The Attractiveness of Moving to a Creative Cluster

An analysis on the “hard” and “soft” factors for attracting creative individuals to locate in a creative cluster: insights from Hong Kong’s “creative class”

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Cover Photo taken by author in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (April, 2012).

Abstract

The “creative class” theory has received considerable attention over the past decade, which academic scholars and urban policymakers questioned about its relevance for urban economic growth. The creative individuals have been thought of as agents of urban regeneration in the age of innovation-driven creative economy. Remarkably, several “soft” factors such as cultural amenities, tolerance and openness have been argued to be important elements for attracting and retaining the creative class in city. Meanwhile, the idea of developing “creative cluster” for these creative individuals has been seen as a new way to stimulate creativity, simultaneously contribute to economic and cultural development in city.

The main purpose of this paper is to empirically analyze the extent to which the “soft” factors play more important roles than “hard” factors for attracting creative individuals to converge in a creative cluster. The background of this paper on creative cluster analysis and the findings are based in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC), in the city of Hong Kong. This line of research may enable a better understanding of the “hard” and “soft” factors that attract creative individuals to locate in creative clusters.

Keywords: *Creativity, creative class, creative cluster, urban regeneration, hard location factors, soft location factors, Hong Kong.*

Preface

Places that contained of certain kinds of amenities and "soft" location factors have long been emphasized as magnates for creative talent pool; which will lead to region economic growth. What attracts creative people to move to a creative cluster? The intent of this study is to understand the "soft" and "hard" location factors for attracting creative individuals to move to a creative cluster in Hong Kong. Theories are derived from extensive researches on creative clusters and location factors from the western society.

Hong Kong is my hometown. To contribute to Hong Kong by conducting research in relation to her arts and culture development, is the motivation for this research. After the handover to China in 1997, there were different voices beyond the cultural development in Hong Kong. Indeed, Hong Kong is experiencing the creative economy. The government sought for innovative ways to spur its economy and has adopted the creative agenda from the West. More specifically, conspicuous cultural infrastructures and what were so-called "creative clusters" have been developed enormously over the last decade. In general, policy makers believed that these infrastructures could attract and retain creative talents; consequently bring internal and external economic advantages to the city. My question is: to what extent do "soft" location factors play more important roles for attracting the creative individuals to agglomerate in a cluster.

The conversation with creative workers of several professions in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC), has enriched the knowledge on the relative importance of "soft" and "hard" factors for attracting them to move to JCCAC. Hopefully, findings of this micro research, based on the city of Hong Kong, can further improve the theories of existing academic researches on the location decisions of human capital.

Special thanks to all participants of the questionnaire survey, respondents of the interviews, and the Programme and Development Manager of JCCAC, Wylie So, for their generous support for the project.

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Betty Wong
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Table of Contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of Appendix

List of Abbreviations

HKADC: Hong Kong Arts Development Council
JCCAC: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre

PART I INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

The "creative class" theory has received considerable attention over the past decade, which academic scholars and urban policymakers questioned about its relevance for urban economic growth. Cities rediscover the importance of using art and culture to enhance their quality of life, and to be competitive in the global world (Bille and Schulze, 2006). The creative individuals have been thought of as agents of urban regeneration in the age of innovation-driven creative economy. Remarkably, several "soft" factors such as cultural amenities, tolerance and openness have been argued to be important elements for attracting and retaining the creative class in city.

In line with this concept, the study of where creativity is "located" has been a hot research topic in the new economy. Much of the attention has centered on the location decisions of firms, which focus on industry clusters (Dziembowska-Kowalska and Funck, 1999; Porter, 1998; Delgado, 2009; Ketels and Memedovic, 2008). Extensive theories have been built on whether clustering of firms really matters to regional economic growth. Delgado, Porter and Stern (2011) recognize that industrial clusters would contribute to economic and social advantages. On the other hand, a second approach is carried out on the location decisions of human capital. Scholars point out that human capital; creative individuals or creative labours are the primitive source of creativity that leads to urban growth (Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002: 226; Florida, 2002; 2005; Glaeser, 2005). They encourage that cities could upgrade certain kind of amenities for shaping their cultural identities, which are appealing to creative talents.

Meanwhile, the idea of developing creative cluster for these creative individuals has been seen as a new way to stimulate creativity, simultaneously contribute to economic and cultural development in the regions. Significantly, we can observe the high-speed competition of building cultural quarters, cultural districts, or creative clusters and hubs in many cities are even harder than before. Different reasons may lay behind this vast investment on art and culture, it may because to attract and retain the lure talented pools; or to attract cultural tourists to propel the short-term regional economy (Currid, 2009).

Why do some creative individuals choose to cluster in certain places? Does "soft" factors play a more important role than "hard" factors for accommodating creative individuals? To answer these questions, it is thereby important to understand the agglomeration of creative individuals' and their location choices. It has been a decade now since Richard Florida advocated *The Rise of the Creative Class*. He suggested that "quality of place" factor (2002: 232), is the most essential factor that fascinating creative talents to move to certain places. Yet, it is arguable whether the notion of creative class is relevant in different regions.

There have been very limited empirical studies investigating the factors for attracting creative individuals to move to a creative cluster. This study has a goal to fill in the literatures gap of "hard" and "soft" location factors; that would influence the location choices of creative workers. In particular, we will base on the study of a creative cluster in Hong Kong, to understand the location factors that lead people to converge in a creative cluster.

According to Florida's creative class theory, there is an evident that the locational factors for potential creative residents have been shifted from hard to soft. Notably, the vast competition of creative cluster and spaces development began, when Florida highlighted the creative talents were magnets to which mobile, high technology and high-growth firms were drawn to growth. He argued that cities should be aware of the conventional locational factors are no longer applicable to the creative people's location decision-making. In this paper, we will test whether the creative class theory and "soft" factors hold true in the city of Hong Kong, by studying a creative cluster.

Assuming that creative clusters are developed based on the creative class theory, with an aim to revitalize the urban, so as to draw several creative individuals to the regions. We will discuss the relative importance of "hard" and "soft" locational factors that would determine the creative individuals' decisions of moving to a creative cluster. To test if theories from the western society are applicable to Hong Kong, we have chosen the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, in Hong Kong as a case study of this thesis.

1.2 Research Question

With a research approach on the location decisions of individuals, regarding to Florida's creative class and creative clustering theories, we attempt to answer the following questions in this paper:

To what extent do "soft" location factors are more important than "hard" location factors for attracting creative individuals move to a "creative cluster"- Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong? What are the underlying reasons that influence creative individuals moving decision to this creative cluster?

The following sub questions would guide us to answer the main research question:

The theoretical sub questions are:

- According to the literature, what are the definitions of "creative individuals" and "creative cluster"?
- What is the definition of "creative individuals" for this study?
- What are the "hard" and "soft" location factors that influence the location decision of creative individuals to move to a creative cluster?

The empirical sub questions are:

- Do "soft" location factors play more important roles than the "hard" location factors on the location decisions of creative individuals in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?
- Regarding the qualitative analysis, what are the underlying reasons that attract creative individuals to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?

1.3 Hong Kong As A Creative City?

Even though there have been abundant quantitative researches examining the concepts of creative class, location factors and creative cluster (Florida, 2002; 2005; Murphy and Redmond, 2009; Bontje, Musterd, Kovacs and Murie (2011); however, there was lacking knowledge or cumulative data in relation to the location decisions of "creative class" in Hong Kong. In the present student, we try to find out if theories of western society are applicable to Hong Kong. More explicitly, we investigate whether the creative class theory is relevant in the case of Hong Kong, which is to understand how important the role of soft location factors plays on creative individuals' location decision.

Hong Kong unlike many big regions in Europe or in the United States, it is a "small, crowded, lacking in natural resources" (Kong, 2006: 61), densely city, with a population of 7.07 million at mid-2010 (Information Services Department; Census and Statistics Department, HKSAR, 2012). To create more affordable spaces for the people to live and work has always been a considerable issue. Since the 1980s, the urban economic growth of Hong Kong was "locked into a property-related path", the government attempted to build different entrepreneurial bloc, such as "science park, cyberport and Chinese-medicine port", in order to consolidate the interests of the local property capital (Jessop and Ngai, 2000: 2288). Similar to cosmopolitan cities such as London and New York, strategic development of creative industries were seen as important driver for economic growth in Hong Kong. Hong Kong adapted the creative industries agenda in 2003, following the 1998 Department of Culture Media and Sport's "Mapping Document" (DCMS, 1998, cited in O'Connor and Gu, 2006; Keane, 2007, 2009). "Create Hong Kong" was set up in June 2009 to promote creative industries development in the city and the Mainland (Information Services Department; CreateHK, HKSAR, 2012). According to the creative industries strategy, to nurture "creative human capital", to increase creative value, to attract and retain highly educated and talented individuals, and "developing creative clusters" in the territory were some of the key objectives of the creative urban development in Hong Kong.

"Can Hong Kong Own A Successful Artists Village?" (CGCC Vision, 2010). During the past decade, there were different criticisms on the development of creative clusters or art hubs, more specifically on the matter of building artist villages in Hong Kong. Most of the negative opinions were drawn on the performance of the artist villages and their social connection with the community, in terms of the numbers of visitors to the artist villages. The

government-led Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) was opened to public in September 2008, which was renovated from a significant old factory premises. With the mission of "using art to build a creative and civilized society, the existence of JCCAC would help sow the seeds for increased public awareness, participation and enjoyment of the arts in Hong Kong" (JCCAC, 2012). Some people argued that attendance figures of this artist village are low (CGCC Vision, 2010), which indicated that the social network between JCCAC and the whole community has not been strongly built. Last year, some of the tenants in JCCAC criticized the increased rental fee and poor management of the building, thus they requested the management team to take certain responses for their compliments, including ask for lower rent. Even though there are different negative voices, it is too early to conclude whether the development of this artist village is successful or not.

Meanwhile, there are more and more artists and creative individuals moving to this creative cluster to work, or renting the spaces for cultural activities. During its opening, the tenant application for this creative cluster was greatly exceeded the supply of rental units (HKADC, 2010). According to a recent interview with the Programme and Development Manager of JCCAC, there was still a long waiting list of creative people who wanted to rent a studio unit in the JCCAC arts villages (So, 2012). What does this hectic demand for creative spaces reflect? What are the attractive forces for the arts practitioners and creative individuals to move to this creative cluster?

According to Florida's creative class theory, we anticipate that creative individuals, who chose to locate in this cluster, not only because of the relatively low-rent of the units, but also because of some significant "soft" location factors. Hong Kong Arts Development Council (2010) uses Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre as a reference, suggesting that the government should consider turning more vacant premises to creative centre for arts production. For these reasons, it is interesting to study Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, which we can gain insight on the attractive location factors that influence creative individuals to locate in a creative cluster.

1.4 Structure Of The Thesis

The research paper has two main purposes: it firstly identifies the important location choices of creative individuals. Secondly, it investigates the extent to which the soft location factors play more important roles than hard location factors when choosing to move to a creative cluster.

The research population of this paper takes the report of HKADC as a reference. It closely examines the arts practitioners and groups of the performing arts, visual arts, film and media arts or literary arts sectors (HKADC, 2010), and also the artists or group in applied arts (JCCAC, 2012), housing in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre for main purposes of arts creation, including administration or office, rehearsal or training, exhibition or performances.

In the empirical part of this paper, a survey with interviews follow up, are drawn on the artists located in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

The first two sub questions are dealt with the theoretical exploration in part II of this paper. In Chapter 2, we focus on the definition of creative and cultural sectors and creative individuals. Based on the literatures, we determine the definition of creative individuals, which is best adopted for our research.

Chapter 3 discusses the concepts and theories on clustering, and defines the creative cluster. Concerning that the economy has been shifted from industrial based to knowledge or creative based; this chapter explores the planned cluster development in the creative economy. Followed by this, we define the term creative cluster for this study.

Chapter 4 expounds the significant "hard" and "soft" location factors that have been studied in the literatures, building on the cluster theories in the previous chapter. The soft location factors comprised the "quality of place" based on Richard Florida's "creative class" theory (2002). We develop a theoretical framework to test whether "soft" factors play more important roles on the location decisions of creative individuals in Hong Kong.

Part III presents the methodology of the paper. Chapter 5 introduces the research instruments and methodology that we have developed in the pursuit of our objectives. Two research methods co-exist: quantitative survey and qualitative interviews; whereas the quantitative research has a higher priority.

Part IV discusses the empirical research of this study. We bridge the theoretical framework to a more in-depth analysis of the study. In Chapter 6, we address three important issues regarding the quality of this research: reliability, validity, and generalizability.

Chapter 7 reveals the characteristics of the research sample. Distinctive features about the types of creative activities, working situation in the cluster, age and gender of the respondents, total months for moving to the cluster, monthly rent of unit and monthly income earned from the creative work in JCCAC are articulated.

Chapter 8 reports and examines the results on the relative importance of the "hard" and "soft" locational factors. Referring to the quantitative and qualitative results, we explicitly portray the conspicuous reasons of creative individuals moving to a creative cluster, and give answer to the hypothesis for this study.

Part V is the conclusion of this study. Chapter 9 concludes the paper with significant findings and recommendations on future development of creative cluster. We hope this study would help to develop a thorough understanding on important "soft" and "hard" factors that attract creative workers to converge in creative clusters.

PART II THEORETICAL EXPLORATION

Chapter 2 Definitions of Creative Industries and Creative Individuals

2.1 Introduction

Before going in depth on "hard" and "soft" location factors, we firstly address the concepts of creative economy, cultural creative industries and discuss the definition of creative individuals. The following literature reviews outline the theoretical framework of this subject. This chapter starts with a brief overview on the studies of creative economy, and how it has influenced the urban development nowadays. We expound the development and growth of cultural and creative industries, in order to develop the definition of creative workers. Thereafter, we adopt the most suitable creative group for empirical research, according to the literature. Consequently, we can answer the first question of this research about the definition of creative individuals.

2.2 Creative Economy In General

"Creativity" and "growth" have become the most eye-catching watchword in the twentieth century, where many cities have adopted the seductive creative cities and creative class theories. It is widely identified that creativity and innovation are the magic motors of contemporary urban growth (Pratt, 2008: 109). They desired to make their cities more attractive to these creative workforces in order to boost their economy. Meanwhile, cities build several cultural amenities and use arts and culture to regenerate the urban and to stimulate economic development.

Since late nineteenth century, after the industrial revolution, the economy has been shifted from resource and service-based to knowledge-based or innovation-based. We are now experiencing what is so-called creative economy (Pratt, 2008). It has been argued that the development and growth of today's modern cities was highly related to the dynamics of cultural economic production and consumption (Scott, 2006).

In the urban context of the knowledge economy, Throsby (2010: 136) has observed three essential concepts of creativity, including "creative class, creative clusters, and the creative city". Creative cities in Europe can be traced back to ancient Athens. Referring to Sir Peter Hall (1999) in his book *Cities in Civilization,* where cities are the source of innovation. Cities are places of social, economical, cultural and political interaction and integration (Murphy and Redmond, 2009), in which the more dynamics of economic production in the urban environment, the more attractive cities are to highly skilled workers. It is generally accepted by academic research that somewhere alone the line many capitalized societies adopted the new economic order. They stopped to process raw materials, but to initiate new types of industries and promoted creativity, innovation and conspicuous economic features (Scott, 2006; Pratt, 2008; Murphy and Redmond, 2009). To a large extent, it is true to say that the avocation of creative economy is an innovative way to boost the current economic

circumstances in many countries.

Nonetheless, there are no standardized formulas to develop the so-called "creative city" (Comunian, 2010), and no single city representing creativity (Hall, 1999). Scholars tried to find out the interrelationship between these three concepts. Florida (2002: 35) has suggested that creativity is "a matter of sifting through data, perceptions and materials" that would produce a combination of "new and useful" products. Pratt (2008: 113) argues that the terminology "creative" is actually "politically agile", where it provides a positive feeling for the policy makers as "against the ambivalence of culture" when discussing creative industries. He highlighted that it is unclear whether the causal power between creativity and urban growth is important. Yet, the concepts of creative class and creative clusters are integrated in the cultural production and consumption chain, this paper addresses these issues, focusing on creative cluster concept.

The brief overview on how the economy circumstance has changed from post Fordism to innovative-based economy; has laid a foundation for further examination of the definition of cultural creative industries and creative individuals in the latter parts.

2.3 What To Include In The Cultural And Creative Industries?

In this section, we will expound how David Throsby (2001) has defined the cultural and creative industries, so as to determine the scope of investigation for this study.

In order to assess the economy of culture in today's world, existing studies have tried to delineate cultural and creative sectors by identifying the main functions of different industries. Surely, culture is a difficult and comprehensive concept to explain and to define. There are still controversies on what to include or not to include in the definition of cultural and creative industries. For the present study, we have adopted Throsby's definition.

According to Throsby (2001), culture is employed as an adjective, which reflects particular shared values: aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic and authenticity values, and beliefs as well that bind a group of people together. Three characterizes of cultural activities have been identified as: the production of these activities are involved with certain forms of creativity; they generate and communicate symbolic meanings to the society; and their output and contents are protected by intellectual property. Initially, it has labelled that traditional arts and cultural industries: video games, radio and television broadcasting, books and press publishing, music and film are cultural sectors (European Commission, 2006), where they produce exclusively cultural outputs and disseminate cultural goods with mass reproduction and consumption. Creative sectors referred to those industries that integrate cultural elements and produce value added goods, including architecture, advertising, crafts and design (fashion design, interior design, graphic design).

In line with the delineation of cultural and creative sectors, Throsby and Zednik (2011: 17) have given a clear explanation on the concept of "concentric circles model" in the creative and cultural industries. They have demonstrated that core arts field in the central circle contains "visual arts (crafts, painting, sculpture, photography), performing arts (theatre, dance, circus) and heritage (museums, arts and antiques market, libraries, archaeological activities, archives)" (European Commission, 2006: 56). Typically, this category produce original work in "text, sound, image and performance" (Throsby and Zednik, 2011: 17). The next layer of the circle is cultural industries, such as film and video, music and publishing, etc. Beyond the circle, it is the sectors of creative industries, including design, fashion, architecture and advertising.

At this point, we have briefly presented the delineation of industries in the cultural and creative sectors. The cultural economy comprises all these sectors with output of high symbolic values in modern advanced capitalist societies (Scott, 1999). Apparently, there is no definite classification on this matter; in fact, the framework is useful for the latter discussion of definitions of workers working in these two sectors.

2.4 Who Are The Creative Individuals?

Before we explore the complex features of creative clusters and the location factors of creative people, it is necessary to clarify the definition of the *creative people* that we discussed in this paper. Obviously, when policymakers establishing tax policies and social security scheme for profession workers or artists, they question what kind of population should be carried out in the scheme. In the following part, it showcases the problematic definition of who the artists or creative individuals are, and the division of categories for the cultural and artistic activities, faced by many authors (Menger, 2006). These questions are influential to the formulation of theoretical framework and sampling for this research.

2.4.1 Workers in the Cultural Creative Sectors

Who are the creative individuals? How important are creative individuals to the new economy? Significantly, new technology has unintentionally influenced the development of the labour market in the creative sectors. Nakamura (2000: 16) has identified the distinctive economic circumstances in the new economy, reported that: "over the course of the twentieth century the number of workers in the production of goods and services declined by large steps. People who are increasingly involved in creative activities have raised form 10 % in 1900 to 17 % in 1950 and then to 33% in 1999". Indeed, it is noteworthy that there has been a rapid rise in the employment of the cultural creative sectors in all over the world, especially in Europe and the United States (Ellmeier, 2003).

Fundamentally, the image of artists and creators has changed from the former "cultural workers" into "cultural entrepreneur" (Ellmeier, 2003: 3), because the structure and function of art and culture has changed. The distinctive characteristic of these new creative workforces have been described as those with an average of "25-30 years old, multi-skilled,

flexible person, psychologically resilient, independent, single, unattached to a particular location, who jumps at whatever opportunity there is to be had in the field of the art, music or the media" (Angerer, 1999, cited in Ellmeier, 2003: 9). Explicitly, the artistic workforces are always referred to creative individuals in the new economy. When one searches for the word "artist" in the dictionary, there are eleven translations within four categories, consist of "a person skilled in practical art, learned art, creative or fine arts and practicing artistic activity" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2012)[1]. However, they are very broad classifications of artistic occupations, which researchers cannot merely rely on.

