing their case studies and developing the theory of communities of practice.

Power and knowledge imply each other (Foucault 1979). The learning of specific knowledge or skills in a community of practice reveals power dynamics between members of the community. Blackler and McDonald (2000, p. 848) also argue that the 'dynamics of power, mastery and collective learning are inseparable'. Apart from that, it is vital to recognize the role of power in the process of meaning-making which may be negotiated within communities of practice. However, power may rest on the degree of participation to a community of practice whilst members who have full participation, namely skilled practitioners, will have a greater role and thus are likely to wield more power in the negotiation of meaning. This may lead to concentration of power in particular practitioners, normally the few of old-timers. Although Lave and Wenger are aware of the power dynamics within a community of practice, they fail to align their use of the concept of contradiction to their emphasis on power relations and the historical embeddedness of learning (Contu and Willmott 2003).

2.3.4 Implications in cultural and creative industries

The theory of Communities of Practice has been evolving and applied to various domains or professions; nevertheless, it is rare to attempt to deploy the theory to cultural and creative industries with the aim of examining the interactions among the most fundamental unit of the industries, namely, individual cultural and creative workers. As this research argues that the accepted notion of clusters is economic-centred such that the existing social-related discussion on clustering in cultural and creative industries seems to inevitably lead to a discussion of its economic advantages, previous research thus fails to fully explain and explore factors that trigger interactions between cultural and creative workers.

As discussed above, working in cultural and creative industries is volatile as temporary forms of interaction are a norm. In this regard, Comunian (2016) refers to festivals as temporary clusters and highlights that learning can be achieved through 'learning by interacting'. A festival turns out to be an important occasion and environment in which participating artists can share and exchange information and knowledge within a temporary community of practice. In that sense, artists share a common domain of interest, i.e., the festival and arts, and the same or relevant artistic

practice. Attending the same festival allows for the establishment of the community of practice.

As working in cultural and creative industries is deemed as precarious and uncertain, cultural and creative workers, by working collectively, feel safe and supported as participation in a community of practice is the antidote to stressors (Goodwin 2019). That is to say, forming a community of practice allows workers to tackle challenges like working in precarious settings or suffering from professional isolation, both of which are common while working in cultural and creative industries.

Furthermore, based on mutual engagement and participation, cultural and creative workers in a community of practice can be aware of other creative professionals within a latent network (Bettiol and Sedita 2011), which enables a pre-existent mechanism of coordination. As a result, a community of practice might lead to collaboration among artists and other practitioners of relevant professions, as well as seek assistance or support from other practitioners.

This research intends to apply concept of Communities of Practice to explore the early stage of formation of clustering of cultural and creative practitioners. Based on common passion and interest in a specific practice, it encourages the formation of a group and community. Through mutual participation, members of a community of practice develop interdependency, which is an interpretation of identifying each other, among members. As Goodwin (2019) argues that such interdependency can refer to mutual trust, openness, a sense of belonging, shared commitment, and common values among cultural and creative workers of a community of practice. Furthermore, the notion of knowledgeability skilled identity of Communities of Practice is another crucial concept applied to this research to examine connection and relationships established among cultural and creative practitioners of this research.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviews the discussions of cultural and creative industries, clusters and communities of practice. The mainstream work on cultural and creative industries tends to be an economic-led discussion while the notion of clusters is also developed with the assumption that it can enhance the competitiveness and productivity of firms. This strand of discussion, with cautionary review and assessment, might blind our thorough understanding of a more diverse development of cultural and creative industries and clusters in the 21st century; contrary to the existing mainstream research, this research intends to explore the intra-cluster interactions among cultural and

creative workers, and with other local stakeholders. This research, then, reviews the theory of Community of Practice and its application to cultural and creative clusters.

The notion of cultural and creative industries is a subject of continuing debate (Throsby 2008; Douglass 2016) regarding its definition, subsectors and terminology; however, a consensus exists that it offers economic value on the development of a nation, region or city. The economic aspect of cultural and creative industries, then, has become a major spectrum through which to understand the term. It has been argued that the shift from cultural to creative industries reflects a change of focus from production to consumption; for example, Throsby (2008) points out that the changes to the traditional concepts of cultural policy are shifting to see the arts as part of a wider and more dynamic sphere of economic activity. With a growing awareness and emphasis on the market, customers' needs and the selling and marketing activities demand unprecedented levels of attention. In 1999, Scott argued that we are living in a world where people do not only appreciate artistic expression, they also embrace cultural consumption. Consumption, in this regard, is leading the development of cultural and creative activities. As a result, the economic role and value of cultural and creative industries is further strengthened.

As mainstream research on cultural and creative industries tends to be economic-based, macro aspects of the industries become the major focus and concern whereas the role of individual cultural and creative workers as the fundamental units of the industries is often overlooked. Gill and Pratt (2008) argue that the existing research on cultural and creative industries is not sharp enough for readers in general and for policymakers to spot the differences between the industries and other industries, let alone the differences between cultural work and other works. This research, thus, intends to investigate the individual experiences and perspectives of cultural and creative workers on their own practices.

Cultural and creative industries are found to likely be locality-based with their development tending to be interconnected with place or community. Cities, in particular, are seen as major sites that are capable of accommodating these industries. Furthermore, with the popularity of concepts such as creative cities and creative class, the concept of cultural and creative industries has been further linked with urban localities. This inevitably leads to the result that mainstream research on cultural and creative industries tends to be within urban settings; however, concepts such as creative countryside or rural creative hubs are among efforts of a small body of researchers that investigate non-urban cases.

The other crucial factor when promoting the development of cultural and creative industries is the embedded nature of cultural and creative practice. This reminds us of the important role that non-economic factors, such as culture, community and locality, might play in supporting said development. For example, Throsby (2008) argues for an equivalent weighting of economic and cultural values of cultural and creative industries. Pratt (2008) and Comunian (2011) indicate that culture plays an intrinsic role in cultural and creative industries. Thus, understanding the complex relationship woven between locality, cultural and creative workers and their practice is vital..

Studies indicate that cultural and creative industries have a spatial form; in other words, cultural and creative workers or enterprises tend to locate closely to each other in specific localities. Spatial proximity can generate economic effect. It is argued that co-location enables ease of access to approach other practitioners for support or collaboration; in this way, cultural and creative workers or enterprises can benefit from co-location. Clusters, for instance, have commonly been deployed as a strategy to enhance the development of cultural and creative industries. The argument has been made, however, that cultural and creative workers are affective labours who are value-driven rather than economic-incentivised. This requires a non-economic lens to understand. Nevertheless, despite a growing focus on social interactions between cultural and creative workers, any major discussion inevitably links the need of social connection between cultural and creative workers with its potential to generate economic outcomes. This research sets up an argument on individual and affective aspects of social interaction between cultural and creative workers and assumes that this could have a vital impact.

To examine the nuanced intra-cluster social interaction and concept of formation of communities, this research applies a social learning theory, Communities of Practice, as defined by Lave and Wenger (1991), to the clustering of cultural and creative workers. A community of practice is a group of people who share a common interest for something and learn how to do that thing better through mutual participation and interaction with each other. Members of a community of practice are a collection of individuals who share specific identities which are cultivated by the practice that members undertake.

Lave and Wenger place an exceptional emphasis on the social aspect of learning as a human behaviour. They argue that learning takes place in social and contextual situations. In other words, the formation of a community of practice depends more

heavily on social processes rather than simply drawing a group of people together (Farnsworth et al 2016). It is the process of interaction that leads to the formation of a community of practice. Although the concept of community of practice is one with various applications and is not limited to educational, medical (nurse) or managerial professions, it has rarely been attempted to apply this concept in studies on cultural and creative industries. This research attempts to apply communities of practice to examine the social and interactive nature of the clustering of cultural and creative workers.

To sum up, this research argues that the economic aspect of both cultural and creative industries and clustering is limited if we aim to have a thorough understanding of the developments in the 21st century. Mainstream research studies also tend to focus on urban cases or examples whereas this research argues that there is a lack of research on rural cases. Furthermore, traded interaction within a cultural and creative cluster fails to demonstrate a more nuanced development of diverse cultural and creative clusters. Thus, the literature review of this chapter raises questions regarding the non-economic and non-rural dimensions of clustering and individuals as a micro spectrum to understand the development of both cultural and creative industries and clusters. Accordingly, these questions require an in-depth investigation of individual cultural and creative workers.

Apart from that, as the notion of either clusters or cultural and creative industries / clusters are developed with western contexts, it is important for this research to situate in that context while aiming to show an alternative examples of cultural and creative clusters. Thus, rather than reviewing Asian cases of cultural and creative clusters, the literature review of this research primarily explores the mainstream discussion and debate.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The research presented in this thesis aims to investigate interactions, mostly informal, between cultural and creative workers, as well as their experiences and perspectives on clustering in specific localities. Furthermore, this research illustrates three case studies to distinguish different development features of cultural and creative clusters as each conveys a varied context. Hence, in-depth and on-site investigation is applied. The following sections introduce the methods which are applied to collect and analyse data in this research. The structure of this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, research design, reveals the rationale of the overarching methodology that this research applies. Followed by that is an introduction of specific research methods employed in data collection during fieldwork. The third section explains ethical issues this research encountered while the final section presents methods this research used to process the raw data.

Compared with the typical studies on cultural and creative clusters, the challenges of this research are on the social and cultural embedding and social relations between cultural and creative workers and localities. This requires a more in-depth and exclusive approach than generalizable studies.

3.1 Research design

The methodology of qualitative and quantitative research plays different roles in data production. They are also different in their underlying assumptions; particularly, quantitative research is concerned with distribution and statistical power whereas qualitative research emphasises the importance of detailed and exact descriptions of social actions. As it is not possible to conduct research on every subject, quantitative research is used to generalise the collection of data and predict the entire subject of a specific topic. On the other hand, if researchers apply a qualitative approach, they aim to understand how specific participants experience their world regarding specific topics. In other words, the result can only be understood in a specific context and cannot be generalised.

This research is a qualitative study as it looks at subtle and social variables that would be invisible to quantitative analysis. Reflecting on the existing research on cultural and creative industries and cluster research of its kind, mainstream studies and discussions tend to be rather quantity-based. Surveys are often applied to capture the economic strength of cultural and creative industries, such as contribution to GDP growth of a

nation state or job creation for a nation, region or city. The quantitative materials have also been used to generalise or predict the development of cultural and creative industries. As a result, figures produced from surveys frame seemingly the only image that we can picture for cultural and creative industries; however, this is limited. quantitative-based research and the results might enable us to see a general picture of cultural and creative industries development but might fail to present the nuances between varied sectors and overlook experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative practitioners.

The nature of cultural and creative work is distinct (Banks 2006; Pratt et al 2019) from that of other industries. It is the aesthetic activity of cultural and creative workers that is somehow potentially unique. Features of the cultural and creative practice and experiences are personal and cannot be predicted or generalised. Furthermore, even though research on the social aspect of cultural and creative industries has been increasing, the focus is related, more or less, to the economic impact that the interactions among cultural and creative workers can produce. What matters, however, is the quality of interactions which take place in the social environment between cultural and creative workers. Based on these considerations, this research argues that applying alternative approaches to measure and understand the experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers might be of help.

Qualitative methods, which were applied in this research, are preferable when exploring the 'why' rather than the 'how many', as well as when investigating motivation, perceptions or beliefs (Milena et al 2008). In other words, qualitative methods are better for contextualising and gaining in-depth insight into specific concepts or phenomena. Furthermore, qualitative methods can be applied when research aims to develop context-rich, detailed and descriptive accounts on specific topics or phenomenon. Overall, this research sets to contextualise clustering development in varied localities and gain an in-depth understanding of the non-economic aspects of cultural and creative industries and, accordingly, capture the distinct characteristics of cultural and creative industries from existing research. Hence, understanding experiences and in-depth perspectives of individual creative talents becomes a vital task of this research rather than collecting generalizable numeric data.

In short, since this research aims to capture the non-economic aspects of clusters and cultural and creative industries through the lens of individual cultural and creative

workers, this research is conducted with a qualitative-centred approach, primarily via interviews. Furthermore, this research investigates the varied types of clusters and examines similar or different factors and characteristics of cultural and creative clusters in urban and non-urban localities, warranting the application of case studies.

3.2 Research methods

3.2.1 Introduction

This research uses qualitative approaches to collect in-depth details and information regarding personal experiences on clustering of cultural and creative workers, thus, the initial plan of actual research methods this research applied includes case studies, interviews, focus groups, note taking and participant observation. More specifically, the case study was applied to examine three varied cases with different local contexts while the interview was employed to investigate individual perspectives and experiences of cultural and creative workers on clusters and their practices. Focus groups were designed to invite cultural and creative workers who co-locate in the same localities to discuss specific topics related to their experiences regarding production and interaction with other practitioners. Furthermore, note taking was applied to record data which the author encountered and related to the research during the field trip as participant observation was applied to observe the physical environment and atmosphere of each locality.

Focus groups, which may lead participants to engage in intensive interaction while they debate or attempt to persuade each other (Jensen & Laurie 2016) in a group discussion, are used to identify perceptions, thoughts and impressions regarding a specific topic of investigation (Kairuz et al 2007). The original plan was to invite cultural and creative workers of each cluster to share their experiences and perspectives of co-location in a collective manner to encourage the revelation of subtle or detailed information sharing. Unfortunately, the focus group was cancelled because of two unexpected reasons. Firstly, the schedules of each cultural and creative workers varied and they were unable to rearrange their availability. Secondly, the author was advised by a local practitioner in the east coast to avoid such an approach as it is unlikely for specific practitioners to attend the same meeting to discuss their practice. Thus, the focus group was cancelled but with the compensation of planning and conducting more interviews. The following sections introduce each of the research methods.

3.2.2 Case studies

This research aims to investigate the differences between cultural and creative clusters with varied local contexts, namely, rural and urban localities and with indigenous and

non-indigenous contexts. To accomplish this aim, this research examines three case studies, identified through a central government funding project that aims to promote the development of cultural and creative clusters by encouraging cultural and creative workers and enterprises to co-locate in specific localities. The sample selection of case studies is based on a number of funded projects in individual counties or cities of Taiwan.

The case study is used to investigate and obtain a closer or more in-depth understanding of the contemporary phenomena set in real-world contexts (Yin 2009). It is a method to allow the research to go beyond the study of isolated variables; indeed, it aims to examine the context and other complex conditions related to the case. In general, case studies are the preferred method in the following research situations (Yin 1994):

1. 'How' and 'why' questions are being posed
2. The investigators have little control over events
3. The focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context

Silverman (2000) argues that whilst writing up qualitative research, non-random characters of cases is a critical factor as qualitative research intends to interpret specific phenomenon or specific aspects of a phenomenon rather than generalising the data. Theoretical sampling is a purposeful mean of sample selection in the initial stages of a study (Coyne 1997). Data collection is an important dimension of this research as it aims to explore subtle and untraded social and cultural dimensions of cultural and creative clustering, which few research studies have aimed to explore.

Since there is no official mapping document regarding the distribution of cultural and creative clusters around Taiwan, Chenitz & Swanson (1986) argue that an initial sampling is determined to examine the phenomena where it is found to exist. As a result, the list of grantees is a basic structure for this research to predict the distribution of potential cultural and creative clusters of Taiwan. Based on a list of grant projects between 2010 and 2015, a picture of the general distribution of either existing or emerging cultural and creative clusters around Taiwan emerged.

The initial sampling is based on quantities of grantees in individual counties or cities of Taiwan. It turns out that Taipei City, the capital, is the most densely populated hub for cultural and creative workers, namely, the Zhongshan-Shuanglian Creative Community of Taipei City, which accommodates most of the grantees of the funding

project in Taipei City. This, then, serves as a typical cultural and creative cluster with an urban setting. Tainan City, which is in the southwest of Taiwan, hosts various grantees of the project that reside outside Taipei City but within the locality of the West-Central district, allowing this case study to investigate a representation of an atypical urban cultural and creative cluster.

The funding project also supports cultural and creative workers, both indigenous and non-indigenous, on the east coast of Taiwan. The initial sampling identified two case studies in the region, respectively in Gangkou, Hualien County and Dulan, Taitung County; however, with participant observation in the region during field research, the author realised that cultural and creative workers mobilised primarily in the region between Gangkou and Dulan. Thus, the two cases were merged into one. This case study serves to represent a craft-based artistic cluster with a rural setting.

Case studies, as a research method, provide an accurate and complete description of the case (Marczyk et al 2005); thus, this research can apply it to examine the differences between urban and rural cultural and creative clusters. As the funding project is implemented at a central government level, it is more representative in terms of the distribution of overall national cultural and creative clusters. Furthermore, because of the experience of running the funding project, the author had access to information about each cluster making the investigation into selected case studies unique and workable. To sum up, the case study, in this research, is not used to achieve inductive generalisations; rather, this method is applied to point to some otherwise hidden processes—mainly social and cultural—that help to explain rural craft-based clusters.

3.2.3 Interviews

This research intends to capture the in-depth personal experiences and perspectives of cultural and creative workers on both their practice and clustering. It applies the interview method, which is considered the most common of all qualitative research methods (Alvesson and Deetz 2000) and the most effective and convenient means of gathering information (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Specifically, in-depth interviews were conducted as they allow the interviewer to delve deeply into social and personal matters (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006); additionally, it is an effective method to incentivise people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences (Wilena et al 2008). Interviewees often depict rich experiences of their individual lives, resulting in researchers obtaining in-depth information regarding individual experiences and thoughts on specific topics (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006).

To collect data involving as many aspects as possible, this research employed the semi-structured interview, which is the most widely used interviewing format for qualitative research (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). A semi-structured interview is often organised with a set of predetermined open-ended questions that allow for follow-up questions to emerge from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. This format ensures related and inclusive data can be obtained for later analysis and might enable a sound understanding of the research questions this research intends to answer.

Regarding the sampling of research subjects, theoretical sampling was applied as a principle to select interviewees. As defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967 p.45), 'theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them'. According to Polit and Beck (2008), the process of a theory-based sampling is selecting incidents, slices of life, time periods or people. To collect as much information as possible, theoretical sampling is meant to maximise opportunities of discovering variations (Strauss and Corbin 2014).

The interviews took place at the locality of each selected case study. Subjects were identified based on the information from the funding project that was initiated and implemented by the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan), aiming to enhance the development of cultural and creative industries, and being considered a strategy to support individual creative talents and micro-scaled creative enterprises. Conducting interviews in a familiar environment helps participants to feel relaxed and ensures that interviewees are comfortable talking freely and comfortably, which may encourage them to share more insights. Additionally, by visiting the clusters in person, such an immersive environment helps researchers to get a thorough (wider, more nuanced) sense and understanding of the environment and atmosphere of each locality, thus having a better understanding of local context. Some interviews were conducted by Skype when potential participants were not available at the time of the researcher's visit.

·Selection of interviewees

As mentioned in the last section, the case studies this research investigates are based on theoretical sampling to initially identify three cases from a funding project implemented by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan. They respectively represent urban, cultural and indigenous variables which this research aims to explore. The selection of

interviewees is based on the three selected case studies. Requirements set to identify potential interviewees are as follows:

1. Participants should work in the cultural and creative sectors, which are identified in the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act, and produce physical goods, performances or offer services with at least one year of experience.
2. Participants should reside in a selected cluster for at least one year and this cluster should be the place where s/he works most of the time.

Afterwards, potential interview candidates were identified by snowball sampling where interviewees were selected via introduction from other interviewees who have participated in interviews with the author. All interviewees should also meet the requirements of interviewee selection set by this research.

·Conduct of the interview

Overall, this research incorporates 31 interviews conducted between 2017 and 2018 (For the interview schedule, see Appendix 1). Most interviews took place at localities within the three case studies with a face-to-face approach, however, some interviews were conducted via Skype as interview attendances were confirmed after the author returned to the UK. Each of the interviews took approximately one and a half hours. The interview invites were requested ahead of the field research with interviewees contacted no later than one month prior to the field research beginning. The initial interviewees received a consent form when they were initially contacted with an interview invite. Interviewees who were identified via snowball sampling were also invited and confirmed their participation without complaint of having insufficient time to respond to the invite.

·Introducing the interviewees

Fourteen interviewees (Table 3.1) were involved in the East Coast case, with 9 being indigenous practitioners and 5 being non-indigenous practitioners. Among the 9 indigenous participants, 8 of them are Amis and originally from the east coast. The areas of speciality that interviewees cover include craft, music, performing arts and fine arts. Individual practitioners who are based in the east coast of Taiwan and have been granted funding were identified first. The second stage of interviewee selection is based on snowball sampling, in which potential interviewees are recommended by interviewees who were identified in the first stage. The author then collected and

checked information about the recommended interviewees on the Internet. Interviewees who met the study's requirements were thus identified.

Table 3.1: A list of interviewees on the east coast of Taiwan

No.	Speciality	Ethnicity	Code	Note
1	Driftwood furniture and installation arts (environmental issues)	Indigenous	EI1	E: East coast; I: Indigenous
2	Song-writing, singing and music production	Indigenous	EI2	
3	Driftwood installation arts (mixed methods and materials)	Indigenous	EI3	
4	Driftwood installation arts (fabrics and weaving)	Indigenous	EI4	
5	Painting and craft	Indigenous	EI5	
6	Driftwood furniture and installation arts	Indigenous	EI6	
7	Craft	Indigenous	EI7	
8	Weaving	Indigenous	EI8	
9	Driftwood products	Indigenous	EI9	
10	Performance arts	Other	EN1	E: East coast; N: Non-indigenous
11	Painting	Other	EN2	
12	Painting and animation	Other	EN3	
13	Painting and ceramics	Other	EN4	
14	Arts administration and curation	Other	EN5	

In the case of Tainan City, 7 interviewees (Table 3.2) took part in the research. Among the interviewees, three of them are originally from Tainan while the rest have moved to and stayed in Tainan for years. The areas of speciality interviewees cover in this case study include product design and arts curation.

Table 3.2: A list of interviewees of Tainan City

No.	Speciality	Code	Note
1	Arts curation	TNL1	TN: Tainan; L: Local
2	Fashion design	TNL2	
3	Product design	TNL3	
4	Architecture design	TNM1	TN: Tainan; M: Migrant
5	Product design	TNM2	
6	Product design	TNM3	
7	Fashion design	TNM4	

The case of Taipei City involves 10 interviewees (Table 3.3). Practitioners based in the Zhongshan-Shuanglian creative community and granted funding are identified. The second stage of interviewee selection is based on onsite observation conducted by the author when visiting the area to look for potential interview candidates. The potential candidates are identified if they meet the recruitment requirements set by this research, which interviewees should be working in cultural and creative industries in the cluster for more than one year. The sectors interviewees of this case study cover range from industrial design and interactive design to metal craft and architecture.

Table 3.3: A list of interviewees of Taipei City

No.	Speciality	Code	Note
1	Product design	TP1	1.TP-Taipei 2.Worked in URS 21
2	Product design	TP2	Worked in URS 21
3	Product design	TP3	Worked in URS 21
4	Product design	TP4	1.They co-run a studio
5	Product design	TP5	2.Worked in URS 21
6	Interactive design	TP6	Worked in URS 21
7	Metalwork and design	TP7	They co-run a studio
8	Metalwork and design	TP8	
9	Visual design	TP9	They co-run a studio
10	Visual design	TP10	

The interviews were conducted from 2017 to 2018, mostly in a face-to-face manner with some carried out via Skype since some interviewees were either unavailable when the author was on sites or were identified after the author left Taiwan to continue further studies in the United Kingdom.

Most of the interviews took 1 to 1.5 hours with the exception of the very first interview which took three hours as the interviewee shared with the interviewer various topics and experiences. In terms of the location of conducting interviews, the face-to-face interviews were carried out in Taiwan in the three selected clusters in Taipei City (North), Tainan City (Southwest) and the East Coast. More specifically, the interviews were conducted respectively at the Zhongshan-Shuanglian creative community in Taipei City, the Five Harbours Cultural Park in Tainan City and the East Coast of Taiwan.

The actual places and settings of interviews were decided by the interviewees. Most took place at interviewees' studios whilst some other interviews, mostly with interviewees in the East Coast, were conducted in fairly usual settings. For example, one interview was conducted at Douli Visitor Centre, The Centre of East Coast National Scenic Area, which overlooks the Pacific Ocean, while the interviewee was producing a commissioned installation of art. Another interview was carried out while driving to a galley in the mountains where the interviewee was set to hold his next exhibition. A rather unforgettable experience took place at a seaside café where the interviewee works and displays artworks and his wife manages the café. The café is near the Pacific Ocean where the sound of waves can be heard clearly. A contrasting experience took place at a hospital since the interviewee was having a medical treatment and could not commit to an alternative time to conduct an interview.

In short, the interview is commonly considered the most direct way to understand an individual's perspectives and experiences; further, data collected from an interview is often used to describe specific topics rather than generalising the data. Thus, the interview was applied as the primary method of data collection in this research when it comes to location, benefits and impacts of clustering on creative workers and their creative practice. The interviews were conducted at places and settings where interviewees decided. On the one hand, this can ensure that the interview environment and atmosphere provides interviewees feelings of safety and comfort, while also building trust between the interviewer and interviewees. On the other hand, this helps the author to observe the physical environment of the clusters and experience the cultural and creative atmosphere of the localities.

·Power dynamics in the field

Prior to the visits for interviews, the interviewees have the full right to decide locations and places of conducting interviews. Before commencing the formal interviews during the field work, the author reiterates purposes of the research and

participants'' right during the research processes to make sure interviewees are aware of their responsibilities and rights. In particular, the author reclaimed that their participation to this research has nothing to do with the funding project from which they were selected. They were also informed that this is an independent academic research that is not sponsored nor directed by the Ministry of Culture. Last but not least, they were fully informed that all participants remain full right to withdraw from the research at any point with full respect from the author.

In general, the conduction of interviews were completed as scheduled with minor surprises occurred in the field at the east coast of Taiwan. For example, one interview was confirmed to take place at the interviewee's home after the author arrived in the locality. The author was not fully confident in terms of how to properly response to manners of the interviewee's personal life and space. Another similar example is that an interviewee confirmed date and location for an interview at the last minute to take place at a hospital. The interviewee explained that while recovering from a treatment at the hospital was the only available time. The other unusual interview took place in a car of an interviewee on his way to an exhibition venue and meet workers who were helping with relocation of his new studio. The interviewee invited the author to have lunch together with the workers. This caused certain level of pressure to the author as there were some dishes that the author have never had.

Overall, all the interviewees are happy with the conduction of interviews, and no complain has been received.

3.2.4 Research Recording and Note taking

Note taking is a common method of preserving information collected during interviews (Saunders 2003). Notes are a strategic selection of information (Muswazi and Nhamo 2013) that carries out of a series of intellectual processes (Boch and Piolat 2005), such as making judgments and decisions or resolving issues. Note taking is putting materials in a form that can be recalled and used in the future (Best and Kahn 1998). It is often used to remember the scenario existing at the time in question or to aid reflection. Generally, note taking is an effective information-processing tool that has been commonly used in daily life and in many professions (Hartley 2002).

This research applied note taking as a method of data collection in two major situations. First, it was applied during interviews to quickly record key viewpoints or interesting content shared by interviewees. This enabled the author to recall scenarios and further details of each interview. Note taking was also used to capture unexpected random

chatting with practitioners who were approached by the author but could not confirm an interview. For example, the author went to a café and bumped into an artist, who was contacted for an interview invitation. Note-taking enabled the author to quickly record the conversation with the artist. Moreover, the café is run by the artist's family, and by buying a drink, the author managed to briefly talk with the artist's family regarding the artist's practice. The information was also recorded by taking notes.

Prior to the very first interview conducted with a member of the Makudaai Tribe, the author arrived a few days early to observe the physical environment and atmosphere of the cluster. The author stayed at a local B&B, the owner of which is a local indigenous cultural practitioner. The owner was willing to share her observations and perspectives on the cultural and creative development of the locality/tribe with the author. The unexpected conversation was also recorded by note taking.

3.2.5 Participant Observation

This research assumes that the physical environment of a locality and the atmosphere it contains play a vital role in the formation of a cultural and creative cluster; thus, experiencing and exploring the locality were carried out via observation. Observation is the key method for collecting data about how particular social settings are constructed and the influence of the physical environment (Mulhall 2002). It is a method to study and understand people within their natural environment. (Baker 2006)

Participant observation is used as a research method in two distinct ways: structured and unstructured (Pretzlik 1994). Unstructured observation is used to understand and interpret cultural behaviour and is seen as a key method in anthropological and sociological research (Mulhall 2002). It acknowledges the importance of context and the co-construction of knowledge between researcher and the 'researched'. Observers usually enter the field with no predetermined notions.

To get a sense of the physical environment and atmosphere of a locality, this research assumes that these are critical factors in the transformation and construction of the cultural and creative landscape of a locality. On the one hand, this enables the author to understand the local context of each case. On the other hand, by visiting the localities in person a few days prior to interviews, this assists the author in having a clearer idea and better understanding of interview contents collected in the field, such as inspiration of an artwork.

3.3 Ethical issues

This research has taken possible ethical issues into consideration with great care. This research mainly aims to investigate participants' working experiences and perspectives in cultural and creative industries with specific attention paid to the notion of clustering, thus, no radical issue was investigated. Furthermore, the interviewees were informed that they maintain the right to refuse to answer questions that they may have concerns with, as well as retaining the integrity of their perspectives with respect from the author.

Prior to fieldwork, ethical approval was obtained from the School of Arts and Social Science, City, University of London. The recruitment of interviewees was based on the principle of voluntary consent. All interviewees were thoroughly informed of the purposes of this research, the content of research questions and their rights of being a participant in this research before conducting a formal interview. They were also informed that they have the right to withdraw from participation at any point of the research. Participants were told that the information they provided would be kept confidential and that their identities would not be revealed in association with the information they provided. Informed consent was secured from each participant.

Referring to conducting interviews with indigenous practitioners and the recruitment of indigenous participants, the ethical concern could be released by the author's previous working experiences and knowledge with indigenous practitioners. On the one hand, the author has experience working on research projects with indigenous cultural and creative practitioners. On the other hand, the author is familiar with some indigenous artists and designers who were identified as interview candidates in this research. The experience enabled the author to be culturally familiar with indigenous participants of this research, and, thus, the author has proper knowledge on how to approach and treat them respectfully.

Another possible ethical issue of conducting interviews with indigenous participants is the language barrier. Although all interviews were conducted in Mandarin, indigenous participants were fully informed that they can request and it would be allowed to have interpreters during the interview to assist them in understanding the author.

Each participant was given a written explanation about the research in Chinese. There is no ethical implication with regards to this for indigenous participants since most of them can read Chinese. They were also fully informed that a thorough verbal explanation would be given upon request. The language and words chosen in either verbal or written explanation of this research were simple and in an understandable

format. The written explanation, which provides information including how their participation will be documented, how their information will be protected, how the data will be used, stored and who can access said information, and the name and email contact of the researcher and the supervisor if they would like to withdraw their participation, were printed on paper with university heading to reassure cultural and creative practitioners to take part in this research.

In compliance with the UK Data protection Act 1988, the participants were informed about what information about them will be held and that the only persons who will have access to this information are the researcher and the research supervisor. In addition, a short explanation about how and why the participants were selected is included. It also explains how the interview is conducted and the general direction of the question list.

The participant information sheet, interview schedule and consent form were sent, by e-mail or post, directly to people who expressed initial interest in this research project. They were offered three days to make their decision about participating, which could be further extended upon request. All documents were sent to potential participants no later than one week prior to the interview dates.

3.4 Data processing and analysis

This research intends to investigate individual experiences and perspectives of creative workers on clustering in cultural and creative industries. To capture direct and in-depth information regarding individual perceptions, this research primarily applied the interview method to conduct data collection with supporting methods including note taking and observation. For best scrutinising interview data, this research employed thematic analysis, which is seen as an organic approach to coding and theme development (Clarke et al 2015), to analyse and interpret interview transcripts. Thematic analysis is often favoured by qualitative researchers (e.g., Selvam & Collicutt 2013). It provides accessible and systematic procedures for generating codes and themes to identify, analyse and interpret patterns of meaning, i.e., themes, within qualitative data (Clarke et al 2015).

To make sense of the data collected in the field and use the data to illustrate and/or support the analysis that goes beyond texts, the interview data collected within this research was processed by the following major procedures:

(1) Transcript:

All the interviews were transcribed to read and code later.

(2) Read and code:

The author read through all texts several times without coding to gain a general idea and picture of the entire text materials. This helps the author to understand the data from the perspectives of the participants. Afterwards, while reflecting on the research questions, the author read the texts with a purpose and began to identify important issues in the data. Coding was then applied to identify key issues and meanings in the dataset.

(3) Import information collected from note taking and observation:
Based on interview transcripts and the author's understanding of the texts, a general idea and picture of all the interviews were obtained. Afterwards, information collected from note taking and observation were imported and coded to co-construct patterns or themes of the entire research data.

(4) Recode and identify themes:
Codes that emerged from repeated readings of interview transcripts were recoded with codes created from the analysis of information collected from note taking and observation; thus, the identification and creation of themes came about by having a thorough understanding of the entire research data.

3.5 Limitations of the study

The selection of case studies that this research investigated is based on a funding project implemented by the Ministry of Culture during 2010 to 2015 where digital-based clusters were just emerging in Taiwan. Thus, this research does not involve investigation of digital clusters and thus the findings may be less applicable to it. Furthermore, this research aims to explore the interactive aspects of clusters regarding relationships between cultural and creative workers and relationships among cultural and creative workers and the localities. Thus, the research findings may be limited to understanding of digital clusters and the digital dimensions of clusters.

What's more, since the cultural and creative industries are a combination of various sub-sectors, this research is more relevant to design, arts and crafts sectors as the professions which interviewees of the three case studies of this research are primarily related to the these cultural and creative sub-sectors. As a result, the research findings are more or less more applicable to the cultural and creative clusters of design, arts and crafts.

3.6 Conclusion

This research applies qualitative methods to explore subtle and often intangible local social and cultural dimensions of clustering from the experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers. Descriptive and interpretive data collected

by qualitative approaches is accordingly suitable and required. Furthermore, theoretical sampling is deployed to select case studies and initial interviewees while additional interviewees are identified with snowball sampling. This research shows that it is critical to conduct in-depth, face-to-face interviews since this enables a wider understanding of the cultural and creative practices of interviewees, as well as acquiring a sense of the local atmosphere. Overall, the field research was conducted smoothly as most of the interviewees were satisfied with the interviews.