Benhamou (2003) has pointed out that cultural employment comprising of a wide range of occupations, with an assumption that the artistic population is "heterogeneous and priori non-standard" (Benhamou 2003: 69). A narrative approach can be found in O'Brien and Feist's (1995) report about "Employment in the arts and cultural industries: An analysis of the 1991 Census". They used the British Census data to investigate the artistic market, particularly featuring cultural producers within the cultural sectors, including writers, dancers, actors, musicians and some others in their research samples (cited in Oakley, 2009).

In recent years, people who work in areas such as multimedia, software development are referred to creative and professional occupations as well. Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi (2008) in the project "Beyond the creative industries: Mapping the creative economy in the United Kingdom" re-define the term *creative workforce*. They also include cultural workers who do not work inside the cultural industries as creative and embedded employment, using the UK Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) codes to analysis the workers' earning patterns. They have proposed their population-based datasets are more consistent and reliable than Throsby's "occupation-focused" dataset, as the survey should include the "industry-defined" activities (Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008: 28). However, comparing to the census data collected in the US and Australia surveys, the UK data is less robust, in terms of the lower resolution of the dataset in classifying the creative workers.

Furthermore, Throsby has compartmentalized creative workers into three main categories: first, those who produce primary creative output; second, those working in the interpretive activities; and third, those who produce and support artistic and cultural services and goods (cited in Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008). Throsby and Zednik (2011: 11) explored the practicing professional artists' working patterns in the arts and non-arts sectors in Australia, derived from the eight principal artistic occupations (PAO), which were specified "writer; visual artist; craft practitioner; actor (including director); dancer (including choreographer); musician (including signer); composer; community cultural development worker". Clearly, there are multi possible classifications on the workers within creative sectors. We can summarize that workers who create innovative, new and value-added

[1] Oxford English Dictionary
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/11237?rskey=1Aox41&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid

products in the creative cultural sectors are typically the emerging population in the new economy.

Over the twenty years, there is strong evidence the variety of artistic occupations has increased rapidly (Menger, 2006), that researchers focus on the hybrid and perplexed classifications of workers in different creative and cultural activities. On the one hand, the underlying reasons of the growing number of workers in cultural creative sectors are interesting to investigate; on the other hand, this human capital is believed to have an intertwined relationship with urban growth in today's economy (Florida, 2002; Glaeser, 2005). Thus, it is important for us to explore how scholars look at the concept of creative individuals in urban development nowadays.

2.4.2 The Creative Class By Richard Florida

On top of the rapid growth of cultural and creative workers, many have observed that human capital, "creative class" or knowledgeable people are the central and fundamental sources of the new economic growth theory (Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002: 226; Florida, 2002; 2005; Glaeser, 2005; Storper and Scott, 2009); where cities are encouraged to upgrade certain kind of cultural amenities for appealing this group of people to live and work. Put it in another way, many cities believe that creativity can benefit to their economy, whereas creative and high skilled people who have innovative ideas could bring economic advantages to the city. As mentioned earlier, cities are places that integrated socially, culturally and politically, that human are the fundamental resources of cities. With this respect, abundant theories have been built to verify how city could transform into more attractive and competitive, so as to cluster resources and creative people (Jacobs, 1961; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002).

According to the traditional geographic agglomeration of people and firms, the most controversial American urban and regional economist Richard Florida (2002) has aroused many city mayors and policy makers' awareness on the rise of "Creative Class" in the creative economy. He argues that conventional assumptions about the relationship between human capital, investment and growth are no longer applied to today's economy. Referring to his theory, creative people do not follow jobs; in fact, the creative firms follow the talented people. Crucially, creativity is emerged and fostered when there are more interactions and collaborations between several creative people in a territory. Agglomeration of creative individuals would create synergy environment that contribute economically to the areas. Simultaneously, it helps to nurture a virtuous cycle in certain places. Even though the creative class theory has been criticized in different aspects (Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2008), whether it is vital to attract and attain creative individuals to cluster in cities that would bring urban economic benefits is still questionable. Still, it is worth mentioning because it has provided us certain insights on the understanding of relationship between urban growth and people. In the present paper, we have chosen to combine the ideas of creative class and creative clustering, to analyze what specific circumstances could attract the creative workers to move to certain places, particularly to a creative cluster.

In a sense, creative class is claimed to be the central resources to spur the urban economy (Storper and Scott, 2009). Regarding in Florida's popular publication *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), a wide range of occupations and professions from artists and software designers to management and legal experts are distinguished as the creative class. He distinguished artists, bohemians as the "super-creative core" (Florida 2005: 34), which comprised of "a new class of scientists and engineers, university professors, poets, actors, novelists, entertainers, artists, designers, and architects as well as the thought leadership of modern society: non fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion-makers" (see Table 1). Collectively, the newly emerged creative class is the one who engage in works that would "create meaningful new forms" in terms of the economic function.

In addition to the creative class theory, a wider circle of "knowledge-intensive industries", including "high-technology, sectors, financial sectors, judicial service, healthcare professions and business management"; is also defined as the creative class beyond Florida's theory (Florida, 2005:34, cited in Murphy and Redmond, 2009: 72). These groups tend to be engaged in a more complex and creative thinking, that they normally attain higher levels of education or human capital. His work has attracted the attentions of many researchers, sociologists, economists, academics and urbanists, who want to examine the rapid economic development in cities in the present days. Nonetheless, different scholars have drastically criticized Florida's creative class theory with various perspectives. They argued Florida's creative class occupations only partial reflects the human capital, that there is no close relationship between creative class and urban growth, there are mistaken data collection and analysis within Florida's indices (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008).

Table 1 - The definition of the "Creative Class" according to Florida (2002).

	Super-Creative Core	**Creative Professionals**
Occupations consists of:	o "New class" of scientists and engineers o University professors o Poets, actors, novelists, entertainers, artists, designers, and architects o Leaders of modern society: non fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion-makers	o High-technology sectors o Financial sectors o Judicial service o Healthcare professions o Business management

Source: Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class,* New York: Basic Books.

The new emerged creative class as mentioned above, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content as the most important factor for fostering creativity and urban growth in a city (Florida, 2002).

Nonetheless, we have to bear in mind that questions arise whether this distinctive class of human capital is relevant to urban growth (Pratt, 2008; Glaeser, 2005). In the economic perspective, scholars reject the fuzzy concept of "creative class" theory, saying there are mistaken data collection and analysis within Florida's indices (Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Throsby, 2010: 137). Pratt (2002) even argues that the notion of increasing creativity by creative class is a shortsighted theory. In this study, we hope to gain some insights from the "creative class" in Hong Kong, to test whether they think "soft" location factors that based on the creative class theory, play more important roles for attracting them to move into a cluster.

2.4.3 Definition Of Creative Individuals For This Study

In the research of Murphy and Redmond (2009) about how the creative class of Dublin being satisfied in living in the city of Dublin, in terms of hard and soft factors, they have narrowed their scope of investigation to the population of creative knowledge workers. Notably, to include a representative group for sampling, they have divided two categories of workers in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries. Murphy and Redmond used a stratified random sampling framework and employed a "weighting system" (2009: 75) into these two categories. Taking the approach of the creative class theory by Florida (2002), their study did not differentiate workers in the cultural industries as mentioned earlier, who are working in core arts field and the second layer of the concentric circle model (Throsby and Zednik, 2011). However, Murphy and Redmond (2009) have collaborated all kinds of workers in the cultural creative fields and professions in modern society as members of the creative class.

According to the survey about "The Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand" in Hong Kong (HKADC, 2010: ii), the artistic individuals and groups are distinguished as those undertaken arts and cultural activities, comprises "dance, drama, music, xiqu, film and media art, visual art, literary art and others". Similarly, the creative workers in JCCAC are involving in these cultural and creative sectors. We will further explain the research population in section 5.2.

Table 2 - Categories of workers in the creative industries

	Creative Industries
Occupations consists of:	o Advertising o Architecture o Arts and Antique Markets o Designer Fashion o Video, Film, Music and Photography o Music and the Visual and Performing Arts o Publishing o Computer games, software and electronic publishing o Radio and TV

Source: Murphy, E. and Redmond, D. (2009). "The role of 'hard' and 'soft' factors for accommodating creative knowledge: insights from Dublin's "creative class". *Irish Geography*. 42 (1): 69-84.

It is widely agreed that artists, the bohemia belong to any grouping of creative occupations (Markusen, 2006). For the present study, we referred to Murphy and Redmond's definitions of creative individuals, based on Florida's creative class theory. We have sorted out the super creative core working in the creative industries for this study, (see Table 2) which includes design, fashion, advertising, performing arts, etc. Profession workers, who are working in the "knowledge-intensive industries", such as finances, law and business, as defined in Murphy and Redmond's study (2009: 75), are excluded for this study. This is because the majority of creative workers in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC), are arts practitioners, who are engaging in artistic, creative and cultural activities.

In short, regarding the literature reviews on the definitions of creative workers, we can adopt the term "creative individuals" or "creative workers" in the usage of this research.

2.5 Chapter Summary

To summarize this chapter, the sub questions about definitions of "creative individuals" have been answered. It is noting that there is vast population engaging in the creative activities in the new economy all over the world. Fundamentally, it is difficult to give an explicit definition of the creative workforce. Regarding to the literatures, we have tried to determine the scope of the investigation.

Firstly, creative individuals are broadly defined as those who are involving in the cultural creative industries, and producing innovative and value-added goods. Secondly, we will use the definitions of Murphy and Redmond's study on Dublin's creative workers in the creative industries, based on Florida's "creative class". Therefore, research group in this

study include all creative workers who have moved to the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, and are undertaking artistic and creative activities.

In the next chapter, we explore the studies on the concepts of industrial cluster and creative cluster, in order to define the term “creative cluster” for this study.

Chapter 3 CLUSTERING AND THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

3.1 Introduction

Drawing on the stream of creative cluster research, we firstly address the phenomenon of tradition firm agglomeration and cluster, which is based on grounded theories and literatures by scholars. Secondly, we explore how cluster theory has been applied in the arts and cultural field in recent years, and discuss the definition of creative cluster. Thereby, we determine the definition of creative cluster for the present study.

3.2 Why Does Cluster Matter?

The cluster concept has been analyzed economically starting with the study conducted by Alfred Marshall and Michael Porter (Boja, 2011). They regarded the concepts with the competitive advantage of nations. At a later stage, Florida (2002) studied the importance of agglomerating the creative talent pool in the creative economy. Respectively, they argue that agglomeration of firms and human capital would ultimately bring economic growth to the businesses and regions.

Traditionally, the agglomeration of related economic firms and industries, or "cluster", was demonstrated as a major characteristic of economic geography (Marshall, 1920; Ohlin, 1933; Porter, 1990, 1998, 2003; Ketels and Memedovic, 2008; Glaeser and Kerr 2009), whereas it is now highly grafted on to the arts and culture sector (Keane, 2009). Scholars indicated that firms clustering in "agglomerations" would increase the productive efficiencies, particularly on the industrial development or "industrial districts" (Marshall, 1890, cited in Boja, 2011: 34). Table 3 has demonstrated the definition of cluster concepts, and some significant drivers of the traditional firm clusters. Marshall and Porter have identified that "knowledge spillovers, labour market pool, local demand on the market and structure of regional business" as important drivers of firms' agglomeration (Delgad et al., 2010). In other words, firms are attracted by these factors to move to a cluster, where they will gain better economic performances.

Clusters develop over time, which is not a phenomenon that "just appears or disappears overnight" (Ketels and Memedovic, 2008: 381). Clusters are highly related to the specific features of the location and other business environment conditions Based on the cluster theory, they are built on three major pillars; consisting of "geography, value creation and business environment", that companies have to deal with a combination of "supplier relations, common labour markets, rivalry, knowledge spillovers and learning effects" within the cluster (Ketels and Memedovic, 2008: 378). The cluster is often located in a "competitive context" and is "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field" (cited in Bontje, Musterd, Kovacs and Murie, 2011: 83).

To add a dimension to Marshall and Porter's observations on cluster concept, industry cluster is: "geographical concentrations of industries that gained performance advantages through co-location" (Doeringer & Terkla 1995: 225). Porter (1998) has developed a diamond cluster framework for analyzing the relations between cluster of export-oriented firms and their competitiveness (Porter and Stern, 2011). He observed that clusters could create economic benefits in three dimensions: to enable higher productivity; to build connections that increase learning and innovate; and to form higher business that is competitive in clusters.

Table 3 - Definition of cluster and some drivers of firm clusters

Scholars	**Marshall (1920)**	**Porter (1998, 2000)**
Definition of Cluster Concept	Firm agglomerations, that most of the world or national economic or industrial areas are concentrated in very few regions.	"A geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complementarities."
Important Drivers of Agglomerations	Knowledge spillovers Input-output linkages Labor market pooling	Local demand characteristics Specialized institutions Structure of regional business Social networks

Source: Boja, C. "Clusters Models, Factors and Characteristics." *International Journal of Economic Practices and Theories*. 1(1): 34- 43.

Delgado M., M.E. Porter, and S. Stern. (2010). "Clusters and Entrepreneurship". *Journal of Economic Geography*. 10 (4): 495-518.

On the other hand, Van Den Berg et al. (2001) take the cases studies of clusters in nine European cities, to investigate important factors to explain cluster development. The research has pointed out three types of cultural variables, including "the willingness of people and firms adopting new products; the valuation of entrepreneurship in the cluster; and the willingness to engage in the strategic co-operation" as significant factors that foster cluster development. More recently, Karlsson (2008) in the publication *Handbook of Research on Cluster Theory* illustrates two other key reasons of clustering in general, as "creativity and randomness". Furthermore, Scott (2006) mentions that "high-technology production, business and financial services, media and cultural products industries and neo-artisanal manufacturing" are strong factors to drive agglomerations in regions (cited in Bontje et.al 2011: 81). We thus can conclude that there are many variables to explain the cluster

development in city-regions, while many scholars agreed that clustering would contribute to the urban economic growth.

It is clear that clustering has potential economic advantages to the firm performances, which is strongly correlated to networking and the ideas flowing in a spatial distribution (Glaeser and Kerr, 2009). Successful technology agglomeration Silicon Valley, the entrepreneurial cluster explained how important the suppliers of innovative ideas within the cluster (Saxenan, 1994, cited in Glaeser and Kerr, 2009). In general, the economic externalities gained from several types of clusters are varied for different location and countries (Delgado, 2009: 24), existing in both metropolitan and rural regions (Porter 1998, 2004, cited in Ketels and Memedovic, 2008).

In short, "cluster" is an economic phenomenon that has been placed in a competitive context. Simultaneously, many businesses and individuals try to collaborate and compete to gain different economic advantages within a cluster.

3.3 Planned Creative Cluster As Development Tool

Before we define the creative cluster, we briefly review the literatures about changing roles of culture in the urban development; that planned creative cluster have been seen as a toolkit for urban regeneration. This would lead us a better understanding on the important reasons behind developing creative clusters in the age of creative economy.

There was a trendy notion arisen particularly in Europe, the United States and Australia over the last twenty years, where they used art and culture to revitalize the urban. It is noted that urban economic development is strongly intertwined with arts and culture (Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006). Specifically, they are related to the growth of cultural and creative industries, such as books, videos, games, performing arts and design. Generally speaking, these mass production goods and services can propel economic development in a local area by increasing the employment rate, because they are mostly exported from different areas of the world. Economic development refers to "economic growth" (Bille and Schulze, cited in Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006: 1055), that employment and personal income would increase efficiently, education levels and the living standard could be enhanced. The economic development is also associated with vigorous technological process to cultural industries.

Cultural and creative activities have often been concentrated in specific geographical areas, thus encourage a creative and lively environment for artists (Cohendet, Grandadam and Simon, 2010). Creative people tend to agglomerate in creative milieus that provided the best opportunities for them to work and live. Regarding to the idea of attracting creative talents to the city, post-industrial cities promote creative industries as the key drive of urban economy development (O'Connor and Gu, 2006; Evans, 2009; Keane, 2009; Comunian, 2010). Europe and North America are proved to perform well in the development of creative industries, where creative industry firms have increased rapidly and creative clusters are emerged

organically (Evans, 2009). Few well-known examples of creative districts or flagship projects include the "Fashion City and World Jewellery Centre in Milan; Orestad in Copenhagen; Architecture in Amsterdam and Rotterdam; and Design in London" (Evans, 2009: 1007).

In line with the creative industries development, cities have applied different strategies of regenerating cultural, with the concepts of "cultural planning", "cultural programming" and "urban planning" (Bille and Schulze, cited in Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006: 1069). The urban regeneration proposals have the goal of fostering "creative cities" developments (Landry, 2000) and attracting the "creative class" (Florida, 2002). These development strategies are purported to revitalize cities, and the aging areas as a whole.

Glasgow in the United Kingdom and Bilbao in Spain are two remarkable examples that have used arts and culture to re-develop their urban economy. Cultural events and organizations, including museums, concerts, galleries and theatres, have then become distinctive cultural assets and tourist attractions, which generate economic revenue regionally and locally. A survey conducted by "The European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education" evinces cultural tourism could not reveal the accurate number of arts tourists (Bille and Schulze, cited in Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006: 1064). However, to a large extent, it has shown some positive economic impacts of culture life on the urban economy. Additionally, well-developed transportation and other related supplementary infrastructures would bring long-term effects and flourishing arts and culture to the territory.

Scholars continue assuming that there is an economic based framework, which helps to analyze the role of arts and culture in the urban economies (Markusen, 2006). Florida's work (2002) has implicitly suggested that urban growth is greatly driven by innovative and creative activities that would generate exports and incomes. This in turn will contribute to local consumption and amenities. In relation to regional growth, arts and artists have been seen as contributing to regional income, because they would draw cultural tourists and related exporting activities (Markusen, 2006).

On the other hand, many urban scholars have pilloried artists as the creative agents of urban gentrification (Deutsche and Ryan, 1984; Zukin, 1982, cited in Markusen, 2006). Markusen (2006) has studied empirically on the fuzzy and weak casual relationship between urban development and creative class, with the case study of artist. She has demonstrated that the formation, location, spatial distribution, politics and urban impact of artists were more complex and intricate issue that what Florida has suggested in his creative class theory.

Many post-industrial European countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom have recognized the importance of attracting, funding and supporting the creative individuals by creating clusters (Project Future, 2008; Evans, Foord, Gertler, Tesolin and Weinstock, 2006). There is an evident showing that the "geographic distributions of urban enterprises are the result of systematic searches for the right location" (Orco Germany and Berlin Partner 2008: 38).

Without doubt, urban economic development in this age plays a more dominant role in shaping the cultural landscape than the past, which culture has been an integral part of development strategies in many cities. Typically, developing creative clusters in cities have been seen as an important engine to propel urban economy in recent years. Markusen (2006) has pointed out those creative spaces for artists, particularly artists' center, artists' live and work studio buildings, are spaces that could contribute to the artistic pool by home growing, attracting and retaining local artists in the regional economy. In the following section, we further explain the creative cluster concept and some significant drivers of cultural creative industries agglomerations, based on the literatures.

3.4 Defining Creative Cluster: A Review of the Literature

Current literature on creative and cultural agglomeration has paid greater attention to planned creative districts than to cultural clusters that are emerged organically, as a result of grassroots activities led by local artists and entrepreneurs (Evans, 2009; Comunian 2010; Stern and Seifert, 2010). Noting that planned creative cluster is prevalent in both developed and developing countries, in metropolitans and rural regions (Porter, 1998; Porter et al., 2004, cited in Ketels and Memedovic, 2008). It is widely believed that to become more competitive in the creative economy, cities have to develop strategies to grow as "creative cities" that are accessible to vary talents (Jacob, 1961; Hall, 1999; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2005; Montgomery, 2005; Comunian, 2010).

Zhao and Qi (2012) describe that cluster is the main development features of cultural and creative industries in real practice, whereas creative cluster is recognized as potential engines to regenerate the urban and spur urban economy. It is claimed that many successful creative clusters in the Europe and North America were grown organically, and have brought significant economic benefits to the region, such as Silicon Valley, a closer examination has to be made on the sustainability of the clusters (Kagan and Hahn, 2011). However, this is not the intention of this research of investigating how creative cluster development can be more sustainable. We would like to ask to what extent "soft" and "hard" location factors play a role in attracting creative individuals in a cluster. In particular, the paper will further explore the relative importance of hard and soft locational factors that would influence the creative individuals moving to a creative cluster or not.

On top of this, policymakers and economists desired to understand the concept of cultural creative clustering, embeddedness, path dependence and hard and soft conditions (Bontje, Musterd, Kovacs and Murie, 2011). In line with the tradition cluster theory and from a more socio-economic approach, Stern and Seifert (2010: 263) referred cultural clusters to the "geographic concentrations of cultural goods and services", in which the neighborhood has a wide range of cultural assets, that attract organizations, business, cultural participants and artists to converge in the urban area.

Referring to Porter's cluster concept, as aforementioned, creative agglomeration or we refer to "creative cluster" is a geographically proximate group of interconnected creative organizations and creative people in the creative cultural industries, linked by cultural commonalities and complementarities. The proximity of firms in the same cultural creative industry allows vast knowledge and ideas exchange through direct contact and free movement of labours. Furthermore, the proximity of customers and suppliers would encourage innovation and creativity; that spur innovative productions (Stern and Seifert, 2010). There is evidence that creative cluster development would propel economic growth.

Shifting from resource-based industrial cluster to knowledge-driven creative cluster (Ohlin, 1933, cited in Karlsson, 2008), spatial clustering of cultural and creative industries and the creative participants in the economy has been proved to bring beneficial consequences (Scott, 1999). It is because both workers and firms could occupy assessable locations to gain "quasi-pooled" resources. It is believed that creative cluster is particularly important for innovation capability development (Scott, 1997, 2004, cited in Zhao and Qi, 2012). Clearly, creative cultural district would bring economic advantages, such as attracting new businesses and wide range of consumers, and raising property values in the neighborhood nearby (Stern and Seifert, 2010).

Robert Lucas and Jane Jacobs have also pointed out that the productivity effects which come from human capital agglomerations was a critical factor for regional economic growth (Florida, 2002). This implies that places with more talented people would grow faster and would be able to attract more talents in a sense.

In short, creative cultural agglomerations are geographic concentrations of cultural creative goods and services, interconnected creative organizations, where converged by different professions and creative talents. They are proved to have several economic benefits to both creative workers and firms, by increasing knowledge and ideas spillovers, and fostering innovative productivities.

3.5 Defining Creative Clusters For This Study

The "Four Asian Dragons" in the age of industrialization, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, and some major Asia countries and cities including Japan, Malaysia, Shanghai, Beijing are developing unprecedented creative clusters, as a means to attract creative talented from outside and to enhance their economic competiveness. Keane (2009: 222) identifies the creative clusters in Chinese context are "containers into which local cultural characteristics are mixed. In the new era of culturally determined soft power the creative cluster is a symbol of artistic renewal. The clusters in turn enfold into zones, districts, parks, bases and spaces". He also points out that creative clusters in China are strategic methods for "assembling and managing creative labour", and they also provided business opportunities for the emerging creative enterprises (2009: 225). Meanwhile, a

creative cluster may be related to centre for artistic activities, which is revitalized by unused or heritage buildings (Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2009; Kagan and Hahn, 2011).

Collectively, Hong Kong has some experiences of developing art and cultural hubs in different areas aroung the city, from the artist village in Oil Street in North Point to Cattle Deport in To Kwa Wan, from Fo Tan to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Shek Kip Mei. Arts practitioners, creative individuals and art groups often agglomerate in specific premises, especially in industrial buildings, to engage arts-related work, or use the units as their work studios, production room, rehearsal places or storage room. In fact, there are several factors that attract creative workers to locate in these old industrial buildings for arts creation, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

On the other hand, Lan Kwai Fong and Soho neighborhoods in the financial districts of the city are examples of neighborhood cultural clusters in Hong Kong (Webster and Lai, 2003, cited in Karlsson, 2008). The nightlife cluster has attracted various creative and artistic activities to co-locate, after the opening of a pub in late 1970s. Successful renovation of historical project, Hong Kong Fringe Club, has been transformed to a contemporary arts platform in the neighborhood from the old Dairy Farm Cold Storage Warehouse. Kong (2011) in the paper *Sustainable cultural spaces in the global city: cultural clusters in heritage sites, Hong Kong and Singapore* analyzed some key characteristics of the Cattle Depot Artist Village in Hong Kong, which is monitored by the Government Property Agency since 2001. She pointed out artists in the creative hub are not satisfied with the "quality of place" in the village, as they mentioned it was not lively at all, in fact, it was a bit dead. With this regard, we could argue that creative individuals desire to congregate in more "lively and vibrant" places. However, to what extent do "soft locational factors" play more important roles for attracting creative individuals to move to a creative cluster than the "hard" factors?

The aforementioned literatures on creative cluster theories have given us a clear overview on the definition of creative cluster. In this study, we adopt Keane's (2009) definition on creative cluster, which has depicted the most similar characteristics of the cluster in an Asian approach. The planned creative cluster is being enfolded into a building, with a symbol of artistic renewal. Business opportunities for emerging creative enterprises are also encouraged in the creative cluster with this context, because there is an integration of cultural consumption and production (Stern and Seifert, 2010).

We have chosen a creative cluster in Hong Kong - Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) as the case study for this paper (Appendix I has presented detailed background information of the cluster). This studio building holds the characteristics of the creative artists' spaces in Markusen (2006) studies. It is awarded by architectural conversion from the former Shek Kip Mei Factory Estate, and is characterized as a creative hub of art and cultural programmes and artistic synergy. It is also- operated as a self-financed and registered not-for-profit organization, and is functioned as a multi-disciplinary artist village' and arts centre. In the following part, an empirical framework is designed for this study, to further discuss

specific “soft” and “hard” location factors for attracting the creative individuals to move to JCCAC.

3.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 has given a review of the changing roles of art and culture in urban development, and the cluster concept in general. Based on the literatures, we have defined the creative cluster for this study. Evidently, the cluster concept is a complex and multidisciplinary study. As discussed above, it is notably that creative cluster has been planned as urban development tool; as well as places for accommodating creative individuals. This could imply to both the Western societies and the context of Hong Kong.

In relation to the creative cluster concept, it is believed that to enhance competitiveness in the creative economy, cities have to develop strategies to grow as “creative cities” that are accessible to vary talents (Jacob, 1961; Hall, 1999; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2005; Comunian, 2010). Evidently, urban managers endorse this seductive theory, and have developed high quality creative-knowledge hubs that could compete with other major metropolises in the world.

“Soft” factors have therefore appeared to be prominent indicators that could attract and retain the new creative and knowledge-based workers in a region, which can spur economic growth. Landry (2000) and Florida (2002) advocated that a creative city must consist of “tolerant” and “openness” (Evans, 2009: 1009). In the present study, we concern how important these “soft” factors are, for attracting creative individuals to locate in a creative cluster? In the next chapter, we will discuss the location choices of creative individuals, and to design a framework of all soft and hard location factors for empirical research.

Chapter 4 "HARD" AND "SOFT" LOCATION FACTORS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the location choices of individuals, but not the firms. It starts with addressing the creative individuals' location decisions making in general. The "hard" and "soft" location factors for attracting creative individuals to live and work in certain places will be then discussed. Thereafter, we design a framework for empirical research on the case study - Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre of Hong Kong.

4.2 Location Choices Of Creative Individuals

With an empirical study on the relations between human capital, creative class in the regional development, Florida, Mellander and Stolarick (2008) mention three different contesting, but not mutually exclusive theories towards the factors of shaping the distribution of human capital. The first theory argue that universities play a key role in nurturing and providing cumulative advantages to human capital (Glaesar et al, 2005, cited in Florida et al 2008) that would affect the distribution of talent. The second theory focuses on the important role played by amenities, in retaining and attracting highly-educated or skillful people (Glaeser, 1993; Glaeser et al, 2001; Shapiro, 2006; Clark, 2003, cited in Florida et al 2008). The third is suggested by Florida (2002), where have been discussed in the beginning of this chapter, "tolerance and openness to diversity". With his classic three Ts model, he stresses the urban growth is highly correlated to the creative people (Talent), who prefer staying in places that are diversified in terms of culture (Tolerance) and have a concentration on new and innovative products (Technology).

Without doubt, the location factors that influence creative individuals' location decisions are complex. In general, factors may include the lower costs of living in the area, recreational, environmental and leisure amenities, as well as innovative cultural conventions. Markusen (2006) has investigated the location choices of members in Florida's creative class. She has focused on four artists' subgroups, encompassed: "writers; musicians; visual artists (including film-makers and photographers); and performing artists (including actors, directors, choreographers, dancers), mirrors that generally used in social science research on artists; where excluding architects and designers" (Markusen, 2006: 1925). Creative people desire to move to affordable and adequate spaces for their creative production. Markusen (2006: 1930) noted that artists "gravitate more toward residences in the denser, more central urban neighborhoods within metropolitan areas than do residents as a whole-often to seedy, transitional, neighborhoods". Typically, there are three sets of artistic space in cities that agglomerate artists, namely (1) artists' centers, (2) live or work and studio buildings, and (3) smaller performing arts spaces (Markusen, 2006).

For the choices of creative spaces, Sharon Zukin (1982) has also presented other location choices of creative individuals. She presented a loft living and working of artists and cultural workers in former commercial and industrial areas, where she discovered there was a displacement cycle of living and working, based on the empirical studies in Manhattan. Many live-work artists in the post-industrial cities, such as London and Berlin are now experiencing the same problem of "crowding out of the core city locations" because they cannot afford the high rent of residential property (Evans, 2009: 1017). In Berlin, it is said that working in factory premises is becoming fashionable (Project Future, 2008).

On the one hand, these spaces have potential characteristics that can attract and retain local artists, where they provided creative individuals live and work networks and access. On the other hand, there is evidence showing that move between cities within cities or rural areas.

4.3 Changing Location Factors: "Soft" Factors

The foregoing literature brings us back to the definition of "soft" location factors. In the hope of attracting the creative and talented individuals, for the sake of boosting regional economic growth, many cities have focused on the improvement of "soft" factors, such as cultural, leisure and social amenities, including arts festivals, bike paths, bars, cafes, museums (Murphy and Redmond, 2009: 73). Significantly, "Openness" and "tolerance" are two important criteria in the "Quality of Place" factors (Florida, 2002, cited in Bontje, Musterd, Kovacs and Murie, 2011). The "soft" location factors are more intangible in nature, associated with the environment of the place.

"Quality of place is a critical factor in regional competitiveness... To compete in the age of talent, regions must make the quality-of-place and the amenities of the new economy central elements of their strategies to attract knowledge workers and build high-technology economies. Regions must seamlessly link their amenities strategies to ongoing economic development and competitiveness efforts." (Florida, 2000: 47-48)

Florida (2002) argues that creative people move to certain places not because of the conventional reasons, but for the "soft" factors; whereas talent is a flow, but not a stock. Referring to Florida, there is an assumption that high mobility exists in members of the "creative class". They tend to move to places in cities with various "culture, entertainment, consumption, and urban amenities" (Clark, 2004, cited in Kagan and Hahn, 2011: 12). He has used four Ts approach: "Technology, Talent, Tolerance and Territorial Assets" (Howkins, 2009: 118) to test whether the attractiveness of a location to the creative class.

It will be interesting to test if "soft" location factors play more important roles than "hard" factors in agglomerating creative workers in the Chinese context. Referring to interviews conducted with creative workers within the animation industrial parks in China

(Keane, 2009), three locational factors have been identified as unattractive to creative individuals, including: locating in the fringe industrial zones; not creative but "fee-for-service" working environment; and limited knowledge flow from international companies. In this case, standalone buildings and clusters are not flavored to creative workers.

To figure out if "soft" are more important than "hard" location factors on attracting the creative workers to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong, we have selected the classic "hard" and "soft" location factors from literatures, that would draw "creative individuals" to move to certain places in cities.

4.4 Attractive Factors To Move To A Creative Cluster – A Framework

The following table (see Table 4) demonstrated 16 significant reasons of artists and cultural workers using or renting the current industrial or non-industrial buildings in Hong Kong. Since 2010, "Policy of Revitalizing Industrial Buildings" for arts groups and creative individuals remains contestable debate in Hong Kong. Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC, 2010) conducts a survey on the *Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand*, which finds out "reasonable rental or selling price"; "accessibility" and "large size of the unit" are indicated as the three major reasons of arts practitioners to move to the current industrial or non-industrial buildings. Arts group in general support the idea of revitalizing more vacant premises for arts creation (HKADC, 2010).

Table 4 - Arts practitioners' consideration of using industrial, or non-industrial buildings in Hong Kong.

	Major Considerations	Most three Important Considerations	Type of Factor
1	Reasonable rental / selling price	(1)	'Hard'
2	Accessibility	(2)	'Hard'
3	Close to my home		'Hard'
4	Building Facilities and Specifications		'Hard'
5	Promotion activity / business are allowed		'Hard'
6	Building Management		'Hard'
7	Nearby material supplier		'Hard'
8	Nearby restaurants		'Soft'
9	Nearby business audience		'Hard'
10	Have synergistic effect with other nearby artists / groups	(3) for users of industrial building	'Soft'
11	Tall ceiling height of the unit		'Hard'
12	Large size of the unit	(3) for users of non-industrial building	'Hard'

13	Flexible layout of flat floor	'Hard'
14	Avoid nuisance to others	'Soft'
15	Be exempted from nuisance from others	'Soft'
16	Others	---

Source: Hong Kong Arts Development Council. (2010). Survey on the Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand Report.

All the factors presented in **Table 5** are based on the paper of Murphy and Redmond (2009) about creative knowledge workers' location decisions associated with the living environment in Dublin; the report of future demand of spaces for arts activities (HKADC, 2010); the Berlin survey on creative spaces development and a "pre-interview" with artist locating in Fo Tan Industrial Artist Village. This information is useful for designing a new theoretical framework that is suitable for the case study in the Hong Kong context.

According to Murphy and Redmond (2009), they have studied the locational mobility and workforce mobility of the creative knowledge workers in Dublin, in terms of how they viewed the "hard" and "soft" conditions as attractive forces for them to live there. "Soft" factors include: "cultural and leisure facilities, the city environment and the level of tolerance and openness with cities". Their survey results presented the creative workers would move from one region to Dublin mainly because of classic location factors, Meanwhile, the creative knowledge workers were more satisfied with the "soft" conditions associated with the living environment in Dublin. Most of the creative knowledge individuals come to Dublin as a result of the classic "pull" factors, in terms of "(1) employment opportunities (35%); (2) family and relatives (19.4%); and (3) the place of birth (18.4%) " (Murphy and Redmond, 2009: 77).

Based on the survey about "Creative Industries in Berlin, Development and Potential" (Projekt Zukunft Berlin, 2008), it states that the creatives, specifically creative enterprises are attracted by "mixed-use locations", that many of their businesses are based in the residential districts in Germany, for example, the design industry is almost entirely located in the "core areas of Wilhelminian districts". The findings of a survey on the "Significance of individual locational factors for the sub-sectors" show that the majority creative industries companies (80%) rated "rent levels or cost of real-estate" as most important "hard" factors. The relatively important factors are "accessibility via public transport; flexibility of leases; facilities of commercial spaces and scope of self-design of spaces", which are mostly classic hard location factors. Comparatively, the soft factors including "recreational value and foundation and technology centres and cultural centres" are less significant (Orco Germany and Berlin Partner 2008, cited in Project Future, 2008: 113).

In our study, Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre is the first planned multi-disciplinary and artists village that links to an arts centre and managed by a non-for-profit organization in

Hong Kong. As mentioned earlier, there are several art hubs in Hong Kong where converged with different kinds of creative workers, but none of them share the distinctive features of this creative cluster, such as the building management factor.

In the academic and practical relevance of this research, we have defined three remarkable conventional "hard" factors, which are characterized as: "infrastructure; the location of the cluster; and the cost of working in the cluster". Firstly, infrastructure implies some physical facilities or services. Five indicators are selected for analyzing how creative individuals in JCCAC agreed that "infrastructure" is important to their location decision: the availability of parking space; adequate public transport within the city; large size of the unit in the cluster; sharing facilities with creative individuals nearby and the building management.

We assume that creative individuals desired to move to JCCAC because they excepted there will be more variety of audiences to participant in arts and cultural activities in this cluster. Furthermore, we anticipate the creative individuals wanted to earn income from their creative works, therefore, they chose to move to this cluster. The category "clustering location" indicates the position of the creative cluster, which related to the economic externalities that clustering would bring (Porter, 1998). This includes the proximity to cooperation partners, meaning knowledge spillovers and many face-to-face contacts, as well as network of individuals and firms; proximity to customers and market; and proximity to business owner's home. The category "cost of working in the cluster" included price or rent levels of the unit; flexibility of leases and transportation costs.

For the "soft" location factors, they are differentiated as "cultural and leisure amenities", including availability of public spaces; cultural facilities nearby the cluster, such as galleries, museums; cinemas, etc; and the offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs. The category "cluster environment" includes cleanliness of the area; silent environment of the area; clear air of the area. The category "tolerance and openness" include diverse lifestyles, open to many immigrants and minorities and open to many young people with the age of 25 to 40 in the area. , As introduced in the "creative class" theory, these "soft" factors are particularly important for attracting creative talents to move to a place.

We base on these indicators to empirically analyze the relative importance of "soft" and "hard" location factors for attracting the creative individuals to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. The study also aims to examine whether the concepts developed on rational observations in Western Europe and North America are applicable in other places, such as Hong Kong, that are experiencing in different stages of economic development.

Table 5 - Categorization of "Hard" and "Soft" factors for Empirical Research

Type of Factor	"Hard" Factors	"Soft" Factors
Indicators	**Infrastructure:** (a) Parking space; (b) Public transport; (c) Large size of the unit; (d) Sharing facilities with creative individuals and organizations nearby; (e) Building management	**Cultural and Leisure Amenities** (a) Public Spaces; (b) Cultural facilities nearby; (c) Offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs
	Cluster Location: (a) Proximity to cooperation partners; (b) Proximity to customers and market; (c) Proximity to business owner's home	**Cluster Environment:** (a) Cleanliness of the area; (b) Silent environment of the area; (c) Clear air of the area
	Cost of Working in the cluster: (a) Price or Rent levels of the unit; (b) Flexibility of leases; (c) Transportation costs	**Tolerance and Openness:** (a) The diverse lifestyles; (b) The openness to many immigrants and minorities in the area; (c) Many young people in (25-40 years old) the area

Source: own depiction based on:

Hong Kong Arts Development Council. (2010). Survey on the Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand Report.

Murphy, E. and Redmond, D. (2009). "The role of 'hard' and 'soft' factors for accommodating creative knowledge: insights from Dublin's "creative class". *Irish Geography*. 42 (1): 69-84.

4.5 Hypothesis for This Study

Accordingly, we have formulated the following hypothesis for this study:

Hypothesis 1: *Classic "hard" location factors, including, infrastructure, cluster location, cost of working in the cluster, attract creative individuals to move to the creative cluster.*

Hypothesis 2: *"Soft" location factors, including cultural and leisure amenities, the environment of cluster, tolerance and openness, attract creative individuals to move to the creative cluster.*

Hypothesis *3: According to the cluster concept and theory, creative individuals of different professions and talents expect clustering would bring positive impact on art and cultural consumption and production, such as receiving positive economic effect on their creative products.*

Hypothesis 4: *Creative individuals target to locate in places that can build up their social networks with the community and other creative individuals nearby. Whereas, creative individuals has expected a creative cluster would provide the atmosphere for them to exchange ideas and build up social and profession networks.*

Hypothesis 5: *To a large extent, creative individuals are more influenced by the "soft" factors than the "hard" factors when considering the location for creative work and activities.*

Hypothesis 6: *According to the notion of "creative class", all members of the creative class have high levels of locational and workforce mobility, in which they tend to move between places to places. This implies that people do not follow jobs, but jobs follow people.*

4.6 Chapter Summary

It is observable that the spatial distribution of human capital is different around the world, and there are many concentrations of creative people in major cities. Based on the "cultural milieu" and "creative class" concept previously mentioned, Murphy and Redmond (2009) has conducted a quantitative research on the extent to which roles played by hard or soft factors are necessary for attracting the talented human capital to a place in Dublin.