Nevertheless, interview schedules need to be more flexible to meet interviewees' work or personal schedules. For instance, the author conducted an interview with an artist at a hospital after the initial interview date was postponed. Another occasion was that the author conducted an interview in a car while the interviewee was on his way to various venues to arrange his exhibition. Furthermore, as culture is one dimension of imperatives that this research explores, it is useful to be present at the localities to explore the natural and constructed environments and experience the local atmosphere. This, however, leads to a practical issue of the limitations of time; thus, some interviews were conducted via Skype as the author had limited time in the field.

Chapter 4 The Contextualisation of the three case studies

This chapter serves to introduce the wider context of clusters and crafts and social and cultural issues in Taiwan. As introduced in Chapter 1, both *Creative Nation,* Australia, and *Creative Industries*, the United Kingdom, recognise the economic value and potential of culture and creativity. With the global promotion of the UK's success of creative industries, the economic aspect of the notion and policy has been further emphasised. Although the concept of creative industries is replicated in Taiwan, the development of cultural and creative industries and clusters tends to embed itself in the local community and culture.

This chapter introduces the local contexts of the three case studies selected with theoretical sampling as discussed in Chapter 3. This chapter serves to provide situational understanding while this research aims to explore the local social and cultural dimensions of clustering of cultural and creative workers. Prior to the introduction of each locality, the development of cultural and creative industries and clusters policies are introduced as a wider knowledge to the individual case studies.

4.1. Development of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan

4.1.1 Introduction

The cultural and creative industries and clusters have developed in a particular way in Taiwan and differs from Europe where both notions were developed. The promotion and implementation of the cultural and creative industries policy of Taiwan is a response to the global development of industrial transformation, i.e., a move from labour-intense industries to knowledge-centred industries. It is also a reflection of the global popularity and interest in the concept of creative industries. The history of cultural and creative industries policy development of Taiwan dates back to 2002 when the term was highlighted in a national development plan, *Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan*. Afterwards, the promotion of cultural and creative industries has been an important task which acquires various levels of support and resources from the central government.

The second milestone of the policy promotion and support for cultural and creative industries is the announcement of the *Development of Cultural and Creative Industries Act* in 2010. This reveals and represents a further determination and emphasis on support and promotion of cultural and creative industries from a central government level. The third crucial sign of enhanced strength on the promotion and support for the

industries comes from the launch of a new government ministry, namely the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan), in 2012 through merging the Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, Research, Development and Evaluation Commission, Executive Yuan and tasks related to culture that previously were governed by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Culture has been appointed as the competent authority of the *Development of Cultural and Creative Industries Act.*

In practice, shown in the latest official report, *2019 Annual Report of Development of Cultural and Creative Industries*, published by the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan), the annual sales revenue generated by cultural and creative industries shows a growing trend during 2012 and 2018 regardless of punctuation during the period. (Figure 4.1)

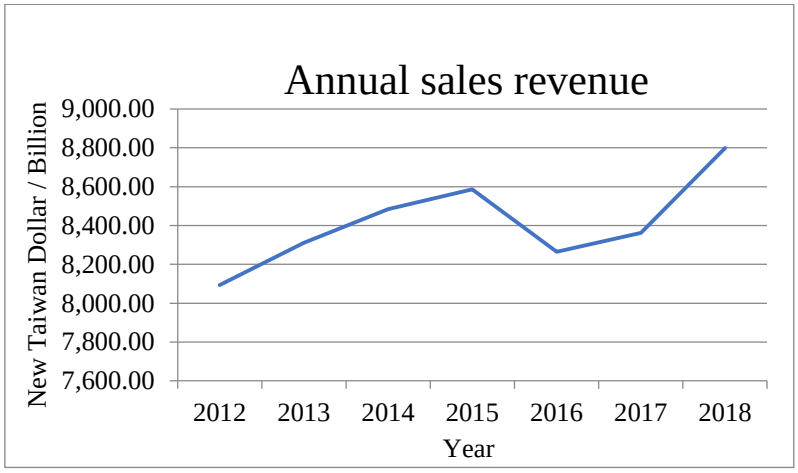

Figure 4.1: Annual sales revenue of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan (Source: Ministry of Culture, Taiwan, 2019)

The details show that the advertisement industry has been the largest sector while the music industry comes in second. Geographically, cities in the west coast house the most cultural and creative activities as the capital, Taipei City, is the largest hub of cultural and creative industries in Taiwan. Although rural areas are not considered an ideal location for the development of cultural and creative careers and businesses, the report shows a growing number of cultural and creative enterprises registered on the east coast of Taiwan, which is a rural area that accommodates a large number of indigenous populations.

The development of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan, however, does not come out of nowhere; indeed, the development has been enhanced by a long-term policy, Community Empowerment, which aims to reverse the decline of community development due to industrialisation and urbanisation.

4.1.2 Community Empowerment

Although the concept of cultural and creative industries was new when it appeared in a national development plan in 2002 for the first time, the promotion and development of cultural and creative industries was built upon a solid foundation of a long-term public initiative, *Community Empowerment*. Prior to the notion of cultural and creative industries, Community Empowerment was announced and implemented as a cultural industries policy by the Council for Cultural Affairs since 1994.

Community Empowerment was initiated as a national policy agenda and aimed to encourage and influence the public to rethink the value of their living environment. In response to the decline of community development due to industrialisation and urbanisation, the policy was created to support the public in efforts to either create or revitalise local industries whilst renovating the human and natural landscape of a community. The entire initiative aims to inspire the mindset of the public to value and cherish assets and the potential of their living communities. The policy, furthermore, applied a bottom-up approach and placed an emphasis on public participation, community autonomy and sustainability (Ministry of Culture 2009).

The announcement of the *Community Empowerment* policy rightly reflected a rising force of a grass-root movement in Taiwan (Wang 2010). Whilst approaching the 1990s, Taiwan's martial law was lifted in 1987 and there were two social crises and movements about to take place. Firstly, so much of the living environment was in crisis that development protests, such as building reservoirs, waste incinerators and the DuPont factory, reflected a request for protection of the land and the living environment. Secondly, an identity crisis led to a growing awareness of localisation and a series of social movements to preserve old streets and buildings, as well as to study and understand local culture and history to learn and know more about the places from where the public originated. Hence, the Community Empowerment policy was nurtured under such a context and aimed at a cultivation of community awareness and participation in public affairs, revitalisation of local development and promotion of local cultural industries to enable communities to be self-sufficient.

The former director of the Council for Cultural Affairs, Chi-Nan Chen, indicated that the initiative was set to industrialise culture and ‘culturalise’ industries. Based on an investigation of local culture and history, the practical action included renovation and beautification of the living environment and space, development of local distinctive art and cultural activities and promotion of tourism with experience consumption. Wang (2010) indicates that a community is the essential unit to implement and reflect goals of

such a cultural policy to encourage and stimulate communities to be self-managed via promotion of local cultural industries.

With consecutive inputs of policy support, the Community Empowerment policy has been producing a nutritious soil for the development of Taiwan's cultural and creative industries; however, the cultural and creative industries policy does not replace the Community Empowerment policy. The two policies have been synchronously implemented with the cultural and creative industries more likely to be seen as economic-oriented while Community Empowerment is supporting community development that has cultural and social purposes.

4.1.3 Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan

Cultural and creative industries have become one of the national development policies since 2002 in Taiwan. In 2002, promotion for the cultural and creative industries, for the first time, officially appeared in a government document, *Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan*. The plan was set to respond to the new challenges Taiwan faced because of a varied political and economic situation and changed modes of international competition due to globalisation and digitalisation. The plan for cultural and creative industries development was one of ten plans in which the government aimed to invest. From that milestone, cultural and creative industries have become a vital tool for the transformation of national economic development (Yu and Wu 2012).

As Taiwan was faced with a new situation and challenge while approaching the post-industrial era, as well as competition and challenges from neighbouring countries, the earlier industrial strengths and advantages were decreasing and missing. Thus, a knowledge-based economy was regarded as necessary to respond to a varied mode of post-Fordism production. Specifically, creative design was seen as the core of such a new mode of production. Consequently, the plan of cultural and creative industries development was set up to tackle and embrace the new challenges. The purpose of the plan can be defined as to connect and integrate humanity, culture and economy to develop cultural industries with exploring and encouraging creativity. The plan was set up with the following actions and aims:

1. To establish cross-department organisation to set up nation-wide strategies and solutions for the development of cultural and creative industries.
2. To incubate talents of arts, design and creativity.
3. To prepare a sound environment for cultural and creative industries, including establishing a national design centre, planning and launching five

creative and cultural parks, supporting cultural workers and artists who are setting up businesses and enhancing protection of intellectual property rights.

4. To promote development of key industries of creative design, including commercial design, creative furniture design, creative living design, textile and fashion design, digital art creation and traditional craft skills.
5. To facilitate development of cultural industries with specific attention paid to industries of creative art, publishing, audio-visual industries and local animation.

The plan for development of cultural and creative industries which was initiated in 2002 was the first attempt, from a national policy level, to recognise the economic potential of culture and to value creativity within policy practices. Cultural industries, in Taiwan, were once regarded as a core cultural policy, whereas the role and importance of cultural industries in the era of cultural and creative industries shifted to be more like an economic policy or industrial policy (Yu and Wu 2012)

4.1.4 Cultural and Creative Industries Act

The value of cultural and creative industries and the potential contribution to both national and local development have been increasingly recognised in Taiwan since 2002. A further attempt to support and facilitate its development is the announcement of *Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act* in 2010. The purpose of the act is clearly stated in the first article:

> "…to foster the development of Cultural and Creative Industries, to establish a social environment with abundant culture and creativity, to utilize the technology and create researches and developments, to strengthen talent cultivation of the Cultural and Creative Industries, and to actively exploit the domestic and overseas market." (Ministry of Culture 2010)

Yu and Wu (2012) indicate that the drafting and planning of Taiwan's cultural and creative industries policy referenced the British experience of promoting creative industries. In Taiwan, cultural and creative industries were defined and referred to as:

> Industries that originate from creativity or accumulation of culture which through the formation and application of intellectual properties, possess potential capacities to create wealth and job opportunities, enhance the citizens' capacity for arts, and elevate the citizens' living environment. (Ministry of

Culture 2010)

The subsectors included in the umbrella term consist of 15 concrete industrial sectors with 1 category which can refer to nearly everything (Ministry of Culture 2010):

1. Visual art industry
2. Music and performance art industry
3. Cultural assets application and exhibition and performance facility industry
4. Handicrafts industry
5. Film industry
6. Radio and television broadcast industry
7. Publication industry
8. Advertisement industry
9. Product design industry
10. Visual communication design industry
11. Designer fashion industry
12. Architecture design industry
13. Digital content industry
14. Creativity living industry
15. Popular music and cultural content industry
16. Other industries as designated by the central Competent Authority.

Prior to the announcement of *Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act*, it was a cross-department organisation overseeing promotion and implementation of cultural and creative industries. Since the Act was enacted in 2010, the competent authority has been the Ministry of Culture at the central government level, the municipal government at the directly controlled municipality level and the county/city level in counties/cities. In practice, the promotion of cultural and creative industries still relies on cross-department collaboration.

In short, the promotion of cultural and creative industries receives various amounts of attention in Taiwan's society. As a combination of transplanting the notion of creative industries and developing local cultural industries acquired from Community Empowerment, Yu and Wu (2012) argue that the two concepts are different in nature, thus, the combination of the two concepts result in criticism by many as it obscures whether its focus is on culture or economic development.

4.1.5 Cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan

In *Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan*, agglomeration is one of the approaches and goals the government set to take and achieve in the plan to promote the development of cultural and creative industries. Followed by the national plan, the government set to establish five cultural and creative parks around Taiwan via renovation and refurbishment of five unused old distillery sites or warehouses of Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation.

The major purpose of setting up the five cultural and creative parks is twofold: production and consumption. Firstly, it aims to provide affordable workshop or studio space to cultural and creative workers. Secondly, each of the parks serve to be spaces to either sell or showcase cultural and creative works produced by practitioners who cluster at the parks. By accommodating cultural and creative practitioners at the parks and encouraging the public to visit and shop at the parks, the plan aims to create an agglomeration effect. The positioning of each of the five parks, however, becomes a challenge for the Council for Cultural Affairs, which used to manage the five parks. Now, the five parks are governed and managed by the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan).

Moving to 2010, the *Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act* was announced and enacted. In the Act, respectively in Articles 12 and 25, agglomeration and clusters are two concepts that are used, highlighted and set to achieve. Article 12 states:

> The Competent Authority and the central authority in charge of the end enterprise concerned may provide cultural and creative enterprises with suitable assistances, rewards or subsidies in respect of:
>
> 1. Formation of legal entity and relevant tax statement registration
> 2. Creation or research and development of products or services
> 3. Entrepreneurship and incubation
> 4. Improvements on agency system in the Cultural and Creative Industry
> 5. Circulation and application of intangible assets
> 6. Upgrade of operation and management capacity
> 7. Application of information technology
> 8. Cultivation of professional talents and recruitment of international talents
> 9. Enhancement of investment and commercial participants
> 10. Collaborative cooperation of enterprises
> 11. Expansion of markets

12. International cooperation and communication
13. Participation in domestic and overseas competition
14. Industry cluster
15. Utilization of public real estate
16. Collection of industry and market information
17. Promotion and dissemination of fine cultural and creative products or services
18. Protection and application of intellectual property rights
19. Assistance of reviving cultural and creative products and services
20. Other promotional matters on enhancing the development of Cultural and Creative Industries.
    (Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act, Article 12)

The Industry cluster, item 14, in the Act refers to the establishment and promotion of the five cultural and creative parks, which have been appointed in the *Challenge 2008 - National Development Plan* since 2002. If from a smaller and fundamental level, the Act ensures support for individuals and micro-scale enterprises of cultural and creative industries. In article 25:

> The Government shall support in the establishment of cultural and creative villages[2], and shall as a priority assist core creative and independent workers to situate in the said villages. The Government shall, through the clustering effect by involving different groups, further promote the development of Cultural and Creative Enterprises. (Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act, article 25)

As more than 80% of people engaged in cultural and creative industries are either individuals or micro-scale enterprises, the government, based on the Act, provides them with support and assistance to enhance further development. According to Article 25, the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan) has been implementing a cultural and creative cluster project since 2010. It is a competitive-based subsidy project aiming to incentivise individual cultural and creative workers and micro-scale enterprises to co-locate with other practitioners or enterprises. The government assumes that this can create an agglomeration effect and thus benefit individual workers and micro-scale enterprises to enable further development.

[2] Based on the author's practical experiences working in the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan), the translation might fail to fully represent the original meaning and idea of the term in Mandarin. Officials use the same term in Mandarin to describe the notion of cluster instead of village.

The project does not designate specific localities in which applicants should or can locate; instead, it is an open call to applicants of all cultural and creative sectors, which are defined by the *Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act*, and applicants must explain their reasons for choosing specific localities and how they would interact with other individuals or enterprises in the selected localities. This is a more organic approach than a top-down designation of cultural and creative clusters. Until 2015, there were cultural and creative clusters emerging or growing in both size and quality. This is during the period this research examines.

4.2 Introduction of local social and cultural embedding of case studies

This research argues that local context is pivotal to the development of cultural and creative clusters. Context and embedding in this case are not just economic relations as usual, but social and cultural that relate to the individual development of varied localities and, thus, cultural and creative clusters. The following are introductions of the local social and cultural contexts of the three case studies.

4.2.1 Case study 1: the east coast of Taiwan

This section introduces the context of a case study with indigenous and non-indigenous cultural and creative workers in a remote rural area, the east coast of Taiwan, which accommodates various indigenous tribes in the area. This section includes an introduction of the physical environment of the locality and indigenous culture and key movements and activities which enhance the local development of cultural and creative industries and clusters.

·Introduction of the locality

This case study investigates a region on the east coast of Taiwan (Figure 4.2), ranging from Gangkou (Figure 4.3), in the south of Hualien County, to Dulan (Figure 4.4), in the north of Taitung County. The distance between these two places is about 80 km. The region is in a rural part of the island and distinct from places in the west coast regarding its physical landscape and natural surroundings. It is an area where the main living spaces are in close proximity and primarily between a series of mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Along the coastline, visitors can see coastal terraces, sandy beaches, gravel beaches, reefs, offshore islands, capes and so on.

Figure 4.2: Two major localities of this case study
(Source: Ministry of the Interior, 2019)


Figure 4.3: A tribal view of Gangkou
(Source: Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park, 2018)


Figure 4.4: A tribal view of Dulan
(Source: Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park, 2018)

Amis, the largest indigenous nationality in Taiwan, has been living in this region for generations prior to when the Han Chinese occupied and later ruled the island in the 17th century. Gangkou is a village located in the south of Hualien County with 84.8% of its overall population, which is 818, being indigenous. Referring to Dulan, a village of Donghe Township located in the north of Taitung County, the overall population of the town is 8,427 with 51.9% being indigenous. Gangkou is relatively undeveloped

whereas Dulan is relatively accessible and has more development due to being near the municipal centre of Taitung County.

Regarding local industries in the region, farming is an important economic activity for most of the indigenous tribes. Apart from agriculture, tourism is the other prominent industry dominating the development of the region. In particular, the remoteness and magnificent landscape make it an ideal getaway destination of the nation. The tourism industry is booming with the promotion of cultural and creative industries as visitors can experience indigenous cultures and creativity in the region.

Overall, the region is different from most of places in Taiwan regarding its geographical environment, population, society, culture and local industries. These characteristics enable the region to develop a distinct local context which can have specific impacts on the development of regional cultural and creative activities.

·Indigenous culture of Taiwan

This research examines three case studies of Taiwan's cultural and creative clusters with a particular intention to shed light on the potential distinctness of indigenous cases by making comparisons among the three case studies. Arguably, indigenous culture is unique in context, which might lead to a distinctive development style and trajectory of cultural and creative industries. Thus, it might be of help to introduce the indigenous context while contextualising this research in this chapter.

Prior to the Han Chinese immigrants moving to Taiwan in the 17th century, indigenous people have inhabited the island for generations. They belong to the Austronesian Linguistic Family (Wan, 2008) where Taiwan is the farthest north that this linguistic family spreads. This section introduces indigenous nationalities in Taiwan; specifically, this section draws on geographical distribution, social customs, industrial activities and craft of Amis, the indigenous nationality dominating the region that this case study investigates.

There has been 16 indigenous nationalities identified by the Taiwanese Government including Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Seediq, Hla'alua and Kanakanavu (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2019). The overall indigenous population accounts for 2.4% of the 23 million population of Taiwan, and they primarily inhabit regions close to mountains or on the east coast of Taiwan (Figure 4.5). They practice diverse cultures; that is, each indigenous nationality has its own verbal language, customs and tribal social structure,

even within the same nationality, different tribes have varied customs. As they do not have written text, their myths, ceremonies, carving, clothes and other objects become the main media to pass on their history, experiences and knowledge from generation to generation (Wan 2008).

Figure 4.5: Distribution of indigenous nationalities in Taiwan
(Source: Taiwan Indigenous People's Knowledge Economic Development Association, 2018)

When looking specifically at the region this case study examines, Amis (Amis people would rather call themselves as Pangcah) is the dominating indigenous nationality in the area. They primarily live in the plain area of the region, which is between a series of mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Amis is, among the 16 nationalities, the largest and accounts for 37.2% of the overall indigenous population (567,687). The two localities which this case study investigates are primarily home for two Amis tribes, Dulan for E'tolan and Gangkou for Makudaai.

Traditionally, an Amis tribal society is led by a matrilineal system where family affairs, such as finances and property holdings, are decided by the female head of household. The public, such as tribal politics, laws and religion, are dealt with by an institution, called selel or kapot, consisting of a male leadership group of different age ranks. Men who are in the same age group tend to live and work together while different groups oversee specific tribal affairs. These two unique social systems ensure Amis tribal development and represent that an Amis society is of social division of labour that men and women are respectively in charge of tribal political affairs and family affairs. However, the traditional marriage customs have changed since the 1960s because of frequent contact and intermarriage with other ethnic groups.

Ceremony is the other key component of an Amis society. Harvest Festival is the most important traditional ceremony (Council of Indigenous Peoples) in an Amis society and was originally held after harvesting millet to show gratitude to the gods. Nowadays, it is held after the harvest of rice as this has become the major crop that Amis people grow. Although the ceremony is held in the name of the harvest, it also incorporates rituals of showing gratitude to the gods and rituals of celebrating teenage male members entering manhood and a new age ranking group. The holding of the ceremony involves the participation of all tribal members. The ceremony unites members of a tribe and enables the indigenous tradition to remain alive.

Farming and fishing are primary livelihood activities in a traditional Amis society. Living near the Pacific Ocean, Amis people have developed mature fishing skills and culture for generations; nevertheless, with industrial transformations, more skilled indigenous labourers may seek out opportunities in other industries, such as the service industry. With increasing job vacancies in the cities since 1960s, some Amis people left for cities on the west coast, such as Taipei City, New Taipei City or Taichung City. They are called urban Amis. In some cases, the elders expect the younger generation to leave for cities for better opportunities; however, a cultural identity crisis, rapid modernisation and even discrimination (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2019) have frustrated some of the indigenous people (Sun 2000), and this has become a social issue that the whole society has been faced with in Taiwan. Although the situation of leaving tribes to seek better opportunities may remain, a slow and minor change has been triggered where returning or staying in tribes to try out different possibilities, such as running cafés or handicraft shops or studios, has become an option for some young indigenous people.

When it comes to indigenous craft, Amis people have excellent craft skills in making clothes, ceramics, weaving and wood carving (Indigenous Peoples Commission, Taipei City Government). Female (Figure 4.6) and male (Figure 4.7) clothes must follow specific and varied requirements, and clothes requirements for different occasions, age groups and tribes are also varied. Amis people have a rich knowledge in collecting plants—traditionally they use bark, banana tree fibre, ramie and vine—to make clothes and hats with various weaving techniques. They also use plants which they can collect in the region to produce various living utensils. Amis are also known for making pottery, which is used for living, religion and farming purposes. In terms of wood carving, the skill, traditionally, has been applied to decorate architecture or mark heroic deeds. In the last two decades, however, the wood carving skill has advanced to making driftwood furniture or installation artworks.

Figure 4.6:
One style of female Amis traditional clothes
(Source: East Coast National Scenic Area, 2018)

Figure 4.7:
One style of male Amis traditional clothes
(Source: East Coast National Scenic Area, 2018)

·Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park

Sugar Factory Culture Park (Figure 4.8), a former private-owned brown sugar refinery, plays a vital role in the formation of cultural and creative landscape of the east coast of Taiwan. The sugar refinery was closed in 1991 because of fuelling costs of production and the nation's shift towards industrialisation (Ministry of Culture 2015). Afterwards, support from the Taitung County Government repurposed the abandoned site and it was transformed into a cultural park. The complex reopened its doors to welcome resident artists and practitioners working in cultural and creative sectors. The unused warehouses and offices were repurposed as artist studios and showrooms (Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10), shops, cafés and restaurants. In 2002, the complex was registered as a historic building as it is well-preserved and meaningful to local and regional development (Ministry of Culture 2015).

Figure 4.8: Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park
(Source: Taitung County Government, 2018)

Figure 4.9: A studio and showroom of an indigenous practitioner (exterior) at the park.
(Source: Taitung County Government, 2018)

Figure 4.10: A studio and showroom of an indigenous practitioner (interior) at the park.
(Source: Taitung County Government, 2018)

Since the beginning, a local indigenous artist has been running a studio and showroom at the cultural park. It then became a meeting point where other cultural and creative practitioners meet each other. Among other repurposing spaces, a café, which was managed and run in a slightly not-for-profit approach, was recognised by most of the interviewees of this case study to be the other crucial factor for them to gather at the cultural park. Furthermore, by holding live performances on weekends, the café became not only a meeting point, but also an occasion for exchanges of ideas regarding their cultural and creative practices. The cultural park then became a place where cultural and creative practitioners would gather while some established their studios, showrooms or shops at the cultural park. In this case study, three of the interviewees have their studios at the cultural park. As the studios used to be warehouses, the spaces are spacious with high ceilings. This is ideal for making large-scale artwork, such as driftwood installations or driftwood carvings, etc.

As Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park was a rare cultural infrastructure in the remote east coast, it was the only place where cultural and creative practices could be showcased at that time. Thus, it became the cultural and creative hub of the east coast and, hence, a vital site for cultural and creative practitioners to gather. The cultural

atmosphere and creative momentum were then gradually cultivated, and the Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park became a pulling factor that now attracts more cultural and creative practitioners to locate in Dulan or, more widely, the east coast.

▪The floated tribe

In addition to Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park, which became a hub of cultural and creative practitioners of the east coast, a spontaneous gathering of a group of multiple ethnicities of practitioners at Jin-Zun beach on the east coast (Figure 4.11) is the other crucial factor that a group of cultural and creative practitioners would locate in the east coast of Taiwan.

Figure 4.11: Jin-Zun beach
(Source: The East Coast National Scenic Area, 2018)

The gathering took place in 2002 with a group of indigenous and non-indigenous practitioners who had similar life experiences at that time. For instance, in this case study, some indigenous participants experienced identity crises, frustrations or challenges when they left for cities in search of better jobs and opportunities but failed to position themselves successfully in an urban setting. Some other non-indigenous participants were leaving their previous jobs and looking for a new life away from cities. Some already know each other while most of them stayed in contact with each other after they gathered in the Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park. The idea to live at the beach came with a consensus that they desired further interaction with each other and the nature of the region.

They intended to stay at the beach as long as they could, however, they left after three months because of a typhoon. During the gathering, they made their own houses (Figure 4.12) and some common areas such as a kitchen by using materials they found along the beach, mainly driftwood, Initially, making artworks was not their intention but they ended up making individual artworks and holding an exhibition (Figure 4.13) at the beach. Some interviewees of this case study described the gathering as

spontaneous and unintentional and a process of purifying themselves to reflect their relationships with others and the environment.

Figure 4.12: A house made by members of the Floated tribe at Jin-Zun beach.
(Source: dissertation of Hana Keliw[3])

Figure 4.13: An installation artwork made by members of the Floated tribe at Jin-Zun beach.
(Source: dissertation of Hana Keliw)

The gathering begun without promotion but ended up generating an enormous influence on the landscape of cultural and creative practitioners on the east coast of Taiwan. Not only because the gathering inspired more practitioners to come to the region in search of a relaxed and free environment for their practices, but it also caught the attention from the public sector to implement various commissioned projects. The Floated tribe also created a new language or new form of indigenous contemporary arts.

The momentum of collectiveness did not disappear after members of the Floated tribe were forced to leave the beach; indeed, they have completed various collective artworks or projects (Table 4.1). These commissioned artworks also remind the public sectors of their role in supporting the development of cultural and creative activities on the east coast. The collective participation of these projects is firmly based on the intense relationship that members of the Floated tribe have cultivated amongst themselves.

[3] Hana Keliw is an indigenous artist who was born in the region. She was one of the members of the Floated tribe.

Table 4.1: The record of collective works made by members of the Floated tribe (Source: dissertation of Hana Keliw)

Year	Title of project	Location	Note
2002	Dulan mountain arts festival	Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park	Commissioned by Taitung County Government Bureau of Cultural Affair
2002	Driftwood installation, Austronesian Cultural Festival	National Museum of Prehistory	Commissioned by East Coast National Scenic Area
2006	Driftwood installation	The east coast	Commissioned by East Coast National Scenic Area
2008	Installation arts in Jialulan Park	Jialulan Park	Commissioned by East Coast National Scenic Area
2008	The memory of the ocean: a joint exhibition	The east coast	Commissioned by East Coast National Scenic Area
2011	Kaohsiung International Container Arts Festival	Kaohsiung	Commissioned by Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts
2014	The aesthetics of existence of the east coast: between the sunny, rain and mist	National Taitung Living Art Center	Commissioned by National Taitung Living Art Center
2014	The aesthetics of existence of the east coast: after the forest	National Taitung Living Art Center	Commissioned by National Taitung Living Art Center

Apart from their collective works, the Floated tribe were also involved in various social movements regarding various indigenous issues that took place from 2003 to 2017. To express their support and consensus to the movements, they made either individual pieces of artworks or joint works to demonstrate their thoughts and support on the issues. This became another factor to connect practitioners and the approach is also unique since by engaging in the movements, it strengthens the identity between practitioners and the local community which, in return, benefits practitioners' cultural and creative activities in the region.

·Arts festival

Arts festival has become one of the main components of the cultural and creative landscape on the east coast of Taiwan. It became an important platform for practitioners in the region to present their works to the public and interact with artists from outside the region and abroad. Amongst the art forms, indigenous driftwood installation art is the most recognised, and is the one in which participants of the Floated tribe have put the most effort into.

This section introduces two arts festivals to which interviewees of this case study refer. One is the Taiwan East Coast Land Arts Festival, which has been initiated and funded by The East Coast National Scenic Area (ECNSA), Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, which is the administration in charge of management of tourist attractions on the east coast. Holding arts festivals is one approach to promote tourism; thus, ECNSA has been commissioning private organisations to curate and organise the Taiwan East Coast Land Arts Festival since

2015, as well as commissioning individual artists to make installation artworks in the region. The festival takes place alongside the east coast and incorporates programmes of commissioned installation artworks (Figure 4.14, Figure 4.15), artist residencies, open studios, musical events and markets. The festival aims to promote tourism for the east coast while at the same time stimulating a dialogue between the locality, practitioners, local people and tourists. As the introduction from the official website of the festival, this is an event to create artworks that can reflect the context of the east coast of Taiwan:

> "We invite artists to submit proposals to create installation arts that combine the natural environment, geographic landscape, and spatial aesthetics of the East Coast National Scenic Area. The festival emphasizes on-site creation and local participation, focusing on the dialogue among art, nature and culture to adapt to the climate and ecological context of the East Coast. The purpose is to gather local and international artistic creativity through a modern cultural tourist strategy into shaping unique cultural and scenic landscapes of the East Coast of Taiwan." (Taiwan East Coast Land Arts Festival, 2016)

Figure 4.14: A piece of installation artwork made by a local indigenous practitioner, Iyo Kacaw (Source: the author)

Figure 4.15: A piece of installation artwork made by a foreign artist, Euroba (Source: the author)

The other festival is Mipaliw Land Art, which has been funded by the Forestry Bureau, Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan. This festival is targeted at Gangkou, in the northern part of the region. The history of the festival can be dated back to 2010 with the purpose of restoration of terraced paddy fields of Gangkou supported by Hualien Forest District Office, Forestry Bureau, Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan. The festival is held with an aim to raise awareness of the relationship between the environment and human beings by installation of artworks (Figure 4.16) at the terraced

paddy fields and eco-friendly tribal tours and other small-scale events. The festival demonstrates the knowledge of local indigenous people on how human beings can live with nature peacefully. Regardless of participation of artists from abroad, artists who participate in the festival mainly come from the region, with some members of the Floated tribe attending currently or have attended previously.

Figure 4.16: An installation artwork of Mipaliw Land Art Festival 2017 made by Sapod Kacaw (Source: the author)

These two arts festivals are not only platforms for cultural and creative practitioners of the region to present their works, they may also connect practitioners from inside and outside the region. Thus, the cultural and creative momentum of the east coast can be further enhanced.

4.2.2 Case study 2: the West Central District, Tainan City

This section draws on a historical city in the southwest of Taiwan, Tainan City as a case study. Interviewees of this case study include both local practitioners and whose who have migrated to Tainan City. Introduction of this case incorporates basic information regarding the locality, history and culture of the city, as well as key instances which enhance and cultivate the cultural and creative atmosphere for the city.

·Introduction of the locality

Historically, Tainan was the first political and economic centre of Taiwan, dating back to the 17th century. Specifically, the West Central District of Tainan City, which is the area that this case study examines, is the first area to be developed after the Dutch arrived and occupied parts of the area as a base for global trading in the 17th century. It remained the cultural, economic and political centre of Taiwan until the Japanese took over the island in the late 19th century. Such a diverse history enriches the culture of Tainan and earns the city a name of the historical capital of culture of Taiwan.

Tainan City, located in the southwest (Figure 4.17), is one of six municipalities of Taiwan. It is the sixth-most populous city in Taiwan and is made up of 34 administrative districts. Although Taipei City took over the role as the political and economic capital of Taiwan, Tainan City is still widely considered as the cultural capital of Taiwan considering its long history and rich culture.

Figure 4.17: Location of Tainan City and its administrative districts
(Source: Tourism Bureau of Tainan City Government, 2018)

Culturally, Tainan City, in general, is seen as a city of temples due to its immigration history, thus, temples constitute a key component of Tainan's culture. In particular, the West Central District, which this case study investigates, has a high density of temples situated in the district. A temple is not merely a religious site, but is also where civic life is rooted. Craft masters, skills, techniques and ceremonies related to temples are precious cultural assets of Tainan.

As mentioned, the West Central District of Tainan (see Figure 4.17) was the cultural, economic and political centre of Taiwan for centuries; specifically, the area where The Old Five Channels Cultural Zone is now located used to be the hub of the centre. Although the glorious time has ended, the area is still one of the most vibrant parts of the city regarding its cultural and creative activities. For example, a crucial arts instance, the Hai'an Street Museum project, took place in the area where various designer studios, select shops, galleries, cafés, restaurants or B&B are now situated. It is a mixture of the old and the new.

In recent times, Tainan City was an important industrial hub for home appliances, textile and garment industries. However, as the transformation of industries took place,

labour-intense factories moved to China or other southeast Asian countries. This led to the decline of Tainan as a hub for home appliances and garment industries; nevertheless, some factories and skilled workers remain. The production knowledge and skills embedded in skilled workers are precious assets of the city.

·An arts example: Arts intervention of Hai'an Road

When discussing the development of cultural and creative industries in Tainan City, the transformation of Hai'an Road cannot be ignored. The Hai'an Street Museum project is a project carried out by a local arts organisation and commissioned by the Tainan City Government. This project aims to revitalise part of Hai'an Road, which was turned into a huge construction site due to a plan initiated in 1992 to move shops underground. Hai'an Road is at the heart of the West Central District, a culturally and financially vibrant area of Tainan City with a mixture of residential and commercial buildings. The underground shopping project proved to be a disaster for residents because of severe delays and corruption and the destruction of residential houses. Furthermore, the residents lost confidence in the government, since the landscape of this part of city was destroyed and they were forced out of their homes.

The turning point for the transformation of this part of the city, healing the pain of the residents, was the engagement of arts and creativity. The area was revitalised and regained public attention when the crumbling old houses alongside Hai'an Road were turned into a canvas (West Central District Office, Tainan City, 2019) for a group of creative practitioners. In 2003, a series of art projects (Figure 4.18) were funded by the Tainan City Government and aimed at improving the image of this part of the city. The arts director of a local organisation, who was also the curator of the government-commissioned project and a resident, invited artists to make artworks with/on/in the crumbling buildings, spaces or walls to beautify the environment of the area. The project transformed this part of the city and has made it into a must-visit destination in Tainan City where studios, shops, galleries, hotels, B&Bs, cafés and restaurants now cluster. In 2018, the project has its second version (Figure 4.19).