To summarize, we have answered the third sub question on the "hard" and "soft" location factors in this chapter, and we have designed a framework for empirical work. In the next chapter, we will discuss the methodology of analyzing important location choices of creative individuals, who are currently locating in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong.

PART III: METHODOLOGY

Chapter 5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter clarifies the operationalization of the research, based on the aforementioned theoretical research. We discuss the definition of research population, survey objectives, research strategy, research population, research method, sample, questionnaire design, for the empirical research. In order to test the theoretic exploration on the human decision-making and location factors, the paper takes a mixed method research, combining a quantitative survey method and qualitative interviews follow up.

The survey examined the status and location considerations of a target group – **Creative Workers of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.**

The online questionnaire survey and qualitative interviews were conducted between April and June 2012.

5.2 Research Population

Defining the research population is of particular importance, in order to generate valid, reliable and representative results in a research. In this study, we investigate the location decisions of the so-called "creative class occupations" in the creative industries. In an attempt to overcome the somewhat broad and blurred definition of creative class working in the creative industries, our analysis targeted individuals who are working in the specific sectors within the creative economy. These sectors were selected on the basis of their major art forms as shown in the creative cluster (see **Table 6**).

Given that the creative class mentioned by Richard Florida (2002, 2005), consists of individuals working in the creative industries and knowledge-intensive industries as discussed in chapter 2, we refer to the individuals who creating works of different elements, and are locating in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, as "creative individuals" or "creative workers" in this paper. The location where this population is studied is within Hong Kong.

It is important to bear in mind that different creative workers may make different location decisions. In this case, we will make a critical selection of super-core occupations, which shows a certain degree of homogeneity. The majority of people in this specific cluster are arts practitioners, who are the "super-creative core" of the creative class as presented in chapter 2. As distinguished in a survey about "The Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand" in Hong Kong (HKADC, 2010: 2), the artistic individuals and groups refer to those undertaken arts and cultural activities, comprises "dance, drama, music, xiqu, film and media art, visual art, literary art and others".

Accordingly, resident artists, full-time or part-time (less than 30 hours per week) creative workers or creative freelancers who are mainly working on "arts creation, rehearsal or training, and exhibition or performance" in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (HKADC, 2010: 2) are referred to the creative individuals.

In Hong Kong, there are many arts practitioners that are in the field of cross / interdisciplinary or multi-disciplinary arts (HKADC, 2006), which means they may personally participating in different arts disciplines; collaborating among different arts disciplines; collaborating between the arts field or other social sectors; having combined arts activities; or their arts form can not be categorized as a single discipline. Based on the website of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre http://jccac.org.hk/, about the artists and art groups, many of the arts practitioners are multi-disciplinary, which is difficult to make a definite distinction on which art forms the artists are involved in.

With this regard, research population includes all the creative individuals that are involving in one or more arts disciplines in the selected creative sectors. However, the research population does not count those who are involving in the pure commercial sectors, including "arts support services such as film developing or printing, typesetting, distribution, transportation, advertising or promotion, consultation services and storage services" (HKADC, 2010: 2). It is because that these activities do not contain "creativity" as a matter of "sifting through data, perceptions and materials to come up with combinations that are new and useful" (Florida, 2002: 18).

Table 6 - Creative sectors selected for empirical analysis

Creative sectors	Description
Fine Art	painting, sculpture, ceramic
Applied Art	design, photography, jewellry
Media Art	video Art, film, installation
Performing Art	music, drama, dance, xiqu

Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, JCCAC (2012) and own depiction

For each sector, a database of artists or art groups was compiled from information contained in the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre databases. Artists and art groups were contacted from compiled database listings. Insofar as was possible, we considered all the creative individuals of small and large art groups from the creative cluster to be included in the research population.

Strictly speaking, prospective respondents are required to meet the two basic criteria in order to be included in the final sample. First, they admitted that they currently have a working space for their art and creative work in JCCAC. Second, they involved in one of the creative sectors as signaled above. In addition, the specific creative fields of workers were determined through the questionnaire survey.

5.3 Research Objectives

As aforementioned, Florida has advocated that "quality of place" is prominent "soft" factor to attract creative pool to city-regions. In this research, we have chosen Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre as a case study, to investigate why creative individuals decide to move to locate in this creative cluster, in terms of "soft" and "hard" location factors.

Traced back to 2006, when Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre opened for public rental application, many creative individuals and art groups applied to rent for creative spaces in this artist village. Not surprisingly, the demand for such creative spaces was exceeded the supply of studio units, since 2008, and until now there is a list of creative individuals waiting for a studio unit in this creative cluster (So, 2012). Hong Kong Arts Development Council (2010) has conducted a basic survey on the "The Current Status of Industrial Buildings for Arts Activities and Future Demand", suggesting the Hong Kong government should consider the potential demand of arts practitioners, especially those with less experience in arts creation for vacant industrial buildings. They also recommended the government to take Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre as a model, to develop more creative centre for arts and cultural practitioners in the near future.

While there are very limited literatures investigating the attractive factors that influence creative individuals to move to a creative cluster; this study has a goal to fill in this literature gap, and to gain a more thorough insights on the importance of "soft" location factors in attracting creative workers. With accordance this, the survey in this research examines the following two major objectives, so as to verify the relative importance of the two categories of location factors presented in **Table 5**:

(a) Current status of target groups in using the spaces for arts and cultural activities in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre;

(b) hard and soft location choices of target groups.

5.4 Research Question

As stated above, many creative individuals in Hong Kong desired to move to locate in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. To ask for an exploration of the phenomenon in this study, this is to examine whether creative workers move to the cluster mainly because of "soft" factors. Central question of this research is formulated as follows:

To what extent do "soft" location factors are more important than "hard" location factors for attracting creative individuals move to a "creative cluster"- Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong? What are the underlying reasons that influence creative individuals moving decision to this creative cluster?

The following sub questions would guide us to empirical analysis:

- According to the literature, what are the definitions of "creative individuals" and "creative cluster"?
- What is the definition of "creative individuals" for this study?
- What are the "hard" and "soft" location factors that influence the location decision of creative individuals to move to a creative cluster?
- Do "soft" location factors play more important roles than the "hard" location factors on the location decisions of creative individuals in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?
- Regarding the qualitative analysis, what are the underlying reasons that attract creative individuals to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?

5.5 Sampling

The population in this research focuses on the creative workers currently that owned / solely rented / co-rented a unit in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong. Creative workers referred to those who create works of different arts fields: fine art, applied art, media art and performing art, in the creative cluster.

The Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre has recorded every creative worker / organizations that is currently locating there; in which the basic communication information of the creative individuals and their art groups are on the website, http://jccac.org.hk/. The name of the art groups or organizations; name of artists or contact person of the arts group; and their major work fields in the creative industries are disclosed to the public; whereas most of them also offer their telephone numbers, email address and webpages of the group to the general public. Thus, the database of the research population is based on the information provided on such channels.

Some workers did not mention their contact information on the website, thus, major contact person of some art groups were informed to complete and forward the questionnaire with a specific link of the survey to other members in the cover letter. As a result, all members of the art groups who are working in the creative sectors could fill in the questionnaire through the link. To avoid a bias in the process of sampling, non-online users will be contacted by telephone. Totally, 147 creative workers in JCCAC, who match the sample criteria, are invited to participate in the survey.

5.6 Research Method

An empirical study on the subject is favorable, so as to acquire reliable data on the significant hard and soft factors that influence creative individuals to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. Kirk and Miller (1986) and Silverman (1993) have pointed out that the issues of reliability and validity are very important, because the objectivity of social scientific research can thereby be articulated explicitly (Silverman, 1998). In order to test hypotheses, we need

to measure variables, in which the idea of independent and dependent variables reflect the causes and effects of the issue to be studied (Field, 2009; Seale, 2007). In this study, the hard and soft location factors are identified as independent variables. The dependent variable is the decision of creative individuals to locate in the creative cluster.

This research can conduct either quantitative survey or qualitative interviews with a target group of respondents. Bryman (2008) distinguishes the two research methods in three areas, in terms of the principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research; the epistemological orientation; and ontological orientation. The quantitative research stresses on a deductive approach, to test the hypothesis that is deduced from a theory, by analyzing the quantified data; while the qualitative research is more emphasis on an inductive approach which has the aim of generating the theory.

Positively, we could take a representative sample from the proposed target research group. Hence, the results of the survey could be generalized to the entire population. Moreover, a quantitative approach could maximize the reliability and validity of measurement of the key concepts (Bryman, 2008). It also provides explanation of the social characteristics; to test and explain why things are the way they are, but not merely to describe how things are, especially when there has been a vast amount of previous research in the field. However, we should note that a quantitative research fails to address adequately the issue of meaning of the particular problem.

On the other hand, qualitative interviews are advantageous to an in-depth understanding of human behaviors (Seale, 2007). In this case, we could gain more insights specifically on the creative and artistic groups about their location decision to stay and work. Nonetheless, detailed face-to-face qualitative interviews require more time to conduct in a study when there are enormous interviewees. Added to this, the data collection and analysis of qualitative interviews have to be organized and interpreted carefully; in order to ensure internal validity, reliability and objective results.

Considering that we were interested in theories concerning the location factors in relation to the people moving decision to creative clusters in the city, this paper aimed to test the theories of exiting research in the case of Hong Kong. Regarding methods, research in the location factors that attract creatives or talents has been based mainly on the quantitative perspective that investigating secondary data. Hence, it provided a strong reason to explore the ample theories in this field by using primary data as well. Nonetheless, dealing with the complexity of human behavior, it is more applicable to conduct a qualitative research method.

Although the mixed methods research is a relatively new research approach, it has gained popularity in the social and human sciences research, because it could address the complexity more thoroughly and bring more insight on the particular issue (Creswell, 2009). For these strong reasons, this study combined quantitative and qualitative research methods so as to explore the reasons and views of creative individuals working at the creative cluster in Hong Kong. It is important to note that the quantitative research strategy in this study is

clearly prioritized, whereas the qualitative part is to generate improved meaning from the theorems, and to provide a more complete picture of the moving issue to creative cluster.

5.6.1 Online Social Survey

To distribute an online questionnaire via email was the major data collection method for the research, in which the respondents are directed to a website in order to complete the questionnaire online. This online social survey could be regarded as both "structured interviews or as self-completion questionnaires" (Bryman, 2008: 644). In order to make a distinction with the qualitative part in this research, we referred the quantitative survey as self-completion questionnaires. It is considered to be low costs and quicker approach for both researchers and respondents (Bryman, 2008). As mentioned above, the target group was the creative individuals who mainly engaged in selected creative activities in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

The advantages of conducting self-completion questionnaire, or sometimes referred to as self-administrated questionnaire (Bryman, 2008) are that first, it can prevent affecting the answers of respondents because of the absence of interviewer. Second, it provides a more convenient way for respondents to answer the questions, because they can complete a questionnaire when they want to and without time limit. As a result, rich data can be collected from creative workers of different units locating in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

However, the limitation of a questionnaire is that, there is no opportunity for the respondents to ask questions if they do not understand the questions clearly. Respondents are more likely to have less motives of answering questions that are not salient to them than in interviews. A further issue in relation to research sampling is the non-response issue (Bryman, 2008). Most obviously, to avoid generating a low response rate by web surveys, we contacted respondents via telephone before sending them the online questionnaire, which is identified as "basic netiquette" (Bryman, 2008: 648).

The Qualtrics Online Survey Software (https://erasmushcc.eu.qualtrics.com/) has been used for designing and hosting the online questionnaire. The URL of the survey has been sent to the respondents' emails one by one via the survey tool. In terms of appearance of the web survey, it has "a wider variety of embellishments" (Bryman, 2008: 645) that produces easy and appealing features for respondents to click the radio buttons, pull-down menu or type directly into a boxed area.

5.6.2 Semi-structured Interview

Complementary to the quantitative survey research in this study, one phase of the research entailed semi-structured interviews with programme and development manager of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre and creative individuals who work in the creative cluster. The interviews aimed to acquire a more in-depth understanding on the creative individuals' location decisions and future demand of creative spaces in Hong Kong. Importantly, the

additional qualitative interviews have a more flexible nature, which could reflect and emphasis on how the interviewees fame and understand the issue discussed in this research (Bryman, 2008).

The creative individuals working in JCCAC were selected out of the sample of the quantitative part, and were chiefly questioned through telephone conversation. The interview questions were mostly open questions that based on the theoretical framework, concerning the important and necessary factors that attract the creative individuals to move to the creative cluster. The interviews were all transcribed immediately after finishing the conversation with the respondents; which provide a corpus of qualitative data (Bryman, 2008).

5.7 Questionnaire Design

Given that the self-completion questionnaire aimed to answer the research question, we have made sure that all the questions were designed and presented clearly. They had to be also well related to my research question (Bryman, 2008). Second, to ensure there were no irrelevant questions, which have little values related to my research question. The self-completion questionnaire was administered to creative individuals between May and June 2012. The underlying reasons for creative individuals coming to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre will be investigated. The questionnaire has the goal to answer the following questions:

- Who are the creative individuals that are locating in the creative cluster - Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?
- What are the important considerations that attract creative individuals to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in terms of hard and soft location factors?

In the questionnaire, there were 24 questions in total: 16 questions with multiple choices and 8 close-ended questions that have to be filled in answers by the respondents. Clear instructions were provided as guidance. A short cover letter explaining the reasons for the research was attached in the survey's invitation e-mails (Appendix V for detailed survey questions). With clear instruction in the questionnaire, respondents could make appropriate selections on the questions (Bryman, 2008).

The multiple-choice question featured definite yes or no, labeled as binary variable (Field, 2009). The second question in the questionnaire contained nominal variable, which aimed to find out in what creative fields or areas of the arts that the respondents were most involved. Question 3 emphasized on the working situation of creative individuals. Accordingly, the first three questions could answer who the creative individuals were.

Followed by this, questions 4 to 9 relating to the role of "hard" and "soft" clustering location factors played in the decision making of respondents, which were performed in a Likert scale format (Bryman, 2008), as ordinal variables. The five-point scale method was

carried out in these 6 questions about "hard" and "soft" questions. Respondents have to indicate how they valued the statements by grading them from 1 to 5, whereby 1 indicated that they were TOTALLY DISAGREE with the statement, and 5 indicated that they were TOTALLY AGREE with it. As stated by Bryman (2008) about the common instrument for measuring human's attitudes and behaviors, the scale of the survey included the five answer possibilities, consists of*: I totally agree, I more agree than disagree, I agree nor disagree, I more disagree than agree, and I totally disagree*.

To understand the locational mobility of creative workers in JCCAC, question 10 asked about if the respondents plan to relocate. If the respondent answered "yes", they were requested to fill in when and where they would plan to relocate in question 11 and 12.

The final part of the questionnaire focused on the personal factual questions, to ask about respondents' age (in year), gender, monthly rent, size of the unit, etc. This information is useful in investigating whether there is a distinctive difference among different groups. For example, younger creative workers may tend to have different location choices than those who have longer experiences in working as creative workers. To gather information on whether creative workers working in the creative cluster would have economic advantages; based on the classic clustering theory (Porter, 1998), the last two questions are regarding the monthly income of creative workers from the creative work in the creative cluster.

5.8 Data Collection

The techniques of data collecting that are often used in a survey research consist of face-to-face interviews, self-completion questionnaire by postal, web or email, and telephone interviews (Seale, 2007). As depicted in section 5.6, in the cross-sectional design, the data were collected by two methods: a self-completion questionnaire and a semi-structured interview on more than one case and at a single point of time.

Systematically, relevant data for empirical research were collected from the online survey and interviews between April and June, 2012. Knowing that JCCAC is a "multi-disciplinary" arts village (JCCAC, 2012), we have selected creative workers involving in creative fields of fine art, applied art, media art and performing art, as distinguished by JCCAC to the research sample.

5.8.1 Self-completion Questionnaire

There are three steps to collect data in the quantitative survey. Firstly, we conducted field observations in JCCAC to view the general usage of the units and public areas. Occasionally, we have talked to a creative worker who has just moved to the cluster for one month, stated as an artist that mainly worked in ceramics and design. After gathering more first hand and secondary information of the creative cluster, we re-organized our questions in the questionnaire. The second phase is to call respondents of JCCAC to take part in my survey. Assuming that some prospective respondents are well-established local and international

artists that could hardly approach, or they do not have telephone contact numbers. Therefore, we sent e-mails to this population.

The respondents were encouraged to complete the online questionnaire by themselves; that we sent the survey link to them personally. We have conducted 8 telephone surveys, where many of the respondents replied to fill in the questionnaire at a later point of time when they are available.

The third phase is to send reminder emails to those who fail to complete the online questionnaires after two weeks of sending the first invitation emails. It is noteworthy that questionnaire do not all come back at once, especially when the questionnaire is launched online and sent to the respondent by e-mail (Bryman, 2008). Due to the relatively low response rate, follow-up email is a useful way to remind the respondents to complete the online questionnaire; that might have a demonstrative effect on increasing the response rate. Another problem occurred in the online questionnaire is that because all questions are optional to be answered by respondents, there was missing data on questions related to the income of creative individuals.

5.8.2 Face-to-Face and Telephone Interview

Apart from having a face-to-face interview with Wylie So, the programme and development manager of JCCAC and one creative worker, we have carried out 9 semi-structured interviews with the creative individuals through telephone conversation (Appendix III for background information of the interviewees). Each telephone interview was conducted for approximately 10 to 35 minutes. Two face-to-face interviews were executed in the creative cluster. They were taped with a digital voice recorder. The telephone interviews were shorter than the face-to-face interviews, which lasted for 10 to 15 minutes, depending on the available time of the interviewees.

To ensure a comparable interviewing style, we have prepared a list of questions an interview guide (Appendix VI), which may not be asked exactly in the same order on the schedule. Interviewees were asked to talk about for what specific reasons they choose to locate in the creative cluster; what they think the attractive considerations of JCCAC are; whether they plan to relocate and their visions and needs on future creative spaces. Questions that are not included in the guide would be raised according to what the respondents said. The interview process is more flexible compare to the survey, and it helps to better explain and understand the behaviors of the creative individuals. Hence, more specific issues of the location patterns of creative individuals can be addressed.

As for the telephone interviews, we made notes and memos on papers and coded them immediately after interviewing the creative workers, as this was a very important step for qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2008). For the empirical analysis, we have selected carefully the relevant and non-relevant information on the interviews in relation to the central

question of our research. It is clear that content about the specific considerations of creative individuals' moving decision JCCAC was the main focus of this research.

5.9 Limitations and Problems

Regarding the research methodology, we have faced some problems in formulating the most feasible research method to investigate the topic and questions. Even though there have been abundant quantitative researches examining the concepts of creative class, location factors and creative cluster (Florida, 2002; 2005; Murphy and Redmond, 2009; Bontje, Musterd, Kovacs and Murie (2011), however, there was lacking knowledge or cumulative data in relation to the location factors of workers working in the creative economy in Hong Kong. To shed light on the issue of whether to develop more creative clusters in cities, which could attract and attain creative individuals and spur urban economy, it is useful to initiate a micro research in the case of Hong Kong. Evidently, mixed research methods require more time for data collection and data analysis, but it may provide a better understanding of a specific phenomenon than if there is only one method being used in the study (Bryman, 2008).

On the other hand, limitation concerns about the translation of Cantonese quotes into English in the qualitative interviews. The transcription of the quotes might lose some of the original meanings. Considering that tradition Chinese is the core language of Hong Kong, we postulated it was more appropriate to execute a Chinese questionnaire to let respondents fill in; who were mainly Chinese people. We also included English questionnaire for English speaking respondents to take part in the survey, in order to solve the language problems.

5.10 Chapter Summery

In this chapter, we have presented a detailed profile of the operationalization, and the research methodology according to which we adopted in this research. Emphasizing on the explanation of human behavior is the core element of the positivist approach to the researches in social sciences (Bryman, 2008). Two distinct research methods coexisted in this study. With the quantitative research method, it is able to measure and analyze patterns and relationships between the variables that are chosen in a framework for this study. For qualitative method, we are able to examine and generate new or improved theorems. The research instruments help to address and utilize the issue discussed in the paper. Notwithstanding, there were some limitations and problems when executing the research, it is relevant to conduct this study, which will be evincing whether "soft" or "hard" factors play more important roles on the location decision of creative individuals. Research findings will be analyzed and explained in the rest of the chapters.

PART IV EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Chapter 6 RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND GENERALIZABILITY

6.1 Introduction

Of critical importance, this chapter discusses the quality of the mixed methods research, in relation to reliability and validity. Several scholars have pointed out three protruding criteria for evaluating a social research, which are reliability, validity and generalizability (Seale, 2007; Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2009). In the present study, we reflect the reliability and validity in connection with the quantitative and qualitative research.

6.2 Internal Reliability

Fundamentally, reliability is to examine the stability or the consistency of the responses (Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2009). We tried to maximize the reliability and validity measurement of the concepts in the research, in order to check if the measurement is stable or not. Internal reliability a key issue of testing the measurements that is normally applied to multiple indicators measures. For the questionnaire design, it is important for us to test the consistency of *scale* or *index* of the multi-indicators (Bryman, 2008), where to measure whether respondents answer to any one indicator are related to other indicators. During the process of designing the empirical framework, that are used to explore the attracting factors for people to move to the creative cluster, we have divided the indicators to two categories, in terms of hard and soft factors. Three board categories relating to similar contents are derived from each of these indicators. We have chosen *Cronbach's alpha* to test the level of internal reliability of different indicators, which the quantitative data will then be analyzed by *Cronbach's alpha* through computer software.

6.3 Validity

In relation to the issue of reliability, one core question about the case study research concerns the *validity* or *generalizability* (Bryman, 2008). These prominent issues are particularly strong beyond quantitative researches and with cross-sectional design. Basically, there are four main types of validity being discussed in a social research: measurement validity, internal validity, external validity and ecological validity. Measurement validity is to assess whether the measurement of concepts is reliable, which concerns the ways of how we measure the concepts. In other words, we have to ensure the factors that are devised of the creative class and creative cluster concepts, reflect these concepts in the moving decision of creative individuals to a creative cluster.

In this research study, we considered that both e-mail online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews as methods to enlarge the measurement validity of the study of concepts. The internal validity deals with the causal relationship between different variables. When we discuss the causality of a study, we refer to the factors that have causal impact or causes (Field, 2009) as the independent variables; and the effect as the dependent variable

(Bryman, 2008). Therefore, the hard and soft location factors in this study are identified as independent variables. The dependent variable is the decision of creative individuals to locate in the creative cluster. External validity of quantitative study is to assess whether the results of a study can be generalized to a wider population, beyond the specific cases (Seale, 2007; Bryman, 2008). We have not selected the sample randomly, and had attempted to include as many members of the population as possible. However, due to the fact that some of the members do not use the Internet, in which the survey is only available online. As a result, because not all of the research population has done the survey, a sampling bias may occur.

In addition to the quantitative part, we can try to apply the concepts of reliability and validity to the qualitative research as well. Reliability of this research has been improved through the use of digital device, which the interviews were taped and transcript. Validity is an issue that concerns about whether the findings are representing what have "observed, identified and measured" (Bryman, 2008: 376). However, it is important to bear in mind of the different criteria used from different qualitative studies, which should be evaluated separately. Hence, "trustworthiness" (Bryman, 2008: 377) has been suggested to be an alternative way to assess the quality of qualitative research, that emphases on the credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability of the research. A *thick description* of the individuals sharing certain messages related to the research issue is encouraged; here, we refer to the important factors that attract creative individuals to move to a creative cluster. As a result, we could transfer the "rich accounts of the details of a culture" to the social world (Bryman, 2008: 377). Furthermore, we are aware of the coding methods in the research, because researchers could have different agreements on how to assign codes.

6.4 Generalizability

The main considerations were reliability and validity of the research, while the generalizability of the findings was also significant. We knew that the research sample had to be representative of the whole cluster for this study, so we had include all the creative members who are involving in different creative activities in JCCAC. Without doubt, a single case cannot be representative, which means the findings cannot be applied to other cases. Albeit of this research paper is valid in the city of Hong Kong and by no means that the results can be representative to other metropolitans, the findings revealed some pronounced factors that creative individuals concerned about and the features of future development of creative cluster in cities.

6.5 Response Rate

Commonly, response rate is an important issue in a social survey research, in both self-completion questionnaire and structured interview. Considering the matters of time and cost, it is suggested to boost response rates by following up respondents who have not initially responded to the questionnaires (Bryman, 2008). Inevitably, some people in the sample are

refused to take part in the survey, which has generated the problem of non-response. The percentage of a sample represents those who agree to participate, plus the number of usable questionnaire, which have been answered more than 50% of the questions.

We have sent surveys to 147 creative workers in JCCAC, and 36 were successfully completed and returned. Data of 7 respondents who have not completed 50% of the survey questions will be excluded in the research results. The response rate would be 25.7%. We calculate the response rate of the questionnaire survey as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of usable questionnaires} = 36}{\text{Total sample} - \text{unsuitable members of the sample} = 147-7} \times 100 = 25.7\%$$

6.6 Cronbach's Alpha for "Hard" and "Soft" Factor Scale

As aforementioned, *Cronbach's alpha* will be used to test the internal reliability of this research. It is a coefficient that used to determine internal consistency of the hard and soft factor scale. When the alpha is 0.7 or higher, it means that the consistency of data is satisfied and acceptable (Bryman, 2008). The higher of alpha value, the more reliable the data is.

6.6.1 Cronbach's Alpha For The Quality Of Hard Factor Scale

According to the survey's results, **Table 7** shows that the coefficient of hard factor scale is 0.793, which means the consistency level of hard factor scale is acceptable. In order to investigate how an item affect the overall *Cronbach's alpha* for hard factors, we have constructed **Table 8**, to demonstrate how it would be affected if we deleted an item. The results show that if we remove the item "parking space" from the hard factors, the value of *Cronbach's alpha* would be increased. Due to the fact that the increase is not significant and does not affect the overall reliability of the result; therefore, we keep this factor for the analysis part.

Table 7 - Table showing *Cronbach's alpha* of "hard" factor scale

Cronbach's alpha	N of Items
.793	11

Table 8 - Table showing total statistics of "hard" factor

"Hard" factors		Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Infrastructure	Parking space	30,67	49,792	,021	,814
	Public transport	28,91	42,648	,440	,778
	Large size of the unit	29,39	44,621	,524	,773
	Shared facilities with other creative individuals nearby	28,58	40,564	,518	,768
	Building management	29,58	41,627	,531	,767
Clustering Location	Proximity to cooperation partners	28,73	42,580	,461	,775
	Proximity to customers and market	29,52	44,258	,362	,786
	Proximity to my home	29,24	42,502	,441	,777
Cost of Working in the cluster	Reasonable rent levels of the unit	29,00	41,937	,501	,770
	Flexibility of leases	29,42	42,814	,530	,769
	Reasonable transportation costs to the centre	28,79	40,172	,621	,756

6.6.2 Cronbach's Alpha For The Quality Of Soft Factor Scale

Similarly, we have used *Cronbach's alpha* to test the level of consistency of soft factors scale. **Table 9** show that the alpha value is 0.892, which indicates the data consistency is good. We understand that none of the items made negative contribution to the alpha value, because no items would give higher values if one item has been removed (see **Table 10**).

Table 9 - Table showing *Cronbach's alpha* of "soft" factor scale

Cronbach's alpha	N of Items
.892	9

Table 10 - Table showing total statistics of "soft" factor

"Soft" factors		Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Cultural and Leisure Amenitie	Public spaces	20,74	41,776	,596	,885
	Cultural facilities nearby	21,15	41,220	,757	,873
	Offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs	21,56	43,769	,570	,887
Cluster Environment	Cleanliness of the area	20,50	41,045	,554	,890
	Silent environment of the area	20,71	40,699	,666	,879
	Clean air of the area	20,85	41,463	,622	,883
Tolerance and Openness	Diverse lifestyles	20,76	39,216	,674	,879
	Openness to many immigrants and minorities in the area	21,00	40,545	,782	,871
	Presence of many young people (25-40 years old) in the area	20,97	40,757	,689	,877

As all the scales scored over 0.75, that we can prove that both *Cronbach's alpha* values of hard and soft factor scales are reliable and consistent. The following analysis of the survey results will be based on these scales.

Chapter 7 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, characteristics of the sample will be expounded in details. The data analysis is carried out using the valid response of 34 participants in the survey. 2 participants, who have not answered the questions regarding the "hard and soft" factors, would not be included in the analysis part. In total, 8 questionnaires were filled out via telephone, where 28 questionnaires were filled out online.

We will first discuss the background information of the creative individuals for this study. Section 7.3 focuses on the age and gender of the respondents, while section 7.4 shows the employment status of them. In the latter part, focus will be on the total months of locating in JCCAC, size of the units, numbers of tenants sharing the same unit. Importantly, all of the information and responses provided by the respondents in the survey were remained anonymous.

7.2 Types of Creative Activities

In order to understand what major art fields and creative activities the participants are involved in, so as to clarify the research group as the *creative class*. We have to bear in mind that Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre is a multi-disciplinary artist village. Referring to findings presented in Table 11, most of the respondents (92%) filled in "other creative fields", such as "ceramics, painting, performing art". 2 people indicated they most involved in "Design", and one person filled in "Design and Photography".

We have depicted all the 33 responses of "Other" creative fields in **Table 12**, so as to show what multi-disciplinary arts areas the respondents were most involved in. We can sum up that most of them are involved in the visual art.

Table 11 - Frequency table showing responses to the question: "In what creative fields or areas of the arts are you most involved?"

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Design	2	6
Photography	0	0
Design and Photography	1	3
Other	33	92
Total	36	100

Note: missing values= 0

Table 12 - Table showing responses of the "Other" category

1	Ceramics, Jewelry, Painting, Design
2	Design and Fine Art
3	Photography and Arts Education
4	Painting and Installation
5	Illustration
6	Ceramics and Photography
7	Visual Art and Video Art
8	Design and Sculpture
9	Art and Design
10	Sculpture
11	Ceramics
12	Music Composing and Painting
13	Performing Arts
14	Contemporary Dance
15	Architectural Design
16	Contemporary Ink Painting
17	Performing Arts
18	Painting
19	Theatre Performances
20	Mixed Media Arts
21	Fine Art and Painting
22	Printmaking
23	Contemporary Art
24	Animation
25	Painting and Drawing
26	Chinese Painting
27	Fine Art
28	Fine Art
29	Paper cutting and Chinese Calligraphy
30	Film and Media
31	Music
32	Multi-Media, Sculpture and Oil painting
33	Design and Art

7.3 Working Situation In Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre

Creative individuals were asked to answer the question about their employment status in JCCAC. As shown in Table 13, 15 (42%) respondents indicated that they were working full time in the cluster. There were more or less the same numbers of respondents noted that they worked part time (25%); or they worked as freelancers (22%). 4 respondents (11%) stated that they worked without being paid.

Table 13 - Frequency table showing the working situation in JCCAC

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
I rent a space in JCCAC working fulltime	15	42
I rent a space in JCCAC working part time (less than 30 hours per week)	9	25
I rent a space in JCCAC working as a freelancer	8	22
I rent a space in JCCAC working without being paid	4	11
Total	36	100

Note: missing values= 0

7.4 Age And Gender

Respondents were also asked about their age and gender, which the results are demonstrated in Table 14 and Table 16 respectively. **Figure 1** shows that most of the respondents are in the standardized age group of 31 to 50, with a mean of 41.6 years old. Equally, there were 50% of respondents are male; and 50% of respondents are female.

Table 14 - Frequency table showing age group of respondents in JCCAC

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
21-30	4	15
31-40	9	33
41-50	8	30
51-60	4	15
61 and over	2	7
Total	27	100%

Note: missing values= 9

Figure 1 - Bar chart showing age group of respondents in JCCAC.

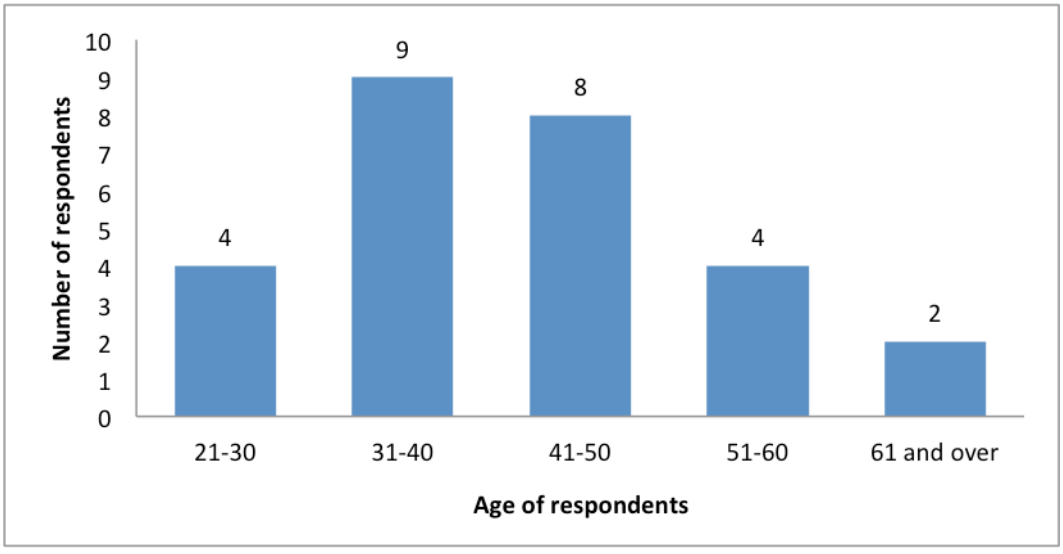


Table 15 - Mean and standard deviation for age of respondents

	M	SD
Age	41.6	12.1

Table 16 - Frequency table showing gender of respondents

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Male	16	50
Female	16	50
Total	32	100

Note: missing values= 4

7.5 Total Months For Moving To Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre

We now turn to the question about the total months that respondents have been moved to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, in order to gain insight on whether they were satisfied with the creative cluster.

Interestingly, results shows that most of the respondents (64%) stated they have moved to JCCAC for more than 41 months (see Figure 2), with the mean of 41.2 months. There were 10 respondents answered that they have been working there for 50 to 52 months, which equals to more than 4 years. There were also 2 respondents who have just moved to the creative cluster for less than 10 months. Many of these respondents seem to be satisfied with locating in JCCAC. Meanwhile, there were new comers that would like to move to this cluster.

Figure 2 - Bar chart showing the total months of respondents moving to JCCAC.

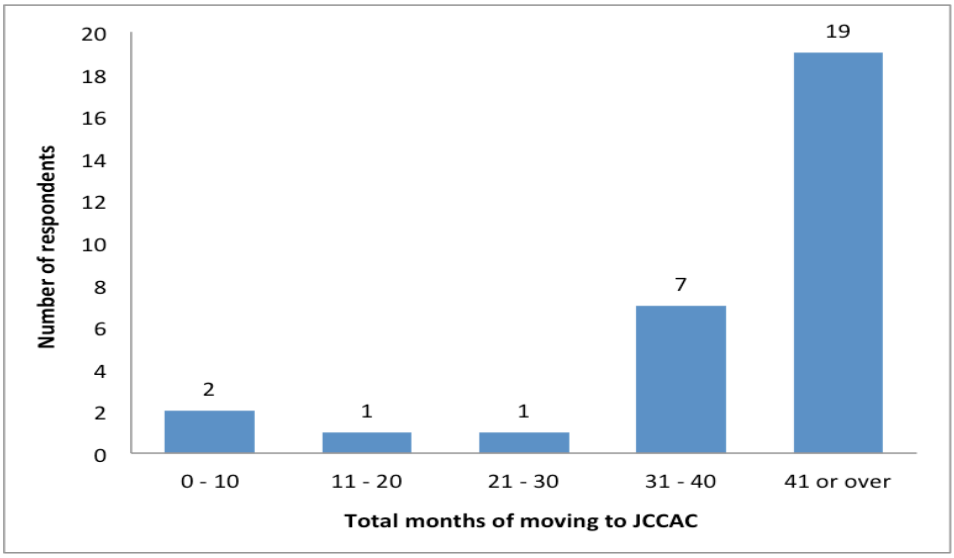


Table 17 - Frequency table showing months of locating in JCCAC

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
1-10	2	7
11-20	1	3
21-30	1	3
31-40	7	23
41or over	19	64
Total	30	100

Note: missing values= 6

Table 18 - Mean and standard deviation for total months of moving to JCCAC

Response	**Mean**	**SD**
Month	41.2	13

7.6 Numbers Of People Sharing The Same Working Spaces And Size Of The Unit (In Square Meter)

As evinced in **Table 19**, there were 24 (80%) respondents saying that they shared the same working space with one or more than two people, with an average of 2.27 people. Likewise, there were only 6 respondents (20%) stating that they were the only one working in their own unit.

The size of unit is varying between 23 and 110 (square meter). **Table 21** shows that 63% of the respondents were working in units of 21 to 30 square meter; while 17% of respondents indicated they were working in units of 71 square meters or above. The average size of units was 42 square meter, which was relatively small if the space has to be shared with different creative workers.

Table 19 - Frequency table showing responses to the question: "Including yourself, how many people sharing your current working place in the same organization in JCCAC?".

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
One – I am the only one	6	20
Two	13	43
Three	8	27
Four	3	10
Total	30	100

Note: missing values= 6

Table 20 - Mean and standard deviation for people sharing the same unit

	M	SD
Number of people	2.27	0.91

Table 21 - Frequency table showing size of unit (in square meter)

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
20 or below	0	0
21-30	19	63
31-40	2	7
41-50	0	0
51-60	4	13
61-70	0	0
71 and over	5	17
Total	30	10

Note: missing values= 6

Table 22 - Mean and standard deviation for size of unit (in square meter)

	M	SD
Sizes of the unit	42	23.9

7.7 Monthly Rent Of Unit (In Euro)

Aside from the characteristics of the respondents and units, we would like to have a deeper understanding on the rent that respondents have to pay per month (see **Table 23**). 46% of respondents indicated that their monthly rents were ranged from 210 to 300; 14% was ranged from 310 to 400. 14% of respondents indicated their monthly rents were below 210, which implied that this group of people might be student tenants.

Table 23 - Frequency table showing monthly rent (in Euro) paid by respondents

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
80-100	1	4
110-200	3	10
210-300	13	46
310-400	4	14
410-500	1	4
510-600	1	4
610 or over	5	18
Total	28	100

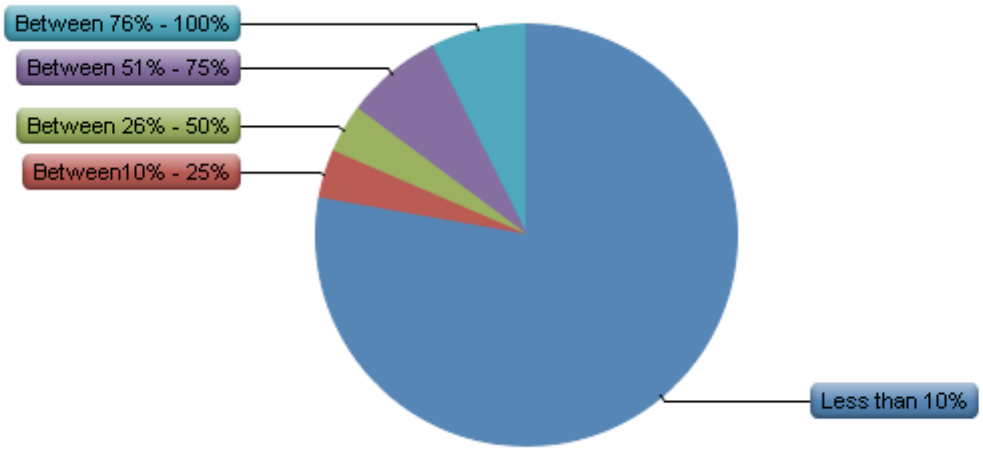
Note: missing values= 8

Holistically, the above findings shown that the numbers of co-tenants were high, that the monthly rent for each co-tenants was relatively low. This also indicated that the usable working spaces were relatively small.