Figure 4.18: One piece of artworks. alongside Haian Road (Source: OUSTUDIO, 2019)

Figure 4.19: Artworks alongside Haian Road (Source: the author)

·Old house movement

The 'Old House, New Life' (Chien and Wu, 2017) movement is a determining factor that has critical impacts on the development of Tainan's cultural and creative industries and attracts creative classes from outside the city. This effort has been implemented by a local private organisation—the Foundation of Historic City Conservation and Regeneration—since its launch in 2008. The idea is to revitalise old residential houses, which have fallen into disuse or been abandoned. The movement has become a success, as the previously private residential houses have become repurposed as studios, archive spaces, galleries, select shops, hotels, B&Bs, cafés or restaurants, while the residents are still living in the community.

The movement has been positioned as a renaissance of civil living sites and spaces (Chang, 2014). It aims not only to preserve and refurbish unused or abandoned residential houses across the city, but also to reopen these houses to local communities and to the wider public, with new possibilities for the public to experience the culture of the city and the atmosphere and texture of these spaces. The movement has also become a key attraction encouraging creatives to relocate to the city; of note, the studios of all 7 interviewees of this case study are repurposed houses.

4.2.3 Case study 3: Zhongshan-Shuanglian Creative Community, Taipei City

The third case introduces a creative hub and its neighbouring community in the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei City. The interviewees from this case study are primarily located between two metro stations, Zhongshan Station and Shuanglian Station, among the Zhongshan District and Datong District (Figure 4.20). This section includes the introduction of its geographical location, a creative community initiative and a creative hub, where this case study is located.

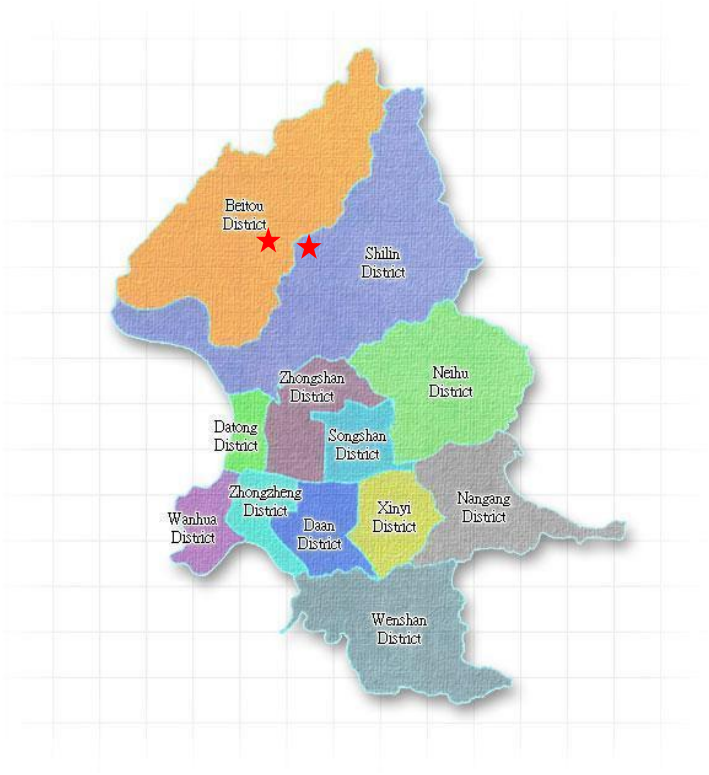

Figure 4.20: Location of Zhongshan District and Datong District
(Source: Taipei City Government, 2017)

·Introduction of the locality

Taipei City is the capital of Taiwan with a population of 2,657,652 residents and 12 administrative districts. It is a society with multiple ethnicities, including indigenous people, Han Chinese and new immigrant and foreigners. Prior to its role as the political and financial capital of Taiwan, it used to be a trade port dating back to the 17th century when Tainan was the political and economic centre of the island.

This case study specifically examines an area that falls primarily between two metro stations, Zhongshan Station and Shuanglian Station, which spans across Zhongshan District and Datong District. The area is north of the Taipei Main Station and Museum of Contemporary Arts Taipei is also within walking distance. Between the two metro stations, the area accommodates department stores, hotels ranging from 5 stars to backpacker hostels and various shops and spaces for leisure activities. It is one of the major shopping districts of the capital city.

Apart from being a shopping district, this area also accommodates various hidden gems in the alleys, such as metal and wood processing masters, design studios, handcraft shops (Figure 4.21) and even a type foundry.

Figure 4.21: A handcraft leather shop in the area (Source: the author)

·Zhongshan-Shuanglian Creative Community

To have a better understanding of clustering development of cultural and creative industries in Taipei City and to promote and support its development, the Taipei City Government conducted a mapping investigation in 2010 and identified 11 ‘creative communities’ across the city. Zhongshan-Shuanglian, where the area is densely occupied by various trendy shops, themed restaurants, studios, department stores and even high-end hotels, is identified as one of the 11 creative communities. Liou (2013), the former commissioner of cultural affairs of the Taipei City Government, pointed out that Zhongshan-Shuanglian creative community has become creative workers' favourite locality since it is an area which simultaneously provides functions of creation, offices, exhibitions, and consumption needs (Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, 2013).

The investigation report shows that surroundings is the mostly stated consideration when it comes to reasons that attract creative practitioners to cluster in the area between Zhongshan station and Shuanglian station. Surroundings can be further defined as: (1) attractive atmosphere: the particular atmosphere includes the characteristics of old houses and architectures in this area; the physical environment which is beautiful, green and could be quiet in the alleys; and an atmosphere of local creativity; (2) close to the shopping district: it is accessible due to convenient public transportation, and the crowds are expected to gather since there are department stores within as well.

Apart from the two considerations mentioned above, people and organisations in this area play a vital role as well. Interviewees of the investigation stated that the reason they would locate to the area is because their friends are already situated in this area and invited them to co-locate. Additionally, interviewees also indicated the role in which the Museum of Contemporary Art, Taipei played in assisting them to move to this creative community.

·Urban Generation Station (URS)

Chung Shan Creative Hub (Figure 4.22), also known as URS 21 Chung Shan Creative Hub or URS 21, is a site that used to be a warehouse and distribution centre of Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Cooperation in Taipei City. It was also one of the sites of Urban Regeneration Station, known as URS, which is an urban regeneration project initiated by Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office. The site was commissioned to JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture from 2011 to 2014.

Figure 4.22: Chung Shan Creative Hub
(Source: The JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture, 2018)

URS was proposed and established to create a new urban forum and opportunities for public participation, said Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office (2011). It is not just a campaign but each of the URSs is a platform and a network. The space can be used as an area for workshops, a place for neighbourhood activities, a hot spot for information gathering, a public space for social interaction, a venue for exhibitions, and a location for experimental actions. At present, there have been 10 sites of URS in Taipei City.

URS 21 Chung Shan Creative Hub was set up to create an interaction platform for design and creativity to achieve three tasks: urban regeneration, local connection and clustering of cultural and creative industries. The site, then, accommodated a light meal restaurant, 13 studios and spaces for exhibitions and workshops in the building, and it also included outdoor spaces for activities. Reflecting on the aim of this site, tenants who were in their early stage of career and in sectors of architecture and design were exclusively targeted. Thus, the tenants included product designers, architects, a fashion designer and two curating organisations. The site has been closed since 30th of June in 2014 as the contract came to an end and because Taipei City Government intended to use the site to hold events for the 2016 World Design Capital (Taipei); however, the site has been left unused since then, and most of the tenants moved together to another site which was also managed by the JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture.

4.3 Conclusions

This chapter introduced the development of cultural and creative industries policy, including cultural and creative clusters policy, to set out a wider context of this research. Following by that is the introduction of the local social and cultural contexts of the three case studies, which is vital to understanding the following chapters of case study analyses.

Due to the long-term promotion and implementation of the *Community Empowerment* policy, the development of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan has a clear link with local context. 'Cluster' has been applied as one of the main approaches to promote the development of cultural and creative industries of Taiwan, often used and linked with industrial development; thus, its economic contribution is a dominant interest of policymakers. This research, however, represents alternative aspects of cultural and creative clusters, namely local social and cultural dimensions. In particular, this research explores less discussed but pivotal aspects of cultural and creative clusters development, i.e., ethnic and tribal factors, which have an impact on both cluster development and the practices that cultural and creative workers undertake.

Chapter 5: Tribal culture, community and formation of a wider cultural and creative cluster (case study 1)

This case study demonstrates a craft-based artistic cluster on the east coast of Taiwan. Both indigenous and non-indigenous cultural and creative workers co-locate in the region, which accommodates a large population of indigenous people who have recognised the area as their homeland for generations. The practices of cultural and creative workers in the region have a strong link with either the local indigenous culture or the natural environment.

The analysis of this case study serves to highlight the importance of ethnic, tribal and untraded factors regarding the consideration and impact of co-locating in the region with other cultural and creative workers in rural and indigenous settings. This case study also shows that the local community plays a vital role in the formation of a community of cultural and creative practice. In short, the analysis is conducted with a structure of four dimensions, namely (1) social interaction between cultural and creative workers, (2) relationship with local communities, (3) connection with localities and (4) impact of clustering of cultural and creative workers.

5.1 Social interaction between cultural and creative workers

5.1.1 A social space and network

The Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park is a must-visit tourist destination. Before its popularity was appreciated by tourists, it used to serve as a hub for cultural and creative practitioners in the region between the 1990s and early 2000s as a result of a local indigenous practitioner and a café at the park. The cultural park gradually became a social space, which was a crucial factor regarding clustering of practitioners.

As mentioned earlier, local indigenous practitioners play an important role in stimulating the development and process of clustering of cultural and creative practitioners on the east coast. A local indigenous practitioner had been running a studio and showroom of driftwood works in the earliest years after the park opened its doors to the public and artists. The studio became the only common space practitioners of the region would gather.

> “Before we gathered at the beach, we often gathered at the sugar factory. Siki was there. He was taking good care of us.” (Interviewee EI3)

Another key factor that led to Sintung Sugar Factory Culture Park becoming a hub for cultural and creative practitioners in the region was because of a café at the park. The café was established and run by a few cultural practitioners with a non-profit ethos. The café became a space where practitioners could catch up with each other on a regular basis.

> "The café was not set up for making lots of money…because a foreign music practitioner, performing was then brought into the café. At every weekend, we hold live performances. It sort of became a tradition of the café…gradually the café became a place we would gather." (Interviewee EN1)

The café, and the cultural park in general, became a vital space as a cultural and creative worker often faces professional isolation; thus, a space where people who have the same or similar interests or experiences can meet become crucial. In this case study in particular, practitioners have individual studios in a dispersed rural area, which can result in regular contact being difficult or unlikely. The café, then, became a shared space, which is extremely vital regarding forming and maintaining connections among practitioners.

> "Especially on Saturdays, because of live performances, we would turn up there. Artists in different sectors would also go there. We all expected Saturday nights as it was the time we can relax ourselves because we all did our own works in our own spaces during weekdays." (Interviewee EI2)

Such a shared space cannot only generate a sense of belonging among practitioners, but gradually practitioners develop an identity with the space and among each other. In this case study, practitioners perceived the café, or the cultural park in general, as a sitting room where one would gather with family members.

> "We were joking that the café was like our sitting room in Dulan…I think hanging out there with other practitioners can establish a relation with others because we were in our own studios, but we would turn up there at weekends…it was sort of like exchange of emotion or interaction." (Interviewee EN5)
> "It became a site we gathered, just like our sitting room." (Interviewee EN1)

The café, however, is not merely a site for hanging out. It also provides occasions for practitioners to share ideas or discuss opportunities for collaboration since they tend to work separately and independently.

> "In that occasion, we can talk about whether there might be new projects that we can work on together." (Interviewee EN5)
> "It was a bit like salon. People gather and talk about their lives, artworks or personal opinions. Gradually, there were more people coming in." (Interviewee EN4)

This case study demonstrates the importance of a shared space regarding connecting practitioners. The shared space is a social space where practitioners meet and gather, as well as a space that practitioners can identify with as they consider it a sitting room. Such a shared space enables the formation of an interconnected social network, where practitioners can develop an identity and a sense of belonging with each other and the space, and use it as a venue for idea sharing and discussion of collaboration regarding the production of cultural and creative practices. As a result, such a space encourages location to the east coast and, thus, stimulates clustering.

5.1.2 Sharing and learning

Sharing and learning among cultural and creative practitioners are aspects of the major benefits of clustering, which has been highlighted in research on cultural and/or creative clusters. This case study demonstrates a significant difference from mainstream research. Unlike cultural and creative practitioners who are based in cities who may have better and easier access to information sharing and skill learning, practitioners in this case study are located in a remote, rural locality which to some extent slows or hinders sharing and learning among practitioners. Sharing with and learning from other practitioners are vital components to support the interconnected social network that is embedded in the rural locality.

Sharing for cultural and creative workers of this case study can appear basic, such as tool sharing. As practitioners tend to be either individuals or micro-scaled enterprises, sharing production tools can reduce costs and ensure growth in their cultural and creative practice.

> "The benefits of clustering include that we can share tools. This is a very important point." (Interviewee EI5)

The second aspect of sharing refers to information sharing. On one hand, the cultural and creative practitioners of this case study disperse in a rural area which may create barriers for contact and information sharing among practitioners. On the other hand, it is relatively difficult for practitioners to access external information such as the latest market trends or public funding applications as the east coast is remote from major markets and cities on the west coast of Taiwan. Thus, the remoteness of the locality, to some extent, leads to an information gap, making information sharing vital for the cultural and creative activities on the east coast.

> "Yes, information sharing is the benefit. Because they would exhibit their works outside the tribe, so they gave me lots of information…for example, Rahic would share what kinds of weaving works he saw." (Interviewee EI8)

The importance of sharing in such a dispersed rural area also reveals the lack of an interaction platform. For instance, an interviewee of this case study uses her studio as a platform to invite practitioners in and outside the east coast to create more interaction.

> "I'm in fine arts and I also got friends in music, dancing and ceramics. Thus, I think I can use this studio and invite them to share their works…It would also be helpful for artists to know people from outside." (Interviewee EN4)

The third level of sharing is professional skill sharing. Due to the remoteness from major markets and the fact that practitioners tend to focus only on production and making of artworks, lack of skills in curation or arts administration is a common challenge for most of the practitioners in this region. Hence, practitioners who have related experiences and knowledge can be of exceptional help. For example, an interviewee of this case study obtained an MA degree in Arts and has working experience and knowledge in arts administration. She recalled how she shared her knowledge and experiences to support Gangkou's emerging talents when she arrived.

> "Apart from Rahic, most of his apprentices were in their early stage of career in cultural and creative practice. Thus, they really needed people to help them with art administration and exhibition curation or external connection." (Interviewee EN5)

Learning not just by doing but also by observing requires face-to-face contact. Moreover, learning from other cultural and creative practitioners is a vital component for the landscape and development of cultural and creative practice on the east coast of

Taiwan. As mentioned earlier, young indigenous people in the region have learned driftwood works from a senior artist. This process nurtures more cultural and creative practitioners in the region. Another layer of learning that takes place among practitioners of this case study that often requires face-to-face contact is learning how to make driftwood arts and installation. Such practice requires practitioners to learn in person. For example, one interviewee who is a painter recalled learning how to make driftwood arts from other members of the Floated tribe:

> "The Floated tribe is a very crucial turning point for me to try driftwood arts. After I moved to Dulan, I did not just paint, but I also learnt various skills from other artists. My practice then becomes more diverse." (Interviewee EI5)

Learning can take place not only by practicing, but also while observing other practitioners. Observation requires practitioners to meet in person. In this case study, learning for practitioners is a process of redefining their style and language of art forms by observing other practitioners' artworks and ways of developing and producing artworks. It is a deep reflection derived from learning.

> "Sometimes I think our experiences of aesthetics are too similar, as a result our works may look alike. But I don't think we are imitating each other, instead, I think it's a good reminder to create differences between us." (Interviewee EI3)

Arguably, this case study shows a new perspective to the normative notion of a community of practice where learning normally takes place with a relationship of masters and apprentices. Indeed, learning also occurs between peers of a community of practice. Furthermore, the approach does not necessarily follow a traditional model of teaching and learning, rather, learning can take place by observing each other. As a result, practitioners can have a deep reflection on their practice that enables them to create differences between each other.

To sum up, this case study highlights the importance of sharing among cultural and creative practitioners in a dispersed rural area where information and production tools may not be as accessible as in cities. This case study also presents a fresh concept to the normative notion of a community of practice as applied to clustering of cultural and creative practitioners; that is, learning can take place between peers of a community of practice. By observing each other's works, members of a community of practice can redefine their own style and language of cultural and creative work, which enables them to create differences between each other.

5.1.3 Professional identity

Identity is a crucial factor that leads to clustering of cultural and creative practitioners on the east coast of Taiwan; in particular, identity plays a significant role for indigenous practitioners. The first layer of identity is cultural identity while the second layer is professional identity, which is also important to non-indigenous practitioners.

As discussed earlier, the indigenous people on the east coast traditionally leave for cities in search of better jobs and opportunities; however, they often suffer from identity crises. Seeking out their cultural identity encouraged the indigenous practitioners in this case study to return to their tribes. Furthermore, the second layer of identity is professional identity, which indigenous practitioners of this case study point out that they fail to gain support and recognition from their families. Being an artist or other type of cultural and creative practitioners is something beyond the conventional imagination since the working pattern is distinct from an office occupation. This frustrates indigenous practitioners.

> "Your families may not be able to understand what you are doing." (Interviewee EI3)
>
> "I did not take part in tribal activities, like fishing. Instead, I worked late and woke up late…I realised that my parents were under pressure because of me." (Interviewee EI5)

The situation, in some cases, may be rather difficult for indigenous practitioners when they intend to return to their original tribes from cities. The disconnection with the tribes and different social values and standards that indigenous practitioners keep may cause conflicts and ultimately encourage practitioners to leave their original tribes again. In this case study, a local indigenous practitioner in Dulan shared his view on the reasons why indigenous practitioners who are not originally from Dulan would leave their tribes and gather in Dulan.

> "I can understand the situation other practitioners were facing within their tribes. It would be quite lonely if they returned to their tribes because they may have many thoughts and think to change the tribe to be better. But they won't have enough influence to make it happen. Thus, I can understand why people with similar ideas like to gather in Dulan." (Interviewee EI6)

Overall, for both indigenous and non-indigenous practitioners, an artist is often seen as creative and has freedom and autonomy (Taylor & Littleton 2016) to transcend

alienation (McGuigan 2010) from being exploited at work; however, it is freer but harsh and isolating at the same time. Artists or other types of cultural and creative practitioners often experience professional isolation (Gibson et al 2010), which requires them to work alone for long periods of time without interaction with others. This can cause pressure.

> "People doing creation are very isolated. It requires us to be alone for a long period of time. And you would feel panic." (Interviewee EI4)

Furthermore, the profession also brings pressure which is imposed on practitioners because of abnormal working patterns when compared with an office occupation or other types of well-perceived occupation. This, in a way, makes cultural and creative practitioners question themselves as abnormal.

> "You are doing something you imagine at your own house or studio every day…This makes me think that it seems that I am the only person who stays at home every day and do not go to work." (Interviewee EN3)

As discussed earlier, the café and a studio run by a local indigenous practitioner at the cultural park became a social space where cultural and creative practitioners of the east coast gather. The gathering generates a sense of belonging among practitioners and enables them to cultivate a deep identity for each other. On the one hand, it is a knowledgeably skilled identity (Lave and Wenger 1991), which forms a community of practice, recognised by other practitioners.

> "Your families may not be able to understand what you are doing. But these people can, and we really get each other." (Interviewee EI3)

On the other hand, it is not merely an identity of knowing or mastering a specific practice, rather, it is an identity of deep recognition based on emotional support (Harvey et al 2012) for each other. An interviewee explains the benefits of clustering with other practitioners.

> "You really won't feel lonely if there are many creators around you." (Interviewee EN3)

Furthermore, such a deep identity enables practitioners to construct intense relationships and form a like-minded community of practice, which enhances social

solidarity (Harvey et al 2012) between practitioners. For example, practitioners refer to the café at the cultural park as their sitting room and perceive each other as family members.

> "We feel that we can share warmth with each other, and we can have interaction…We are like families, mentally." (Interviewee EI4)

In this case study, the Floated tribe is an exceptionally vital instance regarding connecting practitioners and enabling them to cultivate a deep identity for each other. The spontaneous gathering at the beach enabled practitioners to know each other better and intensify the connection and identity among that group.

> "The Floated tribe further strengthens the identity among practitioners. It is a deep identity." (Interviewee EI2)

In short, this research argues that professional identity is a vital factor regarding the benefits of clustering which cultural and creative practitioners can gain. It is not merely an occupational identity; rather, it is a deep mutual recognition based on emotional support for each other. This research further argues that such an intensified identity enhances the community of practice formed by cultural and creative practitioners. The identity does not only require knowledge or skills of a specific practice, it also requires members to show support for each other's difficulties while participating in a cultural and creative career. In that sense, the formation of a community of practice is an attempt to get away and find space, peace and emotional support, as well as the need to overcome artistic isolation and have a sense of being in a community. As a result, seeking a professional identity can encourage cultural and creative practitioners to further connect with each other and, in this case study, it takes place in a format of face-to-face interaction.

5.1.4 Disconnection and connection

One of the normative perspectives on the benefits of clustering in cultural and creative industries is that co-location leads to interaction; in particular, if we refer to the production aspect of clustering, then the interaction is about collaboration in a production chain to gain productivity or other economic advantages. However, in a dispersed and rural locality like with this case study, interactions cannot be guaranteed while co-locating in the same region.

Disconnection (Hitter & Richards 2002; Drakes 2003; Bathelt 2004; Bagwell 2008; Harvey 2012) occurs between practitioners. Practitioners of this case study maintain an intense social tie; nevertheless, they may not have constant collaboration with each other. This can be attributed to the nature of the practice that practitioners of this case study conduct.

> "We don't like to disrupt others, and most importantly, creators are very lonely since we need to isolate ourselves for a period of long time to think and work." (Interviewee EI4)

Furthermore, disconnection may occur when practitioners develop varied perspectives towards arts. In this case study, most of the interviewees do not have a degree in arts or relevant subjects; instead, they may gain related experiences from working with or learning from others. However, the definition and meaning for making artworks by a practitioner who has a formal arts education and relevant working experiences may be distinct from those who did not follow a similar training process. One interviewee mentions:

> "Actually, it is not that much as expected if you want to discuss pure arts with people here." (Interviewee EN4)

A similar disconnection happens as one interviewee has a critical view on how indigenous content should be presented in artworks, which is distinct from some of the practitioners.

> "You cannot do the same topic every time. You got to progress. It is tiring if we have to talk about that every time." (Interviewee EI1)

With consideration of time distribution, this may also lead to disconnection between practitioners. That is, practitioners in this case study are in all cases either to be individual or run on a micro scale, and, thus, conducting their own practice may already occupy most of their time and discourage further work on collaboration.

> "Actually, we are all very busy. The occasions that link us together are events. But the opportunities that let us sit down to discuss (collaboration) with each other is quite rare…most of the time we do our own things." (Interviewee EN5)

Disconnection between practitioners may also be caused by social factors; in particular, interactions among indigenous practitioners of this case study is limited by indigenous social customs, namely the social hierarchy system in which male members of an Amis tribe tend to interact with members who are in the same age rank of the male leadership groups. This can discourage interaction on cultural and creative practice.

> "It's quite hard to talk about our work in the tribe because we tend to hang out together with people in the same age rank." (Interviewee EI9)

Furthermore, as indigenous practitioners of this case study come from various tribes, interaction may also be limited if practitioners are from different tribes.

> "In terms of interaction on creation, it's relatively rare…I have rather closer relationship with the youth group and leadership groups of my tribe." (Interviewee EI6)

Despite the disconnections among cultural and creative practitioners who are clustered in the same locality, being geographically close can still be useful as it may enable practitioners to have easier access to approach each other. For example, as discussed above, sharing is an exceptionally important interaction in such a remote and dispersed rural locality. In this case study, the remoteness of the locality, to some extent, separates the east coast from the west coast. Thus, it is easier for practitioners to connect to other practitioners in the same region.

> "I have more interaction with practitioners in the region because it is closer, geographically…The interaction is not limited to friendship (interaction), but it also includes project collaboration such as exhibition or like in 2014 we went to a forest to live and work there…it's not frequent but these occasions were all very important." (Interviewee EN1)

As discussed above, practitioners of this case study tend to work independently and this, in a way, leads to disconnection among practitioners; however, they do work collectively. The interaction or collaboration between practitioners in the east coast tend to depend on friendship whereas mainstream research would argue efficiency and productivity are the major concerns of collaboration within clusters.

> "For example, a friend of mine, she was commissioned to implement a project of mosaic and I was helping her with the project." (Interviewee EN3)

5.2 Relation with the local community

5.2.1 Key persons

The development of cultural and creative practice on the east coast of Taiwan relies on key persons situating in the region. First, a senior local indigenous practitioner plays a vital role in training young indigenous people. 'He returned to Gangkou from Taipei in the earliest stage', claimed another senior local indigenous practitioner who is also an interviewee of this case study. He then started to make driftwood furniture and artworks with the design knowledge he gained when he was working in the design industry in Taipei and the carpentry skills he learned in high school. He has been well-recognised by practitioners of the region as a pioneer of driftwood works and having crucial impacts on nurturing indigenous practitioners.

> "Of course, they were influenced by Rahic, before he moved to Dulan, his studio was where we gathered." (Interviewee EI7)

Rahic, as a master, has been training young indigenous people for years. Young indigenous people, as apprentices, are not limited to Rahic's tribe; instead, they come from the whole region, the east coast of Taiwan. One of the ways Rahic trains young indigenous people is by involving them in projects on which he was commissioned. One of the interviewees of this case study explains why he stayed after he returned from cities:

> "It was all because of the kindness of Rahic…I met him while he was running a project and looked for people to participate. He told us it would run for about one year." (Interviewee EI9)

This then becomes a reason for young indigenous people to stay in their tribes: to learn skills and enable them to further engage with the tribal community and indigenous culture. Referring to the clustering of non-indigenous cultural and creative practitioners or indigenous practitioners who are not originally from the east coast, local indigenous practitioners become an important intermediary to connect the tribe and the practitioners. They function as brokers (Wenger 2010), intermediaries (Virani and Pratt 2016) or key individuals (Harvey et al 2012) who can speak different languages and communicate for the two sides.

> "In the beginning, these artists were not close with tribal residents. Via me, tribal people can know them, and these artists would also ask me things that happened in the tribe. So, I was acting this role. It was great fun." (Interviewee

EI4)

Furthermore, local indigenous practitioners also act like gatekeepers who know tribal craft ecology so that they can introduce craft masters to cultural and creative practitioners when they need technical support.

> "I was attending their gathering at the beach and because I'm from local and they want to invite tribal elders to help them with something. And I was the bridge to communicate with both sides." (Interviewee EI6)

In short, this case study demonstrates the importance of key persons in supporting the clustering of cultural and creative practitioners, both indigenous and non-indigenous. On the one hand, they form a community of practice which rests on the relationship of masters and apprentices. In particular, this becomes a reason that allows young indigenous people to stay and further engage in the tribes. On the other hand, key persons act as brokers, intermediaries or gatekeepers to communicate between tribal people and the practitioners. This creates an opportunity for the two sides to know each other and recognise and support each other in later stages; thus, this ensures the development of cultural and creative practice in the region.

5.2.2 A positive relationship with the local tribes

This research provides a rarely discussed insight when it comes to clustering in cultural and creative industries. The case study shows the importance of relationships between cultural and creative practitioners and residents of the locality in which practitioners situate. This research further argues that a community of practice in cultural and creative sectors consists of not only practitioners but also local tribal people.

The east coast of Taiwan accommodates various indigenous tribes in the region. An indigenous tribe, to some extent, has boundaries which distinguish tribal members and non-members due to the distinct history, culture and customs from the Han Chinese society. Thus, it is never an easy task for a newcomer to be recognised by a local indigenous community. One interviewee said:

> "I had a period that I really want to be an Amis, but in fact, I am not, and sometimes I would like to have recognition from them, but from their eyes, I am still not an Amis. I felt lost during that period." (Interviewee EN5)

However, as discussed earlier, local indigenous practitioners play a critical role in connecting the tribes and cultural and creative practitioners, who are not originally from the region. Apart from support from local indigenous practitioners, showing respect to the tribes is of exceptional importance. This means to understand and follow certain customs or tribal rules. One local indigenous practitioner describes an example:

> "He understood that if he would like to move into this tribe and be accepted by the tribe, he must enter the tribe with a tribal approach. Thus, he joined the tribal hierarchical system and he killed pigs and shared the meat with tribal people." (Interviewee EI4)

In addition, some interviewees of this case study attribute the relationships which cultural and creative workers maintain with the local tribal people to the intrinsic tolerance that is embedded in Amis culture. That is, without violating the tribes' social system, Amis people tend to accept outsiders. This, in a way, creates a welcoming environment to cultural and creative practitioners, and, thus, encourages practitioners to locate to the region.

> "It is the tolerance of the tribe that attracts these artists." (Interviewee EI4)
> "When I moved in Dulan, I felt free and comfortable living there. People would not judge or discuss you because you were from outside. I think this is tolerance, and it is about cultural literacy. I think sharing and tolerance have embedded in indigenous culture. I felt exceptionally comfortable living here." (Interviewee EN1)

Amis people tend to be tolerant to outsiders, and typically welcome someone as long as they would not cause or bring damage to the tribes. Two interviewees express their thoughts on this:

> "Tribal people would welcome creators, but if you are here to run businesses, they would think about it." (Interviewee EI2)
> "People here are friendly to creators." (Interviewee EN3)

However, conflict and tension existed between practitioners and local tribal people initially. For example, the café was seen as a sitting room among practitioners and a place of 'a utopian atmosphere' (Interviewee EN3), whereas it was seen as unusual in a tribal setting. Thus, the café led to prejudice and imposed a negative image on

practitioners for the indigenous people. This highlights the important role local indigenous practitioners play as intermediaries as discussed earlier.

> "The café would be turned into sort of like a performing space and a bar at weekends. Tribal residents did not come because they think we are insane, and it is a place of trouble-making." (Interviewee EI4)
> "The café become a place where we would gather. Particularly at weekends. Its reputation was gone wide because there was not a space like that. But the tribal residents hated us (laughing)." (Interviewee EN1)

Based on the connections bridged by local indigenous practitioners, showing respect to the tribes and a tolerance of Amis culture, these factors enabled the establishment of a positive relationship between local tribal people and cultural and creative practitioners. The positive relationship enables practitioners to have better and closer access to the indigenous culture, not the superficial culture which anyone can know or access but the embedded texture of the indigenous culture to which access is limited to the tribal members. This is of exceptional importance since the indigenous culture can be a rich source of inspiration for cultural and creative practices.

> "The most inspiring thing is the relationship and interaction between local tribal people and the nature…This influenced some of my works." (Interviewee EN4)
> "We learn the value of sharing and mutual support from the local tribe. We are also able to learn from this ancient culture…My next album will talk a lot about that." (Interviewee EI2)

In addition to the inspiration gained from the local indigenous culture and people, practitioners also receive practical support from local indigenous people. Such support shows recognition and acceptance for cultural and creative workers although there was prejudice and misunderstanding initially.

> "The tribal elders often helped us while we were at the beach such as doing prayers for us, etc. The tribal elders really helped us a lot." (Interviewee EI3)

Gradually, consensus and collaborative mechanisms towards specific tribal affairs were launched between practitioners and local tribal people; in particular, practitioners of Gangkou are either local indigenous residents who returned from cities or married practitioners within the tribe. This enables them to cultivate a rather intense relationship with the local tribal community. They consider the future of the tribe when developing

their practice or career rather than simply thinking of their own good. For instance, one interviewee introduced the idea of repurposing an unused military site into an art village and said:

> "For example, me and a few practitioners think here is ideal to be an art village, but of course we must communicate and negotiate with tribal people who are in different industries, such as people running B&B or people promoting learning of native languages." (Interviewee EN5)

Non-indigenous practitioners of this case study are supporters for either indigenous rights or environmental protection of the regional landscape. They share this ethos with the local tribal community to protest commercial construction projects taking place in and near the tribe. Thus, this shows that a shared discourse (Wenger 1998) exists among practitioners and the local tribal people.

> "At that time, the tribal people had interaction and consensus with these practitioners on issues like indigenous traditional territory and the protests fighting against commercial development projects at a beach…The artists were raising awareness and pushing for the movement." (Interviewee EI4)

Furthermore, the shared discourse has impact on cultural and creative practices where practitioners express their thoughts and support on the issues from their artworks.

> "Because of the social movement, we would collaborate with each other to create works to express our thoughts." (Interviewee EN1)
> "I was making traditional Amis pots with other pottery makers to show our solidarity with the protest in Taipei. "(Interviewee EN4)

On the one hand, practitioners are inspired to produce artworks by these instances, such as social movements, taking place in the region. On the other hand, this is a way to show support for the locals and, thus, cultivate a shared discourse with the locals. Furthermore, such a shared discourse also encourages practitioners to collaborate with each other.

Overall, this research argues that building and maintaining positive relationships with the local community is vital for cultural and creative practitioners when they situate in a locality. The establishment of a positive relationship is a two-way street; that is, it relies on the local people to welcome cultural and creative practitioners and on practitioners

to show respect to the local community. Local intermediaries can be of importance to connect the two sides. Based on these factors, practitioners can develop a shared discourse with the locals which can be useful to the creation of cultural and creative practices while the shared discourse is often vital to the sustainable development of the locality. This, in a way, represents the embeddedness of cultural and creative practices as they are often related to or rooted in the locality. Moreover, as practitioners tend to receive support, no matter in the form of ideas, inspiration or technical support, from the locals, this research then argues a community of practice in cultural and creative sectors exceeds the normative notion of a community of practice. That is, local people can also be members of a community of practice which is formed, according to the normative notion of a community of practice, by cultural and creative practitioners.

5.3 Connection with the locality

5.3.1 A locality of cultural identity

When it comes to a locale that cultural and creative practitioners may consider and select, it is often practical considerations that come to mind, such as being close to other production partners or social networking with other practitioners. These practical factors can be linked to the economic advantages that specific places can generate while situating. Arguably, this research draws on a case study in an indigenous region in Taiwan and demonstrates the importance of the cultural identity of a locality, to which participants of this case study have been attached. A locality of cultural identity is a critical factor that causes indigenous cultural and creative practitioners to return to the region.