7.8 Monthly Income from the creative work in JCCAC (In Euro)

Following by the monthly rent, each respondent was asked about their monthly income, which came from their creative works in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. These two questions were designed to understand whether creative workers could have certain economic advantages working in the creative cluster. It is noted that most of the art practitioners claimed to rent the spaces as their studios, merely for arts creation or as production house, administration or meeting place. Put it in other way, it means that they did not expect to receive any monetary incentives. As depicted in **Figure 3**, results shown that 76% of respondents earned less then 10% of their monthly income from the creative works in JCCAC.

Figure 3 - Pie chart showing responses to the question: "What percentage of your monthly income comes from your creative works in JCCAC?".



Remarkably, 54% of respondents preferred not to answer the question of their monthly income. This maybe because they did not want to disclose information about their income; or maybe because they did not think the question was relevant to their situation, so they have refused to answer this question. Among the 14 respondents who have answered their monthly income, 36% of them indicated that their monthly income came from creative work in JCCAC were under 1,000 (Euro) (see **Table 24**). Meanwhile, 2 respondents indicated that they earned more than 2,000 (Euro) per month. Still, there were some useful insights on the earning patterns of the respondents. The findings may imply that many of the art practitioners hold second jobs.

Table 24 - Frequency table showing monthly income (in Euro) of respondents from the creative work in JCCAC.

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Under 1,000	11	37
Between 1,001-1,500	1	3
Between 1,501-2,000	0	0
More than 2,000	2	7
Prefer not to answer	16	53
Total	30	100

Note: missing values= 6

Table 25 - Frequency table showing percentage of monthly income comes from the creative works in JCCAC.

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Less than 10%	21	78
Between 10%-25%	1	4
Between 26%-50%	1	4
Between 51%-75%	2	7
Between 76%-100%	2	7
Total	27	100

Note: missing values= 9

7.9 Chapter Summery

Above all, the research population who chose to move to the creative cluster involved in more than one creative sector, namely cross-disciplinary creative fields. We have found out that respondents of the survey were between the age of 24 and 73, with an average of 41.6 years old, whereas male and female respondents were distributed evenly.

It is interesting to note that majority of respondents (64%) have been locating in JCCAC for more than 4 years, and there were also new comers who have only located in JCCAC for 3 to 6 months. Referring to the working situation and monthly income of the sample, 42% were working full time, while the remaining (58%) stated that they were part-time workers, freelancers or working without paid. Majority of the respondents indicated that they earned less than 10% of their whole income per month working in JCCAC.

Size of units was varying between 23 and 110 (square meter). We found out there was an average of 2.27 people sharing the same working unit, with nearly 80% stating they shared spaces with others. In line with the size of unit and numbers of people sharing the same unit, the monthly rent was ranged from 80 to 1,200 (Euro).

In short, these conspicuous characteristics of respondents at Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre have revealed useful insights on the question of who the "creative individuals" moving to this creative cluster are. Results of the role of "soft" and "hard" factors for attracting creative individuals will be analyzed in the following chapter. Meanwhile, qualitative findings on the issue will help to explore the quantitative results.

Chapter 8 RESULTS OF "HARD" AND "SOFT" FACTORS

8.1 Introduction

The data analysis in this chapter is carried out from 34 participants of the usable respondent in the sample. We will present the findings of the self-completion online questionnaire and the qualitative interviews, to investigating the role of "hard" and "soft" factors that attract and retain creative workers to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

In this section, we answer the empirical sub questions, which guide us to answer the research question of this study:

To what extent do "soft" location factors are more important than "hard" location factors for attracting creative individuals move to a "creative cluster"- Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in Hong Kong? What are the underlying reasons that influence creative individuals moving decision to this creative cluster?

Without doubt, the attractive forces for artists or creative workers moving to a creative cluster are complex. Markusen (2006: 1928) points out that the attractive reasons may include agglomerations of artists-hiring employers in different kind of creative industries. Meanwhile, "lower costs of living, recreational and environmental amenities, and rich and innovative cultural conventions" are some significant forces to attract and home-grow artists in certain places. Taken these considerations into account, we have developed a framework of hard and soft factors in an earlier stage. Three board categories are divided into two sets of location factors as depicted in Table 26.

Table 26 - Overview of "Hard" and "Soft" factors for locating in JCCAC

Factor	Type of Factor
Infrastructure (parking space, public transport, large size of unit, shared facilities with other nearby, building management)	"Hard"
Location of the cluster (proximity to cooperation partners, proximity to customers and market, proximity to the respondent's home)	"Hard"
Cost of Working in the cluster (reasonable rent levels of unit, flexibility of leases, reasonable transportation costs to the centre)	"Hard"
Cultural and Leisure Amenities (public spaces, cultural facilities nearby, offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs)	"Soft"
Cluster Environment (cleanliness, silent environment, clean air)	"Soft"
Tolerance and Openness (diverse lifestyles, openness to many immigrants and minorities, presence of many young people ranged from 25-40 years old)	"Soft"

8.2 Survey Results Of "Hard" and "Soft" Factors

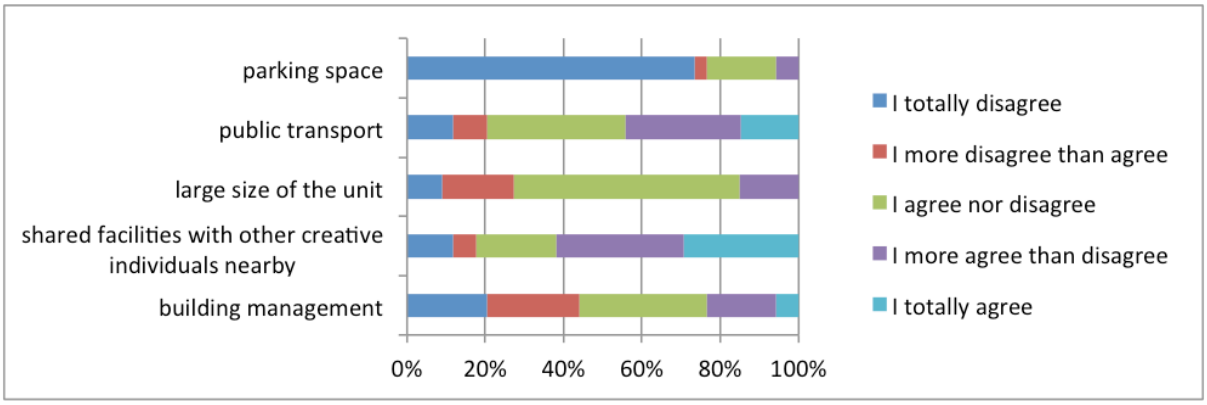
8.2.1 Result on the "Hard" factor – Infrastructure

The results demonstrated a high degree of creative workers agreed with the following five hard factors under the category of "infrastructure", when choosing to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

Table 27 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "hard" factor -Infrastructure that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Parking space	Public transport	Large size of unit	Shared facilities with other nearby	Building Management
Min Value	1	1	1	1	1
Max Value	4	5	4	5	5
Mean	1.56	3.26	2.79	3.62	2.65
Std. Deviation	0.99	1.19	0.82	1.30	1.18
N Valid	34	34	33	34	34
Missing	2	2	3	2	2

Figure 4 - Stacked chart showing how respondents agree that "hard" factor – infrastructure is important to their location decision.



As shown in Table 27, the standard deviation is ranged from 0.99 to 1.30. It evinces that the responses are not diversified too much. The factors *Public transport* and *Shared facilities with other creative individual nearby* have an average core higher than 3. It shows that respondents agree that these two factors are important. Significantly, more than 60% of respondents "totally agree" or "more agree than disagree" on the importance of the factor *Shared facilities with other creative individual nearby* (see **Figure 4**). The factor *Parking space* scored the lowest, with the mean of 1.56. More than 70% of respondents were "totally disagreed" that the availability of *Parking space* was an important factor for them to move to JCCAC.

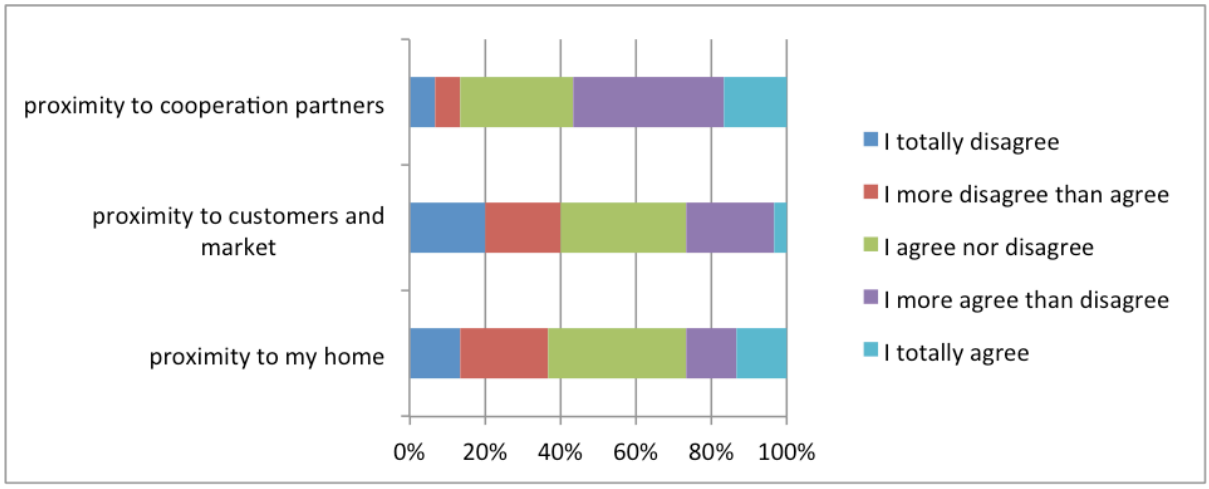
8.2.2 Result on the "Hard" Factor – Cluster Location

The location of the cluster is presented as the second important indicator among the three "hard" indicators. **Table 28** illustrates that the lowest mean is 2.71; while the highest mean is 3.47. The standard deviation for each item is quite low, which varies between 1.16 and 1.22. The factors *Proximity to customers and market* and *Proximity to my home* are neutral to the respondents, as their means are less than 3. Most of them responded that "I agree nor agree" with this statement (see Figure 5). For *Proximity to cooperation partner*, more than 50% of respondents scored "more agree than disagree" and "totally agree". It represents that this "hard" factor is particularly important for them. It is proved that artist working studio building has provided great opportunities for artists to circulate ideas and feedback among formal and informal networks, and has put them into a closer working proximity with each other (Markusen, 2006). Hence, there is an assumption that creative workers were attracted to move to JCCAC because of the location of clustering.

Table 28 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "hard" factor - location of the cluster that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Proximity to cooperation partners	Proximity to customers and market	Proximity to my home
Min Value	1	1	1
Max Value	5	5	5
Mean	3.47	2.71	2.91
Std. Deviation	1.16	1.14	1.22
N Valid	34	34	34
Missing	2	2	2

Figure 5 - Stacked chart showing to what extent do respondents agree that "hard" factor – cluster location is important to their location decision.

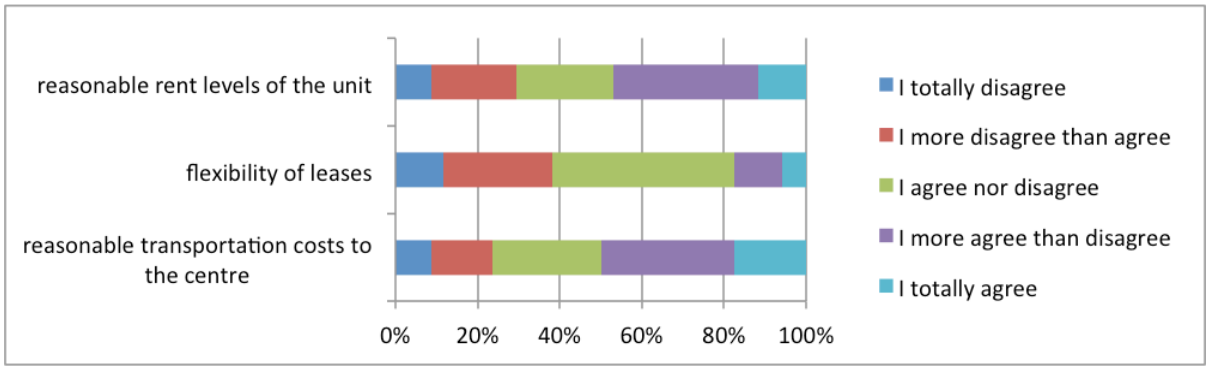


8.2.3 Result on the "Hard" factor – Cost of Working in the Cluster

Table 29 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "hard" factor – cost of working in the cluster that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Reasonable rent levels of unit	Flexibility of Leases	Reasonable transportation costs to the centre
Min Value	1	1	1
Max Value	5	5	5
Mean	3.21	2.74	3.35
Std. Deviation	1.17	1.02	1.20
N Valid	34	34	34
Missing	2	2	2

Figure 8.3 Stacked chart showing to what extent do respondents agree that "hard" factor – cost of working in the cluster is important to their location decision.



The third "hard" factor – *Cost of Working in the Cluster*, is relatively important than the *Infrastructure*. As presented in **Table 29**, the lowest mean is 2.74; while the highest mean is 3.35. The standard deviation for each item is quite low, which varies between 1.02 and 1.17. Majority of the respondents were *agreed nor disagreed* with the *flexibility of leases* factor. More than 50 % of respondents agreed with *Reasonable transportation costs to the centre factor and reasonable rent levels of the unit* as an attractive force to their location decision.

To conclude the results of "hard" factors, all of these indicators have demonstrated distinctive features of the degree of how respondents agree with one another on the importance of the items. Most obviously, creative individuals were attracted by these factors: Shared facilities with other creative individuals nearby; *Proximity to cooperation partners; Reasonable Rent levels of unit; Reasonable transportation costs to the centre;* when they chose to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

8.3 Survey Results of "Soft" factors

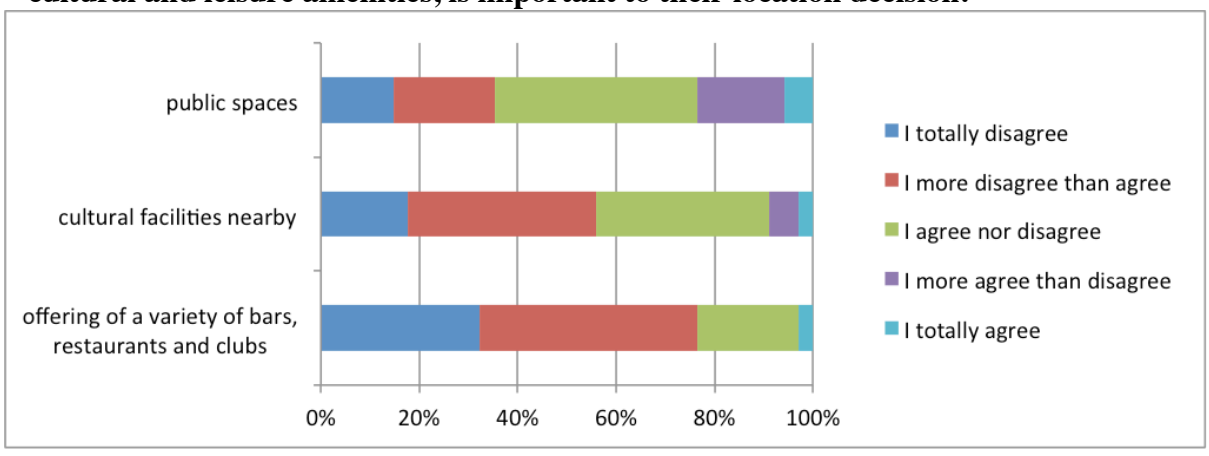
8.3.1 Result on the "Soft" Factor – Cultural and Leisure Amenities

In the following, we demonstrate findings on the "soft" factors in relation to the important force of moving to JCCAC. As evinced in **Table 30**, the lowest mean is 1.97; while the highest mean is 2.79. The standard deviation for each item is quite low, which varies between 0.90 and 1.09. **Figure 6** illustrated that majority of the respondents responded, "I agree nor disagree" on the factor public spaces as important to their moving decision. This factor is neither significantly important nor unimportant to the respondents. For the factor *cultural facilities nearby* and *offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs*, more than 50% and 75% of respondents disagree on these as important factors respectively.

Table 30 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "soft" factor – cultural and leisure amenities that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Public spaces	Cultural facilities nearby	Offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs
Min Value	1	1	1
Max Value	5	5	5
Mean	2.79	2.38	1.97
Std. Deviation	1.09	0.95	0.90
N Valid	34	34	34
Missing	2	2	2

Figure 6 - Stacked chart showing to what extent do respondents agree that "soft" factor – cultural and leisure amenities, is important to their location decision.



8.3.2 Result on the "Soft" Factor – Cluster Environment

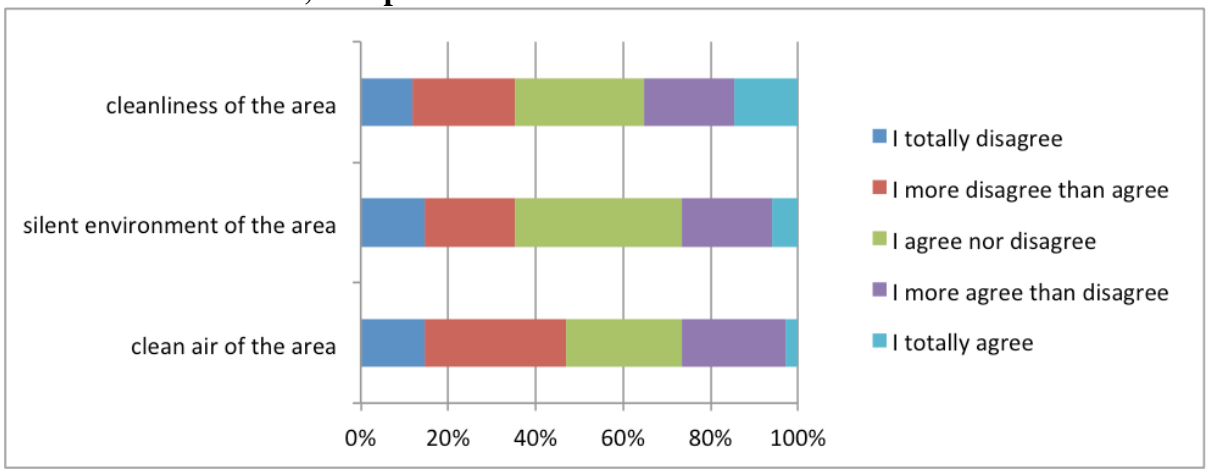
In terms of the environment of the place surrounding in the cluster, Table 31 presents the statistic for "soft" factor – *Cluster Environment*. The environment of the creative cluster refers to the *cleanliness, silent environment and clean air of the location*. The lowest mean is 2.68; while the highest mean is 3.03. The standard deviation for each item is quite low, which

varies between 1.09 and 1.24. In short, **Figure 7** depicts that not more than 50% of respondents agree or disagree among these three factors in the "cluster environment" category.

Table 31 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "soft" factor – cluster environment that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Cleanliness of the area	Silent of the area	Clean air of the area
Min Value	1	1	1
Max Value	5	5	5
Mean	3.03	2.82	2.68
Std. Deviation	1.24	1.11	1.09
N Valid	34	34	34
Missing	2	2	2

Figure 7 - Stacked chart showing to what extent do respondents agree that "soft" factor – cluster environment, is important to their location decision.



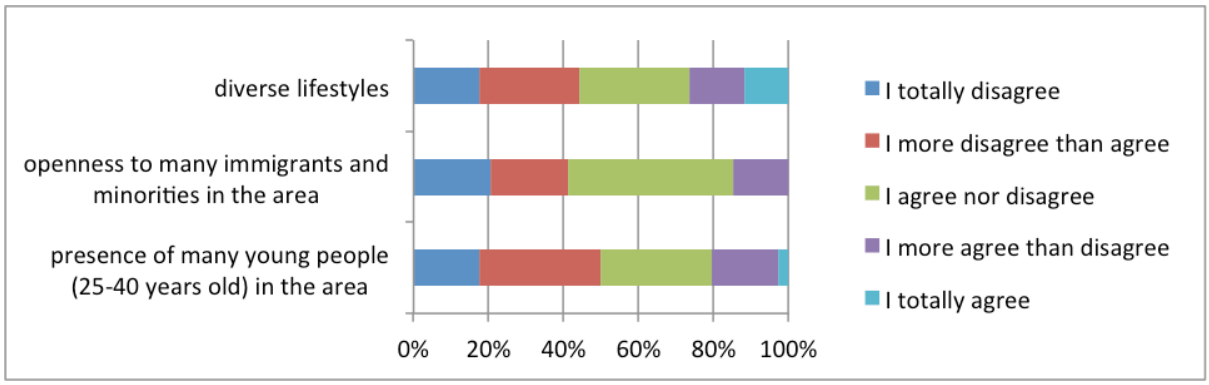
8.3.3 Result on the "Soft" Factor – Tolerance and Openness

The results for *Tolerance and Openness* follow a similar trend to those for the "soft" factors discussed already. Taking the foregoing results for "soft" factors together, which suggest that the creative workers in JCCAC do not find these factors attractive with respect to the surrounding of this area.

Table 32 - Statistic showing responses to the question "I was attracted by "soft" factor – tolerance and openness that I decided to move JCCAC."

Statistic	Diverse lifestyles	Openness to many immigrants and minorities in the area	Presence of many young people (25-40 years old) in the area
Min Value	1	1	1
Max Value	5	4	5
Mean	2.76	2.53	2.56
Std. Deviation	1.26	0.99	1.08
N Valid	34	34	34
Missing	2	2	2

Figure 8 - Stacked chart showing to what extent do respondents agree that "soft" factor – tolerance and openness, is important to their location decision.



Similar to the above two other "soft" factors, respondents of the survey responded that the Tolerance and openness factors were not so important to their moving decision to JCCAC. Significantly, none of the respondents gave a high score on the factor *openness to many immigrants and immigrants and minorities in the area;* that no one totally agree with this statement.

The foregoing results implied that satisfaction with the *cluster environment* fared little better with very high degrees of respondents stating *cultural and leisure amenities* and *tolerance and openness* were not attractive forces at all. Overall, there were mixed impressions with regard to some aspects of *tolerance and openness* in the cluster, and the city. This is perhaps because it is generally recognized that Hong Kong has less varieties of lifestyles.

Creative individuals of different professions and talents decided to move to certain places, specifically to a creative cluster, because they expect clustering would bring positive impact on art and cultural production and consumption. In the case of JCCAC, many of them enjoyed the reasonable rent and transportation cost, sharing facilities with other multidisciplinary artists; meanwhile, they have expected this creative cluster would bring a

large variety of audiences and customers. Therefore, they were attracted to move to this creative cluster.

8.4 Comparing the Two Sets of Location Factors

This research aimed to test why creative individuals have chosen to move to a creative cluster, and what factors were more important that others, the significant differences between the two sets of location factors will be articulated in this part. To find out whether soft factors played more important roles than hard factors for attracting creative individuals to move to JCCAC, we will carry out a *paired sample t test* (Field, 2009). The *paired sample t test* helps us to test the null hypothesis, stating that *there is no significant difference between the means of hard and soft indicators,* to examine whether the two sets of data are significantly different.

With the help of the analysis tool SPSS, we can determine the null hypothesis can be rejected or not. If the significance value (Sig.) is less than 0.05, it means that the difference is significant and the null hypothesis can be rejected. Otherwise, if the value is higher than 0.05, the hypothesis cannot be rejected.

In the followings, we demonstrate two computed variables "Hard Factor Total Indicator" and "Soft Factor Total Indicator", which are calculated from the average of hard and soft factor variables respectively (Appendix VII presented the mean comparison of all hard and soft factor pairs; and Appendix VIII shown the *paired t-test* of total hard and soft factors). The results evince the average score of hard or soft factor of a respondent. **Table 33** shows the mean of these two variables of all valid respondents. *Paired sample t-test* is carried out based on these two variables.

The summary of the most important data of *pair sample t-test* is listed in **Table 34**. We find out that the significance value is 0.003, which is less than 0.05. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected because there is a significant difference between the two sets of factors. The result is positive with the mean differences of 0.35. This reveals that creative workers were more influenced by hard factors than soft factors, when they decided to move to JCCAC.

Table 33 - Table showing the statistics of hard and soft factors.

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair	Total of Hard Factor Indicators -	2.96895	34	.656726	.112628
	Total of Soft Factor Indicators	2.6144	34	.79666	.13663

Table 34 - Table showing the results of *paired t-test* of hard and soft factors.

		Mean Differences	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair	Total of Hard Factor Indicators – Total of Soft Factor Indicators	.354575	.638826	.109558	3.236	33	.003

8.5 Interview Results Of "Hard" and "Soft" Factors

In this section, we answer the last sub question: "regarding the qualitative analysis, what are the underlying reasons that attract creative individuals to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre?". We will highlight the major similarities and differences of the survey and interview findings, to add knowledge to the quantitative results for this study.

The findings in the interviews among 10 respondents are mutually corresponded to the survey result as analyzed in the previous section. According to survey results about the three board categories of hard factor, *Cost of Working in the Cluster,* is relatively important than the *Infrastructure;* whereas *The location of the cluster* is presented as the second important indicator among the three "hard" indicators.

8.5.1 "Hard" Factors Are More Important Than "Soft" Factors

To begin with, all of the interviewees indicated that availability of *parking space* was not the attractive hard factor, that pull them to locate in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. Interestingly, an anonymous contemporary Chinese painter, who moved to JCCAC for 52 months, explained "there are no parking available in JCCAC from the moment I moved to JCCAC, until now. People could only have maximum 30 minutes of temporary parking".

For the second factor in the category of infrastructure, most of the interviewees stated they were attracted by adequate *public transport within city centre* that they decided to move to JCCAC. An anonymous designer, who moved to JCCAC for 52 months indicated that, "the public transportation in Shek Kip Mei (where the creative cluster is located) is convenient, that he could travel to other places very quickly." This represents that the public transport factor is important to the creative individuals' decision making.

Added to the infrastructure category, the third factor *large size of unit* is also important to most of the interviewees, as shown in the survey result; although some of them agreed to this to a certain extent. For instance, an anonymous sculptor and designer, who moved to JCCAC for 3 months, responded that, "the studio I am working now in JCCAC is not big, which is approximately 303 square feet. I have divided my studio into two parts: one part is for working; another part is for selling hand-made ceramics jewelries. Nonetheless, it is suitable for working small art works and organizing workshop for small groups."

An anonymous contemporary Chinese painter, who moved to JCCAC for 52 months, has also replied that *large size of the unit* was an essential location factor for him to choose to move to the cluster. This was because he usually drew large paintings and did not have enough space to paint at home.

The survey results did not show why creative individuals agreed that they were attracted by the *Shared facilities with other creative individuals nearby* that they decided to move to JCCAC. It is worth mentioning that majority of the interviewees gravitated more toward agreed with this statement. An anonymous performing artist, saying that he was contented about the shared facilities in JCCAC, that they could share the rooms and public spaces for rehearsal or other purposes. Hence, he was attracted to locate in the cluster.

It is also noting that interviewees thought that *building management* was one of the attractive factors for them to move to JCCAC. An anonymous designer responded, "Indeed, I was attracted by the building management of JCCAC, which other places could not provide. The arts centre has helped the marketing for every art groups, by designing and distributing a monthly pamphlet for different activities to public." We could understand that building management of the cluster was one of the prominent motivations behind moving to JCCAC.

Significantly, most of the interviewees indicated that they moved to the cluster mostly because they wanted to build a close network with other workers in related fields. They would even organize special events and exhibits with different creative workers from several arts groups. Therefore, they stated the importance of *Proximity to cooperation partners* as the most attractive force among the "hard" factors – *Location of the cluster*.

Accordingly, a young printmaking artist, designer and video maker, who co-rented a student-tenant studio with her partner, responded that *Proximity to cooperation partners, proximity to customers and market* were major factor for attracting her to move to the cluster. She suggested JCCAC could initiate more activities for artists in the cluster, especially for arts student. Simultaneously, this could foster better network and assess for the creative individuals, as well as bring economic advantages to their art production.

8.5.2 Interview results on the "Soft" factor

Initially, we have taken leisure and cultural facilities as "soft" factor, which are assumed to be essential factors for the "creative class" (Murphy and Redmond, 2009). However, the majority interviewees mentioned that to a large extent, "soft" factors played less important roles in their location decisions. Explicitly, the reason was because the creative cluster was lacking of *Cultural and Leisure Amenities,* and *quality of place* factors. An anonymous designer pointed out that he expected that there would be more cultural facilities nearby the building in the near future, because this would increase the attractiveness of the cluster itself.

Comparatively, majority of the interviewees highlighted that *Cluster environment* factors were attractive factors for them to move to JCCAC, especially the *cleanliness of the area*. An anonymous sculptor and designer indicated that he has compared the current space in JCCAC with Fo Tan Industrial Artist Village (another art community of Hong Kong), that the area surrounding of the renovated industrial building - JCCAC was very clean and suitable for art creation.

Most significantly, referring to the majority of interviewees, they indicated that they were not aware of the *Tolerance and openness factor: diverse lifestyles, openness to many immigrants and presence of many young people* when choosing to move to JCCAC. An anonymous designer answered that "personally speaking, there is no "lifestyles" in Hong Kong, it is not pluralistic at all." This implies that the hypothesis of "soft" factor – tolerance and openness is important factor for attracting creative people to cluster in a place is not true in this study case.

To summarize, we have added more in-depth explanation on the attractiveness of "hard" and "soft" factors to creative individuals in JCCAC. The interview findings have proved that tradition hard clustering factors still play very important roles in creative individuals' location decision. In particular, they enjoyed the face-to-face contact, knowledge spillover and ideas exchanges with others. Aside from the "availability of parking space" factor, majority of the interviewees held positive comments on the "hard" factors.

8.6 Results Of The Relocation Plan

In order to test the location mobility of the "creative class" who were locating in JCCAC, we have asked questions related to their relocation decision. Referring to the findings in the survey, 72% respondents indicated that they had no plan to move out from Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. Meanwhile, 28% responded that they have thought of relocation (see **Table 35**). Among those creative tenants who indicated that they planned to relocate, 33% and 67% indicated that they would leave JCCAC within the next two years and three years or more respectively (see **Table 36**).

Table 35 - Frequency table showing the responses of question: "Will you plan to relocate?"

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Yes	9	28
No	23	72
Total	32	100

Note: missing values= 4

Table 36 - Frequency table showing the responses of question: "When will you plan to relocate?"

Response	*n*	per cent (%)
Immediately	0	0
Flexible	0	0
One year	0	0
Two years	3	33
Three years or more years	6	67
Total	9	100

Note: missing values= 0

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that most creative individuals were attracted by certain kind of "hard" factors, which they have chosen to move to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. On the other hand, for the question of where to relocate and where to move out, interviewees responded that they were interested in locating in other industrial buildings which have similar functions as JCCAC or places that have larger space and reasonable rent for arts creation.

"I plan to move to other industrial building in two years, because I want to find a bigger space. In fact, there are not many people coming to JCCAC to visit exhibitions, I would like to seek for a wider range of audience." (Anonymous ceramics artist, who moved to JCCAC for 50 months.)

"I would prefer to move to other industrial buildings in the near future, within three years or more. At the moment, I am satisfied with the management of JCCAC that I will not relocate. I chose to move to JCCAC because I liked the idea of a multi-disciplinary artist village, which linked to an arts centre. It is a good to know that there are more varieties of arts activities for different kind of audiences. However, if Hong Kong has another creative cluster, which has similar functions as JCCAC, I will not preclude that I will move to that place." (Anonymous performing artist, who moved to JCCAC for 50 months)

Referring to the dialogue with Wylie So, the Programme and Development Manager of JCCAC, there were various reasons for artists to relocate (So, 2012). One of the main reasons is that when artists have further developments, they need larger working spaces for creating artwork. Some of them decided to move to other industrial lofts because the working spaces were relatively larger in size and less expensive for rent. "Fotanian", a community of artists and art lovers who has transformed industrial lofts into art studios in Fo Tan of the New Territories, is another example of active arts hub or creative cluster in Hong Kong (So, 2012).

Notably, when we first asked the question of *why did you plan to move to JCCAC?;* many of the artists in the cluster claimed that there were not enough spaces in the city, and their home was not big enough for them to create works. Hence, they wished to find more suitable creative spaces in Hong Kong to work. Furthermore, some artists indicated that there were inadequate resources for them to build up their networks with the community and other professions in the creative cluster. A fresh graduate expressed that JCCAC has not created a clear vision for future development and an open environment for the artists to circulate ideas.

Accordingly, one interviewee has suggested the followings:

"There were not enough supports for the young arts graduates. Notwithstanding, JCCAC has provided a suitable place for arts creation, especially that we, the student tenants have special rental fee when applying for spaces there. However, I have some suggestions for the development of JCCAC. The management team could try to arrange more networking activities or events for the young artists to make connection with other well-established artists in JCCAC.

Personally speaking, although the spaces are fully rented to different artists who are working in the creative industries, we do not seem to see each other very often. Critically, JCCAC should have a more focused and clear vision for the future development. If there are more networks building among the artists in JCCAC, there will be a more lively arts environment for the artists and visitors." (Anonymous printmaking artist, designer and video maker, who moved to JCCAC for 50 months.)

These findings in the preceding section suggest that dissatisfaction with several aspects of the environments nearby the creative cluster may be contributing to the decision of the respondents to leave Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in the near future. Nonetheless, the results show that the high proportion of respondents (72%), expect to remain in their current place for three years or less. This implies that most of the creative workers in JCCAC do not have high location mobility.

8.7 Testing of Hypothesis

Initially, we have set six hypotheses for this study based on the literatures, two of them hold true and four are not approved.

Hypothesis 1: ***Classic "hard" location factors, including, infrastructure, cluster location, cost of working in the cluster, attract creative individuals to move to the creative cluster.***

First of all, this hypothesis holds true. The results emerging from the study proved that workers within the creative economy, specifically the arts practitioners are attracted to the creative cluster on the basis of classic "hard" location factors, including, *infrastructure, clustering location, cost of working in the cluster*. Considering there is less space for creation and from an economic standpoint in the case of Hong Kong, creative workers would rather choose to work in a place with reasonable rent. Except the availability of parking space factor, creative individuals of JCCAC agreed that they were attracted by other classic hard factors, including shared facilities with others nearby, proximity to cooperation partners and reasonable cost of working in the area. Therefore, they decided to move to the cluster.

Hypothesis 2: ***"Soft" location factors, including cultural and leisure amenities, the environment of cluster, tolerance and openness, attract creative individuals to move to the creative cluster.***

The second hypothesis is not true. In this study, majority of creative individuals generally stated that they moved to JCCAC were not because of the soft factors, due to the fact of lacking *cultural amenities* and *diverse lifestyle* nearby. Significantly, although creative workers were gravitated to "hard" conditions in the location decisions, it would be remiss to assume that all "soft" factors are unimportant. To a certain extent, "soft" conditions are important location factors. In fact, they expected there would have more cultural and leisure amenities, open, lively, pluralistic environment nearby the working area.

Hypothesis 3: ***According to the cluster concept and theory, creative individuals of different professions and talents expect clustering would bring positive impact on art and cultural consumption and production, such as receiving positive economic effect on their creative products.***

The third hypothesis is not true. Based on the clustering theories, firms and people agglomerations could bring economics advantages and to improve the firm's performances. As many of the creative individuals in JCCAC sell art and creative works, such as painting, sculpture, etc., and organize small-size art classes for the public, we assumed they decided to locate in a cluster because they could gain high economic profit. However, from the survey findings, we understand that more than 78% earned less than 10% of their income from the creative work in JCCAC. Although some creative individuals agreed that *proximity to market and customers* was important to their location decision-making, majority indicated that they were moved to JCCAC merely because they wanted to enjoy arts creation in suitable and affordable spaces.

Hypothesis 4: ***Creative individuals target to locate in places that can build up their social networks with the community and other creative individuals nearby. Whereas, creative individuals has expected a creative cluster would provide the atmosphere for them to exchange ideas and build up social and profession networks.***

The forth hypothesis is strongly true. We learn from both survey and interviews' findings that, creative individuals were drove by the artistic synergic effects that a cluster would bring; therefore, they moved to JCCAC. Significantly, respondents have scored the "hard" factor *clustering location: proximity to cooperate partners* as an important factor. We can summarize creative individuals, especially for the young artists, they would like to have knowledge and ideas spillover with other creative workers nearby. Therefore, they decided to move to the cluster.

Hypothesis 5: ***To a large extent, creative individuals are more influenced by the "soft" factors than the "hard" factors when considering the location for creative work and activities.***

The fifth hypothesis does not hold true in the case of Hong Kong. When we compared two sets of location factors, the results revealed that "soft" factors indeed were important to minority of creative individuals in JCCAC; however, "hard" factors were more attractive to them when choosing to move to the cluster or not. Meanwhile, the interviews have presented some interesting findings that creative individuals desired to move to places with more cultural amenities, as well as more open to young people and minorities.

Hypothesis 6: ***According to the notion of "creative class", all members of the creative class have high levels of locational and workforce mobility, in which they tend to move between places to places. This implies that people do not follow jobs, but jobs follow people.***

Finally, the sixth hypothesis is not true. Although some creative individuals in JCCAC show that they have relocation plans within the next two to three years, majority have no plans to move to other places. To summarize, they were not as highly mobile as what the "creative class" theory mentioned. One interviewee responded that, she did not care much about the place of working. In this study, the characteristic of the "creative class" to have high locational mobility does not hold true.

8.8 Chapter Summery

The key question to arise from the foregoing analysis relates to the extent to which factors are more attractive for creative individuals clustering in the studio building. The results show that these respondents were attracted to move to the creative cluster on the basis of "hard" conditions, while only a small minority of respondents indicated that they were attracted based on the "soft" factors. Aside on the importance of "hard" and "soft" conditions associated with the working in the cluster, the underlying specific reasons for creative workers coming to this creative cluster were examined through qualitative interviews. To add on the exiting literatures about location factors, respondents of the interviews answered that it was difficult to find suitable working spaces in Hong Kong; therefore, they would locate in any places that were affordable to them. Lastly, we have investigated the relocation plan of the artists working in JCCAC, which we fount out that the majorities did not have high location mobility.

PART V CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Conclusions

There have been very limited studies investigating the factors for attracting creative individuals to move to a creative cluster. Our thesis has a goal to fill in the literatures gap of the roles of "soft" and "hard" factors played in the location decisions of creative individuals, when choosing to locate in a creative cluster. Why do some creative individuals choose to locate in a creative cluster? Does "soft" factors play a more important role than "hard" factors for accommodating creative individuals? The background of this study was the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) in Hong Kong, which we have tested whether the western theories hold true in Hong Kong. The dialogues with artists and the programme and development manager have enriched a wider knowledge of the moving decision of the creative individuals to the cluster.

Six hypotheses have been tested for this study, where two of them held true and four were not true. We have explicitly explained the findings in the last chapter. By way of contrast, "hard" location factors played more important roles than "soft" location factors on influencing the locational choices of creative individuals, in the case of Hong Kong. To a certain extent, "soft" factors played important roles in the moving decision making process of only small groups of individuals. The analysis led to the conclusion that creative individuals in the creative cluster – Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre generally did not agree with the "soft" factors associated with the moving decision to JCCAC, while levels of agreement with "hard" factors are higher. In fact, the creative individuals have expressed their expectation and dissatisfaction on the soft factors during the interviews.

Interestingly, in the "soft" factors category, majority of creative individuals in JCCAC responded that they were attracted by the cleanness of environment nearby. This implied that they were concerned about the environment of the cluster when choosing to move to it. In addition to the quantitative analysis, it evinced that most of the creative workers came to JCCAC relates to classic location and clustering factor such as *shared facilities with others nearby, proximity to cooperation partners and reasonable cost of working in the area*. To a large extent, "hard" factors were more influential than the "soft" factors on the location decision of creative individuals in JCCAC.