As mentioned earlier, indigenous young people tend to leave for cities in search of a better life and career; however, due to social and cultural differences between their original tribes and cities, some suffer from identity crises if they fail to position themselves well in an urban setting.

> “A group of young people, no matter she/he was a creator or not, we knew each other, and we stayed in cities for a few years looking for positions but cannot find it.” (Interviewee EI4)

More specifically, it is the cultural identity that indigenous people are seeking when they leave for cities. One interviewee explains how he used to conceal his indigenous identity when he was living in Taipei City while working in design industry:

> “I seldom went out at weekends in order not to get tanned and I had to wear the

trendiest clothes." (Interviewee EI1)

In addition to identity crises, some of indigenous people who left for cities experience frustration at work. For example, an interviewee shared his negative experience when working in Taipei.

> "I often cannot receive salary. For example, I was doing a construction work, but the head of the lead disappeared so I cannot get paid." (Interviewee EI9)

As a result of the frustration, cities are places in which participants of this case study feel they cannot position themselves. Although the factors that ultimately lead them to return may be complicated and varied, the general points made above are crucial pushing forces to encourage them to return to their tribes.

> "You leave here and go to cities and experience its glamor, as well as frustration and failure. And then you might be thinking of coming back…Those artists are younger than me and they got similar experiences as mine. They might think they were floating and not rooted when they were in cities." (Interviewee EI7)

Furthermore, this becomes even more serious and difficult to tackle when indigenous young people who want to return to their tribes receive backlash because their parents expect them to stay in cities. This then becomes a dilemma and makes the crisis worse.

> "For example, a person like my age, as (s)he comes back, (s)he would be blamed. The elders might think (s)he might make some trouble outside." (Interviewee EI4)
> "It's not right to stay at the tribe because I would be blamed if I was with my parents as they would ask me why I don't want to go out to work." (Interviewee EI9)

Thus, a locality is not merely a place where cultural and creative practitioners can work and live. These research findings indicate that a locality is a place to which cultural and creative practitioners can identify and connect. In this case study, since Amis have inhabited the region since before the arrival of Han Chinese immigrants in the 17th century, Amis's culture has been developing with the natural landscape and environment of the region. Thus, the physical environment itself has become part of the Amis culture and identity. An interviewee describes this connection when discussing

Jin-Zun beach, where the 'Floated tribe' took place, to work and live with other practitioners.

> "I have a strong feeling for Jin-Zun beach because we (Amis) are originally close to the ocean." (Interviewee EI3)

For indigenous practitioners of this case study, creation of cultural and creative works is an embedded practice. The cultural and creative works and the locality, namely the land and whole physical environment, are dependent on each other and inseparable. Such rootedness (Malkki 1992) is of importance. Two indigenous practitioners of this case study share conflicts with which they were faced while producing artworks outside the east coast.

> "I used to make my works in France and other cities, I felt wrong and painful as I cannot see the ocean that I am familiar with…I once tried to leave here but at the same time I was questioning myself 'who would I be if I leave here?" (Interviewee EI4)
> "I questioned myself why I went to Taipei…I started painting when I was in Taipei but suddenly realised that my works were rootless when I returned." (Interviewee EI5)

Their return and participation in cultural and creative practice have another cultural significance to either the individual indigenous practitioner or the tribe; that is, participation in cultural and creative practice becomes an opportunity in which indigenous practitioners can immerse themselves in their indigenous culture, such as learning craft skills and learning more about indigenous history. They may appreciate the culture more than when they left for cities at a younger age. In return, this enables the tribal culture to be passed on, and the indigenous culture can be sustained.

> "I used to think that cities were too beautiful. But now I think here is so beautiful because the beauty of a city is like bubbles, and suddenly you would know this is not what you want…I start with craft because I find the tribal crafts are very beautiful and it makes me feel relaxed while I was with them. There are lots of interesting stories." (Interviewee EI7)
> "(After I returned) I gradually had interaction with my tribe. At the beginning, I took part in the social issues. And gradually I found out that the traditional culture is so beautiful. I spent a few years going to see Kiluma'an[4] of different

[4] Kiluma'an is a type of traditional ceremony which is held to celebrate the harvest and express gratitude toward ancestors.

tribes." (Interviewee EI4)

Locality is part of a cultural identity and it is a critical factor which contributes to the return of indigenous practitioners to the east coast of Taiwan, leading to the cultural and creative development. Locality represents the land, physical landscape, society and culture behind it, with which indigenous practitioners of this case study can identify and connect. These factors become a vital source of inspiration for their cultural and creative practice, which enable the cultural and creative practice to be embedded in the locality. More importantly, the participation in cultural and creative practice has an exceptional cultural significance and the indigenous culture can be sustained because of the efforts indigenous practitioners have made to learn craft skills and understand the history of the culture.

5.3.2 A preferable place to live and work

The non-economic consideration towards the locality applies to non-indigenous cultural and creative practitioners as well; however, not in the same way as indigenous practitioners discussed above. The selection of a locality is about personal preference; that is, a place is not just for work. The living aspects of a preferable place are vital; for example, the remoteness and natural and pristine environment of the region is an attraction for a participant of this case study:

> "Simply because of the attraction of the nature, the mountains, ocean and the air. I did not have too many thoughts on culture, instead, it is more like that I'd like to live in that kind of environment…a spiritual desire that I was craving for the mountains and the nature." (Interviewee EN1)

The preference for the natural environment of the east coast of Taiwan is then transformed as a rich resource of inspiration for the creation of cultural and creative practices. Interviewees point to the impacts of the nature on their artwork creation:

> 'I think it is the nature and the living that really influence my creation." (Interviewee EN1)
> "Our coastline is really beautiful. The nature really gives me many nutrition for my works…After I moved here, most of my works illustrate the nature." (Interviewee EN2)

The connection between practitioners, both indigenous and non-indigenous, and the locality, as well as the embeddedness of the cultural and creative practice in the locality becomes a distinct and vivid characteristic of the region.

> "I think artists here are really good at applying natural materials to their works. So, the artworks here are quite in a harmony with the environment." (Interviewee EN3)

The attraction of the natural landscape on the east coast becomes a pulling factor that drives cultural and creative practitioners to move to the region; furthermore, the remoteness of the region from the major cities becomes another appealing factor for some practitioners as they can manage their cultural and creative practice in a non-market-oriented approach. In this way, their practice can reflect their inner passion for culture and creativity rather than satisfying tourists' needs.

> "Here is far from the mainstream (arts) market, so I don't need to care too much about what the mainstream likes." (Interviewee EN1)
> "Because here is rather remote so I can present the space with the ways I prefer and create atmosphere that I like." (Interviewee EN4)

In addition to that, a preferable place also depends on cultural preference. An interviewee refers to her passion for the indigenous culture of the tribe with which she has contact.

> "There was a chance that I can know more about this tribe and I like it so much, thus I stayed." (Interviewee EN5)

In short, this research argues that personal and subjective preferences for a place can be of importance when it comes to location selection whereas the economic benefits of a locality are often further down the list of considerations for individual practitioners. It is the specific atmosphere, physical landscape or culture of a locality that drives cultural and creative practitioners to cluster in particular places. Furthermore, the preferable locality is where cultural and creative practitioners can gain inspiration for their practice and reflect their genuine thoughts in their artworks rather than meeting a market need. Arguably, in this case study, a preferable place to live and work is a crucial reason for non-indigenous practitioners to locate to the region.

5.4 Impacts of clustering of cultural and creative workers

Clustering of cultural and creative practitioners on the east coast of Taiwan does not only impact practitioners, but it also leads to the transformation of the regional development. In this case study, the Floated tribe plays a crucial role in this transformation. Due to the gathering at the beach, members of the Floated tribe were approached by the East Coast National Scenic Area for an event proposal. Afterwards, members of the Floated tribe were commissioned by the institute to produce various artworks, and this has transformed the landscape of the region.

> "The ECNSA was wondering why we were at the beach…I wondered at least one person can understand and appreciate what we were doing. And they did approach us and proposed an idea of holding an installation arts event in the east coast. I thought it was a good idea." (Interviewee EI4)
>
> "After we left the beach, we had some collaborative projects with the ECNSA in various attractions in the east coast." (Interviewee EI5)

More cultural and creative activities are created in the form of commissions of arts project, festivals, creative markets or open studios with support from cultural and creative practitioners in the region and the ECNSA. Efforts that the ECNSA has made to commission arts projects have become a positive causality which makes the east coast attractive to more practitioners.

> "Taitung is a very comfortable place…there are many practitioners, and resources to support practitioners are relatively more…I think the East Coast National Scenic Area quite supports artists in Taitung. They would announce funding for commissioned artworks." (Interviewee EN3)

As a governmental institute in charge of tourism promotion for the region, the purposes of holding various events and commissioning artworks tends to focus on an increase in tourist numbers rather than supporting the cultural and creative development of the region. This leads to practitioners having concern over their role in the commission.

> "I think it is for tourism although it does have links with the locality…however, I don't think quality of arts is what the ECNSA wants…they ask artists to extend the life span of their works. This seems doesn't meet the ethos of the Land Arts Festival." (Interviewee EN4)

More specifically, some practitioners have reflected on the approach of the ECNSA when commissioning practitioners and relationship that practitioners establish with the ECNSA. Some criticise the approach is in conflict with the nature of artworks creation.

> "After 2008, I did not apply for the Land Arts Festival because I realised that the creation of various of driftwood arts seems to rely on public funding and once without the funding it won't be possible to make it…I think as a creator we cannot be like that. We cannot fully rely on public funding. I think this is wrong and the works would be made by the thoughts of the public sector (instead of the artists)." (Interviewee EI5)

The clustering of cultural and creative practitioners in the region, particularly due to the instance of the Floated tribe and practitioners gathering at the cultural park, the region, Dulan in particular, has become a hub of cultural and creative practitioners.

> "It was because of the floated tribe that more practitioners would come to Dulan. It stimulated clustering…In the very first beginning, it attracted mainly people working in various sectors of arts and culture, particularly practitioners used to situate in Taipei." (Interviewee EI2)
> "Even Bobby Chen[5] was curious about what we were doing at the café, so he came to see the café." (Interviewee EI4)

Overall, the east coast of Taiwan has gained more popularity among the public due to the clustering of cultural and creative practitioners, as well as efforts that the ECNSA has made to either commissioning art projects or tourism promotion. The approaches and development of the two tribes, Dulan and Gangkou, however, are varied. Dulan has become rather touristy whereas Gangkou maintains a balance between tourism and authenticity. Dulan has become a popular tourist destination; in particular, the cultural park has become a must-visit destination. This encourages more businesses to establish in Dulan.

> "It seems that more people are coming here for running businesses these years." (Interviewee EI2)
> "Dulan has been attracting different types of people moving in. Particularly, more people who are making handmade stuffs and selling at fairs are moving in these years." (Interviewee EI4)

[5] He is a Taiwanese pop singer.

The factors of clustering and economic development may reinforce each other. Once the balance breaks, cultural and creative practitioners are in most cases to be pushed not only due to unaffordable rent, but the nature of the creation of artworks may adjust to meet customers' needs. For example, an interviewee explains why she moved from the cultural park and relocated her studio north of Dulan.

> "There are more people coming here but it becomes more complex and touristic. For me, sometimes it's quite hard to make what I really want. It seems that I must produce what tourists need. I think this does not suit me." (Interviewee EN4)

The continued tourism development also has an impact on practitioners living in Dulan and the local tribe. One interviewee explains an artwork which is inspired by the conflict between the tribe and tourists while she shares her experience of being disturbed by tourists.

> "The ocean for us is sacred not for fun…there was a girl wearing bikini walking in the tribe which the elders and kids of the tribe would be frightened…thus I made a work to express my concern over such disrespectful behaviour." (Interviewee EI4)
> "I was living in my brother's house. I planted lots of trees. It was really beautiful…tourists often came opening the front door asking me whether this is a B&B or a shop or do I sell furniture? I told them this is my private house. I think my life was disturbed and peeped." (Interviewee EI4)

The clustering of cultural and creative practitioners and atmosphere of Dulan have changed because of increased tourism. Rent has also gone up. As a result, practitioners may either move to different places in the region or reduce their frequency of visiting Dulan.

> "My partner and I have moved further north because we cannot afford it in Dulan." (Interviewee EI3)
> "I rarely go to Dulan. The atmosphere has been changed." (Interviewee EN2)

In contrast, Gangkou represents a different development trajectory. Since, geographically, it is more remote and less accessible than Dulan, it is protected from becoming too commercialised. Furthermore, in a way, the geographical boundary enables Gangkou to maintain an intense tribal community where practitioners, most of

them being locals or partners of local indigenous people, have a strong identity with the tribe and a shared vision for the future development of the tribe. For example, practitioners of Gangkou have a common idea that art is an important aspect of the future development of the tribe.

> "Hundreds of years later, Gangkou may become an arts village. This is the direction we are now working on…If the east coast become an arts corridor, which artists don't want to come here? …I think we should apply this approach instead of further destroying the east coast. Because only art won't have huge negative impact on the land." (Interviewee EI7)
>
> "I think arts industry is quite workable in Gangkou. For example, I'm running the arts centre and gradually we had artists from the west coast of Taiwan or foreign artists coming here for residency. We gradually have more interaction with external artists." (Interviewee EN5)

Although public intervention does reach Gangkou, local practitioners play an active and leading role in planning arts festivals or events. By so doing, this can prevent the public intervention from becoming a tool for tourism promotion.

In short, this case study presents the impacts that clustering of cultural and creative practitioners can generate for the landscape of the cultural and creative practice of a locality, as well as regional development. The two tribes show varied approaches in terms of receiving support from public sectors. Because its practitioners are mostly migrants, Dulan takes a more liberal approach in which tourism development ultimately changes the ecosystem of the cultural and creative practice and forces out practitioners. In contrast, practitioners of Gangkou are mainly locals, who have stronger ties to the locality; thus, it is easier to reach a consensus for the future development of the tribe, which in Gangkou's case is to transform the tribe and area into an art village.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the case study on the east coast of Taiwan. The case study incorporates interviews with 14 cultural and creative workers, 9 of whom are indigenous and 5 non-indigenous. The analysis demonstrates the importance of untraded social relations among cultural and creative workers and the pivotal role the local indigenous culture plays in the formation of a cluster and community of practice.

The development trajectory of this cultural and creative cluster shows that this case study is one of a craft-based artistic cluster. It relies on face-to-face skills and mindset sharing and learning among the local indigenous cultural and creative workers. Furthermore, the untraded relationships among cultural and creative workers seem to be intrinsic and irreplaceable to the development of this cluster. For example, the café was likened to a sitting room belonging to them. Furthermore, the untraded social relationships also established professional identities that cultural and creative workers provided for themselves and each other. The untraded relationships, however, are not cultivated by constant interaction, but a deep mutual recognition among cultural and creative workers.

The analysis of the case study of the east coast of Taiwan also reveals the crucial role that local tribal community plays in the formation of a cluster. With support from local indigenous artists, cultural and creative workers can be introduced and welcomed by the local tribal community. This provides an exclusive opportunity for cultural and creative workers to explore the local indigenous culture which then has an important impact on their practices. With mutual trust, local tribal members can share or teach the knowledge and skills that cultural and creative workers seek. In that sense, this analysis shows the possibility of a wider application of community of practice to cultural and creative clusters; that is to say, the local community is integrated in the community of practice as a vital resource regarding inspiration for the cultural and creative practice.

Connection with the locality is the other vital aspect the analysis of this case study aims to address. For the local indigenous cultural and creative workers, the locality is about cultural identity that they sought but could not acquire when they left their tribes expecting to obtain better jobs and lives in cities. The cultural identity has an exceptionally vital link with their practices since most of their ideas or inspirations are acquired or absorbed from the local culture and the locality. An interviewee said, ‘Art is something embedded in your identity, culture and the environment and then being introduced.’ (Interviewee EI4). This demonstrates a key point this research highlights, namely that cultural and creative practice has an embedded nature. For non-indigenous cultural and creative workers, however, locality is regarded as a preferable place to live and work. This is more about personal preferences.

In short, the analysis of this case study highlights the embedded nature of a cultural and creative practice. In this case study, the local culture, community and natural landscape all play a vital role and impacts cultural and creative workers and their practices. Moreover, the untraded social relationships which are accumulated with a deep mutual

recognition among cultural and creative workers is no doubt another key point this case addresses.

Chapter 6: Local culture as a pivot in the formation of a cultural and creative cluster (case study 2)

This case study demonstrates a culture-led designer cluster in the southwest of Taiwan. The formation of the cultural and creative cluster is driven by an exclusive cultural atmosphere that accumulated because of the thick history of Tainan City as it used to be the cultural, economic and political capital of the island prior to Taipei City. The texture of the city is appealing to various cultural and creative workers who then move to the city. Thus, the practices of cultural and creative workers in this case tend to be linked with local culture or history.

The analysis of this case study highlights a wider implication of local culture and history, i.e., local community and craft and industrial technical supports as supporting forces. Overall, this case study represents an atypical urban cultural and creative cluster in which the local culture plays a pivotal role. The analysis of this chapter is conducted with a similar structure with chapter five, namely (1) social interaction between cultural and creative workers, (2) relation with local communities and (3) connection with localities.

6.1 Social interaction between cultural and creative workers

6.1.1 Sharing

A creative and cultural economy is a sharing economy. Since cultural and creative practitioners are most likely to be micro scale, sharing becomes important and common in cultural and creative sectors. By clustering, practitioners can stay in the loop and remain up to date regarding the latest information of the industries.

> "A network for sharing information and exchanging ideas is of importance…such as to find which manufacturer to help do something. Such network is very important." (Interviewee TNM1)

Sharing spaces is helpful in terms of enhancing interactions among practitioners. A growing development is co-working spaces. Sharing spaces with other practitioners may facilitate further interaction and provide access for further sharing among practitioners.

> "We shared the space and because she is senior in design practice, she taught me lots of things and we had various collaborations." (Interviewee TNL3)

Another form of sharing takes place when practitioners approach tasks that they cannot fulfil or learn of opportunities that may be of interest to someone else; in such cases, they tend to share the opportunities with practitioners within their networks.

> "I would visit other practitioners and we also introduce customers to each other…We knew more practitioners in this area. Although we are not very familiar with them, but they did recommend us to exhibitions." (Interviewee TNM4)

Learning is another form of sharing and takes place among practitioners who situate at the same locality. Learning is stimulated in a social setting (Lave and Wenger 1998) where it is generated by interactions with other practitioners; however, learning is most likely to take place in an informal form.

> "You can also learn something from communicating and negotiating with others during the collaboration process." (Interviewee TNM3)
> "Sometimes we would go to see others works, this is kind of the source of stimulation for my design." (Interviewee TNM4)

Commonly, learning among practitioners takes the form of sharing. This form of knowledge learning is unique in cultural and creative sectors and different from traditional learning where the relationship is most likely to be top-down, whereas in cultural and creative sectors, learning tends to be in an informal and sharing basis.

> "She taught me a lot of know-hows and knowledge of design…She was like my teacher and willing to share with me." (Interviewee TNL3)

In short, this research argues that a cultural and creative economy is a sharing economy. Sharing is imperative regarding access to work-related information and professional knowledge. In some cases, co-location, mainly sharing spaces, is helpful in terms of enhancing sharing between practitioners. Apart from information and knowledge sharing, sharing commercial opportunities also takes place between practitioners in this case study.

6.1.2 Collaboration between practitioners

In existing research, interactions, such as collaborations, are highlighted as one of the benefits or advantages of clustering; however, such an argument is often taking an economic perspective where clustering of talented people can enhance efficiency and

productivity; however, clustering of talented people does not guarantee such interactions. Rather, interaction needs to be curated. This case study examines interactions between practitioners situating at the Old Five Channels Cultural Zone and argues that whether practitioners would interact with each other depends on various factors, some which foster interaction and some that hinder it.

Scott (1999) mentions the notion of talent pools to describe the benefits of co-location of firms in cultural industries. Firms and individual cultural workers benefit from being in a talent pool as they can look for opportunities to work with each other in an efficient way. We can observe similar processes in this case study; however, this is applicable to senior practitioners who have developed a wider network over time and which enables them to involve more diverse practitioners in a collaboration.

> "We are in design sector. We got film director and people from the press and entertainment. We can find different professionals if we need help." (Interviewee TNM3)

Furthermore, a talent pool may be particularly useful when one practitioner holds an event and needs varied expertise of practitioners to take part. Thus, an occasion that may encourage professional collaboration is a festival. Since a festival is a relatively large-scale event, it may need more practitioner participation. Accordingly, this creates opportunities for practitioners in the same cluster to work together.

> "I think the interaction, in terms of practice, between local practitioners and myself is not that intensive, but it could be more intense once we are working on a project together, such as previously we organised and held the Old Five Channels Arts Festival." (Interviewee TNM1)

Another factor that influences collaboration between practitioners is their expertise. In some cases, practitioners in the same localities may be in the same or similar sectors which lead them to compete whereas collaboration is most likely to take place when practitioners look for expertise they do not have.

> "Such collaboration should build on a relation of mutually complementary, i. e. in the same production chain. Or they are competitors to each other since they are all designers." (Interviewee TNM1)
> "We are offering creative ideas so we will be more willing to share and look for practitioners who have skills that we don't have." (Interviewee TNM3)

To that end and due to the nature of projects based in cultural and creative sectors, multidisciplinary collaboration becomes a unique mode which cultural and creative workers apply. Such a particular approach of collaboration, this research argues, is likely to be based on a trust and friendship network, where practitioners may already know each other or they are introduced by friends. For instance, one interviewee mentioned a senior practitioner who he knows quite well and said:

> "They got a photography studio so sometimes I need professional photograph, I will contact them…Another example is that they need to design a cultural tour and develop products for the tour, so they approached us. I think maybe it is because we are in the same age group, so we are willing to share with each other." (Interviewee TNL3)

Similarly, reputation is one of many various complicated factors of collaboration, which can facilitate collaboration based on the recommendation of other practitioners.

> "People who have collaborated with me said they received further cases. Because others would ask me who I used to collaborate with." (Interviewee TNM2)

Apart from the circumstances in which practitioners collaborate with each other, occasions where they interact with each other are quite diverse. Although the interactions between practitioners identified in this case study seems to be limited in many ways, practitioners have developed unique modes of interaction. These interactions may not as intense as working on a project or event.

> "The occasions that bring us together are mainly because of events…Sometimes craft masters who I had worked with before, they would invite me to attend their events." (Interviewee TNM2)
> "Instead (of working on a project), we would attend trade fairs together." (Interviewee TNM4)
> "Most of the time the collaboration is like we borrow each other's works for exhibition purpose." (Interviewee TNL3)

Studies on clustering of cultural and creative practitioners tend to focus on interactions among practitioners within a specific geographical area; however, this research argues that as people are getting more mobile and because of the improvement of technology,

networks of practitioners have become more dynamic. As a result, interactions among practitioners are not limited to the localities in which they situate.

> "It is not limited in this district regarding what I collaborate with in the project. We would consider what media or forms of creation may fit which place." (Interviewee TNL1)

Another aspect regarding interaction is a debate on whether contact should be face-to-face (Mason 2000; Scott 1999; Pratt 2000). Face-to-face contact is still considered helpful in cultural and creative sectors although technology has changed dramatically how human beings interact with each other. Face-to-face contact, however, can ensure trust between people.

> "I think because the Internet is very convenient. Thus, the connection between practitioners, which is very important, does not necessarily have to be limited in this district. But sometimes it's much easier to collaborate when you come face to face with others, better than video meeting…because sometimes you need to see the person having eye contact or their body languages." (Interviewee TNM1)

Despite the challenges for interaction mentioned above, clustering in the same locality is of help in terms of collaboration. Being in the same creative community, talent pool or in the same loop, practitioners can better approach other practitioners with varied expertise. And based on collaboration, practitioners can establish their own reputation. These then form a mechanism of coordination (Bettiol and Sedita 2011), which practitioners can then source for collaboration on projects in a relatively efficient way. This saves practitioners cost, regarding time and money, to source support for collaboration. Thus, collaborating with other practitioners creates opportunities for future collaboration.

> "I think the best part of the concept, clustering, is that you will have more possibilities and opportunities from collaborating with other experts." (Interviewee TNM2)

In short, this research argues that the clustering of cultural and creative practitioners does not guarantee collaboration for practitioners; instead, collaboration between practitioners relies on various factors which are complex and subtle. Although the clustering of practitioners can generate a talent pool, collaboration may be influenced

by factors such as varied expertise, trust and networks. At the same time, approaches and modes of collaboration are diverse and multidisciplinary.

6.1.3 Disconnection

Interaction with other cultural and creative workers is one of the advantages of clustering; however, interaction relies on various factors and circumstances. Despite the varied forms of interaction discussed above, interaction does not take place without effort or cause; for example, co-presence does not guarantee interaction. In some cases, disconnection (Hitter & Richards 2002; Drakes 2003; Bathelt 2004; Bagwell 2008; Harvey 2012) happens instead.

One of the most common reasons for not interacting with other practitioners is insufficiency of time. Since practitioners are in most situations likely to be micro scale, this encourages them to be self-centred and focused on their own practice, leading to disconnection.

> "I think one of the reasons that the interaction is not as intense as expected is the practitioners are individual/independent, thus (s)he is already very busy in her/his own works." (Interviewee TNM1)
> "I don't have close contact, like friends, with others because to be honest, we are all quite busy." (Interviewee TNM3)
> "I would go (to meet other practitioners) at exhibitions or events. But because I have too much work, I seldom drop by visiting them." (Interviewee TNL1)

A successful collaboration relies on various factors, which at times are complex and require knowledge and experiences. Collaboration among practitioners may be difficult if they are all junior and their brands are relatively young and not well-known. In that sense, collaboration can seem daunting for practitioners, and, thus, many prefer to avoid collaboration.

> "If we are collaborating with another brand which is the similar scale as us, we may care who should be the main role and the business would be very complicated. So, we are not into collaboration with others." (Interviewee TNM4)

Resources, such as availability of funding, are also crucial when considering collaboration with other cultural and creative workers. Since practitioners do not have extra time and resources to commit to collaborating with other practitioners, if there are

public resources to support and incentivise practitioners, collaboration is more likely to take place.

> "Although we all know each other's work quite well and have quite similar ideas, we won't collaborate with each other if there is not a project we can work on together." (Interviewee TNM1)

The third factor that may prevent practitioners from collaborating with each other is the differences of sectors. For instance, one interviewee shared his previous collaboration experiences with craft makers and discovered that craft makers hardly work with each other since they have similar skills and tend to compete, while the situation for a designer differs. He said:

> "I think whether people in the same cluster help others or not, it depends on what kind of cluster it is. For example, I discover that craft people tend to be more independent because there are know-hows in individual craftsman/craftswoman. So, they may compete with each other." (Interviewee TNL3)

Interactions among practitioners may not be taking place because of personal aspects. Firstly, interaction depends on individual personalities since social interaction is not everybody's cup of tea; therefore, clustering of practitioners cannot guarantee interaction.

> "To be honest, it's less likely to collaborate with other practitioners here. Probably I'm not local and maybe also because my personality which I'm not a person who would constantly drop by visiting others." (Interviewee TNM2)
> "Actually, I'm not the typical type who enjoys attending opening reception. I have less interest in that, thus I also have less interest in dropping by visiting others." (Interviewee TNM1)

Secondly, interaction among practitioners may depend on age, i.e., to some extent, a generation gap exists between senior and junior practitioners.

> "In Tainan, I am more familiar with artists who are senior than me. I have less contact with the junior bunch. But sometimes I would go to see their works at galleries and might have interaction with them." (Interviewee TNM1)

To sum up, clustering of practitioners does not guarantee interaction, let alone guarantee a benefit for cultural and creative workers. Disconnection does happen, often taking place because of practical challenges and difficulties, namely, insufficiency of time, being micro scale and a lack of resources. Moreover, disconnection can be caused by personal factors, such as being introverted and age gaps between practitioners. This research suggests that these factors play key roles regarding interaction between practitioners.

6.2 Relation with local communities

6.2.1 A positive relation with the locals

Debate on the importance of location to cultural and creative practitioners is ongoing. Some claim that improvement of technology has dramatically changed the ways we work, thus, people do not need to be based in a fixed location. An up-to-date example is that of 'techies' working at a café with their laptops, or co-working spaces where practitioners can have a flexible contract regarding renting a desk or a studio. Furthermore, people are more mobile rather than they were in the recent past. These factors make it difficult when it comes to defining the geographical boundaries of a locality where practitioners cluster. If the notion and definition of a cluster is based on its spatial boundary, then the definition of the notion is limited to cultural and creative industries.

> "I think it cannot be limited in this district when it comes to clustering. Such as I live in Tainan, I have friends here who are artists, but sometimes people from outside Tainan would come visit, and we are all know each other…I think because of the Internet, we don't need to be tied in a place. Like when I work in China, I still can have video meetings to sort things out." (Interviewee TNM1)

There is, however, a community-based working environment, in which practitioners would prefer to situate, that has been overlooked in existing research. This type of working environment enables practitioners to cultivate intense relationships with the locals and the locality in which they situate. This can further connect the working environment with local living which in return influences practitioners' work.

> "Why I moved here…I feel very close to neighbours. We got our own spaces, but we also have very good interaction with each other…the neighbourhood you would feel warm and that would be helpful for us in terms of making our design warmer." (Interviewee TNM3)

> "I enjoy here, inside and outside the house…like neighbours would greet each other and sometimes you would hear neighbours are arguing for something. This is really different from working in an office building." (Interviewee TNM1)

Another key factor that may cause practitioners to situate in specific places is because of a welcoming local community. This creates a sense of belonging (Mason 2000) for practitioners. They, accordingly, feel they are accepted by the locals and are part of the local community. This, in return, strengthens practitioners' relationships and connection with the locality. For instance, one local practitioner gives the example that local people are friendly and engaged in their practice and said:

> "You would find the characteristic here that local residents welcome creative/talented people." (Interviewee TNL1)

Moreover, a welcoming community may be particularly critical for junior practitioners who may be faced with a relatively huge challenge regarding managing their cultural and creative career. A welcoming community is of importance since this may create a sense of certainty for unstable junior practitioners. In this case study, the local community welcomes creators who wish to establish their creative career there. Such a supporting force is attractive to practitioners.

> "People of this area welcome young people and creators. They tend to offer very good rent for them. Even one of my students, he runs a workshop here, his neighbours sometimes prepare him dinner. Young people would feel that they are supported, and they can concentrate on their practice." (Interviewee TNM3)

The relationship, however, is a two-way street, i.e., practitioners are not simply receiving a warm welcome from local communities; rather, they tend to contribute to communities with a social purpose. In that sense, a cultural and creative practitioner is a social entrepreneur whose practice tends to make some positive difference and change to the localities in which they work. This is another aspect of being in a community.

> "I think why we need a design cluster and why we need to talk about that…Like the projects I am running in China, because we would hire local young people who return their hometown, sometimes it is not that important what their professions are. Instead, I care more about their personalities and attitudes. They may leave us to run their own businesses after a few years

> working with us. This may enable young people to be more active. I think this is important…thus new possibilities would be generated for the villages or clusters and the young people may also form a relation of collaboration." (Interviewee TNM1)

This aspect of clustering of cultural and creative practitioners is rarely discussed; however, this research argues that a welcoming local community plays a vital role for practitioners regarding their cultural and creative practice and career since a sense of community and belonging creates a sense of certainty, which is of importance for the volatile (McGuigan 2010) or precarious (Ocejo 2017) cultural and creative sectors. Such an intense relationship between practitioners and the local community is a veiled characteristic of cultural and creative sectors.

6.2.2 Intermediary

Intermediaries play an increasingly vital role in cultural and creative industries (Virani and Pratt 2016). Their important function is to act as a platform to connect practitioners with other practitioners, organisations, the public or public sectors, which may speak different (creative or professional) languages to practitioners, thus causing a disconnection. An intermediary can be a gatekeeper who has broad and multiple networks, both internal and external to the locality; thus, while a task is being created, it can begin to be fulfilled in a relatively short time and in an efficient manner.

> "Because I have been working in art administration quite long time ago and I have very good relations with artists. So I told them what I thought about Hai'an Road and they agreed with me and were willing to support…Maybe because of my role in art administration, I do not lie to you that not everyone can find artists in a short period of time…I know arts forms of different artists and their contents, thus I can decide, quickly, to find a suitable artist to have further discussion." (Interviewee TNL1)

An intermediary can also be a practitioner who is familiar with the administrative system implemented by public sectors, of which many creative people may not have the mindset or capabilities to deal with. Although there are more public initiatives aiming to promote cultural and creative industries, the critical issue as to whether such initiatives can be successful relies heavily on how the two sides communicate with each other. Talented people, however, inherently have a very different logic and language from public servants. Accordingly, an intermediary plays a key role in interpreting for both sides.

> "The administrative system in the public sector is rather complex and the process is quite strict. But this is something designers or artists don't appreciate. Thus, we need a project manager…It is not possible to bring practitioners together if there is no such a role." (Interviewee TNM1)

In this case study, there is a local organisation[6], 'trusted by locals and practitioners' (Interviewee TNM3). They aim to coordinate practitioners who are working in the area to prevent a newcomer from working on the same type of practice which has been undertaken by an existing practitioner. In addition, they try to negotiate with landlords to ensure affordable rent for junior practitioners. Such an intermediary organisation makes a difference and helps to bring the locals and practitioners together.

Members of a locality of clustering can be diverse, which can lead to difficulties in communication. Furthermore, practitioners tend to have intense relationships with local communities and since various public initiatives have been implemented in this district, these factors may make communication rather complex. As a result, an intermediary plays a crucial role to curate these contacts and resources so that practitioners can benefit from them.

6.3 Connection with localities

6.3.1 A preferred city to live and work

When it comes to why clustering of creative talents takes place in specific places, Scott (1999) suggests an economic advantage is a major benefit of being mutually accessible for creative workers and firms. Florida (2015) argues for the consumption aspect of a city where a city with a better quality of cultural life can be attractive to the creative class; however, less attention has been paid to a production-led discussion which focuses on preferable places of which cultural and creative practitioners seek. That is, a preferred place to live and work is a vital factor that leads to clustering of cultural and creative practitioners in specific places.

> "Taipei, maybe a trip for a few days, but not for living there. Instead, Tainan is a city suitable for working and living." (Interviewee TNL2)

The first quality of Tainan City that makes it a preferred place to live and work is the texture of the city. Tainan City has been a hub for migrant creative talents, those who

6

seek out a different living philosophy, i.e., a slower-paced lifestyle. Integrated with its profound development of history and culture, it creates a unique texture which is distinct from other cities in Taiwan.