Musterd and Deurloo (2006) have suggested that the important preconditions for retaining creative knowledge workers and developing creative industries in regions are the class hard factors. To bear this in mind, the results of our work suggest that policies, which aimed at improving the "hard" factors of in different places of the city (infrastructure, cost of working and living), may have positive impact on preserving and retaining the creative workers. One can conclude that what attract people to a particular place, in this case a creative cluster, in the first place, are the "hard" factors, especially public transport within the city centre. However, it is quite different to say what specific factors to retain workers in a particular city for a longer period of time. Quite clearly, the highly complex decision making

process are varied from certain kinds of personal circumstances and socio-economic factors; while the outside factors such as cultural amenities, open atmosphere, networks effects are also essential to one's location decision making. This reveals that "soft" conditions may play a significant role in retaining creative, talented and high-skill workforce in the future.

9.2 Limitations and Avenue for Recommendations

Without doubt, the concept of creative cluster and the relevant importance of "soft" factors for accommodating the "creative class" are intricacy issues, that we cannot merely examined in a single case study. Potentially, this study has neglected the fact of differences in location decision of several creative occupations, or artists of various professions, within different creative clusters.

Furthermore, our study has only focused on the creative individuals who were locating in Jockey Club Creative Arts; however, our research has not included other creative workers who were not locating in this cluster. To gain a more thorough understanding on the moving decision of creative individuals to a cluster, further research could encompass all creative workers in the city, to test why do some people wanted to move into a cluster; whereas some choose not to. Nonetheless, our research has presented some distinctive findings on the location decision of creative individuals in Hong Kong.

In recent years, how to build and manage creative clusters are some contestable issues in the cultural policy of cities. We have not investigated whether develop more creative clusters could attract and attain several kinds of creative individuals, and could bring economic advantages, as defined in the creative class theory by Florida (2002). A critical question to ask is who the creative agents of economic development in cities are. Much of the urban development's processes have remained poorly understand on evaluative research on long-term outcomes in different aspects, as pointed out by Markusen (2006). Policymakers may therefore have to conduct more sound research that enables them to understand their own talent targets, as well as the essential facility and infrastructure that are important for attracting them. In order to achieve urban growth and revitalization, policy makers have to design tailor made cultural policies in particular city, but not following the copy-paste policies that adopted from others. Although this is only a case study, this work on artists in the metropolitan, with its quantitative and qualitative methods, could serve as a model for future research on the many other metropolitans that have similar urban development, and also on other occupations in the "creative class" in the creative industries. We hope that this study encourages a better understanding of the location decision and the spatial distribution of creative individuals.

Aside from the scope of this research project, there are several interesting possibilities remain for future research. Indeed, the research database of urban cultural development in the city of Hong Kong is inadequate, which makes it difficult to acquire sufficient data for several related issues on the arts and cultural development. In recent years, it seems that

policy makers in Hong Kong who advocated to invest more money on arts and culture, merely because they latch on to the urban toolkit solutions of Florida's creative class theory (Peck, 2005), hoping to deliver urban renaissance style improvements to the city.

Certainly, creative individuals not only need financial support from the private and public domains, but also need suitable spaces for creation, or starting up their business, as creative enterprises. It is clear that cities that are lacking of housing stock and affordable rental properties are not attractive to creative knowledge workers, as revealed in the interview results from this study.

Looking to the future, we would ask if there is a need to develop more creative clusters that have similar functions as Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. The questions will be whether to revitalize more industrial buildings for arts and cultural activities, or to build more infrastructures in the city centre is important for attracting and retaining the most creative workforces in the city. More explicitly, even though many of the creative individuals have stated that they looked forward to newly develop creative spaces that are managed by non-for-profit organizations, we cannot guarantee if such spaces could sustain for a long period of time organically.

At the very least, if the aforementioned issue has to be incorporated into the urban development policy making the in the future, we need to carry out more stringent empirical study on the role of "soft" location factors for attracting different creative workers. This would help to test the relevance of creative class theory to urban and regional economic growth.

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Appendices

Appendix I- Background Information of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre

Cost	HK$69.4 million from JCCT to cover building conversion/renovation and partial start-up costs
Size	About 110,000 ft^2 (excluding the roof-top) **Ceiling height:** Level 0 – 14 ft 9; in Level 1 and up – 8 ft 3
Location	30 Pak Tin Street, Shek Kip Mei, Kowloon, Hong Kong
Aims	The aspiration of JCCAC is described as: We believe in the importance of the arts in helping to build a creative and civilized society, and we hope that the existence of JCCAC will help sow the seeds for increased public awareness, participation and enjoyment of the arts in Hong Kong.
Built Environment	The decommissioned Shek Kip Mei Factory Estate located at Pak Tin Street in Sham Shui Po A renovated 9-storey structure, facilities included in each unit • MCB board; 13A socket outlets; General / Essential lighting with twin 1,200 mm fluorescent tube; Automatic sprinkler installation & visual Alarm; Telephone and broadband circuit; Wash basin with water tap (For studio only); Exhaust air fan.
Completion date	September 2008
Partners	**Strategic Partners** Hong Kong Baptist University Hong Kong Arts Development Council Hong Kong Arts Centre **Project Sponsor** The Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust (JCCT) **Supported By** Home Affairs Bureau, HKSAR Government
Cluster of tenants	**Space for rent** • about 50,000 ft^2 of space for 100 artist/art group tenants • about 30,000 ft^2 of space for 6 to 7 institutional tenants • 3 galleries and 1 black-box theatre for art exhibition/performances open for booking by tenants and the community space for operators of cafe and retail outlets Over 100 artists/art organizations pursuing their work in a wide array of art-forms, from painting, sculpture, ceramics, glass art, printmaking, installation, to photography, animation and video production, music, dance and drama.

Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, JCCAC (2012) http://jccac.org.hk/

Appendix II - Table showing the total numbers of creative Individuals in JCCAC in the research sample.

Name of Art Groups / Artists	Numbers of contactable creative individuals	Creative Sectors
The White Box Studio	2	Fine Art
Hong Kong Design Community	2	Applied Art
Lumenvisum	1	Applied Art
Tworunrun	2	Fine Art
Kai Tak Comma	1	Applied Art
Dirty Paper	1	Applied Art
Studio 301	3	Applied Art
I-Kiln Studio Shek Kip Mei	1	Fine Art
Sculp TUDIO	1	Fine Art
Moongateworks	3	Applied Art
Ho Siu Kee's Studio	1	Fine Art
DanceArt Hong Kong	3	Performing Arts
Wrongplace	1	Fine Art
Drama's Group	3	Performing Arts
Quabitat Photography/ Ceramics Studio "Ablaze Cooperative"	1	Applied Art
The Painting Room	1	Fine Art
Utopian Studio	2	Fine Art
CreationPlace-stained glass mix and match	1	Applied Art
Brush Castle de Studio	2	Fine Art
Fish Hub	1	Fine Art
ECO-Design Studio	2	Applied Art
HK Carbon	1	Applied Art
Homework Production	2	Applied Art
Cypressland	1	Media Art
WY Creative Workshop	1	Applied Art
Touch Stone Workshop	1	Fine Art
Tang's Studio	2	Fine Art
Ancha Vista	2	Media Art
Lam Pei + Sugar Ink Studio	1	Applied Art
Mahamudra Studio	1	Fine Art
Studio 509	3	Fine Art
The Fighting Blues	4	Performing Art
Lotz Atelier	1	Applied Art
fineOne 2	2	Fine Art
String	1	Performing Art
Invision Images	1	Applied and Media Art
Choi Hung Studio	1	Fine Art
Hoichiu Art Gallery	3	Performing Art
520 Dimension	3	Applied Art
W studio	3	Fine Art
Girls and the Bear	3	Fine Art
Spitting Gecko Studio	1	Fine Art
Hong Kong Modern Ink Paining Society	3	Fine Art
Microwave	2	Media Art
6@6 Studio	3	Fine Art
Exploration Theatre	1	Performing Art
Frozen Fire	2	Performing Art
Amity Drama Club	1	Performing Art
Paul's Design & Creative Arts Studio	2	Fine Art
Locus Studio	1	Applied Art
Hong Kong Press Photographers Association	2	Applied Art
Hong Kong Puppet and Shadow Art Center	3	Performing Art
Hong Kong Film Art Association	2	Media Art
Scenery	1	Fine Art
Dodo Animation	1	Media Art
Yuen Yuen Ho / Tse Lok Lun	2	Applied Art
Studio de Dimension de Tofu	2	Applied Art
2A Studio	1	Fine Art

Artisens Studio & Gallery	1	Applied Art
Aborigine Music Workshop	2	Performing Art
Cube Studio Art Education + Miss Fat Studio	1	Fine Art
Earthen Light Studio	1	Applied Art
Centre for Community Cultural Development	3	Fine Art
Nick Foxall	1	Media Art
Nian	2	Applied and Media Art
Riceism Young Designers Association	3	Applied Art
rubywooglass	1	Applied Art
Mabel's Studio: YM Space	1	Fine Art
Cicy's workplace	1	Applied Art
Phoebe Hui Studio	1	Fine Art
Mo Studio	1	Performing Art
Museum of Site (MOST)	2	Fine Art
Graphics Plus	2	Applied Art
Active Concept	1	Performing Art
Tse Kong Wah Studio	1	Fine Art
Hau Siu Ching Art Studio	1	Fine Art
A & M Art Workshop	2	Fine Art
Anispace Ltd.	2	Media Art
Hong Kong Film Institute	1	Media Art
Crossfade Creative & VJ Welby	1	Media Art
Epictudio	2	Performing Art
Soil in Ditty	1	Performing Art
803 Studio	3	Applied Art
Ban Zhang Workshop	1	Fine Art
Hong Kong Open Printshop (Studio)	1	Fine Art
Metro Art Gallery (MAG)	1	Applied Art
Cheung Ping Painting Studio	2	Fine Art
V-gallery	1	Fine Art
MIO	1	Fine Art
Total numbers	**147**	

Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, JCCAC (2012, April.) http://jccac.org.hk/

Appendix III - Background information of Face-to-Face and Telephone Interviewees.

	Respondent	Gender	Total months in JCCAC	Type of Interview
1	Wylie So, Programme and Development Manager of JCCAC	F	-	Face-to-face
2	Anonymous Sculptor and Designer	M	3	Face-to-face
3	Anonymous Contemporary Artist	M	52	Telephone
4	Anonymous Designer	M	52	Telephone
5	Anonymous Sculptor	M	52	Telephone
6	Anonymous Contemporary Chinese Painter	M	52	Telephone
7	Anonymous Performing Artist	M	52	Telephone
8	Anonymous Printmaking Artist, Designer and Video Maker	F	52	Telephone
9	Anonymous Painter and Installation artist	F	48	Telephone
10	Anonymous Music Composer and Painter	M	52	Telephone
11	Anonymous Chinese Calligraphy Painter and Photographer	M	52	Telephone

Appendix IV - Variables and the levels of measurement for Quantitative Research.

Name of Variable	Categories	Level of Measurement
Working space	Yes No	Nominal
Types of creative fields that individuals involved	Design Photography Design and Photography Other	
Work situation	Full time Part time Freelancer Without paid	
"Hard" location factor	1. Infrastructure: (a) parking space (b) public transport (c) large size of the unit (d) shared facilities with other creative individuals nearby (e) building management 2. Cluster location: (a) proximity to cooperation partners (b) proximity to customers and market (c) proximity to business owner's home 3. Cost if working in the cluster (a) reasonable price or rent levels of the unit (b) flexibility of leases (c) reasonable transportation cost	Ordinal
"Soft" location factor	1. Cultural and leisure amenities: (a) public spaces (b) cultural facilities nearby (c) offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs 2. Cluster Environment (a) cleanliness of the area (b) silent environment of the area (3) clean air of the area 3. Tolerance and Openness (a) diverse lifestyles (b) with presence of many immigrants (c) presence of many young people (25-40 years old) in the area	Ordinal
Relocation plan	Yes No	Nominal
The possible time to leave the creative cluster	Immediately Flexible One year Two years Three years or more	
The place planned for relocation		

Age		
Gender		
District of living in the city		
Position in the art group		
Total people working in the same space		
Total month for locating in the cluster		
Size of the working space		Ordinal
Year of the art group founded		Nominal
Original location		
Monthly rent		
Monthly income from the work in JCCAC (range)	Under € 100 € 101 - € 150 € 151 - € 200 More than € 200 Prefer not to answer	Ordinal
Monthly income from the work in JCCAC (percentage)	Less than 10% 11%-25% 26%-50% 51%-75% 76%-100%	

Appendix V- Questionnaire Design

This appendix contains a list of questions in the survey for all respondents who completed the Survey of Creative Individuals' Location Decisions.

Survey of creative individuals who are locating in a creative cluster

I am Betty Wong, a master student at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. I would hereby like to ask you to participate in a survey concerned your moving decision to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC).

If you are a creative individual, that most of your time working in fine art, applied art, performing art, media art activities, and currently housing in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, please kindly complete the questionnaire.

Completing this questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes. The details you provide will be confidential and will only be used for research purposes about the location decisions of creative individuals. Please kindly send e-mail to whybetty@gmail.com if you wish to receive a copy of this master thesis upon completion.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Thank you for participating in our survey.
This survey will take you approximately 10 minutes. Please read the follow statements about your current working situation in Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) and choose the most appropriate answer:

Q1 Do you currently have a working space for your art and creative work in JCCAC?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No
- ❍

Q2 In what creative fields or areas of the arts are you most involved?
- ❍ Design
- ❍ Photography
- ❍ Design and Photography
- ❍ Other (Please specify) _____

Q3 Which of the following statement best describes your current work situation in JCCAC?
- ❍ I rent a space in JCCAC working full time
- ❍ I rent a space in JCCAC working part time (less than 30 hours per week)
- ❍ I rent a space in JCCAC working as a freelancer
- ❍ I rent a space in JCCAC working without being paid

The following lists the reasons for moving to Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre. Please indicate how you valued these statements by grading them from 1 to 5, whereby by 1 indicates that you are TOTALLY DISAGREE with the statement, whereas 5 indicates that you are TOTALLY AGREE with it. Please focus on what the most important factors that attracted you to move to JCCAC.

Q4 Hard Factor (1) Infrastructure
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC,

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the parking space	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the public transport	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the large size of the unit	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the shared facilities with other creative individuals nearby	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the building management	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q5 Hard Factor (2) Cluster Location
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC,

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the proximity to cooperation partners	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the proximity to customers and market	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the proximity to my home	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q6 Hard Factor (3) Cost of Working in the cluster
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC,

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the reasonable rent levels of the unit	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the flexibility of leases	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the reasonable transportation costs to the centre	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q7 Soft Factor (1) Cultural and Leisure Amenities
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the public spaces	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the cultural facilities nearby	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the offering of a variety of bars, restaurants and clubs	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q8 Soft Factor (2) Cluster Environment
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC,

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the cleanliness of the area	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the silent environment of the area	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the clean air of the area	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q9 Soft Factor (3) Tolerance and Openness
I was attracted by …… that I decided to move to JCCAC,

	I totally disagree	I more disagree than agree	I agree nor disagree	I more agree than disagree	I totally agree
the diverse lifestyles	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the openness to many immigrants and minorities in the area	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
the presence of many young people (25-40 years old) in the area	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q10 Will you plan to relocate?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Answer If Will you plan to relocate? Yes Is Selected

Q11 When will you relocate?
❍ Immediately
❍ Flexible
❍ One year
❍ Two year
❍ Three years or more years

Answer If Will you plan to relocate? Yes Is Selected

Q12 Where will you plan to relocate?

Please read the follow statements about yourself:

Q13 What is your age? (Please enter in years)

Q14 What is your gender?
❍ Male
❍ Female

Q15 What is your position in the organization / group (if you are not the owner of the organization / group)?

Q16 Including yourself, how many people sharing your current working place in the same company in JCCAC (both full and part time)?
❍ One – I am the only one
❍ Two
❍ Three
❍ Four

Q17 Which year was your organization / group founded? (e.g. 2001)

Q18 Where did your organization / group locate originally?

Q19 How many months have you been locating in JCCAC (as a person, not as a company)?

Q20 What is the approximately size of the unit are you working in JCCAC? (in square meter)?

Q21 How much do you pay each month for renting a unit in JCCAC?

Q22 In which district does you live in Hong Kong?
- ❍ Central and Western
- ❍ Wan Chai
- ❍ Eastern
- ❍ Southern
- ❍ Yau Tsim Mong
- ❍ Sham Shui Po
- ❍ Kowloon City
- ❍ Wong Tai Sin
- ❍ Kwun Tong
- ❍ Kwai Tsing
- ❍ Tsuen Wan
- ❍ Tuen Mun
- ❍ Yuen Long
- ❍ North
- ❍ Tai Po
- ❍ Sha Tin
- ❍ Sai Kung
- ❍ Islands

Q23 What range is closet to your monthly income from your creative work in JCCAC? (In Euro)
- ❍ Under € 100
- ❍ Between € 101 - $150
- ❍ Between € 151 - $200
- ❍ More than € 200
- ❍ Prefer not to answer

Q24 What percentage of your monthly income comes from your creative work in JCCAC?
- ❍ Less than 10%
- ❍ Between10% - 25%
- ❍ Between 26% - 50%
- ❍ Between 51% - 75%
- ❍ Between 76% - 100%

Appendix VI - List of Interview Questions

1. What arts and creative activities are you most involved?
2. How many people are sharing the space with you in the group of your organization?
3. What are the most important factors that attract you to locate in JCCAC, in terms of the soft and hard factors?
4. Where do you locate originally?
5. Do you plan to relocate? If yes, why? And where?
6. What do you think if there will be other planned creative spaces in Hong Kong?

Appendix VII- Table showing the mean comparison of total "hard" and "soft" factor pairs.

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Infrastructure -	2,7706	34	,68597	,11764
	Cultural and Leisure Amenities	2,3824	34	,82115	,14083
Pair 2	Infrastructure -	2,7706	34	,68597	,11764
	Cluster Environment	2,8431	34	1,03552	,17759
Pair 3	Infrastructure -	2,7706	34	,68597	,11764
	Tolerance and Openness	2,6176	34	,98176	,16837
Pair 4	Cluster Location	3,0294	34	,83027	,14239
	Cultural and Leisure Amenities	2,3824	34	,82115	,14083
Pair 5	Cluster Location -	3,0294	34	,83027	,14239
	Cluster Environment	2,8431	34	1,03552	,17759
Pair 6	Cluster Location -	3,0294	34	,83027	,14239
	Tolerance and Openness	2,6176	34	,98176	,16837
Pair 7	Cost of Working in the cluster -	3,0980	34	,89717	,15386
	Cultural and Leisure Amenities	2,3824	34	,82115	,14083
Pair 8	Cost of Working in the cluster -	3,0980	34	,89717	,15386
	Cluster Environment	2,8431	34	1,03552	,17759
Pair 9	Cost of Working in the cluster -	3,0980	34	,89717	,15386
	Tolerance and Openness	2,6176	34	,98176	,16837

Appendix VIII - Table showing *paired t-test* of total "hard" and "soft" factors.

		Mean Differences	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	Infrastructure - Cultural and Leisure Amenities	0,38824	0,71619	0,12282	3,161	33	0,003
Pair 2	Infrastructure - Cluster Environment	-0,07255	0,8701	0,14922	-0,486	33	0,63
Pair 3	Infrastructure - Tolerance and Openness	0,15294	0,78689	0,13495	1,133	33	0,265
Pair 4	Cluster Location - Cultural and Leisure Amenities	0,64706	0,86043	0,14756	4,385	33	0
Pair 5	Cluster Location - Cluster Environment	0,18627	1,18972	0,20403	0,913	33	0,368
Pair 6	Cluster Location - Tolerance and Openness	0,41176	0,9642	0,16536	2,49	33	0,018
Pair 7	Cost of Working in the cluster - Cultural and Leisure Amenities	0,71569	0,95745	0,1642	4,359	33	0
Pair 8	Cost of Working in the cluster - Cluster Environment	0,2549	1,07327	0,18406	1,385	33	0,175
Pair 9	Cost of Working in the cluster - Tolerance and Openness	0,48039	0,94705	0,16242	2,958	33	0,006