One critical aspect of the unique texture of the city is its slowness (Mayer and Knox 2006). In contrast with the other 5 municipalities, Tainan has a thickness of history and culture which makes it a historical city with a slower pace of life. Cultural assets are accessible in everyday life and the buildings in the city are, in most situations, likely to be lower. This generates an atmosphere which reflects the calm and slow faces of the city which practitioners appreciate. This aspect also impacts cultural and creative practices.

> "The living pace is slow, which is ideal for deep thinking…You have to be physically in the environment and then you would be able to experience the spirit of it. Once you have a sense of it, this would be embedded into your design practice." (Interviewee TNM3)

One interviewee highlights the importance of an immersion into such a slower-paced environment and explains that it leads to varied ways of conducting cultural and creative practices.

> "For example, designers in Taipei they might go through a design process really quick and that they might lose something, but here we are applying Tainan's style which we slower the process to accumulate our thoughts." (Interviewee TNL3)

The history and culture are two vital parts consisting of the texture of Tainan, a historical city full of stories. The City Government introduces Tainan as the starting point to understand the history of Taiwan, and Tainan City, although having given way to Taipei City as the capital of the island, is still widely recognised as the cultural capital of Taiwan. The history and culture are embedded in civil life in various ways, and this generates a unique texture to the city, which influences practitioners' creations.

> "My design content is from Tainan. Like my first few series, they are more like my impression of Tainan. And I think compared to my hometown, I have much intensive connection with Tainan." (Interviewee TNM4)

Another aspect that makes Tainan a preferred city to work and live is its culture. Since Tainan is widely recognised as the historical cultural capital of Taiwan, it has been accommodating various cultural assets, both material and non-material, for centuries. This enables the cultivation of a cultural scene within the city which is attractive to practitioners.

> "For me, whether I appreciate the culture or not is my first consideration. It is the most important one…I was thinking if I had to leave Taipei, Tainan is one of the two places I thought I would like to live." (Interviewee TNM2)

More specifically, the preferred Tainan's culture is old house, which is something cultural and creative practitioners seek as a local practitioner said, "Because there are many old houses in this district, which is what people migrate here are looking for." (Interviewee TNL1). As cultural and creative practices tend to reflect certain characteristics of a locality, old residential houses obtain a retro and a rather human atmosphere which can reflect the embeddedness of cultural and creative practices; thus, practitioners appreciate such used spaces.

> "I appreciate the texture of being used and time." (Interviewee TNM1)
> "Old houses got a texture which only exists after being used. It reveals human personality not utility." (Interviewee TNM3)

Particularly for practitioners whose practice has an intense relationship with the local culture, old houses can reflect their practice since both their practice and the old house are rooted in the locality. As a result, such old and used spaces fit their practice which is within the same cultural context. Furthermore, the concept of 'Old House New Life' coincides with approaches that practitioners apply to their practice, i.e., applying 'old' culture elements to their creative practice. In that sense, old houses are ideal to accommodate a cultural and creative practice and become one key consideration for a practitioner's location.

> "It literally fit my design bags." (Interviewee TNL2)
> "The old house matches my design so much." (Interviewee TNM4)

The second aspect of Tainan's culture that is preferred is its alleys, particularly in the Old Five Channels Cultural Zone. The alleys have been housing civil living for generations. The cultural landscape is unique where various and diverse cultural

elements are densely populated in the winding alleys. A local practitioner describes an alley as a place for exploring surprises.

> "You would find something new in the alleys or even from this whole old city. For example, when you walk in the alleys, you may find a special store or a special and lovely corner. I find this city full of surprises, thus I am enjoying it." (Interviewee TNL1)

Furthermore, alleys are not merely a preference, but they can be beneficial for practitioners' cultural and creative businesses. For instance, one interviewee introduces an example of touring his clients in the alleys and said:

> "I love the winding alleys in this district. When my clients visit me, I can take them to the alleys and tell them stories of Tainan, which I heard from the Chief of Village or senior practitioners." (Interviewee TNL3)

Apart from the attractions and surprises in the alleys, the temples are the other well identified and unique characteristic of Tainan.

> "I think the most precious thing of Tainan is the culture in the allies…especially the temple culture." (Interviewee TNM2)

Overall, the profound history, culture and a slower-paced living style have generated a unique texture of the city, which cultural and creative practitioners prefer and appreciate to live and work. This is not merely about preference for a place, but it enables the embeddedness of cultural and creative works. This, thus, creates a symbolic value for the cultural and creative practice.

6.3.2 Production benefit

The normative notion of clustering, either in manufacturing or cultural production, has been perceived as the co-location of individuals or firms in a related production or value chain. Since Tainan used to be a manufacturing hub of small home appliances, design was involved in the whole production process of home appliances. Furthermore, design, to some extent, is dependent on other industries. Thus, this leads to the co-location of production partners where design has a role in it.

> "Design firms follow industrial agglomeration." (Interviewee TNM3).

Another interviewee who is also a product designer expresses the same perspective while she explains how she works with bamboo weavers in Tainan.

> "It's hard to form an independent industry for design itself. Design, more or less, is like a skill. It will have a very good opportunity if it is with other sectors." (Interviewee TNM2).

Designers with design brands and products may actively look for production partners and collaborators; thus, a place with industrial resources can be an advantage which cultural and creative practitioners may consider. As stated earlier, Tainan City has a past of accommodating factories and skilled workers in either home appliances, textile or garment industries; this, then, becomes a critical advantage of Tainan when it comes to consideration of location for designers of this case study. For example, one interviewee who is a shoe designer appreciates the industrial support Tainan has been providing to her design practice.

> "Because I was studying here, and my subcontractors are also here…I would go to see my subcontractors to find materials when we are making prototypes." (Interviewee TNM4)

Furthermore, as independent designers are in most cases running their businesses on a micro scale, if production factories or skilled workers can take on small orders, this is attractive for designers. For example, an interviewee explains how she decided to move to Tainan regarding her consideration for her design furnishing production.

> "The bamboo in Tainan is softer so it's suitable for weaving and also because craft makers here, they are willing to do small amount of mass production." (Interviewee TNM2)

Makers, skills and knowledge of temple craft are additional production benefits which cultural and creative practitioners can receive in Tainan. For instance, one interviewee was inspired by a local temple craft maker while they were working on a project.

> "I was delighted that I can be recognised by the master and he can trust me and share with me his hand sketches. Thus, I can apply them to my product design." (Interviewee TNM2)

The production advantages Tainan City can offer to cultural and creative workers are considerable factors which incentivise practitioners to locate to Tainan. The production support that is available may subsequently lead to the invention of new design and production models, which enable a product to maintain the texture of craftsmanship (Ocejo 2017) while at the same time enhance productivity.

> "I was integrating 30% of mass production skills and 70% of handmade skills then 70% of mass production and 30% of handmade to my products." (Interviewee TNM2)

While designers in this case study do not locate in the same administrative districts with their production partners or resources they are all in Tainan City and within an hour's distance if driving. This shows that distance becomes a peripheral consideration, particularly for practitioners in the design sector.

> "At first, I was mainly doing design service, so it had nothing to do with whether I was close to the origin of the material." (Interviewee TNL3)
> "If we just do design service, I think we can locate at other places." (Interviewee TNM4)

In short, this case study demonstrates the production advantages that a place can offer can be an incentive to encourage cultural and creative practitioners to locate closely with production partners or services. This may be particularly obvious to cultural and creative sectors which rely on other sectors or industries, such as design, which this case study presents. Specifically, for those who have their own design brands and products, production advantages are one of critical factors considered when it comes to location; nevertheless, cultural and creative practitioners may not be locating to the same locality as their production partners, revealing that distance may be a peripheral consideration whereas the texture and atmosphere of a locality can be more critical (discussed in the following sections).

6.3.3 Links with the locality and embeddedness

The discussion on clustering of cultural and creative practitioners is in most cases likely to be linked to the notion of creative cities, where the concept has been applied to many cities and countries as a reference for policymaking; however, such an approach overlooks the importance of context, i.e., situated dynamics (Lin 2018). This research instead points to an embeddedness of imperatives regarding the situated dynamics of varied clustering of cultural and creative practitioners.

Based on positive relationships between practitioners and the local communities and a preference for the place to live and work, these factors enable practitioners to have a better understanding and develop an intense relationship with the locality. As a result, this influences their practice. Following that, this research specifically examines the embeddedness of cultural and creative practice to investigate the local context and know about the specific development of cultural and creative activities in varied places.

In this case study, embeddedness can be presented mainly in how practitioners' cultural and creative practices have connected to the locality either with local culture, history or community. The embeddedness, however, is cultivated from living where they can develop a deeper understanding and connection with the city.

> "I live in this district. I am always joking that once I go out of this district, I got lost…because I was born here, for me Tainan is a place of freedom…So it become so normal that you would care and would explore it." (Interviewee TNL1)

Living experiences influence cultural and creative practices; that is to say, practitioners' works are not a random artistic or creative expression of themselves. Instead, practitioners prefer to develop works that reflect the local context. This becomes a unique characteristic of cultural and creative industries, which has rarely been discussed in the mainstream research.

> "We became closer to the local resident and this enhances our connection with the locality…each of the works got its background context and meaning (referring to local context). It was not just painting something on a wall." (Interviewee TNL1)

Referring to embeddedness of practice, as Tainan City is the oldest city of Taiwan and used to be the capital of the island, it is a city of rich culture and prolonged history. The culture and history are an asset of the city, which then becomes inspiration for ideas in a cultural and creative practice. Practitioners immersed in such an environment would have their practice embedded in the culture and reflect specific cultural features of the place of their practice.

> "Because I love the culture here and this is the reason I stayed…My design content is from Tainan. Like my first cup of series, they are more like my

impression of Tainan." (Interviewee TNM4)

In this case study, residents have been engaged in the processes of creation in cultural and creative work. This further enables practitioners' works to be rooted in the locality, i.e., their work can reflect the local culture, history or perspectives. In many cases, practitioners conduct 'field research' first and then apply the materials they collect to develop their creations.

> "We would tell artists about the local context before we start creation at the place…for example one of the artists brought her students with her to interview local people asking peoples' thoughts on Highan Road like its' history, presence and its future." (Interviewee TNL1)

History of a locality is another element that practitioners apply to their practice so that their practice can connect with the locality in which they are situated. For instance, an interviewee introduces one of his successful projects, in which he managed to persuade the commissioner to take a historical approach to redesigning an old building:

> "Like Lin department, I was in support with the idea that it should be a department store which it used to be. And I also think the sale category for each floor should be the same as past, and event windows should be transparent like it used to be, not covered up like department stores we have nowadays." (Interviewee TNM1)

Another aspect of embeddedness of cultural and creative practice that is of importance is that the works created by practitioners should present a piece of lost memory belonging to local communities. Such a practice is highly connected to the local context and consists of a collective memory shared by residents.

> "The whole idea of my work is for reminding the public this is where a house/a home used to be. It might accommodate one family or even more than one family under the same roof." (Interviewee TNM1)

In short, clustering of cultural and creative workers in this case study reveals an intense relationship with the locality in which they are situated. The relationship demands two-way interactions between practitioners and the local communities, as discussed earlier in this research; furthermore, the relationship also relies on practitioners having a deep understanding of the local culture and history from their living. As a result,

cultural and creative practice is not merely a way of making a living with a clear division between working and living; instead, living and working are interwoven and embedded in the locality. Based on this finding, this research argues that the embeddedness of cultural and creative practice in a locality varies from clustering of technological innovators which is often referred to in modern policymaking.

6.4 Conclusion

The analysis of this case study shows the vital role that the local community plays in both forming a cluster and sustaining its development. A welcoming local community is imperative since it can generate a sense of belonging and certainty for cultural and creative workers as they are deemed to work in a volatile and precarious environment. Furthermore, this case study reveals the necessity of good communication between cultural and creative workers and the local community to mutually envision the future of the cluster and locality. As Tainan City is a city of thick culture and history, the local community is acting a role to share the local culture, stories and history with cultural and creative workers, which they can then apply in their practices.

The texture of the city, i.e., slower living pace, history and culture of the city, generates a unique atmosphere in the locality that various cultural and creative workers appreciate. This is a strong link to why Tainan City is a preferred locality in which to live and work, enabling cultural and creative workers to cultivate an intense relationship with the locality, which gradually influences their practice. As a result, their practices are embedded in the place in which they have situated and can reflect the local context and perspectives; hence, the analysis of this case study also reveals the embedded nature of cultural and creative practices. Locality in this case study is unique due to its long-term development as an old cultural, economic and political capital. Tainan City's history of accommodating various industries and house skilled workers put in place industrial and technical supports that are a vital incentive since interviewees of this case study are mainly product designers.

The analysis of this case study shows no specific untraded social relation among the cultural and creative workers whereas they are most likely to have interactions when conducting a specific practice; thus, interactions such as collaboration, learning or sharing takes place among cultural and creative workers of this case study. Furthermore, as people become more mobile and due to technology, networks of interaction are indifferent to the geographical boundaries of the locality in which cultural and creative workers are situated, which might further weaken the interactive relationship among cultural and creative workers.

In short, this chapter introduces the local culture and community as two crucial factors which have an impact on cluster development and cultural and creative practices.

Chapter 7: Social interaction as a key component of a designer community (case study 3)

This case study presents a designer cluster in Taipei City, the capital of Taiwan, and demonstrates a rather distinct context of clustering compared to the previous case studies. The analysis of this case study presents social interaction as a crucial aspect of clustering of cultural and creative workers. The practices of cultural and creative workers in this case show less of a connection with the locality since design services are the main business.

The analysis of this case study represents a typical urban cultural and creative cluster in which economic-related considerations played were key in the formation of the cluster. Along with traded interaction, this case study reflects the importance of affective connection between cultural and creative workers. Since those interviewed in the case study were mostly in the early stage of their careers, they might have similar thoughts or experiences that they can share with each other. The analysis of this chapter is conducted with a similar structure as chapter five, namely (1) social interaction between cultural and creative workers, (2) Management and support from an intermediary and (3) connection with localities.

7.1 Social interaction between cultural and creative workers

7.1.1 Sharing and learning

Cultural and creative practitioners are in most cases likely to be either individuals or micro-scaled, a situation which would not enable them to be self-sufficient. The lack of sufficient support and resources may threaten their long-term development. Sharing, which is one of the well-recognised benefits of clustering, between creative practitioners within a creative cluster can provide practitioners with various support and resources such as information, professional knowledge or tools, all of which are vital for their creative practices.

Whether creative practitioners within the same cluster would have interactions with one another depends on various and sometimes complex factors; therefore, this case study shows that clustering, particularly working in the same building, can foster interaction between creative practitioners and enable sharing and exchange among practitioners. Regarding information sharing, a creative cluster is an environment where various information can be sourced since each member is an information provider.

"Such as where to buy cheaper printer inks, what projects have been released,

> which exhibition is worth attending or looking for subcontractors. Such information exchange is helpful…It's all very basic but practical." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)

The accessibility of information is another aspect of sharing within a cluster. This research argues that it is crucial since short notification of a collaboration or commission is often the case in the cultural and creative industries, thus, a quick response needs to be backed by sufficient information. An interviewee appreciated the instant access of sourcing information while working with other creative practitioners in the same cluster:

> "There are many design studios here. And our professions are quite similar, thus it could be instant to have interaction or share information with each other. This might be different from working alone." (said a product designer[7])

Furthermore, information sharing can be vital in terms of helping creative practitioners keep up with the latest industry trends, which to some extent can ensure their survival in competitive and fast-changing industries. In this case study, it shows that information flow is so intense that practitioners sometimes receive information unintentionally.

> "It won't be good if a designer isolate himself/herself and know nothing about the latest information…Someone may visit my studio and tell me the up-to-date news that I don't know. Unconsciously you will access the information." (Interviewee TP1)

As cultural and creative industries are often seen as precarious and volatile, working in cultural and creative industries is challenging. Particularly in Taiwan, the domestic market of cultural and creative industries is not yet mature enough in scale to fully support the creative practitioners of Taiwan, which makes the situation more challenging; hence, sharing information can be critical in terms of enabling creative practitioners to be more conscious of opportunities or challenges they may be faced with, and to plan accordingly.

> "I tend to share information with them because I think the current circumstance of design industry is quite bad, and if the information is not open nor exchanged, the whole industry will not be good…I can let everyone know what I'm doing,

[7] The quote is from an interview of a designer who used to situate in the same creative hub there. The material is from secondary data collected from a website.

thus, information is open and accessible. Once we don't hide information, the whole cluster would be better." (Interviewee TP3)

Apart from sharing general information, sharing practical and professional knowledge and know-how among practitioners within the same cluster is of exceptional importance, particularly for younger practitioners who may have established their studios or career relatively recently. For instance, an interviewee who just established her first studio when moving in the cluster said:

"I was not familiar with industrial design as I established my studio. People here provided me many know-hows and techniques…And then, you would know what you can do and what you cannot." (Interviewee TP6)

Furthermore, the content of knowledge sharing is not limited to creative practices; indeed, personal experiences outside of the creative process are considered precious information that practitioners of the same cluster share with each other. This sort of personal experience sharing and exchange relies on affective relationships, which this research highlighted earlier. For example, an interviewee, who shared a space with a more senior and experienced practitioner, appreciated what he learned from his counterpart and said:

"Except for questions of design, it's easy to get help for other things... Because I do not have experiences working in big corporates, thus I can also ask them how to manage a company. And the director of HAN Gallery taught me a lot. He is like my teacher. He is a senior who had various experiences. He helped me to understand many things." (Interviewee TP1)

In this case study, since many practitioners in the cluster are product designers, making prototypes is an important component of their practices. With this in mind, a creative cluster is not only a talent pool for employers/practitioners to find talents to work with, but it can also be a supporting group which can provide various ideas to support each other's design products. In addition, they can provide professional and practical advice on prototypes which would be useful to create a better product.

"Everyone got blind spots, thus it's better to have more people…We often place our prototypes in the common space, we would have discussion while they pass by. Such as the studio next to us, they are doing craft design, so we would give some suggestions to the furniture they are doing." (Interviewee TP2)

This case study also shows that a creative cluster is group of people who speak the same or at least a similar language, which can make sharing advice on prototypes more constructive and useful if they need to modify the prototypes. Two of the interviewees explain how they received constructive feedback from other members of the cluster.

> "Because we are all in design industry, we would invite them to test our products. You would get practical feedback from them quickly. And they understand why you did it this way, so they won't think your product is strange. It's rather better than looking for random people to do the test." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Tool sharing is also an important aspect of sharing among creative practitioners. From an economic point of view, sharing tools is a cost-effective benefit of clustering since practitioners are mostly micro-scaled. Having to shoulder the cost of all production facilities would increase cost for practitioners; therefore, borrowing and sharing tools with others becomes a practical and important benefit of clustering.

> "Things like borrowing camera or electronic drill, in some sense, this can reduce our cost. Because we are all micro-scaled, obtaining all tools would add up our costs." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

The sharing of production tools can gradually form a mechanism where creative practitioners share production facilities and eventually know who to approach when looking for certain tools for production. For example, an interviewee described:

> "Sometime as we were making prototypes and we did not have certain tools so we can borrow tools from our neighbouring studios. We share tools with each other and that formed an ecosystem." (Interviewee TP2)

The other aspect of sharing this case study identified is being open and honest with other practitioners within the same cluster. Practitioners of this case study tend not to hide from each other to obtain the advantage; instead, based on a sense of trust among practitioners, they are willing to share their up-to-date working circumstances.

> "We don't worry too much about sharing our businesses information. I seldom hide from other designers what I'm undertaking nor prevent to tell them." (Interviewee TP1)

A sense of trust also leads to sharing business opportunities, which is seen as confidential in most business scenarios. This research argues that affective connections, which can lead to the creation of trust between practitioners, enables them to be open and willing to share or introduce business opportunities with each other.

> "We worked independently but helped each other. For example, as other designers were consulted to take a design project but if they thought it was not suitable for them but may be rather suitable for us, they would generously introduce the project to us, and we did the same to them." (Interviewee TP2)
>
> "Sometimes we would invite buyers to visit here and would also introduce other designers to the buyers. This might lead to future collaboration." (Interviewee TP6)

In short, creative practitioners can benefit from sharing with other practitioners when they co-locate in the same locality. An interviewee emphasises its advantages, 'I think the advantages of sharing resources with each other outweigh the disadvantages…it could lead to various collaboration opportunities.' (Interviewee TP6) This research argues that sharing among practitioners can only happen once an affective connection or a sense of trust is established between creative practitioners who cluster in the same locality. Sharing is cost-effective since creative practitioners are in most cases likely to be either individual or micro-scaled, meaning they may be not able to be self-sufficient in terms of their creative practices and careers. This case study recognises that sharing takes different forms from sharing general information to sharing and learning practice-related knowledge to learning from personal experiences and even sharing commercial opportunities.

7.1.2 Interaction: Collaboration and informal interactions among creative practitioners

The interactions among practitioners are a mixture of formal and informal situations. Formal interactions are defined as task-oriented, such as project collaborations, whereas informal interactions are often random and take varied forms, such as visiting, chatting or sharing meals, etc. The formal interactions between practitioners can be relatively easy for researchers to access while informal interactions are hard to predict and examine. As a result, less research has been done on informal interactions among creative practitioners. This case study draws on informal interactions among practitioners and argues its importance in stimulating informal collaboration and strengthening the connections among practitioners within the same cluster.

Regarding formal interactions, a creative cluster is a talent pool (Scott 1999) but the relationships among members of the cluster are based on collaborations rather than employers and employees. Since cultural and creative workers are likely to be either freelancers or micro-scaled, they may not be able to take on a project that requires various talents to complete. A talent pool in a creative cluster provides easier access to approach talents for collaboration since practitioners within the same cluster may already know each other via various formal and informal interactions; hence, they can team up to work on a project in a relatively short time.

> "For example, the tea party project, it integrates various professions to get involved, such as it needs fashion design, furniture and product design and even graphic design… This is the advantage of being here. I call it as a network connection, we got many related industries here, and it's better to work here than work individually." (said a product designer[8])
>
> "Previously, as I curated an exhibition, I first approached designers in this cluster to look for their products/works that I could involve in the exhibition. So, I can quickly find exhibition items from them." (said a product designer[9])

Ease of approaching partners to collaborate with can become a factor that could cause creative practitioners to situate in the same locality since co-location can provide efficient and cost-effective ways to collaborate. An interviewee said, 'The reason why I situated here is that many designers we collaborated situated here, so I think it's better to work here with them rather than renting elsewhere. And it's more convenient to have discussion with each other.' (said a product designer[10]) Collaboration can also be a way to expand a social network since a creative cluster is where practitioners are densely populated, thus, it provides accessibility to more talents via collaboration. For instance, a designer of this cluster mentioned:

> "I think it's quite good to work in such space because I can meet different designers. Because we got our own exhibitions, we can connect designers together throughout the exhibition, and I would be able to know more designers from them." (said a director of a design curation studio[11])

[8] The quote is from an interview of a designer who used to situate in the same creative hub there. The material is from secondary data collected from a website.
[9] See above.
[10] See above.
[11] See above.

A creative cluster does not only provide access to talents for collaboration and expanding social networks; since members of the same cluster know each other relatively well via various formal and informal interactions, instant access to form a team to work on a project becomes vital in such a challenging and competitive environment. In that sense, a creative cluster is where practitioners can build alliances to face competition and challenge as one interviewee shared his experiences of working in China:

> "I think most of design companies in Taiwan are small-scale and recently I think we need to take projects which might involve integrated skills……thus, we would invite studios in this cluster to take part and collaborate with us. For example, one can do graphic design, one can do space design, etc. We could run a bigger project by collaboration...I think we did learn from each other when we are allies with each other." (Interviewee TP1)

Apart from formal collaboration, informal interactions among creative practitioners takes place constantly in this case study. Such information interaction may not have instant or direct impact on practitioners' creative practices, however, it further strengthens connections and relationships among practitioners within the cluster and some collaboration has been created by that.

In this case study, due to the original design of the warehouse and distribution centre of Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Cooperation and the curation by the management team, all the studios are on the same floor with a linear order and, as a result, practitioners have more opportunities to meet each other, thus, it generates more contact between practitioners in a subtle way. This also creates opportunities for practitioners to be aware of the latest projects that other practitioners may be conducting, as well as the circumstances of the sectors. In this sense, merely being aware of what other practitioners are doing can be helpful as interviewees appreciate such indirect contact with other practitioners within the cluster:

> "I think this is a very good model as we can see what other designers are doing at any time and knowing their latest circumstance or what exhibitions or products they are running." (Interviewee TP3)
> "You can see what projects other designers are running and it's also good for mutual stimulation in terms of ideas." (Interviewee TP1)

Since members of this cluster are all professional talents and specialise within a specific expertise, if it is not for project collaboration, the interactions among practitioners tend to be informal, which plays a crucial role in building relationships among creative practitioners. Informal interactions take various forms and connect closely to their lives and enrich practitioners' working experiences in the cluster.

> "We would say hello to each other and say good-bye as we head off. We would also go to other studios to have a chat after having meals together…We like the feeling which many studios working together, sometimes we hold parties, go to other's studios, borrowing stuffs or having a chat, etc." (Interviewee TP4 &TP5)

The informality blurs the boundaries of relationships among cultural and creative workers, as well as between work and personal life, which may be quite common in cultural and creative industries. The informal interactions with other practitioners have transformed relationships between practitioners within the same cluster. They are not only career partners/colleagues, but they also become friends in their lives and career. Such relationships strengthen their connections, and, based on that, via informal interactions, more formal collaborations can also be discussed and generated.

> "I think designers are, in a way, quite isolated. Interaction is quite rare. But this cluster provided a platform for interaction. We not only work here but also visit others and have a chat…I think working here is like parts of life and closely bound together with my life, for example I often invite other designers to have lunch together. Although we are often busy doing our own works, we go out for a meal together, we would discuss what we are doing or to know whether there is anything interesting that we can do together, or we would also share some work of a project once it's overloaded." (Interviewee TP1)

Clustering, however, cannot guarantee intense interaction between creative practitioners. The potential for interaction rests on individual personalities where introverted practitioners may find it difficult to get along with other practitioners, which may be a negative for the development of a creative cluster as an interviewee claimed:

> "I think it's better to have someone to chat with, but this may depend on personality. I'm a person who likes to go to others' studios and chat with them and ask what they are doing……if everyone is shy and does not chat with

others, it would be like working in a regular office." (Interviewee TP3)

To sum this up, interactions among creative practitioners within the same cluster can generally be divided into two main categories: formal and informal. Formal interactions are task-oriented, such as project collaborations. A creative cluster is a talent pool where practitioners can find it relatively easy to search for ideal partners with which to work on a project; further, working within the same cluster is efficient and cost-effective due to short distance and the ability to have face-to-face discussions.

Informal interactions take various forms, ranging from visiting each other and holding parties to having a chat and generating ideas for collaboration. The informal interactions can further strengthen relationships and connections among creative practitioners, and such informal interactions also blur the boundaries of relationships among creative practitioners. Often, they are not only career partners, but they also become friends. Based on the transformation and intensifying of relationships and connections, informal interactions can also generate possibilities of later collaboration.

7.1.3 Professional identity and affective connection

Participation in cultural and creative sectors is often seen as volatile (McGuigan 2010) and precarious (Gill and Pratt 2008; Ocejo 2017). For instance, the Taiwan Cultural and Creative Industries Annual Report (the Ministry of Culture 2018) shows that more than 80% of participants in the cultural and creative sectors are either individuals or micro-scaled enterprises. Furthermore, cultural and creative practitioners are likely to experience professional isolation (Gibson et al 2010), which makes participation with cultural and creative industries even tougher.

To tackle the challenging nature of working in cultural and creative industries, this case study shows that affective connections between creative practitioners is exceptionally important, particularly for junior practitioners and practitioners who run their career in a micro scale. The connection is not merely about friendship, but it refers to a professional identity through which cultural and creative practitioners can understand the difficulties or challenges that many have been through regarding their practice, as well as value each other's practice. In that sense, affective connection between practitioners can be of exceptional importance in terms of supporting and securing practitioners in a volatile and precarious career. One aspect of a professional identity and affective connection is identifying commonalities between practitioners. One interviewee explains their appreciation of working collectively with other practitioners in URS21.

> "When you walk in and you know every studio is about the same size, working in such environment is different from working in an office of a big corporate. The energy is also different." (Interviewee TP4)

The commonalities then can be of help to create certain affective connections between creative practitioners while they cluster in specific localities. Cultivating the connection and identity can generate a collective and supportive atmosphere which may be attractive to creative practitioners. Such an atmosphere can be encouraging and, thus, help practitioners to build up confidence in their creative careers.

> "You would feel confident as you know everyone is doing the same thing, and you would know that you can also give it a try, and it would become more serious." (Interviewee TP1)

Because practitioners are working in a volatile and precarious condition, as well as being in the early stages of a cultural and creative career, the affective support from other practitioners is crucial. For example, talking about and sharing challenges and difficulties can help strengthen connections between practitioners. In this case study, it shows that working collectively in the same cluster enables practitioners to better understand each other and, thus, make it more likely to share and talk about difficulties and challenges they have been through or are currently facing.

> "I think we have got something in common in our professions, so there are a few journeys of hard times that I've been through which only designers in this cluster can understand. Like the neighbour, a fashion designer, we often have discussion of design ideas and share some difficulties I'm facing, and suddenly I realised that he is faced with the same problems." (Interviewee TP6)

This, then, strengthens affective connection among practitioners who cluster in the same locality. For example, an interviewee indicates one of the benefits of clustering.

> "We can give warmth to each other and mutually encourage each other." (Interviewee TP2)

However, working collectively in the same cluster does not guarantee connections with others. The establishment of such an affective connection may depend on individuals.

> "I think the benefit of clustering may be affective support...But this is limited to someone I am really familiar with." (Interviewee TP6)

In short, this case study demonstrates the role affective relationships play in connecting practitioners who cluster in the same locality. The establishment of affective connections rests on recognition of commonalities among practitioners, which can be that they are in the same stage in their career or have faced the same or similar difficulties and challenges. This, then, can lead to cultivation of mutual identity among practitioners, i.e., a professional identity, which can help practitioners to overcome professional isolation. This is also vital to tackle the precarious and volatile nature of working in cultural and creative industries. This research argues that such an affective connection and professional identity are the foundation of further and subsequent interactions among creative practitioners who cluster in the same locality.

7.2 Management and support of an intermediary

Intermediary individuals or organisations play an important role in creative and/or cultural industries. They are the bridge creative practitioners require to access other aspects of expertise that can benefit their practices and careers. In this case study, JUT is the management team who is commissioned by the Taipei City Government to conduct the project of URS 21. The intermediary tasks they have done, including connecting practitioners and management of the site, have been appreciated by members of the cluster.

> "JUT is like a landlord who is very professional at managing all the details, and I think this role is very important as it could decrease our burden of managing the environment. They act like a parents' role, which in a way is invisible as everything is under control, but you will feel the inconvenience once they are gone." (Interviewee TP4 &TP5)

Among all the components of a creative cluster, the people factor is central and decisive. How to involve creative practitioners and connect them to form a community is a challenging but crucial task in terms of the success of a cluster. In this case study, JUT plays an important and active role in connecting practitioners, who locate in the site of URS 21, by holding various internal events. The action has been recognised by practitioners as vital and they appreciate the effort the management team has put into that.

> "When we just moved in, everyone was shy...but JUT hold a few events, and

then we got to know each other and became familiar with others." (Interviewee TP3)

"In the very beginning, we were not familiar with each other. But JUT held a small exhibition, which each of us can provide something we like, it was like a house-warming party…They make our community feel like a community." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

In terms of assisting members of the cluster with their creative practices or careers, since JUT is an organisation which has been engaged in arts, culture, design and architecture for years, they already have a strong network in place, thus, they can further promote the cluster and the practitioners of URS 21, which can be helpful for practitioners' exposure to wider audiences.

"They would publish our information on their website, which for us is an extra mean to access potential customers." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Apart from the efforts of making a community and supporting the members with publicity of the cluster and talents of the cluster, management of the site is also important. On the one hand, this is a profession which creative practitioners may not be good at, or it may take practitioners too much time and energy if the site is a collective working environment like this cluster. As a result, a professional management team is needed as two interviewees express their appreciation of such service:

"You know designers don't like to do the management. If we can have a manager or a management team, it would be great." (Interviewee TP3)

More specifically, since creative practitioners are most likely to be either individual or micro-scaled, they do not have the resources to be self-sufficient. Thus, it is of extreme help to have assistance with management or administrative works.

"Such as collecting mails, there are always people there. This is very important because we are all small-scaled studios and sometimes we need to go out (for meeting or visiting others)." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Accordingly, this support ensures creative practitioners can spend more time on their practices and careers, which is exceptionally important for individual or micro-scaled practitioners like a member of the cluster said, 'I think management is important as well.

JUT takes care of that and we only need to focus on our works/businesses. Thus, this is a better environment for designers.'

Furthermore, since the site is a collective working space, JUT then sets up rules to maintain the space in an orderly and tidy fashion. This ensures the quality of the environment of the site that benefits practitioners working at the URS 21. Two interviewees consider the effort to be subtle but crucial and said: 'They would also maintain the environment and set up rules for working here, and this could let us know what is accepted. All these things are subtle but very important if we would like to work here together.' (Interviewee TP4 & TP5) What is unique about the management services JUT offers to members of the cluster is that it is tailored exclusively for practitioners of the cluster. An interviewee explained the two-way discussion with JUT in terms of the management of the site:

> "We thought JUT was always thinking how to make the management of the site better, thus they discussed with us quite often, and the communication between us was smooth. They slightly modified the management during the period (in order to meet our needs)." (Interviewee TP2)

In short, the intermediary actors, such as gatekeepers or management teams, are important in cultural and creative industries. It is particularly vital when initially establishing a cluster to connect members of the cluster and to form a community. A successful intermediary person or organisation can successfully curate the connections and relationships between members of a cluster. Management is the other important aspect of the intermediary role. Since creative practitioners are, in most cases, likely to be individual or micro-scaled, they often do not have extra time and professional know-how to take care of various aspects of management. It is time-consuming and not cost-effective. Thus, a professional management team who can maintain the site is important, and, as a result, creative practitioners can focus more on their practices and careers.

7.3 Connection with localities: A preferred locality to work

When it comes to location, a production perspective regarding the non-economic preferences for work location for which cultural and creative practitioners may seek is rarely discussed. The previous sections discussed how cultural and creative practitioners tend to locate to a preferred locality for both living and working whereas in this case study, practitioners seek an ideal locality in which to work. An interviewee points to the distinct local culture when seeking for relocation of their studio. Culture,

in that sense, is not merely about preferences, but can also generate impacts on cultural and creative practices.

> "We had been looking for a place with distinct culture in Taipei for a long time, and here is an area of the new and the old. It is a very interesting place…I think design is like an object reflecting everyday life. This area helps us to discover various living styles there." (Interviewee TP2)

Although a locality is where cultural and creative practitioners work, the preference for a locality enables practitioners to further connect with the place in which they situate. This also enables their practice to be embedded in the locality. In this case study, practitioners consider the local culture to be a part of their practices which they can reflect through their works; additionally, it inspires practitioners to think about the connection between their works and the locality.

> "Because our studio is just behind our shop, thus we tend to stay here longer, it's like living here. And previously (in our former store) we tended to consider what we would like to say throughout our works, but here we would think about the connection between our works, lives and this area." (Interviewees TP7 & TP8)

In that sense, a preferred locality is not merely a place for work, it is also a place where practitioners can immerse themselves in the locality and enable their practice to be embedded with that locality. This, then, blurs the boundaries between work and living, which is one of the distinct characteristics of working in cultural and creative industries. For example, one interviewee points to an interesting living aspect of the area which she is unsure whether it may have impacts on her practice.

> "This area got different atmosphere than any other areas (in Taipei). For example, because it accommodates more migrants from the south, thus, the food is different, and more people speak Taiwanese. And the other big impact is the hospital. Sometimes you would see ill or disable people, and every time I see them, this makes me think of something and you could have a closer look of the world. I do not know how this would have impact on my design, but it does influence my brain." (Interviewee TP6)

This shows a living aspect of working in cultural and creative industries that there is not a clear-cut boundary between work and living. The living parts of a working locality, in some cases, can offer feedback to a cultural and creative practice.

The other aspect of a preferred locality is a welcoming local community. Cultural and creative practices tend to be embedded in the locality and this highlights a key role of a welcoming community regarding clustering of cultural and creative practitioners in specific places. In this case study, it shows that practitioners build up a positive relationship with the local community.

> "We are fairly familiar with the local neighbours in this block. We would greet with each other and share vegetables or fruits…Neighbours are kind and take care of young people who move here to establish businesses." (Interviewee TP9 & TP10)

The important role a local community can play in supporting the development of cultural and creative industries has also been recognised by the city government when the URS project was initiated. The project aims to revitalise urban regeneration spaces and expects to engage local communities to use the spaces which may be revitalised via cultural and/or creative approaches and ideas. In URS 21, it is not just a space for creative practitioners, but it is also used as a community centre, with the office of the Chief of the Village on the ground floor of the building. As a result, creative practitioners who locate in URS 21 can interact with the locals. This can become the foundation for a positive relationship between the creative community and the local community.

> "We also have frequent contact with the local community. The office of Chief of Village is at the ground floor, and we often gather together to attend worship memorials. It was a very special experience." (Interviewee TP2)

Apart from the culture of a preferred locality, a place with a support system is ideal and can be attractive to practitioners. The local support system provides creative practitioners locating in this locality with work and production supports and resources. For example, interviewees of this case study appreciate the living function this area can offer, such as transportation, food, healthcare, banking and printing services which makes their working experiences more ideal.

> "There are services which can satisfy us. It's the fairly basic thing, food…and

> outside this building, such as printing stores…and the transaction service, such as the post office and the bank are all very close." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)
> "The living function here is great and it makes our working more convenient. I think it's very convenient to see a doctor once you feel ill and there is a hospital within walking distance. The transportation is also convenient (with an MRT station within walking distance), and you got many options for food." (Interviewee TP3)

In particular, the area also accommodates various material shops/stores and small-scale manufacturing factories and individual masters, which an interviewee of this study describes as having a 'maker atmosphere' (Interviewee TP2). This is a unique characteristic of this locality and it is described as 'no other place like this in Taipei' (Interviewee TP2). Since practitioners of this case study are mostly product designers, their practice involves making and testing prototypes; thus, this is an ideal area for them as it is easy to find production materials.

> "It's also very close to Taiyuan Road and convenient to buy materials for making prototypes." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)
> "There are many resources for making stuff and materials such as iron street and stores of hand-made products…It was fairly easy to get materials, such as metal and there is a street selling wooden materials." (Interviewee TP2).

Apart from easy access to source various materials, this area also offers technical support to practitioners; particularly, the masters here provide professional services and can take small orders. This is exceptionally important for creative practitioners as they are mostly micro-scaled or individual.

> "Like Xingcheng Street, people there are willing to take your order even you just want to make one piece. It'll be very convenient working in this area. Often you can get there by riding your motor scooter or even by walk." (Said a director of a design gallery[12])

In some cases, masters of the area recommend creative practitioners to seek help from specific masters. This can be a crucial aspect and creative practitioners can really benefit from such a support system. Because looking for the other masters who can tackle the production problems may cost practitioners lots of time, energy and money if they lacked support, being in the locality and in the loop is vital.

[12] See above.

> "Once, we were even introduced to another master as the former one cannot offer the service we request, so we knew somewhere else that we can buy materials and have various services of making prototypes." (Interviewee TP2).

To sum up, an ideal locality to work is a vital factor when it comes to location. It is not merely for work purposes, although this is a crucial factor that interviewees of this case study point out, but it is also about the preference for a specific local culture. The work aspect of a preferred locality refers to the support system, including basic services such as banking, transportation or even food which make a better working environment. Furthermore, it is also about production support such as easy access to material purchasing and technical support from masters or factories which enables a smooth production process. In terms of the cultural aspect of a preferred locality to work, a welcoming local community plays a vital role in the development of clustering of cultural and creative practitioners. Furthermore, immersion to the locality enables practitioners to reflect local living and culture through their practice; thus, this research argues that a blurred boundary between work and living is a distinct characteristic of working in cultural and creative industries.

7.4 Conclusion

The analysis of this case study shows the intrinsic importance of affective connections among cultural and creative workers, which enables the establishment of both traded and untraded social relationships of cultural and creative workers. This case study also reveals that the design sector and designers can benefit from co-locating with a supporting force of a locality where resources for making prototypes provides better working facilities and services.

As interviewees of this case study were mostly in their early career stages, mutual identity and trust are vital to enhance further confidence in their cultural and creative career which are often deemed as uncertain and precarious. The affective connections, then, provide a basis for further interactions, mostly informal. Information sharing is a normal but valuable interaction that can make it more convenient for day-to-day work of cultural and creative workers, such as recommendations for subcontractors or where to buy specific tools or materials and the most up-to-date trend of the design sector. The information can save practitioners time while being cost-effective, which is vital for individual or micro-scaled cultural and creative enterprises. Furthermore, affective connections also lead to a unique sharing practice that cultural and creative workers

tend to share commercial opportunities with each other when they do not have availability or seek out other design professionals to work collectively.

Affective connections also enable the formation of a community of practice of design. Cultural and creative workers of the community of practice do not just share information, they also give professional suggestions to each other during processes of prototyping. This becomes a vital advantage that interviewees of this research appreciate. The cluster, then, is forming an audience pool where cultural and creative workers are the best users for each other.

Another key factor which makes the creative cluster work is the intermediary organisation, which in this case study is JUT. They play an important role in curating the working spaces and cultural and creative workers via various forms and events. In addition, they also provide professional services through site management, which makes the working environment more pleasant and saves the time and energy of cultural and creative workers so that they can concentrate on their practices. Because of the efforts of the management team, the URS 21 is considered a successful example of a cultural and creative cluster.

Finally, the development of this cluster is partly derived from a local support force through which the locality accommodates various skilled masters and material shops that assist designers of this cluster with making prototypes, which is a crucial process of design practice.

To sum up, the analysis of this case study demonstrates the importance of informal interactions among cultural and creative workers. This enables a cost-effective and more efficient working mechanism for individual designers or designers of micro-scale enterprises. Most important of all are the affective connections among cultural and creative workers which brings the social relationships and interactions alive.

Chapter 8: An integrated discussion of the three case studies

The three case studies represent varied developments and specialities of forming cultural and creative clusters. The case study of the east coast highlights the importance of the local indigenous culture and community in the formation of a wider community of practice, and represents a cluster in a rural locality. Referring to urban cases, Tainan's case demonstrates an unusual urban cluster in which the local culture and history are vital in the generation of an exclusive local cultural atmosphere, and, thus, being appealing to cultural and creative workers. Finally, Taipei's case shows that social interaction, both traded and untraded, between cultural and creative workers is vital.

Furthermore, this research shows innovative perceptions that differ from the normative cluster research, which might mainly focus on the economic dimension. The local social and cultural factors play vital roles in the formation of cultural and creative clusters rather than economic factors such as enhancing productivity or competitiveness. This also reveals the bottom-up aspect of cluster development and which leads this research to argue for the need to innovate and use this research to refocus the insight into clusters from a more micro perspective and that of the cultural and creative workers. The following discussion of the three case studies is presented with three major structures including individual perspective of clustering, local contexts of localities and the interactive aspect of clustering.

8.1 Understanding clustering from the perspective of individual cultural and creative workers

8.1.1 Micro-scale is the norm

As noted in the literature review, participation in cultural and creative industries is often seen as precarious, volatile and uncertain. The situation is a result of changes in the ways people work, i.e., most people who engage in cultural and creative industries are more likely to be either individuals or micro-scale enterprises, claims the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan. In the case of Taipei City, interviewees describe their career or business status as either small-scale or micro-scale while they explain the importance and benefits of working in the creative hub:

> "Such as collecting mails, there are always people there. This is very important because we are all small-scale studios and sometimes we need to go out (for meeting or visiting others)." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

> "Things like borrowing camera or electronic drill, in some sense, this can reduce our cost. Because we are all micro-scale, but having all tools would add up our costs." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Referring to cultural and creative workers on the east coast of Taiwan, interviewees of this case study are all independent individual artists. Together with the nature of artwork production, this leads to the cultural and creative workers of the east coast to face professional isolation (Gibson et al 2010) as an interviewee explained the process of artwork creation:

> "Creators are very lonely since we need to isolate ourselves for a period of long time to think and work." (Interviewee EI4)

The interviewee further described the isolated status as 'panicking' (Interviewee EI4). This might cause serious psychological challenges to cultural and creative workers if they also must cope with striking a balance between the social expectations of a so-called proper job and the personal aspirations for cultural and creative works. The interviewees of the east coast shared where the stress came from:

> "Your families may not understand what you are doing." (Interviewee EI3)
> "You are doing something you imagine at your own place every day…this makes me think that it seems I am the only person who stays at home and do not go to work." (Interviewee EN3)

8.1.2 Affective relation among cultural and creative workers

As a result of being either small-scale, micro-scale or individual, as well as considering the nature of the production of cultural and creative works, a cluster is where affective relationships are created. In the case study of Taipei City, interviewees refer to affective support as a benefit they acquire in the cluster but the affective relationships are shared with specific cultural and creative workers of the same cluster:

> "We can give warmth to each other and mutually encourage each other." (Interviewee TP2)
> "I think the benefit of clustering may be affective support...But this is limited to someone I am really familiar with." (Interviewee TP6)

For cultural and creative workers of the east coast, the affective relationships are intense since they might face more serious psychological challenges due to a battle between traditional indigenous values and personal passions and aspirations in arts. Two interviewees who are local indigenous artists explain the importance of affective relationships with other artists:

> "Your families may not understand what you are doing, but these people can, and we really get each other." (Interviewee EI3)
> "We feel that we can share warmth with each other, and we can have interaction…we are like families, mentally." (Interviewee EI4)

The affective relationships accumulated among cultural and creative workers leads to the establishment of a professional identity, which is similar to knowledgeability skilled identity that the theory of *Communities of Practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991) refers to. The professional identity, then, plays a vital role in the formation of a cultural and creative cluster, as well as in supporting cultural and creative workers.

8.1.3 Professional identity

The case studies of the east coast and Taipei City show that professional identity is a critical support they can acquire among cultural and creative workers of the same clusters. It is a mutual recognition of interests and profession of a specific practice, thus enabling understanding of the challenges and difficulties with which counterparts might have experienced or have been tackling; however, it has different meanings and impacts respectively on interviewees of the two case studies. For the case study of the east coast, professional identity is shared among artists of the region under a context of conflicts between traditional social and tribal standards and inspiration for arts and different ways of living. In particular, the Floated tribe is a vital factor which enabled the establishment of a professional identity shared by the artists. An interviewee of the east coast indicated the identity among members of the spontaneous gathering while the other interviewee explained how she sought recognition:

> "The floated tribe further strengthens the identity among those artists including me. It is a deep identity." (Interviewee EI2)
> "Your families may not be able to understand what you are doing, but these people can, and we really get each other." (Interviewee EI3)

For cultural and creative workers of the case study of Taipei City, the professional identity refers to mutual awareness of being in the same status of career. A product

designer of this case study shared her thoughts of co-working with other designers at the same cluster:

> "When you walk in and you know every studio is about the same size, working in such environment is different from working in an office of a big corporate. The energy is also different." (Interviewee TP4)

Since interviewees of this case study were all in their early career when they co-located at the URS 21, the status at which they were might make them feel insecure and uncertain in their career; thus, a mutual understanding of the practice and the difficulties they are facing might give them courage to carry on as two junior designers of this case study implied:

> "You would feel confident as you know everyone is doing the same thing, and you would know that you can also give it a try, and it would become more serious." (Interviewee TP1)
> "I think we got something in common in our professions, so there are a few journeys of hard times that I've been through which only designers in this cluster can understand. Like the neighbour, a fashion designer, we often have discussion of design ideas and share some difficulties I'm facing, and suddenly I realised that he is faced with the same problems." (Interviewee TP6)

Hence, a professional identity plays a vital role in supporting cultural and creative workers and encourages them to carry on their cultural and creative career, thus enhancing prospect development. It is not only a mutual recognition of profession and interest in specific practices, it is also a mutual understanding of encountering challenges and difficulties.

8.1.4 Location selection reflects individual preference

Existing research on cultural and creative industries has shown that development of cultural and creative industries is often place-based and often interconnected with place and community (Scott 1999); in particular, with notions such as creative cities (Landry 2000) and the creative class (Florida 2002), urban localities are regarded as the main destinations that attract cultural and creative workers and accommodate the industries; however, this is rarely discussed from the perspective of individual cultural and creative workers, which, this research argues, plays a fundamental role in understanding cultural and creative industries.

The interviews of this research reveal that location selection reflects personal preferences or appreciation for specific features of a locality. It is more obvious for cultural and creative workers of the case studies of Tainan City and the east coast of Taiwan. For instance, an interviewee of the case study of Tainan City explained her comparison of Taipei City and Tainan City:

> "Taipei, maybe a trip for a few days but not for living there. Instead, Tainan is a city rather suitable for working and living." (Interviewee TNL2)

For cultural and creative workers, the east coast of Taiwan represents a unique locality which some might crave for its natural environment while others appreciate its remoteness as it allows more space for original creativity to flourish:

> "Simply because of the attraction of the nature, the mountains, ocean and the air. I did not have too many thoughts on culture, it is more like that I'd like to live in that kind of environment…a spiritual desire that I was craving for the mountains and the nature." (Interviewee EN1)
> "Because here is rather remote so I can present the space with the ways I prefer and create atmosphere that I like." (Interviewee EN4)

In this regard, the selection of a locality also reflects individuality and autonomy which are the two distinct features of participation in cultural and creative industries; that is to say, cultural and creative workers tend to situate in localities which can best support their creativity and preference of lifestyle. Thus, it is not the traditional understandings of location advantages, such as convenient transportation or proximity to raw materials or markets, which lead to agglomerations in cultural and creative industries; instead, it is more about which localities can satisfy the specific preferences of cultural and creative workers that form a cluster.

8.2 Local contexts of localities

As stated above, it is well-perceived that the development of cultural and creative industries tends to be place-based because of either industrial strengths or advantages of specific localities or with public policy supports, such as creative cities initiatives or cultural and creative clusters. Most of the discussions based on these angles is economic-centred.

The three case studies that this research investigates reveals that local contexts of different localities are crucial in terms of the formation of cultural and creative

clusters; in particular, local contexts refer to culture, community, and supporting forces, which are factors that make specific localities attractive to cultural and creative workers.

8.2.1 Culture

Culture is an essential and critical factor when it comes to location selection for cultural and creative workers. It represents personal aspirations and preferences for specific cultural features of a locality. Interviewees of the three case studies all reflected that culture is an important factor which encouraged them to situate in one of the three localities that this research examines.

> "I had a period of time that I really want to be an Amis, and at times I would like to have recognition from them." (Interviewee EN5)
> "For me, whether I appreciate the culture or not is my first consideration. It is the most important one." (Interviewee TNM2)
> "We had been looking for a place with distinct culture in Taipei for a long time, and here is an area of mixing the new and the old. It is a very interesting place." (Interviewee TP2)

For cultural and creative workers on the east coast of Taiwan, culture has a different importance for local indigenous artists and artists who move into the region. Culture, for local indigenous artists, is an identity which makes them feel secure and certain. Two local indigenous artists who are interviewees of this case study share how they experienced frustration and uncertainty when they left for cities:

> "We stayed in cities for a few years looking for positions but cannot find it." (Interviewee EI4)
> "You leave here and go to cities and experience its glamor, as well as frustration and failure. And then you might be thinking of coming back…Those artists are younger than me and they got similar experiences as mine. They might think they were floating and not rooted when they were in cities." (Interviewee EI7)

In this regard, rootedness (Malkki 1992) is of importance in terms of establishment of identity. Furthermore, two local indigenous artists of this case study share conflicts between artwork making and localities at which they located:

> "I questioned myself why I went to Taipei…I started painting when I was in Taipei but when I returned here, I suddenly realised that my previous works

were rootless." (Interviewee EI5)

"I used to make my works in France and other cities, I felt wrong and painful as I cannot see the ocean that I am familiar with…I once tried to leave here but at the same time I was questioning myself 'who would I be if I leave here?"(Interviewee EI4)

Culture, in that sense, refers to an identity for the locality as it is the hometown of local indigenous artists who participated in this research. In contrast, for cultural and creative workers who moved to the region, the local indigenous culture does not have such an important role regarding their situation within the region.

In the case study of Tainan City, cultural and creative workers refer to a rather nuanced aspect of culture, i.e., the texture or atmosphere of the locality. Due to its history, the West-central district of Tainan City is known for various historical objects and architectures which give the locality a distinct texture and atmosphere as interviewees describe:

"Because there are many old houses in this district, which is what people migrated here are looking for." (Interviewee TNL1)

"Old houses got a texture which only exists after being used. It reveals human personality not utility." (Interviewee TNM3)

"I think the most precious thing of Tainan is the culture in the allies…especially the temple culture." (Interviewee TNM2)

In addition, the scale and development of the city is, at most, based on its historical asset, and the human distance and interactions remain intense. Consequently, Tainan City represents a unique example of an atypical urban locality. For instance, Taipei City, as the capital of Taiwan, is often perceived as hustling and bustling whereas the living pace in Tainan City is relatively slow. Interviewees of the case study of Tainan depict the texture of the city:

"I enjoy here, inside and outside the house…like neighbours would greet each other and sometimes you would hear neighbours are arguing for something. This is really different from working in an office building." (Interviewee TNM1).

"When you drive into the city back from Taipei, you will notice the landscape is totally different. The houses are lower, so is the skyline…The living pace is slow, which is ideal for a deep thinking…You have to be physically in the

environment and then you would be able to experience the spirit of it." (Interviewee TNM3)

Culture, however, plays a less important role for interviewees of the case study of Taipei City when it comes to considerations of location selection. Apart from an interviewee indicating appreciation of mixing the new and the old, another interviewee shares her general observation of the locality:

"This area got different atmosphere than any other areas (in Taipei). For example, because it accommodates more migrants from the south, thus, the food is different, and more people speak Taiwanese. And the other big impact is the hospital. Sometimes you would see ill or disabled people, and every time I see them, this makes me think of something and you could have a closer look of the world. I do not know how this would have impact on my design, but it does influence my brain." (Interviewee TP6)

Furthermore, culture has practical impacts on the production or making of cultural and creative works. The case studies of the east coast and Tainan City reflect this result. The preference and exploration of local culture enables cultural and creative workers to integrate specific local cultural elements with their practice, thus enhancing the embedded nature of cultural and creative works. Interviewees of the case study of Tainan expressed the link between their practice and the city.

"You have to be physically in the environment and then you would be able to experience the spirit of it. Once you have a sense of it, this would be embedded into your design practice." (Interviewee TNM3)
"Because I love the culture here and this is the reason I stayed…My design ideas come from Tainan. Like my first few series, they are more like my impression of Tainan." (Interviewee TNM4)
"The old house matches my design so much." (Interviewee TNM4)

Meanwhile, the embedded nature of cultural and creative works reveals a fit with the local natural landscape and environment in the east coast as an interviewee explains:

"The most inspiring thing is the relation and interaction between local tribal people and the nature…This influenced some of my works." (Interviewee EN4)
"I think artists here are really good at applying natural materials to their works. So, the artworks here are quite in a harmony with the environment."

(Interviewee EN3)

Culture, in forms of the atmosphere and texture of a locality, might cultivate a unique quality of the locality and influence behaviour; for example, an interviewee of the case study of Tainan City claims he applied 'Tainan style' compared to his counterparts of Taipei:

> "For example, designers in Taipei they might go through a design process really quick and that they might lose something, but here we are applying Tainan's style which we slower the process to accumulate our thoughts." (Interviewee TNL3)

The interview results also show that it is equally important for cultural and creative workers to respect the culture rather than simply appreciate and consume it. This can refer to following specific rules or the social standards of a locality or to studying and understanding the specific history of a locality. For instance, a local indigenous artist who is also one of the interviewees of the east coast shares a story of how a non-tribal artist was welcomed by the local indigenous community:

> "He understood that if he would like to move into this tribe and be accepted by the tribe, he must enter the tribe with tribal manners. Thus, he killed pigs and shared the meat with tribal people and joined the tribal hierarchical system." (Interviewee EI4)

Showing respect for the local culture represents studying and understanding the culture and history of the city for cultural and creative workers of Tainan City; in particular, the West-central district of the city is one locality with thick layers of culture. Understanding its history and culture enables cultural and creative works to reflect features of the locality. Two interviewees introduce the processes of conducting specific projects:

> "We would tell artists about the local context before we start creation at the place…for example one of the artists brought her students with her to interview local people asking peoples' thoughts on Highan Road about its' history, presence and its future." (Interviewee TNL1)
>
> "Like Lin Department Store, I was in support with the idea that it should be a department store which it used to be. And I also suggested the sale category for each floor should be the same as in the past, and even windows should be

transparent like it used to be, not covered up like department stores we have nowadays." (Interviewee TNM1)

In short, culture, as a dimension of the local context, plays a considerably vital role in attracting cultural and creative workers to situate in specific localities and has various impacts on their practice. The three case studies of this research respectively present different levels of importance that culture might have impacts on cultural and creative workers of each locality. It is the local culture in particular that enhances the embedded nature of cultural and creative works.

8.2.2 Community

The notion of community, when applied in studies of cultural and creative industries, often refers to a group of cultural and creative workers. The discussion is rarely focused on the community in which cultural and creative workers are situated; however, this research argues that the local community plays a vital role in supporting cultural and creative workers as they tackle precariousness and uncertainty.

The case studies of the east coast and Tainan City both reflect a key role that local communities play. The two case studies show that local communities welcome cultural and creative workers or at least residents are friendly to cultural and creative workers.

> "After I moved to Dulan, I felt free and comfortable living there. People would not judge or discuss you because you were from outside. I think this is tolerance, the cultural literacy embedded in indigenous culture. I felt very comfortable living there." (Interviewee EN1)
> "You would find the characteristic of this community that local residents welcome creative people." (Interviewee TNL1)
> "Residents of this community like young people and creators and they tend to offer very good rent for them" (Interviewee TNM3)

Furthermore, the case study of Tainan City presents trust and a solid relationship between the local community and cultural and creative workers as an interviewee shares his experiences:

> "For example, one of my students, he runs a workshop here, his neighbour sometimes prepares dinner for him. I think that young people would feel that they are supported, and they can concentrate on their practice." (Interviewee TNM3)

> "We have an organisation upstairs. They would discuss with and explain to the local residents who own properties what a reasonable rental price should be. This, they won't let their properties to a young designer with an impossibly high rate." (Interviewee TNM3)

The positive relationships that cultural and creative workers maintain with the local community impact the making or production of cultural and creative works. The case study of Tainan City reflects the links between creation and local community.

> "I feel very close to neighbours…the neighbourhood, you would feel warm and that would be helpful for us in terms of making our design warmer." (Interviewee TNM3)
> "We became closer to the local residents and this enhances our connection with the locality…each of the works got its background context and meaning (referring to local context). It was not just painting something on a wall." (Interviewee TNL1)
> "I was delighted that I can be recognised by the master and he can trust me and share with me his hand sketches. Thus, I can apply them to my product design." (Interviewee TNM2)

The case study of the east coast reveals the impacts of on-site or face-to-face interactions, which cultural and creative workers might have with local tribal communities. The interaction is a way of sharing indigenous knowledge, which enables cultural and creative workers to know and learn more about the local culture. The indigenous knowledge can become a source of inspiration for the creation of artworks. Two interviewees of the case study of the east coast share their experiences learning from the local community:

> 'We learnt the value of sharing and mutual support from the local tribe. We are also able to learn from this ancient culture…my next album will talk a lot about that." (Interviewee EI2)
> "I went diving with local indigenous people to collect things…The most inspiring thing is the relationship and interaction between local tribal people and the nature…this influenced some of my works." (Interviewee EN4)

The case study of the east coast shows solidarity among cultural and creative workers and the local tribal community; for example, a local indigenous artist

interviewed for this research explains how the artists acquired recognition from the tribal community:

> "At that time, the tribal people had interaction and consensus with these artists on issues like indigenous traditional territory and the protests fighting against commercial development projects at a beach which is traditionally an indigenous territory…the artists were raising awareness and pushing for the movement." (Interviewee EI4)

The solidarity can also be presented by cultural and creative workers who move into the region; thus, it is a two-way street with consensus between cultural and creative workers and the local tribal community. A non-indigenous artist of this case study shares a vision of developing an art village:

> "For example, me and a few practitioners think here is ideal to be an art village, but of course we must communicate and negotiate with tribal people who are in different industries, such as people running B&B or people promoting learning of native languages." (Interviewee EN5)

However, community, in a local context, plays a less influencing role for cultural and creative workers of the case study of Taipei City. Interviewees of this case study merely indicate general social interactions with the local community:

> "We are fairly familiar with the local neighbours in this block. We would greet with each other and share vegetables or fruits…Neighbours are kind and take care of young people who move here to establish businesses." (Interviewee TP9 & TP10)
>
> "We also have frequent contact with the local community. The office of Chief of Village is at the ground floor, and we often gather together to attend worship memorials. It was a very special experience." (Interviewee TP2)

This research argues that a community of cultural and creative workers does not merely consist of cultural and creative workers, but the local communities should be considered one aspect of the entire community. This presents two layers of importance. On the one hand, a positive relationship between cultural and creative workers and the local community ensures prospect development. A friendly community can help cultural and creative workers feel secure and certain, thus, they might have more confidence in themselves and reduce the impact of precariousness. On the other hand,

once the positive relationships are established, they might allow or encourage cultural and creative workers to learn and study more local culture and history. In return, these local cultural elements can be a rich source of inspiration and ideas for the creation of artworks, thus creating a positive loop.

8.2.3 Local supporting forces

The traditional view of industrial districts (Marshall 1932) and clusters (Porter 1998) argues that firms which specialise in different stages of the same production chain in some area can create competitive advantages for firms. Cultural and creative industries, however, are not often organised in the same format and the clustering of cultural and creative workers or firms might not rely on such relationships. Thus, if not benefiting from the same production line, what might be the supporting forces for the clustering of cultural and creative workers? The case studies of the east coast and Taipei City reveal varied supporting forces which offer benefits to the cultural and creative workers of the two clusters.

In the case study of the east coast, an interviewee who does not originate from the region points to funding support from the East Coast National Scenic Area:

> "I think in Taitung, resources to support artists are relatively more…I think the East Coast National Scenic Area quite supports artists in Taitung. They announced funding to commission artwork creation." (Interviewee EN3)

Local indigenous artists who are members of the Floated tribe also referred to collaboration with the local public organisation since they were gathering at the beach. The support from the local public organisation for artists of the region is ongoing as the Taiwan East Coast Land Arts Festival has been held since then.

> "The East Coast National Scenic Area was wondering why we were at the beach…I wondered at least one of them can understand and appreciate what we were doing. And they did approach us and proposed an idea of holding an installation arts event in the east coast. I thought it was a good idea." (Interviewee EI4)
>
> "After we left the beach, we had some collaborative projects with the East Coast National Scenic Area in various attractions in the east coast." (Interviewee EI5)

Nevertheless, some artists have a different perspective on the support offered and some consider it to be an intervention. Since the East Coast National Scenic Area is governed under the Tourism Bureau, an interviewee mentioned that promotion of tourism development might take priority to the artworks they were commissioned to complete:

> "I think it is for tourism although it does have links with the locality…however, I don't think quality of arts is what the East Coast National Scenic Area wants…they ask artists to extend the life span of their works. This seems doesn't meet the ethos of the Land Arts Festival." (Interviewee EN4)

Furthermore, an artist of this case study reflected his personal experiences of the acceptance of a commission from East Coast National Scenic Area and considered that it is a dependence on public funding which might lessen the quality of artworks:

> "After 2008, I did not apply for the Land Arts Festival because I realised that the creation of various of driftwood arts seems to rely on public funding and once without the funding it won't be possible to make it…I think as a creator we cannot be like that. We cannot fully rely on public funding. I think this is wrong and the works would be made by the thoughts of the public sector (instead of the artists)." (Interviewee EI5)

In the case study of Taipei City, the hub is supported by a public force as the site was governed and commissioned by Taipei City Government. The designers in this case study, however, further indicated and referred to a support system in which the locality offered to create a better working environment. An interviewee of this study describes the area where they located as if they had obtained a 'maker atmosphere which no other places like this in Taipei.' (Interviewee TP2). As introduced earlier in Chapter 4, the area accommodates various professionals such as metal and wood processing masters and providers of various specialised materials. As designers often must make prototypes, these professionals enable a better production process. Designers in this case study explain:

> "There are many resources and materials for making stuffs such as the iron street and stores of hand-made products…It was fairly easy to get materials, such as metal and there is a street selling wooden materials as well." (Interviewee TP2).
>
> "It's also very close to Taiyuan Road and convenient to buy materials for

making prototypes." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)

"Like Xingcheng Street, people there are willing to take your order even you just want to make one piece. It is very convenient working in this area. Often you can get there by riding your motor scooter or even by walking." (Said a director of a design gallery)

In short, the case studies show that clustering of cultural and creative workers might not be based on the production chain; instead, the competitive advantages might be enhanced by a local supporting force which varies case by case. In this research, the case study of the east coast reveals a local supporting force from a public organisation by commissioning artists to make artworks to exhibit in attractions of the region. While in the case study of Taipei City, a support system is established since the area accommodates various professionals who can support designers' cultural and creative practice such as making prototypes.

8.2.4 Local intermediaries

Intermediaries play an increasingly important role in supporting cultural and creative workers, particularly since cultural and creative workers are more likely to be independent or operate in a micro scale. Merkel (2019) analysed co-working spaces and referred to the pivotal role which co-working space hosts might have in curating a social network and encounters within a group of creative talents. In this research, the three case studies all reveal the critical role that an intermediary plays within the clusters.

In the case study of Taipei City, JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture was commissioned by the city government to manage and operate an urban regeneration station, known as URS 21, from 2011 to 2014. The site was known as Chung Shan Creative Hub. The on-site management team was crucial to making the hub a success, thus, it was often seen as an example of designer clusters. As most of the designers of the hub were in the early stages of their careers and they mostly operated in a micro scale, mostly one to two people, tasks outside of their known profession were extra burdens to them and might reduce their productivity. Interviewees explain the importance of the management team in keeping the hub running:

"JUT is very professional in managing all the details, and I think this role is very important as it could decrease our burden of managing the environment. They act like a parents' role, which in a way is invisible when everything is under control, but you will feel the inconvenience once they are gone."

(Interviewee TP4 &TP5)

"You know designers don't like to do the management. If we can have a manager or a management team, it would be great. JUT did a brilliant job on this." (Interviewee TP3)

Most importantly, if an intermediary can successfully curate the social fabrics within a hub, it can create a vital impact on the prospect development of the hub and the cultural and creative activities. The case study of Taipei City reflects this point as interviewees share how they got to know each other in the hub:

"In the very beginning, we were not familiar with each other. But JUT held a small exhibition, which each of us can provide something we liked, it was like a house-warming party…They made our community feel like a community." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Referring to the other two case studies, as they do not physically locate in the same building or are physically as close as interviewees of the case study of Taipei City, the role of intermediary tends to refer to key individuals rather than an organisation. In the case study of the east coast, Rahic, as a master, has trained young indigenous people, not limited to his tribe but across the region, for years. He often invites young indigenous people to participate in projects he conducts as a form of apprenticeship. In this regard, he contributes to nurturing talents and enlarges the cultural and creative energy of the region.

Apart from Rahic, one of the interviewees of this case study is a local indigenous artist who was acting as a bridge to connect non-tribal cultural and creative workers with the local tribal community. This role is exceptionally vital as the cultural gap is difficult to overcome for non-tribal members and a mutual understanding is impossible to establish without an intermediary. The interviewee who was acting this role shares his experience:

"In the beginning, these artists were not close with tribal residents. Via me, tribal people can know them, and these artists would also ask me things that happened in the tribe. So, I was acting this role. It was great fun." (Interviewee EI4)

Moreover, as the east coast is remote from major cities on the west coast, the latest information or networks of cultural and creative sectors might be limited. Thus, an

individual who obtains external resources can be vital in terms of connecting the cultural and creative energy with external counterparts. An interviewee of this case study is non-indigenous and is in the art administration profession and a curator who used to study and work on the west coast and, as such, has acquired external networks. The interviewee has been acting as an intermediary to link internal and external networks:

> "Apart from Rahic, most of his apprentices were in their early stage of career in cultural and creative practice. Thus, they really needed people to help them with art administration and exhibition curation or external connection. I was helping them with these." (Interviewee EN5)

Likewise, key individuals are acting as intermediaries in the case study of Tainan City. The interviewee who conducted the project to refresh and reimagine Hai'an Road is a well-known and experienced art curator and art administrator. Her role was crucial to bringing in various possibilities and creativity to revitalise the dying part of the city:

> "Because I have been working in art administration since quite long time ago and I have very good relations with artists. So I told them what I thought about Hai'an Road and they agreed with me and were willing to support…Maybe because of my role in art administration, I do not lie to you that not everyone can find artists in a short period of time…I know arts forms of different artists and their contents, thus I can decide, quickly, to find a suitable artist to have further discussion." (Interviewee TNL1)

In short, the three case studies show the importance of an intermediary in supporting cultural and creative workers or enhancing cultural and creative works. However, the role is acted upon in different ways. For urban clustering of cultural and creative workers, they might need a professional management team to take care of tasks that are beyond their own profession. Whereas for a dispersed or rural area of clustering of cultural and creative workers, key individuals might be more crucial to ensure a prospect development as serving to bridge cultural and creative workers with other stakeholders or organisations.

8.2.5 Other local factors

The three case studies of this research reveal factors which impact the development of clustering in each locality whereas these factors are exclusively raised by interviewees of each case study. For instance, interviewees of the east coast raised a concern over

an increasing development of consumption; in particular, interviewees argue that it used to attract artists who would like to move here for creation whereas lately more people came to the region for making businesses as the region has become a popular tourist destination:

> "It seems that more people are coming here for running businesses these years." (Interviewee EI2)
> "Dulan has been attracting different types of people moving in. Particularly, more people who are making handmade stuffs and selling at fairs are moving in these years." (Interviewee EI4)

An interviewee expressed her concern over such developments as it causes conflict when weighting between satisfying tourists' needs and pure arts creation. The interviewee referred to that as a critical factor in her decisions to move further north from Dulan:

> "There are more people coming here but it becomes more complex and touristic. For me, sometimes it's quite hard to make what I really want. It seems that I must produce what tourists need. I think this does not suit me." (Interviewee EN4)

The imbalanced development toward consumption, however, creates conflict within the local indigenous culture. A local indigenous artist expresses the concern and explains an artwork created to reflect such conflict:

> "The ocean for us is sacred not for fun…but there was a girl (tourist) wearing bikini walking in the tribe. The elders and kids of the tribe would be frightened…thus I made a work to express my concern over such disrespectful behaviour." (Interviewee EI4)

Arguably, the consumption development made some changes to the locality which interviewees of this case study considered a deciding factor in moving further north or south from Dulan. The development of tourism became a driver of surging costs in rent which forced out cultural and creative workers of this case study:

> "I rarely go to Dulan. The atmosphere has been changed." (Interviewee EN2)
> "My partner and I have moved further north because we cannot afford it in Dulan." (Interviewee EI3)

Interviewees of the case study of Tainan City reflect the nature of the design sector in which designers could be flexible regarding location of their firms or studios:

> "I think it cannot be limited in this district when it comes to clustering (of cultural and creative workers). Such as I live in Tainan, I have friends here who are artists, but sometimes people from outside Tainan would come visit, and we are all know each other…I think because of the Internet, we don't need to be fixed in a place. Like when I work in China, I still can have video meetings to sort things out." (Interviewee TNM1)
> "At first, I was mainly doing design service, so it had nothing to do with whether I was close to the origin of the material." (Interviewee TNL3)
> "If we just do design service, I think we can locate at other places." (Interviewee TNM4)

However, design as a service could be further enhanced if designers or design firms could co-locate with other industries. This reflects a local context in which Tainan City used to be a hub for small home appliances and the textile industry, as well as temple crafts. These industrial resources still exist but at a smaller scale compared to its previous development. This, then, becomes a crucial factor regarding the development of clustering of cultural and creative workers in a locality:

> "It's hard to form an independent industry for design itself. Design, more or less, is like a skill. It will have a very good opportunity if it is with other sectors." (Interviewee TNM2).
> "Design firms follow industrial agglomeration." (Interviewee TNM3).

Referring to the case study of Taipei City, interviewees indicated the typical benefits and advantages which capital cities tend to offer whereas these developments cannot be applied to the other case studies of this research. The interviewees of this case study refer to conveniences that the locality can offer to enable a better working environment:

> "The living function is great and it makes our working more convenient. I think it's very convenient to see a doctor once you feel ill and there is a hospital within walking distance. The transportation is also convenient and you got many options for food." (Interviewee TP3)

> "There are services which can satisfy us. It's the fairly basic thing, food…and outside this building, such as printing store and the transaction service, such as the post office and the bank are all very close." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)

To sum up, the three case studies of this research present different developments which only took place in each locality due to local contexts and factors. The east coast, as it becomes more popular as a tourist destination, an increasing concern over consumption is raised by interviewees of this case study. In the case study of Tainan City, it reflects the unique features of the design sector which enables designers and design firms to be flexible regarding location but at the same time enhanced development could be achieved if co-locating with other industries. The case study of Taipei City reflects the conveniences which urban localities tend to offer. Although they are essential, they also enable a better working environment for cultural and creative workers of the cluster.

8.3 Interactive aspect of clustering

8.3.1 Human aspect of social interaction

The social aspect of clustering of cultural and creative workers has been recognised. Research of its kind points to the importance of face-to-face contact (Pratt 2000; Storper and Venables 2004; Landry 2000) as an interactive process (Bathelt et al 2004) through which skills and knowledge can be shared and learned. This aspect of social interaction among cultural and creative workers can directly contribute to the creation or production of cultural and creative works; furthermore, a growing interest has been paid to a human social need of interaction among cultural and creative workers. Thomas and Jakob (2018) refer to factors in which the clustering of cultural and creative workers is taking place to search for kindred spirits whilst Harvey et al (2012) indicate social solidarity and Pratt et al (2019) argue for compulsory sociality within cultural and creative sectors. This line of argument sheds light on the human aspect of social interaction which is the focal point of this research.

In the case study of the east coast, cultural and creative workers tend to work alone and, thus, have a lack of interactions. The seeming disconnection is partly attributed to a dispersed area which lowers the frequency of interactions among cultural and creative workers. This, however, further emphasises the importance of a social space in which interviewees of this case study describe as their 'sitting room':

> "It (the café) became a site we gathered, just like our sitting room." (Interviewee EN1)
> "We were joking that the café was like our sitting room in Dulan…I think

> hanging out there with other artists can establish a relation with others because we were in our own studios, but we would turn up there at weekends…it was sort of like for exchanging emotion and interaction." (Interviewee EN5)
> "Especially on Saturdays, because of live performances, we would turn up there. Artists in different sectors would also go there. We all expected Saturday nights as it was the time we can relax ourselves because we all did our own works in our own spaces during weekdays." (Interviewee EI2)

This further reveals a strong connection among artists of the cluster as they use the phrase 'sitting room', which is normally meant for a family, to describe the space. Thus, the café is not used primarily for sharing or learning practical knowledge or skills from others; instead, it is more like a social space where practitioners can maintain the social bonds among themselves, thus enhancing social solidarity between the artists.

The case study of Taipei City, however, shows a varied level of social interaction among cultural and creative workers of the clusters. As a result of co-working in the same building, the interactions among the designers of the creative hub are frequent as the space enables regular encounters. Unlike the strong identity conceived by artists of the case study on the east coast, designers of the case study reveal relatively less in-depth social interactions. It is more like daily social interaction as interviewees indicate:

> "Although we are often busy doing our own works, we go out for a meal together, we would discuss what we are doing or to know whether there is anything interesting that we can do together." (Interviewee TP1)
> "We would say hello to each other and say good-bye as we head off. We would also go to other studios to have a chat after having meals together…We like the feeling which many studios working together, sometimes we hold parties, go to other's studios, borrowing stuffs or having a chat, etc." (Interviewee TP4 &TP5)

To sum up, the social fabrics and interactions identified in two of the case studies are different while the other case study has less interaction in general. The interaction which this research aims to point out is a rather human aspect of social interaction. It inevitably can contribute to the creation or production of cultural and creative works, but it is not direct and requires dedication to maintain the identity of or social relationships among cultural and creative workers.

8.3.2 Sharing to reduce costs and acquire up-to-date information

Boschma and Ter Wal (2007) argue that the traditional view that geographical proximity facilitates knowledge sharing, interactive learning and innovation is well established. In cultural and creative industries, the notion of the cluster adopts this argument. Bathelt et al (2004) term local buzz to describe the information flow and sharing within a cluster of cultural and creative industries. In this research, all three case studies indicate that sharing is a vital benefit of clustering which cultural and creative workers can obtain. Sharing presents in various forms. Firstly, as cultural and creative workers are most likely to be micro-scale, they might not be able to be self-sufficient. In this respect, tool sharing is recognised as a basic but practical and cost-efficient benefit:

> "The benefits of clustering include that we can share tools. This is a very important point of clustering." (Interviewee EI5)
>
> "Things like borrowing camera or electronic drill, in some sense, this can reduce our cost. Because we are all micro-scaled, obtaining all tools would add up our costs." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Secondly, sharing can refer to basic information sharing which enables cultural and creative workers to find better solutions for their practice. In this regard, this is also cost-efficient in terms of time of searching. The interviewees recognised the benefits of sharing practical information:

> "Such as where to buy cheaper printer inks, what projects have been Released, which exhibition is worth attending or looking for subcontractors. Such information exchange is helpful…It's all very basic but practical." (Interviewees TP4 & TP5)
>
> "A network for sharing information and exchanging ideas is important…such as to find which manufacturer to help do something. Such network is very important." (Interviewee TNM1)

The third method of sharing is passing along up-to-date industry information. An interviewee of the east coast raised this point, partly because the east coast is remote from the major cities and markets on the west coast, and it is relatively rare that exhibitions or the latest trends of cultural and creative industries would reach the region. Thus, sharing the latest information becomes critical in terms of innovation.

> "Information sharing is the benefit. Because they would exhibit their works

outside the tribe, so they gave me lots of information…for example, Rahic would share what kinds of weaving works he saw." (Interviewee EI8)

The fourth aspect of sharing takes place between experienced and junior practitioners. An experienced practitioner might share practice know-hows with other, less experienced practitioners while they co-locate. This has been recognised as a critical benefit by interviewees of this research while they participate in cultural and creative sectors:

"She taught me a lot of know-hows and knowledge of design…She was like my teacher and willing to share with me." (Interviewee TNL3)
"Because I did not have experiences working in big corporates, thus I can also ask them how to manage a company. And the director of HAN Gallery taught me a lot. He is like my teacher. He has various experiences. He helped me to understand many things" (Interviewee TP1)
"I was not familiar with industrial design as I established my studio. People here provided me many know-hows and techniques…And then, you would know what you can do and what you cannot." (Interviewee TP6)

The fifth aspect of sharing to which this research refers is business information sharing. This research argues that this rests on social solidarity (Harvey et al 2012) and complete trust between cultural and creative workers who co-locate:

"We don't worry too much about sharing our businesses information. I seldom hide from other designers what I'm undertaking nor prevent to tell them." (Interviewee TP1)
"We worked independently but helped each other. For example, as other designers were consulted to take a design project but if they thought it was not suitable for them but may be rather suitable for us, they would generously introduce the project to us, and we did the same to them." (Interviewee TP2)

Sharing is also recognised as a method of overcoming market situation which are not optimal for cultural and creative workers. An interviewee points to the importance of information flow:

"I tend to share information with them because I think the current circumstance of design industry is quite bad, and if the information is not open nor exchanged, the whole industry will not be good…I can let everyone know what I'm doing,

thus, information is open and accessible. Once we don't hide information, the whole cluster would be better." (Interviewee TP3)

Apart from sharing, collaboration often takes place between cultural and creative workers of a cluster. Based on mutual engagement and participation, cultural and creative workers of a community of practice can be aware of other creative professionals within a latent network (Bettiol and Sedita 2011), which enables a mechanism of coordination, thus enhancing potential collaboration. For example, an interviewee of the case study of the east coast shares an experience of co-working with another artist:

"For example, a friend of mine, she was commissioned to implement a project of mosaic and I was helping her with the project." (Interviewee EN3)

Apart from co-working on the same project, interviewees of the case study of Tainan City referred to the notion of complementary which leads to collaboration between cultural and creative workers of the cluster:

"Such collaboration should build on a relation of mutually complementary, i. e. in the same production chain. Or we are competitors to each other since we are all designers." (Interviewee TNM1)
"We are offering creative ideas so we will be more willing to share and look for designers who have skills that we don't have." (Interviewee TNM3)

Furthermore, an interviewee of the case study of Tainan City indicates that collaboration could mean more than the ongoing collective works; indeed, it also has possibilities to create prospect opportunities of collaboration with others. The interviewee says:

"I think the best part of the concept, clustering, is that you will have more possibilities and opportunities from collaborating with other experts." (Interviewee TNM2)

The value of collaboration for interviewees of the case study of Taipei City differs. Since most of the interviewees of the case study of Taipei City were independent designers or micro design firms and they were in the earlier stages of their careers when they co-located in the creative hub, collaboration was an important means to

overcome challenges which junior and independent designers might face during the earlier stages of their career.

> "…this cluster provides a platform for interaction…Although we are often busy doing our own works, we go out for a meal together, we would discuss what we are doing or to know whether there is anything interesting that we can do together, or we would also share some work of a project once it's overloaded…recently I think we need to take projects which might involve integrated skills……thus, we would invite studios in this cluster to take part and collaborate with us. For example, one can do graphic design, one can do space design, etc. We could run a bigger project by collaboration...I think we did learn from each other when we are alliances with each other." (Interviewee TP1)

In short, sharing is recognised as a critical benefit which cultural and creative workers can acquire when they cluster. Sharing refers to various aspects of different forms of interaction among cultural and creative workers; however, this might be more applicable for designers of the case study of Taipei City than cultural and creative workers of the other two case studies, partly attributed to the ease of in-person access to other practitioners.

8.3.3 Cluster: a talent pool, an audience pool

Scott (1999) indicates that development of cultural and creative industries is place-based and workers and corporations can benefit from mutual accessibility when they co-locate in the same locality, thus leading to the formation of a talent pool. A talent pool, however, does not rely on relationships between employers and employees; instead, it is talent pool of cultural and creative workers without a hierarchy. In the case study of Taipei City, the creative hub is a talent pool itself as it is a hub formed by designers of diverse backgrounds and professions. In this regard, this allows designers of this hub to seek solutions, if they need help, at a relatively lower cost in terms of time and distance. Designers of the case study express this point:

> "We are in design sector. We got film director and people from the press and entertainment. We can find different professionals if we need help." (Interviewee TNM3)
>
> "For example, the tea party project integrates various professions to get involved, such as fashion design, furniture and product design and even graphic design…This is the advantage of co-working here. I call it as a network

connection, we got many related industries here, and it's better to work here than work alone." (Said a product designer[13])

Furthermore, clustering of cultural and creative workers is also an audience pool (Pratt 2015) where receiving critical feedback from other professionals is a benefit. Interviewees of the case study of Taipei City reflect on this point by sharing their experiences of receiving comments from their counterparts:

> "Everyone got blind spots, thus it's better to have more people…We often place our prototypes in the common space, we would have discussion while they pass by. Such as the studio next to us, they are doing craft design, so we would give some suggestions to the furniture they are doing." (Interviewee TP2)
>
> "Because we are all in design industry, we would invite them to test our products. You would get practical feedback from them quickly. And they understand why you did it this way, so they won't think your product is strange. It's rather better than looking for random people to do the test." (Interviewee TP4 & TP5)

Only the case study of Taipei City touches on the audience pool, potentially due to the short physical distance between designers of the creative hub since they co-worked in the same building. Co-location or co-working, however, cannot guarantee interactions. Instead, all the potential interactions are based on a social network of cultural and creative workers who situate close to each other.

8.3.4 Disconnection

Despite interactions being more likely among cultural and creative workers when they cluster, this is not always the case. Apart from the case study of Taipei City, interviewees of the other two case studies indicate disconnection within the clusters for various factors. For instance, an interviewee of the east coast attributes such disconnection to the nature of artwork creation:

> "We don't like to disrupt others, and most importantly, creators are very lonely since we need to isolate ourselves for a long period of time to think and work." (Interviewee EI4)

[13] The quote is from an interview of a designer who used to situate in the creative hub there. The material is from secondary data collected from a website.

An interviewee of the case study of the east coast offered another explanation for disconnection that being the nature of cultural and creative works among cultural and creative workers of the region. Due to operating in a micro scale, artists of this case study are not self-sufficient and tend to multitask. Being busy is the norm, thus, frequent or regular interactions might not be possible:

> "Actually, we are all very busy. The occasions that link us together are events. But the opportunities that let us sit down to discuss (collaboration) with each other is quite rare…most of the time we do our own things." (Interviewee EN5)

"Actually, it is not that much as expected if you want to discuss pure arts with people here", said Interviewee EN4. Two interviewees argue that culture might be a factor of such disconnection between artists of the region. For indigenous people, they follow tribal rules regarding interactions and behaviours which, among Amis, are based on rules of varied age groups. In other words, indigenous artists of this case study tend to interact with tribal members who are in their same age group:

> "It's quite hard to talk about our work in the tribe because we tend to hang out together with people in the same age rank." (Interviewee EI9)
> "In terms of interaction on creation, it's relatively rare…I have rather closer relationship with the youth group and leadership groups of my tribe." (Interviewee EI6)

Disconnection caused by a lack of time to have regular interactions is the same problem that cultural and creative workers of the case study of Tainan City encountered:

> "I think one of the reasons that the interaction is not as intense as expected is the practitioners are individual/independent, thus (s)he is already very busy in her/his own works." (Interviewee TNM1)

Apart from lack of time, interviewees of the case study of Tainan City referred to personality since social interaction might not be of interest to everyone. Thus, this factor might also lead to disconnection among cultural and creative workers of the cluster. For example, interviewees explained that as reflecting their personality:

> "Actually, I'm not the typical type who enjoys attending opening receptions. I have less interest in that, thus I also have less interest in dropping by visiting

others." (Interviewee TNM1)

"To be honest, it's less likely to collaborate with other practitioners here. Probably I'm not local and maybe also because my personality which I'm not a person who would constantly drop by visiting others." (Interviewee TNM2)

Furthermore, interviewees of the case study of Tainan City indicated that a generation gap might be a factor causing disconnection. This can be telling based on who they tend to get in touch with while otherwise disconnecting with others.

"In Tainan, I am more familiar with artists who are senior than me. I have less contact with the junior bunch. But sometimes I would go to see their works at galleries and might have interaction with them." (Interviewee TNM1)

"They got a photography studio so sometimes if I need professional photograph, I will contact them…Another example is that they once looked for someone to design a cultural tour and develop products for the tour, so they approached us. I think maybe it is because we are in the same age group, so we are willing to share with each other." (Interviewee TNL3)

However, disconnection does not mean no interactions at all; instead, interviewees of the case study of Tainan City indicated varied forms of interaction they had with other cultural and creative workers of the cluster, in particular, events or exhibitions are the occasions where interactions take place:

"I might meet other practitioners at exhibitions or events. But because I have too much work, I seldom drop by their studios to visit them." (Interviewee TNL1)

"The occasions that bring us together are mainly because of events…Sometimes craft masters who I had worked with before, they would invite me to attend their events." (Interviewee TNM2)

"Instead, we would attend trade fairs together." (Interviewee TNM4)

In addition, as cultural and creative workers are most likely to work in a project-based pattern (Pratt 2015; Pratt et al 2019), working collectively on a project is another form of interaction which the interviewee who did not have regular interactions referred to. As the interviewee is a senior designer and often plays a role as a designer in chief, he can curate a project by involving professionals from varied disciplines:

"I think the interaction, in terms of practice, between local practitioners and myself is not that intensive, but the interaction could be more intense once we

are working on a project together, such as previously we organised and held the Old Five Channels Arts Festival." (Interviewee TNM1)

To sum up, disconnection occurs between cultural and creative workers of the case studies of the east coast and Tainan City whereas interviewees of the case study of Taipei City do not reflect on this point. This might be due to varied environment settings where both the east coast and Tainan City are clusters in \dispersed areas while the designers of the case study of Taipei City co-worked in the same building. Factors that lead to disconnection include lack of time because of not being self-sufficient, cultural factors, personality and generation gaps. Moreover, disconnection does not mean no interactions among cultural and creative workers of the same cluster; instead, they might develop varied forms of interaction apart from regular social interaction.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter serves to generate new insights on cultural and creative clusters while weaving the threads of the three case studies. With comparison and analysis of the three case studies, this research argues that the non-economic dimensions of clustering of cultural and creative workers that this research pinpoints are intrinsic to the development of cultural and creative clusters and practices. The findings of this research that derived from the personal experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers are, to some extent, subtle and intangible, thus hidden from the mainstream quantitative discussions.

From an individual level, affective connections among cultural and creative workers are no doubt a vital aspect of a cultural and creative cluster and community of practice of cultural and creative sectors. It is based on the professional identity that cultural and creative workers mutually obtain for each other. This enables further interaction, both traded and untraded, among cultural and creative workers of a cluster.

In terms of locality, it is about cultural identity and personal preferences for specific places. A locality is a meaningful place to cultural and creative workers as it might be where they have connections and identity. In this research, for local indigenous artists, the locality is where culture and practice are embedded and interwoven. For others, a locality reflects personal preferences for a specific culture, natural landscape, the texture of a place or atmosphere. The personal preferences tend to

encourage cultural and creative workers to further explore and understand a locality. Thus, this research argues for the embedded nature of cultural and creative practices.

Overall, this research argues for the exceptional impact of cultural, professional and place identity on the development of cultural and creative practices, and the formation of cultural and creative clusters. These dimensions of clustering are more subtle, thus hidden from the mainstream discussion when it comes to cultural and creative industries and clusters. The identity enables a locality-specific cultural and social fabrication among cultural and creative workers, and with local communities, which leads to diversity of cultural and creative clusters.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has investigated the notion of clusters as applied in cultural and creative industries; in particular, this thesis has explored the non-economic dimensions of the notion by investigating cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan. The main research question aimed to investigate the considerations or factors which leads practitioners to locate at specific localities based on the experiences and perspective of individual cultural and creative workers. The follow-up questions explored the impacts of specific considerations or factors on the development of cultural and creative practices and clusters. The second strand of questions investigates the interactive aspects of clustering among cultural and creative workers. Sub-questions such as frequencies, forms and impacts of interactions are then addressed. The last section of questions refers to a comparison of experiences working in varied localities. To capture personal experiences and thoughts on these questions, this thesis has applied interviews as a primary research method for data collection.

This thesis is set to provide an alternative perspective to the normative notion of clustering, which tends to focus on the economic dimensions of clustering of cases with urban settings. The craft-based artistic cluster on the east coast of Taiwan shows innovative dimensions of clustering, i.e., local, ethnic, social and cultural dimensions of clustering. Furthermore, the application of communities of practice to clustering provides a fresh dimension to the normative analysis of clustering. This thesis argues that these externalities in normative cluster research are indeed central to this thesis.

9.2 Summary of main findings

This research is designed and conducted with an aim to examine the importance of local contexts to the development of cultural and creative clusters from experiences and perspectives of individual cultural and creative workers. This research assumes that varied contexts could lead to different developments within the cultural and creative industries; in particular, this research, by investigating three case studies of clustering of cultural and creative workers who locate in different localities in Taiwan, pays specific attention to: (1) indigenous and non-indigenous people; (2) urban and rural settings and (3) non-economic factors. In each case study, considerations of location selection and the impacts of the factors on practices were investigated via interviews with cultural and creative workers of each cluster. Secondly, interactions among cultural and creative workers of the same cluster were examined to know the

different formats of interactions in varied localities. The findings and results of this research are as follows:

9.2.1. Culture: a dominating factor in the formation of cultural and creative clusters

Mainstream research on cultural and creative industries tends to focus on the economic aspect of the industries. This research argues that non-economic factors are also vital in terms of supporting or understanding the industries; in particular, culture is a dominating factor which enables specific localities to attract cultural and creative workers. In this research, culture refers to identity and personal preference, which are the two major considerations for cultural and creative workers when deciding to locate in specific localities.

For indigenous cultural and creative workers, a locality where they are culturally familiar, such as hometowns, is where they tend to co-locate and establish their cultural and creative careers. In this regard, culture is a vital factor which supports the development of cultural and creative industries in rural localities, i.e., the east coast of Taiwan in this research. Culture also links with identity, which is difficult to obtain in the so-called mainstream society, which has exceptionally vital impacts on indigenous artists of this research. Thus, a culturally familiar locality is where indigenous arts are nurtured and developed.

For non-indigenous cultural and creative workers of this research, localities where they tend to locate reflect their personal preferences for the specific culture of the localities. The personal cultural preferences are also linked with values or ethos which cultural and creative workers tend to follow or exhibit in their practice. This does not necessarily link with the benefits or advantages of production that cultural and creative workers might acquire; instead, it is more about living and working in a specific atmosphere or environment and representing the values and ethos in which they believe. In this regard, individuality is a part of the core of cultural and creative industries which distinguishes it from other industries.

9.2.2 Local community: a pivotal role in supporting cultural and creative workers

It is rare in existing research on cultural and creative industries to discuss the role of the local community, let alone to address its importance. This research argues that the local community plays an important role in supporting cultural and creative workers, thus enhancing the development of cultural and creative clusters. This research shows

that a friendly local community provides certainty for people who are engaged in precarious and uncertain careers of cultural and creative industries. Moreover, further certainty can be gained if a positive relationship between the local community and cultural and creative workers can be established and maintained. In addition, this research shows local communities, with the support of intermediaries, might share the local culture and knowledge with cultural and creative workers, which could lead to prospect development of both a cluster and cultural and creative practice since acquisition of local cultural knowledge can be an inspiration for cultural and creative workers.

This research further argues for the application of the notion of Communities of Practice in cultural and creative clusters, but with a modification to involve local communities in the formation of a cultural and creative community of practice. Based on connections with and interactions among local communities and cultural and creative workers of this research, a cultural and creative community of practice is not only formed by cultural and creative workers, but also incorporates local communities since they can share cultural knowledge that can inspire of ideas for the creation or production of cultural and creative works. Furthermore, the identity of a community of practice in a cultural and creative cluster is shared by both the cultural and creative workers and the local communities.

9.2.3 Affective relationship: a supporting infrastructure for individual cultural and creative workers

Existing research on cultural and creative industries tends to refer to interactions among cultural and creative workers who co-locate in the same locality to be mostly practice-oriented. This research argues that interactions rest on a need for social connection among cultural and creative workers. It does not necessarily link with benefits or advantages that cultural and creative workers might acquire from others. Indeed, it is based on the human need for interaction. This research shows that affective relationships are vital for independent or junior cultural and creative workers as they might be facing precariousness, uncertainty or even frustration. Furthermore, some might experience misunderstandings from their family as the working patterns of cultural and creative sectors are relatively new, and, thus, abnormal for many people. As such, affective relationships among cultural and creative workers become a vital piece of the infrastructure through which support can be reached for the human need of social interaction.

The case studies of this research show that cultural and creative workers who are based in urban localities tend to have more and regular interactions with others whereas cultural and creative workers who are based in a dispersed area have less frequent interactions with others; however, frequency of interactions do not define the quality of a relationship but the affective relationship does. Overall, the affective relationship becomes an essential part of the infrastructure that supports the development of cultural and creative clusters.

9.2.4 Embedded nature of cultural and creative works

Despite the development of cultural and creative industries being seen as locality-based, mainstream discussions focus on the competitive advantages which co-location of firms can acquire. This research argues that 'being locality-based' reflects an embedded nature of cultural and creative works; that is to say, the locality is where cultural and creative works are developed and nurtured. It is a decisive factor that development of cultural and creative works of different localities reflects distinct local features.

Cultural and creative works created by indigenous artists of this research in particular show a higher degree of embeddedness in locality whereas the urban case study, i.e., Taipei City, does not echo that finding. Indigenous artists tend to develop ideas of artworks with a local perspective, i.e., either from the indigenous culture or the environmental issues taking place in the region. They also tend to use materials they can obtain in the region or materials that can symbolise indigenous culture to produce artworks. In this regard, artworks produced by indigenous artists, from ideas to production, are rather embedded in the locality. Thus, this research argues that this embedded nature is another distinct characteristic of cultural and creative works.

Apart from the above-mentioned findings, by comparison of the three case studies with varied local contexts, this research exclusively shows that for indigenous artists who co-locate in the remote locality, i.e., the east coast of Taiwan in this research, on-site face-to-face contact plays a pivotal role in sharing emotion and the knowledge and skills of making driftwood arts in the early stage of forming a community of practice and later a cultural and creative cluster. This case study also represents a rather organic form of a cultural and creative cluster since there is no direct intervention from public sectors, thus enhancing a bottom-up approach. Finally, a crucial factor of cluster development relies on key individuals acting as intermediaries to connect local tribal communities with cultural and creative workers and mentors to

nurture more indigenous talents of the region. Thus, a rural cultural and creative cluster represents a typology unique from its urban counterparts.

Overall, the discussed aspects of cultural and creative industries that impact the development of cultural and creative works and clusters vary case by case; in other words, local context is no doubt the most important factor that nurtures each type of cultural and creative cluster, which a generalised knowledge of cultural and creative industries fails to address.

9.3 Contributions and suggestions

9.3.1 Major dimensions of contributions

The contributions of this research are of two layers. In terms of academic contributions, this research argues for the importance of non-economic factors, i.e. cultural and social, when it comes to formation and development of cultural and creative clusters. Furthermore, this research argues that the mainstream overlooks the intrinsic role of local contexts, which are constituted by the cultural and social factors. This research also shows an alternative approach to which the majority of examples of cultural and creative clusters are of western contexts. Instead, by investigation of three case studies of Taiwan, this research reveals a rather intense connection between localities and development cultural and creative clusters than the existing western examples of cultural and creative clusters.

Referring to policy implication, this research can be a useful reference for future policy promotion or support for cultivating cultural and creative clusters with an emphasis on individualities of varied localities. That is to say, replication of western models of cultural and creative clusters or one-fit-for-all models cannot response to local circumstances or needs of development. Instead, it is vital for policy makers to capture local contexts and uniqueness if they aim to cultivate and sustain a cultural and creative cluster, in particular for promotion and development of cultural and creative clusters in non-urban localities.

9.3.2 Directions and suggestions for further research

This thesis provides an innovative perspective of clustering to normative research of its kind, which is economic-centred. This is achieved by two aspects of effort, namely defining a research topic and an application of different methods of research. Referring to the research topic, this thesis sheds light on the local social and cultural dimensions of clustering which are hidden in mainstream research. Furthermore, most of the existing research has been conducted with urban case studies whereas this thesis

investigates three clusters of varied localities and aims to highlight the particularity of rural clusters. The dimensions and angles set in this thesis are a rare attempt among the existing research, thus, further studies of these two strands are needed for a more thorough understanding of cultural and creative clusters. In addition, while this research attempts to provide an alternative spectrum, from mainstream western ones, to either understand or promote development of cultural and creative clusters of varied local contexts, future studies may focus on comparison of cultural and creative clusters in Asian region to explore diversity of development and application of the notion of clusters.

Referring to research methods, this thesis is conducted using qualitative research, which aims to explore the local contexts of social and cultural dimensions of clustering. As they are often varied from case to case and tend to be intangible and subtle, future research can build on the findings and methods of this thesis to apply it as a template to explore more rural, ethnic and community cases of cultural and creative clusters.

Appendix 1: Interview schedules

- Why do you locate at or relocate to the current locality?
- What is your consideration of locating at or relocating to current locality?
- How does the consideration(s) you mentioned benefit or limit development of your cultural and creative practice?
- Could you specifically talk about how local culture, both material and immaterial, influence your practice?
- How do you interact with other cultural and creative practitioners?
- Do you have regular contact or interact with other practitioners? What is it like?
- Have you ever collaborated with other practitioners? If yes, how did it take place? Or if no, why didn't it happen?
- What is the advantage or disadvantage of interacting with other practitioners on your cultural and creative practice?
- If you used to work in different localities, could you describe or compare the practice?

Appendix 2: Ethics application and confirmation letters

City Research Ethics Committees
Application for Approval of Research Involving Human Participants

Please tick the box for which Committee you are submitting your application to

☐	Senate Research Ethics Committee
☐	Cass Business School
☐	Computer Science
☐	School of Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee
☐	Department for Learning Enhancement and Development

For **Senate** applications: return one signed hardcopy of the completed form and all the supporting documentation to Anna Ramberg, Research Governance & Compliance Manager, Research & Enterprise, Northampton Square, London, EC1V 0HB. Please also email an electronic copy as a single document to Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk (indicating the names of those signing the hard copy).

For **Computer Science** applications: a single copy of the application form and all supporting documents should be emailed to Stephanie Wilson S.M.Wilson@city.ac.uk

For **School of Health Sciences** applications: submit all forms (including the Research Registration form) electronically (in Word format in a single document) to A.Welton@city.ac.uk.

For **Department for Learning Enhancement and Development:** a single copy of the application form and all the supporting documentation should be emailed to Pam Parker (P.M.Parker@city.ac.uk).

Refer to the separate guidelines while completing this form.

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING:

- Ethical approval **MUST** be obtained before any research involving human participants is undertaken. Failure to do so may result in disciplinary procedures being instigated, and you will not be covered by City's indemnity if

you do not have approval in place. It may also result in the degree not being awarded or the data not being published in a peer review journal.

- The Signature Sections **MUST** be completed by the Principal Investigator (the supervisor and the student if it is a student project).

Project Title:
The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan
Short Project Title (no more than 80 characters):
The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries in Taiwan
Name of Principal Investigator(s) (if this is a student project, please note that the Principal Investigator is the supervisor and all correspondence will be with the supervisor):
Professor Andy C. Pratt
Post Held (including staff/student number):
1. Jiun-Yi,Wu: Mphil/PhD student, Student number: 150020635 2. Professor Andy C. Pratt (first supervisor)
Department(s)/School(s) involved at City:
School of Arts & Social Science Department of Sociology Centre for Culture and Creative Industries
If this is part of a degree please specify type of degree:
PhD
Date of Submission of Application:
31/03/2017

Tick this box if you do not grant City permission to use your application form for training purposes ☐

1. Applicant Details

This project involves:

(*tick as many as apply*)

☐	Staff Research	☒	Doctoral Student
☐	Undergraduate	☐	M-level Project
☐	Externally funded	☐	External investigators
☐	Other		
Provide details of external investigators and/or other			

Contact details for the Principal Investigator (including email address and telephone number)

Mphil/PhD student : Jiun-Yi, Wu jiun-yi.wu@city.ac.uk 07731535153

Other staff members involved

Title, Name & Staff Number	*Post*	*Dept & School*	*Phone*	*Email*
Professor Andy C. Pratt	Professor of Cultural Economy	Department of Sociology, SASS	+44 (0)207 040 3352	andy.pratt.1@city.ac.uk

All students involved in carrying out the investigation

Name & Student Number	*Course / Year*	*Dept & School*	*Email*

External co-investigators

Title & Name	*Post*	*Institution*	*Phone*	*Email*

Please describe the role(s) of all the investigators, including all student(s)/external co-investigator(s) in the project, especially with regards to interaction with study participants.

Jiun-Yi,Wu: Design, conduct research and analyse data. Produce interview guides, information sheet and consent form. Recruit participants, arrange, perform and record interviews. Maintain contact with interviewees and ensure ethical conduct throughout the study. Professor Andy C. Pratt: Supervise and give advice on research and ethical conduct.

If external investigators are involved, please provide details of their indemnity cover.

Not applicable

Application Details

1.1 Is this application or any part of this research project being submitted to another ethics committee, or has it previously been submitted to an ethics committee? *This includes an NHS local Research Ethics Committee or a City local Research Ethics Committee or any other institutional committee or collaborating partners or research site.* (See the guidelines for more information on research involving NHS patients.)

YES ☐

NO ☒

If yes, please give details and justification for going to separate committees, details of the Secretary of the relevant authority/committee, and, if appropriate, attach correspondence and details of the outcome of the application, including any conditions of approval or reasons for rejection.

Not applicable

1.2 If any part of the investigation is being carried out under the auspices of an outside organisation, involves collaboration between institutions or individual external researchers, or institutions/organisations where interviews/fieldwork will take place please give details and address of organisation(s).

Not applicable

1.3 Has permission to conduct research in, at or through another institution or organisation been obtained? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☒

If yes, please provide details and attach the supporting correspondence.

Not applicable

1.4 Duration of Project

Start date: May, 2017 Estimated end date: July, 2017

Funding Details

1.5 Is the project reliant on funding? If no, please go to the next section. **YES** ☒ **NO** ☐

If yes, please provide details of the source of financial support (e.g. funding body, charity etc.) for the proposed investigation.

The Ministry of Education, Taiwan

1.5a Has funding been applied for? **YES** ☒ **NO** ☐

1.5b Has funding been approved? **YES** ☒ **NO** ☐

If no, please provide details of when the outcome can be expected

International Research

1.6 Is any part of the research taking place outside of England/Wales? (if not go to section 2)

YES ☒ **NO** ☐

If yes, please provide details of where.

The data collection will be conducted in Taiwan.

1.7 Have you identified and complied with all local requirements concerning ethical approval & research governance*? **YES** ☒ **NO** ☐

1.7a Please provide details of the local requirements, including contact information.

There is little ethical concern regarding doing this research project in Taiwan because only adults who are over 20 years old will be interviewed and experienced cultural workers are not involved in national security issues. In addition, this project will not recruit vulnerable people (see section 4.1) as participants, and all participants will obtain full right to withdraw or refuse to answer questions they may feel uncomfortable to give answers. Thus, there is little risk to participate in this project -. Since there is no regulation to conduct this low-risk research in Taiwan, I will follow the ethics requirement and data protection law in UK to ensure and protect participants' right to the highest standards.

1.7b Please give contact details of a local person identified to field initial complaints locally so the participants can complain without having to write to or telephone the UK.

Associate Professor Pei Fen Hong, Ming Chuan University Email:peifen@mail.mcu.edu.tw, Address: 5 De Ming Rd., Gui Shan District, Taoyuan City 333, Taiwan

*Please note that many countries require local ethical approval or registration of research projects, further some require specific research visas. If you do not abide by the local rules of the host country, you will invalidate your ethical approval from City, and may run the risk of legal action within the host country.

2. Project Details

2.1 Provide the background (including the current state of the art in this field), aim(s) and objectives of the proposed research,

Cultural industries have received massive attention from both academic and political spheres. In Taiwan, it has been considered to be of importance to economic development, as well as social and cultural development. This is also seen as a hot issue for indigenous development as there are 16 different indigenous groups in Taiwan and they have been suffering from obstacles of economic, social and cultural development.

Due to differences of social and cultural development, the development trajectories of cultural industries and clustering may vary by countries. Furthermore, indigenous cultural industries may have different development and features, which the mainstream fails to address. Therefore, this research will study different types of clusters in Taiwan, including clusters that mainly consist of indigenous cultural workers and clusters formed mainly by non-indigenous cultural workers.

As to cultural industry itself and clustering in cultural industries, mainstream researches tend to look more at economic value of it and overlook the importance of individual cultural workers. Thus, this research intends to scrutinise social and cultural dimensions of clustering and its' impact on individual cultural workers. The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To understand considerations and incentives of clustering.
2. To understand interaction between different cultural workers within clusters and the impact of such clustering, both socially and culturally.
3. To understand the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous clusters.

2.2 Please explain how this project will further existing knowledge.

The results of this research projects may make contributions to the following areas:

1. Social-cultural aspects of cultural industries and clustering since the mainstream focuses more on economic dimension.
2. Demonstrate the differences of clustering models/approaches between different clusters.

2.3 Provide a summary and brief explanation of the design, methodology and plan for analysis that you propose to use.

In order to study different types of clusters in Taiwan, this research will choose two clusters located in places with relatively large indigenous population and the other two are mainly with population of non-indigenous people. In the indigenous clusters, this research intends to recruit indigenous cultural workers whereas recruiting non-indigenous cultural workers in the other two non-indigenous clusters.

In order to understand individual perspectives of clustering, this research will apply qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, to scrutinise the social and cultural dimensions of that. Since this research intends to investigate the social interaction and understand the cultural value/impact of clustering, a qualitative approach, which can develop context-rich, detailed and descriptive accounts, will be rather suitable for this research.

This research will recruit 8 participants in each cluster to conduct interview, which is considered as the most direct way to understand individual's perspective on specific topics in depth. Additionally, focus groups may lead participants to bring about intensive interaction while they debate or persuade each other (Jensen & Laurie, 2016). This research will conduct 2 focus groups in each cluster and each focus group will recruit at least three participants. This method will be applied to know how cultural workers interact with each other and what sorts of information has been exchanged within clusters.

The clusters and parts of participants (the rest will be recognised by snowball) will be selected from a list of a funding project, which aims to support individual cultural workers and promote the cluster development, granted by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan since 2011. I will seek to present the overall gender balance of all participants, as well as the criteria set up for participants recruitment as follows:

1. Participants should work in the sectors of cultural industries and create or produce physical goods, performance or services within clusters. People who work as shop owners or salesmen/saleswomen will be excluded.
2. Participants should situate in clusters for at least one year and this should be the place s/he mostly works at.

As to data analysis, open-coding will be applied in order to capture the key concepts of all the participants.

2.4 Please explain how/if participants will be provided with the findings or outcomes of the project.

I will send them a short summary of the result of this project and links of websites of any conference papers.

2.5 What do you consider are the ethical issues associated with conducting this research and how do you propose to address them?

The recruitment of interviewees will be based on the principle of voluntary consent. All interviewees will be informed the purposes of this research, the content of research questions and their rights of being a participant in this research before conducting further investigation. Besides, all the data offered by interviewees will be presented anonymously in final thesis or conference papers and journal articles. They will also be informed that they have the right to withdraw from participation at any point of the research.

This research mainly aims to shed light on participants' working experiences within clusters and scrutinise differences between indigenous and non-indigenous clustering approaches. Thus, no radical issue will be investigated, and all the interviewees will also be informed that they obtain the right to refuse to answer questions that they may have further concerns. Besides, I will fully respect and honour interviewees' perspectives and retain the integrity of their perspectives.

As to the recruitment of indigenous participants, the ethical concern could be properly avoided by my previous experiences and knowledge. I have conducted two projects which were about indigenous cultural product designs during my MA programme, and my dissertation was also about indigenous product design. Furthermore, in my previous job, I have been familiar with many indigenous artists and designers. As a consequence, these networks and experiences will enable me to be culturally familiar and I will know how to approach them and treat them respectfully.

The interview will be conducted in Mandarin, but if participants, particularly indigenous participants, would like to have interpreters, s/he will be allowed to do so.

2.6 How is the research intended to benefit the participants, third parties and/or the local community? Please consider both direct and long term benefits.

The Committee recognises this does not apply to all research projects.

This research may provide a deeper understanding of the role of indigenous parks in creative clustering for policy makers, for both central and local governments, in terms of cultural policy-making or regional development planning.

2.7 Will invasive procedures (for example medical or surgical) be used?

YES ☐ **NO** ☒

2.7a If yes, what precautions will you take to minimise any potential harm?

Not applicable

2.8 Will intrusive procedures (for example psychological or social) be used?

YES ☐ NO ☒

2.8a If yes, what precautions will you take to minimise any potential harm?

Not applicable

2.9 In the course of the investigation might pain, discomfort (including psychological discomfort), inconvenience or danger be caused? YES ☐ NO ☒

2.9a If yes, what precautions will you take to minimise any potential harm?

Not applicable

3. Information about Participants

3.1 How many participants will be involved?

50 to 60 participants

3.1a What is the age group and gender of the participants?

Both male and female adult who age above 20 will be the recruited. I will also seek to present the gender balance of all participants. The research in indigenous clusters will mostly recruit indigenous cultural workers although there may be non-indigenous cultural workers who use indigenous cultural elements in their works within the same indigenous clusters.)

3.1b Explain how the sample size has been determined. If statistical sampling is relevant to this application, please include details of how the sample size was calculated.

This research will involve four clusters. 8 participants will be recruited to conduct interview while 6 will attend focus groups in each cluster. Overall, there will be 56 participants.

3.1c Please specify inclusion and exclusion criteria. If exclusion of participants is made on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity, race, disability, sexuality, religion or any other factor, please justify this.

The criteria set up for participants recruitment are as follows:

1. Participants should work in the sectors of cultural industries and create or produce physical goods, performance or services within clusters. People who work as shop owners or salesmen/saleswomen will be excluded.
2. Participants should situate in clusters for at least one year and this should be the place he/she mostly works at.

3.2 How are the participants to be identified, approached and recruited, and by whom?

This research will use lists of a funding project, which aims at support individual cultural workers and promote cluster development and granted by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan, to conduct mapping in order to define clusters which will be the cases of this project. Once the clusters being defined, cultural workers who are from the defined clusters and have received the funding will be considered as participants if they are satisfied by the criteria set by this research. Further participants will be identified by the introduction of the previous participants. And all participants will be recruited based on the above criteria and voluntary consent. They will be informed that their participation will not influence their right/relationship with the government, instead, it is only for academic research.

3.3 Describe the procedure that will be used when seeking and obtaining consent, including when consent will be obtained. Include details of (a) who will obtain the consent, (b) how you are intending to arrange for a copy of the signed consent form to be given to the participants, (c) when they will receive the participant information sheet, and (d) how long the participants have between receiving information about the study and giving consent.

Each participant will be given a written explanation about the research in either English or Chinese according to their language preference. There will be no ethical implications with regards to this since they all indigenous partcipants speak Mandarin and they do not have written words in their languages. The language and word choice will be simple and understandable format. The explanation will be printed on paper with university heading, letting the participants know this is an official university activity. The sheet will provide the following details: the title, the aims/objectives of the research, how their participation will be documented, how their information will be protected, how the data will be used, stored and who can get accessed to, and the name and email contact of the researcher and the supervisor if they would like to withdraw their participation. To ensure compliance with the UK Data protection Act 1988,

the participants will be informed about what information will be held about them and that the only person who will have access to it will be the researcher and the research supervisor. In addition, there will be a short explanation about how and why the participants are selected. It will also explain how the interview is conduct and general direction about the question list.

The participant information sheet, interview schedule and consent form will be sent, by e-mail or post, directly to people who express their initial interests in this research project. They will be offered three days to make their decision of participation. It could be extended two more days upon request. All documents will be sent to potential participants no later than one week prior to interview dates. Once they agree to take part in this research, the consent form should be signed and returned to researcher upon request. Or they will be allowed to send it by e-mail, and the physical copy could be collected on the date interview take place.

3.4 How will the participant's physical and mental suitability for participation be assessed? Are there any issues related to the ability of participants to give informed consent themselves or are you relying on gatekeepers on their behalf?

Because the participants of this research are all adults, they are capable and responsible for their own consent. The researcher will ensure the participants' physical and mental condition is suitable for participating conduction in the beginning. If before interviewing, the participants suffer from unexpected serious illness or accidents, the interviews will be cancelled according to participants' wish.

3.5 Are there any special pressures that may make it difficult for participants to refuse to take part in the study? Are any of the potential participants in a dependent relationship with any of the investigators (for instance student, colleague or employee) particularly those involved in recruiting for or conducting the project?

No.

3.6 Will the participant's doctor be notified? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☒

(If so, provide a sample letter to the subject's GP.)

3.7 What procedures are in place for the appropriate referral of a study participant who discloses an emotional, psychological, health, education or other issue during the course of the research or is identified by the researcher to have such a need?

As mentioned above, this is a low-risked project, but if such situation happen, the interview could be stopped and the researcher may arrange another interview, or the participants can withdraw from this research. If the participants have concerns or complaints, they may get in

touch with the local contact of this research or the research supervisor.

3.8 Is there any risk (emotional, psychological, health or other issues) to the researcher(s)?

No

3.9 What steps will be taken to safeguard the participants from over-research (i.e. to ensure that the participants are not being used in multiple research projects including those of other researchers)? Please consider all research projects whatever their field, not just those performed by you.

The participants will be informed on both written and oral form that they have the right to not to participate in the research project and that their participation is entirely voluntary. All participants will only be involved in this research project and interviewed by me, and they will only need to share their perspectives of research questions proposed by this research. Furthermore, in order to preventing them from being identified and researched by other research projects, all the data presented in my thesis or any other publication will be anonymous.

3.10 Where will the research take place?

It will take place in Taiwan.

3.11 What health and safety issues, if any, are there to consider?

No

3.12 How have you addressed the health and safety concerns of the participants, researchers and any other people impacted by this study? (This includes research involving going into participants' homes.)

No. The interviews will take place either in their office or in a public space, like café. Those places follow the health and safety guideline according to the local authorities.

3.13 It is a requirement that at least an initial assessment of risk be undertaken for all research and if necessary a more detailed risk assessment be carried out. Has a risk assessment been undertaken?* **YES ☒ NO ☐**

Please contact the Health & Safety Office (safetyoffice@city.ac.uk) for advice on risk assessments and/or how to complete it.

3.14 Are you offering any incentives or rewards for participating? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☒

If yes please give details

Not applicable

3.15 Does the research involve any of the following:

Children under the age of 5 years	**YES** ☐ **NO** ☒
Clinical trials / intervention testing?	**YES** ☐ **NO** ☒
Over 500 participants?	**YES** ☐ **NO** ☒
Are you specifically recruiting pregnant women	**YES** ☐ **NO** ☒
Excluding information collected via questionnaires (either paper based or online), is any part of the research taking place outside of the UK?	**YES** ☒ **NO** ☐

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above questions you will need to check that the City's insurance will cover your research. You should do this by submitting this application to insurance@city.ac.uk before applying for ethics approval.

*Note that it is the Committee's prerogative to ask to view risk assessments.

4. Vulnerable Groups

4.1 Will persons from any of the following groups be participating in the study? (If not go to section 5.)

Adults without capacity to consent	☐
Children under the age of 18	☐
Those with learning disabilities	☐
Prisoners	☐
Vulnerable adults	☐
Young offenders (16-21 years)	☐
Those who would be considered to have a particular dependent relationship with the investigator (e.g. those in care homes, students, employees, colleagues)	☐

4.2 Will you be recruiting or have direct contact with any children under the age of 18?

YES ☐ **NO** ☐

4.2a If yes, please give details of the child protection procedures you propose to adopt should there be any evidence of or suspicion of harm (physical, emotional or sexual) to a young person. Include a referral protocol identifying what to do and who should be contacted.

4.2b Please give details of how you propose to ensure the well-being of the young person, particularly with respect to ensuring that they do not feel pressured to take part in the research and that they are free to withdraw from the study without any prejudice to themselves at any time.

4.3 Will you be recruiting or have direct contact with vulnerable adults? YES ☐ NO ☐

4.3a If yes, please give details of the protection procedures you propose to adopt should there be any evidence of or suspicion of harm (physical, emotional or sexual) to a vulnerable adult. Include a referral protocol, identifying what to do and who should be contacted.

4.3b Please give details of how you propose to ensure the well-being of vulnerable adults, particularly with respect to ensuring that they do not feel pressured to take part in the research and that they are free to withdraw from the study without any prejudice to themselves at anytime. You should indicate how you intend to ascertain that person's views and wishes.

4.3c Please give details of any City staff or students who will have contact with vulnerable adults and/or will have contact with young people (under the age of 18) and details of current (within the last 3 years) City Disclosure and Barring check.

Name	*Dept & School*	*Student/Staff*	*Date of DBS*	*Type of disclosure*

		Number		

4.3d Please give details of any non-City staff or students who will have contact with vulnerable adults and/or will have contact with young people (under the age of 18) and details of current (within the last 3 years) Disclosure and Barring check.

Name	*Institution*	*Address of organisation that requested the disclosure*	*Date of DBS*	*Type of disclosure*

4.4 Will you be recruiting any participants who fall under the Mental Capacity Act 2005?

YES ☐ **NO** ☐

If so you MUST get approval from an HRA approved committee (see separate guidelines for more information).

5. Data Collection

5.1 Please indicate which of the following you will be using to collect your data

Please tick all that apply

Questionnaire	☐
Interviews	☒
Participant observation	☐
Focus groups	☒
Audio/digital-recording interviewees or events	☒
Video recording	☒
Physiological measurements	☐
Digital/computer data	☐
Other	☐

Please give details if you have ticked other	

5.1b What steps, if any, will be taken to safeguard the confidentiality of the participants (including companies)?

The participants will not be identifiable as all data presented in my thesis or any other publication will be anonymous and identifier will be removed and replaced by a code as well.

If you are using interviews or focus groups, please attach a topic guide. If you are using questionnaire, please attach the questionnaire.

The questions will be based on the following schedule 1. Why do you cluster? a. What is the incentive of clustering? b. What is the consideration/benefits of clustering in specific places? Do you take culture into consideration as to clustering? 2. How do you interact with each other? a. Do you have regular contact or ever collaborate with each other? And how do these contact happen? b. What do you share or exchange during such interaction?
6. Confidentiality and Data Handling

6.1 Will the research involve:

• **complete anonymity of participants** (i.e. researchers will not meet, or know the identity of participants, as participants are a part of a random sample and are required to return responses with no form of personal identification)**?**	☐
• **anonymised sample or data** (i.e. an *irreversible* process whereby identifiers are removed from data and replaced by a code, with no record retained of how the code relates to the identifiers. It is then impossible to identify the individual to whom the sample of information relates)**?**	☐
• **de-identified samples or data** (i.e. a *reversible* process whereby identifiers are replaced by a code, to which the researcher retains the key, in a secure location)?	☒
• **subjects being referred to by pseudonym in any publication arising from the research?**	☒
• **any other method of protecting the privacy of participants?** (e.g. use of direct quotes with specific permission only; use of real name with specific, written permission only)	☐
Please give details of 'any other method of protecting the privacy of participants' is used	

6.1a Which of the following methods of assuring confidentiality of data will be implemented?

Please tick all the options that apply

• data to be kept in a locked filing cabinet	☒
• data and identifiers to be kept in separate, locked filing cabinets	☒
• access to computer files to be available by password only	☒
• storage at City	☐
• stored on an encrypted device (e.g. laptop, hard drive, USB)	☒
• stored at other site	☐
If stored at another site, please give details.	

6.1b Will the data be accessed by people other than the named researcher?

YES ☐ **NO** ☒

If yes, please explain by whom and for what purpose.

Not applicable

6.2 Is the data intended for reuse or to be shared as part of longitudinal research, or a different/wider research project now, or in the future? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☒

If yes, please provide details.

Not applicable

6.2a If the project is funded, does the funding body (e.g. ESRC) require that the data be stored and made available for reuse/sharing? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☒

6.2b If you have responded yes to any of the questions above, explain how you are intending to obtain explicit consent for the reuse and/or sharing of the data.

Not applicable

6.3 Retention and Destruction of Data

6.3a Does the funding body or your professional organisation/affiliation place obligations or recommendations on the retention and destruction of research data?

YES ☐ **NO** ☒

If yes, what are your affiliations/funding and what are the requirements? (If no, please specify City guidelines on retention.)

6.3b How long are you intending to keep the data?

Note that the institutional guidelines on retention state a minimum of 10 years.

This research will follow City's guidelines on retention. The data will be kept one year after the completion of the project. No more than 3 years in total from the start of the project.

6.3c How are you intending to destroy the data after this period?

Please find guidance here.

This research will follow City's guidelines on retention. Data will be destroyed 1 year after the project is completed

7. Curriculum Vitae

CV OF APPLICANTS (**Please duplicate this page for each applicant, including external persons and students involved.)**

NAME:	Jiun-Yi,Wu
Title of Post:	MPhil/PhD student
Department:	Department of Sociology
Is your post funded for the duration of this proposal?	Yes
Funding source (if not City)	Ministry of Education, Taiwan
Please give a summary of your training/experience that is relevant to this research project	
I have obtained related research experiences, including conducting interviews, research project management and implementing data processing and analysis from previous education and jobs. I also attended conferences to present the research results. **Educational background** 1. Master of Industrial Design (Sep. 2010-Jun. 2012) Graduate Institute of Innovation and Design, National Taipei University of Technology 2. Bachelor of Education (Sep. 2003-Jun. 2007) Department of Social Studies Education, National Taichung University **Related work experiences** 1. Project Assistant, Department of Cultural and Creative Development, Ministry of Culture,	

Taiwan (Jul. 2012-Aug. 2015)

2. Research Assistant, National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan (Sep. 2010-Jun. 2012)

Conference presentation

1. Clustering and the Impacts on Creative Workers: A Case Study of Taipei, International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (South Korea), 2016
2. A Study of Taiwan's Indigenous Craftsmen's Cognitions Towards Cultural Products, International Conference on Kansei Engineering and Emotion Research (Taiwan), 2012
3. A Study of Innovation and Design of Taiwan's Indigenous Pattern, 17th CID Annual Design Conference (Taiwan), 2012
4. A Study of Cultural Product Design - Using Amis Harvest Festival as Design Elements, 2011 International Conference of Innovation & Design (Taiwan), 2011

8.1 Supervisor's statement on the student's skills and ability to carry out the proposed research, as well as the merits of the research topic (up to 500 words)

This is a well-designed project and the student has considered the practical and ethical challenges that he is likely to encounter. He is culturally familiar with the groups that he will interview. The research instruments are appropriate, as are the sample and data collection procedures outlined. The correct ethical procedures have been applied. The student has appropriate research training, as well as previous work experience, to be able to implement this project. I am fully confident that this will be a success.

I confirm that I have discussed the project with the student to my satisfaction.	
Supervisor's Signature	
Print Name	Andy C. Pratt

8. Additional documents

You are expected to provide copies of relevant documents including all letters to be sent to participants and other individuals (such as GPs) and organisations involved in the research.

Please follow the guidelines and templates which can be found at

http://www.city.ac.uk/research/research-and-enterprise/research-ethics

Document Checklist		
Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces for all documents you are submitting		
	Attached	**Not applicable**
Copy of study advertisement (including recruitment emails/letters)		
Participant information sheet	X	
Participant consent form	x	
Questionnaire(s)		
Topic guide(s)	x	
Confirmation letter(s) from / correspondence with external organisations		
Confirmation that insurance is in place		
Product information		
GP Letter		
Other (please provide details)		

9. Additional Information

10. Declarations by Investigator(s)

- I certify that to the best of my knowledge the information given above, together with any accompanying information, is complete and correct.
- I have read City's guidelines on human research ethics, and accept the responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in the attached application.
- I have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting the project.
- I understand that **no** research work involving human participants or data can commence until **full** ethical approval has been given

	Print Name	Signature
Principal Investigator(s) (student and supervisor if student project)	Andy C. Pratt	
	Jiun-Yi, Wu	
Associate Dean for Research (or equivalent) or authorised signatory		
Date		

9. Template for Participant Information Sheet

School of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Sociology
Northampton Square
London, EC1V 0HB
United Kingdom

arts@city.ac.uk +44 (0)20 7040 3720

Participant Information Sheet

Title of study: The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan

We would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you would like to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?
This PhD research attempts to understand the social-cultural aspect of clustering in cultural industries.

Why have I been invited?
The researcher is interested in recruiting indigenous and non-indigenous people who obtain minimum practical experience of one year in participating in cultural industries and situated in specific places which are identified by this research

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There will be no penalty if you decide to withdraw.

What will happen if I take part?

The research adopts semi-structured interview and focus group, so you will be given a brief framework about the questions and the researcher may have follow up questions according to your answers. The interview will be up to 1 to 2 hours and the focus group will take up to 1.5 to 2.5 hours. You will be allow to divide the interview into several sections to meet your schedule, but the focus group will only be completed together with other participants once. You can choose any public places like cafes or your office for being interviewed. And the focus group will also be implemented in public places which meet all participants' need. The conversation will be digitally recorded. The research result will be published in late 2018 or early 2019.

What do I have to do?

You will be asked to share your experiences of working in a clustering environment with the researcher.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

The participation is based on voluntary consent. Thus, you will obtain the right to refuse to share any information which you may have further concerns.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your practical experiences may enable this research to make contribution to the existing knowledge of studies of clusters and cultural industries. They may also be of help to policy-making.

What will happen when the research study stops?

All your data will be proceeded properly following regulations of UK Data Protection Act 1988.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

The first-hand information including transcription, consent forms, audio/video recording and research notes will be securely stored and only the researcher will get access to. All published information will be anonymised. And identifiable

information will be deleted after the completion of this study in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1988.

What will happen to results of the research study?
Anonymised data will form the basis for a PhD thesis and associated academic publications and presentation. If you wish, you will be supplied with a digital copy of the research findings once the project is completed.

What will happen if I do not want to carry on with the study?
You will obtain the right to withdraw from the study without an explanation or penalty at any time.

What if there is a problem?
If you have any problems, concerns or questions about this study, you should ask to speak to a member of the research team. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this through the University complaints procedure. If you live in Taiwan and prefer not to send your complaints to overseas contact window, there is a local contact which you may express your concerns with.

Taiwan:
Associate Professor Pei Fen Hong,
Email:peifen@mail.mcu.edu.tw,
Address: 5 De Ming Rd., Gui Shan District, Taoyuan City 333, Taiwan

If you prefer to complaint about this study to City University London, you need to phone 020 7040 3040. You can then ask to speak to the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee and inform them that the name of the project is: The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan. You could also write to the Secretary at:

Anna Ramberg
Research Governance & Compliance Manager
Research & Enterprise
City, University of London
Northampton Square

London
EC1V 0HB
Email: Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk

City holds insurance policies which apply to this study. If you feel you have been harmed or injured by taking part in this study you may be eligible to claim compensation. This does not affect your legal rights to seek compensation. If you are harmed due to someone's negligence, then you may have grounds for legal action.

Who has reviewed the study?
This study has been approved by the Sociology Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details
Researcher: Mr Jiun-Yi, Wu, jiun-yi.wu@city.ac.uk
Supervisor: Professor Andy Pratt, andy.pratt.1@city.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

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說明書

研究名稱：文化產業群聚的社會與文化面向-臺灣原住民與非原住民聚落之比較研究
研究員：吳竣逸，倫敦城市大學 文化暨創意產業中心博士生

我們想邀請您參與這個研究計畫。在您決定是否參與前，我們將說明這研究的目的與範疇，還有您參與此計畫的方式。請仔細閱讀以下資訊，若有任何問題或疑慮，請立即告訴我們。

研究內容與目的：
此博士生研究計畫試從社會與文化面向探討群聚對於文化(創意)產業工作者的影響。

研究對象：
本研究希望邀請具文化(創意)產業工作實務經驗至少一年之原住民與非原住民工作者。

參與機制：
您可自行決定是否要參與本研究，如果您同意參與，請在受訪同意書上簽名。受訪後，若您對參與此研究有任何其他疑慮，您隨時可以退出本研究，無需解釋您的理由。

參與方式：
此研究採用 semi-structured 深度訪談與焦點團體訪談，所以研究者會告知您整體題目設計方向，再進行訪談，根據您的回答，研究者可能會延伸其他問題。每一深度訪談預計 1 至 2 小時，焦點團體訪談則約 1.5 小時至 2.5 小時。除非您行程安排無法在一次訪談中回答所有問題，此時您再跟研究者另約訪談時間，焦點團體訪談則須與其他受訪者一次完成。您可選擇任何公共場所(例如咖啡館) 或您的辦公室進行訪談，焦點團體訪談也將於受訪者皆同意之公共場所進行。所有訪談記錄會被錄音或錄影。此計畫結果將在 2018 年底或 2019 年初公布出版。

題目範圍：
此深度訪談的題目將圍繞著您於聚落內工作以及與其他單位互動之經驗。

參與的潛在風險：
基於參與者之自由意願，您有權拒絕回答有所顧慮之問題，例如商業機密等。

參與的潛在利益：

您的參與將有助於本研究對於現存相關研究不足之部分之補充以及提供相關政策制定之參考。

參與者的匿名保護：

所有關於此深度訪談的逐字稿、錄音檔、參與同意書和研究者的筆記，都會被研究者妥善儲存，除該研究者外無其他人能接觸到這些資料。所有出版的訊息中，提及的資料都會匿名化處理。其未匿名化的資料在此計畫完成後，依據英國個人資訊保護法 1988，銷毀處理。

資料的應用範圍與計畫結束：

所有匿名化的資料將會用以撰寫該研究生的博士論文，與其博士論文相關的論文、研討會發表。如果您對研究成果有興趣，您將會在該論文定稿發表後，收到該論文的全文電子檔。

關於參與此研究的疑問與申訴：

如果您對參與該研究有任何問題，您可以聯繫研究者。若您對參與該研究的過程中有所不滿，並想要申訴，您可以聯繫倫敦城市大學，並依據該大學的申訴管道規定辦理。若您在臺灣，不想使用跨國投訴的管道，以下在臺灣有一聯絡人，您可以透過她進行書面申訴。聯繫資料如下：

洪珮芬 助理教授，
地址：333 桃園縣龜山鄉德明路 5 號
電子信箱：peifen@mail.mcu.edu.tw

如果您想針對此研究案申訴，您可以撥打英國電話 +44(0)20 7040 3040，並要求與 Senate 研究倫理委員會秘書 Anna Ramberg 對談，請同時告知秘書該計畫之英文全名：The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries：A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan。該秘書的聯繫方式如下：

Anna Ramberg
Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee
Research Office, E214
City University London
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
Email: Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk

倫敦城市大學針對該研究有人身保險。如果您在參與過程中受傷，您可以申請賠償，這並不與您依法求償權利相衝突，您仍可透過法院向其他單位求償。

審核研究倫理機關：

此研究已獲倫敦城市大學批准執行，由藝術暨社會科學學院研究倫理委員會監督

研究員聯絡方式：
研究員：吳竣逸，電子信箱：jiun-yi.wu@city.ac.uk
指導教授：Andy Pratt 教授，電子信箱：andy.pratt.1@city.ac.uk

誠摯感謝您閱覽此份計畫說明書

10. Template for Consent Form

School of Arts and Social Sciences
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Northampton Square
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arts@city.ac.uk +44 (0)20 7040 3720

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan

Please initial box

1.	I confirm that I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the participant information sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand this will involve: • be interviewed by the researcher • allow the interview to be videotaped/audiotaped	
2.	This information will be held and processed for the following purpose(s): • as the data for a PhD thesis and associated academic publications and presentation I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party. No identifiable personal data will be published. The identifiable data will not be shared with any other organisation.	
3.	I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to	

	participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.	
4.	I agree to City recording and processing this information about me. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on City complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998.	
5.	I agree to take part in the above study.	

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

When completed, 1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher file.

School of Arts and Social Sciences
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同意書

研究名稱：文化產業群聚的社會與文化面向-臺灣原住民與非原住民聚落之比較研究

請於格內簽名以示同意

1.	我同意參與這個由倫敦城市大學監督的研究計畫。我明瞭此研究並研讀過參與計畫說明書，並留有該說明書的中英文副本。 我知道參與此份計畫會包含： • 被研究員深度訪談 • 同意該訪談內容被錄音	
2.	這訪談資料將會被儲存並作為該博士論文的基礎資料，也可能會應用在該論文的相關發表著作中。 我了解所有我提供的內容屬機密，任何出版的分析或資料將不會引導他人辨識出發言人與隱涉對象或機關。任何個人資料都不會被公開，或與第三方機構共享。	
3.	我是自願參與此研究計畫，並決定是參與部分或全程。我知道我有權利隨時退出該計畫，且對我無任何負面影響。	
4.	我同意倫敦城市大學記錄並分析由我所提供的訊息。我了解這些訊息將只會應用於上述所及研究目的與結果。且我的同意是建立在該研究機構遵從英國的 1998 年所頒布的個人資料保護法。	
5.	我同意參與該研究	

_____ _____ _____

參與者姓名（正楷） 簽名 日期

_____ _____ _____

研究者姓名（正楷） 簽名 日期

此表格一式兩份，簽署後一份參與者留存，一份研究者留存。

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CITY
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
EST 1894

31 May 2017

To whom it may concern:

Reference:	Soc REC 150020635/31-5-17
Principal Investigator:	Jiun-Yi Wu
Project Title:	The Social-Cultural Aspect of Clustering in Cultural Industries: A Comparative Study of Indigenous Clusters and Non-Indigenous Clusters of Taiwan
Start Date:	May 2017
End Date:	July 2017
Approval Date:	31 May 2017

This is to confirm that the research proposal detailed above has been granted formal approval by the Sociology Research Ethics Committee.

Please note the following:

Project amendments

You will need to submit an Amendments Form to the Ethics Committee if you wish to make any of the following changes to your research:

(a) recruit a new category of participants;
(b) change, or add to, the research method employed;
(c) collect additional types of data;
(d) change the researchers involved in the project.

Adverse events

You will need to submit an Adverse Events Form to the Chair of the Committee, copied to the Secretary of Senate Research Ethics Committee (Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk), in the event of any of the following:

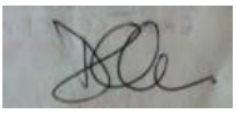
(a) adverse events;
(b) breaches of confidentiality;
(c) safeguarding issues relating to children and vulnerable adults;
(d) incidents that affect the personal safety of a participant or researcher.

Issues (a) and (b) should be reported as soon as possible and no later than 5 days after the event. Issues (c) and (d) should be reported immediately. Where appropriate, the researcher should also report adverse events to other relevant institutions, such as the police or social services.

The forms are available at http://www.city.ac.uk/research/research-and-enterprise/research-ethics/forms-and-guidance.

Should you have any further queries relating to this matter, then please do not hesitate to contact me. On behalf of the Sociology Research Ethics Committee, I hope that the project meets with success.

Kind regards



Dr. Diana Yeh
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Email: diana.yeh@city.ac.uk

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